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Gitta Bertram

Rubens as a Designer of Title Pages

Title Page Production and Design in the Seventeenth Century

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BAND 1

STAATLICHE AKADEMIE BILDENDEN STUTTGART DER KÜNSTE

Peter Paul Rubens as a Designer of Title Pages

Title Page Production and Design in the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century

GITTA BERTRAM

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Stuttgarter Akademieschriften
Dieser Titel erscheint als Band 1 der Stuttgarter Akademieschriften und wurde als Dissertation an der Staatlichen Akademie der Bildenden Künste Stuttgart zur Erlangung des Grades eines Doktors der Philosophie am 18. Januar 2018 verteidigt. Der Text wurde für die Publikationsfassung überarbeitet.
Erstgutachter: Prof. Dr. Nils Büttner
Zweitgutachterin: Dr. Cordula van der Wyhe
Rektorin: Prof. Dr. Barbara Bader

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Gestaltung und Satz: Anne-Katrin Koch/Gitta Bertram

Gesetzt mit XƎLaTeX in Alegreya Sans (Innenteil) und ABK Stuttgart (Titel)

Bibliographic information published by Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie
Detailed bibliographic data are available on http://dnb.ddb.de

Published at arthistoricum.net, Heidelberg University Library 2018

The electronic open access version of this work is permanently available on:
http://www.arthistoricum.net
urn: urn:nbn:de:bsz:16-ahn-artbook-403-3
doi: https://doi.org/10.11588/arthistoricum.403

Cover illustration: Karel van Mallery after Rubens, Title Page of Sarbiewski, *Lyricorum Libri IV*, engraving. Private Archive

ISBN 978-3-947449-13-2 (Hardcover)
ISBN 978-3-947449-12-5 (PDF)

Contents

List of Abbreviations

BM British Museum.

BN Bibliothèque Nationale.

CRLB Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard.

DPBM Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum.

MPM Museum Plantin-Moretus.

RP Rijksprentenkabinet.

V&A Victoria and Albert Museum.

Preface

"No woman is an island, entire of it self", as someone famously said, and I thank all those who did not allow me to turn into an island. First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor Nils Büttner for many years of inspiration, with many discussions, adventures and exciting projects, but most of all for his encouragement and advice in a safe learning environment. I am also grateful to CREMS at the University of York, my friends there, and specifically Cordula Van Wyhe, for many helpful and inspiring talks and the opportunity to return to a great university. My thanks include a great team without whom this journey would have been less fun and less stimulating for sure: Katharina Frank, Ayaka Itoi, Anne-Katrin Koch, Sabrina Lind, Frederike Schmäschke, Patricia Schmiedlechner, Dorothea Schrapp, Antonia Selzer, Paula Simion, and Angela Zieger. Our regular meetings not only helped me reflect my work, but kept me going. And in the final phase the input of Carina Bertram, Anja Königseder, Lucy Pyroth, Anne Wienand, and mostly Katharina and Patricia, has been invaluable, while Jenny Pyroth's corrections were very welcome—all remaining mistakes are entirely mine. I would also like to thank Julian B. Lethbridge and Thomas Herron for being a great inspiration as teachers and scholars, and for the Spenser seminar ten years ago that set me on the path leading to this dissertation. However, life is about more than writing a dissertation, and I have to thank the Tübinger Ruderverein and all my rowers there for keeping me balanced. I also thank the Austrian radio station FM4 for keeping me informed and its musical input. Above all, I thank my family and friends, especially Carina, for always being there for me and allowing me to occasionally disappear from their lives to immerse myself in my projects. Without your emotional, intellectual and financial help none of this would have been possible—I am forever in your debt.

What's in a Name?

Many languages adapt names, not least English, and in order to keep readability high and confusion low, I have usually used the English form throughout. However, while for some humanists the Latin form of their names is still used, others are known by their vernacular name. For crucial persons, I show the varieties of their name when mentioned for the first time and subsequently use the name which I believe to be more useful to the modern reader.

1 Introduction

Peter Paul Rubens was the foremost painter in the seventeenth-century Southern Low Countries. The output and quality of his workshop was immense, the reception of his works even greater. While Rubens is well-known for the many paintings that left his workshop in quick succession, the fact that he designed illustrations and title pages for numerous books, and worked with Balthasar I Moretus, one of the most important publishers of their time, is less well-known. His work in book illustration has often been seen as an oddity best explained by his friendship with Moretus. Even today the myth of the master painter Rubens who "demanded to be paid well for his illustrations [and] may have been somewhat disdainful of the work, since he would do illustrations only on Sundays", is the major narrative told about this aspect of Rubens's work.[1] However, there was no contemporary or earlier artist of his standing who contributed so many illustrations to books of any kind or size like Rubens, and the elaborate allegorical title pages he designed for many influential authors and patrons together with the truly large print runs and many editions for some titles, paint an entirely different picture. For Rubens, books were the basis of his learning and his work; the extensive library he acquired throughout his life was part of his image as a gentleman, and the books he illustrated were among the most influential books of the seventeenth century.

Additionally, the importance of books in the context of the religious war, the generally wide distribution and great print runs of these books which Rubens illustrated, the value that was attributed to these objects, and the material value with which they were produced, suggest that for Rubens the books were not less important than his paintings, they were a different medium to be used for different messages. Nowadays, in a world flooded with books and images, where information is easily accessed via the internet, the importance of books in the dissemination of ideas is easily forgotten, and the impact of a title page or an illustration in an age in which images were not taken for granted could have been much larger than we are prone to believe.

In the past, Rubens's title pages were interpreted mainly with stylistic questions in mind because the drawings for these could be dated and thus seemed to offer answers for Rubens's stylis-

[1] Kurlansky 2016, p. 174.

tic development. Of course, the organisation of Rubens's oeuvre, the selection and attribution of works to it, was a most pressing work for early art historians and it is little wonder that the archival sources were thus interpreted with these aspects in mind. My interests lie elsewhere. While the earlier projects mainly collected Rubens's work and the archival sources pertaining to title pages, I have evaluated individual title pages and the archival sources in their historical and sociological context to see what impact these designs could have had on book production, on the readers, or on the books. The argument that with his designs Rubens was simply helping an old friend out seems too weak with regard to the importance these books had in seventeenth-century society.

The questions underlying this study consider the social and historical context of the title pages: what was it that motivated Rubens to participate in the book projects and who else was involved? What kind of books were these? For what purpose were they produced? And in what way were they relevant for Rubens and his contemporaries? Instead of accepting the deprecative stance regarding Rubens's work on books, this doctoral thesis aims to find out what motivated Rubens to design title pages, and what social, economic and political advantages he could have received from this practice. In order to answer these questions, I have reexamined the material collected by earlier publications on the title pages and centred it around the title pages and the history of their production, instead of Rubens's style. When Rubens produced the designs for these illustrated title pages, this particular form of paratext, the title page, already had a history and tradition of several decades, which raised certain expectations. On the other hand, illustrated and engraved title pages started to disappear from books in the eighteenth century and, consequently, the expectations and the knowledge of reading these intricate allegories disappeared. To understand what these allegorical inventions would have meant to Rubens's contemporaries was thus a main objective of this research. To come close to that knowledge, the social and historical context of the title pages and their production, especially the people involved in their production, is the necessary basis for an interpretation.[2]

1.1 Questions of Periodisation

Rubens's books have so far been considered as "Baroque" book illustration, whereby the periodisation of "Baroque" creates problems, rather than advantages.[3] Baroque is a constructed period of artistic style, the usefulness of which ends with a first chronological attribution of works to a specific artist. For further inquiries, this kind of periodisation is more likely to hinder than to help.

[2] As this is as good a place as any, I wish to emphasise that I use the male pronoun to refer to the agents involved not only because it enables fluent reading, but also because the female pronoun would simply be wrong in most cases of this study: most of the agents in this study, be they authors, printers, designers, producers, were male.

[3] Gullström 2014; Febvre et al. 1998; Van de Velde 1997; Frese 1989; Hofer 1970.

From a historical perspective the term simply does not exist: no contemporary of Rubens would have called his age or their art "Baroque". Rubens and his contemporaries perceived themselves to be part of the Renaissance with their constant references to Roman antiquity. From a modern perspective, the art-historical periodisation which separates works of art according to their style hinders an interdisciplinary exchange and an international perspective, as it does not encompass the countries in which the reformation had taken hold. Book illustration should, however, be considered from an international perspective as the distribution of books not necessarily followed national borders. Additionally, the early modern period offers advantages for an interdisciplinary approach. For historians, for instance, the Baroque as a period does not exist, the caesurae of the early modern period are placed much earlier and much later, and encompasses a multitude of art historical periods, differentiated on stylistic grounds. What is more, the theological issues concerning images did not change throughout the early modern period, whichever practice or style was applied to them: the substantial core of Catholic theology concerning images was that the reverence of a holy image was always directed at the holy prototype and not the image itself.[4] Thus even from an art-historical standpoint, using "Baroque" as a period is questionable.

Even for non-religious images, the way in which an image was read and the dependence on the famous Horatian dictum of "ut pictura poesis" did not change until the eighteenth century. Painters and art theoreticians deliberately misread the Horatian maxime that poetry should be like a painting[5] for their own ends and stipulated that a painting could be like a poem. This opened the door to the reasoning of art theoreticians that whatever applied to the art of rhetoric should also apply to other arts. Art theoreticians used the well-known vocabulary of rhetorical treatises to describe the visual arts, thereby elevating what was considered a mechanical art to the *artes liberales*. The inventive force and artistic imagination, previously only accorded to poets, was now also accorded to painters. Their work could from then on be expressed in the rhetorical terms of *inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*: the invention, the arrangement and the style of a work of art.

The earliest theoretical writing on art was that of Leon Battista Alberti, but Rubens also knew Karel Van Mander's *Schilder-Boeck*,[6] the works of Giorgio Vasari,[7] and Francisus Junius's treatise *De pictura veterum*.[8] Junius, whose work Rubens praised, stated in his first chapter that poetry and painting should be seen as sister arts as the same rules of rhetoric applied to both. Moreover, the main stimulus for both was *imitatio* and, to use Junius's term, *phantasia*.[9] Both these concepts were

4 This had already been established before the council of Trent and did not change much in the following century. Hecht 2016.
5 Hor. ars. 361.
6 One copy is known on the title page of which can be read: "ex libris Pet. Pa. Rubens". Cf. Arents et al. 2001, no. A1.
7 A present from his friend Gaspar Gevaerts, Ibid., no. B3.
8 Büttner 2015c.
9 Fehl 1981, p. 30.

needed in the reception of art: in order to see and judge an artistic work properly the viewer needed imagination.[10] Emotional vividness of the poetic or visual language was the main tool in the service of persuasion: Cicero had already stipulated in his *Orator* that the orator had to teach, delight, and move his audience.[11] This art theoretical construct was succinctly developed but did not change throughout the early modern period in its core emphasis on the persuasion of the viewer.[12]

1.2 Rubens and Book Illustration in Recent Scholarship

Two important books on Rubens's title pages were published in the wake of the Rubens year of 1977: *Book Illustration and Title-pages*, the Catalogue Raisonné by Richard Judson and Carl van de Velde, and *Rubens and the Book*, a catalogue for an exhibition at the Chapin Library of Williams College in Williamstown by Julius S. Held and his students.[13] In these two publications many archival sources were uncovered, collected, interpreted and published, and without these fundamental works, the following research would have been impossible. The basis for all Rubens publications is of course the work of Max Rooses who collected letters and archival sources on Rubens and Balthasar Moretus.[14] Even before that in 1873, Voorhelm Schneevoogt had collected all prints made after Rubens's work, cataloguing the title pages for the first time.[15] These works constitute the basis of my research, which relies in many parts on the archival sources mentioned and transcribed in these volumes.[16] In the following I give an overview of what has happened in the last forty years.

Apart from these encompassing studies, Rubens's book illustration is also mentioned in countless overviews on book illustration and in catalogues of exhibitions. In these works, Rubens's title pages are embedded in a wider context, which usually only allows for a catalogue entry on a specific title page fitting into this context. Out of necessity and because of their focus on a wider context, these works concentrate on the visual aspect of the title pages, ignoring to a large part the books to which these title pages were attached and thus treating title pages like prints. Title pages, however, are intended to be bound to a book. This alone necessitates an analysis that includes the context of the book: its subject matter, its author, publisher, and the way in which it was published. The tendency to look at title pages as one would look at single prints might reflect a wish to enno-

10 Büttner 2015c, p. 77. On Junius see Büttner 2011; Dundas 2007; Junius 2004; Dundas 1996, Warncke 2005; Fehl 1996; Warncke 1987; Fehl 1981.

11 The three tasks of the orator, "docere, delectare, et movere", cf. Orator 69.

12 Büttner 2015c; R. W. Lee 1967; Warncke 1987.

13 Judson and Van de Velde 1977a; Held 1977.

14 Ruelens and Rooses 1972a; Rooses 1904; Rooses 1903; Rooses 1886; Rooses 1883; Rooses 1882; Rooses 1881.

15 Even though many of his attributions have been corrected in the meantime, it is nonetheless the first such catalogue and deserves mention here: Voorhelm Schneevoogt 1873.

16 My work, of course, relies heavily on the literature gathered by these authors; Rubens scholarship has been extensive and for earlier literature I ask the reader to refer to these publications.

ble title pages: an artist like Rubens could not be seen within the confines of applied arts. All the same, it could also reflect the way in which title pages were collected from early on. Samuel Pepys (1633–1703), for instance, had collected about 900 title pages with the help of his friend John Evelyn.[17] The collecting of these images often meant that somewhere a book had been robbed of its title page; this destruction can still be seen in libraries. As title pages were intended to introduce books, they were not produced as single, independent prints. To view them out of their context might mean to miss their significance beyond their aesthetic appearance.

Rubens's title pages are mentioned in many volumes of the Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard (CRLB), the Catalogue Raisonné of Rubens's work. Its authors often use the title page designs to give a wider context to the paintings, drawings, objects or tapestries they focus on. Most notably, both Elizabeth McGrath in her volume on *Subjects from History* and Nils Büttner in his contribution to the CRLB on *Allegories* commented on Rubens's use of books in his designs.[18] McGrath has published widely on the works by Rubens that rely heavily on classical literature, paying tribute to his wide learning. As his own books, the source of his learning, play a large role in McGrath's detailed examination of Rubens's paintings, it is little wonder that she studied the nature of his library and its relationship to his work more closely.[19] Nils Büttner's biographies of Rubens have been indispensable, as have been the many articles he has published on the socio-historical circumstances in which Rubens and his contemporaries found themselves.[20] The forthcoming CRLB volume on *Allegories* proved increasingly important for the interpretation of the allegorical title pages and many of the overarching topics in this volume proved to be congruent for the study of title pages.[21] Those title pages for which preparatory drawings are still extant were also incorporated in a large exhibition on Rubens's drawings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art curated by Anne-Marie Logan and Michiel C. Plomp in 2005.[22]

In the study of Rubens's title pages, Balthasar Moretus plays an important role. Moretus was not only Rubens's friend but also ran the most renowned publishing house north of the Alps, following in the footsteps of his grandfather Christopher Plantin. Thus the Officina Plantiniana, or the Plantin-Moretus publishing and printing house, features widely in this research on Rubens and his books, especially as this company was transformed into a museum and archives in the nineteenth century. The Museum Plantin-Moretus (MPM) houses important archives for the history of

17 Remmert 2005. Latham, Robert (Ed.): *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College Cambridge*, vol. III, pt. 1, compiled by A.W. Aspital. 87–175: "My collection of frontispieces".

18 McGrath 1997; Büttner 2018.

19 McGrath 2016, Introduction; McGrath 2009a; McGrath 2009b; McGrath 2006; McGrath 1997; McGrath 1987.

20 For the biographies, cf. esp. Büttner 2015c; Büttner 2006b; Büttner 2004. Cf. also Büttner 2017a; Büttner 2015b; Büttner 2015a; Büttner 2014a; Büttner 2014b; Büttner 2012; Büttner 2011; Büttner 2010; Büttner 2008c; Büttner 2006a.

21 Büttner 2018.

22 Logan and Plomp 2005.

books and publishing, and has contributed several important exhibitions and catalogues, not to forget the research of countless scholars under its roofs. In the Rubens year 1977 the MPM dedicated an exhibition to Rubens as a book illustrator, *P. P. Rubens als boekillustrator*, curated by Judson and Van de Velde, who brought their years of research to the exhibition.[23] Twenty years later in the same institution, *The Illustration of Books Published by the Moretuses* was the central topic of an exhibition in which Rubens's books featured widely.[24]

In 2004 an exhibition was devoted to Rubens's library.[25] It showcased books Rubens bought, possibly possessed, and illustrated, and was based on the work of Prosper Arents and Dirk Imhof. Arents continued the work begun by Max Rooses in the 1880s and reconstructed Rubens's library.[26] For this reconstruction, Arents used the MPM's extensive archives, the letters written by Rubens and his friends and family, and the printed auction catalogue of Albert Rubens's library discovered by Arents in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris in 1948. Arents also listed every book that Rubens mentioned or that was mentioned in the context of Rubens—an invaluable work.[27] Frans Baudouin edited and finished the work begun by Rooses and Arents and wrote several papers on Rubens and his books.[28]

The many publications on Christophe Plantin and the dynasty of printers he founded also belong to the main literature used in this study. Among these publications, Leon Voet's work on the history of the Officina Plantiniana is still the seminal work to turn to.[29] In the past decades Karen Lee Bowen and Dirk Imhof have added substantially to this history with their studies of the Plantinian archives and research on individual family members or publications.[30] Apart from exhibitions in the MPM and the Catalogue Raisonné of the CRLB, several chapters in books, articles and studies were devoted to the topic of Rubens and the book, most of these written after the Catalogue Raisonné and not incorporated in it. Julius S. Held, for instance, studied Rubens's involvement in the production of the *Vita Ignatii*, an account of the Life of the founder of the Society of Jesus Ignatius Loyola.[31] Sometimes individual title pages were discussed repeatedly, as, for instance, the title page for Franciscus Aguilonius's *Opticorum libri sex*. This title page gave also room for speculation concerning Rubens's lost colour theory.[32] However, in most of the twentieth century, the attribution of drawings to Rubens's œuvre was of greater importance for scholarship on Rubens's ti-

23 Cf. Judson and Hoozee 1977 for earlier literature.
24 Nave 1997.
25 Schepper 2004.
26 Rooses 1883; Rooses 1882.
27 Arents et al. 2001; Arents 1961.
28 Baudouin 2002b; Baudouin 2001.
29 Voet 1969.
30 Imhof 2014; Bowen and Imhof 2010; Bowen and Imhof 2008; Bowen and Imhof 2005; Bowen 2003; Bowen and Imhof 2003; Bowen and Imhof 2001; Bowen 1997.
31 Held 1982, pp. 168ff.; Held 1979; Held 1972.
32 Parkhurst 1961; see section 5.2 and for a detailed bibliography: Bertram 2016.

tle pages, so that the archival sources and the drawings for the title pages were mostly interpreted with that question in mind and its focus on the artist.

In 1977, Annegret Glang-Süberkrüb already complained about the scholarly neglect of seventeenth-century book illustration in general.[33] Writing from a perspective that prioritised books rather than artists, she especially expressed her discomfort at the subjective interpretations of art historians who prioritised the drawings of the master over the finished prints, or neglected the collaboration between publisher and painter.[34] The focus shifted, however, with the rise of a new interest in the studies of print and book culture not only by art historians, but also by historians in all their specialities (book historians, literary historians and historians of knowledge). Increasingly, Rubens was featured in specialised publications about religious book illustration or scientific book illustrations, the publications of which alone show that studies on books has increased since the 1990s and the subjects became more diverse.

The study of printing with all its social implications began with Elizabeth Eisenstein's *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, historian Roger Chartier's *The Order of Books*, and literary historian Gérard Genette's *Paratexts*.[35] Genette's suggested taxonomy influenced book studies in the following decades and also prompted studies into early modern paratexts in order to tackle the blind spot in Genette's work; Genette had ignored historical differences and change in his taxonomy.[36] Accordingly, the focus has increasingly shifted towards readers and publishers in book studies. Moreover, the appearance of books in their entirety began to play a larger role, much in contrast to the previous, fairly isolated focus on text or illustration only.[37] Rubens's title pages are likewise often mentioned in studies and exhibitions of other publishers or readers in early modern Antwerp, such as in Stijn van Rossem's invaluable study on the publishing strategies of the Verdussens or in the catalogue to an exhibition on the burgomaster Nicolaas Rockox's library.[38] Studies as these were very useful to my work as they provided a broader perspective and helped contextualise the work by Moretus and Rubens. Van Rossem's elaborate study of publishing in Antwerp and of the rivalries between the publishers was particularly helpful in this endeavour.

While the diachronic studies of book illustration in the first half of the twentieth century tend to be illustrative rather than informative, those in the latter half concentrate on word-image relationships. Increasingly, individual studies try to understand the nature of (early modern) book

33 This neglect has up to date not been remedied in the form of a book. A database for all illustrated British books, however, has been enabled by the Bibliographical Society: Hunter 2009.

34 Glang-Süberkrüb 1977, col. 556; Glang-Süberkrüb emphasised the importance of Rooses 1886 for her work.

35 Eisenstein 1979; Chartier 1994; Genette 1997.

36 K. A. E. Enenkel 2015; H. Smith 2011.

37 Sherman 2007; Genette 1997; Chartier 1994; Eisenstein 1983; Eisenstein 1979.

38 Van Rossem 2014a; Fabri et al. 2004.

production and use in various details: the workings of the guilds, of censorship, of pricing and the economy, and of the development of a whole trade in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[39]

Over the last decade Ralph Dekoninck provided a thorough survey of seventeenth-century Jesuit print culture, looking both at the genre of the prints discussed in his work as well as their historical context, and underlaying them with a theological, anthropological and image-theoretical basis.[40] A similarly encompassing approach was used by Susanne Lang in her work on the illustration of the reports of the Jesuit missionaries.[41] It is this material turn, a turn to the production, use and function of books and book illustration mainly, that influenced my study of Rubens's title pages.

A meaningful study of title pages has to look at the book, or even books, invariably connected to a title page. Focussing on books, as well as the title pages, includes the production process, as the book did not simply come into being, as bibliographer David F. McKenzie stresses: "it is invariably the product of human agency in complex and highly volatile contexts which a responsible scholarship must seek to recover if we are to understand better the creation and communication of meaning as the defining characteristic of human societies".[42] Meaning is not inherent in an object, it is given to it by an audience that was trained to specific expectations, and thus the creation or production of meaning in relation to these expectations becomes relevant. The medium's own historicity has to be taken into account, if meanings are to be recovered, and the book seen as a product of many people. Thus it is one objective of this book to recover the contexts of book production, to see the book as "the product of one complex set of social and technological processes" for which a "large number of people, machines, and materials must converge and act together for it to come into existence at all."[43] This work is an attempt to deal with title pages in a way that acknowledges the several agents involved in the production of books and in the production of the title pages of these books in particular.

It is also an attempt to acknowledge the historicity of the medium involved, as the medium's historicity influenced the production of title pages just as it influenced a contemporary attribution to meaning. Adrian Johns sees the book as "the material embodiment of, if not a consensus, then at least a collective consent."[44] The same is essentially true for title pages, and it was this collective consent that ensured the meaning of the title pages. This was made clear especially in those cases when difficulties arose, as for instance, when someone complained to Moretus. Thus, this study

39 For a diachronic study cf. Hofer 1970. For the trade cf. Mathijsen 2011; Cruz 2009; Johns 2008; Materné 1991; Vervliet 1991; Wittmann 1991; Briels 1974.

40 Cf. Dekoninck 2005a. Cf. also the further work Dekoninck 2016; Dekoninck 2012; Dekoninck 2011; Dekoninck 2010; Dekoninck 2008; Dekoninck 2005b; Dekoninck 2002.

41 Lang 2012.

42 McKenzie 1999, p. 4.

43 Johns 2008, p. 3.

44 Ibid., p. 3.

is an art historical attempts to discover possible historical meanings of the title pages Rubens designed because these were instances of collective consent: this means that the material images, their production and their use, are in the centre of this investigation.

The images, however, were produced and influenced by people all with their own wishes and their own agendas. Rather than focussing on merely the designer, I decided to investigate all "authors" involved, i.e. the printers, the engravers, and the readers if possible. Instead of taking Rubens's part for granted in this process, I have tried to uncover his role in the social networks and structures of book publishing. How much of the finished title page can be attributed to Rubens the artist, how much to the publisher, or the author, and how much influence do the dedicatees have on the title page? Not all of the agents could be investigated with the same thoroughness, and although as much as possible was done, others will have to add to this. The basic hypothesis of this present work is that the meaning and the relevance of a title page cannot be properly assessed without an idea of the relevance of the book and the meaning it was accorded by Rubens and his contemporaries.

1.3 | Methodology

In the 1960s, critical theory, and mostly social constructivism took hold in academia, postulating that human reality and with it history was socially constructed.[45] This instigated a paradigm shift in the humanities which have tried in several ways to deal with this postulated construction of reality since then. Michel Foucault, in *The Order of Things*, has voiced the problem that man can only think in terms of the already begun, of the already existing: whenever he attempts to understand himself as living, labouring being, man finds himself in a human time and space that is already institutionalized and subjugated by society. Thus it is "always against a background of the already begun that man is able to reflect on what may serve for him as origin".[46] We have no other possibility than to think in terms and categories created before our time, and only as time passes will these become visible. At the moment the assumptions held a century past are visible in the scholarship from that time, telling us sometimes more about the scholars of the nineteenth century than about Rubens. A focus on the style of Rubens in the sketches for title pages, for instance, rather than on the finished product that was produced in a collaborative effort says more about the

45 Berger et al. 1966.

46 Foucault 2002, pp. 359–360. "C'est qu'en effet l'homme ne se découvre que lié à une historicité déjà faite: il n'est jamais contemporain de cette origine qui à travers le temps des choses s'esquisse en se dérobant; quand il essaie de se définir comme être vivant, il ne découvre son propre commencement que sur fond d'une vie qui elle-même a débuté bien avant lui; quand il essaie de se ressaisir comme être au travail, il n'en met au jour les formes les plus rudimentaires qu'à l'intérieur d'un temps et d'un espace humains déjà institutionnalisés, déjà maîtrisés par la société; […] C'est toujours sur un fond de déjà commencé que l'homme peut penser ce qui vaut pour lui comme origine." Michel Foucault, *Les mots et les choses*, Gallimard 1966, p. 341.

person asking questions than about Rubens's preferences. Generally, historical discourse analysis, Grounded Theory Method, or even the media-historical analysis of art are all poststructuralist answers to the fundamental problem that our view on history and our research interests are always already influenced and to a certain extent created by our circumstances. Historical interpretations are thus always influenced by subjectivism and *zeitgeist*.

The methodological approaches developed lately have in common with each other that they are trying to relativise as far as possible the preconceived assumptions on which everyones works. Rather than suggesting prescriptive methods, they describe a specific attitude towards history and historical research that acknowledges this basis of set values and assumptions instead of ignoring it. This kind of research is principally open-minded in that it tries to find and question preconceived notions and assumptions. Its focus lies on the process of historical research, always involving the reflection of the author's own personal stance and the assumptions revealed during the research process itself.[47] All of these poststructuralist philosophies see (historical) research as an act of interpretation, an act of giving meaning to utterances, be they in words or images. Common to all is the principle assumption that the individual creates meaning, that meaning is not seen as inherent in the picture or text, and is thus by necessity subjective. As the meaning is attributed by the individual, the interpretations created can also be conflicting. To solve the conflict, the interpretations and the way the individual arrived at them, have to be reflected on and discussed.

Although none of the theories above were strictly used to arrive at the conclusions presented in this thesis, the fundamentals of the Grounded Theory Method have been very influential in the process of the research, especially in giving a vocabulary to processes otherwise not mentioned in art history. Grounded Theory has provided me with a systematic way to gather, structure and analyse the knowledge gained on early modern book production and consumption, and especially to structure the rather large corpus of Rubens's title pages. The theory is a qualitative method of enquiry with the aim of building a theory on the basis of empirical data, using a constant back-and-forth between data, the coding of the data, and existing theories.[48] It was first described and used by sociologists Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss in order to show fundamental social processes that induce change, and in the following years the theory was evolved by Strauss and Juliet Corbin.[49] These scholars are still connected with the method, even though many independent variants have been developed over the years. The methods are united by the focus on qualitative research, "findings not arrived at by statistical procedures or other means of quantification",[50] an open and explorative character with the goal to arrive at a theory, at abstract concepts between

47 Especially Grounded Theory Method as developed by Glaser and Strauss. Glaser et al. 1965 and Glaser et al. 1967. Cf. also Strübing 2004.
48 Bohnsack et al. 2006.
49 Glaser et al. 1965 and Glaser et al. 1967.
50 Strauss et al. 1998, p. 10.

which relations can then be specified. Qualitative methods allow for conclusions to be drawn even though the data is not, and cannot be, all-encompassing and exhaustive.

The conclusions are drawn through a thorough interpretation of a few well-placed case studies, which makes the research questions and the selection of case studies so important. The ensuing constant back-and-forth between the material and theorising generated from the material at hand is meant to provide checks and balances on the interpretation of meagre data. This grounding, i.e. drawing the theory from the data, acknowledges that the description of data or material is tied to a general context and a more global view. The researcher's task is to tie both together, the description with the concept, without leaping to "immaculate conceptions" or preconceived generalisations. The sociological method of Grounded Theory was developed in order to deal with interviews in a qualitative, not quantitative way, creating tools for the process of interpretation. It can, however, also be applied to any other data, and is a helpful way to deal with a large corpus of images in which not every image can be scrutinised in the necessary detail. Grounded Theory is especially helpful for sampling, coding, and clustering sets of data.

Sampling and the Tools of Grounded Theory

Through Grounded Theory Method a few well-chosen case studies or samples are interpreted in such a way as to arrive at an overarching concept or theory, or at least a deep understanding of the research matter. The samples developed in this process are not premeditated but reveal themselves in the course of the interaction between the researcher and the material. The goal of this study was to provide a framework in which Rubens's title pages, or any other title pages, could be structured and studied. From the beginning it was perceived that the social history of title pages would be the basis of the inquiry: the questions of who was involved in the creation of the title pages and the books and who the intended readers were. These questions could only be answered through individual case studies in a qualitative way. From the outset it was inconceivable to rewrite the comprehensive catalogue provided by Judson and Van de Velde in 1977; only a few case studies were planned that were intended to be a representative cross section of Rubens's title pages. This, however, proved to be a major difficulty as the title pages presented themselves as anything but easily structured. Previous studies had examined the title pages on stylistic grounds, structuring them chronologically or, if at all, according to Rubens's perceived stylistic development as a painter and draughtsman. This structure was not helpful for the research questions considered here, which are much more centred on the title pages themselves.

The process described in Grounded Theory helped in developing a structure through sampling and coding. Sampling in this research style "is based on evolving theoretical concepts".[51] After

[51] Ibid., p. 46.

an initial open sampling based on a study of the corpus and the literature, and following a first working hypothesis, a first sample is studied. Alongside this study and the ongoing analysis of compiled data, in this case during the interpretation of the first title page, the hypothesis is tested and the next sample is sought. This "theoretical sampling" is thus based on emerging concepts with the goal to explore these concepts in more depth. Thus the first step was to identify the corpus of title pages to be dealt with. This already posed a major problem, as not every title page that carries the name Rubens was necessarily drawn by Rubens. This distinction is, however, a modern one and has to do with the image of the artist as a lone genius, created by specific nineteenth-century views on artists. Rubens's workshop practice with his many assistants stands in contrast to this view of the artist as a lone genius. In the past forty years Rubens's workshop has been studied extensively.[52]

Many hands were involved in the production of his work, be it a painting, a tapestry or a title page. But if Rubens sold it as his work and under his name, especially if the same was printed on the print, then it should be considered a Rubens notwithstanding our reservation about originals.[53] The signatures on a print could, for instance, also explicate that Rubens invented the image while Erasmus Quellinus drew it and Galle printed it. Each part of the process is thus acknowledged, but the concept was considered to be the more important part by Rubens and his contemporaries. On some title pages his name is not mentioned, but the archival sources show explicitly that Rubens was involved in the invention. When neither documents nor a signature showed Rubens to be involved in the production of a title page, it was not considered in this study. One example of this is the title page for the Life of Ignatius Loyola.[54] There are no documents that would substantiate the claim by Julius Held that the title page to the *Life of Loyola* was by Rubens: his name does not appear on the title page, and the title page does not display his usual treatment of title pages. Therefore, I have not included this particular title page in the corpus.[55] Thus the corpus under scrutiny here is limited to 48 titles with title pages by Rubens, of which the first was designed in 1611 and the last five published after his death.[56]

52 Schmiedlechner forthcoming; Bulckens et al. 2017; Nakamura 2013; Schmiedlechner 2012; Van Hout et al. 2012; Büttner 2008a; Vlieghe 2000; Vlieghe 1992; Vlieghe 1977.

53 Büttner 2008b.

54 Ribadeneyra 1609; cf. Büttner in Bertram 2018b, no. 2, pp. 36–39.

55 Held 1972. This is not to say that this title page could not be a first attempt by a young artist, thus maybe not displaying the later boldness in design, but I would prefer to err on the side of caution. It is better to first study those title pages of which there are documents recording Rubens's involvement.

56 Aedo y Gallart 1635; Aguilonius 1613; Areopagita 1634; Augustín et al. 1617; Barberini 1634; Baronio and Sponde 1623; Bauhuis et al. 1634; *Biblia Sacra* 1617; Bidermann 1634; Blois 1632; Boonaerts 1634; Bosio 1617; Boyvin 1638; *Breviarium Romanum* 1614; Chifflet 1640; Cordier 1628; Cordier 1630; De Bie 1615; De Bie and Hemelaer 1627; *Gelresche Rechten des Rvremvndtschen Qvartiers* 1620; Gevaerts 1642; Goltzius 1618, 1645a, 1644; Haeften 1635; Haraeus 1623; Hugo 1626; Jesu 1620; L. Lessius 1617; Lipsius 1637; Liutprandus 1640; Longo a Coriolano 1623; Marselaer 1666; Mascardi 1622; Morgues 1637; Mudzaert 1622; Nonnius 1620; Pietrasanta 1634; Ribadeneyra and Rosweyde 1619; Rios

In a first open sampling, several title pages were scrutinised using a standard set of questions in order to find out what material would be available to study the title pages and what would be needed. In the course of this overview, the set of questions changed considerably, mainly to incorporate the genre of a book and the various editions of the same title printed before and after the first edition with a Rubens title page. From this first open sampling a first case study was chosen: the title page by Franciscus Aguilonius, the first published title page by Rubens.[57] In the first sample I tested the way in which title pages could be dealt with and gathered research questions. The title page for Aguilonius presented itself because it has received the scholarly attention so far, and offered a testing ground with the possibility for a comparison of methods and interpretive view points. It was found, for instance, that a good tool to analyse the images was the art historical comparison of images. The comparison, however, had to be valid, i.e. there had to be a reasonable relationship between the images. A reasonable relationship was found in title pages for the same genre, similar formats or various title pages for the same title. For the iconographical analysis early modern contemporary literature was used, preferably literature for which there was proof that Rubens would have had access to it. During this detailed analysis of one title page several ways of future inquiry presented themselves.[58]

Through the microanalysis of the sample and the tool of coding, preliminary concepts were then established with which further case studies could be defined. After the first case study, I decided to focus on the context of books which resulted in the first chapter. One aspect of the larger historical context was the social context of the book production, including the author's identity and religious affiliation. The aim of theoretical sampling is the exploration of the emerging concept, and this meant that other agents that could have a possible influence on the title pages were explored, for instance dedicatees of the books.

Categorisation of the material at hand was a process that accompanied the research from its beginning. In previous studies the material was categorised chronologically, trying to cluster the title pages according to Rubens's stylistic development. Increasingly throughout my study, this approach seemed inadequate for title pages, as much of their appearance depended on context rather than Rubens's artistic development. Instead, the genre, the format, the patron and the contents of the book seemed to have more influence on the appearance of a single title page.

The categories developed throughout the study were based on constant coding, i.e. the constant development of theoretical concepts.[59] To systematically examine the material, the material

y Alarcón 1641; Rosweyde 1617, 1628; Sarbiewski 1632, 1634; Scribani 1624; Steen 1616; Tornielli 1620; Tristan 1634. Cf. also Table 1 in Chapter 3.

57 Cf. section 5.2.

58 Cf. Bertram 2016.

59 Coding is a tool in the gradual development of theoretical concepts based on the systematic examination of the material. For a description of the analytic tools of open, axial and selective coding, cf. Strauss et al. 1998, pt. 2.

is constantly compared, while memos and mind-maps are indispensable tools.[60] Memos aid analytic thinking and force the researcher to critically assess concepts and enforce analytical abstraction. Additionally, they help uncover discrepancies or conceptual biases which can then be solved by a renewed look at the data. Mind-maps help to structure the findings and to link the various concepts with each other. They are a great tool in organising the data in a different way from the usual database that enforces linear thinking and makes it difficult to show more than one relationship. The three categories into which the title pages fall, outlined in the following, have been developed from the mind-maps drawn up from the first case studies. It is based on the historical book classes that were found to be an early modern organising principle. These book classes have been used to provide a basis for comparison between book of the Rubens corpus.[61] In the end seven case studies were made until a point of saturation was reached.[62]

Saturation is the point in the research when a case study is not perceived to add to the concepts.[63] After the sixth case study it seemed that the findings, or the concepts underlying the findings, were already repeating themselves, and that adding new variables would not change the findings significantly.

Problems of Interpretation

One characteristic of qualitative methods is the constant reflection of the role of the researcher within the process of research.The researcher's own subjective viewpoint is recognised and incorporated in the process, and potential problems are identified and addressed. In the course of this research, title pages are interpreted in detail, which opens its own pitfalls and problems. In the title pages two art-historical problems become visible: that of interpretation and that of the medium. Both are intertwined and it is important to clarify these epistemological problems beforehand.

Just as the openness of the researcher's mind is a prerequisite in the present study, so is the postulated openness of the title page. In a way, I assume that for title pages the same is true that Umberto Eco, in his *Opera aperta*, reserved for modern art: a deliberate and systematic ambiguousness.[64] While Eco distinguishes between traditional or "classical" art and modern art to elaborate his concept of the open work, the distinction instead lies in the assumptions that one makes

60 For a good overview on the procedures of the analytic process, cf. Strauss et al. 1998, p. 12.

61 Cf. Chapter 3.

62 These were the case studies on Goltzius's *Opera omnia*, cf. Chapter 4; Aguilonius's *Opticorum*, cf. 5.2, published as Bertram 2016; Lessius's *De iustitia et iure*, cf. 5.3; the genre of poetry with Maffeo Barberini's *Poemata*, Bauhusius's *Epigrammata*, and Sarbiewski's *Lyricorum*; and the genre of Church history with Baronius's *Annales* and all its derivatives, cf. Chapter 6.

63 Sometimes this point is also reached when the time frame set for the study is adhered to.

64 Eco 1989, esp. David Robey's introduction. Cf. also Zymner 2002 who attributes the same openness to emblems.

concerning any art. Any text or image presents the reader or viewer with a "field" of interpretive possibilities, its interpretive field, from which the reader or viewer has to decide which approach is valid. With "traditional" or "classical" art, this field is usually narrowed down from the very start of the interpretation based on assumptions and previous knowledge and experiences of this type of art.[65] The Crocean aesthetics against which Eco wrote in 1962 incorporates the assumption that "art is a purely mental phenomenon that could be communicated directly from the mind of the artist to that of the reader, viewer, or listener", as David Robey put it in his introduction to Eco's work.[66] With this view the material medium of the work, its historical circumstances and its context are irrelevant and a stable essence of an artwork is assumed. Just as Eco's work, this research is opposed to any such notion. It is rather the reader, viewer, or listener who creates the meaning in an art work, and several interpretations are thus conceivable and possible.[67] This suggests that the interpretive field should be first explored before a viewpoint can be narrowed down. If the interpretive field is only narrowed down by a discriminating viewer after considering all possibilities, an early modern work might be seen to be much more open and ambiguous than previously thought and might offer a variety of possible interpretations depending on its viewers.

Although a multitude of perspectives suggests an unlimited number of interpretations there are limits as to what can be said about any historical artefact, person or occurrence. Each work directs the viewers' response by the way in which its elements are composed and by the way it plays with the expectations and traditions raised by a particular medium. The reading of one and the same image changes with the context, thus with the viewer, the medium and the placement of the image.[68] There is no single meaning of an image; the meaning has to be negotiated with these factors in mind. In order to narrow down possible interpretations, it is necessary to know the prevalent expectations that viewers would have had for a specific medium at any given time. As the focus of this work lies on early modern title page production, the possible interpretations are limited to early modern viewers.[69] Apart from finding media-specific conventions and traditions, the limits of interpretation are also set by sources. Nils Büttner has suggested that only the largest possible number of (archival) sources can help in limiting what can be said about images. He follows Reinhart Koselleck's "veto of the sources", which states that historical records only reveal what cannot be claimed, instead of revealing what can be said, so that only a large enough number of sources can reliably limit the possibilities of interpretation.[70]

65 Of course the openness attested by Eco to modern art is of a much more radical kind, but only different not inherently opposed.

66 Eco 1989, p. ix.

67 Büttner 2014a, p. 9.

68 Cf. the media-historical analysis as suggested by Warncke 1987.

69 As the early modern period is very large this poses a problem, but sources were preferred that were as close as possible to the title page under consideration, and the concept of what an image was did not change fundamentally.

70 Büttner 2018, Introduction.

Apart from media-specific conventions and archival sources, a third check on the interpretive possibilities is available through the discourses within which the objects are located. These various discourses dictate how an object could and would have been used and viewed. The interpretational frame that is expressed for specific title pages in this part of the thesis, is derived from an analysis of the book's context and the discourses within which it is located, of its author, its publisher, their communication if extant, the book's contents and appearance (or paratextual matter) and the proclaimed intentions.

The interpretational frame defines the possibilities of interpretation; it does not deliver one definite interpretation, and it assumes that the main goal of title pages is communication. The possibilities of interpretation, or the "number of different perspectives from which it can be viewed and understood", that give a work "a wealth of different resonances and echoes without impairing its original essence", are a necessary part of what Eco called the open work.[71] Rubens's title pages are, above all, open works, in that a multitude of interpretations can be applied to them and that each reading, each interpretation, can add another aspect to the work. This possibility of multiple interpretations gives Rubens's work depth and erudition; more generally, these multiple interpretations interweave and overlap, which is what makes the title pages so fascinating.

An art-historical interpretation of title pages should always consider that on a very basic level the image presented on the title page is transmitted through a specific medium which in itself already has conventions or traditions and raises specific expectations. While it might be helpful to also look at some of Rubens's paintings, especially concerning the composition or single iconographical aspects, it is very difficult to simply transfer meanings and interpretations from painting to print. Each of the various media have their own characteristics, a print uses different means in order to convey space and colour through black and white, the paper and its colour play an important role, its material and its size (usually) dictate the use. In contrast to a painting by Rubens, which could and would be viewed by more than one person at a time, a book would most probably be used by one person and from a close distance only. However, the interpretation of a title page is possibly made easier than that of a painting whose context might change significantly, because the intended context is usually delivered with the book—at least its closer context of dedication, text and *approbatio*. By using the same title pages for different books and copying them from other printers' editions, the openness of the title page was exploited by all publishers in Rubens's time.[72] With different contexts and the changing references, these images were opened to a great variety of interpretations.

[71] Eco 1989, p. 3.
[72] Cf. Bertram 2018a.

In order to ascertain how far Rubens was or could have been involved, the collected correspondences of Balthasar Moretus and Peter Paul Rubens have been invaluable, especially the parts already compiled by Held, and by Judson and Van de Velde in the 1970s. A methodological problem with an analysis of these compilations is that most of the letters were published in edited form. In the publications mentioned above, they were also truncated and only the parts directly concerned with the title pages published.[73] Letter writing, however, was considered an art form at this time, and followed social and rhetorical conventions.[74] From the published snippets it is very hard to see the larger context of the letter. It is not explained how a letter was preserved, whether it was a handwritten draft, a copy, or the actual letter; whether there was a larger issue within which the publication of the relevant book was just a part; nor is it explained how the relevant content was included in the larger letter, whether it had a prominent place, was part of an elaborate argument or just an aside.[75] Most of these questions could not be answered conclusively due to the restrictions a doctoral thesis poses in terms of time, money and space. An attempt to contextualise the snippets of letters was abandoned, as this was not the main issue, but was to serve as a basis in order to better understand the title pages. What could be done, however, was a contextualisation of the title pages into the general production process in Rubens's workshop, for which the work of Patricia Schmiedlechner has been invaluable.[76] Recent publications in book history, such as Stijn van Rossem's analysis of the publishing strategies of the family Verdussen, were also very useful for contextualising the letters.[77]

The structure of the following does not follow the inductive process of the research, but tries to present the results by moving from the general to the specific, in order to provide the reader with the background knowledge to place the case studies in their historical context. The second chapter

73 The copious number of letters by Peter Paul Rubens and his correspondents have been edited by various scholars in the past centuries and also translated by various scholars, first by Max Rooses, cf. Ruelens and Rooses 1972a and the following volumes. Van de Velde 2006; Magurn 1971; P. P. Rubens 1955; Zoff 1918. In order to make clear whose translation I have followed, the letters are always quoted with the work of the relevant editor, even if the same letter might be found in other works, too. Very rarely have I found a different, in my eyes more accurate, translations. On such occasions I will indicate this. If I find it necessary for the reader to engage with the original, I have included the Latin version. All other languages have also been translated or rephrased in order to increase readability.

74 A minor consolation is that the letters between Moretus and his authors were not written to be published; all of the letters mentioned meant business and were not intellectual mini treatises written to be published in a carefully selected edition of an author's work. Nevertheless, the letters also only provided the opinion of a single person and it cannot be taken as proof that something was a common occurrence from one utterance in one single letter. Thus, all the letters can do is to point into a direction and show options until more archival material is unearthed that either corroborates or qualifies the suggestions made here.

75 De Landtsheer 2011.

76 For studies on early modern workshops cf. Nakamura 2013; Schmiedlechner 2012; Van Hout et al. 2012; Büttner 2008a; Vlieghe 2000; for the Rubens workshop in particular cf. Schmiedlechner 2012, as well as Patricia Schmiedlechner's forthcoming doctoral thesis on Rubens's workshop practices.

77 Van Rossem 2014a.

first describes the general context of the title pages, beginning with an introduction to the development of the early modern illustrated title page, the production processes of title pages as exemplified by the collaboration of Balthasar Moretus and Peter Paul Rubens, before placing Rubens's interest in books in its social context. In the third chapter explains the corpus of the title pages designed by Rubens, and how the various title pages were sorted into the book classes established by the inventory drawn on Albert Rubens's death. In the fourth chapter those case studies are presented that fall into the category of Rubens's interest as an antiquarian. In the fifth chapter those case studies are dealt with that show Rubens emerge as a humanist scholar in his designs for Jesuit scholars. The sixth chapter covers projects in which Rubens had a political rather than scholarly interest and emerges as a Catholic patriot.

2 The Wider Context of the Title Page: Development, Production and Social Relevance

For the interpretation of title pages a deeper understanding of the history of the medium is necessary. Understanding the medium's historicity explains certain idiosyncrasies and prevents misconstructions and misunderstandings about technical necessities: problems arise if these necessities are understood as stylistic choices while being mainly tied to the production process. The history of the illustrated title page and other book illustration is closely linked to bigger changes in book production and does not only depend on aesthetic or stylistic decisions. This chapter traces the general development of a title page, before looking at the production of title pages in Rubens's case. This means an introduction to the workshops of Balthasar I Moretus and the Galles as far as is possible, and Rubens involvement with them. The last part of the chapter concerns the influence that books had on early modern society, in order to provide the context for the books for which Rubens designed and their readers.

2.1 The Development of the Early Modern Illustrated Title Page

Rubens only illustrated title pages, i.e. the first page of a book that indicates what the book is about, by whom it was written und who printed it. The historical development of the title page needs to be sketched quickly in order to define the terminology used in this dissertation. For calling the illustrated first page a "title page" is historically incorrect. From the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, "frontispiece" was commonly used as an umbrella term for either an image facing the title page or an illustrated title page itself, while "title page" was commonly not yet used as a term.[1]

[1] Steinberg 1996, p. 13. This usage is particularly evident in the letters from the publisher Balthasar Moretus to his authors or to the engraver Cornelis Galle. Cf. section 2.2.

"Frontispiece" is often used in the same sense today, but it is necessary to differentiate between these two terms as a "title page" fulfils different functions than a "frontispiece". A frontispiece, in the sense I use it here, only carries the short title, if it carries a title at all, and no other information, and it is placed opposite the title page on the verso. In contrast to the frontispiece, the title page shows the title of the book and usually the author, the publisher or printer and the year of the publication.[2] Sometimes further information deemed necessary is put on the title page, such as the religious order of the author or information about the edition. The title page is the beginning of a work and it is usually found on the recto. The only other page before the title page might be a bastard title on the recto before the actual title page, and the recto following it would be the beginning of the text, often a letter to the reader or the dedication.[3]

The title page as a distinct paratextual phenomenon developed with the change from copying manuscripts to book printing in the fifteenth century.[4] In medieval manuscript production the title page was non-existent: generally, manuscripts started with the incipit. The incipit is not a title page but constitutes the straightforward beginning of the text on the first page, although more luxurious manuscripts could form an exception to that rule.[5] The information later provided on the printed books' title pages was usually contained in the colophon of a manuscript, i.e. at the end of the book. There the scribe mentioned his name and/or the date when he finished copying the manuscript, as well as a short note about the content of the written text.[6] As Margaret Smith convincingly argues, the appearance of the title page in the last quarter of the fifteenth century is closely linked with the production processes involved, specifically through the mass production of books. In her study, Smith looks at the treatment of the first pages in a book in a fifteen percent sample of the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* and distinguishes between four ways of treatment:

2 In her study of the very early title pages of the incunabula period, Ursula Rautenberg defines the title page as a separate leaf at the beginning of the book which contains information about the work and the author. By the seventeenth century, however, a title page was already expected to also showcase the publisher, place and year of printing. Rautenberg 2016, p. 166.

3 De Vinne differentiates between the half title and the bastard title. The half title follows the title and was once put over each chapter of the book. De Vinne 1904, p. 130, fn. 1.

4 In his structuralist study of books literary theorist Gérard Genette coined the term "paratext" that was used to subsume all devices and conventions that mediate the book to its reader. Genette explicitly states that he is not concerned with the evolution of forms—the history of paratextuality—the vocabulary and the categories of his study are often indiscriminately taken to describe any historical form of "paratextual" matter, be it part of the epi- or the peritext. Several issues arise when the early modern book is taken into account: One is the focus on the author and the insistence on the power of the author to determine paratextual matter; another is the focus of the text as a carrier of meaning thus confusing the various media in operation in illustrated books. Genette 1997. Cf. also Lang 2012, p. 73 for a critique on Genette.

5 One example are the sumptuous humanistic manuscripts associated with the Florentine manuscript entrepreneur Vespasiano da Bisticci. The title pages of these were, however, very often located on a verso. M. M. Smith 2000, pp. 32–33.

6 Frese sees the classical tradition as well as a Christian *humilitas* responsible for this kind of bibliographical identification: Frese 1989, p. 10.

incipit and text; blank page or leaf; title; other means of beginning a book.[7] When books started to be printed instead of copied, the practice of the incipit and the colophon was continued at first, but within decades several distinct beginnings of a book began to appear.

The incipit and colophon still featured widely among the various solutions for beginning a book in the mid-fifteenth century, although the practice decreased towards the end of this century. At the same time, blank pages were introduced at the beginning of a book; their use peaked in 1484, after which these blanks became less common.[8] For Smith, the insertion of blank pages was an early response to mass production: in order to separate single copies which were produced simultaneously, a blank page was inserted—a problem that the single scribe, producing only one copy at a time, had not had. In this new production process, the blank page separated one copy from the other, while at the same time protecting the copies between the printing process and the binding of the book, which was usually done after buying.[9] To identify the stacks of paper, short labels were soon put on the blank pages to identify the books, thus answering a need raised by the new production process in which many copies, and potentially even several titles, were produced at the same time.[10]

More and more information crept onto these originally blank pages, not only typographical information but also decoration, either by a decorative layout of the page, or by woodcuts. As Smith was not able to identify a preferred method of decorating early title pages, it seems that the early printers in the fifteenth century experimented with various means to promote their books and themselves: the design of the title page could include colours, borders, printer's marks and woodcut illustrations.[11] In the last decade of the fifteenth century, the incipit, the blank page, or a separate title page, were equally often used to introduce books, but title pages were on the rise.[12] A different, sociological take on the development of the title page is offered by Sigfrid Steinberg, in that for him the title page was necessitated by the separation of the two professions of printer and publisher, previously one and the same.[13] Certainly the decoration on the title page could be the result of the establishment of publishing companies, but the technical argument provided by Margaret Smith is very compelling and explains the title page's existence. However, the history of the title page is strongly connected to the history of printing, and in the sixteenth century a book was expected to be introduced by a title page, although its decorative elements could vary. The

7 M. M. Smith 2000, ch. 3.
8 Ibid., ch. 3. Ursula Rautenberg affirms these findings in: Rautenberg 2008 and Rautenberg 2016, p. 166ff. Although the process was similar both north and south of the Alps, it took place ten years later in Venice, in the 1490s. Ibid., p. 166.
9 M. M. Smith 2000, p. 17.
10 Ibid., p. 16.
11 Ibid., p. 22.
12 Ibid., p. 51.
13 Steinberg 1996, p. 61.

title pages which are of interest to this study are engraved on copper plates, with the letters also engraved. But the design of a title page can also be decorated by the means of typography with colours and fonts, or can have other decorative elements like borders.

Although Rubens's title pages were later often used as frontispieces, he never designed a frontispiece in the sense of the term as I use it here, i.e. as a separate image opposite the title and without all the necessary information.[14] Rubens's later title pages for religious matters often looked like frontispieces, as the title succinctly played a lesser role in the image. Nevertheless, even these title pages still retained all the necessary information, as defined above, in a title page. At most Rubens's religious title pages can be seen as a step in the development to the fashionable frontispieces of the late seventeenth century.

Functions of Title Pages

The many functions of the title page influenced its appearance: they could be economical, informational, thus could have to do with protection of the text block or the advertising of the work, or they could be of a social nature.[15] While all functions can be present, the emphasis can shift to specific functions. A title page that mainly prevented the text block from becoming smudged during the printing does look different than one made to please an important patron or potential buyers, one that connected the book with the patron and appealed to him specifically, either in text or in image. If the title page was an advertisement it would need to include clear references to the genre of the book, the author, the printer or the city which it was to advertise.[16] For Dekoninck the appealing function of a title page is its principal function, acting like a shop window and offering a sample of the contents of the book.[17] In the same way, the title page could act as a summary of the book enforcing the summary usually provided by the lengthy titles.[18] Additionally, the illustrated title page offered the buyer the possibility to assess a title immediately through an imagery that clearly indicated the genre of the book. The illustration could address the reader also explicitly and even act in terms of the "Letter to the Reader" which an early modern book invariably had. All these functions of the title page influenced its appearance.

Another great influence on the appearance and functions of a title page was its size, which often depended on the format of the book. The format influenced the use of the book and the kind

14 The term frontispiece is used differently in the various languages: in German the engraved title page is sometimes called "Frontispiz" and sometimes "Titelkupfer", cf. Frese 1989. In Italian "frontespizo" is used for title pages, while the frontispiece is the "antiporta". Elmqvist Söderlund 2010, p. 8. Even today "frontispiece" can be used as an umbrella term meaning both.

15 M. M. Smith 2000; Febvre et al. 1998; Kintzinger 1995; Frese 1989; Samek Ludovici 1974; Goldschmidt 1966.

16 Cf. Frese 1989, for printing vedute on title pages.

17 Dekoninck 2011, p. 72.

18 Titles not only summed up the book's content, but also indicated its usefulness for a specific audience, field of knowledge or market sector. Cf. Cormack et al. 2005, p. 49; Frese 1989; Donat 1966.

of title page that should be considered for it. Small octavo formats did not often have engraved title pages, they were conceived to be convenient and functional, but not necessarily carriers of an elevated status.[19] The information on the small title pages was concise and limited, and often only accompanied by the printer's device. This device was of some importance, be it for Aldus or for other printers, as it acted as a brand and was a guarantee of authenticity.[20]

Book illustrations will not be dealt with if not necessary for the discussion of a specific title page, as they fulfil different functions than title pages. Illustrations engage directly with the text: due to their positioning within the text block they can, for instance, add something to the text to make it more comprehensive, or visually emphasise a specific part of it. Their functions depend to a greater measure on the genre of the book; illustrations in botanical works were expected to be different than, for instance, those in religious texts. And finally, book publishers seem to have differentiated between illustrations and title pages in illustrating techniques and material.[21]

The Early Illustrated Title Page: Woodcut Solutions

In the sixteenth century, three basic means were possible to consider for the publisher to illustrate a title page: handmade illumination, relief printing (xylography or woodcut), or intaglio printing (copperplate engraving or etching). Of these, illumination continued for some time in the incunabula period, but slowly abated. Left was the colouring-in of the printed illustrations in order to get a particularly beautiful copy, although colouring on paper was a difficult undertaking.[22] However, this way of decorating a book was time-consuming, expensive, and only decorated one very special book for an important patron rather than the whole edition. For the decoration of a whole edition, using woodcut was certainly the cheapest and easiest option: wood was a relatively cheap and readily available material; many imprints were possible until the wood was worn down; and the process of printing was faster and easier than the process of drawing or the intaglio printing techniques, because a woodcut could be printed together with the type.

Frames made of single printing blocks are among the first woodcut decorations used for title pages. These were not made for a specific book, but were stock material and could be set together from single elements in order to accommodate different book sizes. They probably developed from decorative vignettes or lines put together by the printer and were enlarged and decorated more sumptuously over time. The woodcut frames made the books more appealing even if they

19 However, the small format series of Aldus Manutius was not the precursor of the cheap pocket book editions of the twentieth century, it was intended for "busy men of affairs", and "the secular intellectuals of Renaissance Europe". Lowry 1979, pp. 142–143.

20 Rautenberg 2016, p. 171; cf. Wolkenhauer 2002a,b.

21 Frese, however, observed that illustrated title pages can in a limited way be considered book illustrations: Frese 1989, p. 1.

22 In contrast to parchment, the paper did not take the colour well. Cf. Rudy 2015, p. 83; also Oltrogge 2009.

Figure 1 – Title page for Sir Philip Sidney, *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia*, London: Ponsonbie 1593.

were used in several books; repeated use points towards successful ornamentation. Because of this repeated use, they could also serve as a corporate design for the printer.[23]

Xylographic decoration like frames were possibly the cheapest form of decoration, especially if one considers that they could be used for several publications, would print thousands of copies, and could be set and printed at the same time as the type. The latter part also ensured that the title page design could be controlled within the company by the typesetter and no additional costs for printing would be needed.

Decorative frames became more elaborate in the course of the sixteenth century: floral ornaments were replaced by architectural elements combined with symbols and personifications in the frames that predominated the written elements. Architectural frames on title pages had been used to structure the space into meaningful parts since the sixteenth century. Although it used the architectural language known from existing buildings, from memorials in churches, altars, classical and contemporary, and from triumphal arches, it was an imaginary architecture that offered the means to communicate through its classical decoration, the architectural order, the medallions and cartouches, and the personifications that lived in and around the architectural frame. In the sixteenth century, the title itself was mostly displayed in the centre of this architecture.

[23] Frese 1989, p. 11.

But other solutions existed, too. In the title page for the 1593 edition of *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* by Sir Philip Sidney, first published in 1590, an elaborate frame with a woodcut border was used for its title page (Fig. 1). This border consists of scrollwork and grotesques, animals, two of the protagonists depicted on the sides, while an emblem in a separate scrollwork frame is shown below. The various elements have structurally no logical or tectonic connection but float around the title set in Antiqua, all typical of the ornamental grotesque.[24] However, even this seemingly random border shows many allusions to the content, the author, and the reader: the two figures on the pedestal allude to the content of the book, the cartouche above, showing a porcupine, is part of Sidney's personal imprese, the bear and the lion next to the cartouche attest to the royal status of Sidney and also allude to the content, while the flanking putti trumpet out his fame, and the emblem on the lower part of the page is addressed at the reader and warns him of being overly critical.[25] The many allusions of the title page cannot be grasped instantly, which makes the reader ponder its imagery more closely. This framing, however, clearly had more functions than only embellishing or even advertising the book. Sidney's work simultaneously offered the reader a way to categorise the book into its genre, while simultaneously advertising the author and not least also the publisher who had produced the book. The author was increasingly advertised in the later title pages for the *Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* by the inclusion of the author's portrait.[26] The extent of the frame had no limit except the page itself, and in order to structure the page, the border changed into an architectural frame such as was used by Rubens occasionally.

Separately printed xylographic title pages, i.e. those made from one piece of woodblock, were sporadically used throughout Europe in the late fifteenth century, and can be seen as a precursor to the copperplate title pages that developed one century later. Xylographic title pages had several advantages: it was possible to design the title page as a whole, which gave the designer complete freedom of where to place the title or images; they also had the advantage that large fonts could be cut, as not every printer had fonts larger than 200mm, and types above 300mm in size are only recorded in rare cases.[27] A great disadvantage was, however, that these title pages could hardly be re-used if their design was too specific, which raised the cost of a single book considerably. These same problems and advantages, practical as well as aesthetic, that applied to xylographic title pages should be considered for copperplate title pages, which fully developed during the late sixteenth century.

24 Breyl 2006, p. 15.

25 For an interpretation of this title page, cf. Ibid., p. 16; Corbett/Lightbown, Frontispiece, p. 58–65; Jean Robertson, *Introduction* in: Jean Robertson (Ed.), *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, Oxford 1973, pp. xlviii–li.

26 Cf. ibid., ch. 1.

27 M. M. Smith 2000, p. 118.

Engraved Early Modern Title Pages

The various techniques of intaglio printing had been known since the 1430s and the basic tools and processes of printing have not profoundly changed in the past six centuries.[28] The techniques were either engraving or etching, each specifying the way in which lines were incised into a copper plate. Changes in the processes were usually made in order to be more efficient or because of artistic developments.[29] Almost as soon as new techniques were developed, however, these also found their way into book illustration.[30] Some decisions of the agents in this study cannot be understood without taking the printing processes into account, and a comparison with the options available to these individuals is a good way to see why a specific choice might have been made.

Technical problems with printing intaglio prints together with types held back the development of the intaglio title page, although the first attempts to print letterpress text and engravings together were made in the end of the fifteenth century.[31] By the end of the sixteenth century this was common, however, and the title pages designed by Rubens were usually engraved by the workshop Galle. Not much is known about the family of printers Galle and their workshop practices, but a sketchy image will become visible in the course of these first chapters. However, a look into the engraving technique and the printing process is helpful to understand some of the more intricate problems the publisher faced when decorating his books with engraved title pages.[32]

The Galle workshop was the most renowned in the southern Netherlands during the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries.[33] It was established by Philips Galle, an engraver born, schooled and apprenticed in Haarlem. Between 1557 and 1563 he worked in the service of the publishers Hieronymus Cock and Frans Hogenberg through whom he also came into contact with Abraham Ortelius. From 1563, he established his own workshop in Haarlem, before marrying and moving to Antwerp in 1570. His sons Theodore (1571–1633) and Cornelis (1576–1650) were apprenticed in their father's print shop, as were their brothers-in-law, Adriaen Collaert and Karel de Mallery. In 1598 Theodore married Catherine, daughter of Jan Moretus I, strengthening the business relationship between the two workshops.[34] From 1600 Theodore was in charge of the family workshop and from then on most title pages ordered by Moretus were engraved and printed

28 Febvre et al. 1998, pp. 85–86; Stijnman 2012, p. 24.

29 Cf. ibid., p. 2. Although Stijnman speaks of intaglio printing here, the same is true for xylography.

30 Stijnman 2009.

31 Ibid., p. 44.

32 The Galles' workshop processes cannot be reconstructed in as much detail as the processes in the Officina Plantiniana, so that a general overview about the printing techniques has to suffice. As much of the technique remained the same this might give enough insight for the moment, but more information and an in-depth study about this printing house is needed.

33 Philips Galle was mentioned in Guiccardini's *Descrittione di tutti di paesi bassi* of 1567 and Vasari's *Vite* in 1568 . Sellink 2001, p. xxxiii.

34 Gaehgtens 1977. Wijngaert 1940, pp. 291–297.

by the Galle workshop.[35] While little is known about the engravers, almost nothing is known about the printers.[36] From 1558 the printing trade and its related crafts were incorporated into Antwerp's guild of St Luke.[37] That means that both printers and engravers followed the same guild regulations as painters, with apprenticeships of approximately three to four years in Antwerp, a limitation of apprentices, and a general preference for family members in the training of apprentices.[38]

In engraving, the process of inking and printing is fundamentally different from relief printing. The technique itself was developed in the fifteenth century in the Upper Rhine area of what is now Germany, and had become fully professional by 1525.[39] Although many metals can be used for the process, copper is still the primary material, as it is dense, homogenous and tough, while not too hard to engrave, and it will not wear visibly in the first hundred prints.[40] A wood block can be inked and printed together with the types as the ink is transferred onto the raised lines with a dabber and then simply pressed onto the paper. With a copper plate, the ink is rubbed into the lines and the impression is made with higher pressure onto paper which is slightly damp so that it can take up the ink from within the lines.[41] This process needs a roller press. If the title was set in type and included an intaglio print, the printer thus had to use two different presses for one and the same page: a roller press for the intaglio print and a block press for the type. A few examples exist in which copper-print borders were placed around typeset words, but these were mostly early experiments. Not only did this double the work that was needed to print these title pages, but the strong print of the text did not harmonise with the thin lines of intaglio printing. [42]

The easiest way, when working with intaglio prints, is to include the letters in the engraving, for which there were specialised engravers.[43] These specialists engraved the text with a burin or used punches, as in geographical maps. The punches were lightly hammered into the plate and the excess metal then scraped off.[44] In the Galle workshop this was a job for the apprentices or the older engravers with dwindling eyesight.[45]

35 Imhof 2014, p. xxxiii.
36 Stijnman 2012, p. 76.
37 Ibid., p. 83; Van der Stock 1998, pp. 378–384.
38 Stijnman 2012, p. 83; Büttner 2010; Prak 2006.
39 Stijnman 2012., ch. 1, esp. p. 24.
40 Ibid., pp. 25–26.
41 Ibid., pp. 33–34.
42 How they were printed is "one of the unanswered questions in the history of illustrated books". Ibid., p. 366. However, placing text around an illustration is more difficult than leaving space for images. Moretus, for instance, told his printer to leave space for the vignette of Cordier's *Catena in Ioannem* when printing the title page: 'The space for the image is still vacant, be it that John the Evangelist is chosen or the name of Jésus or the King's coat-of-arms". Letter from Moretus to Cordier, 22 Feb 1630; in Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 383.
43 Thus again adding to the costs of the title page, but probably cheaper than printing the same paper twice.
44 Stijnman 2012, p. 173.
45 Ibid., p. 243, fn. 390.

Rubens's designs were mostly engraved and not etched, as he only designed title pages.[46] Etching, while used in book illustration, was not commonly used for title pages although it was a cheaper and easier way to incise the plate, and it needed professionals who were not as specialised as those for engraving. It is possible that engravings were preferred for title pages, as etchings would lose their clarity very early when large quantities were printed, the lines becoming brittle and faint. A second reason is that engraved lines were more decisive and generally stronger, and not only conveyed a clearer image but were seen as superior. Balthasar Moretus, in a letter to Hermann Hugo concerning the engraving of the title page for *Obsidio Bredana*, clearly distinguishes between the qualities of engraving and etching and their different uses.

> I am glad that there are such excellent engravers to be found there; but I wait to see whether the facts correspond with the words. But where did they hide when the Funeral Ceremonies of the most Serene Prince, of eternal memory, had to be engraved? This was certainly a work for engravers, not for etchers. But the former, at least, is customary for the faces, the latter for the rest of the figures, so that not even the title of the work, except for the portrait and the décorations of the Prince, prefers the majesty of the engraver's burin. Walls fortifications and ditches (allowing for the better judgment of Your Reverence and other people) receive some kind of proper rendering also from etching. But in any case I would like the title after Rubens's design to be engraved by Cornelis Galle, who is here at present.[47]

Moretus distinguishes clearly between the two techniques: while illustrations could be etched, Moretus's title pages had to be engraved, because he perceived this to be more majestic. An "additional order of association and subdivision among print media at play" is suggested by Bowen and Imhof in their study of Plantin's use of etchers in his final years.[48] For technical reasons and reasons of *decorum* etching was thus used for often large quantities of illustrations and not title pages.[49]

However, abrasion was a general problem in printing that resulted from the application of abrasive ink and the repeated high pressure used. The roller press used for copper engravings executed an even higher pressure on the softer copper than a regular printing press. The main problem, however, was the wiping with ink. If very coarse lamp black was used, a reworking of the

46 Nils Büttner identified two exceptions: De Bie 1615 and Augustín et al. 1617 have both etched title pages.

47 "Gaudeo tam diligentes isthic reperiri caelatores; tantum, vt facta dictis respondeant, exspecto. At vbi delituêre, dum Ser[eremissi]mi et aeternae mem. Principis Pompa funebris caelanda erat? Quae certè caelum in primis, non aquam requirebat; sed vultibus illud dumtaxat adhibitum, reliquis figuris isthaec, adeo vt nec ipse Operis titulus, praeterquam in Principis imagine et insgnibus, caeli maiestatum praeferat. Aggeres, castella, et fossae (saluo meliori R.V. et aliorum isthic iudicio) nescio quid decorum etiam ab aquâ trahunt. At vero Titulum, vt Rubenius delinearit, à Corn. Galleo, qui isthic adest, omnino caelatum velim". Letter from Balthasar Moretus to Hermann Hugo, 07 Jan 1626; in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, pp. 403–404.

48 Bowen and Imhof 2008, p. 200.

49 Ibid., p. 200.

plates was soon necessary because of the pigments' sharper elementary structure.[50] It is still contested how often a reworking was necessary in the course of printing. An edition pulled from one copper plate without reworking, could amount to between 1,000 and 3,000 prints. Several techniques were developed to cope with and reduce the differences between the impressions, such as printing the first impressions with a grey ink and moving towards a blacker ink at the end of the edition.[51] The inks are important, as a good line tone is required for a good print, without adding too much plate tone. The coarseness of the pigment is of importance to get an ink that is not be too sticky, but wipe well, so as not to leave too much tone on the plate. The Frankfurt Black made from burnt lees of wine is ideal and was primarily used by printers from the mid-seventeenth until the twentieth century.[52] All in all, less coarse pigments could minimise abrasion of the plates, thus reducing a frequent need for recutting.

For the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the documents show that the plate usually had to be reworked after 1,000 copies, so that another 1,000 could be pulled from it.[53] This depended on how well the plate was engraved in the first place and how deep the lines were; a good engraver could pull up to 1,500 good impressions from the same plate, the next 1,500 would lose in quality and the next thousand would look "grey, drab and weak".[54] Plantin explained in the calculations for a large order of liturgical works from the Spanish court in 1574 that the problem was not only the reduced output of one plate, but also finding competent and reliable engravers:

> In addition, one must consider that the plates for such illustrations [engravings] can give no more than one thousand copies of the illustration before the plate is worn, with the result that one must begin again to have another plate cut, which is very expensive for us and causes innumerable problems to find and keep engravers who are often depraved, pernickety, difficult and do not keep their promises.[55]

It seems that Plantin had problems throughout the 1580s to find engravers that he found reliable, willing to take on projects, and whose work was reasonably priced.[56] During Plantin's time, the Galle workshop was not willing to take on extensive projects for the book publisher. For Bowen and Imhof this problem of obtaining the necessary workforce could have been one of the main reasons why the majority of illustrations in Plantin's editions after 1585 were etchings rather than engrav-

50 Stijnman and Savage 2015; Stijnman 2013.
51 Stijnman 2009, p. 337.
52 Stijnman 2012, pp. 272–274. Before this pigment from the Rhine area conquered the printing world, pigments made from burnt vegetable matter or bone black were used, sometimes using even the coarser types of lampblack.
53 Bowen and Imhof 2008, esp ch. 5; Bowen and Imhof 2005.
54 Cf. Stijnman 2009, p. 333; esp. table 6 for an overview of impressions taken from various materials.
55 Bowen and Imhof 2008, p. 177.
56 Ibid., p. 178.

ings.[57] With the marriage of Theodore Galle and Jan Moretus's daughter Catherine this changed, especially when Theodore took over the printing workshop from his father.

The Traditional Structure of the Title Page

The engraved title pages contained much more visual information than the first simple borders or vignettes. Very often they were structured by some form of architecture, which has been likened to Roman funerary architecture or celebratory arches, because the early modern term "frontispiece" was taken from architecture.[58] For Antoine Furetière in his *Dictionnaire universel* the frontispiece is not only "the face and the principal entry into a grand building", but also "the first page or the engraved title in an image that represents the frontispiece of a building".[59] Among the first Plantinian title pages are some that take this very literally, acting indeed as the "seuil", the threshold into the world of the book.[60]

However, the use of architecture was conventionalised very early on, and by the time Rubens started designing title pages, the majority of title pages were conceived in the typical three-zone architectural frame. The architecture structured the title page visually, usually into three registers, a lower part in the pedestal zone, a middle part incorporating the title, and a pediment. These zones could also be structured further by the use of architectural structures or the use of cartouches and medallions. Thus up to 8 scenes or personifications could be incorporated, hierarchically structured in one page, and still remain legible. Very often these three zones carried different basic attributions: while the lower zone of the pedestal could often be attributed to the earthly, the pediment was used to depict the divine.[61] The middle part was often used to show the intermediaries between the heavenly and the earthly matters, showing saints, apostles or personifications of virtues and vices.[62] This type of structure does not hold for all title pages, but it is generally the way in which books, especially in folio, were introduced.

The title, which in these architecturally conceived images cut the title page vertically, often provided the means to show antithetical positions.[63] In the course of the seventeenth century the architectural form increasingly disappeared from the title pages and the reader was presented with whole scenes unfolding around a smaller title that was moved from the centre.[64] Whether

57 Bowen and Imhof 2008, p. 178.
58 Dekoninck 2011, p. 72.
59 A. Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, Vol. II, La Haye 1690, p. 918; in: Dekoninck 2010, p. 15.
60 Dekoninck 2011, p. 74.
61 Cf. Frese 1989, p. 159.
62 Cf. ibid., p. 159.
63 The flanking, antithetical figures should not be interpreted as pictorial polemic (Bildpolemik), but follow a dialectical principle that can be traced from antiquity through medieval philosophy to Renaissance humanism. Frese 1989, p. 160.
64 Dekoninck 2010, p. 27.

Figure 2 – Title page for *Biblia Sacra* 1617; engraving, 395 × 250 mm, by Jan Collaert II. Rijksmuseum, RP-P-BI-6098. © Rijksmuseum

Rubens was one of the main causes for this development has to remain unanswered, but it was a development that can be seen particularly in his work. Especially the religious title pages attributed to him, that were designed in the last two decades of his life, show a pronounced tendency to present a scene with almost no architectural elements and only the short title inserted onto an object in the scene.[65] These title pages strongly resembled illustrations or history paintings rather than the traditional title pages. At the same time, many designers of title pages favoured the more conventional architectural type.[66]

Very early in his design career, Rubens opened the design, reverting to the architectural type only if the book made it necessary: if he wanted to emphasise the "idea of antiquity, stability and durability; in short nobility and solemnity".[67] The books for which Rubens chose the architectural title page suggest that he used this type of title page in order to express or emphasise a sense of reverence. In his early years as a designer, he used this type for Aguilonius's books on optics in which, for instance, *Optica* is particularly praised, the Breviary, van Steen's Commentary, the Bible (Fig. 2 on page 31), Torniello's *Annales Sacri* (Fig. 63 on page 236), while in later years he used it in de Morgue's *Defense of la Royne Mere*.[68] However, although Rubens loses the architecture in later title pages, and only keeps the pedestal, the traditional underlying structure is still visible in many of his designs, and especially in those cases in which he wants to elevate a figure, a personification or the king.[69]

2.2 The Production of a Title Page

The collaboration of Rubens and Moretus offers a unique possibility to study the production process of title pages: for no other artist or publisher have so many records been preserved. The reason for this is the immaculate preservation of the archives of the Officina Plantiniana over the centuries. Both Rubens and Moretus corresponded with many well-known scholars of their time, so that many letters can be found in published collections of letters, not least in the collections of Rubens's letters.[70] It is entirely possible that the production process was different for other artists or publishers, as Rubens had privileges that a lesser-known artist might not have enjoyed: he was not only a member of the elite in Antwerp and a famous artist, he was also the court artist of the

65 Blois 1632, Boonaerts 1634, Areopagita 1634.

66 Many of the title pages wrongly attributed to Rubens at the beginning of the twentieth century often used this traditional architectural type. The style is convincingly Rubenesque, but the architecture is used indiscriminately.

67 Dekoninck 2011, p. 72.

68 Aguilonius 1613, *Breviarium Romanum* 1614, Steen 1616, *Biblia Sacra* 1617, Tornielli 1620, Morgues 1637.

69 Rios y Alarcón 1641, Goltzius 1645a.

70 Cf. Ruelens and Rooses 1972a and the following five volumes; Magurn 1971; Ottenheym 1997; Van de Velde 2006; Miller 2014.

Archdukes Albert and Isabella.[71] It is also unclear how representative the Galle workshop was in Rubens's time. It was considered one of the best engraving workshops in the region and with Moretus's tasks the workshop seems to have employed many engravers. Not every workshop in the region would have had these resources. Nevertheless, the collaboration between Moretus, Galle, and Rubens can at least exemplify how the production process and the social negotiations that had to be included often influenced the design of the title pages.

Rubens and the Officina Plantiniana

The beginning of Rubens's title page illustration coincided with his return from Italy to Antwerp in 1608 and continued until his death in May 1640. Antwerp was the perfect environment for Rubens and for title pages, as the city provided him with many important social contacts; in this printing town he rubbed shoulders with other artists, scholars and humanists, printers and publishers, but also with the ruling elite to which he belonged.[72] Social networks were highly significant for artists, although they were anything but formalised and relied on trust, family ties and friendship.[73] Although networks in artistic circles were carefully shaped and tended through marriages and godparenthoods, an artist's network extended beyond his profession.[74] The extent of Rubens's network in Antwerp is visible, for instance, through the dedications on prints he issued, and it will also become apparent in the course of this study.[75] Books played an important role in Rubens's networks: while they were a common denominator with many of his friends and patrons, they can today serve as indicators for connections beyond the artistic networks. There was, for example, Nicolaas Rockox, one of his first and most important patrons in Antwerp, whom Rubens called his "vriendt ende patroon",[76] and who introduced Rubens to the numismatic and humanistic circle of coin collectors, vendors, and experts.[77] Balthasar I Moretus (Balthasar Moerentorf, 1574–1641) also belonged to this circle of enthusiasts. The renewed acquaintance with this old school friend of his was essential for Rubens's involvement with book design: of the 47 books with title pages by Rubens, 29 (62%) were published by Moretus and another one was commissioned via Moretus by a different publisher.[78]

71 Büttner 2006a,b.
72 Cf. Büttner 2006b, pp 23–24.
73 Timmermans 2006, p. 357; Timmermans 2008.
74 Cf. Brosens et al. 2012, passim; cf. also the Social Network Analysis endeavours by Koen Brosens and his team.
75 Cf. Büttner 2006b, pp. 31.
76 Timmermans 2008, p. 240; Baudouin 1984, pp. 18, 21, 24.
77 For a more detailed sketch of the humanists active in Antwerp in Rubens's time, cf. Sabbe 1927. For patrons in Rubens's Antwerp and the role of the magistrate for an artist cf. Timmermans 2008, esp. pp. 250–254. For more on Rockox cf. Huet et al. 2010.
78 *Gelresche Rechten des Rvremvndtschen Qvartiers* 1620.

Balthasar Moretus was employed in his father's printing and publishing house, the Officina Plantiniana, when Rubens returned from Italy in 1608. The world-famous enterprise carried its name after Balthasar's maternal grandfather of Balthasar, Christophe Plantin (Christoffel Plantijn, ca. 1520–1589), who had founded the Officina Plantiniana in 1555.[79] Originally a bookbinder, Plantin worked his way up to become one of the foremost printers in Europe. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Antwerp was one of the biggest cities and one of the great printing centres in Europe.[80] Within this environment, Plantin thrived: he expanded his premises and the number of printing presses on a regular basis. When Plantin died in 1589 he left his shop to his son-in-law Jan Moretus (Jan Moerentorf, 1543–1610), who had managed the shop from 1576 onwards and was entered by Plantin into the Guild of St Luke as a master printer in 1587.[81] Plantin's fame as a printer is mostly based on the great number of scholarly works and the quality of his printing, although the production of liturgical and religious material helped catapult the business forward. Under Jan Moretus this changed drastically and the works of scholarship took up a very small percentage of the overall book production while liturgical and devotional literature became the main part.[82] For all that, the Officina Plantiniana was still known for the quality of the print and its often lavishly illustrated typographical masterpieces.[83]

In 1610, when Jan I Moretus died, he bequeathed the press to his two sons Jan II Moretus (1576–1618) and Balthasar I Moretus. Both of them had been working in the Officina for years, Balthasar as proof reader and Jan as director and supervisor.[84] Balthasar was a scholarly person, a neo-Latin poet and humanist whose poems and panegyrics were rarely published, but who had contact to the intelligentsia of Europe.[85] He had studied with the famous philosopher, philologist and humanist Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) from 1592 to1594, just as Philip Rubens had. But Moretus also knew the younger Rubens. That they attended the same school may well have been the foundation of the more than 28 years of friendship and collaboration.[86]

Fortunately much archival material survives from the partnership of Moretus and Rubens. The archival material concerning the title pages has been largely collected by Julius Held, Richard J.

79 Voet 1969, p. 17.

80 In the second half of the sixteenth century, Antwerp was a printing centre for both books and prints, cf. Diels 2009, p. 7ff.; Sellink 2004.

81 Imhof 2014; Van de Velde 1997; Nave 1997; Schepper 1996; Judson and Van de Velde 1977a; Voet 1969, p. 154.

82 Materné 1991.

83 Voet 1969, p. 196.

84 Ibid., p. 208.

85 "In spite of all his modesty Balthasar thus enjoyed a certain celebrity in the world of scholarship—and even outside it. The reason which De la Serre, Maria de' Medici's biographer, gives for the visit of the exiled Queen of France to the Plantin press in 1531 during her stay in Antwerp, is very flattering to its master." Ibid., p. 206.

86 In a letter to Mathieu de Morgues Moretus mourned Rubens's recent death with the words, "Truly, our city has lost much by the death of Mr Rubens and I in particular one of my best friends." (My own translation.) "Vrayment nostre ville a beaucoup perdu par la mort de Mons[ieur] Rubens, et moy en particulier un de mes meilleurs amis." Rooses 1882, p. 219.

Judson and Carl van de Velde in two seminal publications published forty years ago.[87] Since then many new sources have appeared, but some of the main hypotheses have never been questioned. One comment by Balthasar Moretus in particular has often been read out of context in order to show that Rubens produced the designs for the title pages in his spare time, on Sundays. Often this assumption is the basis for studies on Rubens's work as a book designer, which then try to explain why Rubens would illustrate book covers at all. What is particularly emphasised by the inclusion of this information is that books and their title pages do not have the same value for the art historians writing the exhibition catalogues as Rubens's paintings had. For a long time, it was silently concluded that the illustration of books was a minor occupation by the great artist which he did out of a personal interest. The relevance which Rubens himself attached to books, and the relevance which books had in the social structure of his world, is in contrast to that assumption coupled with the depreciation of the word 'hobby' that lurks in the background of these present-day evaluations. A new look into the letters by Moretus is thus in order.[88]

No letters from Moretus to Rubens have survived. As both lived in the same city, they probably used other means of communication such as notes sent by runners, visits, meetings at church, and on other social occasions.[89] Thus the voice of Rubens only shines through the letters of Moretus to his authors in which he often professes to speak for the artist. Nevertheless, the letters by Moretus are almost invariably written in a very composed way, very polite and full of rhetorical commonplaces in order to deal with the wants of authors. A glimpse at a collection of letters composed by Moretus reveals the effort generally taken to find the right wording. Early modern letter writing followed rhetorical rules based on Latin letters and were often more than mere business letters or expressions of friendship.[90] The authors followed rhetorical conventions transmitted by several treatises on letter writing, and most, if not all, early modern letter writers knew of these from school, especially the learned such as Moretus.[91] He also seemed to know very well which authors would take a refusal badly, and which authors he could not afford to annoy, which made him invent very elaborate ways of declining a request. Rubens's endeavours as a designer of book illustrations have been misrepresented in the past because some of these elaborate negotiations with authors were taken at face value.

87 Held 1979, Judson and Van de Velde 1977a.

88 It certainly would have been better to obtain transcripts of the whole letters, not just the excerpts, in order to see what other topics and social relationships were negotiated within the same letters and what place the title pages took within these negotiations. However, this would have been too great a task to manage in the scope of this dissertation, and the plan has been reluctantly postponed for a future time.

89 This assumption was also made by Wolfgang Harms in his studies on title pages, based on the claim that engraving a title page would not simply be a sideline for the engraver and tied with enough expenses for both parties to be willing to communicate about it. Harms 1978, p. 335.

90 Knape 2006, Van Houdt 2002.

91 On the early modern letter as a historical source, cf. K. A. Enenkel 2011.

The letter that instigated the discussion of exactly when Rubens worked on title pages was written by Moretus to the Jesuit Balthasar Cordier (Corderius, 1592–1650), an important editor of patristic works whom it would have been unfortunate to affront. Cordier had apparently asked Moretus to print some theses written by a fellow Jesuit from Wrocław. Moretus first assures Cordier that he would print these texts, but he then mentions problems of finding someone to illustrate them, and, more specifically, adds the reasons why Rubens would not be available as an illustrator.

> I have received the theological theses, and I shall see that they are printed nicely and quickly. I wonder, however, how the illustrations will be got ready. Rubens refuses to design them, if the design cannot be postponed for three months. I usually warn him six months in advance, so that he can think about a title and work it out fully in his free time and during sacred days. For he spends no working days on such work, or he would have to charge 100 guilders for one drawing. So I shall have it designed by someone else.[92]

The theological work in question was probably *Andreae Guilielmi Dietelii Canonici Wratislaviensis Exercitatio Theologica pro Doctoratu*. What the letter shows at best, if taken literally, is that Rubens knew how to organise his workshop and how to prioritise—if this is indeed Rubens excusing himself. It is more likely, however, that Moretus decided that a title page for these theses were not worth Rubens's time and effort. He thus employed a very elaborate excuse for having to deny the author and his intermediary their title page by Rubens.

The price of 100 guilders Rubens allegedly had to charge, was presumably picked by Moretus to emphasise the impossibility of the endeavour and the futility of Cordier further imposing on them. The value should most probably be understood as a tactical exaggeration, or at least as an amount that expressed Rubens's economical station.[93] For it is very close to the report by Frans Sweerts in a letter from 1618, in which he writes that "this Rubens" earned a 100 guilders daily.[94] It might be possible that the 100 guilders was an adequate price for the design of a thesis illustration of grand format, if the object under discussion was a thesis illustration and not a title page. As Moretus explains that Rubens would need time to "think about the title", however, it seems unlikely that he means a thesis illustration here.

92 "Theses Theologicas accepi, quas eleganter et cito excusas curabo. At de imaginibus laboro qui absoluantur. Rubenius delineare eas recusat, nisi ad trimestre delineatio diferri possit. Et solet fere a me praemoneri six mensibus, ut titulum aliquem meditetur, et describat cum plenissimo otio, et diebus fere sacris: nam profanos operi tali haud impendit; aut centum florenos pro vnica delineatione exigeret. Itaque per alium delineari curabo." Letter from Moretus to Balthasar Cordier, 13 Sep 1630, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 385.

93 I am aware that it is very difficult to pinpoint the value of early modern prices, both over the span of a lifetime and in a complex market not only ruled by supply and demand, but also by moral pricing strategies, cf. Ammannati et al. 2017 for a discussion of prices and Büttner 2016 for a discussion of moral pricing methods used by Rubens.

94 Letter from Sweerts to Janus Gruterus, 18 Jul 1618: "Desen Rubbens windt dagelickx 100 guldens." in: Heinen 2002, p. 310; Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. Germ. 8, f° 210 r° and v°.

If it concerned a title page, then Rubens's usual prices applied. These were stable over all the decades in which he worked for Moretus and depended on the title page's size. While he usually charged 20 guilders for a folio, the price dropped accordingly to 15 guilders for a 4°, 12 guilders for an 8°, and 8 for a 24° format. These prices did not change, no matter how quickly Rubens drew his designs or how much time he had—irrespective of whether he did the design on Sundays or not. At the end of the 1630s, the prices for title page designs seem to have changed, but still remained consistent for each format: in June 1637 Erasmus Quellinus received 24 guilders for the drawing of *Diverses pieces pour la defense de la Royne mere du roy*,[95] in December of the same year, the same sum for the Goltzius,[96] and on 4 May 1638 Erasmus Quellinus again received 24 guilders for Ovid's *Fasti* and for the book by Mathieu de Morgues.[97] For all these folios he received four guilders each more than Rubens in the previous decades. I am not sure that the "improvement of [Rubens's] social status left […] the price of preparatory drawings" unaffected.[98] From the beginning of his career in Antwerp, Rubens had a higher social status than other artists. That Erasmus Quellinus received more money at the end of the 1630s could also be due to a social and moral pricing policy in which a more affluent master would charge less for his services.[99]

The letters mainly indicate that Moretus is deliberately exaggerating to keep unwanted commissioners at bay. What can be said with certainty is that it is difficult to read Moretus literally. The letter quoted above was written two weeks after Cordier had already asked Moretus for his view on the design for a thesis illustration, possibly for the same thesis. Apparently Cordier additionally wanted Rubens to correct a design he had sent. This wish, too, was rebuffed by Moretus with pretty much the same strategy: the emblem could only be engraved in a year, the engraving would cost 1600 florins, Rubens would not touch the work of others, and to make it himself, he would need more time and would be more expensive than both Cordier and his friend would wish for.[100] A thesis print would be needed for the defence of a doctoral thesis, and putting off the printing of it for several months or even a year could alone have dissuaded the client from pursuing this commission, not to mention the exorbitant costs.

Thesis prints had become a fashion among the doctoral candidates at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and were by this time very big and very intricate compositions. Even Balthasar's brother, Melchior Moretus (1573–1634), had his thesis printed by Jan Maes for his defence in Louvain

95 Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 489, no. 122.
96 Ibid., p. 489, no. 122.
97 Van de Velde 1997, p. 68.
98 Bouchery and van de Wyngaert, p. 32.
99 Cf. Schmiedlechner forthcoming.
100 Letters Moretus to Cordier from 23 August 1630 in Held 1977, p. 33; and from 13 September 1630 in Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 385; both in Rooses V, pp. 333 and 335–336.

in 1597.[101] At first only decorated with a coat of arms, the propositions of doctoral theses listed for the defence became more elaborate over time, later including figures and scenes, while the text became increasingly smaller and was pressed to the sides or the bottom of the broadsheet.[102] Thesis prints certainly made an impression in the defence of a doctoral thesis, as did the musical recitation,[103] to the chagrin of the professors who considered it a waste of time.[104]

Nevertheless, it is possible that Moretus's letter to Cordier was supposed to demonstrate that Rubens's work was of such a nature that it could be done on Sundays. This marked Rubens's production as intellectual art as opposed to manual work, following a rhetoric invented in the fifteenth century in order to ennoble artistic production in general.[105] This letter might also emphasise Rubens's desire to spend his free time on books, although he was such a busy man that he had to be warned a long time in advance. However, the often repeated concept of Rubens making these illustrations "in his leisure on feast days, enjoying the recreation, donating without charge works for which otherwise he would have claimed a hundred guilders for a single drawing" is a plain misinterpretation of this letter.[106] The elaborate answer by Moretus mainly shows how impossible it would be, particularly for Rubens, to design anything in the near future as he would need at least three months (usually six!) otherwise it would cost an incredible amount of money. The core message of this letter is the regretful refusal addressed to the valued customer Balthasar Cordier, and not information on the working habits of Rubens. As it is exceedingly hard to find a copy of the thesis in question, it cannot have been that important, and it is highly likely that Moretus decided that this work would not need his friend's illustrations to embellish it.

What is more, it is highly probable that Moretus decided he would not need to bother Rubens with this commission at all, so that the refusals might be Moretus's words entirely. Rubens never designed title pages for insignificant authors or for authors who were not also in some way part of his social or intellectual circle, as will be shown in the following chapters. There had to be a really good reason for Rubens to be considered for the design of a thesis or a thesis illustration.[107] The only thesis print that is attributed to Rubens through a proof print bearing the names of Rubens

101 Mûelenaere 2015, p. 290; Imhof 2014, p. xxix; A. de Mets, "Reliques de l'ancienne Université de Louvain au Musée Plantin-Moretus à Anvers. Les thèses à image", in: Recueil des Mémoires couronnés et autres mémoires de l'Académie royale de Médecine de Belgique 22.7 (1925), p. 24–25. On Melchior Moretus see Voet 1969, p. 201; Sacré 1996, p. 77; Landtsheer 1997, pp. 92–93.

102 For thesis prints in the Low Countries see Mûelenaere 2015, 2016 as well as her forthcoming thesis.

103 Rice 1999, p. 160.

104 "You cannot imagine how much time these students waste [in the preparations of their thesis sheets], and how many opportunities they seize to run hither and thither, checking up on the drawing, the plate, and the engraver…," was the heartfelt reaction of a professor at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Ibid., p. 160.

105 Elmqvist Söderlund 2010, p. 94.

106 Ziggelaar 1983, p. 55.

107 Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, no. 85, pp. 349–353; does not say that the image IS a thesis print, but that it could be! cf. esp. fn. 22.

and Paulus Pontius, the engraver, is one that is dedicated to pope Urban VIII.[108] The image itself is a dedication to pope Urban VIII encouraging his endeavours for peace. It thus shows the same tendencies as the books on poetry illustrated by Rubens and will be considered in the next chapter.[109]

The episode with Balthasar Cordier shows not only that the communication was carried out by Moretus and was not conducted with Rubens directly.[110] It also shows vividly that the letters, and often only the snippets of letters that have been transcribed because of interest in Rubens, have to be handled with care when trying to reconstruct Rubens's involvement in the production process.

The Beginning of a Book Project

When an author was accepted by Moretus, how was Rubens then integrated into the production process? Moretus's letters give a good overview about the working processes in the various offices and workshops. Although the extant letters pertaining to the production of books never cover the whole process, they reveal much about the nuts and bolts of book production. After all, the Officina Plantiniana was a very large printing and publishing house that had several presses running, and Moretus often reveals in his letters that he is producing several books at the same time.[111] In order for several presses to work simultaneously without erupting into chaos, the processes had to be standardised in some way.

If a book was printed in the Officina Plantiniana, the decision to start a project was that of Balthasar Moretus and his brother, and many factors were included in the decision making. The decision whether a book should be printed and with which print run was entirely a decision of the publisher, and it was based on an estimate of the targetable market (often transnational), on what the competition was printing, on the prices that could be asked and the costs involved.[112]

As has been seen by the Cordier episode, authors, in some cases their intermediaries, often approached Moretus to have their works published—which he then accepted or refused. Intermediaries were necessary for authors who did not know Moretus personally or who lived in other

108 Mûelenaere speaks of four thesis print projects on p. 292, but does not name them. Mûelenaere 2015, p. 293; fig. 2.

109 Cf. section 5.4.

110 Of course this statement can only be made for the books produced with the Officina Plantiniana, there is hardly any evidence of the proceedings in other publishing houses.

111 For instance the Letter to van Haeften from 26 Jan 1633, Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 396; in a later letter he also advertises several new books he recently printed: Letter from 26 Dec 1633, Ibid., p. 396; in 1636 he bemoans the several works he had to stop printing because of the lack of paper, in: ibid., pp. 415–416.

112 The difficult aspects of analysing early modern pricing practices concerning books are excellently summarised in Ammannati et al. 2017 and especially Nuovo 2017, p. 107: "The price of books is to a large extent the result of the relationship of the various agents in the world of books. To understand this, the historian needs to focus on the processes publishers or wholesalers and then retail booksellers used in pricing books, then to make some assumptions about the prices that purchasers paid, based on an examination of the surviving records of some of the great book collectors. Finally, it is crucial to detect how, how far and why the various authorities, religious and governmental, intervened in the establishment of book prices."

countries. Moretus often continued to work with the intermediary due to the geographical distance from the author. Communication between countries was fickle and often relied on chance, especially if war interrupted the postal routes, so that an intermediary in the vicinity of Moretus's press could only be an advantage. Not only would letters be more easily received, for the intermediary it was often easier and faster to actually go to Antwerp and speak with Moretus or Rubens. The contact was usually provided by the extensive social networks that the learned maintained via letters. The Society of Jesus, for instance, was one of the biggest networks spanning the world at the time, and Jesuits from other countries used their contacts in Antwerp to get into contact with Moretus.

When Moretus decided on printing a work, he had neither purely economic reasons nor was he only driven by the quality of the contents. Moretus's decision-making process becomes visible from one letter exchange in 1637 between Moretus and Carlo de Napoli (1614–1644), a young and already famous humanist at Philip IV's court in Spain. Carlo de Napoli tried to persuade Moretus to print his study of Ovid's *Fasti*, but the publisher seemed reluctant to publish it, whether because he "doubted the commercial viability", or because he was not convinced by the work of the young humanist, is not clear.[113] According to Moretus's letter to Juan van Vucht, the manuscript must have been a mess and it is possible that Moretus was reluctant to print it because of the necessary time and effort that he would have to put into the fair copy.[114] Moretus only considered printing the book when he realised that Carlo de Napoli could be of help in obtaining some outstanding debts from a debtor, due to his father's occupation.[115] When de Napoli also promised to buy 18 of his printed books himself, Moretus finally agreed to print it. The letters show that Moretus did not only think in terms of being able to sell a single title. Sometimes larger economic goals could make it necessary to print a less profitable work, such as getting into contact with a particular person.

The decision to print the book with an engraved title page, however, was made late in the project and was instigated by Moretus. Apparently Rubens and Moretus must have talked about the title page, as Moretus informed the author in a letter of 28 November 1637 that he considered a title page, and that neither he himself nor Rubens could decide on a design for it, which is why he asked Napoli for his suggestions.[116]

113 Nave 1997, no. 50a, p. 149.

114 "Don Carolo Neapolis is mij geobstringeert ten opsicht van synen boeck die nu drucke, niet sonder groote moeyte ter oorsaecke dat de copije seer incorrect is van synen amanuensis geschreven.' Ibid., pp. 105–106.

115 Van de Velde in: ibid., no. 50a, p. 149, fn. 2: "Hier neffens gaet een pacquet voor Don Carolus Neapolis, voor den welcken een boeck drucke; die my belooft heeft sighn deuoir te doen ten eynde ick betaelt worde wt de geconfisceerde goederen van Pedro Mallart van 't ghene mij schuldigh is." Letter from Moretus to Juan van Vucht, Madrid, 2 Apr 1637; MPM no.147, p. 81. In a later letter to the same person Moretus is even more explicit: "den vader van Don Carolo Neapolis is een vande Administrateurs oft iuges vande Françoisen." ibid., pp.105–106.

116 Held 1977, p. 41.

After having decided to undertake a project with a title page, Moretus managed everything: he obtained the drawings for the titles; he found and employed an engraver for illustrations; he obtained the necessary privileges and permissions for publication; and he organised the printing of the various parts of the book including the organisation of the necessary material. The latter could be problematic, and especially the scarcity of paper in times of war was often the main reason for delays.[117] He, of course, also advertised his printed books in the catalogues of the Frankfurt fair and in letters to customers.[118] However, in the case of an image for a title page, he often asked Rubens for his opinion, even when Rubens did not design the resulting title page. Rubens was thus often involved in projects from the moment when Moretus decided that a book would have an engraved title page.

Rubens's *Inventio* of a Title Page

After Moretus's decision that Rubens was to design the title page, a first drawing was made by the painter or his assistant. The drawing was the first step of the whole production process, allowing a discussion of Rubens's invention with the publisher and the author. For the artist, the drawing was both a tool and the outcome in the process of invention. While these are nowadays cherished traces of Rubens's own hand and thought, Rubens considered his drawings and sketches to be valuable as the basis of his workshop and kept them locked in his office. When he sent a letter to his assistant Lucas Fayd'herbe (1617–1697) asking for some tronies, i.e. painted studies of heads, he asked him specifically to wrap the painting up so that no one would see it, and reminded him in a postscript to make sure that the office was locked up and that no originals or sketches remained in the studio.[119] These originals and sketches were the inventions, the models after which all Rubens's work was created. For him it was the capital of his workshop, which is also why the drawings were to be kept after his death for a possible next painter in the family.[120] Most of his

117 See for instance the letter to Van Haeften in which Moretus explains that the paper mills in Lorraine had been destroyed and the craftsmen killed, which necessitated him to stop printing both the *Via Crucis* and the *St Dionysius*. Letter from Moretus to Van Haeften, 26 Jan 1633, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 396.

118 Cf. the letter from Moretus to Van Haeften, 16 Dec 1633, in: ibid., p. 396. For the Frankfurt Fair and its History, cf. Rovelstad 1973.

119 "Lieve wel beminde M. Lucas, Ick hope dat u desen noch sal tot Antwerpen vinden, want ick grootelijcken van noode hebbe een panneel daer drij troniën op staen, soo groot als het leven, van mijn handt; te wetene: eenen grammen soldaet met een swarte mutse op 't hooft, ende een crijtende manstronie ende eenen lacher. Gij sult mij groote vriendschappe doen, met dit selvige panneel terstont over te senden, oft, ist ghij ghereet sijt om selver te comen, mede te brenghen. Ende het sal goet sijn dat men daer een of twee nieuwe panneelen op bint, omdat het niet en soude quetsen onderweghen oft ghesien worden. […] Siet toch wel toe, als ghij vertrecken sult, dat alles wel opgesloten sij ende datter geene originaelen en blijven staen boven op het schilderhuys oft eenige schetsen." Letter from Rubens to Lucas Fayd'herbe, 17 Aug 1638, Ruelens and Rooses 1972d, pp. 222–224.

120 In his last will 27 May 1640, he specified that "de teeckeninggen hem testateur vergaedert ende gemaeckt dewelcke hy beveelt opgehouden ende bewaert te wordene tot behoeve van yemant sijnder sonen die hem soude mogen willen oeffenen inde conste van schilderen, oft bij gebreke van dyen tot behoeve van eender sijnder dochteren

inventions were copied several times, and for Rubens it was essential to protect the models.[121] While the execution was important and Rubens made sure that his inventions were executed in the best possible manner, for him and his contemporaries Rubens's inspired and ingenious inventions made an image into a Rubens. His inventions have to be seen in another discourse as well: the sketches were the backbone of an elaborate argument which aimed at elevating painting to the liberal arts. In this argument *inventio* played a crucial role: drawing as the inventive process was presented as a process of the mind. The sketch or the preparatory drawing was the mind's material manifestation, elevating the manual work of painting to higher level.

This emphasis on the intellectual in art can be first perceived in full force in the writings of Giorgio Vasari, whose concern it was to elevate painting and sculpture to the liberal arts. For him the origin of any art lay in the intellectual work of the *disegno*, the drawing, which consequently allowed artists to emphasise this aspect in their work processes.[122] Likewise the fore-conceit, or the idea, was praised in poets, such as for instance by Philip Sidney in his *Defense of Poesie*. Sidney relates this idea to painters and distinguishes between a good painter who would paint a Lucretia, "whom he never saw", with a "meaner sort of painters, who counterfeit only such faces as are set before them".[123] This was a common idea by Rubens's time and is expressed by Franciscus Junius the Younger (1591–1677) in his *De pictura veterum*, which he translated himself and published as *On the Painting of the Ancients* in 1638.

Junius expresses the status quo of his time, being fundamentally indebted to the planning and ordering of an oration in his description of the visual arts; thus, he "is in basic agreement with Castiglione's *Cortegiano*, Sidney's *Defense of Poesie*, Julius Caesar Scaliger's *Poetics*, with Vasari, Lomazzo, Armenini, Dürer, and other writers on the history and theory of the visual arts".[124] Rubens also agreed with this view, and he congratulated Junius on his book about the visual arts, only finding that a similar book for contemporary painting was necessary. As Junius used an abundance of classical quotations it is no wonder that Rubens rejoiced in this work.[125] Consequently, the drawing, the idea and the inventive process as such was used and even emphasised by Rubens and his colleagues because it enabled them to distinguish themselves from "mere" artisans or the "meaner sort of painters" as Sidney calls them.

de welcke soude mogen comen te trouwen met eenen vermaerden schilder ende dat soolange totdat de joncxste synder kinderen sal gecomen wesen tot ouderdom van achttien jaeren, alswanneer soo verre nyemant van den sonen hem totte voors. conste begegen [sic!] en heeft oft geene vande dochteren met eenen vermaerden schilder gehouwt en sij, de voors. teekeningen mede sullen mogen vercocht worden." Büttner 2012, p. 134, fn. 23: SAA, notariaatsarchif N 1894: notaris Toussain Guyot: Protocollen, staten en rekeningen, 1645, nr. CVII.

121 Cf. Büttner 2017b, Büttner 2017a.

122 Vasari 2012; Woodall 2003, p. 10; Gombrich 1990.

123 *Defense of Poesie*, 495–496; in: Dundas 2007, p. 63.

124 Fehl 1996; Fehl 1981, p. 28.

125 Cf. for a translation of Rubens's Latin letter Fehl 1996, p. 11.

Rubens clearly played with this concept when he showed himself to be working mainly on the design, while his employees had to actually paint his images. This is at least what was recorded by Otto Sperling, who had visited Rubens's house and studio as a student, and described wondrous scenes in the studio. The way in which he describes Rubens's habit of multitasking or the way in which the painting was apparently undertaken by the assistants only have two things in common: they both seem to serve Rubens's self-representation and they emphasise the intellectual side of Rubens's art.[126] Sperling portrays Rubens in a specific way, but it is possible that Rubens actively influenced this portrayal and tapped into the classical discourse of the learned *uomo universale*. As Büttner has shown, Rubens's self-fashioning had already been perceived by his contemporaries as such: Sperling recognised Rubens's actions as an attempt to show visitors his ingenuity.[127]

Sperling, whose account remained unpublished until the nineteenth century, was not the only one to show Rubens in an intellectual light.[128] This aspect was also foregrounded by his nephew and biographer Philipp Rubens, who asserted that his uncle had someone read him Plutarch or Seneca while he was working.[129] Much earlier than De Piles's biography, in which this posthumous testimony of Rubens's nephew was published, Henry Peacham reported that "while he is at worke, he useth to have some good historian or Poet read to him, which is rare in men of his profession, yet absolutely necessary".[130] Already in his lifetime Rubens was famed for his intellectual achievements, a view he actively shaped. It is within this concept of *inventio* and the intellectualisation of art that Rubens's work on the title pages has to be placed. With the title pages, Rubens was able to participate in intellectual discourses by providing fitting and intelligent images, thus displaying his erudition.

Apart from the letters in which Moretus discusses the *inventio* of the title pages, a few surviving sketches reveal Rubens's process in this field. In the last two centuries, art historians valued these sketches more highly than the prints themselves because they were interested in the products of the artist's own hand. In this study the sketches are only important as parts of the production process. Thus the discussion about whether a drawing or sketch was drawn by Rubens himself or by his assistants is of minor importance. If the engraver put the "P. P. Rubens invenit, fecit, pinxit" or comparable subscripts underneath a title page published in his lifetime and with his knowledge, this engraving was considered a Rubens. This is not to suggest that there are no differences in quality, either in the quality of engravings or the sketches; but if Rubens was satisfied enough to put his

126 Büttner 2006b, pp. 101 and 112; Seidlitz 1887, p. 111.

127 Büttner 2006b, p. 102.

128 Sophus Birket Smith first published the text in 1885 in a Danish translation which was taken up by Wilhelm von Seidlitz in 1887 and retranslated into the German. Birket Smith 1885; Seidlitz 1887, p. 111. Cf. Büttner 2006b, pp. 101–102; Evers 1942, pp. 31 and p. 484, fn. 40;Ruelens and Rooses 1972b, p. 156.

129 "[A]yant tousiours auprés de luy un Lecteur qui estoit à ses gages, & qui lisoit à haute voix quelque bon livres; mais ordinairement Plutarque, Tite-Live, ou Seneque," De Piles 1677, p. 214; in: Büttner 2006b.

130 Peacham 1634, p. 111. Cf. Büttner 2006b, p. 102; Muller 2004, p. 18.

name underneath, then we should accept his decision. There is no saying, of course, what Rubens would have made of the countless copies made after his title page designs throughout Europe.

In the following, the production of one title page is examined closely in order to discover who mainly influenced which stage in the process. Depending on the scholarly background, past authors have attributed aesthetic or artistic choices to either the artist or the author of the text. While any of these attributions are occasionally right, for instance, for very important authors, the findings in the following suggest that the publisher was responsible for most of the choices made. Although Moretus worked closely together with Rubens and trusted his choices, this would certainly not have happened with an artist who had lower standing in society. This would mean that the publisher of a book would have had much more influence on the artistic production of books than has generally been acknowledged.

Sketching the Title Page

After Rubens received the wording of the title, he started with a sketch for the title page. This drawing was usually made in chalk, pen and ink with wash on paper, but in some cases he used other means. For one title page a rough layout, the stage even before the drawing, is known: for the *Breviarium Romanum* of 1614, a schematic layout sketch of the title page and two previous attempts are preserved (Fig. 3), stating in Moretus's handwriting what should be pictured on the pages.[131]

Moretus probably started the title page and then asked his friend for help, because the Breviary was one of the more important liturgical productions.[132] Rubens designed one of the three ideas preserved on the sheets. He simplified ideas such as "St Cecilia playing the Organ" and "David playing the Harp" by replacing the saints with the instruments (Fig. 4).[133] I find this simplification significant, as the Rubens title pages distinguish themselves from other title pages through their clear expression and a simplified layout. Rubens uses fewer figures in his title pages than his contemporaries, making his inventions better structured.

The layout scheme preceded a first sketch by Rubens but should be considered as part of the *inventio*, an embodiment of thought. Balthasar Moretus, whose handwriting is on the sketches, took an active part in this process; it is conceivable that he did so in later projects, too. In contrast to Moretus, Rubens's thoughts were embodied by quick sketches. For many title pages these initial, quick drawings or oil sketches have been lost, but those that survived provide snippet views

131 These are commonly believed to be Moretus's design, and it is possible, as Rubens would have sketched a suggestion rather than written it down. Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, p. 123. Cf. Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert, p. 62, figs. 31–32; Hellinga, pp. 182–183 , nos. 64–66.

132 No other such schemes exist which could show that Moretus first tried on his own before going to Rubens. This is something which he would not do later.

133 *Breviarium Romanum* 1614. Logan and Plomp 2005, pp. 174–176, no. 51; Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, p. 32; also nos. 18–28, pp. 118–151.

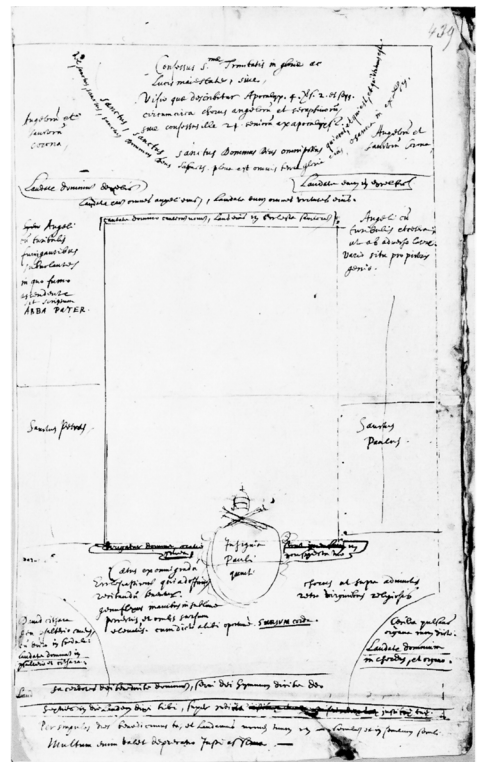


Figure 3 – Layout sketch for *Breviarium Romanum* 1614; pen and ink, Antwerp, MPM. In: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, fig. 75.

of his approach. The first sketches on paper, delineating a general idea in quick lines were called "crabbelinge", scribblings, by Rubens's contemporaries.[134] Rubens not only provided "crabbelinge" or sketches in chalk or ink, but also in oil on either paper or panel. Both the scribblings and oil sketches belong to the concept of *disegno* as the visual manifestation of *inventio*. Of importance in this art theoretical discourse was the invention as such, not how the "disegno" was fixed materially in order to be turned into art. As Linda and George Bauer explain, "disegni" were monochrome oil sketches in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italy; Rubens uses the term in a letter from 1614, in which he describes one of his sketches a "dissegno colorito".[135] The "disegno" Rubens used was part of the liberal art discourse, and meant an art-theoretical concept that explicitly referred to the intellectual work embodied in the sketch.

Only in his later years did Rubens refer to his sketches as "schetse",[136] an expression that is also found ten years later in the will of Cornelis de Vos and his wife Suzanna Cock. Interestingly, in this

134 As for instance in the inventory of Erasmus II Quellinus (1607–1678) drawn up in March 1679: Quellinus owned a "Labor et Constantia Rubbens crabbelinge". Logan and Plomp 2005, p. 182; Bauer et al. 1999, pp. 528–529; Denucé 1932, p. 286; Duverger 1999, doc. 3333, p. 360.

135 Bauer et al. 1999, p. 520; G. Martin 1968.

136 Cf. the postscript to the letter by Rubens to Lucas Fayd'herbe 17 August 1638, Ruelens and Rooses 1972d, pp. 222–224: "Siet toch wel toe, als ghij vertrecken sult, dat alles wel opgesloten sij ende datter geene originaelen en blijven staen boven op het schilderhuys oft eenige schetsen."

Figure 4 – Drawing for *Breviarium Romanum* 1614; pen and ink, 342 × 222 mm. BM, 1881,0611.30. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

context the word was used to describe any sketches, be they on panel, canvas or paper, and does not distinguish between techniques, as did the previously used "disegno". Thus de Vos leaves his son all "the sketches made on panel, and on canvas and paper, as well as all tronies painted after the life".[137] In this enumeration he also makes no distinction of the type of material: no matter on what material the inventions are fixed, they are all called sketches and are thus identified by their function. The importance of these sketches is shown by explicitly including them in De Vos's will, just as they were explicitly mentioned in Rubens's.[138]

Various "crabbelinge" and sketches are still extant, and it is tempting to see only these title pages as "a Rubens" when such proof of his invention can be made.[139] While the search for Rubens's own hand is certainly important in its own right, the name that was below the engraving defined the title page as his design, irrespective of whom the drawing was made by.[140] Rubens provided designs as scribblings, oil sketches, and finished drawings.[141] For some prints Rubens first sketched a preliminary drawing in chalk with which he decided on a basic composition.[142] Only after this did he draw a more detailed composition in ink and wash on top of the chalk, so that he did not need a preliminary sketch on a separate piece of (expensive) paper. A first sketch is thus often found underneath the drawing. Rubens used this method both for the Aguilonius and the Breviary title page of the same year, although in general his use of chalk is erratic.[143] Even in a series of illustrations, such as for the Breviary, Rubens used chalk in some illustrations only. A drawing with a chalk underdrawing is probably by Rubens himself, following the usual argument for pentimenti, that they show the artist thinking. A copy, i.e. a second drawing after a finished sketch without considerable changes, is highly unlikely to be by Rubens himself, as Rubens would not need to duplicate a design that could be copied by an assistant.[144]

Attributions to Rubens become problematic, however, when the letters show his assistants drawing the sketches. Erasmus II Quellinus (1607–1678) received money for this service from Moretus even though Rubens's name appears on the finished print. As soon as Rubens had sketched a design, an assistant could draw, copy, or even paint it, as the workshop process here did not differ from that used for the paintings. Quellinus was one of the more important assistants in Rubens's

137 "Jan Baptista, den sone deser testateuren, naer hender beyder afflivicheyt desireerde ende begeerde aen te nemen ende themwaerts t'aenveerden allen de schetsen op panneel ende doeck ende caerte bladeren gemaeckt oick troniën die naer het leven geschildert zyn, midtsgaders de teeckeninghen op pampier allet soo die ter voors." in: Duverger 1991, p. 447.

138 Cf. section 2.2.

139 To call a title page "a Rubens" is in any case crass neglect of the engraver who was often mentioned by name on the prints; a neglect that is to some extent perpetuated in this dissertation, due to the focus on Rubens.

140 Cf. section 1.3.

141 This corresponds to the general working process in Rubens's workshop, cf. Schmiedlechner forthcoming.

142 Cf. Renger 1974, p. 128.

143 Ibid., p. 128, p. 131.

144 Here I follow the socio-historical argument suggested by Büttner 2017a, p. 44.

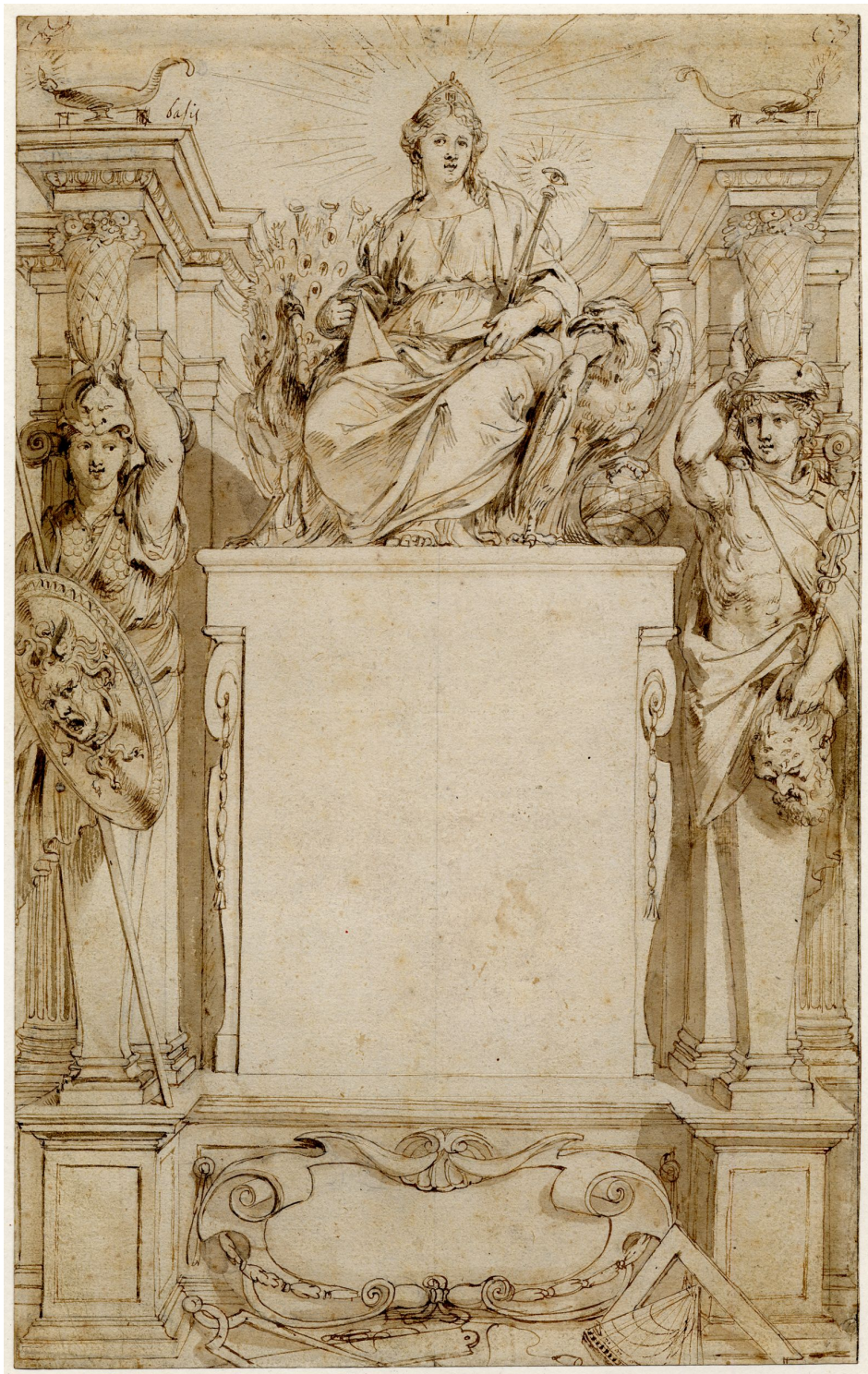


Figure 5 – Drawing for Aguilonius 1613, pen and ink, 304 × 190 mm. BM, 1861,0608.148. © The Trustees of the British Museum

title page production; he provided many designs for title pages from 1637 onwards, seven of these signed with Rubens's name.[145] The ledgers of the Guild of St Luke first mention him as a master painter in 1633–1634, and probably started to work for Rubens at around the same time.[146] In 1635, Quellinus painted several paintings for the Joyous Entry of the Cardinal Infant Ferdinand in Antwerp, for which six are signed by him.[147] In the following years he helped with the commission by King Philip IV for Torre de la Parada.[148] Quellinus is mentioned in the ledgers of the Officina Plantiniana and continued to design title pages even after Rubens's death. The other assistant to draw title pages was Abraham van Diepenbeeck (1596–1675) who became a member of the Antwerp Guild of St Luke in 1622/23 as a painter of stained-glass windows.[149] In the late 1620s, he prepared drawings for prints, theses and title pages in Rubens's workshop which he continued until his death. For the drawing of the *Vitae patrum* van Diepenbeeck received 20 guilders.[150]

Rubens often included text on his drawings as a verbal means of communication with the engraver or the authors. The first sketches in particular include specific instructions for the engraver next to the drawing: alterations or notes that would indicate a model or book to use in order to finish the sketch. As most drawings were later cut back by collectors it is possible that other drawings also included such notes. This even happened to the grisaille sketches on panel as, for example, with the *El viaje del Infante Cardenal* which was cut back to within 5 mm of the painted area.[151] On its left the remains of Rubens's writing are still visible. Rubens's note was transcribed by the art collector and print expert Pierre Jean Mariette when he cut the panel for aesthetic reasons and pasted onto the back of the painting. It was meant for the author of this work, the advisor and secretary of Cardinal Infante Ferdinand, Don Diego de Aedo y Galart, who was to become an important figure in South Netherlandish politics. The text, as transcribed by Mariette, hardly interprets the image, it rather takes account of what can be seen.[152] For an engraver who only received the oil sketch

145 Boyvin 1638; Chifflet 1640; Goltzius 1645a; Liutprandus 1640; Morgues 1637; Neapolis 1639; Rios y Alarcón 1641.

146 Diels 2009, pp. 42–44; Logan and Plomp 2005, p. 182; Vlieghe 1992, p. 140; De Bruyn 1988; Vlieghe 1977; Hairs 1975.

147 J. R. Martin 1972, passim.

148 Cf. Alpers 1971.

149 Diels 2009, pp. 40–44; Vlieghe 1992, p. 138; Steadman 1982.

150 Rosweyde 1628; cf. Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, no. 55, pp. 246–248; Appendix III, p. 483 [105].

151 Oil on panel, 281 × 226 mm; London, V&A, no. D. 1399–1891, Rubens.

152 "Voicy l'explication du sujet de ce tableau telle que Rubens l'avoit ecrite luy même. 'L'Arme del Sigr Infante Carde. Si compara il viaggio di S.A. ad una Aquila volante, con un serpente trà le ungue. Duoi Geni che coronano S.A.Sma et hanno l'ale di papilione che dinotano l'eternità della sua gloria. La Vittoria che porge a l'aquila una corona alloro significa che mediante la vittoria di Nordlingh e ristorate l'Imperio. Gli duoi arbori di palme che sostengono l'arme di S. A. designano Vittoria, e forza perche l'alzano contra il peso. Marte gradivo per denotar le vittorie di S. A. ottenute nel far il suo viaggio.' Cecy etoit ecrit dela main de Rubens; sur les bords du tableau qui a été rogné pour le rendre d'une forme plus agréable, C'est le dessin d'un Frontispice de Livre intitulé le Voyage du Cardinal Infant. Il a été gravé par Marinus." ["Here is the explanation of the subject of this picture as written by Rubens himself. 'The arms of Cardinal Infant. The voyage of his highness is compared to a flying eagle, with a serpent in its talons. The two Genii crowning [the arms of] His Serene Highness have butterfly wings, which denote the eternity of his glory. Victory holds a laurel wreath up to the eagle which signifies that Empire was restored through the victory


Hieroglyphicorum Lib. V I. 69

A qua caudata Simia, & propter eam similitudinem ipsę quoque Cercopithecus appellatur. Sedenim no- Cynocepha
ster is corporatura maior, validior, efferatiorque est faciei caninæ similior, vnde & nomen apud Græ- li ossori-
cos accepit: quamuis multa in hoc genere sunt quæ humanam potius faciem, quam caninam referũt, ptio.
facileque apud nos mira manſuescunt cicuratione. Cynocephalorum, de quibus hic agimus, lacte &
Numidæ & Meniſmi v.unt, armentis ex eo genere comparatis, maribus præter ſoboli causam inter-
emptis: quod ideo dictum volui, ne quis Cynocephalũ hunc, de quo dicturi ſumus, accipiat, vt multi
perperam, pro genere illo hominũ, quod & Megaſthenes, & plerique alii prodidere, capitibus eſſe ca-
ninis, pro voce latratum edere, ferarum pellibus velari, anguibus venatu & aucupio veſci. Nam, vt o-
ptime noſti, agreſtes homines huiuſmodi Pauſanias ab Euphemo quodam ex Caria oriundo, viſos
tradit in inſulis Oceani, quo tempeſtate delatus fuerit, quum in Italiam nauigaret.

LVNA. CAP. II.

CVMPRIMIS autẽ Cynocephalus Lunæ erat hiero-
glyphicum: propterea quod animal id pari quodam
B afficitur conſenſu cum Lunę coitu. Nam ipſa eadem hora
qua Luna, nullo illuminata candore Soli coniuncta tranſ-
it, nobisque videtur penitus euanuiſſe: Cynocephalus mas
ipſe quoque viſu deficere comperitur, neque interim ci-
bum capit, ſed humi procumbens ægre habet, quaſi Lunæ
raptum ingemiſcat. Fœmina vero præter id, quod ea quo-
que luminibus capitur, & cum mari pari afficitur ægritu-
dine, ſanguinem inſuper egerit è natura. Quapropter ale-
bantur in templis Cynocephali, ob id potiſſimum, vt So-
lis & Lunæ coitus exploratiſſime deprehenderetur. Hinc
Cornelius tradit Simias triſtes Lunæ caua: nam affectus i-
dem omnino in id genus omne diffunditur, quamquam in Cynocephalis & maior & exploratior eſt.

Viſus defectus in Cynocephalo.

C LVNÆ ORTVS. CAP. III.

ADORATIO.

APVD eoſdẽ Ægyptios ſacerdotes Cynocephalus ſtans
Lunæ ortum ſignificabat, atque ad eam ſpeciem adde-
bant, vt manus in cœlum ſublatas haberet, & diadema Re-
gium capite geſtaret: propterea quod, vt dicebamus, Cyno-
cephalus valde ſolicitus eſt ſuper ortu Lunæ, qua caua an
gore afficiatur, prorſusque cæcutiat. Simul ac ea cœperit
illucęſcere, & ipſe viſus particeps fieri, quaſi Deo agat eo ge-
ſtu gratias, & ſacerdotii ornatu quodam inſtructus ind-ptã
vtrique lucẽm gratuletur, eo quo diximus hieroglyphico
figuratur. Ideo vero ſtanteim pingi voluere, quod ſtare con-
ueniat adoranti, quem morem fuiſſe etiam apud Romanos
indicat Val. Martialis in Epigram.

Cynocephalus erectus, adorationis hieroglyphicum.

D *Multis dum precibus touem ſalutat,*
Stans ſummos reſupinus vſque in vngues Aethon.

Porro adorandæ nouæ Lunæ morem, & manus in prece ſuſtollendi, Horatius attigit Ode illa:

Cælo ſupinas ſi tuleris manus, *Si thure placaris, & horna* Carm. li. 3. Od. 23.
Naſcente Luna rectica Phœbe, *Fruge Lares, auidaque porca.*

Quinetiam Virgil. ſtatum & ſublatas in cœlum manus eſſe adorationis indicium oſtendit: vbi Anchiſen inducit obſeruato augurali portento illo, quo flamma caput Aſcanii corripuerat, mollesque comas tactu innoxia lambere viſa fuerat: is namque,

——Oculos ad ſidera lætus
Extulit, & cælo palmas cum voce tetendit. Æneid. li. 3.

I 3 Et

Figure 6 – "Cynocephalus", in: Valeriano 1614, p. 69. © Heidelberg University Library

without the neat drawing, and had not often engraved Rubens's title pages, this text might have been some help. It explains, for instance, which coat of arms should be inserted into the empty field. Surely, however, in this case Rubens would not have written in Italian to the engraver Marinus Robin van der Goes.[153] Nevertheless, the case shows that even wooden panels were cut to produce collectibles. As other cases are known in which Rubens added comments on drawings, there might have been more comments on the drawings than are visible today.

The design for Aguilonius's *Opticorum Libri Sex*, for instance, has a note on the top of the left hand side of the drawing, giving the engraver instructions to raise the lamps onto bases, and it leaves the pedestals and the plinth empty (Fig. 5).[154] These empty spaces were then filled with images of the *cynocephali* by the engraver, faithfully using the images from Valerianus's *Hieroglyphica* (Fig. 6).[155] Petrus Valerianus (Pierio Valeriano, born Giovanni Pietro dalle Fosse, 1477–1558) was an

at Nördlingen. The two palm trees supporting the arms of His Highness signify victory and strength for they hold the shield despite its weight. Mars is striding forward to indicate the victories worn by His Highness on his voyage.' This was written by Rubens at the side of the picture later cut down to make it more agreeable in shape. It is the design for a Frontispiece of a book entitled The Voyage of the Cardinal Infant. It was engraved by Marinus."] Trsl. from *War and Victory Model for Oil Painting* 2018.

153 Cf. Hollstein 1955, p. 169–170.

154 Drawing, chalk, pen and ink, 304 × 190 mm; BM, no. 1861,0608.148. Bertram 2016.

155 Valeriano 1610.

Figure 7 – Drawing for Hugo 1626; pen, brown ink and wash, heightened, 308 × 195 mm. BM, 1994,0514.45. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Italian humanistic scholar who specialised in Egyptian hieroglyphics, and whose work had a huge impact on allegorical inventions as his work was printed in various editions all over Europe. The instruction to use the images from Valerianus could have been added to the drawing and later cut off by a collector.

This practice of leaving blanks to be added to with the help of reference works, can also be observed in the making of the title page for de Bie's *Imperatorum Romanorum* of 1615 (Fig. 17 on page 116). Rubens probably made the drawing for this title page as early as January 1611, according to a letter by Rockox to De Bie.[156] In the drawing, which is not preserved, Rubens included a note next to the figure in which he told the engraver to use the head of Roma, as depicted in the *Fasti* by Goltzius, as a model.[157]

156 Letter from Rockox to De Bie, 3 Jan 1611: "[J]e vous envoyé icy ce que Monsr Rubens at conceu touchant le frontispice de vostre livre, ce qui me plaît fort en cas que le trouvez bon il le mettrat en net, c'est la déesse Moneta." in: Ruelens and Rooses 1972b, p. 25.

157 Letter from Rockox to De Bie, 26 Feb 1611: "vous pourez adviser si le laisserez tailler à Cornille Galle, ou si le ferez vous mesmes, en quel cas il vous faudrat bien considérer ce qu'il at escript du costet de la figure, à prendre quelque belle teste de Rome en la bague, hors des fastes de Goltzius. La figure est du tout à l'antique jusques aux piedts." Ibid., p. 28, Bibliothèque royale de Bruxelles, Ms. no. 14466. ["You can decide whether you will have it engraved by Cornelis Galle or do it yourself. In that case you will have to keep in mind what he has written next to the figure and take some beautiful head of Roma in the ring from the Fasti of Goltzius." trsl. in: Held 1977, p. 26.] Cf. section 4.2.

Figure 8 – Rubens, drawing for Bauhuis et al. 1634, Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum; in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, fig. 112.

These two examples, however, constitute the earliest title pages Rubens designed, and it is possible that he abandoned adding instructions or that it became unnecessary through the lasting cooperation with Galle. It is also possible that he decided to draw over his initial scribblings to save paper, as not many first sketches for title pages are preserved. One example is the sketch for Hugo's *Obsidio Bredana* in which the architecture is sketched quickly and very roughly, and the coat of arms of Breda is only verbally indicated (Fig. 7).[158] The neat drawing is more detailed and preciser in its lines and is traced for transfer.[159] Because of "weaknesses" found in this and comparable drawings, it was suggested that the engraver or one of his assistants had done the second drawing.[160] The socio-historical argument, that the master did not repeat himself, only corroborates that.[161]

A later example of a drawing with Rubens's explanation is highly interesting as it not merely offers information for the engraver, but also a justification for the invention.[162] Next to the sketch for Bauhusius's *Epigrammata* Rubens drew the attention to the existence of a feather on the head of the muse, maybe in order to emphasise a detail that might have been overlooked otherwise (Fig. 8). However, a note considering the whole composition is added to the same paper:

> You have here the Muse or Poetry with Minerva or Virtue joined in the shape of a Hermathene. I have placed there the Muse instead of Mercury which is permissible on

158 Hugo 1626. DPBM, inv. no. 853 n; pen, brown ink and wash, heightened; 310 × 196 mm.

159 Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Cat. 1883, no. 606; black chalk, reinforced with pen and brown ink, grey wash, heightened with body colour; 310 × 210 mm. Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, no. 55a, pp. 243.

160 Cf. also the Drawing for Bosio's *Crux Triumphans* in the V&A, no. Dyce 544, pen and brown ink and wash, 315 × 205 mm, Ibid., no. 37a, p. 183.

161 Büttner 2017a, p. 44.

162 Bauhuis et al. 1634, pen and brown ink; 120 × 170 mm, MPM, no. 389.

> the basis of several examples. I do not know if you will like my idea. I, myself, am quite pleased with it and almost compliment myself for it.[163]

It might have been addressed to the publisher rather than the engraver, as the drawing usually circulated among all parties concerned, and the note underlined the validity of an invention that was not well-known. In order to save paper, a more detailed profile of Minerva was provided next to the sketch, as that in the sketch was not quite legible. The format of the title pages was small, thus the quick sketch was sufficient and the lines of tracing visible in the pedestal of the *Musathena* confirm that this was the only drawing made for the engraver.

The Engraving and Printing of a Title Page

Before the engraver could cut the plate, he needed a drawing that could be traced onto the plate. It is unclear who drew this as Rubens had probably no single, standardised procedure; he occasionally even painted the design of the title page instead of drawing it. An oil sketch, however, did not provide the necessary details for the work of an engraver, so that the latter most probably had an assistant from his workshop make an additional drawing after which he could then work. Thus it is doubtful whether the painted oil sketches were indeed "easier for the engraver to read when he was cutting the broad areas of light and shadow".[164] The engraver needed a good preparatory drawing in which the lines were clearly expressed, and Renger already observed that it was imperative for the engraver to have a drawing with as much detail as possible to work from. He speculated that it was most probably gout that induced Rubens to take a brush instead of a pen to which the grisaille sketches attest, that are all from his later years.[165]

For 21 title pages drawings in pen, brown ink and brown ink wash are preserved which are either by Rubens, Galle, Quellinus, or another assistant.[166] At least 15 of these drawings were traced

163 "Habes hic Musam siue Poesim cum Minerua seu Virtute forma Hermatenis coniunctam nam musam pro Mercurio apposui quod pluribus exemplis licet, nescio an tibi meum commentum placebit ego certe mihi hoc inuento valde placeo ne dicam gratulor." Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, no. 63a, pp. 270–271.

164 Ibid., p. 28.

165 Renger 1974, p. 140. Cordier 1628, Oil on paper, pasted upon canvas, 310 x 215 mm, London, Collection of Count Seilern, Rubens; Sarbiewski 1632, MPM, Rubens; Gevaerts 1642, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. no. 240, Rubens; Aedo y Gallart 1635, London, V&A, no. D 1399–1891, Rubens.

166 For the drawings see: Aguilonius 1613, London, DPBM, no. R 1234, accepted as Rubens ; *Breviarium Romanum* 1614, London, DPBM, no. 1881.6.11.30, Rubens; Bosio 1617, London, V&A, no. Dyce 544, Judson, Burchard, Parker accept it as Rubens; *Gelresche Rechten des Rvremvndtschen Qvartiers* 1620, Amsterdam, Coll. Professor J.Q. van Regieren Altena, Rubens; Tornielli 1620, London, DPBM. no. 853 l, accepted as Rubens, A. Diepenbeek in centre; Mudzaert 1622, Haarlem, Teylers Museum, no. O 25, Rubens(?); Haraeus 1623, London, DPBM, no. 1895.9.15.1058, accepted as C. Galle; Hugo 1626, London, DPBM, no. 853 n, considered Rubens; Blois 1632, London, DPBM, no. 1895.9.15.1042, C. Galle (Judson), generally accepted as Rubens(?); Bauhuis et al. 1634, MPM, no. 389, Rubens; Bidermann 1634, MPM, no. 388, by Rubens; Areopagita 1634, Oxford, Ashmolean M., no. 202, Rubens and engraver(?); Pietrasanta 1634, Fondation Custodia, Paris, no. 1971.T.2, Galle; Barberini 1634, MPM, no. 390, by Galle; Lipsius 1637, MPM, no. 395, Rubens and Galle(?); Morgues 1637, MPM, no. 411, Quellinus; Boyvin 1638, MPM, no. 399, Quellinus; Liutprandus

for transfer, which means that they were detailed enough and did neither need to be reversed nor redrawn because of issues with clarity.[167] Usually Rubens did consider the need to reverse his designs when designing something for engravers or for tapestry production.[168] The rare exceptions are the drawings for Hugo's *Obsdio Bredana* and Corderius's *Catena Sexaginta ... in S. Lucam* which are not reversed.[169]

The records do not show how long it took to cut and print the engravings, as the price was usually paid for the whole lot after the printing. Nevertheless, both engraving and printing would most likely have taken months rather than weeks. For the *Diverses pieces pour la defense de la Royne mère* Cornelis Galle received the plate and the drawing from Moretus on the 22 of July, and one month later he sent the finished title back to Moretus.[170] This did not mean that the title was completely finished: the letters were still missing and Galle had sent the title without having made a proof print. For corrections by "the inventor", painted directly onto the proof, this had to be printed first. Then the engraving went back to Galle whose workshop was at that time located in Brussels. He received the corrections in the beginning of September and recut the engraving before his son added the letters. All in all, the engraving was thus finished within six to eight weeks, and was ready to be printed in mid-September.

Galle was not paid for the printing of 275 copies of the title page for the *Defense* until December, thus there is no estimate as to how long the actual printing would have taken him.[171] The printing of large editions could take months: for the fifth volume of the second Plantinian edition of the *Annales*, for instance, the printing of 966 impressions took place between 23 February and 6 April 1602, which sounds like a reasonable time for almost 1,000 prints.[172] The records do not show how many other works the printer had to print at the same time beside the one commission, how long the working days were or what other obstacles had to be overcome during the printing. Generally, the time needed for this task depended on the availability of paper, of printers, of presses, and

1640, MPM, no. 397, Quellinus; Neapolis 1639, MPM, no. 400, Quellinus; Rios y Alarcón 1641, MPM, no. 401, Quellinus; Goltzius 1645a, MPM, no. 398, Quellinus.

167 Aguilonius 1613; Areopagita 1634; Barberini 1634; Bauhuis et al. 1634; Bidermann 1634; Blois 1632; Bosio 1617; *Breviarium Romanum* 1614; *Gelresche Rechten des Rvremvndtschen Qvartiers* 1620; Haraeus 1623; Hugo 1626; Lipsius 1637; Liutprandus 1640; Mudzaert 1622; Pietrasanta 1634.

168 Poorter 1978, p. 87.

169 Ibid., p. 87.

170 Morgues 1637; Letters from Galle to Moretus, 22 Jul 1637 and 18 Aug 1637, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, pp. 287–388.

171 Ibid., p. 477.

172 Cf. MPM no. 123, fols. 7r–8r for the relevant records, in: Bowen and Imhof 2005, p. 272. The printing itself is a lengthy process, which is made faster only marginally by a larger number of prints. The ink has to be worked into the plate and then lightly taken off by hand before it can be printed on a roller press. This process takes considerable time for each impression even if a skilled printer is at work, and takes longer the bigger the print is. The plate is cleaned after each impression, however, so that the printing of several impressions per day will have been faster. Inking an engraving cannot, in any case, be compared to the inking of a woodcut for which a dabber would be used.

Figure 9 – Erasmus Quellinus, Title page for Quaresimus 1639; engraving, 311 × 201 mm, by Cornelis Galle I. BM, 1895,1031.391. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

other practicabilities in the printer's workshop, which might not have been at the printers' disposal due to adverse conditions in war-plagued Europe. Moretus explains in a letter to Van Haeften in 1633 that he had to stop printing *Via Crucis*, as war in Lorraine had destroyed paper mills and killed craftsmen.[173] It is also not known what happened to the title pages after they had been printed, but they were probably delivered to the publisher, to be inserted into the books in the sorting room of the establishment.[174]

In any case, it was a long process, with corrections made at each stage of the production, either by Rubens or Galle. The first and second drawings were already corrected, but the main corrections were made after the first printing. A comparison of proofs with the finished title pages shows that the contrast was often changed: usually the shadows had to be reworked, often with the intention to reduce the contrast in the engraving.[175] Correcting the proof is a necessary stage in printing, as

173 Letter from Moretus to Van Haeften, 26 Jan 1633, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 396.

174 The inventory of Verdussen's workshop mentions the "Grote sorteerkamer beneden" 1,638 copies of books and 1,405 reams of paper were stored. The term suggests that there also was a smaller sorting room. Van Rossem 2014a, Fig. 3.6, p. 103.

175 The extant proofs with the pages referring to Judson and Van de Velde 1977a: Bosio 1617, Paris, BN, no. CC 31, f° 87, p. 182; *Gelresche Rechten des Rvremvndtschen Qvartiers* 1620, BN, no. CC 31, f° 58, p. 214; Tornielli 1620, BN,

only the print will show the precise effect of the work. Although an engraver would be able to tell the relative depth and the closeness of his lines, both ways of influencing the darkness in the print, only the print can show where it needs to be retouched in order to get the desired contrast. A good example for these points is a letter Quellinus wrote to Galle on the back of a proof print (Figs. 9).[176]

> Signor Galle, Greetings. I hope you will not mind my frank opinion about this print which has been very well engraved. Yet it is not quite clear what God the Father, sitting with his sceptre in the center above, holds in his right hand. In order to facilitate a better execution I should like to inform you that it is a book with seven leather straps, each of which has a seal in this manner [see the drawing at the left] like those which hang from the deeds issued by aldermen. Furthermore, the head of the same God the Father is rather large, as are his hands, particularly his left one, and most of the heads are in fact somewhat too large, one more than the other, as I have indicated here. These corrections can easily be made on the plate. Also, the basic tone of the architecture, done with crosshatchings, looks rather dark and hard, and might well be shaded somewhat lighter. There are also other things here and there indicated in the retouching. Farewell. I remain, your friend and ready servant E. Quellinus [177]

The engraver is not known, but the problems that Quellinus addresses are details lacking precision and mistakes in proportion especially in hands and heads. It is a very good example of the necessary communication between designer and engraver. The engraver seems to have been a novice working in the Galle workshop, as the proportions of the figures were inadequate, a rather basic problem. The areas retouched by Quellinus on the proof directly are those of shading, such as the general tone of the architecture that was cut too darkly and needed to be lightened up. Similar corrections can be observed on all the corrected proofs extant of Rubens's title pages.

2.3 | Material Aspects of the Production

When working with early modern title pages, several material aspects of the production have to be considered: the production costs of the book and its title page, the print run, and the format of the book. All of these factors can influence an interpretation considerably, and all can be taken as indicators of the value of a book, be it the material value, its market value, or the social value.

no. CC 31, f°78, p. 210; Haraeus 1623, BN no. CC 31, f° 75, p. 229; Blois 1632, BN, no. CC 31, f° 80, p. 262; Areopagita 1634, Teylers Museum, Haarlem and Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden; Barberini 1634, BN, no. CC 31, f° 32, p. 284; Lipsius 1637, Amsterdam, RP, no. OB 4303, also with stronger contrast, p. 302–303; Morgues 1637, RP, p. 313; Liutprandus 1640, BN, no. Vol. AA, p. 322; Goltzius 1645a, BN, no. CC 31, f° 85, no. 106, p. 343.

176 BM, no. 1895,1031.391. Quaresimus 1639.

177 Held 1977, p. 16.

Among other things, these values indicate the buyers targeted with these publications, although much has yet to be learned about them. The production costs of books, including the price and the costs of an engraved title page, the print run or its format reveal much about the relevance of books and thus a possible reason for the involvement of Rubens.

The Price and the Costs of an Engraved Title Page

First and foremost, an illustrated title page meant additional expenses for the publisher or a patron. The main costs were usually paid by the owner of the plate to an engraver's workshop for the engraving and the printing of the title page, which thus meant a profound investment. For the copper plate itself, Moretus paid between 2 and 6 guilders.[178] Often the plate would be sent to the engraver together with the design, having been acquired by the publisher and remaining in his hands afterwards. Those engraved copper plates that are still in the archives of the MPM were usually ordered and paid for by Balthasar Moretus.[179]

The plates, just as the types and woodblocks with illustrations, were the capital of a printer-publisher and were either used again for later editions or reused for similar books. This happened to many Rubens titles: eight plates (17%) were reused for other editions, sometimes by a different printer,[180] while seven (15%) were used for a different title.[181] Those plates that were not reused for other publications or editions were often plates for books too specific to be used again for other titles. All those with dedicatory elements could not easily be reused when the dedicatee had al-

178 Cf. Judson and Van de Velde 1977a: Letter from Moretus and Meurs to Hompes, 18 Jul 1620; "Paid for the copper of the plate 2 guilders 4.", p. 401 (i.e. for *Gelresche Rechten des Rvremvndtschen Qvartiers* 1620.); 9 Aug 1608: "Advanced for copper for all the above-named plates paid together 10 guilders 10.", p. 450 (i.e. to T. Galle: plates for the illustrations in P. Rubens 1608.); 4 Feb 1626: "Made corrections to the title, 6 guilders, and 4 guilders for the copper." p. 465; 10 Nov 1626: "Purchased the copper for the title of Vitae Patrum 6 guilders.", p. 466; 11 Jul 1637: "Purchased the copper for the title in-folio for La Royne Mere, totalling 4 guilders 18", p. 476.

179 Engraved copper plates in the MPM: Aguilonius 1613, no. MPM.KP.0081.D; *Breviarium Romanum* 1614, no. MPM.KP.0167.D; Bosio 1617, no. MPM.KP.0162.D; L. Lessius 1617, no. MPM.KP.0134.D; Nonnius 1620, , no. MPM.KP.0441.C; Tornielli 1620, no. MPM.KP.0168.D; Mascardi 1622, no. MPM.KP.0105.C; Haraeus 1623, nos. MPM.KP.0019.D and MPM.KP.0427.C (Vol III); Longo a Coriolano 1623, no. MPM.KP.0138.D; Hugo 1626, no. MPM.KP.0046.D; Rosweyde 1628, no. MPM.KP.0073.D; Sarbiewski 1632, no. MPM.KP.0103.C; Areopagita 1634, no. MPM.KP.0137.D; Pietrasanta 1634, no. MPM.KP.0141; Barberini 1634, no. MPM.KP.0199.C; Lipsius 1637, no. MPM.KP.0061.D; Morgues 1637, no. MPM.KP.0039.D; Simoninus 1637, no. MPM.KP.0103.C; Boyvin 1638, no. MPM.KP.0104.C; Liutprandus 1640, no. MPM.KP.0018.D; Rios y Alarcón 1641, no. MPM.KP.0038.D; Goltzius 1645a, no. MPM.KP.0104.D. Some plates, however, came later into the collection.

180 De Bie 1615, second edition in 1627; Steen 1616, reused in 1618, 1623 and 1630 by Nutius, and again in 1648 by Van Meurs; *Biblia Sacra* 1617, reused in 1634 by Van Meurs; Ribadeneyra and Rosweyde 1619, reused in 1629, 1649, 1665, and 1686; Mudzaert 1622, reused in 1624 edition, slightly altered; Pietrasanta 1634, reused in 1682 by Janssonius, Waesbergius and Wetstenius in Amsterdam; Goltzius 1644 reused in 1708 by Verdussen, just as Goltzius 1645a.

181 Augustín et al. 1617 and Goltzius 1618 reused in Goltzius 1645b; Mascardi 1622, reused for two editions of Don Francisco de Borja's *Las Obras en Verso* in 1654 and 1663; Mudzaert 1622, reused in Labata's *Thesaurus Moralis* in 1652; Scribani 1624, reused in N. Turlot's *Trésor de la doctrine chestienne* in 1631 and its Latin edition in 1668; Hugo 1626 reused in 1627, 1629, 1631; Sarbiewski 1632 reused in Simoninus 1637.

ready died with their specific imagery and iconographic references, especially when the courts in Madrid or Brussels, or the Pope, were involved.

Some few plates did not belong to the printer but to other parties, such as the copper plate for *Gelresche Rechten des Rvremvndtschen Qvartiers*, published in 1620. [182] The patent of the book shows that the civic authorities and the nobility of the Duchy of Gelderland granted Johan Hompes of Roermond the right to publish it. Six chapters discuss the provincial and municipal rights of the citizens of Gelderland, including a description of crimes and abuses, of contract law and the prerequisites of the region's trade. While Hompes printed the book in Cologne, the title page was produced by Balthasar Moretus and Jan van Meurs in Antwerp, who, at that time, were working together in a joint venture. The council paid for the title page, which is why it is still in the Gemeentemuseum in Roermond.[183]

The title page shows Albert's coat-of-arms in the centre, topped by a knight on a rearing horse (the standard depiction of a Spanish ruler), the devices of Gelderland and of Roermond on the sides, and the Archduke and the Archduchess flanking the title. The inclusion of the many coats-of-arms announces this work as an official production written under the rulership of Albert and Isabella—both shown to excel. The Spanish king, whom Albert and Isabella represented in the Netherlands, ruled not by arms only, as the banners carried by two angels above the image of the king announce: "Armis et legibus | vtroque clarescere pulchrum."[184] The book is a legal document and thus a tool in ruling a kingdom by law. Rubens often used the garland of fruit to indicate successful rulership, and it has here a similar function to the horn of plenty in other depictions.

The title page not only celebrates the rulers of the Southern Netherlands, it also affirms their power on all relevant levels: the king, the archdukes, the dukedom, and finally the municipality of Roermond, are shown in a hierarchical order from top to bottom. The title page was thus a proclamation and affirmation of the existing order in the Duchy of Gelderland, which is why the council came up for its costs. Consequently, in 1620, Moretus and van Meurs listed the costs for the publisher Hompes, incidentally offering a rare insight into the whole costs of title page production:

2 guilders and 4 Stuivers for the copper plate
12 guilders for Rubens's drawing
65 guilders to Hans Collaert for cutting the plate
2 guilders for cutting the letters
4 guilders and 10 Stuivers for the paper

182 *Gelresche Rechten des Rvremvndtschen Qvartiers* 1620.

183 Copper Plate: 303 x 187 mm; Roermond, Gemeentemuseum, no. 1428. Johan Hompes was reimbursed by the Council for all expenses of the title page on 24 July 1620. Cf. Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, pp. 495–496.

184 By arms and laws / it is beautiful to excel by both.

10 guilders for the printing of the engraving
8 guilders for the delivery of letters.[185]

At 12 guilders, Rubens is paid 8 guilders less than he would usually charge for a design in folio. It is also very close to the costs of the delivery of the letters and not much more expensive than the engraving—Rubens certainly does not show himself overpriced.[186] He possibly wanted less money because the book in question was an official book conceived by the council of Gelderland and paid with civic money. After all, Rubens was a court painter, and maybe such a task was expected of him.

But also the engraver was rather cheap, compared to the prices charged by the Galle workshop at the same time. Galle's prices increased over the years: in around 1601, the Galle workshop charged 25 guilders for a title page in folio; in around 1612–13 this had already increased to 75 guilders, while an 8° in the twenties cost 25 guilders to be cut, and a quarto 32 guilders; in 1628 Cornelis Galle charged 80 guilders for the *Catena Patrum*; and in the thirties the Galle workshop charged 90 to 100 guilders for engraving a folio copper plate, 38 to 44 guilders for a quarto, and 28 guilders for an octavo.[187] It is possible that prices rose in general during the first quarter of the seventeenth century due to inflation, but in 1620, Collaert charged at least 10 guilders less than Galle for engraving a title in folio. This could also be due to Collaert charging less in general, but little is known about Collaert's prices.

Rubens's and Collaert's pricing was in any case moderate, but even so, the total amount for the title page was 103 guilders and 14 stuivers.[188] With these prices in mind, it is easy to understand the many checks and phases of correction that were used in the production process. And so Moretus always made sure that he himself and the author saw the drawing before Galle or any other engraver or etcher was touching the plate.[189]

It is difficult, however, to compare early modern prices to each other as they depended on the difficulty the work represented and on the commissioner, as could be seen by Rubens's price for the book of customs by the council of Gelderland. Just as Rubens, Cornelis Galle had standard prices for Moretus. There are only two known instances in which the standard price for the cutting of a title page differed. One instance is the price of the title page of the *Sacrosancti et oecumenici Concilii Tridentini* finally published in 1640, which was raised from 15 guilders to 18 because its small size

185 Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, p. 214.
186 I thank Katharina Frank for this observation.
187 Bowen and Imhof 2005, p. 274; cf. also the charges transcribed in Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, Appendix III, Extracts from the Accounts of the Plantin Press, no. 3: Payments to Theodore Galle, pp. 450–481.
188 In 1633 Theodore Galle charged Moretus two and a half day's wages for checking the Medals by Goltzius 4 guilders 8 stuivers which gives an indication what would have been earned at this time per day; even considering that the monetary value had changed over the thirteen years, the 8 guilders thus represented almost four day's wages. Ibid., p. 472.
189 Cf. for instance Letter from Moretus to Galle, 09 Mar 1639, in: ibid., p. 392; Letter from Moretus to Galle, 08 May 1639, in: ibid., pp. 392–393.

had made it difficult for the engraver.[190] This problem was known to Chifflet, the editor of this small volume, as he surmises in an earlier letter that Galle might not be able or willing to devote his "bold burin" to the "smallness of so many tiny figures" depicted in the title page.[191] The book was a duodecimo and thus the small figures would indeed have been difficult to cut. To use so many figures in a small format is also highly untypical of Rubens who was always very considerate in using images that suited the format of the book. There is little doubt that a publisher thought twice before ordering a title page for a book, considering the high expenses of a title page. Two material aspects could induce him to do so, one of which was the expectation of customers and the other was the print run.

The Print Run

The print run could lower the expenses per book ensuing from a title page, but that only was useful if the publisher was able to sell the whole edition. Printing more impressions of the same title than could be sold would result in having the house full of books without being able to sell them. Storage added inventory costs to the production of a book, which the Officina Plantiniana seems to have avoided.

It is unclear how full the stocks in the Officina Plantiniana were, but Moretus seems to have calculated very well, and reduced the print run if he thought that a book would not sell well. In what sounds like a justification addressed to Philip Chifflet in 1623, he emphasises that some authors, however important and learned, such as Justus Lipsius, would only be read by a small number of people and almost required a patron in order to justify the publisher's risk of printing.[192] As a good example he mentions Agostino Mascardi who bought 500 copies of his own book on poetry, half of the whole edition, in order to enable Moretus to print it. The size of this edition has been inferred by the payment of 8 guilders to Galle on January 7, 1622 for printing 1,000 impressions of the title page.[193] It is very probable that this edition only had an expensive title page because the author had found a patron who paid for half the edition himself. Other printers handled this differently:

190 "… want het heeft in sijn kleynte groote moeyte ghehat." Letter from Galle to Moretus, 28 Jan 1640, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, pp. 394–395.

191 Letter from Chifflet to Moretus, 14 Jan 1640, in: ibid., p. 380.

192 Letter from Moretus to Chifflet, 15 Jun 1623: "Ipsius (quod mireris) sapientiae et litterarum quondam Antistitis, IUSTI inquam Lipsi, opera enim non nisi à paucissimis emuntur. Itaque deinceps Maecenatis alicuius auxilium adesse oportet, ne typographus omnem solus iacturam in libris illis cudendis sustineat. Ita Augustini Mascardi Silvas non tam meo quam Auctoris aere excudi, qui quingenta earum exemplaria assumpsit." ["Even the works (you will be surprised) of that former Leader of wisdom and literature, I mean Justus Lipsius, are only bought by a small number of people. Therefore, there ought to be the help of some Maecenas, so that the printer does not have to sustain alone all the risks of such an edition. Thus I have printed the Silvae of Agostino Mascardi, not so much with my money as with the author's, since he bought 500 copies of the book." Trsl. by Ibid., p. 370.]

193 Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, p. 218.

the Verdussens, for instance, did not mind paying for stocking large quantities of books and even acquired a warehouse in which the majority of the copies could be kept in stock.[194]

As far as the Plantinian records show, the print runs varied from book to book. Liturgical books, for which the Officina Plantiniana held the monopoly for a long time, had very different print runs than books that were intended for the Dutch market only. The sizes of the editions for titles with Rubens's title pages ranged from 300 to 5,000 copies.[195] 16 works with Rubens's title pages were printed in the usual size of 1,000 to 1,500, while for another 16 the print run is not known. In general, Jan Materné showed that assuming 1,000 to 1,500 copies per print run as a standard is not always justified. In the Plantinian office a print run of more than 2,000 copies increased from 7% to 29% in the time between the 1590s and the later 1640s, while smaller editions decreased.[196]

Printing costs were, of course, drastically reduced if a larger edition was printed, as the setting of the type would have been the main effort and a large cost factor. The rather expensive printing costs of a title page would shrink to some stuivers per book in a large print run, still expensive enough, but nevertheless manageable. So printers would have to negotiate between the saleability of a book, its printing costs, and the costs for storage. If the account of Jan Van Meurs can be believed, the Plantinian publishing house was more like a bakery, in which people bought their daily bread:[197] the liturgical books with their print runs of 3,000 were generally sold within a year.[198]

It is, however, difficult to make general assumptions as both print runs and prices depended on the kind of book, both in content and appearance—the Plantinian production consisted not only of liturgical books—and on the time of production. The situation for booksellers before the outbreak of the Thirty Years War differed substantially from the situation after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648: the Frankfurt fair, for instance, lost its importance in the course of the century.[199] Additionally, the Officina Plantiniana at the beginning of the seventeenth century tended to print diversified works to serve a greater variety of customers: the same titles were printed in several editions with varying qualities of paper, differing formats and illustrations.[200] Although 1,215 copies could be

194 It is very interesting to see the number of books in the house mentioned by the inventories made at the deaths of the three generations of Verdussens. In 1635, 81,325.5 copies were mentioned for Hieronymus I in 9 places all over the house apart from the shop, and including two hallways. In the second generation the number of copies was reduced to 61,810 publications in 8 locations within the house and four shops. In the third generation this was even more reduced to 55,234 with 34,996 in the external warehouse and the rest in 6 places in the house, as well as in the shop. Van Rossem 2014a, pp. 102–108.

195 Lipsius's work was occasionally printed in smaller editions, as for instance Lipsius 1637, and the small volume of Sarbiewsky's work, Sarbiewski 1634, reached a print run of 5,000.

196 Materné 1991, p. 482.

197 Ibid., p. 486; MPM, no. 157 f 665.

198 The Missale Romanum in folio was printed in at least 70 issues from 1590 to 1650, in total 31,400 copies. Ibid., p. 486; MPM, nos. 1229, 1232.

199 Ibid., p. 488. For the decline of the book trade and the Frankfurt Fair, cf. Rovelstad 1973, pp. 118–119. For the representation of the Officina on the Frankfurt book fair, cf. Lauwaert 1972.

200 Materné 1991, p. 484; MPM, no. 157, f° 37.

called a standard print run of a non-liturgical title and thus also the usual number of prints pulled from a plate, the print run varied considerably for a number of reasons: it depended on the number of customers expected, the production habits of the printing house, the market for which it was intended, the kind of book, the author, and the patrons involved.

Very often print runs are estimated according to the number of title page impressions ordered from the printer's workshop. These estimates should be treated with caution, however: the first edition of Sarbiewski's *Lyricorum libri tres* was reprinted or reissued later and the title page of the first edition reused with the date slightly altered, thus in effect constituting a second, so far uncounted, edition.[201] Additionally, the old title page of Lessius's *De iustitia et iure* was used for part of the 1617 edition (at least one example of this combination is extant), making it possible that not all of the 1,000 prints of the new title page were used for this edition. As it is almost impossible to trace all the copies of a book, it is equally impossible to know if an engraved title page was used much later for a second edition or if copies were sold without an illustrated title page, maybe at a lower price.

Often the existence of an engraved title page is used to propose a print run of 1,000 copies, because it was assumed that a copper would be worn down after pulling this number of prints from it. The problems with this assumption have been highlighted by the research of Karen Bowen and Dirk Imhof on the title page of the Plantinian edition of Baronius's *Annales* and its four plates.[202] Their study is particularly interesting as it helps to correct print run estimates and shows that plates can offer no real indications as to how large an edition might have been: the last plate used for the printing of the *Annales* exceeds all expectations.

This last plate was used for more than 50 years: from when it was engraved in 1601 until 1658, covering multiple volumes and editions. Additionally, the number of impressions pulled from it is staggering: on the basis of the printed images combined with archival documents, Bowen and Imhof counted 18,257 impressions—superseding the 50 to 2,000 impressions that various authors believed to have been the maximum of high quality impressions pulled from one plate.[203] The central part was also removed from this plate to be able to insert smaller plates with the title only. This practice, known from xylographic title pages or borders, made it easier for the printers to substitute the titles for the various volumes. This indicates that the plate was by then expected to last for many impressions of multiple volumes. That the central part was only removed after the first 3,821 impressions could be due to the quality of the engraving becoming only apparent then.[204] A time of experimentation with copper plate seems to have come to an end and at least a workshop of

201 Ulčinaitė 1998, p. 307.
202 Bowen and Imhof 2005.
203 For estimates of both present-day authors and those contemporary with Rubens on the number of impressions pulled from one plate, cf. Ibid., pp. 265–266; for the results of impressions cf. p. 268.
204 Ibid., pp. 273–274.

quality like the Galle workshop was able to produce long-lasting work.[205] There are other archival documents that show print runs, which were typically 1,200 copies for folio volumes. Engraved title pages were, however, often printed with an excess of 25 impressions, possibly for advertising purposes, as publishers were known to have sent title pages to book-sellers in order to make them aware of new publications.[206]

The Formats of a Book

There is some indication that an illustrated title page was expected for certain genres and certain formats. The formats of the plates depended on the book format, and because these depended on the folding of the paper, the sizes of the plates also depended on the paper.[207] So even within a description of book format, such as "folio", the plate size can vary considerably, e.g. atlases or Bibles were often over-sized. The biggest format illustrated by Rubens is *Pompa introitus Ferdinandi*, a book on the Joyous Entry of the Cardinal Infant Ferdinand in Antwerp for which Rubens was the main designer, with a size of around 563 x 444 mm and a plate size of 496 x 336 mm (Fig. 10).[208] The *Pompa Introitus* was not a book for daily use; it was a festival book and belonged to an elite genre produced for the various courts and cities in the Spanish Habsburg territories and beyond to honour a great or new ruler.[209] The smallest format of Rubens-books is the 16°, used for the poetry by the Jesuits Mathias Casimir Sarbiewski (1593–1640), Bernhard Bauhuis and Jacob Bidermann, and designed in 1634. This small format seems to have been the norm for books of everyday use, less paper was used for these and their prices were moderate in comparison to the bigger formats. Both these formats are exceptions in the small corpus of Rubens books.[210] Of those books with a Rubens title page, 31 books in folio were of a more regular size (folios: 64%), only ten were books in quarto (quartos: 21%), two in octavo, one in duodecimo, and three in sextodecimo thus all in all six smaller than quarto (minor formats: 13%).

That Rubens designed more title pages for folios than for any of the smaller book formats has as much to do with the subjects of the books as with the patrons or readers of these book projects. Not much is known about Rubens's or the publishers' choices, but a preference is visible in the

205 The first three plates had had to be recut much earlier; one of them an etching which could not be recut at all.

206 Bowen and Imhof 2005, p. 272. For the sending of a title page cf. Coppens 1996.

207 The plate sizes in the books of this corpus range for folios from 262 x 172 mm (Nonnius 1620) to 496 x 336 mm (Gevaerts 1642) with the average being around 300 x 200 mm; for quartos they ranged from 160 x 118 mm (Aedo y Gallart 1635) to 208 x 136 (Sarbiewski 1632), roughly 180 x 130 mm in average; octavos had plate sizes of 158 x 98 mm (Jesu 1620), duodecimos 120 x 57 mm (Chifflet 1640), and at 90 x 49 mm (Bidermann 1634) the sextodecimo was the smallest size of a Rubens title page.

208 Gevaerts 1642.

209 For the function and form of festival books, cf. Watanabe-O'Kelly 2004. For triumphal entries in general, cf. Mulryne 2015, Knaap 2014, Mulryne 2004a, Mulryne 2004b.

210 Bidermann 1634.

books he illustrated: he was preferred for work on folios and apart from liturgical work, he mainly designed the title pages of theological works, of historical works both ecclesiastical and secular, and some few books of poetry. This suggests a connection between format, subject or genre, and the sumptuousness of the decoration.

Which title or genre would be produced in which format was, among other things, dictated by tradition: theological works would be found in folio, while only the eminent classical authors of poetry would be published in a format bigger than quarto, and vernacular books tended to be smaller, often octavo and duodecimo.[211] The bigger format was necessary for some titles because of the large quantity of text and annotations: theological texts, for instance, tended to come with many annotations and discussions, while poetry did not need this kind of space.

However, many of the titles connected with Rubens and Moretus were representative works, emphasised by their larger format. The bigger formats included titles such as the Bible,[212] the *Breviarium*,[213] or *Annales sacri*, *Crux triumphans* and *Generale Kerckelycke Historie* by Rosweyde.[214] The sheer size of the volumes, the additional material needed to produce them, and the consequent costs added to the representative function. Oversized formats, such as the *Pompa introitus Ferdinandi*, were luxury objects intended for courts rather than the average citizen of Antwerp.[215] The material was used expressly in honour of the dedicatees, but, of course, also reflected on the giver, i.e. the city of Antwerp, and the producers. Prestigious books, such as the *Pompa introitus Ferdinandi*, were unthinkable without a corresponding title page and a great number of illustrations. Thus larger formats expressed both material value and the social importance of those attached to the book project: authors, dedicatees, publishers, and readers. In this context a title page was one means to enhance the importance of a book: it functioned as an additional dedication, often describing in its imagery what the dedication formulated in writing.[216] As the majority of Rubens's title pages are found in folios and quartos, the format seems to have played a role in this: Rubens was asked only if the importance of the book, the author or the patron warranted it, and this was tied to the format of the book. And Rubens would have been willing to contribute to such books that would spread his work to possible patrons in the right circles.

It is difficult to narrow down potential buyers of these books, but book prices are an indicator. Additionally, buyers had to pay for more than merely the book block. The book blocks in folio with a

211 Elisabeth Leedham-Green and David McKitterick suggest that most inventories would have omitted the smaller and vernacular books as their resale value would have been low. Leedham-Green et al. 2002, p. 324.

212 *Biblia Sacra* 1617.

213 *Breviarium Romanum* 1614.

214 Bosio 1617; Tornielli 1620; Baronio and Sponde 1623.

215 The print run of 600 copies made it even costlier, 200 of which were printed on better paper, five on vellum, and three of these were coloured in. One of the latter three is today in Madrid, which means that it reached its ideal reader, the Spanish king. Cf. Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, pp. 117–118; Arents 1949.

216 Frese 1989, p. 38–41.

Figure 10 – Title page for Gevaerts 1642; engraving, 494 × 333mm by Jacob Neefs after Rubens. Private Image.

title page by Rubens usually cost several guilders, often a week's wages, sometimes several weeks' wages of a master mason working in Antwerp at that time, who had an annual income of about 300 guilders.[217] But that was not all: it is often forgotten that a book needs binding both for protection and usability, and the price for the binding increased with the format. Of course, the space that was needed to store and read the book increased with a larger book as well. In order to stock a large number of folio formats, let alone read them, a library with a good table was very useful. The buyers of these large editions had to be rich and learned, or institutions with libraries. The circle of buyers for the majority of books with Rubens title pages was thus restricted by the price. Larger print runs are often found in smaller formats, while folio formats only had the same kind of print runs if the market was secured with a monopoly, for instance. The format of a book thus regulated who bought the books because the price rose with the format.

Antwerp had lost a huge number of skilled workers, entrepreneurs, industrialists, merchants, and intellectuals to the Protestant Northern Provinces during the latter half of the sixteenth century, and with them a lot of capital. However, a strong middle class of industrialists, merchants and bankers still lived there, and were the potential customers of some of the books with a Rubens title page, while others were exported to be read by scholars all over the world and were collected by the nobility. During the restoration under Isabella and Albert, Antwerp's banking system slowly recovered and its market rebounded.

Although many small firms had left to foreign trading centres during the exodus, those who stayed were suddenly provided with plenty of contacts all over Europe. Thus, while Antwerp was no longer the glorious European trading centre it had been, it still retained a "function as an important disposition centre for trade".[218] The patronage of the Catholic Church and the government helped the printers in Antwerp to survive the loss of capital and investors.[219] Because of the trading contacts across the world and the patronage of the Catholic Church, many of the books printed in Antwerp, especially those printed in Latin, Greek, Spanish, French, or Hebrew, were exported into other parts of Europe and often beyond.[220] Plantin had made his fortune on the export of liturgical books, a market that was very stable and profitable for the whole century. It remained so for his son and grandsons,[221] and the access to the liturgical market enabled the company to also print books of a rarer and more expensive kind. Often these books were collectibles for a market that catered for aristocratic book consumption.[222]

217 Cf. Büttner 2016, p. 248 for more information on the prices.
218 Sutton 1993, p. 114.
219 Cf. Cruz 2009, p. 69.
220 Van Rossem 2014b; Fuss 2014; Fuss 2011.
221 Illustrations are not included in this analysis, but Rubens's illustrations for the Breviary (*Breviarium Romanum* 1614) and the Missal (*Missale Romanum* 1613) had an enormous longevity and were exported around the whole world. Cf. Bertram 2018b.
222 Lindorfer 2014.

Many of the books for which Rubens designed a title page were produced for this international market and for customers with the means to buy them. Often the books with his title pages were found in private and aristocratic collections throughout Europe. These customers not only bought books for their literary or scientific contents, but were also interested in them as collectibles. The role of books for these customers will be investigated in the next section. Additionally, the inclusion of title pages as dedications had social implications of which not only the publisher or his customers were aware, but also the authors and intermediaries who showed an exceptional interest in the production of title pages.

2.4 Social Aspects in the Production

The Involvement of Authors and Intermediaries

Although the publisher mainly decided about the material and technical aspects of title pages, authors were included in the process of designing a title page, at least in the Officina Plantiniana. Sometimes detailed programmes were sent from the authors to their illustrators.[223] Moretus and Rubens both occasionally asked the author what he wished to have on the title page. This was necessary as Rubens certainly did not read every book that was to be illustrated nor did he have to. Conventions had already been established for specific genres and the long titles of the books usually indicated enough about a book's contents.[224] This title would, following the contemporary conventions, not only give the author's name, his titles and religious affiliations, but also a summary of the whole content sometimes with a metaphorical title and several subtitles.[225] Thus it is possible that Moretus not only wanted the author to provide the exact title because of the space that had to be left on the plate;[226] he may have also wanted the exact title because of the summary it provided. As Rubens could not have been expected to read all the books for which he designed the titles, it is more than likely that he in fact illustrated the wording of the title together with whatever the author told him, sometimes including the dedication in his design.[227]

Sometimes the authors replied with a precise list of the personifications and symbols for their title page; Rubens, however, interpreted their wishes in his way or transformed the generic wishes into a visually appealing and interesting image. The authors' replies repeatedly show very specific

223 Cf. Donat 1966, p. 169.
224 Cf. section 5.4.
225 Frese 1989, pp. 70–72.
226 "But concerning the pencil drawing of the frontispiece, it cannot be made before one knows what space one must leave for the title of the book; therefore may it please Monseigneur to send me the wording of the title, and I shall take care that the pencil drawing is made immediately." Letter from Moretus to Du Verdier, 22 Apr 1637, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 423.
227 Held also concludes that Rubens did not read all the books. Cf. Held 1977, pp. 19–22.

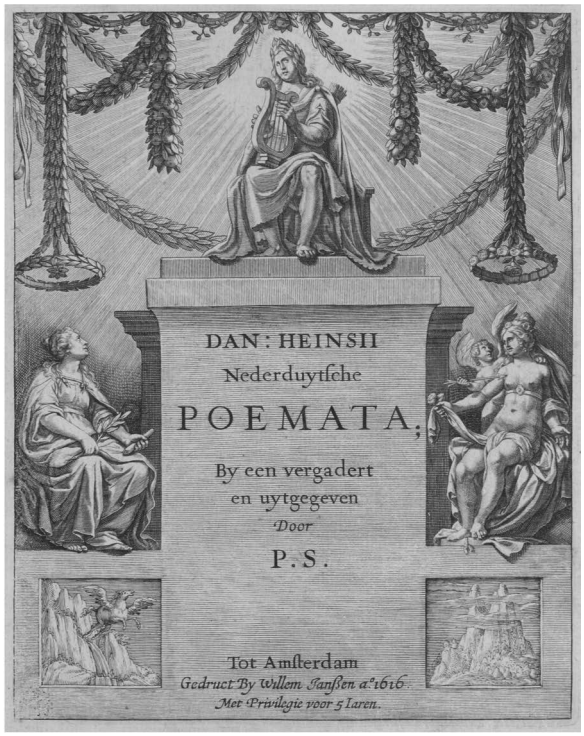


Figure 11 – Title page for Heinsius 1616; engraving, unknown engraver. Private Image.

wishes, trying to express the subject of their book or their dependence on a king or patron very literally. They were influenced by the tradition that had evolved by that time and by the wish that their work be presented in the best way possible—just as the classics. A very good example of an author negotiating for a title page is found in the letters written by Bauhusius.

In 1617, Moretus decided to reprint Bauhusius's *Epigrammata* (1615). The Antwerp Jesuit Bauhusius (Bernard van Bauhuysen, 1575–1619) found the decision by Moretus justified, as the book was "commonly asked for and, as I hear, desired daily".[228] Bauhusius entered the Society of Jesus at the age of sixteen, became a professor at Bruges, preached successfully for many years in Louvain and other cities, and produced several works of poetry.[229] He also thought that the beginning of the next edition of his book needed an engraving, and justified his wish with the explanation that "we have seen it happen here and there before" and readily provided the example of Heinsius's work.[230] The *Niederduyytsche Poemata* had just been published a year before, making it possible

228 "De recudendis meis, bene statuis; sic enim necesse est, nam et hic vulgo petuntur, quotidieque ut audio desiderantur." Letter from Bauhusius to Moretus, 1 Aug 1617, in:Held 1977, pp. 27–28.

229 Ruelens and Rooses 1972b, p.114.

230 "In fronte libri, mi Morete, plures sunt, qui iconem aliquam desiderent. (Ita enim passim iam fieri videmus. Ita Heinsij prodeunt, ita nuper P. Surij catmina Atrebati prodierunt. Ita quoque vos ipsi fecistis in meditationibus R.P. Provincialis nostri alijsque libris.)" Letter from Bauhusius to Moretus, 1 Aug 1617, in:Held 1977, pp. 27–28.

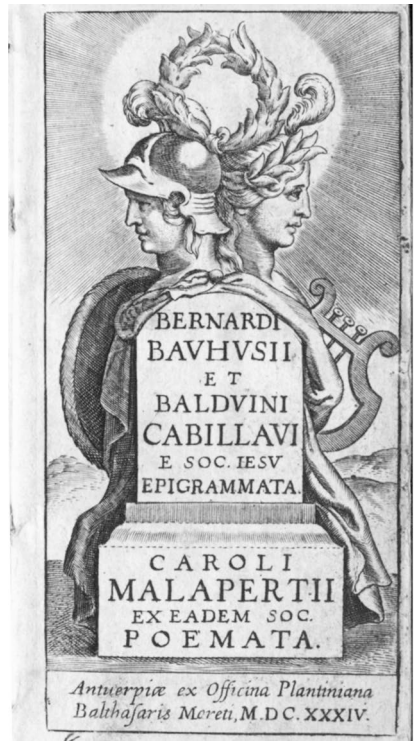


Figure 12 – Title page for Bauhuis et al. 1634; engraving, 100 × 48 mm by Karel van Mallery after Rubens. Private Image.

that Bauhusius referred to this work.[231] Furthermore, Bauhusius did not ask for just any title page, but specifically for one by Rubens: "M. Rubens with his divine gifts will invent something to be put on it which befits my poetry, the Order to which I belong, and the Faith."[232] On the one hand this is proof of the very good relationship that Rubens had to the Society of Jesus, on the other hand it indicates what was at stake for the author: it was not only his own reputation that would benefit from a Rubens title page, but also his order and faith.

However, in 1617, not many books of contemporary poetry had an engraved title page: engraved title pages were usually reserved for the large folio and quarto formats, for the expensive books, the collectors' books, the important theological or scientific books, and maybe even for the accepted books of classical poetry, such as Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. The poetry by Heinsius, taken as an example by Bauhusius, was a rare example of vernacular poetry with an engraved title page for its quarto edition, which indicates that Heinsius had already gained some reputation. Bauhusius had already made a futile attempt to get an illustrated title page for the first edition of his small volume of poetry. The examples put forth by Bauhusius in his argument betray the novelty of this endeavour. With the example of Heinsius and other eminent contemporary poets, he as-

231 Heinsius 1616.

232 "D. Rubenus divino illo ingenio suo inueniet scio aliquid appositumm et lauro meae conveniens, et ordini in quo sum, et Pietati." Letter from Bauhusius to Moretus, 1 Aug 1617, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 367.

sured Moretus that this novelty would be within the terms of *decorum*, a rhetorical category indicating appropriateness. Precisely because the example had been set by others, Bauhusius asked for a similarly engraved title page. Unconvinced, and possibly unwilling to pay the expenses, Moretus answered on 22 October 1615 that the beautiful type and the name of Jesus rendered any illustration superfluous. He also added that at the time his engravers and printers had their hands full with the plates for the Breviary and the Missal.[233]

So neither the first edition of Bauhusius's book in 1615, nor the second in 1620 boasted an engraved title page by Rubens; it would take another 17 years after he had expressed his wish for the second time for Bauhusius to receive this kind of decoration, a design which he did not live to see.[234] His letters offer the rare chance to compare his wishes with Rubens's invention, as, in a second letter, he had explained to Moretus what he wanted to have on his illustrated title page:

> Let us presently talk about the frontispiece; I shall explain clearly what I want (for the Reverend Father Vice provincial would like the book to have a beautiful title page). I have in mind the holy Parnass, the Muses, Mnemosyne, Apollo, all sacred things, etc.[235]

It is illuminating that Bauhusius mentions the authority of the Vice provincial to give his argument for a title page more weight and to legitimise it.

Concerning his ideas, Bauhusius was clearly influenced by the latest title page for Heinsius's *Poemata* (Fig. 11 on page 68) in quarto on which all the motifs he describes in his letter are shown.[236] What he did not consider was the small size of the book, as Moretus published Bauhusius's *Epigrammata* in duodecimo. When Rubens finally did illustrate his book, the above mentioned personifications, mythological figures, gods and muses were not shown on the title page; Rubens condensed all of these to a *Musathena* (Fig. 12)—a herm consisting half of the bust of a muse and the other half of the bust of Athena and a figure used for the publication of Erycius Puteanus, *Musathena, sive notarum Heptas*.[237] With this witty invention, Rubens not only circumvented the necessity of depicting a crowded Parnass on a tiny volume of poetry, he also alluded to a most learned discourse about the conjunction of the Muse with Minerva: Puteanus in his book had argued that he preferred the Muse to Mercury in this combination because she was associated "with the highest

233 "Les beaux caractères et le nom de Jésus qui ornent le titre rendent toute illustration superflue; mes graveurs ont d'ailleurs les mains bien pleines à tailler les planches des Bréviaires et- des Missels." Letter from Moretus to Bauhusius, 22 Oct 1615, in: Ruelens and Rooses 1972b, pp. 114–115 (MPM, Lettres reçues, no. LXXVI, p. 497).

234 Bauhuis et al. 1634.

235 Letter from Bauhusius to Moretus, 12 Oct 1617, in: Held 1977, p. 28. McGrath proposes a different translation than Judson and Van de Velde to avoid a Christian implication: "I have thought of hallowed Parnassus, the Muses, Mnemosyne, all the things associated with the gods etc." In: McGrath 1987, p. 233, fn. 4..

236 Heinsius 1616.

237 McGrath 1987, p. 244.

things (the Muses being in charge of the spheres), and her conjunction with Minerva, [would], as it were, divest that goddess of her traditional associations with war".[238] If Bauhusius is any example, then authors did know what belonged on their books, tradition and convention having provided them with many ideas. The wishes expressed by the authors are very interesting, because they indicate what a reader would expect on such a title page, or what was most important to the authors. They also show that the authors had a relatively good grasp of the "hieroglyphs" as they occasionally call the symbols and personifications used, although their ideas are very broad and generic.

Apart from the author, the publisher, and the artist, there are indications that intermediaries in some cases considerably influenced the drawing and the printing process. On example of this is *Le siège de la ville de Dole*, a book on the siege of Dole by the French army, written by Jean Boyvin and published in 1638.[239] During the siege of his home town, Jean Boyvin had been president of the city parliament, and after the withdrawal of the French, he put the story of this event to paper. Via the network of Philippe Chifflet (1597– after 1663), almoner of the Cardinal Infante, the work reached Moretus, who decided to print a new Plantinian edition in 1637.[240]

Chifflet was closer to Moretus than the author, both geographically and personally, which is why he was involved as an intermediary. His name is connected with a number of Moretus's book projects, both as author and translator: Chifflet had translated the *Obsidio Bredana* into French (for which Rubens designed a title page in 1626) a sonnet of his appeared in a panegyric publication to Isabella Clara Eugenia, and he edited the decrees of the Council of Trent.[241] Before working on his sketch, Rubens asked Chifflet to provide him with the general subject of the title page, which, in his opinion should include the Grass Crown, the "Corona obsidionalis" or obsidional crown.[242] In Roman antiquity, this crown was bestowed upon "a general who raised the siege of a beleaguered place or upon one who held out against a siege".[243] Thus, with his first idea, Rubens introduced the correct classical symbolism around which the ideas by Chifflet could then grow:

> As to the frontispiece, what I can tell is this, that it will be elegant and in keeping with the subject, that the obsidional crown would be presented to the King by the city of Dole. This city can be represented by a woman with a helmet on her head, offering the crown with her right hand to the King, or rather putting it on his head, and resting her left hand on a shield, on which will be engraved the coat-of-arms of the said city

238 Ibid., p. 244; referring to Puteanus 1602, pp. 10, 13–16.
239 Boyvin 1638.
240 Philippe Chifflet, Abbot of Balerne (Franche-Comté), had been the almoner of the Infanta Isabella before becoming the same of the Cardinal-Infante at the Court in Brussels.
241 Hugo 1626, Tristan 1634, Chifflet 1640.
242 Letter from Moretus to Chifflet, 1 Feb 1638, in:Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 373.
243 Merriam Webster Dictionary. Cf. also E. Bay, in Lexikon der Alten Welt, Zürich-Stuttgart, 1965, col. 669; Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert, p. 144. Cf also Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 22.

> of Dole; and at her feet a dog, which is the hieroglyph of fidelity. On a separate piece of paper I send you the coat-of-arms of the city of Dole and its device. The rest will depend upon the invention of Monsieur Rubens, who will know how to give elegance to everything.[244]

Rubens was satisfied with these suggestions celebrating the Spanish king as the saviour of the city of Dole and its rightful ruler, and he subsequently ordered someone else to make the drawing;[245] accordingly, on 9 March 1638 Erasmus Quellinus was paid 15 guilders for the drawing.[246] Like other authors, Chifflet was satisfied that the whole process was "under the direction of his hand, out of which nothing comes that is not worthy of admiration", and seems to have taken it for granted that Rubens outsourced the drawing to someone else.[247]

However, as an intermediary, Chifflet was exceptionally involved in the whole process, as he made corrections even after Galle had cut the plate and he communicated with Moretus regularly during the project.[248] Rather than Rubens or Boyvin it is Chifflet who is very eager to see the crown and the age of the king corrected, perhaps not surprisingly as he was close to the court.[249] Chifflet's main concern was the proper representation of the Spanish king, and the changes were carried out accordingly by Galle.[250] Likewise, it is Chifflet who gives Moretus the permission to publish the book, which makes me assume that the wish to have this book printed derived from court and not from the author because of its political importance.[251] For the next project with Chifflet, a book on all the decrees of the council of Trent, the communication was comparably close, and Chifflet

244 "Quand au Frontispice, ce que je uous en puis dire est, qu'il sera de bonne grace et conforme au subyect, que la couronne obsidionale soit présentée au Roy par la uille de Dole, laquelle uille pourra estre figurée par une femme ayant un heaume en teste, offrant de la droicte la couronne au Roy, ou plustost la lui mettant sur la teste; et reposant la gauche sur un bouclier, sur lequel seront gravées les armoiries de ladite uille de Dole; et à ses pieds un chien qui est le hyerogliphe de la fidelité. Je uous enuoye dans un papier séparé les armoiries de la uille de Dole et sa deuise. Le reste despendra de l'inuention de Monsieur Rubens, qui scaura donner la grace a toutes choses." Letter from Chifflet to Moretus, 1 Feb 1638, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 373.

245 Letter from Moretus to Chifflet, 11 Feb 1638, in: ibid., p. 374.

246 The drawing is preserved in the MPM no. 399. The archival record of the payment in the MPM, no. 167, f. 13, in: ibid., p. 490.

247 Letter from Chifflet to Moretus, 13 Feb 1638, in: ibid., p. 374.

248 Ibid., pp. 372–375.

249 "J 'enuoyerai dès ce soir le Frontispice au Sr Corele [sic] de Galle. Il a fait le uisage du Roy trop âgé; et la couronne Ducale. En une heure il remediera à l'un et à l'autre, puis ie vous r'enuoyerai la planche pour ne point perdre de temps." Letter from Chifflet to Moretus, 27 Apr 1638 and 5 May 1638, in: ibid., p. 375.

250 E. Clerc, *Jean Boyvin, président du parlement de Dole, sa vie, ses écrits, sa correspondance politique*, Besançon, 1856; pp. XLIII, XLIV.

251 "Je uous r'enuoye ladite planche; uous pourrez faire sortir le liure quand il uous plaira." Letter from Chifflet to Moretus, 7 May 1638, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 375.

was just as involved in the discussions about the design.[252] Again, Chifflet was told to check the drawing before having the plate engraved.[253]

The authors always seem to have been sent the finished drawings before Galle started to cut them, but the degree to which they involved themselves varied. The plate and the engraving were so expensive that each party involved was included in the process of finding a subject for the title page and was also kept up to date.[254] In one instance the author, Carolus Neapolis, apparently took it amiss that he was asked at all, thinking that Moretus was unnecessarily dragging the process out.[255] Moretus tried to explain his reasons to him:

> Dear Sir, you hardly have the right idea concerning my character and that of Rubens when you think that it is solely for dragging things out that we ask you to give us your opinion for the frontispiece of your book. We desire to learn the opinion of the author in order to get support for our own idea, or to change it. What you have suggested pleases us and Rubens's pencil will make it look even better. [256]

Asking the author was particularly necessary in these cases in which Rubens would have no occasion to speak to him and would not have read the book. As an exchange of letters could take weeks, the fear of Neapolis that printing would take so much longer is not unjustified. Moretus's answer is corroborated by many letters, in which he asks for the author's opinion, however, and does not seem to be a tactical means to prolong the printing process. Asking for an opinion also delivered opinions, but regrettably not many of the authors' opinions are known.

There are a few cases, however, in which clients were dissatisfied with an invention by Rubens. In one example, naked truth was too naked for the Jesuit Balthasar Cordier, and the imperial coat of arms was in some way misrepresented. He discussed this with Heribert Rosweyde, who apparently tried to have it changed. Rubens and Moretus, however, were unwilling to change anything because "in all the frontispieces which have already been printed Truth […] has been covered enough. We do not know what displeases you in the Impérial Arms. The engraver has copied the image which he has been able to procure here."[257] Even against the eminent authors Cordier and

252 Chifflet 1640.

253 Letter from Moretus to Galle, 12 Jan 1640, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 393; Letter from Moretus to Chifflet, 12 Jan 1640, in: ibid., p. 380.

254 Letter from Moretus to Van Haeften, 16 Aug 1634, in: ibid., p. 397.

255 Neapolis 1639.

256 "Illme Domine, Ignosce Illme Domine, haud recto de meo vel Rubenij ingenio censes, quòd fallendo tempori tuum de libri imagine judicium requiri existimes. Libentes enim Auctoris ipsius sententiam intelligimus, ut nostram deinde vel firmemus, vel mutemus. Placent quae suggeris, eaque Rubenij penicillum magis illustrabit." Letter from Moretus to Neapolis, 8 Mar 1638, in: Held 1977, p. 45; Ruelens and Rooses 1972d, p. 205–206.

257 Letter from Moretus to Cordier, 28 Nov 1628, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 382.

Figure 13 – Drawing by Erasmus Quellinus II after Rubens, for Rios y Alarcón 1641; drawing, 294 × 191 mm. MPM, no. TEK.401.

Rosweyde, Rubens's argument counted more and the image was not changed. The title page itself was later drawn by Erasmus Quellinus, who often drew Rubens's title pages by that time.[258]

The case of *De Hierarchia Mariana* by Bartolomé de los Rios y Alarcon (1580–1652) is another example of an author's dissatisfaction. De los Rios was a member of the Augustine Order and a preacher at the Brussels court from 1624 to 1641. As the title explains, the book was dedicated to the "Congregation of the Servants of Mary", a religious community of which he was the founder, and the Servants of Mary were also to be shown on the title page. Although de los Rios had already asked Moretus to remind Rubens to design the title in February, it was only in a letter sent on 7 May 1638 that he explained very clearly what he wanted the title page to show:

> May it be permitted to ask you something in confidence: that Your Lordship should ask M. Rubens to design the frontispiece of the book in the following way: the foreground should show the King of Spain, helped or encouraged by the order of St. Augustine, offering himself and all his clearly delineated dominions, bound as submissive slaves, to the Queen of the heavens, who wears an impérial crown. Also it must appear that he sets the example to all Kings for doing the same, or shows them the

258 Nave 1997, p. 49, no. 50a; Held 1979, no. 34.

> way and manner to do so. This is the entire substance of the concept: I leave the manner of expressing it to the man's admirable ingenuity, if only you inform him that I strongly desire the King to be presented in some imposing way and with a figure as large and magnificent as possible.[259]

It was thus not the representation of the king to which De los Rios objected. On 15 May 1639 Galle writes to Moretus that he had shown the title to De los Rios, and while it pleases himself, the Father was not pleased: "However, he does not understand this art and is not knowledgeable about it".[260]

De los Rios objected emphatically to the presentation of the clergy and the nobility. In the first design they were shown lying on the ground as chained and shackled slaves. Apparently this representation of the "Slaves of Mary" was in contrast to his sense of decorum, and he had Quellinus change this part.[261] Quellinus corrected the drawing as the piece of paper pasted over the bottom centre of the sheet shows according to de los Rios's wishes (Fig. 13).[262] The clergy and the nobility are kneeling in submission and voluntary slavery to Mary in the finished title page—a different treatment of the clergy and nobility was thus warranted.

All in all Rubens and Quellinus chose the imagery they also used on altarpieces, with Mary on a pedestal, bridging heaven and earth, her son on her knee, and venerated by fathers and kings (Fig. 14). On the left hand side is St Augustine offering his burning heart to the heavenly queen, whose sphere is indicated by the putti surrounding her. On the other side of the pedestal is the king, depicted above the saint but not on the same level as Mary, which is how Rubens managed to present the King "in some imposing way" and without the "figure as large and magnificent as possible" as De los Rios wished.[263] The king is offering himself to Mary, and, as he is pointing to them with his hand, also his dominions; these are represented by an orb carried by an angel.

The book was not only written for De los Rios' newly founded "Congregation of the Servants of Mary",[264] but also against the iconoclastic heretics in the north. In 1638, the Northern Provinces had taken Kallo, a small fortified city on the Schelde that was strategically important for the de-

259 "Id ergo liceat fidenter petere. Vt scilicet Cl. Dnâo Vra agat cum Dno Rubens, vti libri frontispicium ea ratione delineet: vt prima fronte appareat Regem Hispaniae se et regna sua singula signatè expressa auxilio vel suasu Ordinis D. Augustini caelorum Reginae, imperiali coronâ redimitae, compedita mancipii obsequio offerre, Regibus omnibus idem faciendi exemplum dare, seu viam modumque ostendere. Haec est tota conceptus substantia: modum eum exprimendi viri admirabili ingenio permitto; modo aduertat valde desiderare me vt Rex illustri quadam ratione, et quam fieri potest magna et magnifica figura constituatur." Letter from De los Rios to Moretus, 7 May 1638, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 417.

260 "Den tittel van Quellinus staet mij wel aen, maer P. Rios seijt dat hij hem niet wel aen en staet, doch hij en verstaet die const niet, en is daer in onverstandich." Letter from Galle to Moretus, 15 May 1639, in: ibid., p. 393.

261 At the end of May, de los Rios planned to go to Antwerp to talk about the drawing with the "painter". Whom he meant is not known, as the drawing is signed with Quellinus's name but it can be assumed that he went to see Rubens, as Rubens invented the title page.

262 191 x 294 mm; no. MPM. TEK. 401.

263 Letter from De los Rios to Moretus, 7 May 1638, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 417.

264 Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, p. 325.

Figure 14 – Title page for Rios y Alarcón 1641; engraving, 275 × 180 mm. BM, 1895,1031.394. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

fence of Antwerp. The Cardinal Infant Ferdinand, to whom the book is dedicated, reconquered the city some days later, but several sculptures of Mary had been destroyed in a frenzy of iconoclasm. De los Rios thus took the opportunity to write about the veneration of Mary, accompanied by an account of the happenings in Kallo.[265] Mary is thus depicted not only as the heavenly queen, but also in benevolent eye contact with the Spanish king who, dressed in armour and his sword, shows that he is willing and able to defend her.

The publisher thus handled a great variety of circumstances and individuals, all with some influence on the title page. Unless the authors or intermediaries actively involved themselves in the design process, they merely had to state their wishes and offer a summary of the content in the form of a title. Nevertheless, they were almost always shown the title page before it went to the engraver. Thus the author or his intermediaries had the chance to have critical points changed.

Rubens usually acknowledged the wishes of authors but can be seen to work them into visually appealing solutions in which he included considerations for the format of the book. Sometimes authors felt forced to express their dissatisfaction with details of Rubens's design, but never with the invention as such. Any dissatisfaction was expressed when they felt *decorum* breached, and feared repercussions from the higher clergy, the nobility, or the king. The two examples in which authors expressed their frustration showed that Moretus or Rubens would only consider changing the design if they were able accept the reasoning. A breach of *decorum*, as with the shackled slaves, was apparently a good reason, while the depiction of an uncovered truth was not, and Moretus showed himself unwilling to open this line of argument with authors or intermediaries.[266]

The Relevance of a Title Page for the Press, the Author and his Order

Title pages were important to printers: they not only advertised the contents of the book, its author and his religious affiliation, but also the printer responsible for its existence. From early on, the printer was identified by his address, usually also giving the name of the house or the street, but most importantly by the town in which the book was printed. To illustrate a title page was an investment, and would not only say much about the book and its content, its dedicatee and its author, but also about its printer. If a printer was to print a new edition of an already existing book, he had to decide what kind of title page he wanted, whether typographical or engraved, and whether he could or should have the title page copied or a new one designed.

Often printers decided to have the original title page reprinted, as, for example, Christopher Plantin for the already famous title page of the *Annales ecclesiastici* by Caesar Baronius (Cesare Ba-

265 The book also featured Latin poetry written by Caspar Gevartius, among others, Historian and Registrar of the city of Antwerp.

266 The censorship visible on the title pages of some copies—usually blackened, cut out or stamped genitalia—shows that this depiction of naked personifications was not only a problem for this one author.

ronio, 1538–1607) (Fig. 15).[267] The image of the title page for the *Annales*, used for the whole series of twelve volumes, was copied and printed in more than twenty editions in almost every Catholic country in Europe throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was, however, also used for the various editions of sequels written after Baronius's death, and also for the compendia of the *Annales* or their various translations, with only minor exceptions.[268] Thus the brand recognition for this title page was very high, and when Moretus took the printing over from his father (and grandfather) he did not change the title page. On the contrary, the Galle workshop had found a way to print the same plate for the title page 18,257 times, thus using the plate to full capacity from 1601 until 1658.[269] The *Annales* title page suggests that a new title page was not always preferable to an old, established one.

For Balthasar Moretus, a book and its title page represented his workshop, and he took great care with the layout and whether the title page had the "necessary splendour". In 1631, he was negotiating the new edition of a work against atheists of one M. Mairhofer from Munich.[270] In the first extant letter from Moretus to Mairhofer, dated 20 June 1631, Moretus expressed dissatisfaction with the book as a whole for editorial reasons, the "by-work [taking] up so much space that hardly any is left for the work itself."[271] His explanations as to why the title page has to be "newly thought out and engraved for the sake of good taste", are more interesting for title pages. For Moretus the letters of the title should have large enough characters and should be properly arranged, but not more prominent than the images. In the second letter he again stated that he does

> not find the necessary splendour in the title, I would want greater majesty for the figure of Wisdom. She appears dressed as a woman rather than as a virgin. I would like to see Minerva armed, but Christian and divine, with the shield of Faith. Rubens, the Apelles of our century, shares my opinion. I shall really consider the whole image, to decide whether this can be corrected and renewed or whether for the dignity of the Plantin Press, an entirely new one needs to be engraved: if so, at my expense, not that of Your Reverence."[272]

267 Cf. section 6.

268 Baronius himself had changed this often repeated title page to a typographical title page with a vignette during the time when he printed it in his own printshop. This has to do with his personal preference for understatement and his devotion to the Oratorian order. The Maria in Vallicella was shown in the vignette.

269 Bowen and Imhof 2005.

270 Letter from Moretus to Mairhofer, 20 Jun 1631, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p.407.

271 Ibid., p.407..

272 "Gaudeo nuperâ meâ responsione R.V. satisfactum ac mihi nondum de frontispicij imagine: nam praeter tituli quem requiro splendorem, maiorem Sapientiae maiestatem desidero: quae in veste muliebri, non virgineâ, apparet. Ego Palladem armatam velim, sed Christianam et diuinam, cum scuto fidei: atque ita mecum censet aeui nostri Apelles Rubenius. At vero de tota imagine deliberabo, an emendari et innouari haec possit, an nouam omnino incidi oporteat, pro Typographiae Plantinianae decoro: idque meis, non R.V. impensis." Letter from Moretus to Mairhofer, 18 July 1631, in: ibid., pp. 407–408.

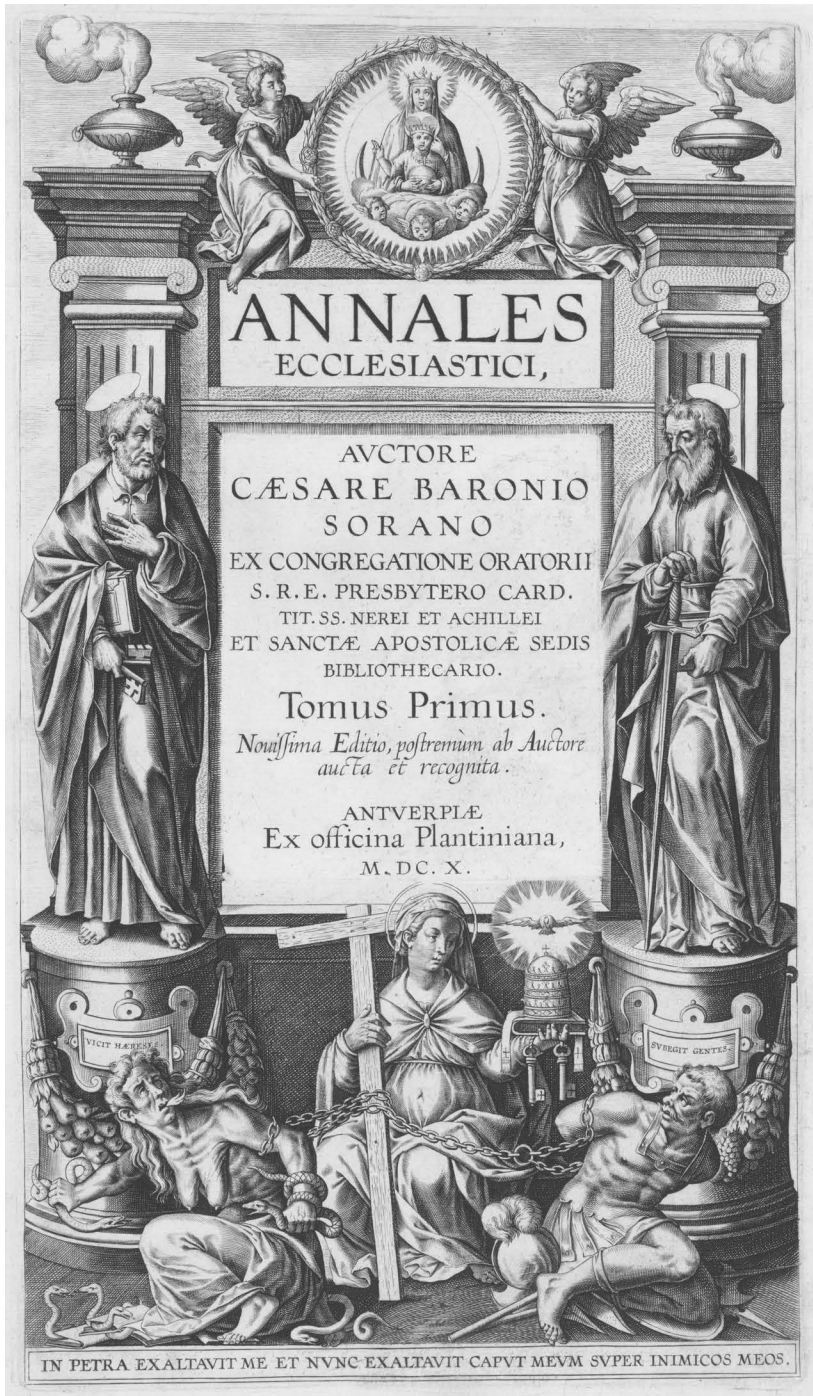


Figure 15 – Title page for Baronio 1610; engraving, 324 × 188 mm. Rijksmuseum, RP-P-1963-273. © Rijksmuseum.

What he clearly expresses that it is not merely the dignity of the author or the dedicatee that is at stake, but the dignity of his press. This is of greater importance to him than the costs of producing a new, expensive title page. He not only uses Rubens as an aesthetic compass, but also uses Rubens's name and reputation as the Apelles of their age to give his argument more weight. That he is willing to carry these costs shows that the book was of some importance for him as there are other occasions when he leaves the costs for such an endeavour to the author if the latter wishes for a title page.

Sometimes a new title page had to be considered, because the old edition was in a different format. One such example is the *Crux Triumphans*.[273] This religious treatise by Giacomo Bosio had been published as *La Trionfante E Gloriosa Croce* in Rome in 1610, and Moretus agreed to publish the Latin version, which Bosio himself had translated "for the benefit of your [Moretus's] country and others".[274] Bosio sent him the manuscript together with the "engravings in copper and wood." Moretus decided that it had to have a different title page, as the existing one was not "well adapted to the more convenient format of the page".[275] He did not have any reservations about reproducing the woodcuts in the new edition, possibly even adding more from stock material. As both editions, that of 1610 printed by Alfonso Ciacone and Moretus's 1617 edition were both folios, Moretus's statement about the different paper is strange. The paper must have had slightly different measurements, so that Moretus's format was somewhat larger or smaller than the 1610 edition. While other printers had no qualms about folding a title page that was too large, Moretus would not consider doing so. Again, Moretus's words should be treated with caution. Rubens's title page design is much clearer with fewer personifications and symbols and much better balanced than the previous one. Moretus's assertion that the book needed a new title page because of the size of the plate could be just a polite rejection of the previous design.

Another possibility to have a new title page for a work that would be published only in one edition was the reuse of an older title pages, a method which the Officina Plantiniana practised repeatedly. These plates were still in very good shape, and according to Moretus it was no problem to "efface the title" and "substitute" it with another.[276] This often happened with Rubens's designs for books by lesser known authors, as will be seen in the following.

The cheapest solution was the typographical title page. In one instance Moretus tried to discourage Cordier from having an illustrated title page for his *Catena patrvm Graecorvm in sanctvm Ioannem*, and to use typography instead. In his letter, he explains to Cordier that it is not necessary

273 Bosio 1617.

274 Letter from Bosio to Moretus, 25 Oct 1614, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 368.

275 "[…]et nouam frontispicij, ut vocant, imaginem incidi euro; nam quam Romae sculptam accepi, commodioris folij formae parum aptum reperio." Letter from Moretus to Bosio, 21 Dec 1615, in: ibid., p. 369.

276 "Nulla opus aliâ imagine quae tuo Elogio praefigatur: tantum delendus titulus Picturae et Elogij tui substituendus." Letter from Moretus to Chifflet, 23 Jan 1634, in: Held 1977, pp. 36–37.

to illustrate every title with an image. The option he offers Cordier is an embellishment with decorative lettering as had been done for the short treatises of Lessius.[277] In his letter Moretus invokes Leonardus Lessius (Lenaert Leys, 1554–1623), an author who could not have been perceived as anything but noble and against whose example Cordier could hardly argue. Apart from the fact that Rubens was away during the time, it is possible that Moretus tried to lower the costs, as he feared the book would not sell well. In a later letter he mentions the earlier publication by Cordier, of which he still had two thirds of the printed copies left, which induced him to print only half of that number for the second book.[278] This might also be the reason why this second book was not given a full title page. At least Moretus softened his blow by mentioning that the inscription on the title page stood out in red and was elegant, and that there was space left for a vignette. Cordier was able to chose whether this vignette was to show John the Evangelist, the name of Jesus, or the King's coat-of-arms, of which he chose the latter.

Quite suddenly in July, Moretus informs Cordier that he had given Rubens the King's coat-of-arms in order to decorate the title and to illustrate it with ornaments. Although printing an engraved vignette on a typographical title page was costly as it included a separate printing process, it was still cheaper and faster than buying a fully engraved title page. Both Rubens and Galle charged by size, and as the title page was already been printed by February, only the vignette remained to be printed onto it. Time issues could also have influenced Moretus's decision for this option. Rubens had been in England until April and in his letter from December 1629, Moretus suggests having the book ready for the occasion of the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III's wedding to Marie-Anne, Infanta of Spain, daughter of Philip III the monarch of Spain.[279]

Sometimes, however, even Moretus was powerless against the wish for a new Rubens title page. It seems that Rubens's designs were so interesting that clients would specifically ask for one of his designs and would not give up. In one case, Moretus was approached by Father Rosweyde and Father Habbeck claiming that Antoon van Winghe had recommended a new title by Rubens for the *Vitae Patrum*. In his letter to Van Winghe, Moretus shows himself to be surprised by the fancy wish of his: he had believed that Van Winghe "used to prefer humble works by others, [and did not know that he] found pleasure in the sublime inventions of Rubens."[280] Apparently, the issue concerned not simply any new title page, but decidedly one by Rubens. Once again, Moretus can be observed negotiating and trying to persuade his correspondent that the old title of 1615

277 "[…] nec opus est, vniuscuiusque Libri Titulum aliquâ imagunculâ, et non potius typis augustioribus exornari." ["It is not necessary that the title of each work be illustrated with a little image instead of being embellished with more decorative lettering, as was done for the short treatises of the late father Lessius."] Letter from Moretus to Cordier, 21 Dec 1629, in: ibid., p. 32.

278 "I have printed 1500 copies of the Catena in Lucam: there are a thousand left; of the Catena in Ioannem I am printing 750 copies." Letter from Moretus to Cordier, 22 Feb 1630, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 383.

279 Letter from Moretus to Cordier, 21 Dec 1629, in: ibid., p. 382.

280 Letter from Moretus to Van Winghe, 08 Dec 1627, in: ibid., p. 427.

was appropriate "because the inscription, which deserves to have preference over the subsidiary illustration, appeared to be dearer."[281] As a businessman, Moretus must have felt unnecessary costs approaching by having to produce a new title page instead of reusing the old one or having it recut. However, Moretus finally succumbed to the wish of the editor and his friends.

Moretus, however, did not mince words when someone was not willing to pay his prices. Very early on in his career he told a potential client that Moretus himself would gladly send him to another printer if the client was more interested in a low price than in the quality of his work. "In this matter we follow the example of some distinguished painter (such as Rubens here in Antwerp) who turns away the ignorant amateurs to some unskilled, and therefore cheaper artist. For he never lacks buyers for his own fine pictures, even if they are more expensive than others."[282] Moretus clearly took pride in his work and his press. He always made sure that his products were of the best and represented the "dignity of his press", this included the title pages—they were more than mere decoration. He also made sure that the title pages served their books and authors in the best way, advertising the book with the proper letters and the proper layout.

Nevertheless, not every book was given an illustrated title page, and certainly not every book was given an illustrated title page by Rubens. It is unknown how many authors Moretus turned away who wanted to have a Rubens title page, but it could be seen that he carefully chose the books that he would let his friend design. Moretus often asked Rubens for his opinion though, and it is possible that Rubens himself offered to produce new title pages for books that had caught his attention. So, while occasionally authors, usually important acquaintances or friends of Rubens, could ask for a title page,[283] it was very often Moretus who decided what happened to it. He could decide that an extant title page was not to be used as it was run down,[284] that the design was not good enough for him,[285] or that the title should better fit a new and different format of the book.[286]

Often he decided without consulting the author, whether a book would receive a title page and what it this would look like. This was only possible if the client was in a lower social position than his own. The publishing of books was not only an economical endeavour, but also social navigation: the books could strengthen, and thus also weaken, social ties for all the parties concerned, the publisher, the author, his intermediary and the designer. All the parties involved were fully aware of this. Because books seem to have had such relevance to all these parties, it seems that an investigation into the possible social importance of books is necessary.

281 Letter from Moretus to Van Winghe, 08 Dec 1627, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 427.
282 Letter from Moretus to De Peralta, 9 Apr 1615, in: ibid., p. 413.
283 Letter from Rockox to De Bie, 03 Jan 1611, in: ibid., p. 429.
284 Letter from Moretus to Lessius, 15 Jul 1617, in: ibid., p. 405.
285 Letter from Moretus to Hasrey, 19 Mar 1619, in: ibid., p. 399; Letter from Moretus to Tornielli, 27 Oct 1616, in: ibid., p. 421; Letter from Moretus to Mairhofer, 18 Jul 1631, in: ibid., pp. 407–408.
286 Letter from Moretus to Bosio, 06 Mar 1615, in: ibid., p. 369; Letter from Moretus to Bosio, 21 Dec 1615, in: ibid., p. 369; Letter from Moretus to Tornielli, 17 Aug 1618, in: ibid., p. 422.

2.5 The Social Relevance of Books

Books played an important role in Rubens's life: not only were they an integral part of his trade, they were also tools of his social representation or self-fashioning. His contemporaries praised him for his knowledge and learning, and he is even today known as the *pictor doctus*, i.e. the learned painter. He is recognised as such by Henry Peacham in his book about the *Compleate Gentleman* in which he describes the gentleman and his prerequisites. Peacham uses Rubens as the exemplary artist, emphasising that "his knowledge in this kind hath […] been his onely making": with this Peacham means his knowledge of antiquities, history, and poetry, all visible in his work.[287] This kind of knowledge, however, was not only necessary for "Poets, Painters, Architects, and generally to such as may have occasion to implay any of these",[288] but also for the gentleman as such, and it is belonging to this latter category that Rubens would count himself.

Rubens strove to represent himself as not only as an intellectual artist, but also as "the compleate gentleman" as described by Peacham. His self-portraits, for instance, never show him with an easel and paint brush as many of his colleagues depicted themselves.[289] The earliest self-portrait shows him together with four other men, of whom two are learned scholars: his brother Philip and Justus Lipsius, Philip's famous tutor.[290] But there is also a portrait that places the painter even more firmly among the erudite: today known as the *Four Philosophers*, it depicts Rubens together with Lipsius, his brother Philip Rubens, and Johannes Woverius, another pupil of Lipsius.[291] Also his first self-portrait together with his wife Isabella Brant (1591–1626) shows him not as an artist, but as a fashionable young gentleman with aspirations.[292] This recurring depiction as a gentleman, often among scholars, is never substituted for a depiction of himself as an artist, as the convention of artistic self-portraiture would have permitted.[293]

Rubens used the images as a means of enhancing his own status, stating a societal claim in a near-public context.[294] In 1622 he painted the most famous of his self-portraits for the Prince of Wales, later Charles I, wearing a black coat and hat in front of cliffs, with a red sunset in the back-

287 Peacham 1634, p. 110.
288 Ibid., p. 110.
289 For a discussion of Rubens's self-portraits as public statements, cf. Büttner 2015b.
290 Peter Paul Rubens, *Self-Portrait in a Circle of Friends from Mantua*, 1602–04. Wallraf-Richartz-Museum & Fondation Corboud, Cologne. Cf. Yamaguchi 2012.
291 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Four Philosophers*, c. 1611–12; oil on panel, 167 x 143 cm; Palazzo Pitti, Florence. Cf. Morford 1997; Vlieghe 1987, pp. 128–132, no. 117.
292 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Honeysuckle Bower*, c. 1609; oil on canvas, 178 x 136 cm; Alte Pinakothek, Munich. For a discussion cf. Büttner 2006b, p. 90.
293 Raupp 1984.
294 Büttner 2015b, p. 42.

Figure 16 – Rubens, Self-Portrait; oil on panel, cradled, 857 × 622 mm by Jacob de Bie. Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 400156. https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/400156/a-self-portrait. © H.M. Queen Elizabeth II.

ground (Fig. 16).[295] Again, the reference to his occupation as an artist is missing, apart from the inscription that reminds the viewer that with this image Rubens represented himself in the year of the Lord 1623.[296] While the cliffs may be read in terms of a neo-stoic *constantia* ideal, the red in the sunset refers to Rubens's own name; the latter was derived from a wordplay on Rubens and the Latin *rubeo*, "I am red".[297] The attire, however, is not an understatement as so often repeated, but the self-confident representation of a man who knows that he would be expected to appear without his hat in the presence of kings. Nils Büttner contextualises Rubens's attire in its contemporary discourses, especially the hat and the chain, and shows that this attire is Rubens's not very subtle declaration of his claim to aristocracy.[298]

Even though today "artist" might connote social status and convey a societal role, this was not necessarily the case in the seventeenth century, which is why Rubens never depicted himself in this occupation. Rubens painted and he called himself "constschilder", for instance in a will drawn up in

295 Peter Paul Rubens, *Self-Portrait*, c.1622–23; oil on panel, 85.9 x 62.2 cm; The Royal Collection, H.M. Queen Elizabeth II.

296 "Petrus Paullus Rubens / se ipsum expressit / AD MDCXXIII", in: Büttner 2015b, pp. 42–44.

297 Ibid., p. 44.

298 Ibid. and Büttner 2006b, p. 106.

1627, but the connection with a certain profession was not an indicator of how society saw Rubens or of where he would place himself in society.[299] As Büttner shows in his study of Rubens's life, he was born into the elite of Antwerpian society and even before taking up his profession had already inherited so much that earning money was not necessary. This circumstance was a prerequisite for being considered a gentleman and the first step towards nobility. A noble person should not work in the *artes mechanicae*, a point on which Peacham expatiates in *The Compleate Gentleman*.[300]

The fact that Rubens could still paint as a member of the elite was owed to two circumstances: on the one hand drawing was a recommended activity for nobility, also mentioned by Peacham in his guide for the arts of gentlemen. On the other hand, Rubens could refer to classical examples and to the case of Genovese painter Giovanni Battista Paggi (1554–1624), which he closely and attentively followed.[301] Paggi used both his learning and his nobility as an argument for his independence from the Genovese painters' guild. The guild had tried to hinder him from selling his work in Genoa, and requested from the magistracy a renewal of its old right to prohibit the import of paintings and to prohibit painters from executing their work if they had not been apprenticed to a local master painter for seven years.[302] In its ruling, the magistracy of Genoa agreed with the autodidact Paggi and decreed that painting was part of the seven liberal arts and thus free per se, suitable even for princes and kings.[303] The magistracy thus also acknowledged that the study of the arts was primarily the study of theory, of the subjects of the liberal arts such as mathematics, geometry, arithmetic, philosophy, and all the other subjects that can be learned from books. The case became known beyond the borders of Genoa, and in 1613 Rubens ordered a copy of the proceedings in order to help another painter in a similar plight.[304]

Rubens himself, taught by two or three Antwerpian master painters was firmly rooted in the the city's guild of St Luke. Nevertheless, his occupation as an artist is surprising as he was part of a social elite of which his brother Philip's (1574–1611) biography was the more typical: having finished Latin school, Philip became part of Justus Lipsius's *contubernium*, a group of students who shared a house with their teacher Lipsius. After his studies there, Philip left for a lengthy stay in Rome to finish his education there, and pursue a career determined by his almost noble descent. After this grand tour to Rome, Philip went back to Antwerp and followed in the footsteps of his father as a lawyer. In 1609, he became a secretary of the city of Antwerp, and only two months later married Marie de Moy who was the daughter of another secretary of Antwerp, Henri de Moy, and also an

299 Ibid., p. 17.
300 Peacham 1634, pp. 12f.
301 Büttner 2006b, p. 152. Rubens had also had an older brother, Jan Baptist Rubens (1562–1600/1601), who was apprenticed to a painter. Büttner 2012, p. 132; Rooses 1903, p. 14.
302 Büttner 2006b, p. 52.
303 Ibid., p. 52.
304 Ibid., pp. 53–54, esp. fn. 103.

aunt of his brother Peter Paul's future wife.[305] Through this marriage strategy the aristocratic and wealthy families of Antwerp made sure that the politically influential positions stayed in the same families over generations, "offering assurance and political stability through nepotism".[306]

Although Peter Paul Rubens's career as a painter was atypical of his social standing, he nevertheless placed himself in the same social sphere as his brother. His education initially also prepared him for a similar political career. He was born as the fourth son of Maria Pypelincx and Jan Rubens on 28 June 1577 in Siegen.[307] After his father's death, his mother moved back to her native town of Antwerp, where Peter Paul attended the Latin school of Rumoldus Verdonck. This basic education was followed up by service as a page for several years until he served an apprenticeship to a painter.[308] For someone of Rubens's social standing, the painter's craft was certainly not appropriate.[309] However, his relationships with leading humanists of his time, his family connections, and his status as a court painter still enabled Rubens to marry within the Antwerp elite. He married Isabella Brant, daughter of the jurist and city alderman Jan Brant, and a niece of his brother's wife, something which would not have been possible for a poor artisan. Documents show him and his wife taking part in a social life typical for a couple of their social standing.[310] Soon, he established his own art collection, created his own family gallery, and built and decorated his own town house, which he enlarged throughout his life into a small Renaissance palazzo.[311] His family portraits were not only necessary to recall family members no longer among the living, they were also important as a visible testimony of a family's descent and its claim to nobility.[312] Later in life, he also acquired a country house in order to show the necessary aristocratic standard of living for his newly acquired title(s).

A telling letter from the humanist Frans Sweerts (Franciscus Sweertius, 1567–1629) to his friend and librarian Jan Van Gruytere (Janus Gruterus, 1560–1632), written in 1618, shows that Rubens's social endeavours were noticed. In his description of Rubens, Sweerts emphasises that "Petrus Paulus Rubenius, seculi nostri Appelles" has just received about 100 marble statues and busts from England; that he earns 100 guilders daily; that he is not only a painter, but extremely versed in history and politics; and, finally, that he has invested over 24,000 guilders in his house.[313] That

305 For the social network in the administration of the city which helped Philip Rubens to his post, cf. Timmermans 2008, p. 78. *Biographie Nationale* 1908–1910, col. 313–317.

306 Büttner 2012, p. 131; Büttner 2006b, p. 24.

307 Ibid., p. 27.

308 Ibid., pp. 29–34.

309 A thorough discussion about this dilemma can be found in Ibid.

310 Büttner 2012, p. 134; Büttner 2006b, p. 152.

311 For Rubens's house cf. Muller 2004, Muller 1989, Tijs 1984, McGrath 1978.

312 Van Beneden 2015; Büttner 2012, p. 131; Stighelen 2008, esp. pp. 11–30.

313 Letter from Frans Sweerts to Janus Gruterus, 18 Jul 1618: "Wij van Antwerpen willen allenskens Italiae monumenta incorporeren. Petrus Paulus Rubenius, seculi nostri Apelles, heeft: onlanckx uut Engelant becomen over 100 capita marmorea & statuas. Sijn daer comen van Venetiën ex Musaeo Patriarchae Aquileiae. Desen Rubbens

Rubens is a successful painter, the Apelles of his age, is almost drowned under the other information that repeatedly mentions his learning, his collection, and his riches. The investments in his house and the acquisition of a marble collection underline Rubens's claim to nobility.[314] This is delivered here with a patriotic pride, especially as Sweerts begins this account with the information that "we from Antwerp want to increasingly incorporate Italian monuments."

Part of Rubens's "conspicuous consumption" was the acquisition of a library, and from 1613 onwards, the records of the Officina Plantiniana show him enlarging his library steadily. For this, his classical upbringing can be made responsible, an upbringing which was predestined by his social sphere. His father Jan Rubens (1530–1587) had already studied in the Netherlands before travelling to Italy for seven years where he acquired his doctorate in jurisprudence.[315] He and his wife Maria Pypelincx (1538–1608) were in contact with the Netherlandish and Spanish aristocracy and had influential social contacts that went far beyond Antwerpian society, within which the city secretary was also well-connected.[316] When the son Peter Paul Rubens applied to the Spanish king for knighthood, the reference written by the Bishop of Segovia dated 29 January 1624 rested on three pillars: apart from his descent from a good family and the excellency of his painting, particularly his intellectual qualities and his knowledge of history and languages was praised.[317] These repeated references to learning in a context of social advancement suggest that the ownership of a library needs to be discussed in other discourses than merely in the discourse of education.

2.5.1 A Gentleman's Library

Because Rubens's occupation as an artist and his immense output of art is prevalent in the modern perception of him as a person, his library was mostly commented on in terms of artists' libraries.[318] In the light of Rubens's own emphasis on his descent, however, his library should be located in the discourse of the gentleman's library, because a large library was increasingly used as a symbol of social standing. Private libraries became a matter of prestige throughout the sixteenth century,

windt dagelickx 100 guldens. Is niet alleen schilder, maer versatissimus in historiis et re politica. Heeft alreede over 24 duysent guldens versnoept in syn huys." The complete transcription is found in Heinen 2002, p. 310.

314 Cf. Ibid., p. 287.

315 Baudouin 2001, p. 48.

316 Cf. Büttner 2006b, pp. 21–30.

317 "El suplicante Pedro Pablo Rubens es muy raro en son arte y muy estimado en toda Europa; y cierto que muchos principes della le han procurado sacar de Anveres con grandes promesas de honrra y dinero, y juntándose á esto ser hijo de padres honrrados y fieles vasallos de V. Md, y que el suplicante, además de la excelencia y primor de la pintura, tiene otras buenas calidades de letras y noticia de historias y lenguas, y se ha tratado siempre muy lucidamente, teniendo mucho caudal para ello. Y assí parece podria V. Md servirse de hacerle la merced y honrra que pretende de nobleza, y dispensar en la paga de finanzas." Ruelens and Rooses 1972e, p. 266; on Rubens's nobility cf. Büttner 2006b, p. 59.

318 Damm 2013; Baudouin 2001, pp. 59ff.

similar to collections of paintings and chambers of curiosities.[319] Privately owning several hundred books, often bound in a personal library binding made of leather, was a feat not achieved by many at any point in time.[320] Some few aristocratic libraries achieved collections of several thousand books. Compared with the famous library in Wolfenbüttel, which housed 135.000 printed titles and 2.500 manuscripts in 1666, Rubens's almost 500 books were a meagre number.[321] Nevertheless, whatever Rubens's aspirations were, he was not from an aristocratic background, and compared with artists' libraries his collection was large.

Jan Bialostocki concludes that "the average artist was as distant from Rubens's erudition and learning as he was from his aristocratic dignities and diplomatic functions".[322] Owning books was not an exclusive privilege of the elite, but even in the studied professions (doctors, lawyers, and clergy) the average number of books mentioned in inventories was below 40 books per person.[323] In the inventory of Pieter Lastman (1583–1633) around 150 books are mentioned, which, although a lot compared to other artists, pales in comparison with the number of books owned by Rubens.[324] Buying books was expensive, even if the books were not bound in expensive leather. Only few would have left the expensive works unbound. The scholar John Dee, however, often left his books as purchased: his library catalogue was separated into *libri compacti* and *libri non compacti*.[325] This could also be an indicator of the relative value attributed by the library owner to a book. Rubens even had particularly valuable or useful books rebound if the protective leather was worn down.[326]

Not much is known about Rubens's physical library, although a large and very precise reconstruction of its contents was attempted by Max Rooses and Prosper Arents in the twentieth century.[327] The library is mentioned only in an inventory of Rubens's residence dated 1645. This records that in 1639 David Ryckaert moved out of his house on the outskirts of Rubens's estate, whereupon Rubens used it to house his library, several paintings, and copies.[328] Otherwise Rubens's library is

319 Lindorfer 2014, passim.

320 Cf. the article by Bepler who shows that books were not just intellectual but also financial capital; Bepler 2001, p. 960.

321 Ibid., p. 962; Schmidt-Glintzer 1998, esp. W. Arnold 1998.

322 Bialostocki 1984, p. 19.

323 From a sample of inventories in Amiens: Chartier 1987, pp. 146–148. These inventories should, however, also be checked for vernacular books. It is possible, as Leedham-Greene and McKitterick suggests, that the vernacular books were largely not listed in the inventories as their re-sale value might not have been high enough. Cf. Leedham-Green et al. 2002. For sixteenth-century private libraries in Italy cf. Nuovo 2010.

324 Seifert 2013, p. 155.

325 Cf. Sherman 1995, p. 32; Dee 1990.

326 For new bindings cf. Arents et al. 2001. The books for which Rubens ordered a "binsel" were in 1620 the works of Otto van Veen (E 50), Goltzius's *Julius Caesar* (E61), Gevaerts's *Electorum libri III* (E62), Valerianus's *Hieroglyphica* (E63), Goltzius's *Numismata* in 1621 (E65), his own *Palazzi di Genova* three times in 1622 (E74a and E79) possibly as presents, one copy of the *Pompa funebris Alberti* and the Entries of Albert and Ernest (E87) in 1623.

327 Ibid., Rooses 1882, 1883.

328 "Staet van goederen van het sterfhuis van P. P. Rubens" 17 November 1645, SAA, N 1894 (Notariaatsarchief: Toussaint Guyot: Protocollen, en staten en rekeningen, 1645), sub dato 8c n°: "21. Het huys in 't Hoplant, geteeckent n 8,

not mentioned as a place. Libraries were mentioned in other contexts, however. The way in which other collectors took special care to present their collections suggests that these were often considered to be as important as other collections. The early modern book collectors provide ample possibility to investigate the social and cultural relevance of libraries in Rubens's time.

In his analysis of cardinal Maffeo Barberini's library, Sebastian Schütze maintains that every cardinal had an extensive library—it was almost part of their representative duties.[329] But the importance of an early-modern library in terms of self-fashioning and reputation is maybe best exemplified by Samuel Pepys (1633–1703). Throughout his life, this official of England's Navy was very eager to present himself "as a representative of the roles to which he aspired: he worked hard to behave like a gentleman, like a virtuoso, like a professional administrator, like a worthy client, and like an estimable patron".[330] He is not only known as a prolific diary writer; he also collected a great number of books and wrote a short treatise on private libraries.[331] His use of his library in fashioning his social roles, suggests that the library could be considered as a social marker.

In his treatise on private libraries Pepys distinguishes between the "extensive, pompous" libraries of princes or universities, the focussed collections of specialists, and his private library "for the self-entertainment onely of a solitary, unconfined enquirer into books".[332] His list, of course, does not include the libraries of religious foundations, such as monasteries or churches. With humility verging on topos, he plays his own library down and presents it here more confined than it would have been. Especially the word "solitary" in his description of his own library can be misleading, as the libraries were anything but private and solitary.[333] Books were borrowed, lent, exchanged, recommended, criticised, and some scholars have considered early modern readers in the context of communities, as reading was a social endeavour.[334] Rubens's correspondence is filled with exchanges about, and recommendations of books; he often tried to obtain a specific book for one of his friends.[335] Samuel Pepys, just as the owners of libraries in Antwerp, received many visitors and gladly allowed others access to his large collection. The importance of this can be seen by the pains Pepys took in order to furnish his library.

tsedert dat David Ryckaert, lesten huerlinck te Kersmisse anno 1639 daer uytgetrocken is, heeft de voorgeschreven aflyviche [d.i. Rubens] selve gebruyckt tot syne bibliotheke, ende eenighe slechte schilderyen ende copyen daerinne geseth." in: Büttner 2006b, p. 195, fn. 23.

329 Schütze 2007, p. 27.

330 Loveman 2015, p. 7.

331 Pepys bequeathed 4,063 titles in 2,971 volumes to Magdalene College, Cambridge, UK, in the early eighteenth century. Ibid., p. 248, fn. 10.

332 "Mr Pepys on the Conditions of a Private Library", *Private Correspondence*, vol. 2, p. 247. in: ibid., p. 245.

333 Ibid., p. 245.

334 "The significance of reading a book may lie not in a purely intellectual transaction, but in a combination of this with other factors such as where the work was read … or who recommended it, or indeed who condemned it". Champion 2003, Chartier 1994.

335 Cf. the almost 100 titles in sections "H" and "J" in Arents et al. 2001.

The books were not the only means to display the wealth and learning of the owner: there was also the room to consider in which the library was presented, as the display was part and parcel of a gentlemanly collection.[336] Apart from book cases, private libraries usually displayed costly artefacts and instruments, such as globes or astrolabes. The display of books in open book cases only became the standard feature of a library during the seventeenth-century, as it was "quite usual, even in great houses, for books as items of relative rarity to be kept in closets and indeed in chests".[337] The extent to which Samuel Pepys went in order to display his bindings to his visitors was not often copied as it was expensive: he had glazing put in front of his book shelves and put the smaller books on blocks in order to have his books in perfect alignment.[338]

A good Antwerpian example is the library of Emmanuel Ximenez, one of the wealthiest Portuguese merchants living in Antwerp in the seventeenth century. "On the Occasion of the Death of Isabel de Vega, Wife of Emmanuel Ximenez" in Antwerp in June 1617, an inventory was made that included the library of her wealthy Portuguese husband.[339] He belonged to the same social elite as Peter Paul Rubens and his family, the Ximenez family having procured aristocratic titles and country estates in the early seventeenth century, and their life style demonstrated this newly achieved noble status. The library of Emmanuel Ximenez counted 984 titles with an additional 72 manuscripts, and was housed in a separate study above the sitting room facing the courtyard.[340]

Ximenez's library in the "Camer boven de Salette aen de Pletse" offers a glimpse into both the contents and the display of a gentleman's library. The inventory lists three bookcases covered in black leather and four wooden book cases, but also four tables: a writing table covered in black leather, a wooden writing table, a standing writing table with an iron candle stick on it, and a Spanish table with two men's chairs accompanying it.[341] The furniture alone suggests a larger room in which all these tables could be used. The objects listed included several copper figures (among which a copper skull), several mathematical instruments made from iron or copper such as "a small bow" for geometry, a sundial, a wooden instrument for perspective, a copper astrolabe, a Jacob's staff, a telescope, a box of lenses and prisms, two globes, several religious figures and several medals of Cardinal Borromeo, three dried Indian animals, two clocks, a map of the Low Countries, one of Africa and a third map of the world, an image of Den Haag and two framed maps of Europe and Germany, several relics, a small printed picture, and much more.[342]

336 Jajdelska 2007, p. 557.
337 Leedham-Green et al. 2002, p. 325.
338 Ibid., p. 326.
339 Sarah Joan Moran, "Inventory" in: Göttler et al. 2017.
340 Christine Göttler, "The Library of Emmanuel Ximenez" in: ibid.
341 "Drye boeckcassen met swert leir becleet; Een lessener becleet als vore; Twee weeckhoutte cassen ende een lessener; Een Spaensch tafelken; Twee Spaensse mansstoelen; […]." Trsl. by Sarah Joan Moran, "Inventory" in: ibid.
342 "Een yseren instrument dienende tot fonteyn met houtte figuren ende buysen daertoe dienende; Twee globen oft sphera mundi; Drye gedroechde Indiaensche gedierten te weten: een salamander, een crocodille ende een

Both setting and furniture suggest that this was the place where the master of the house received guests and maybe even customers, where he discussed the interesting objects displayed, and where visitors admired his diverse collection of books and curiosities. However, as Martin shows through many examples of French private libraries, their displays were characterised by "an almost theatrical setting of extravagance", topped only by the display of the Duc d'Orleans.[343] His books were displayed at the end of the gallery that depicted the de'Medici cycle by Rubens.[344] The collection was to reflect on the collector, and the more subjects and languages the library could boast, the more learning and erudition could be claimed by its owner. For Kate Loveman gaining "entrance [to the inner sanctum of a library] was to be offered the impression that you were getting inside the owner's head—an impression that could be altered as he or she chose."[345] This impression is also given by inventories of other libraries, such as by the Antwerp merchant Ximenez.

Thus a library was perceived as a necessary tool for the achievement of social mobility and was part of an ostentatious life style connected to the conspicuous consumption of a certain status.[346] Bill Sherman stresses that "the private library and the solitary scholarly reader are less representations of early modern reality than rhetorical strategies by which early modern subjects negotiated their place in society".[347] These rhetorical strategies had their material manifestation in the libraries themselves.[348] The strategies were known to Rubens and exploited to their full extent; that does not mean that he did not have a serious interest in the contents of his library, but that he purposefully used it to connect with important and learned circles.

Books in a library could show their owners' wealth through their material and quantity, as well as the production process of the codices: the Burgundian abbot Raphael de Mercatellis ordered all his books from scribes so that they had the same appearance inside and out, easily recognisable by their large script and rich bindings. Many of these books were available either as ready-made

ander met schelpen onbekent; Een groote horologie; Een lantcarte van de Nederlanden; Een ander van Africa; Een ander carta mappa mundi; Een gedructe carte oft afbeeldinge van 's Gravenhaghe; Twee ander cleyn carten in swerte lysten: d'een van Europa ende d'ander van Duytslant; Een gedruct schilderyken; Twee weeckhoutte kaskens daerinne een kintsbeelt van wasch; In een weec casken een coperen beelt figure van Huysman; Een coperen dootshoyken; Een coperen beelt Mercurius; Een vuerslach; Een sasken tot prospective ende instrumenten mathematicque; Een schietbooghsken van coper tot geometrie in een leiren custodie; Eenen mathematicq sonwyser van Michiel Coignet; Een houtte instrument dienende tot prospective in houtten casse; Een cleyn coperen astrolabium in leiren custodie met root satyn gevoedert met instrumenten daertoe dienende; Een geparfumeert vel van ambre met diverse stuckskens dyergelyc leir Baculus Jacobi van hout; Een houtten instrument dienende tot metinge van lantschappen; Een buijse in drye van leir dienende om verre te sien; […]; Een kofferken daerinne een doosken met medailliën van Cardinal Borremeo; […] Noch coperen medaliën van Cardinal Borromeo; […]." Trsl. by Sarah Joan Moran, "Inventory" in: ibid.

343 H.-J. Martin 1993, p. 326.

344 Ibid., p. 326.

345 Loveman 2015, p. 250.

346 Cf. Veblen 1899 for the introduction of "conspicuous consumption"; an idea that was used by Elias 1969.

347 Sherman 1995, p. 50.

348 Lindorfer made the same point in Lindorfer 2014, p. 167; cf. also Bouza 2004, p. 65.

manuscripts or as incunabula, i.e. early printed books, thus having all of these commissioned instead of buying them on the market made his collection unique.[349] Clearly his intent was not only to read his books, but to display his wealth by creating a unique collection. Accordingly, the librarian's manual by Gabriel Naudé notes that a "desire for fame" was indeed a motive for collecting books in which the binding could be as important, or even more so, than the content of a book.[350]

Apart from conspicuous consumption, books had to display erudition as the short satire *De charlataneria eruditorum declamationes duae* by Johann Burkhard Mencke shows.

> I will now move on to those who believe that, although as such they have precious little to offer, even potentially, themselves, it suffices to assume the label of erudition if, by wasting their entire capital, they can scrape together all the books published anywhere in the world. Books which they will never read or if they read them at all, will fail to understand. Rather, they collect piles and piles of printed volumes which they then put on display in long rows, as if in armories, and with much gold and purple adorned, and which they behold several times a day with cheerful countenance and show them ad nauseam to their friends and acquaintances in a similar way.[351]

He bemoaned the charlatanry of the erudite or, more precisely, those who wished to be seen as such by investing all their money into the accumulation of books.[352] Even though his lament might be exaggerated for effect, it only works if the link between amassing books and the status of erudition was established. Thus books, "piles and piles of printed volumes" were collected in order to impress others with their number, their material ("with much gold and purple adorned"), and their contents—even though the collectors could only pretend to that "label of erudition" by indiscriminately buying books from all over the world. His observation correlates to the observation that private libraries expanded in the course of the seventeenth century.

In the commentary by an editor in the German edition from 1727, *Zwei Reden von der Scharlatanerie oder Marktschreierei der Gelehrten*, another misbehaviour is noted: not lending the treasures to others, and enviously guarding the books from the eyes of others.[353] Books had become a so-

349 Sometimes the scribes even copied the colophon of the incunabula. Cf. Derolez 2002, pp. 38–39.

350 H.-J. Martin 1993, p. 325.

351 "Sed fatis de his; ad eos pergo, qui cum ipsi nihil habeant, quod prodant, vel polliceantur, fatis tamen se tueri posse putant nomen eruditi, si cunctas suas facultates dilapidantes, quicquid ubique prodeat librorum, quos nec legunt quidem unquam, nec si legant, intelligunt, avidissime corradant, totosque montes & acervos voluminum congerant, quæ longo ordine velut in armamentariis disposita multoque auro ac purpura distincta aliquoties per diem hilari vultu adspectant, amicisque ac clientibus suis identidem ad nauseam usque, demonstrant." Mencke 1715, p. 35. Engl. trsl. by De Smet 2002b, p. 12.

352 Mencke 1715, German translation: Mencke 1727.

353 "Es giebt aber auch wiederum andere, die wenn sie gleich selbst ihre Bücher nicht nutzen können, doch auch derselben Gebrauch sonsten niemanden zulassen wollen, und die sich durch kein Bitten und Schmeicheln bewegen lassen, nur ganz gemeine Bücher wegzulehnen." Ibid., p. 93.

cial currency in networking and were exchanged in the "humanist tradition as tokens of goodwill", as Jill Bepler showed for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. [354] In any case, the number of books was to be admired as the further commentary reveals in which the "piles of books" are discussed. The German editor knows the example of the Fugger family's library which was said to contain as many books as stars could be found in sky.[355]

One of the biggest libraries in sixteenth-century England with three to four thousand titles was that of John Dee, the renowned Elizabethan scholar.[356] This library is just as varied as Pepys's, if not more so, and is not specifically focussed on one subject. According to Roberts and Watson's subject index, the collection included, apart from the texts in the trivial and quadrivial canons, works on anger, burial, chastity, cosmetics, dogs, dreams, earthquakes, falconry, gymnastics, heresy, memory, roads, and tides.[357] Dee had books in twenty-one languages, including Armenian, Catalan, and Swedish, and thus supports Pepys's claim that a library should show "the greatest diversity of Subjects & Stiles (from the most solemn & polite down to the most Vulgar) & in such variety of Languages as the Owner's Reading will bear."[358] The inference from a display of books in many languages is that the Owner's reading is erudite.

But of course, a library was a necessary tool in many professions and not merely an expression of status. The Ximenez library, for instance, shows a predilection for books on scientific discoveries, and books that might help a large merchant house engaged in trading a wide variety of commodities, and it also reflects the global network in that books in many vernacular languages are listed.[359] Its owner was very interested in travel literature, especially that on the new colonies and the East Indian Company, as well as Jesuit letters from Japan and China.[360] On the whole, Ximinez seems to have favoured recent and contemporary books; especially his medical books show this tendency, where early modern authors abound, but Hippocrates or Galen are not represented.[361] Nevertheless, apart from betraying the professional interest of its owner, the library of the merchant Ximenez also contained large quantities of titles concerned with completely different areas of life, such as books on the sciences, on law and historical works.

354 Bepler 2001, p. 958.

355 "... im diction. unter dem Articul Fugger allwo von der Fuggerischen Bibliothec noch viel ein grösser Werck gemacht wird. Wolfius hat von derselben gesagt: "Es wären darinnen so viel Bücher, als Sterne am Himmel zu finden"." Mencke 1727, p. 94.

356 For the 1583 catalogue of Dee's library cf.: Dee 1990, Dee 1583; Halliwell-Phillipps 1842.

357 Sherman 1995, p. 31; Dee 1990.

358 BL, MS Add. 78680, item 17, fol. 2r. Quoted in: Loveman 2015, p. 249.

359 Christine Göttler, "The Library of Emmanuel Ximenez" in: Göttler et al. 2017.

360 Christine Göttler, "Books on Travel, Geography, and Navigation" in: ibid.

361 Elaine Leong, "Medical books in the Library of Emmanuel Ximenez" in: ibid.

The same wide interests can be observed from the account which Antwerp's alderman and mayor, and Rubens's patron, Nicolaas Rockox (1560–1640) had at the Officina Plantiniana.[362] To judge from his purchases, he favoured books on ancient and contemporary history and numismatics, books on geography and botany, as well as religious books.[363] Nevertheless, all this information about Rockox's purchases can only tentatively point the way, as nothing is known about the use of these books—were they presents for friends or family, did Rockox mean to read them or to give them away? A gentleman's goal in collecting books for a personal libraries seems to have been comprehensiveness, that appears to have been systematic. This trait is also reflected in another library catalogue closer to Rubens.

While Rubens's library is only known to us through Prosper Arents's painstaking reconstruction, the library of Rubens's son Albert is known from an auction catalogue produced after his death.[364] In this catalogue the same tendencies as in the libraries of Rubens's fellow Antwerp citizens Ximenez and Rockox is visible: Of the 1,600 titles in the catalogue, a great number are listed in the historical section (416 titles); many other historical titles could be found among the 209 French, 131 Spanish, and 53 Spanish titles, as well as in the book class "historici et philosophi". Thus, probably one third of all the 1,600 titles mentioned in the catalogue were historical works. The humanistic book class was the second biggest with 180 titles, comprising ancient and contemporary literary works; this, too, could be enlarged by books from the vernacular language sections. The third largest book class subsumed legal books. This focus of the library is explained by the fact that Albert Rubens was a jurist and was, just as his father, very interested in Latin and Roman history. However, the relatively large book classes of theological (127 titles), medical (55 titles), and mathematical titles also mentioned are surprising. The Renaissance ideal of the *uomo universale* comes to mind, the man who is interested in every aspect of the universe and embraces all knowledge. It seems that the owners of these libraries and books were expected to at least display wide interests, even if they did not actually read their books.

The acquisition of an encompassing library can be observed all over Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In early seventeenth-century France, large libraries were rare in the beginning of the century, but grew rapidly after 1611.[365] In 1644 already, a treatise claimed that for a good library a collection of 4,000 volumes was the minimum number.[366] Rarely were the owners of their libraries as negligent as John Dee, who left a large part of his library unbound: many own-

362 He had his account with the Officina from 1594 and bought some 195 books from that time onwards. Fabri et al. 2004, pp. 33–34. Chisholm 2010, p.19; Ruelens 1883.

363 Of the 165 purchases, 64 were about ancient and contemporary history, and antiquarian literature (38%), 42 were religious works (25%), 18 works were geographical (11%), 8 botanical (5%). Fabri et al. 2004, p. 36.

364 This catalogue is reproduced by Arents: Arents et al. 2001, pp. 339–366.

365 H.-J. Martin 1993, p. 334.

366 Ibid., p. 321; Jacob, *Traité des plus belles bibliothèques*, 1644.

ers displayed their collections of books in appropriate libraries, as Ximenez in Antwerp or Pepys in London. Nicolaas Rockox, Rubens's friend and patron, and the collector of books on a large variety of subjects possibly used his own library in a closer way to Rubens. This variety of subjects is mirrored in many early modern collections of books, and points towards the self-fashioning of a universally educated man. In place of considering Rubens's library in the context of an artist's library, it should be seen in the context of the library belonging to a well-educated gentleman.

2.5.2 | Rubens and Books

In the social dimension a library played an important role: it was used on a daily basis not only as a tool for work, but also as a tool for negotiating the owner's place in society. In recent decades it has become increasingly clear that books were very important for Rubens, both in his role as a gentleman with social aspirations and as a court painter. Several studies have shed light on Rubens and his possession and use of books, most notably the contributions by Elizabeth McGrath and Prosper Arents.[367] McGrath has repeatedly shown the importance and the influence of books on Rubens's work, especially in the context of his history paintings. Arents has reconstructed the library which Rubens acquired on the basis of his communication with friends and family, his brother's letters, the ledgers of the Officina Plantiniana, and the printed auction catalogue of 1658, drawn up by the printer-publisher Franciscus Vivien after Albert Rubens's death. The reconstruction of Rubens's library can only ever be an approximation: the estimate of the more than 500 titles listed in Arent's work might only be the minimum number of titles that the artist possessed throughout his life, and all these need not to have been in the collection at the same time.[368]

Rubens's library remains an enigma, mainly because there never was *the* library to begin with. Libraries are like living organisms that change with time, with the personalities, the interests and the social standing of their owners. Books are added or removed for various reasons.[369] The books bought from one of the various other printer-publishers and booksellers in Antwerp, with many of whom Rubens also worked together, are not mentioned in the study by Arents, as hardly any archival material exists on these publishers. Also, few documents mention the books Rubens acquired before 1613, including the crucial ten years in Italy where he moved in scholarly circles and lived in Rome, at the time an important printing centre.[370] Additionally, Rubens often bought

367 McGrath 2009b, 1997, Arents et al. 2001, Arents 1961.

368 Arents et al. 2001.

369 Books are regularly exchanged for newer, more valuable or more beautiful editions. Interests of owners change, the books might be on loan never to be returned, and, as with any collection, the library might be moved or damaged by war or the elements.

370 Few letters mention books that might have been known to Rubens before coming back to Antwerp. In the few still extant letters by Philip Rubens to his brother some books are mentioned. Arents also tried to reconstruct the possible books read by Rubens mentioned in Albert Rubens's catalogue, cf. Arents et al. 2001, pp. 295–307.

books for correspondents, a habit shared by the early modern bibliophiles with a generally limited access to different markets. His friend Rockox, for instance, frequently bought several copies of the same books, and it is unlikely that he kept all of them.[371]

Peter Paul Rubens's oldest son inherited the library from his father and it stands to reason that his own library still retained many of the books from his father's library.[372] Albert was born and baptised in St Andries in June 1614, having the great honour of being able to call the Archduke his godfather.[373] Like his uncle Philip, he would become a scholar interested in antiquarian matters, educated in the Latin school of the Augustine order and his father's friend, the philologist Caspar Gevaerts. From early on he was introduced into his father's intellectual network. It is thus not very surprising that of the 213 books which his father bought from Balthasar Moretus, at least one half is listed in the catalogue made up after Albert's death.[374] Rubens's son also bought books from the Officina Plantiniana himself, and it is likely that the auction catalogue mirrors Albert's interests rather than those of his father. Additionally, Albert did not only add books himself, but also inherited the library of Jan Brant, his maternal grandfather.[375]

The study by Arents is invaluable and provides detailed information about the titles acquired or written about by Rubens and his family, and the editions that they most probably owned or knew. It is reasonable to assume that when Rubens ordered a certain book, he would have ordered the latest, corrected edition of a text, just as his friend Rockox was inclined to do.[376] This would be in keeping with what is known about seventeenth-century bibliophiles: even the rarity of a first edition could not keep a collector like Samuel Pepys or one of his friends from throwing it away or exchanging it for a newer, more accurate and updated version.[377] Indeed, even Naudé recommended buying a wide range of books in their current editions or with the best commentators.[378] Rockox seem to have enjoyed a unique cash-back system with the Officina Plantiniana that would take his old books and replace them with new editions.[379] It seems reasonable to suppose that

371 Fabri et al. 2004, p. 34.

372 Baudouin 2001, p. 54, esp. fn. 28.

373 Doc. of June 5, 1614, SAA, Parochieregister Sint-Andries, PR 102: Doppregister 1613–18, fol. 22r: "Albert Rubens, gedoopt in St. Andrieskerk, den 5" Juni 1614; peter: St Johan de Silva, nomine Serenissimi Princips Alberti Ducis Brabantiae; meter: Clara Brant." Büttner 2006b, esp. p. 47, fn. 55. On Albert Rubens in general, see M. Rooses, "Rubens (Albert)", *Biographie Nationale. Academic royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique*, 20, Brussels, 1908, cols. 309–313; idem, "Staet ende inventaris van den sterffhuyse van Mynheer Albertus Rubens en de vrouwe Clara Del Monte" , Rubens-Bulletijn—Bulletin-Rubens, 5 (1910), pp.11–17.

374 Baudouin 2001, p. 55.

375 Ibid., p. 55, esp. fn. 30.

376 Cf. Fabri et al. 2004, p. 35.

377 Loveman 2015, p. 251.

378 H.-J. Martin 1993, p. 327.

379 On 23 November 1599 Rockox bought four new volumes with nine works of Justus Lipsius from the Officina Plantiniana for 10 guilders and 14 stuivers. He already possessed four of the nine works bound into these four volumes, and gave the old edition back to Plantin for which he received 7 guilders and 2 stuivers. So far no other customer has been found to have enjoyed these financial advantages. Fabri et al. 2004, p. 35.

Rubens also held this same view. Even though Rubens might not have enjoyed such a service, it is very probable that he also exchanged old editions for newer, corrected ones.

Even though Rubens might not have had the typical artists' library, he would have needed some of his books for his work. The canon for artists' libraries can be sketched from the lists often found in art-theoretical treatises. Peacham, in his instruction-book for the aspiring gentleman, suggests that a specific kind of knowledge is necessary both for the gentleman and the artist: that is a knowledge of history and poetry, of coins, and of antique statues. Peacham is here referring indirectly to the concept of the educated artist, the *pictor doctus*, a notion that first came up in the sixteenth century and was later propagated by art theorists.[380] Roger de Piles (1635–1709), for instance, in his prose translation of Charles-Alphonse Dufresnoy's didactic poem *De arte graphica* (1667), listed the books necessary for the artist. Apart from the Bible, artists should posses the Josephus,[381] a Roman History or even two,[382] Homer,[383] and also Ovid, Philostratus, and Plutarch. De Piles also recommends the vernacular and abridged version of Baronius's *Annales ecclesiastici*, treatises about the religion of the Romans, about the Trajan Column, books about medals, Horace, and other similar works that spark the imagination. He then adds *La Mythologie des Dieux*,[384] *Les Images des Dieux*,[385] *L'iconologie*,[386] *Les Fables d'Hyginus* and the *Practical Perspective*.[387] It is a similar curriculum of history and poetry, as well as antiquarian studies, as that suggested by Peacham.[388]

Indeed most artists had several of the above-mentioned books, mostly in the vernacular, if not in Latin or Greek, like Rubens and some of the members of his workshop, then in a vernacular version.[389] Rubens bought most of his works in the original Latin, and later also in Greek, including a Greek-Latin dictionary and with this alone distinguishes himself from artists in general.[390] Some book orders can be directly linked to specific projects and pictures, as McGrath has repeatedly shown.[391] Rooses already surmised that Rubens bought his books on architecture just at the time when he himself was involved in architectural projects, such as his own house.[392]

380 Cf. Damm 2013, p. 3, for a good overview on the literature pertaining to the concept of the learned artist.
381 *Histoire des Juifs et l'Antiquité judaique* by Flavius Josephus, Published in French in 1569.
382 *Histoire romaine depuis Auguste jusqu'à Constantin* by Nicolas Coeffeteau, 1621; De Piles also suggests *Les Decades* by Livy with the very practical comments by Vigénere, in French from 1583.
383 Translated into French from the beginning of the sixteenth century onwards: Pettegree et al. 2007.
384 The French version of Natale Conti's *Mythologie of the Gods*, Venice 1551 and from 1599 in French.
385 Possibly *Imagini delli dei antichi* by Vincenzo Cartari, first trsl. into French in 1581.
386 The French translation of Ripa's *Iconologia* appeared in 1637 with plates cut by Jaques de Bie.
387 Piles and Dufresnoy 1668, p. 80.
388 A very similar canon was found by Bialostocki in his study of Dutch artists' inventories. Cf. Bialostocki 1984, p. 17.
389 McGrath 2009b. For a key study on artists as readers see Duhem 1906–1913, 3 vols. Cf. also Golahny 2003 and Damm 2013.
390 Baudouin 2001; McGrath 1997; Bialostocki 1984.
391 McGrath 2009b, McGrath 1997.
392 Cf. Rooses 1903; Delen, *Het Huis van Pieter Pauwel Rubens*, 1933. Baudouin 2001, pp. 62–63.

It stands to reason that books were also present in a painter's workshop. Some parts on the title page for Aguilonius's *Opticorum libri sex*, for instance, are not depicted on the drawing and were later added by Galle by reversing the model from Valerianus (Figs. 6 and 5).[393] Thus, this book must have been known to both Rubens and Galle in order for the communication to work properly. It is conceivable that such an important book was kept close-by within the workshop instead of in the library, that would have been located in the house. As most of the books that an artist should have, many of which Rubens most surely had possessed, were not to be found in Albert Rubens's catalogue. He either gave them away, or they stayed with the drawings that were to be kept after Rubens's death until his youngest child turned eighteen, and it would be clear that no artist would follow in the family. These drawings were considered to be valuable stock for a workshop and were preserved for the family in case one of his sons or daughters' husbands were artists.[394] However, as McGrath rightly points out, artists were mostly influenced by the visual examples of other artists, the many prints that were available at the time, or images and sculptures they had seen on their travels, mostly to Italy.[395] In order to be understood visually, artists had to use the established and available visual language. This could be communicated via books, but more often it would have been communicated in the studio or in the images the artists saw and used. For the title pages this also meant that Rubens would orientate himself on the already existing title pages, as these formed a well-used framework.

2.6 | Conclusion

The contextualisation of Rubens in the world of books and the world of producing books reveals that the production of title pages relied heavily on the cooperation of several people: the author, the engraver, Rubens as a designer, and the publisher—especially in those cases in which Balthasar Moretus produced a book. These instances make it possible to observe the making of a title page in detail, and to observe the influence each of the parties had on the design of the first image in a book. Certainly the most influence in the production process was wielded by Balthasar Moretus. He communicated with all the parties involved, and it was he who decided if a book was to be given an engraved title page in the first place. As the case studies in the last chapter show in detail, there always was a good reason to involve Rubens in the book projects: be it an important author, an author from Rubens's social network, royal or papal dedicatees, or political or religious reasons. That Rubens was used for more important works is supported by the fact that he designed most

393 Cf. Bertram 2016.

394 Büttner 2012, p. 134, fn. 23: SAA, notariaatsarchif N 1894: notaris Toussain Guyot: Protocollen, staten en rekeningen, 1645, no. CVII.

395 McGrath 2009b, p. 307.

title pages for books in folio, a format that alone raised expectations. For Moretus, Rubens's title pages were a special distinction for books and authors that were already significant, socially or politically.

For Rubens, more was at stake than a leisurely drawing on a Sunday afternoon. His large library and the significance of libraries for (aspiring) gentlemen as a social marker, and also as a means to foster social contact, point to a profound understanding of the need of a good library. The way in which his fame always rested on the epithet of the *pictor doctus* suggests that Rubens gladly took the chance to participate in various intellectual discourses. These would not only have displayed his erudition and wit, while providing interesting allegorical puzzles for audiences who could well afford a painting by Rubens. All the correspondence between Moretus and authors and engravers shows that the production process was a routine process for all the workshops involved, although there does not seem to have a been a standardised way in which a title page was produced (occasionally Rubens provided oil sketches instead of drawings). Because the product was costly and was often for eminent dedicatees, various checks were used in the process, most notably the opinion of the author or intermediary on the finished drawing and then the opinion of the designer (and occasionally the author or intermediary) on the first proof of the engraving. In his usual manner, Rubens later used his workshop assistants for the actual drawing while he himself probably only sketched a rough outline of the image.

For authors and intermediaries, the title pages were especially important when they affected their relationship to the (mostly noble or eminent) dedicatees, so that in their cases, too, more was at stake than merely the decoration of their text. But, although the authors were asked to provide a short summary in the form of the title and first ideas, it was Rubens who provided the design, and he was accepted as the authority on allegorical inventions. All in all, the production of title pages was situated in an international market in which the marketing choices influenced not only the size of the book but also the print run, and, last but not least, the social network of which all the agents were an active part.

3 The Corpus of Rubens Title Pages

3.1 The Categorisation of a Corpus

Several case studies will be presented in chapters four to six, representing a cross section of the title pages Rubens designed. From the beginning it was clear that not all the title pages could be analysed in the same depth. Through the first case studies, I came to realise that title pages cannot be simply compared to other title pages. Comparing a duodecimo title page for a poetic work with a title page for a theological work or a Bible, for instance, is a problematic choice, as the format, the subject, the differing interests of publisher and illustrator and the varying involvement of authors makes these books very hard to compare. Categorising the books in terms of Rubens's stylistic development, as had been done earlier, was also not helpful, as this kind of research centred around Rubens the draughtsman, rather than the title pages. It was, however, not easy to see a useful pattern in the books Rubens illustrated: he worked on 47 title pages for books on a great variety of subjects over a period of 27 years, and for eight publishers.

The most useful basis for a categorisation for the research interest in this study was found to be the early modern book classification as exemplified in Albert Rubens's catalogue, drawn up at his death.[1] The early modern book classification is not clearly defined as today, mostly because every library had its own system, depending on the books it owned and specialised in. Nevertheless, there is some common ground.

The first fundamental distinction made between books is based on language: Latin books take precedence over other languages.[2] The second distinction is subject matter: a library was generally organised according to the subjects that could be studied at university (theology, law and medicine) on a first level (sometimes including philosophy), followed by subjects belonging to the liberal arts and based more or less on the studies of the trivium and quadrivium: mathematical

1 Although Albert's catalogue might not necessarily help in establishing which books Rubens himself owned, it is a great help to understand how the books were categorised at that time. The early modern categorisation is known for 27 out of 47 titles.

2 This grouping was also followed in the catalogue for the Frankfurt Fair, the Messkatalog; cf. Rovelstad 1973, p. 118.

books, philological books (rhetoric, poetry, grammar), humanistic books on history, devotional literature, and, lastly, those that could not be categorised, the miscellanea. History, although not a subject of its own in the liberal arts, is often placed between those of the higher faculties and the liberal arts, and a differentiation was made between sacred and secular history. A third distinction was the format of the books.

Structuring knowledge in this way had by then already been practiced for some time. Conrad Gessner (1516–1565), a Swiss physician and scholar, attempted to catalogue all writers who had ever lived and their publications, the *Bibliotheca universalis* printed between 1545 and 1549.[3] Just as the libraries, these entries needed to be organised, and Gessner divided the book into 19 sections, each devoted to a scholarly discipline. Another large collection, the library of Duke August of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel shows a similar categorisation and number of class marks.[4] The large number of class marks probably had to do with the large number of books these collections tried to make accessible.

The first theories on librarianship developed throughout the seventeenth centuries: in 1627 Gabriel Naudé's *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque* was published shortly before Clément's *Musei sive Bibliothecae*, was first printed in 1628.[5] Naudé's work was a first attempt to outline the essential principles of librarianship.[6] Similar organising principles as stated above were also employed in a book on the structure of libraries written by the Jesuit librarian Claude Clément (1596–1642), who was was professor of Greek and Latin at the Imperial College of Madrid.[7] As was common in his time, Clément begins his ideal structure with Latin books, preceded by the Bible.[8] The Bible is followed by theological books, subcategorised into those by scholastic and by moral theologians. Books of law are then divided into canonical and civil law, while the philosophers are divided into contemplative and moral philosophers. Only then mathematical books, books on physiology, and medical books are listed. The historical books are again divided into sacred and profane history, followed by philological works, rhetoric, poetry, and grammar. The final three categories are ascetic and devotional literature, manuscripts, and books in various languages.

3 He collected 3.000 authors and about 12.000 titles, complete with short notes, biographies, and publication details. In 1548 he had also compiled an accompanying thematic index, *Pandectae*, that contained 30.000 entries.

4 He restructured his library after 1625 in order to incorporate the 300 to 500 additional works each year, and he also decided on 20 class marks. "Theologica, Jrudica, Historica, Bellica, Politica, Oeconomica, Ethica, Medica, Geographica, Astronomica, Musica, Physica, Geometrica, Arithmetrica, Poetica, Logica, Rhetorica, Grammatica, Quodlibetica, Manuscripta." Katte 1998, p. 61.

5 Rovelstad 1991, 2000; Rovelstad and Camilli 1994.

6 Cf. Rovelstad 1991, p. 183.

7 Clément 1635.

8 The major differences between categorisations occur through the different emphases in the collections: while Clément was a Jesuit, the Duke in Wolfenbüttel was a Protestant collector, certain class marks would not necessarily have made sense in his library.

Despite minor differences, Clément's theoretical approach is reflected in Albert Rubens's auction catalogue, but also in the Ximenez inventory.[9] The structure of the auction catalogue is typical of its time, and is not merely the result of personal taste or convenience. Not only was it produced by a professional, the printer and publisher Franciscus Vivien from Brussels, but the book classes also follow those used in literature on libraries of the time.[10]

Although the organisational principles visible in all these collections of books might not serve our postmodern needs for organisational principles, libraries nonetheless followed them and, considering that the libraries were located in different countries, these principles seem reliably constant.[11] Depending on the collection and its specifications, the various book classes could also be split into finer distinctions, as, for instance, in the library of Bishop Larvinus Torrentius (1525–1595), the second bishop of Antwerp, whose focus was on theological work.[12]

The order of the libraries reflects not only the interests of the collectors, but also how knowledge about the world was ordered and categorised. All the library catalogues consulted were structured in a strikingly similar way; there must have been a common understanding of the subjects' relevance and a specific structure of libraries that was as intercultural as the republic of letters itself. Large libraries, such as Duke August's library in Wolfenbüttel, or Gessner's compilation of authors and their subjects needed, of course, more book classes than a smaller library, such as Rubens's.

In any case it was deemed important to choose case studies based on early modern book classifications, and the inventory drawn up on Albert Rubens's death was used to identify possible book classes. After these had been established, mainly based on genre and format, it was easier to cluster the books and see the relationships between them, as well as between the agents in the various networks. Using the early modern book classes also provided the means to ensure that comparisons between works were valid, and to get a grasp on the masses of material.

3.2 The Categorisation of Rubens's Title Page Œuvre

Rubens's oeuvre in title page design can be roughly divided into religious books, books on history, humanistic books, and books on mathematics and law. Through the use of the book classes, the

9 The latter begins with the Bible and theological books, followed by books on law, mathematics, history, humanities—including a special section on books by Lipsius, medicine and chemistry, and followed by books in various languages. As was common, it was sorted by language, by subject, and by format.

10 To name but one other example, John Dee's library was structured similarly: it is first categorised by bound or unbound books, followed by size, subject matter, and then by languages

11 Sherman, however, sees "a relative and rather surprising lack of organizational principles". Sherman 1995, p. 32.

12 The subcategories in Torrentius's library of theological books were: "Interpretes sacrae scripturae", "Patres", "Scholastici", "Controversiae", "Conciones", "Loci Communes", "Pii Libri", "Varii Tractatus", and as a final subcategory "Libri Ecclesiastici" (containing books for daily use such as the Missale or the Breviary); Greek books were subsumed under "Sacri" because of their limited number.Landtsheer 2002, pp. 181–182.

Categories	Author	Title	Date	Orig. Categories
Libri Theologici	13 titles			
SS. Patres in Folio	Blosius, L.	Opera	1632	
Libri Ecclesiastici		Breviarium Romanum	1614	
		Biblia Sacra	1617	
		Summa Conciliorum Omnium	1623	
Patres Graeco-Latini	Cordier, B.	Catena sexaginta qvinqve Graecorvm patrvm in s. Lvcam	1628	
	Areopagita, D.	Opera S. Dionysii Areopagitae	1634	
S. Scriptura Interpretes	Van den Steen, C.	Commentaria in Pentatevchvm Mosis	1616	
	Bosio, G.	Crux triumphans et gloriosa	1617	
	Boonaerts, O.	In Ecclesiasticvm Commentarivs	1634	
Libri Pii in Folio	Ríos y Alarcón, B.	De Hierarchia Mariana libri sex	1641	
Libri Ecclesiastici in Octavo		Concilii Tridentini canones et decreta	1640	
Libri Pii in Octavo	Thomas a Jesu	De Contemplatione divina libri sex	1620	
	Van Haeften, B.	Regia via crucis	1635	
Libri Juridici	2 titles			
In Folio	Lessius, L.	De iustitia et iure	1621	
		Gelresche Rechten des Rvremvndtschen Qvartiers	1620	
Libri Mathematici				
Geographici, Architecti [...] in Folio	Aguilonius, F.	Opticorum libri sex	1613	
Libri Historici	22 titles			
Ecclesiastici et Profani in Folio	Rosweyde, H.	T vaders boeck	1617	
22 titles	Ribadineyra, P. / Rosweyde, H.	Generale legende der heylighen	1619	
	Tornielli, A.	Annales Sacri	1620	
	Mudzaert, D.	De Kerckelycke Historie	1622	
	Baronius, C. et al.	Generale kerckelycke historie	1623	
	Haraeus, F.	Annales ducum seu principum Brabantiae totiusque Belgii	1623	two title pages
	Hugo, H.	Obsidio Bredana	1626	also in Libri Hisp.
	Rosweyde, H.	Vitae Patrium	1628	
	Morgues, M.d.	Diverses pieces pour la defense de la Royne mere	1637	Livres en Francais
	Aedo y Gallart, D.	El Memorable Y Glorioso Viaje Del Infante Cardenal [...]	1635	Libri Hispanici
	Boyvin, J.	Le siège de la ville de Dole	1638	Livres en Francais
Antiquarii in Folio	Augustin, A.	Nomismata imperatorum Romanorum	1617	
	Goltzius, H.	Graeciae universae Asiaeque minoris [...]	1618	
	Nonnius, L.	Commentarius in nomismata imperatorum	1620	
	Lipsius, J.	Opera omnia	1637	orig. in Misc.
	Liutprandus	Opera	1640	orig. in Misc.
	Goltzius, H.	Opera omnia	1645	orig. in Misc.
Libri in Folio [...] diversarum linguarum	Gevaerts, G.	Pompa Introitvs Ferdinandi	1642	Also in Misc.
Historici in Quarto	Scribani, C.	Politico-Christianvs	1624	
	Pietrasanta, S.	De Symbolis heroicis libri IX	1634	
	Marselaer, F. v.	Legatus	1666	
Antiquari in Quarto	De Bie, J.	Imperatorum Romanorum numismata aurea	1615	
Libri Humaniores	8 titles			
Poetae, Oratores et Philosophi in Folio	Tristan, F.	La peinture de la Serenissime princesse Isabelle C[...] F[...]	1634	Livres en Francais
Humaniores etc in Quarto	Mascardi, A.	Silvarvm Libri IV	1622	
	Sarbiewski, M.K.	Casimir Lyrica	1632	
	Barberini, M.	Poemata	1634	
	Simonini, S.	Silvae Urbanianae	1637	
Idem in 12. et Minori Forma	Sarbiewski, M.K.	Lyricorum libri IV	1634	
	Bauhuis, B.	Epigrammata	1634	
	Bidermann, J.	Herovm Epistolæ, Epigrammata, Et Herodias	1634	

Table 1: Overview of all Rubens title pages in their book classes. The coloured book classes and titles are present in Albert's catalogue.

focus shifts from the stylistic appearance of the title pages or Rubens as the solitary artist to the subject of the books themselves. However, the historicity of the book classes has to be considered: they often comprise a larger number of titles in Rubens's time than they would today.

Although only four theological works with Rubens's title pages are mentioned by title in Albert's catalogue,[13] similar books to those mentioned can be incorporated in this book class, including the liturgical works.[14] There are thus 13 title pages for religious works in the Rubens corpus.

Nine books with a Rubens title page are listed in the "Libri Historici" section of Albert's catalogue.[15] Several of the French or Spanish books or Miscellanea could be categorised as "Libri Historici": four French and Spanish books belong in the book class of the historical works,[16] and, in the "Miscellanea" section, three can be categorised as historical works.[17] Rubens contributed two title pages for Goltzius's *Opera omnia*: thus only 47 books are mentioned in the overview, but 48 title pages were designed. Two numismatic books are not mentioned in Albert's catalogue but should also be considered among the historical books,[18] as is the case with all those books that thematically belong to the *Annales sacri*, the *Kerckelycke Historie* and the *Vitae Patrum*, but they are not owned by Albert Rubens.[19] In the historical section, the total number of books for which Rubens designed is thus 23.

In the section "Libri Humaniores", three books are owned by Albert Rubens.[20] The other four books connected to these three and with a title by Rubens are not mentioned in the catalogue; of these three are minor formats, and the fourth has a Rubens title page because it was reused.[21] The work by the French poet François Tristan about the Infanta was also considered to belong in this class of humanist books.[22] Thus, there was a total of eight Rubens title pages designed for poetry.

Two works with a Rubens title page are so far not mentioned but are no less important: one is the mathematical treatise by Aguilonius, mentioned in "Libri Mathematici" in the catalogue, and the other is Lessius's *De iustitia et iure*.[23] To the latter can also be added *Gelresche Rechten des*

13 Areopagita 1634; Blois 1632; Bosio 1617; Cordier 1628.

14 *Biblia Sacra* 1617; Boonaerts 1634; *Breviarium Romanum* 1614; Chifflet 1640; Haeften 1635; Jesu 1620; Longo a Coriolano 1623; Rios y Alarcón 1641; Steen 1616.

15 De Bie 1615; Gevaerts 1642; Goltzius 1618; Haraeus 1623; Hugo 1626; Marselaer 1666; Pietrasanta 1634; Scribani 1624; Tornielli 1620. "Historical" here denotes works that Rubens and his contemporaries would have considered historical, including, for instance, festival books and legends of saints. Two copies of *Pompa introitus* were listed, once under Regal Folios in diverse languages and once under Miscellanea.

16 Aedo y Gallart 1635; Boyvin 1638; Carnero 1625; Morgues 1637, as well as a Spanish copy of the *Obsidio Bredana*, *Descripcion de la Villa y Sitio de Breda*, Plantin 1628, D43 in Arents et al. 2001 is not counted here, as it already appears in its Latin version under "Ecclesiastici et Profani in Folio".

17 Goltzius 1645b; Lipsius 1637; Liutprandus 1640.

18 Augustín et al. 1617; Nonnius 1620.

19 Tornielli 1620, Baronio and Sponde 1623; Mudzaert 1622; Ribadeneyra and Rosweyde 1619; Rosweyde 1617, 1628.

20 Barberini 1634; Mascardi 1622; Sarbiewski 1632.

21 Bauhuis et al. 1634; Bidermann 1634; Sarbiewski 1634; Simoninus 1637.

22 Tristan 1634.

23 Aguilonius 1613; L. Lessius 1617.

Rvremvndtschen Quartiers.[24] Thus, all 48 Rubens title pages belong to five of the main book classes mentioned in Albert's catalogue (Table 1): religious and theological books (13 titles), mathematical books (1), juridical books (2), historical books (23) and humanistic books (8).

These book classes—religious and theological, historical, and humanistic books—are rather large, however, and have to be subdivided for Rubens's title pages. Religious books fall into three subcategories: the Bible and liturgical works, scholarly theological work, and pious books. Historical works can be subdivided into numismatic works, secular contemporary history, and ecclesiastical history. I included the works by Aguilonius and Lessius into the humanistic works, because the title pages do not focus on the religious or scientific content found in the books, but offer a humanistic interpretation of their subjects. The books of poetry were of course also in this category of "Libri Humaniores". With that the topic of Jesuit writings became important for this last category, as the vast majority of works in it were written by members of the Society of Jesus.

The book classes were, however, only the means to ensure valid comparisons between title pages. The main objective was the development of categories with which Rubens's involvement in title page design could be described. This is why the first chapter of case studies is only concerned with numismatic title pages, as these are the only title pages that occupied Rubens throughout his life. They are also the only ones, where a relevance to his public, professional and private life could be seen. The next chapter deals with Rubens the Humanist, mainly with his work for Jesuit authors. In the second part of this chapter the focus shifts to the system of patronage so relevant to early modern poets, and the Jesuits in particular. The last chapter is concerned with Rubens as a Catholic patriot interested in the welfare of his city and country: with the end of the twelve year truce in Antwerp, Rubens increasingly designed title pages that were political or decidedly Counter-Reformatory.

So, although there was a strong connection to Moretus,[25] who, after all, belonged to Rubens's professional and personal network in Antwerp, it seems that further factors were responsible for Rubens's involvement in title page design, and that these were closely connected to Rubens's roles as an antiquarian, as a humanist, and a Catholic patriot.

[24] *Gelresche Rechten des Rvremvndtschen Qvartiers* 1620.

[25] Many scholars attribute Rubens's extensive involvement in the design of title pages and the diversity of subjects for which he designed to his friendship with Balthasar Moretus.Held 1982, p. 171; Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, p. 26; Voet 1969, p. 212.

4 Rubens the Antiquarian and His Circle in Antwerp

4.1 Rubens's Humanistic Circle and its Antiquarian interests

Rubens was part of a humanistic circle that can be located in and around Antwerp, and this circle was part of a larger network of antiquarians all over Europe.[1] The network emerging from the books with title pages by Rubens is mirrored in other work by Rubens and substantiated in many letters. Rubens's ties to this network were based on the relationships his parents had already made and were strengthened by his and his brothers' education. While Rubens went to the same school as Balthasar Moretus, his brother, Philip Rubens, shared an important teacher with Moretus, the humanist Justus Lipsius (1547–1606).

Lipsius was a humanist, a professor at Louvain University since 1576 and he was greatly interested in Roman history.[2] The list of his publications is long: his scholarly essays and monographs tackle Roman law and its institutions, gladiatorial games, amphitheatres, and libraries, to name but a few subjects.[3] Although the publication of the first critical edition of Tacitus in 1574 made him renowned, his neo-Stoic work in his later years came to define him. For most of his publications he worked with the Officina Plantiniana, often producing several editions of his works by constantly revising his work.

Rubens portrays Lipsius as a neo-Stoic professor in the painting "The Four Philosophers".[4] The painting has been read as a tribute by Rubens to his brother Philip, which accounts for the fact that these two specific pupils of Lipsius' as well as Rubens himself are depicted in it: Johannes Woverius and Philip Rubens are seated on either side of their eminent teacher.[5] Lipsius had nu-

1 White 1993.
2 From 1579 until 1590 he taught history at the newly founded University of Leiden, a period of great productivity.
3 Papy 2004.
4 Oil on panel; 167 x 143 cm; Florence, Palazzo Pitti; Vlieghe 1987, pp. 128–132, no. 117.
5 Ibid., pp. 131–132.

merous pupils, many of whom lived as *contubernales* with him in his house during their studies.[6] Among his pupils were the sons of the influential Catholic families in the Low Countries, be it Balthasar Moretus, Philip Rubens (1574–1611), the successor to Lipsius's chair in Louvain Erycius Puteanus (1574–1646), Hemelarius (Jan Hemelaers, 1580–1655), and Johannes Woverius (Jan Van de Wouwer, 1576–1635) with whom Rubens had gone to school.[7] Many of those in Lipsius's social circle were Rubens's friends and were important to his endeavours in book illustration. Via his brother Philip, Rubens had contact to other members of this circle, especially when the brothers resided in Rome.[8] When his brother Philip died in 1611, their friends Moretus and Woverius wrote the epitaph for Philip's grave and included Hemelarius and Rubens's father-in-law in their endeavours.[9] Many of the friendships and working relationships struck in Lipsius's contubernium lasted a lifetime, thus the first documented design for a title page by Rubens was for a project in which some of these pupils played a crucial role.

The painting of the "Four Philosophers" shows not only Johannes Woverius, Philip Rubens and Lipsius, but also Rubens himself. As he has not seated himself at the same table as the scholars, he nonetheless includes himself in this group portrait. On the one hand this supports Hans Vlieghe's estimate that the painting is a tribute to his brother, but on the other, it also presents Rubens as very close to this neo-Stoic circle of scholars. Rubens's interest is also shown by the inclusion of a bust in the painting that was wrongly believed to be a portrait of Seneca. The same bust, now in the Rubens House in Antwerp, was used as a model for the illustrations Rubens provided for the Collected Works of Seneca printed by Moretus in 1615, and belonged to Rubens himself.[10] Rubens's self-fashioning is thus closely tied with his collection and also with his network.

Rubens was known as a *pictor doctus*, a well-educated painter, and his erudition was attested by both the large library he owned and his exchange of letters with scholars and numismatists throughout Europe. His repeated references to antiquity in all his work were thus visible proof of the erudition he also displayed in his letters. Rubens placed himself close to a scholarly, humanistic network in the "Four Philosophers", and he also did so with his title pages. Part of his knowledge about classical images and objects was derived from numismatic publications and collections, which is why the following will focus on this important aspect of his work as a title page designer while at the same time looking at those involved in the production of these numismatic

6 Morford gives a good impression of what living in the *conternubium* with Lipsius might entail. Especially from the time table that was written for Moretus by Lipsius. See Morford 1991, pp. 31–32.

7 Büttner 2006b, p. 28. Other pupils were: Gregorius II Del Plano (later mayor of Antwerp), Gregorius Uwens, Van Santen, Franciscus Oranus (Franç ois d'Heure), Johannes Baptista Perezius Baronius (Juan Bautista Pé rez de Baron), Guilelmus and Antonius Richardot, Gulielmus Scarberg, Cornelius Anchemannus, Balduinus Iunius (Baudoin de Jonghe), Hubertus Audeiantius. Esser 2012; Morford 1991, p. 36.

8 For Philip Rubens, cf. Huemer 1985; Huemer 1996, passim; Morford 1991; and Papy 1999 here pp. 190–198.

9 Rooses 1882, pp. 214–218.

10 Cf. Büttner in: Bertram 2018b, pp.62–65; Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, p. 154–169, nos. 30–32.

books. It is certainly no coincidence that the title pages for this circle of friends and scholars were for books that dealt with specific antiquarian matters. Thus many of the books belong to the historical book class of "Libri Historici"; in Albert Rubens's catalogue they are listed in the subcategory of "Antiquarii".

The numismatic books produced with the help of Rubens were part of a long tradition of this genre. Numismatic literature developed throughout the sixteenth century: the first publication on coins was the philological publication by Guillaume Bud in 1514, *De asse et partibus eius*, followed by Andrea Fulvio's *Illustrium imagines*, which illustrated monarchs until the middle-ages using the images of Roman rulers on ancient coins.[11] The first proper handbook on ancient coins, written by Enea Vico and published in 1555, was a collector's book with information on the designs of coins and the material they were made of, as well as on forgeries.[12] Soon numismatic literature was printed all over Europe and, especially in Rubens's time, it was particularly popular, as can be seen by the peaks in the number of publications. France, in particular, was a centre of numismatic book-printing; throughout the seventeenth century 413 numismatic titles were printed in Paris alone. Lyon's importance as a centre of book-printing generally decreased from the middle of the seventeenth century onwards, and that included numismatic books.[13] In Germany the influence of the Thirty Years' war could be felt as printing of numismatic literature stopped abruptly in the twenties and was only resumed in the seventies.[14] Rubens and a small group of numismatic enthusiasts also contributed to this flood of numismatic literature with several high-quality works that, all in all, were connected to the great numismatist Hubert Goltzius.

Rubens Working After the Antique

From early on it was important for art critics that Rubens painted following classical examples: De Piles, in his reflections on Rubens's painting, emphasises that Rubens had spent time in Italy and had borrowed the beauty of ancient art by copying medals, statues and sculpted stones, reliefs, and cameos.[15] In his praise of Rubens, he claims that no other artist had treated allegorical subjects so clearly and learnedly as this man, who had only used symbols gleaned from antique monuments, such as, for instance, medals. The importance of this statement can be seen when the *Compleate Gentleman* by Peacham is again consulted:

> It is not enough for an ingenuous Gentleman to behold [the Antiquities] with a vulgar eye: but he must be able to distinguish them, and tell who and what they be. To

11 Burnett 2005, p. 48.
12 Vico 1555.
13 Dekesel 2005, p. 20.
14 Ibid., p. 22.
15 Piles 1699, p.403; cf. Meulen 1994a; Meulen 1994b; Meulen 1995.

> doe this, there be foure parts: First, by generall learning in History and Poetry. […] But because all statues have not such properties and badges, there is a second way to discerne them, and that is by their coynes. […] A third and very good way to distinguish them, is by the booke of collection of all the principall statues that are now to be seene at Rome […]. The fourth and last helpe, and without which the rest are weake, is to visit them in company of such as are learned in them, and by their helpe to grow familiar with them, and so practice their acquaintance.[16]

The gentleman was expected to know his antique monuments, to be able to recognise them and to relate their background stories. Within this context, numismatic works were important reference works that would help to learn to distinguish the mythological figures and personifications that also inhabited Roman gardens, the literature of the time, and the allegorical title pages.

De Piles sees allegory as a language that was based on traditions that "must consequently be sanctioned by usage and understood by many people", and a language that could be learned, as de Piles insists that the well-educated would be familiar with the symbols.[17] It is this language that the gentleman has to learn, as Henry Peacham so clearly explains. What De Piles here expresses is one explanation of the importance of medals for Rubens and his contemporaries. The books on medals were replacements for the Italian monuments, and the only accessible way to be able to study and learn the language of allegory if a princely collection was currently not available. That the main figure in the allegorical painting "Sight and Smell", produced by several Antwerpian artists collaboratively, is exploring a collection of coins when the sight of her face in the mirror captures her interest, is certainly no coincidence, and emphasises the importance artists attributed to coins.[18] The interest in coins was much more than a mere personal fascination with history; for Rubens it was the centre of an intellectual and social discourse that influenced him both as an artist and as a gentleman.

Classical art was the foundation of art as Rubens understood it and the standard by which he was certainly measured; many of his copies after the antique were later used as a source of inspira-

16 Peacham 1634, p. 109.

17 Büttner 2017b, p. 44; Piles 1699, pp. 402–403: "Aucun Peintre n'a traité si doctement, ni si clairemement que Rubens les Sujets Allégoriques: & comme l'Allégorie est une éspéce de langage, & que par conséquent elle doit être autorisée par l'usage, & entenduë de plusieurs, il y a introduit seulement les symboles que les Médailles & les autres Monumens de l'Antiquité ont rendus familiers, du moins entre les Savans. Si ce Peintre a sû ingénieusement inventer les objets qu'il faisoit entrer dans ses Compositions, il avoit encore l'Art de les disposer si avantageusement, que non seulement chaque objet en particulier fait plaisir à voir: mais qu'il contribuë encore à l'effet du tout-ensemble".

18 The painting "Sight and Smell" (Ca. 1620. Oil on canvas, 176 x 264 cm) and its companion piece "Taste, Hearing and Touch" were made by ten Flemish artists under Jan Bruegel the Elder for Archduke Albert and Archduchess Isabella Clara Eugenia de Austria. The original paintings were lost, the replicas that were sent to Madrid by the Ducal couple are still in the Prado. De Maeyer, *Albrecht en Isabella*, 1955, p. 119, nos. 3–4.

tion for his paintings.[19] Rubens used his long-term stay in Italy to study classical sculpture in reliefs, sarcophagi, and miniature artworks, as well as large scale sculptures.[20] Several drawings attest to his visits to the papal collections in the Villa Belvedere complex and also his knowledge of Cardinal Scipione Borghese's collection.[21] After his first meeting with Rubens, the antiquarian and scholar Peiresc wrote of Rubens that "in matters of antiquity he possesses the most universal and remarkable knowledge I have ever seen."[22] He also emphasised that the cartoons of Constantine had received particular praise for the archaeological precision of the costumes in a letter to the master himself.[23] Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580–1637), was a jurist and member of Aix city council, but best-known as a French astronomer, humanistic scholar and letter-writer with a network spanning all Europe and even beyond.[24] At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the numismatic world gravitated around Peiresc, whose network of correspondence was extensive, and his opinion certainly reflected the shared opinion about Rubens.

Rubens was known to have bought a renowned collection of coins and gems.[25] If his nephew Philipp can be believed, then Rubens's greatest joy was to "behold his coins, his agates, his carnelians and other cut stones, of which he had a nice collection", as Roger de Piles relays more than thirty years after the artist's death, based on the nephew's report.[26] But Rubens's collection served not only his own pleasure, but fulfilled a social function in that it made him known in the right circles. In 1641 Gevaerts writes in his commentary to the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* that "just like Alexander the Macedonian", Ferdinand had visited Rubens's house, which was worth seeing not only because of its architecture, but also because of the collection inside—complimenting not only Ferdinand with that comparison.[27] Thus shortly after Rubens's death, the English King's agent wrote to England to inform the two greatest English collectors of the sale of "rarityes of Pictures, Statues, Agates, Ivory cut workes, and Drawings" that was to take place, while the Cardinal Infante wrote to the Spanish king about it in September the same year.[28] De Piles, in his short biography

19 Cf. Gruber et al. 2017, passim; Meulen 1994a.

20 For a discussion on Rubens's time in Italy, cf. ibid., pp. 25–27.

21 Ibid., pp. 47–48; for current bibliography see Jochen Sander's introduction to the catalogue's section on Ancient Models, Gruber et al. 2017, pp. 181 ff.

22 "in materia dell' antiquita principalmente, egli ha una notitia la piu universale et la piu esquisita ch'io viddi mai." Letter from Peiresc to Guidi da Bagni, 26 February 1622; in: White 1993, p. 147; Ruelens and Rooses 1972b, p. 336.

23 Letter from Peiresc to Rubens, 1 Dec 1622, in: Ruelens and Rooses 1972e, pp. 85–87; cf. Brosens 2011, pp. 164–166.

24 Miller 2000, 2015, 2012.

25 Pointon 2017, p. 102; Meulen 1994a, pp. 89ff.; Meulen 1994b, 1995.

26 Piles 1677, pp. 215.

27 Cf. Büttner 2006b, p. 93, fn. 46; Gevaerts 1642, p. 171. Rubens's collection was remarkable even after he had sold most of it to the Duke of Buckingham in 1626–27. In an often-quoted letter to Peiresc he writes that he had kept "some of the rarest gems and most exquisite medals from the sale" for himself. Letter from Rubens to Peiresc, 18 Dec 1634, in: P. P. Rubens 1955, p. 394. See the Appendices in Muller 1989 for more on Rubens's collection.

28 Muller 2004, p. 11; Letter from Gerbier to the Earl of Arundel, 2 Jun 1640, in: Ruelens and Rooses 1972d, p. 302 and letter from Cardinal Infante Ferdinand to Philip IV, 24 Sep 1640, in: ibid., pp. 310–311.

in 1677, mentions in passing that the Spanish King had bought Rubens's collection.[29] Just as with collecting books, Rubens's personal interest in antiquities does not contradict the fact that he used a well-known collection to highlight his social status.[30]

As a matter of course, the contact to Peiresc developed because the French scholar had heard of this remarkable collection of coins and gems in Antwerp and wanted an inventory. He contacted the collector through Rubens's friend Jan Caspar Gevaerts (Janus-Casperius Gevartius, 1593–1666), who had met Peiresc in Paris in 1617.[31] It seems that the first letter he wrote to Rubens on 27 October 1621 was not only the start of a lasting friendship, but also of a joint venture to publish a book on ancient gems.[32] Over the years, this project grew in content and manpower. At some point it was to include not only gems, but also other antiquities such as heads of famous men after ancient marbles, heads copied from reliefs, and Trajan's column.[33] From 1625 onwards the project included six people in Antwerp, Rome and Provence, among them the secretaries of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, Girolamo Aleandro and Cavaliere Cassiano dal Pozzo. In the next few years Rubens repeatedly sent proofs and counter-proofs to Valavez, Aleandro and Peiresc to be studied and retouched.[34] It is even possible that Peiresc and Rubens talked about their book as late as 1635, but due to the many obligations that most members of the group had, work on the book was constantly interrupted and it was never published.[35] With Peiresc's death in 1637, the project was finally abandoned.

Rubens's profound interest was also reflected by the books he bought. His important book acquisitions included books on numismatics and on ancient Roman monuments. The first documented numismatic books that Rubens bought himself were Adolph Occo's (1447–1503) *Imperatorum romanorum numismata*, published by Plantin in 1579, and *Romanorum antiquitatum libri decem* by Joannes Rosinus.[36] These numismatic works were followed by a book on Roman topography, the city's monuments and their inscriptions by Janus Jacobus Boissardus in five parts and two volumes, and Joannes Pierius Valerianus's *Hieroglyphica*, an iconographic handbook.[37] This last book was used at least twice for Rubens's book illustrations, for the Aguilonius in 1613 as well as for the Lessius title page in 1617.[38] However, there is only mention of Rubens buying Valerianus in 1615; he must have had access to a different copy when he was designing Aguilonius's title page two years earlier, either a different edition or maybe Galle's or Moretus's copy. Valerianus's work was

29 Piles 1677, pp. 215.
30 Büttner 2006b, pp. 91–92; Timmermans 2006; Welzel 2004.
31 Miller 2014, p. 51.
32 Ibid.; De Grummond 1968, p. 102 ff. The friendship lasted until Peiresc's death in 1637, Ruelens and Rooses 1972b, pp. 235–236.
33 De Grummond 1968, pp. 107–108.
34 Ibid., pp. 108–112.
35 Ibid., pp. 114–118.
36 Entry in the ledgers of the Officina Plantiniana, 17 March 1613, in: Arents et al. 2001, nos. E3 and E5, p. 134.
37 Ibid., no. E20, p. 140 and no. E23, p. 142, respectively.
38 Cf. 5.2 and 5.3.

a well-indexed collection of symbols, illustrated with woodcuts, based on more than 320 antique coins, mentioning contemporary coins in his comments.[39] Many artists used this handbook for their work, not only Rubens: Van Mander had used its French translation for his *Schilderboek* and had thus provided accessible excerpts for the Netherlandish artists, and Velázquez, for instance, also owned a copy. [40]

As is attested by their libraries, the interest in antique languages and cultures was cultivated in the Rubens family. Rubens even illustrated the first book of his brother's scholarly works, the *Electorum libri II* in 1608. But given the aristocratic leanings of the whole family, the interest in collecting would have been instilled in the Rubens children early on. Even as a page, Rubens would have had access to collections. He grew up in a world in which collecting coins and gems had become a prerogative of not only princes and scholars, but also of minor aristocrats and gentlemen.[41] Henry Peacham's advice to look at coins was thus not coincidental but was part to a long-established educational programme for the budding gentleman. For the painter Peter Paul Rubens, however, the interest in coins was more than just a genteel convention.

The focus of Rubens's letters, when he writes to Peiresc about gems and coins, reveals a deeper, very scholarly interest in the matter. It is an interest that coccupied his mind his whole life. In one letter to Peiresc, he explains that he has never failed in his travels to "observe and study antiquities, both in public and private collections, or missed a chance to acquire certain objects of curiosity by purchase".[42] He certainly shared the widely held view of his brother Philip Rubens on the value of coins for an educated interest in the classics:

> It is incredible how much the study of coins, stones, and other ancient monuments is worth for a fuller acquaintance with antiquity. Indeed, I would venture to assert that there are not a few things in the writers that could scarcely be both understood and explained rightly in any other way than from these sources.[43]

Apart from an artistic interest, it is this serious interest in history that moved Rubens to support any endeavours of his friends and his acquaintances to publish on coins.

Rubens's eldest son came to share his interest and was supported with books and his father's very good contacts. In fact, the way in which Rubens supported his son's entry into this network shows that he was well aware of the network's importance to the career of a young gentleman. When Albert was thirteen, a poem he wrote in Latin was included in the second edition of Jan

39 Rolet 2002.
40 McGrath 2009a, pp. 397–400.
41 Burnett 2005, p. 48.
42 Letter from Rubens to Peiresc, 18 Dec 1634, in: P. P. Rubens 1955, p. 394.
43 P. Rubens 1608, p. 20. "Incredibile est, quantum ad pleniorem antiquitatis notitiam valeat observatio [...]."

Hemelaer's catalogue of Charles de Croÿ's coin collection. Three years later Rubens introduced his son to Peiresc by letter, framed by a sincere, if topical praise:

> The passages from Ancient authors have been added by my son Albert, who is seriously engaged in the study of Antiquities, and is making progress in Greek letters. He honors your name above all, and reveres your noble genius. Pray accept his work done in this spirit, and admit him to the number of your servants.[44]

From a very young age, Albert was introduced into the intellectual society, the so-called Republic of Letters. His father later also arranged for Albert to visit the famous Peiresc in his home in Provence, when he mentioned in a letter from 18 December 1634, that Albert was on his grand tour in Italy for a year and would call on Peiresc on his return.[45] Albert, who had inherited his father's library and archaeological papers, later used some of his material for his own publication.[46]

Considering Rubens's long lasting interest in classical art, his life-long occupation with antique gems and coins, and his broad correspondence regarding these things, his contribution to several numismatic works is not surprising. And yet, he was involved in different ways for each publication as will be shown in the following case studies.

4.2 Rubens's first project: Hemelaer and De Bie's *Imperatorum Romanorum Numismata Aurea* (1615)

Rubens's first title page and collaboration on a book project unveil the networks within which he operated. They also show that the numismatic interest was usually driven by a collector's and an antiquarian interest, shared by aristocrats and scholars alike. This first project for Rubens was a title page for the catalogue of Duke of Aarschot and Croÿ's coin collection. Duke Charles III de Croÿ (1560–1612) was Seigneur de Croÿ, 4th Duke of Aarschot, 5th Prince of Chimay and 5th Count of Beaumont, and one of the most powerful men in the Spanish Low Countries.[47] Justus Lipsius had dedicated several works to this friend and patron of his.[48] The Duke not only collected coins, but also books, paintings and other art.[49] In around 1600, he had prompted this publication of his well-

44 Letter from Rubens to Peiresc, 10 Aug 1630, in: P. P. Rubens 1955, p. 367, no. 216. Max Rooses, "Rubens (Albert)", *Biographie Nationale* 1908–1910, col. 309–313; here: 310.

45 Letter from Rubens to Peiresc, 18 Dec 1634, in: P. P. Rubens 1955, p. 394.

46 In Albert Rubens's book, seven drawings of his father's were published, cf. A. Rubens 1665.

47 For the patronage of the family Arenberg de Croÿ for the family Rubens, cf. Heinen 2004, pp. 88–92.

48 E.g. *De bibliothecis syntagma*, Antwerp 1602; or *Lovanium sive: Opidi et academiae eius descriptio, libri tres*, Antwerp 1605.

49 His library had more than 3,000 volumes and was one of the most valuable libraries of its time. He is best known for the commission of his *Albums*, a collection of gouaches and maps depicting his domains. See Esser 2012, p. 191.

known and extensive coin collection, for which the Antwerp canon Jan Hemelaers, a former pupil of Lipsius, wrote the commentary.[50]

In 1610 he appointed the Antwerp engraver Jacob de Bie (1581–1650) keeper of the coin collection, because of his knowledge of coins and antiques, and possibly because he could engrave the plates.[51] Jacob de Bie moved to Brussels and began to work on the catalogue of the collection, for which Rockox asked Rubens to design the title page at the latest in 1611. This publication would also include coins owned by Rockox himself, indicated in the book by asterisks. Erycius Puteanus, another pupil of Lipsius and a member of his network of scholars, contributed poems to this publication.[52] The publication of the project was stalled, however, when Charles de Croÿ died at the beginning of 1612. Because Rubens was usually contacted for the title page design shortly before a book was finished, it can be assumed that the death of the Duke was the main reason why it took until 1615 to publish the catalogue. The Duke had specified in his will that his heirs were to publish specific works, one of which was the numismatic catalogue.[53] With that his heir, his nephew Alexander van Arenberg, also became the dedicatee of the book.

The contact between Jacob de Bie, the engraver, and Rubens, the designer, was most probably initiated by Nicolaas Rockox. Nicolaas II Rockox descended from an old aristocratic family in Antwerp and belonged to a similar social sphere as the Rubenses.[54] After Rubens's return to Antwerp from Italy, the powerful mayor Rockox immediately stepped up as his patron and secured him good commissions, such as the painting of the *Adoration of the Magi* for Antwerp city hall.[55] A few of the coins from Rockox's own collection were illustrated in De Bie's first catalogue.

The network that is sketched by these books and the commissions cannot be overemphasised. In the majority of cases, Rubens's work on books was commissioned by Balthasar Moretus, whom he had known since school. Moretus was also part of the Lipsius network, but more importantly, he was the head of the world-famous publishing house Officina Plantiniana. While the work Rubens did for his friend Moretus soon took the appearance of a professional relationship, this first numismatic title page was probably more a favour for a couple of influential friends. Whether it was paid work is not known, but it is highly probable. All that is known about this title page has been passed down through letters preserved in the Royal Library in Brussels.[56]

50 Büttner 2006b, pp. 30–31.
51 Büttner 2018.
52 Albert Rubens would contribute his Latin poem in the second edition from 1627.
53 Baudouin 2005b, p. 88.
54 His family is even mentioned by Lodovico Giucciardini in his description of the city. Ibid., p. 68.
55 One of the first paintings Rubens painted after his return to Antwerp; ordered for Statenkamer in 1609 where the negotiations of the Spanish with the Dutch forces were to be held. The negotiations ended in the Twelve Years' Truce which was economically an important step for an Antwerp that was impacted by the war on its doorstep. Peter Paul Rubens, *Adoration of the Magi*. Oil on canvas, 346 × 438 cm. Madrid, Prado, Inv. 1638. Further literature in Ost 2003.
56 Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, pp. 429–430.

Figure 17 – Title page for De Bie 1615; etching, 169 × 126 mm by Jacob de Bie. BM, 1857,0314.5. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

4.2.1 The Printing of the *Imperatorum Romanorum Numismata Aurea*

The correspondence between Nicolaas Rockox and de Bie concerning the drawing by Rubens dates from January and February 1611, and shows how much depended on Rockox organising the production of the book. In January, Rockox sent the conception of the title page to De Bie in Brussels with the note that Rubens would make a neat version of the sketch if De Bie liked it.[57] Apparently De Bie agreed, for within the next two weeks the sketch was sent back to Antwerp for Rockox to deliver it to Rubens. which he did immediately.[58] Another three weeks later Rockox requested De Bie's engravings of the coins in order to write the explanations of those.[59] In this letter he added that he would also see that "Mr Rubens finishes the dedication and his brother the frontispiece of the Moneta".[60] The dedication in the printed book, however, is not by Philip but by De Bie himself. Philip Rubens died on August 28 of the same year, so that the dedication had either not been written or could no longer be used.[61] Dedications were usually always connected with a hopeful wish for patronage, thus they were rarely wasted on the dead, be it the dedicatee or the author of the dedication.[62]

At the end of February, on the 26th, the drawing by Rubens was finally sent to de Bie in Brussels. It was left to him either to engrave the title himself or to send it on to the Galle workshop—it seems that de Bie was able to decide what was to be done as he was directly employed by the Duke and the title page would also have been paid by the Duke. Rockox reminded him emphatically to heed Rubens's marginalia on the drawing and copy a beautiful head of Rome from Goltzius's *Fasti*, so that the figure would be completely "antique right down to the feet" (Fig. 17).[63] It was important to Rubens and to Rockox that a fitting model would be used: they used a coin from Goltzius's work, which shows the importance of Goltzius to numismatists, especially in Antwerp.

Goltzius's work was so renowned that all those involved in de Bie's numismatic project most probably owned a copy. Rubens knew the work long before buying four volumes of Goltzius's works from Moretus for 50 guilders in 1626.[64] The entries of 22 August 1620 and 23 January 1621 in Moretus's ledgers reveal that Rubens had new bindings made for two of his Goltzius books, *Julius*

57 Letter from Rockox to De Bie, 3 Jan 1611, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 429.
58 Letter from Rockox to De Bie, 22 Jan 1611, in: Held 1977, p. 26.
59 Letter from Rockox to De Bie, 11 Feb 1611, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 430.
60 Ibid., p. 430.
61 It was Moretus who wrote the funerary ode to Philip with the help of Hemelaers. Cf. H. F. Bouchery 1941, p. 218.
62 Enenkel in his study on authorship in early modern neo-Latin literature shows that dedications played an important role during this time; a role that definitely superseded the mere monetary role usually accorded to dedications, cf. K. A. E. Enenkel 2015, pp. 6–9.
63 "Je vous envoyé icy ce que monsr Rubens at deseigne pour le premier feullet de vostre livre. Vous pouvez adviser si le laisserez tailler a Cornille Galle, ou si le ferez vous mesmes, en quel cas il vous faudrat bien consid rer ce quil at escript du costet de la figure, et prendre quelque belle teste de Roma en la bague, hors des faites de Goltzius. La figure est du toust a l'antique jusques aux piedts." Letter from Rockox to De Bie, 26 Feb 1611, in: Held 1977, p. 26.
64 Arents et al. 2001, p. 175, E 113.

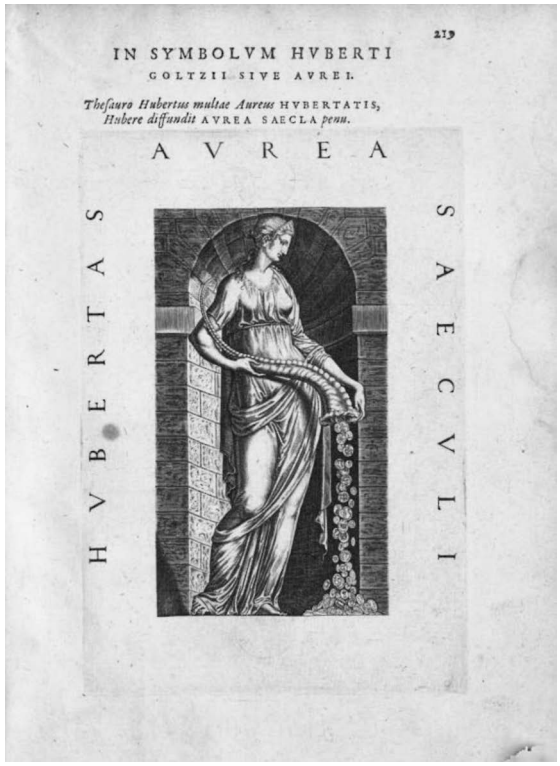


Figure 18 – Vignette for Goltzius 1579; engraving.

Caesar sive historiae Imperatorum Caesarumque Romanorum and *Goltzii numismata*. It is unclear which of Goltzius's books these were, and it merits a closer look as the Goltzius was such an important reference work for Rubens. Especially the second book is completely unclear as *Numismata* can describe any numismatic book by Goltzius and by 1621 De Bie had already published three of his Goltzius commentaries.[65] It is possible that both entries refer to the seventeenth century copies of these books, for after having finished the Duke's catalogue, Jacob de Bie decided to start a venture that should end in his bankruptcy and a mixed variety of books by and on Goltzius. [66] All of Rubens's title pages for numismatic works refer to Goltzius's books and plates.

With his several volumes of numismatic work Hubert Goltzius (1526–1583) had provided the most extensive research on coins in the middle of the sixteenth century. He had travelled to more than 977 coin collections in Italy, France, Germany and the Low Countries in order to see and sketch coins. Goltzius was a trained painter and was first exposed to the classical world by his teacher Lambert Lombardus from Liège.[67] He moved to Antwerp in 1546 and opened a shop for classical antiq-

65 See section 4.4 on page 133. The books by Goltzius which Rubens had bound in 1620 and 1621 could have been either the original books, Goltzius 1563; Goltzius 1574; Goltzius 1576; Goltzius 1579, or the reprints with modern commentaries by Jacob de Bie.

66 Dekesel 1988, p. 101.

67 Dekesel 1988, p. 3.

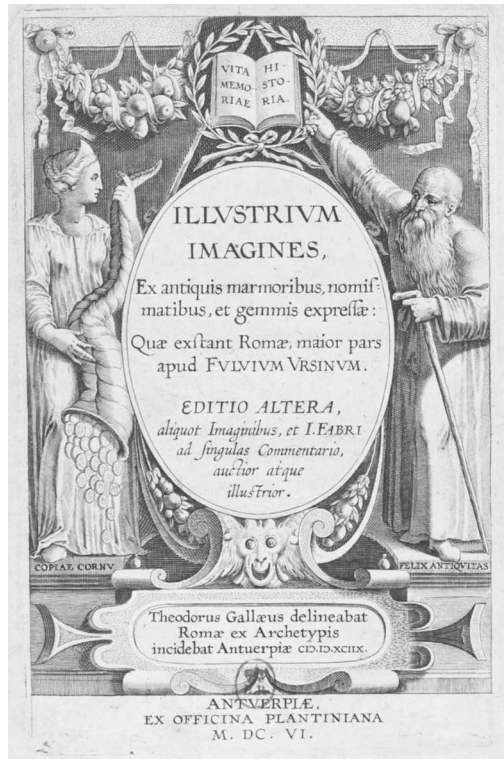


Figure 19 – Title page for Faber 1606, engraving. Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF.

uities with Abraham Ortelius, the famous cartographer. In 1556 he started his first tour around Europe's coin collections on which he visited 137 coin cabinets.[68] Between 1557 and 1560 he published the coins he had sketched in his famous and widely read guide *Icones Imperatorum Romanorum*.[69] His first books made Goltzius world-famous and secured him a post in Bruges with Marc Laureyns and Laureyn's brother Mathieu, Lord of Watervliet, who then enabled him to travel on a larger scale.[70] He moved to Bruges and opened his own private press, where he would print all his later works. After having sketched all the coins in his patron's collection, a second trip from 1558 to 1560 took Goltzius to another 799 cabinets throughout Europe.[71] Of particular value were the large, very accurate and well-printed chiaroscuro illustrations of the coins in his publications.[72]

In his title page for de Bie's catalogue Rubens does not emphasise the coins: only one coin is visible in form of a medallion. *Moneta*, as Rockox calls her in his letter to De Bie,[73] is standing in front of a rusticated arch, leaning in classical pose on the oval carrying the title of the catalogue

68 Ibid., p. 5.
69 Schepper 1995, p. 31. Printed by Gilles Coppens van Diest in Antwerp; the Latin, Tuscan, Italian and German editions appeared simultaneously in 1557, the French edition in 1559 and the Spanish one year later. Dekesel 1988, p. 5.
70 Ibid., p. 5.
71 Ibid., p. 7.
72 Papy 2004, pp. 117.
73 Letter from Rockox to De Bie, 3 Jan 1611, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 429.

and wearing the medallion around her neck. The architecture is overgrown and ruins can be made out in the background. *Moneta* was an aspect of Juno who carries a filled cornucopia in her left arm, while holding scales in her right hand in Rubens's depiction. Her gaze rests on these scales, under which hammer and tongs can be made out. The placement of *Moneta* in front of a rusticated niche is a clear reference to the vignette in the colophons of some of Goltzius's books. In these *Moneta* is depicted in contrapposto in front of a rusticated niche, holding an overturned cornucopia (Fig. 18). In contrast to Rubens's design, this figure holds her cornucopia upside down so that a multitude of coins can be seen falling out, emphasising the great variety of coins presented in the books. This motif can also be seen on a coin with the epithet *Abundantia Augusti* in De Bie's catalogue,[74] and is used by the engraver Theodor Galle on the title page to *Illvstrivm imagines* (Fig. 19) first published by Jan Moretus in 1598.[75] Galle subscribes her with "COPIÆ CORNV", the horn of plenty, and does not show the faces of the coins in such a detailed way as Goltzius. however, he places "FELIX ANTIQVITAS" opposite the horn of plenty, an old bearded man with a stick pointing to the book on top of the title page, on whose pages is written, "VITA MEMORIÆ | HISTORIA". Even here the coins are celebrated as a tool of history and their relevance pointed out. On his title page Rubens does not use the upturned horn of plenty; in his design the horn is filled with fruit and corn, pointing to an aspect of abundance that incorporates more than coins. In a similar way he broadens the aspect of the scales: *Moneta's* gaze is concentrated on the instrument that is necessary in order to establish a coin's value, but which can also weigh invisible values, in the hands of justice, for instance.

In the same manner, Rubens takes the same combination of coins with history as in Galle's title page for the *Illvstrivm imagines*, but expresses it in a subtler way and not as literally (Fig. 17).[76] Rubens alludes rather to both, to the minting of coins and the passing of time. It is possible that the niche alludes to Juno Moneta's temple that stood on the Arx on the Capitoline Hill, with the Roman mint next to it in ancient days.[77] The hammer and tongs leaning against a stone block are a clear reference as they refer to Vulcan, the mythological smith, shown on a coin depicted in Gevaert's commentary in *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*. In this large folio about the entry of the Cardinal Infant Ferdinand to Antwerp in 1635, to which event Rubens designed the artistic programme, his friend, the scholar Gevaerts describes Rubens's inventions and very often refers to antique coins.

Rubens also uses *Moneta* on the face of the Arch of the Mint in the Joyous Entry for Ferdinand, where she is not only depicted with a cornucopia, but also with scales, caduceus, and a money bag, indicating her importance for the Habsburg empire.[78] In the title page the reference to the mint is prevalent, i.e. to the making of coins, and is introducing the aspect of time in the image: from

74 Cf. De Bie 1615, p. 114; plate 38.
75 Faber 1606.
76 De Bie 1615; engraving, 171 x 128 mm.
77 Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, p. 168; Mattingly 1960, p. 11, fn. 1.
78 McGrath 1974, p. 194.

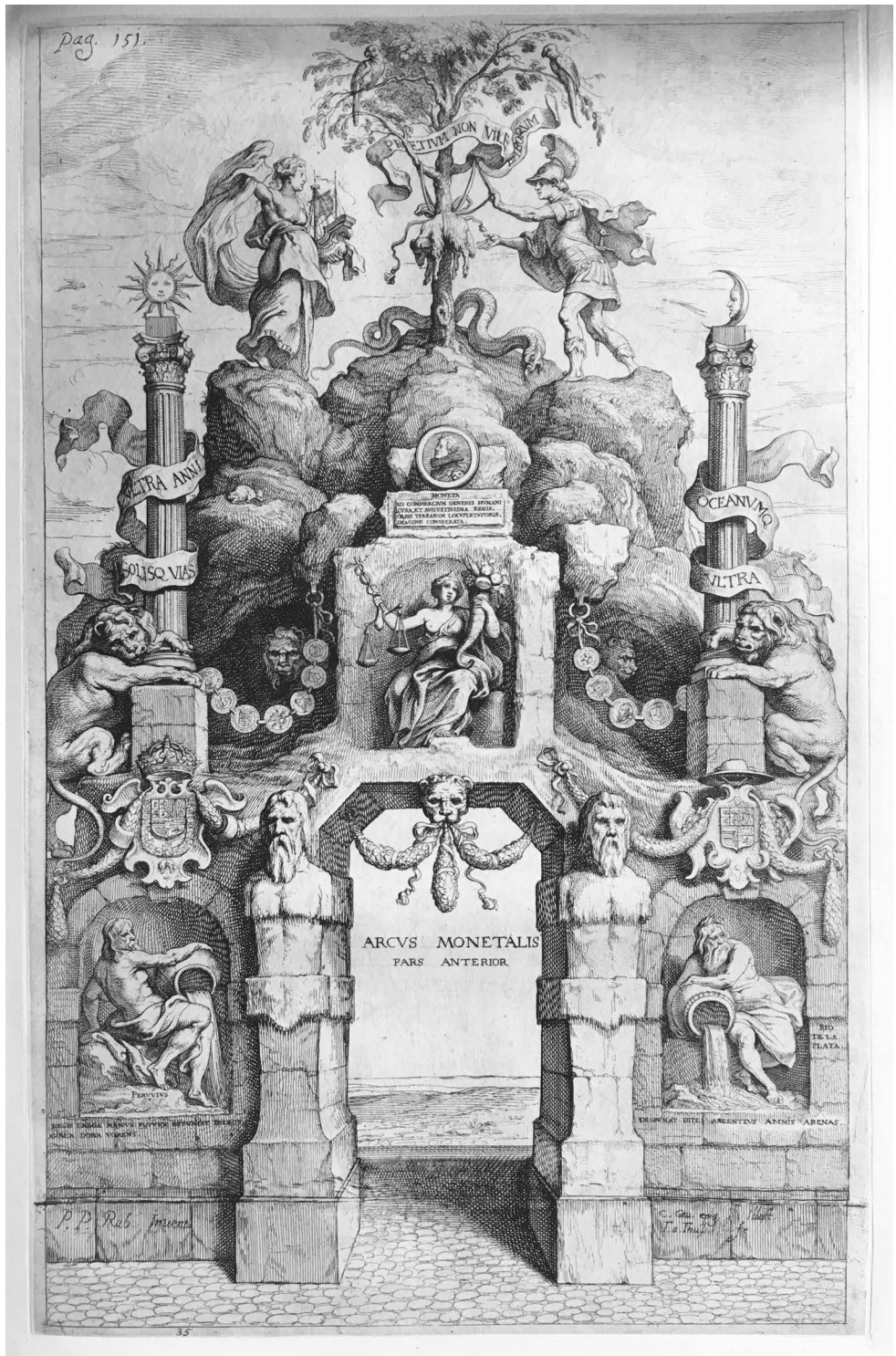


Figure 20 – Theodoor van Thulden after Rubens, *The Arch of the Mint*, (Front Face) in Gevaerts 1642, p. 151. Private Image.

the making of the coins, to their use and, on the right-hand side, to the ruins within which they are later found and where they attest to history. This concept is similarly employed in the Arch of the Mint in *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*: the face of the arch shows money not only in use, both as the motor for economy, and as the means to transport a rulers' face and with it his power over the whole world as the columns of Hercules indicate (Fig. 20). The back of the arch shows the mining and Vulcan at work with hammer and tongs in the same place as *Moneta*: the use and the making of coins are equally important here and, in the iconography of a ruler, literally show two sides of a coin (Fig. 21). On the title page, the aspect of time is reinforced by the architecture of the niche and the plants growing on it, and more expressly by the fallen ionic column lying beside it, the capital of which is lying upturned next to the medallion carrying the title of the book.

The same emphasis on the course of time is shown in a vignette in the same book, before which the *approbatio* by Laurentius Beyerlinck and the Ducal Privilege signed by G. Wouwer in Brussels are printed. This vignette introduces the plates of De Bie's catalogue and shows the head of Roma within the *ouroboros*, a snake that is eating its own tail. This was a symbol for eternity, often used in Rubens's title pages, and also gleaned from antique coins and jewellery.[79] Here it is decorated with tassels and ribbons to which coins are bound on a chain, also a concept that Rubens often uses in later title pages, for instance in the last title page designed by him for a numismatic title page, the fifth volume of the collected works of Goltzius.[80]

With his first title page Rubens already disposes of the traditional architectural frame as, for instance, shown in Galle's title page of 1606 (Fig. 19), and introduces a title page that is more open and versatile in its interpretation. For Rubens the format also has a compositional aspect and for this quarto he only uses one figure which he presents in a clear and monumental manner, while at the same time referring to both antique predecessors and those authorities of his own time, such as Goltzius. Goltzius was to occupy him for the rest of his life, as he was personally involved in the production of Goltzius's *Opera Omnia* published by the Officina Plantiniana.

4.3 The Further Numismatic Title Pages

The history of the further numismatic title pages by Rubens is very complex, mainly because two of the title pages he designed were later reused for the collected works of Goltzius. It is thus difficult to stay in the chronological progress without confusing the reader. The other title pages by Rubens for the numismatic books are interesting, however, as they already show what will be confirmed

79 Rubens mentions visiting Lelio Pasqualino's collection where he saw a gold torques in the shape of an *ouroboros*, a fact he mentions in the text accompanying the title page for Marselaer 1666 and in his *Roman Itinerary*. Meulen 1994a, p.121. The text is quoted in full in Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, pp. 347–348, fn. 5. Other title pages with this symbol were Mudzaert 1622; Haraeus 1623; portrait of Olivares in: Liutprandus 1640; Goltzius 1645a.

80 See section 4.4.

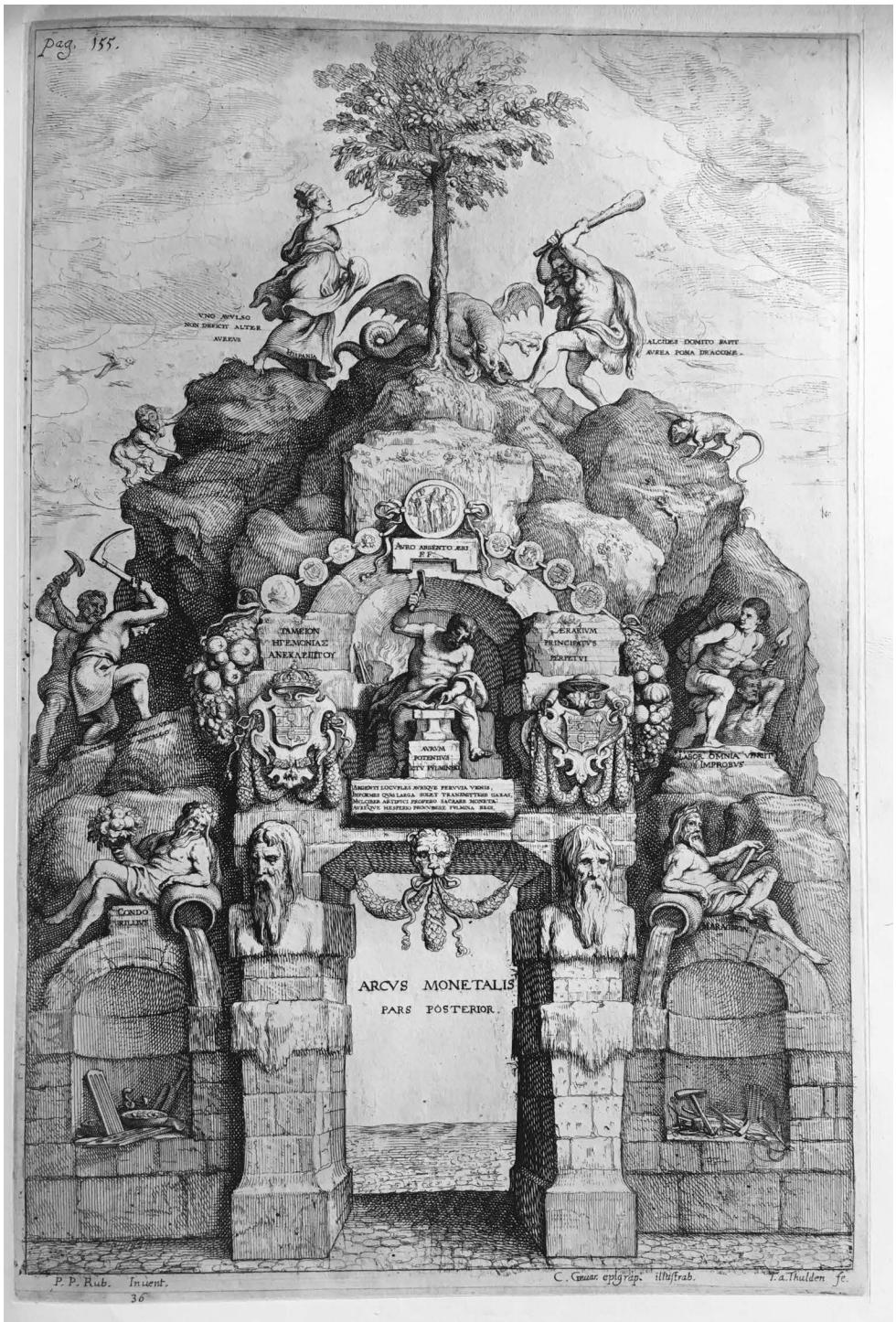


Figure 21 – Theodoor van Thulden after Rubens, *The Arch of the Mint*, (Rear Face) in Gevaerts 1642, p. 155. Private Image.

by later case studies. Rubens designs his title pages for specific books, but the concepts he uses are so open that they can be used without problems for other books in the same book class. He does not repeat himself, but uses variations with different emphases for title pages addressing similar topics. In the two following subsections the numismatic title pages have been subdivided into Roman and Greek coins, a subdivision which is also made by Rubens in his design.

From 1617 to 1620 Jacob de Bie republished Goltzius's work, the first volume (*Fast Magistratum et Triumphorum Romanorum*) under his own name, the second and third with the printer Gerard Van Wolsschaten (*Thesaurus Rei Antiquare Huberrimus* and *Sicilia et Magna Graecia*), the fourth was printed by Henricus Aertssens (*Graeciae Universae Asiaq. Minoris et Insularum Nomismata*), and the fifth by Hieronymus Verdussen (*Imp. Iuli Augusti. et Tiberi*). De Bie used the original copper plates, but edited information on them. Of the third volume he produced one version for the Northern Provinces, and one for the Southern Netherlands as the dedications show, and there are signs that he used the same strategy in the fourth volume.[81] Rubens provided two title pages for the last two volumes of this "real second edition" of Goltzius's books.[82] Nevertheless, De Bie encountered many problems with his second edition, and since "the original editions didn't sell well, De Bie couldn't sell his books either and he was declared bankrupt".[83]

In 1627 Rubens bought the remaining unsold and partly unfinished Goltzius books, as well as the copperplates from Jacob Loemans, a middleman. Peiresc had alerted Rubens to check on De Bie's financial situation in 1623 already in order to help a fellow numismatist, but also with the express wish to save the plates for further publication.[84] Another seven years later, Rubens sold the remaining 328 sets of Goltzius books for the sum of 4,920 florins, and 400 copper plates worth 1,000 florins to his friend Balthasar Moretus, who had them checked and intended to print them as the *Opera Omnia* of Goltzius's work.[85]

All of the books compiled into an edition of Goltzius's collected works were therefore initiated by De Bie and involved the same numismatic network, members of which also provided the commentaries for the second edition. The Antwerp Jesuit Andreas Schotte (1552–1629) wrote the commentaries for the first and the third volumes,[86] and Louis Nonnius those for the fourth and fifth.[87] Schotte was intimately acquainted with Rubens and his family: he later attended the deathbed

81 Dekesel 1988, p. 111; there are copies with the printer Isaac Elsevier from Leiden in the colophon.

82 In his bibliographical study of the confusing publishing history of the Goltzius books Christian Dekesel concludes that "[t]he books published by De Bie form[ed] the real second edition of at least four Goltzius books"; ibid., p. 131.

83 Ibid., p. 131.

84 Letter from Peiresc to Rubens, 10 Mar 1623, in: Ruelens and Rooses 1972e, p. 138.

85 "Checked all the plates of the Medals of Goltzius, for two and a half day wages and expenses 4 guilders 8." 16 July 1633, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 484; "Corrected all the plates of the Medals of Goltzius, being 400 plates, for everything 520 guilders." 23 July 1633, in: ibid., p. 471.

86 Goltzius and Schottus 1617 and Goltzius and Schottus 1618 .

87 Goltzius 1618 and Nonnius 1620.

Figure 22 – Title page for Augustín et al. 1617; etching,: 259 × 170 mm by de Lasne after Rubens. Private Image.

of Isabella Brant, Rubens's first wife.[88] He was also involved in the production of the catalogue of Rockox's coins in 1617, and belonged to Lipsius's circle of friends.[89] In 1617 Schotte's translation of Antonio Agustín y Abanell's dialogues on antique buildings and the inscriptions on them, as well as African, Spanish and Gallic coins was also published. Agustín, the archbishop of Tarragona, had printed these scholarly dialogues between himself, his brother and his nephew in an edition of one hundred in 1575 to give to his friends and fellow enthusiasts. Schotte, who had lived with Augstín for two years, translated the work into Latin, Jacob de Bie provided the plates and Aertssens printed it.[90] The book is dedicated to Nicolaas Rockox as a patron of the study of antiquity.[91]

4.3.1 Title Pages for Roman Emperors

Rubens made title pages for two books on coins of the Roman emperors. The first was for *Nomismata Imperatorum Romanorum Aurea*, published in 1617 (Fig. 22 on page 125). It was later reused for the second volume of Goltzius's *Opera omnia*, a commentary by Ludovico Nonnius on the coins of the Augustan age.[92] The wording of the title was changed, but otherwise the image of the title page stayed unchanged.[93] The other title page for Roman coins was for the last volume of Goltzius's *Opera omnia*, the *Icones Imperatorum Romanorum* (Fig. 26 on page 130).[94] The title pages for numismatic books show how Rubens slightly shifts the meaning of the title pages while using similar iconography.

The first book on the coins of the Roman Emperors from 1617 is about a collection of coins from Caesar to Valentinian owned by, and thus dedicated to, Nicolaas Rockox.[95] The sixty-eight plates are followed by a commentary in the form of a humanistic dialogue written by Schotte. The image refers to a previous book, Janus Jacobus Boissardus's (Jean Jacques Boissard 1528–1602) *Romae urbis topographia* printed in 1597 in Frankfurt/Main (Fig. 24).[96] Boissardus's illustrator Theodor de Bry (1528–1598) was the first to design a title page that played with the depth of the title page leaving the architectural frame aside. De Bry had taken this invention from Hendrick Goltzius's title page for a series of ten prints dedicated to the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II (Fig. 23).[97]

88 Baudouin 2005b, p. 88.
89 Augustín et al. 1617.
90 Agustín y Albanell 1617.
91 Cf. ibid., dedication; Huet et al. 2010, pp. 296ff.
92 Augustín et al. 1617; Vol. II in Goltzius 1645b.
93 Dekesel 1988, pp. 146–147.
94 Goltzius 1645a.
95 Rockox probably also financed the publication, as it shows about 180 of his coins; Augustín et al. 1617.
96 Rubens bought this book in May 1614 and used it for many projects. Arents et al. 2001, pp. 140–141, E 20.
97 Engraving Hendrick Goltzius, 370 mm x 238 mm; Rijksmusem, no. RP-P-H-OB-101.286. M. Leesberg, *Hendrick Goltzius*, vol. I, p. 273, no. 163; H. Leeflang, *Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617): tekeningen, prenten en schilderijen*, p. 89–92, no. 29; R. L. Falkenburg, *Goltzius-studies: Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617)*, p. 208, no. 26.

Figure 23 – Hendrick Goltzius, *De Romeinse helden*, 1586; engraving, 370 × 238 mm. Rijksmuseum, RP-P-H-OB-101.286. © Rijksmuseum.

Hendrick Goltzius depicted *Roma* seated on weapons, wearing a helmet, holding a spear and the personification of Victory in her hands. The personification of the city of Rome was always also a symbol of civic virtue, while the armaments symbolised the militaristic nature of the empire. Looking up at her on the title page is river god Tiber, while the personifications of Europe, Africa and Asia are offering her goods. The founding figures, Romulus and Remus, are depicted in the foreground together with their nurturing wolf. In his design for the title page of the topography of Rome, De Bry omitts Europe and the coat-of-arms above her, still shown in Goltzius's print, and instead depicts triumphant Rome, to which all other continents bow. Rubens takes the imperial imagery of this title page and uses the concept in a different way.

On Rubens's title page, too, *Roma* sits on a pedestal bearing the title, but she is holding an orb and a sword in her hands, while the personification of victory is stepping up behind her, crowning her with a laurel wreath. For this depiction of *Roma* Rubens reverted to a model he must have seen in Rome, a marble statue in the Giardino Cesi. He already had it engraved by Galle for his brother's book in 1608 (Fig. 25).[98] Rubens enforces the imperial theme in his title page and uses symbols that match the topic of coins for Roman emperors: a victorious Rome flanked by trophies and set above a relief showing the founding myth of Romulus and Remus. This, too, is based on a classical

98 P. Rubens 1608, between pp. 66–67.

Figure 24 – Title page for Boissard 1597, engraving by Theodor de Bry.

model, recognisable for the erudite as part of the River Tiber group; he did not have to include the river for it to be part of the invention. To emphasise the triumph over other nations, Rubens places two captives below *Roma's* pedestal instead of using the personifications of the continents. He uses these captives often and widely in representations of power; the classical and imperial reference they provide were useful to show the power of a king or the Church.[99] Rubens thus exploits this numismatic reference to the concept of triumph for books displaying the triumph of the church.[100]

For the second Rubens title page on the coins of Roman emperors (the fifth volume of the complete Goltzius), the artist places Julius Caesar, the first Roman emperor, on a similar pedestal as *Roma* in the previous title page (Fig. 26). He carries the same attributes with which Rome's city deity is commonly depicted on coins, the orb and victory, while a star is placed above his head. This book spans a large time frame: it deals with the biographies of emperors from Julius Caesar to Ferdinand III, and also included Byzantine and Holy Roman emperors. Thus the two emperors below Caesar on the title page are Constantine, the first Christian emperor, and Rudolph I, the founder of the Habsburg dynasty of which Ferdinand III was the last living emperor and king.

99 Büttner 2018, no. 29, pp. 404–410.
100 Cf. chapter 6.

Figure 25 – Illustration for P. Rubens 1608; engraving by Cornelis Galle I after Rubens, 206 × 276 mm. Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-4307. © Rijksmuseum.

The rudder, the fasces, rods bundled together, the snake, and the orb crowned by laurel are all symbols taken from the typical Roman empirical iconography as depicted on the coins and emphasise the wise government of a ruler, the eternity or strength of his rule or the eternity of it. The sun and the moon, just as the star, are also included in the title page to *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* above and flanking the medallion of Philip IV (Fig. 10 on page 65). The star could symbolise the soul of the divine emperor and his fame, but it could be also used in the same way as Rubens includes it in the *Pompa*.[101] There Gevaerts in the *explicatio* of the title page points the reader to the *adscriptum* on the title page itself: HESPERVS EOIS LVCET ET OCCIDVS—the evening star shines in the East and the West. Gevaerts explains that the stars never set on the Spanish Empire, and Aurora as the personification of the East Indies and the dawn rise to the left of the title page while Luna, the sign of the West Indies urges on a chariot pulled by a team of horses in the top-right corner of the title page. The extension of the empire was certainly also a topic in the Roman empire. It is entirely possible that Rubens uses the star in this context in a very similar way.

While the first title page by Rubens in 1617 was still focussed on antiquity and put the victory of Rome and its superiority into its centre, the second title page focusses much more on imperial power and on the founding myths of the Spanish Catholic empire. It shows a "dynastic" line from

[101] Judson and Van de Velde 1977a; Mattingly 1960, p. 146, fn. 2.

Figure 26 – Title page for Vol. V, *Icones Imperatorum Romanorvm*, in:Goltzius 1645b; etching by Cornelis Galle I after Rubens, 310 × 206 mm. Rijksmuseum, RP-P-1963-306. © Rijksmuseum.

Julius Caesar to the Habsburg dynasty with an emphasis on the faith, as Constantine is also included. While the imperial iconography is firmly rooted in antiquity, its meaning is transported to the present and, of course, includes the present king.

4.3.2 | Title Pages for Greek Coins

Rubens designed *Graeciae universae Asiaeque minoris et insularum nomismata ueterum* in 1618, reused in 1645 for the same book in the Plantinian Goltzius(Fig. 27).[102] For this work on coins from Greece and Minor Asia Rubens uses the symbolism from the depicted coins. The centre of this title page is an altar on which Rubens has combined typical classical decoration which probably did not exist in this combination.[103] A medallion at the top shows the profile of Alexander with ram's horns on his head, taken from coins of Alexander III of Macedonia, and placing him in the league of gods rather than humans.[104] Alexander's profile was for a long time the only human face on Hellenistic coinage, apart from Ptolemy I and common mythological scenes. His cult continued for more than two hundred years following his death in 323 B.C., and several coins were minted depicting his face.[105] With Roman standard coinage, Alexander's face disappeared from coins. That Alexander, one of the world's greatest military leaders, is placed in a line with the eagle of Zeus and the coat-of-arms of Archduke Albert of Austria, presented by two griffins in a laurel wreath, is no coincidence. Jacob de Bie dedicated the volume to the Archduke and his praise is here expressed visually through this juxtaposition.

On the title page, several Greek deities appear in the form of their attributes: the eagle of Zeus is sitting at the top of the altar, lightning bolts in his claw and with a vicious look towards the owl of Athena, who leans out as if to avoid the glance. Hercules's club and his lion's skin are placed on the right against the altar alongside Diana's bow and quiver, and Neptune's trident together with the dolphin with which he is depicted on coins. On the other side two pigeons, referring to Venus, are perched on top of the altar, while to their side lean Apollo's lyre, Hygieia's snake and staff, Fama's trumpet, and the tripod that was believed to be used by the Delphic priestess when delivering her oracles.[106] Some objects are ambiguous, such as the laurel wreath, which could be accorded to Bacchus together with the staff,[107] and the garland and the branch held by the snake could point to Demeter. Although Rubens includes the profile of Alexander in this title page of Greek coins, the symbolism in general refers to Greek mythology.

102 Goltzius 1618.
103 For garlands, ram's heads and bucrania as altar decoration in Roman antiquity, cf. Altmann 1905.
104 Goltzius 1618, for instance on plate XXXI, also plates XXXVI and XXXVII.
105 Even long after that, memorial coins with his face on continued to be minted for centuries. Shipley 2000, p. 21.
106 The subject of the Delphic tripod occupied Peiresc and indeed Rubens also for some time in the 1630s. Cf. Ossa-Richardson 2011; Meulen 1977.
107 Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, p. 202.

Figure 27 – Title page for Goltzius 1618; etching by Lasne after Rubens, 279 × 181 mm. Private Image.

4.4 The Title Page for Goltzius's *Opera omnia* (1645)

Rubens provides two new title pages in addition to the two existent ones for the *Opera omnia* of Hubert Goltzius, in which each book had its separate illustrated title page. The first of the five volumes has a general title page for the entire set *Romanae et Graecae Antiquitatis Monumenta* (Fig. 28), and the separate parts have their own, mostly reused title page apart from the four Rubens title pages. Apart from the old designs by Rubens, the older title pages from the first Goltzius edition were used and probably even recut. The Goltzius books were so well-known that the old title page would provide a moment of recognition with the buyer. The dedication of the whole work, and the dedication of the final volume, the only really new book, were written by Gevaerts. He was an intimate friend of Rubens, whose eldest son he looked after, when obligations called Rubens away. After his studies, Gevaerts returned to Antwerp and was appointed city clerk from 1621 to 1622.[108] Gevaerts had also written the text to the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* which—by virtue of his explanations and inclusion of coins—can almost be considered a numismatic work.

The first volume of the collected works of Goltzius included *Fasti*, with a title page by Michel Lasne after the original, and *Thesaurus Rei Antiquare*.[109] In the second, third and fourth volumes De Bie's title pages were used: volume two included the Ludovico Nonnius's commentaries on the coins of the Augustan age, introduced with the title page that had been designed by Rubens for the *Nomismata Imperatorum Romanorum Aurea* in 1617 (Fig. 22 on page 125).[110] Volume three comprised Nonnius's commentary on the Greek coins and had the title page that had been designed by Rubens for the same book in 1618 (Fig. 27 on page 132).[111] Volume four had again two books bound into one, the first of which provided the title page for the volume: a copy of the title page for *Siciliae et Magnae Graeciae Historia* from 1576 was used for this whole volume. The fifth volume was added to those De Bie had provided, and was a new edition of Goltzius's first book, with the coins minted by the Roman emperors. This title page was a new invention by Rubens, drawn by Erasmus Quellinus (Fig. 26).

The title page that Rubens designed for the complete works of Goltzius incorporated an idea he had already used in his first numismatic title page in 1615: the idea of the passing of time and history related to coins. The first title page is followed by the dedication to Ferdinand Franz of Habsburg written by Gevaerts and dated 1 August 1645 and an explanation of the title page called *Tabulae praeliminaris sive Frontispicii Explicatio*.[112] Gevaerts especially mentions the figures on the right

108 Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, p. 327, no. 81.
109 Dekesel 1988, pp. 140–145.
110 Augustín et al. 1617.
111 Goltzius 1618. Dekesel 1988, pp. 147–150.
112 Not all title pages had explanations, but even if they had they usually only name what could be seen, especially figures that might be ambiguous or difficult to understand.

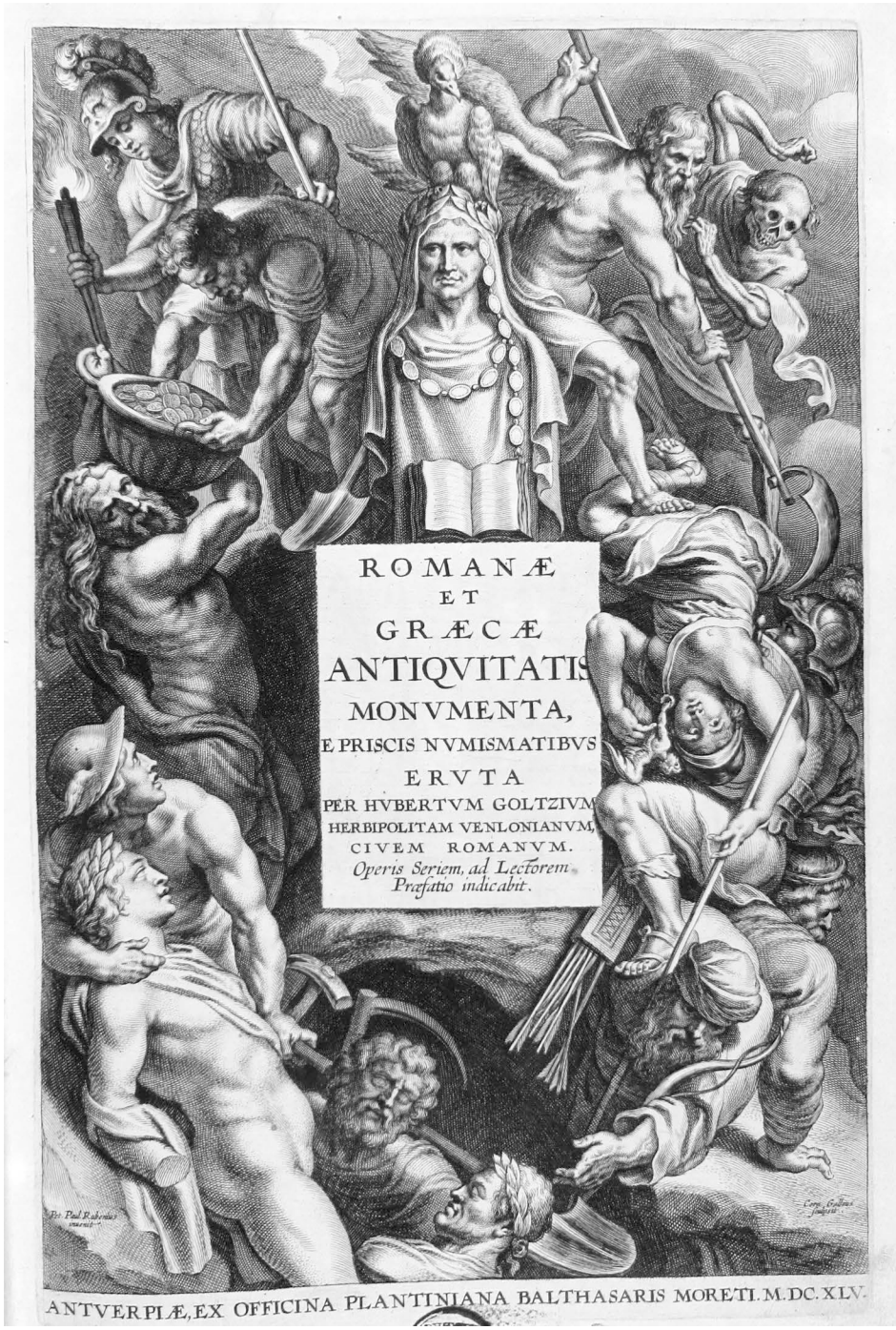


Figure 28 – Title page for Vol. I, Goltzius 1645b; engraving by Cornelis Galle I after Rubens, 302 × 200 mm. Private Image.

who represent the monarchies of Rome, Macedonia, Persia, and Media and by which attributes they can be identified.[113] He explains why the attributes were chosen for these figures and even mentions a literary source in which all four monarchies were mentioned. Thus, the explanation was more than a simple aid in identifying the figures for the reader: it was proof that the design by the painter was permissible and sanctioned by antique sources, something which Rubens himself also did occasionally. Gevaerts does not explain why any figures are present or what they denote: it is not an interpretation of the title page. What Gevaerts presents to the reader is the overall topic of the title page: "the image shows the rebirth of antiquity".[114]

In the later title page the concept of circular history, as it was used in Rubens's first title page, was fully worked out. The rebirth of antiquity is shown in a circular motion around the title on a pedestal, aptly associated with Rubens's grand schemes like the "Great Last Judgement" in which a similar movement can be observed.[115] The title is headed by a veiled bust of Antiquity crowned with a laurel wreath. On the head of the bust a phoenix is perching and leaning against it is an open book. Besides being self-referential, the book points to a history transmitted by books, while the phoenix is the symbol of revival and eternity, as Gevaerts points out. The revival of Antiquity starts, in reading direction, with its death: the figures of Death and Time, an old bearded man, are pushing four ancient monarchies to the ground. The Persian monarchy is trapped beneath the others and was the first to fall, while the Macedonian or Greek and the Roman monarchies, as the last ones to fall, are still on top. The way in which these monarchs are toppled down is reminiscent of depictions of the wheel of fortune, itself an expression of the circular motion of history.

Below the title is a hole in the ground with digging tools and the statues of Roman and Greek leaders visible. Mercury, Hercules, and Minerva are helping to uncover the inheritance of these collapsed monarchies. Mercury, whose gaze draws the reader's attention back to Time and Death, is the opposite to these figures: while Time and Death overthrow even monarchies, Mercury drags them out, such as the statue with a cape and laurel wreath he hauls out of earth. The figure is reminiscent of statues of Apollo and, as this deity was associated with the arts, Mercury could be also unearthing classical poetry and music. Thus, Mercury, who also symbolises eloquence, reverses the work of Time and Death and uncovers the arts of antiquity. With his strength, Hercules hauls them upwards to where Minerva. Minerva, as the goddess of wisdom, helps to enlighten the collector or historian of coins who takes up a hoard of coins from Hercules. The bust of antiquity presides

113 Gevaerts reverses left and right; he probably described the drawing rather than the print: Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, p. 337.

114 "Tabella Praeliminaris, à Petro-Paullo Rubenio, Equite, AEvi nostri Apelle, designata & delineata, ANTIQUITATIS REVIVISCENTIS Tpyum exhibit." Goltzius 1644, p. xi.

115 Munich, K.d.K., p. 118; Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, p. 338.

over this circle of death and rebirth, her eyes not blind like those of the statues below, but staring into eternity.

That both Minerva and Mercury help uncover the archaeological finds is not a coincidence: both are the patrons of the arts and sciences.[116] The title page is a fitting argument for the complete works of Goltzius, and illustrates one of the driving forces behind the publication: the fight against time and death, and the uncovering of history, which was also important for Rubens's work directly.

4.5 Conclusion: Rubens and Numismatics

The numismatic books were used professionally by Rubens and others: much of the iconography Rubens used was known from ancient coins as Gevaerts repeatedly shows in his commentary to the the Joyous Entry of Cardinal Infant Ferdinand.[117] But the numismatic books also reflect a deeply personal interest of Rubens and are thus presented here as an introduction to the other aspects of his title page design.[118] Rubens's numismatic interest was embedded in his general fascination with antiquity, a fascination which also compelled him to study and draw the sculptures and reliefs in Rome.[119] As his correspondence with the scholar Peiresc shows, Rubens was deeply interested in the historical background of the gems and artefacts that were found all over Europe, an interest which he shared with his son Albert. He not only considered publishing a book of his own on gems together with his friend Peiresc, but also bought a large number of plates from his bankrupt friend Jacob de Bie, which resulted in the publishing of the *Opera omnia* of Hubert Goltzius. The network around the numismatic books includes aristocratic and scholarly enthusiasts, and, more importantly, life-long friends and important patrons with whom he cooperated—and most of these play a part in other, non-numismatic commissions and publications. It was probably also the ties to this numismatic network, coupled with his personal interest, that induced Rubens to buy all the plates for Goltzius's books from Jacob de Bie; this was a personal and financial involvement in a doomed book project which is exceptional.

The involvement in and commitment to this singularly unsuccessful project by Rubens and Moretus demonstrate the importance of numismatics to them both. Neither one of them would live to see the finished five volumes of the *Opera omnia* appear on the market in 1644–45. From an economic point of view, the Officina Plantiniana's investment in this work was never justified: the books were too expensive, especially as so many plates were involved, and the market of nu-

116 Cf. Bertram 2016, pp. 231–232.
117 Gevaerts 1642. See also Büttner 2017b, passim.
118 De Grummond 1968.
119 Meulen 1994a.

mismatic enthusiasts was too small for such an edition. The end of this publishing endeavour is telling: between 1670 and 1678 the Verdussens bought the unsold volumes from the Officina Plantiniana, but as late as 1689 more than 500 miscellaneous volumes of Goltzius's *Opera omnia* were still in their warehouse.[120] As those books had not sold well, Moretus's decision to re-publish them for a third, equally unsuccessful time is clearly influenced by the lifelong enthusiasm both he and Rubens had for numismatics and for the work of Goltzius who certainly was the most influential numismatist until the eighteenth century. This enthusiasm was nurtured by the social network surrounding them and it exemplifies the importance of this network for business decisions.

With his title pages, Rubens showed and advocated that he belonged to an antiquarian network that spanned the whole of Europe. The Antiquarian network in Antwerp was built on a common interest in antiquarian matters, but it also implied common goals and thus bolstered trust among a dispersed community. Furthermore, this was a community of scholars who were often in the service of the various European courts and as such they were very useful contacts. To be introduced as one of theirs could be beneficial in other ways, as it often proclaimed trustworthiness of the contact. An example already mentioned earlier, is the letter written by Frans Sweerts to Gruterus, the librarian of the elector of the Palatinate. In an earlier letter, Gruterus must have complained about having been cheated by tapestry dealers during an acquisition he undertook in the elector's name.[121] Sweerts, tapestry merchant and humanist, sees his chance to offer Rubens's tapestries to the Elector through Gruterus and provide a political contact at the same time. As Ulrich Heinen shows in his contextualisation and interpretation of this letter, introducing Rubens as an antiquarian and someone who was well versed in history would not only make Rubens trustworthy, but also enhanced the quality of his tapestries for someone who had not seen them.[122] To prove his point, Sweerts also mentions Rubens's collections. Unsurprisingly, Rubens's friend Woverius is mentioned in the the letter. Thus Sweert's and Rubens's contacts to the Antwerp antiquarian circle, just as Rubens's collection and his knowledge in the field, have become bargaining factors for a tapestry merchant and thus have economical and political implications. This suggests that celebrating this network of fellow enthusiasts by means of an active participation in their projects, i.e. design title pages for their publications, might not only have been in Rubens's personal interest, but would also have made him known in circles which he might not yet have penetrated professionally.[123]

This case study has also shown several points concerning Rubens's title page design. The Goltzius project had in total four of Rubens's title pages, two of which were designed early in his illus-

120 Dekesel 1988, pp. 160–161.
121 This letter was already mentioned in section 2.5.
122 Heinen 2002, passim, here p. 286.
123 Ibid., p. 288.

tration career and were later reused, and two from the later years of his life. Title pages were often reused by publishers, especially for books of the same genre. For the Goltzius project various title pages were not only reused but even recut. Thus all means to provide title pages for a book were used in the collected works: new prints from old plates, new engravings made by copying old plates, and new designs by Rubens. This raises the question of the value of older title pages: clearly it was not necessary to provide a book with a new title page in each case, which suggests that some title pages were valued for their ties to older publications. The value of these older title pages is also suggested by the fact that Rubens often refers to earlier title pages as will be seen in the following case studies. The corpus of numismatic title pages shows in a nutshell the issues which were further studied in the other Rubens title pages: the social context of book production, Rubens's references to older title pages and the influence of these on the interpretation of the title page.

5 Rubens's Humanistic Title Pages for Jesuit Authors

5.1 The Society of Jesus

While Rubens used the numismatic title pages to proclaim himself as a numismatist and antiquarian, he expressed his humanistic education with the following title pages. Although all of them were written by authors from the Society of Jesus, the title pages by Rubens advocate the books not as mainly Jesuit, but as humanistic titles. Nevertheless, the Jesuits' interest in books and thus in his title pages needed to be identified, before the title pages could be interpreted. This wider context of the title pages thus constitutes the first part of this section.

Books and their relevance to the Society of Jesus

Rubens designed eighteen title pages for authors from the Society of Jesus, apart from producing several paintings for their churches both in Italy and the southern Netherlands. This religious order was very influential in the seventeenth century and the society was particularly strong in Antwerp. Because education was of primary importance in the young order, books were highly coveted by the Jesuits: countless authors belonging to the society published an incomparable number of books for almost every step of the education system.

The Society of Jesus, founded in the 1530s by Ignatius de Loyola, was one of the most successful and influential orders in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In 1540 Pope Paul III issued the first papal bull for the approval of the Society of Jesus; it was finally approved in its revised state by Pope Julius III in 1550 as *Exposcit debitum*. To this day this is the document that allows the Jesuits to operate within the Catholic Church and is thus the charter of the Society.[1] In it the purpose of the order is defined as "to serve the Lord alone and the Church, his spouse, under the Roman

[1] John O'Malley, "Introduction: The Pastoral, Social, Ecclesiastical, Civic and Cultural Mission of the Society of Jesus", pp. xxiii–xxxvi, in: O'Malley and Bailey 2006.

pontiff, the vicar of Christ on earth".[2] While the Jesuits had a close connection to the papacy from the beginning, they were never willing to serve the Church, and refused to take on parishes or any other offices in the Church's organisational structure. As the historian of religious culture, John O'Malley, emphasises, in Ignatius's correspondence—one of the largest extant early modern collections with more than seven thousand letters—the expression "to serve the Church" does not occur once, while the "help of souls" is used frequently.[3] The Society's ultimate goal, formulated very generally by Ignatius of Loyola, was the service to God: to work for the "greater glory of God",[4] or, in the words of the *Exposcit debitum*, the "defense and propagation of the faith".[5] Depending on the country in which the Jesuits lived, this could mean an active mission for the evangelisation of heathens or the confrontation with the Reformists, and the Society soon took up that cause especially in countries such as England, the German countries and the Netherlands. The written word was an important tool for the Society's mission.

In the publication of books the Society of Jesus was on the forefront: the Jesuit scientific corpus alone comprises almost 6,000 works for the years 1540 to 1800.[6] From very early on, the Jesuits had recognised the significance of books for their purposes: a letter by the secretary of the Jesuits' founder Ignatius Loyola stated that "for the houses of study purchasing of books is as essential as the buying of food. A book is a tool in the service of God".[7] The first generation of Jesuits still regarded publishing books critically, as they perceived it as a distraction from their work of charity, and in the constitutions books were mentioned only in passing. However, throughout the decades, books became more and more important for the society, especially in their missionary work.

The Jesuits were not only involved in the production of books, they also established a huge system of standardised education that was always in need of new books, whether textbooks for the students or scholarly books for the teachers. This educational endeavour made libraries necessary in Jesuit colleges. Over time twelve rules for college libraries were formulated in the *Regulae praefecti bibliothecae* (Rules for the Prefect of the Library). Among these rules it is postulated, for instance, that all the forbidden and censored works collected by the Church in the *Index librorum prohibitorum* were denied a place on the shelves, and that the library had to own and display the Index. The rules also made sure that the purchases of new books were discussed frequently with the superior, that the books were classified according to their subjects and that a catalogue of books and subjects was compiled. A collection of essential works had to be placed in the reading room

2 O'Malley and Bailey 2006, pp. xxxiv–xxxvi.
3 Ibid., p. xxvi.
4 Harris 1988, pp. xxxvii–xxxix.
5 O'Malley and Bailey 2006.
6 Harris 1988, pp. xx–xxi.
7 *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu*. Matriti, Gabriel Lopez del Horno, 1907. IV, pp. 494–495. in Begheyn 2014, p. 17.

with free access to all.[8] The *Ratio Studiorum*, the guidelines for teaching in the Jesuit colleges, completed these rules. They declared that the library had to be up to date and supplied with new authors and books.[9] The newly founded order of the Society of Jesus was very soon at the forefront of book production and consumption.

What influenced the Jesuit production of books was not only intellectual zeal, but also the need to find patrons and donors for an order that lived off donations. This patronage system made books economically relevant for the Jesuits. The reputation of both schools and their teachers depended on their publications, and attracting sponsors and wealthy pupils helped to create and nourish these reputations.[10] The books were a tool in this system: almost every book, especially those with engraved title pages, had a dedication that either thanked a patron for rendered services or was a sign of hope for future patronage. Sometimes the dedication would also be incorporated into the title page with the inclusion of coats-of-arms and other legible allusions to the patron.[11]

In a study on the dedicatory policy used by Jesuits, Martha Baldwin examined the dedications by Jesuit scientists. The mathematician Christopher Clavius (1538–1612), for instance, used dedications only from 1581 onwards, and then concentrated on kings, priests with royal connections, wealthy merchants with good connections, as well as Italian princes: according to Baldwin, he "sought to earn the validation of men in the secular world who exercised considerable cultural, political, and economic power in Catholic Europe".[12] It is important to note, that not only the economic power was of importance; choosing a patron was not only done to finance publications but also to navigate political waters. The Jesuit network helped the individual author in negotiating the social and economical complexities of patronage: provincials and superiors not only censored the books written by their members, they also advised authors on the publication and suggested potential patrons. This method of earning and keeping the good will of rulers and the powerful goes back to Ignatius Loyola and his founding document.[13] In later years very successful authors were freed from teaching standard courses and were appointed *scriptors*, such as for instance Clavius or Athanasius Kircher, which underlines the growing importance of publications for the order.[14]

Generally, the publication of a book never occurred in the name of the Society of Jesus without the express approval of the hierarchy: the order had developed strict protocols and procedures that were demanded of authors and superiors alike. As well as the general censorship introduced with

8 Comerford 2015, p. 184.
9 Cf. Begheyn 2014, p. 18.
10 Baldwin 2003.
11 Ibid.; Ashworth 1985, 1986, 1989, 1991. Cf. Frese 1989 for title pages as dedications.
12 Baldwin 2003, p. 290.
13 Ibid., p. 291.
14 Ibid., p. 286.

the mass distribution of the printed book, the Jesuits introduced their own censorship. Books were assessed by censors in the provinces and by censors in Rome, before an *approbatio* was granted.

Images played a special role in the belief of the Jesuits and were used widely in meditation and education.[15] Many books by Jesuits were published with images, often illustrations, especially those that were needed by missionaries in other parts of the world.[16] However, title pages were not made to be meditated on in the same way as illustrations. More often, the usual functions of title pages can be observed in Jesuit title pages: as a dedication, as a preface to the book, or as a summary of the content.[17] Because the Jesuits used artists widely and had an encompassing cultural output, the discussion about a "Jesuit style" or specific Jesuit propaganda has never abated.[18] But, as Ralph Dekoninck among others has repeatedly shown, the Jesuits used the means available to them, including a visual system that had been in play since the middle ages; this did not mean that there was "a causal relationship between a religious sensibility and an artistic style".[19] Just as any early modern author or artist, the Jesuits followed the rhetorical aim with its roots in classical teachings in rhetoric: a speech (and later any written or visual work) was to teach, move and delight, with an emphasis on the affective response of the viewer or reader. Since the nineteenth century, an age that assessed the Jesuits in a not particularly positive way, a specific "Jesuit taste" was assumed to be closely connected to a "Baroque style", particularly in the Belgian province, and in the middle of that was the name Rubens. Instead, as many authors have shown in the last century, the Jesuits adapted various styles and preferences prevalent in certain regions in order to blend in and to have more persuasive force.[20] In Antwerp, an important city in the Jesuits' network, Rubens was approachable as an artist, he was undoubtedly Catholic, he knew many of the Jesuits, and as such was asked to provide paintings and designs for many of their projects.

Rubens's Work for the Society of Jesus

There are several reasons for Rubens's collaboration with the Jesuits: the Society of Jesus was particularly strong in Antwerp, he seems to have had close connections to the Society and it had very knowledgable authors. A strict education system ensured that only the best and most dedicated would, after years of study, achieve the rank of a professed Jesuit. Rubens collaborated with the Jesuits from early in his career: during his stay in Italy he had already received commissions for Jesuit churches. Because the Jesuits used images widely, their order was a very interesting patron with many potential commissions and a large world-wide network. Rubens later joined one of their so-

15 Boer et al. 2016; Oy-Marra et al. 2011; O'Malley 2005; J. C. Smith 2002; O'Malley and Bailey 1999.
16 Van Dael 1998; Remmert 2011.
17 For the various functions, cf. Frese 1989.
18 Dekoninck 2012; O'Malley 2005; Levy 2004; Bailey 1999.
19 Dekoninck 2012, p. 66; Dekoninck 2005a.
20 Bailey 1999.

dalities in Antwerp, and he must have had personal contacts within their order. Apart from altar pieces, Rubens designed title pages for several authors of the Society of Jesus, in all eighteen.[21] This means that one third of all the publications illustrated by Rubens were for productions by Jesuits, therefore making it necessary to investigate some of these collaborations more closely. A mathematical and a juridical work were chosen as case studies: the book on optics by Aguilonius and *De iustitia et iure* by Leonardus Lessius.

Very early on in his career, in the first months of his stay in Italy, Rubens became a protégé of the Jesuits.[22] On 26 January 1601 he received his first important commission for the newly built Jesuit church in Mantua. He was to porduce three paintings for the high altar and the two side altars, for the design of which he consulted two fathers: the superior of the professed house in Mantua and Father Antonio Possevino (1533–1611). The latter had brought out a treatise *De cultura ingeniorum* in 1598 (Bologna) in which he affirmed the views of Father Louis Richeome (1544–1625), who, in two seminal works, had written about the use of sight in spiritual education. The high altar by Rubens was consecrated in 1605 and showed the Gonzaga family in reverence of the Trinity. Vincenzo I Gonzaga, fourth duke of Mantua and Monferrato, had appointed Rubens to work for him and his splendid collection. For the eight years of Rubens's stay, the Duke of Gonzaga was his patron in Italy.[23] Rubens's collaboration with the Jesuits continued in Rome with an illustrated edition about the founding father of the Society, Ignatius de Loyola. Two sketches by Rubens for the illustrations are known.[24] Back in Antwerp, he not only painted the first Jesuit saints for the Jesuit church in Antwerp, Ignatius and Francis Xaver, but also decorated the church with a series of ceiling paintings and worked on a number of book projects.[25]

Just as his friend Balthasar Moretus, Rubens became a member of the Latin Sodality of Our Lady under the direction of the Jesuits. The Latin sodality was one of the eight sodalities of the Jesuits, and its members spoke Latin only.[26] It is not known when exactly he became a member, the documents only mention him and Balthasar Moretus as *consultores* in 1623.[27] The years after his

21 Aguilonius 1613; Areopagita 1634; Baronio and Sponde 1623; Bauhuis et al. 1634; Bidermann 1634; Boonaerts 1634; Cordier 1628; Hugo 1626; L. Lessius 1617; Liutprandus 1640; Pietrasanta 1634; Ribadeneyra and Rosweyde 1619; Rosweyde 1617, 1628; Sarbiewski 1632, 1634; Scribani 1624; Steen 1616.

22 Büttner 2008a, p. 67.

23 Büttner 2015c; Morselli 2016; Büttner 2008a; Morselli 2001.

24 Dekoninck 2012, p. 79; Dekoninck 2005b, p. 166; Held 1972; Evers 1943, pp. 167–194.

25 Lombaerde 2008.

26 Thijs 1993; Ziggelaar 1983, p. 41.

27 Büttner 2015c, p. 65. Antwerpen, Onze-Lieve-Vrouwcollege, Bibl. no 86, A 8. "D. Petrus Ruebens" mentioned as a secretary in another document, is probably his namesake, as Peter Paul was traveling from 1628–1630: Büttner 2006b, p. 44, fn. 30; Baudouin 2005a, p. 210, fn. 50. For stylistic reasons it is assumed that Rubens painted the *Annunciation* (oil on canvas, 224 x 200 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, no. 685), hanging in the chamber of the Latin sodality up to 1776, for its formation in 1609. There is no documentary evidence for this. Cf. Kräftner 2004, pp. 56–59, no. 9; Logan and Schröder 2004, no. 25; Demus 1977, no. 18, with older literature.

return from Italy saw Rubens making a systematic effort to be integrated into Antwerp society.[28] In 1609, the same year in which he married the daughter of Jan Brant, Isabella Brant (1591–1626), he entered the guild of Romanists. With his marriage to Isabella, it is very probable that he would have been able to enter the Latin Sodality, but more has to be found out about these sodalities and how they worked.

On June 19, 1609, in any case, he became a member of a religious fraternity, the *Confratrum collegii Romanorum apud Antuerpienses*, that was affiliated to the Sint Joriskerk and venerated the saints Peter and Paul.[29] Its chairman was the distinguished painter Jan Brueghel (1568–1625). A prerequisite for the admission into this elitist fraternity of 25 members was an obligatory visit to Rome and the ability to converse in Italian. Just as Latin in the Latin sodality, the ability to fluently converse in Italian was a distinguishing characteristic: it elevated the person who was part of the fraternity above those who could not be members because of language, it also was a mark of erudition and connected like-minded persons. For Rubens these memberships were not only welcome pastimes in which he could practise the languages he liked most,[30] but it also elevated him as an artist and it brought him into direct contact with many patrons and clients.

Of the eighteen publications in which Rubens collaborated with the Jesuits, only six were not published by the Officina Plantiniana.[31] Not all of the works published for the Jesuits were primarily theological books. Indeed, the first book by a Jesuit author illustrated by Rubens was a work that would nowadays be considered to be scientific rather than religious, and in its own time was part of the mathematical curriculum.[32] This first design was for a book published by Balthasar Moretus; it was the title page for Aguilonius's *Opticorum Libri Sex* (Fig. 29).[33] It was written by the Franciscus Aguilonius (François d'Aguilon, 1567–1616), as background reading for Jesuit teachers on this fairly new subject: it was intended to be useful for professors of both philosophy and mathematics. Rubens must have got to know Aguilonius through his involvement in Antwerp society, as the latter was a trusted member of the Jesuit community.

Aguilonius taught philosophy and mathematics in Antwerp from 1598, and became rector in 1614 and vice-provincial from 1615 to 1616. Together with the previous rector, Carlo Scribani, he was responsible for opening a school for mathematics there. In his time as rector Aguilonius was involved in the building of what is nowadays known as the Sint Carolus Borromeuskerk in Antwerp, the plans of which Rome finally agreed to in 1615.[34] The illustrations for the vignettes in Aguilo-

28 Büttner 2015c.
29 Ibid., p. 65.
30 Rubens wrote most of his letters in Italian.
31 Baronio and Sponde 1623; Boonaerts 1634; Ribadeneyra and Rosweyde 1619; Rosweyde 1617; Scribani 1624; Steen 1616. Ribadeneyra 1609 is not considered here, as Rubens probably only delivered the illustrations.
32 This book on optics belongs to the book class of mathematical books in Albert's catalogue.
33 Aguilonius 1613. For a full bibliography concerning this often-mentioned title page, see Bertram 2016.
34 Meskens 1997 p. 13.

nius's book show a closeness to the text that make several authors assume that Rubens and Aguilonius at least talked about the book.[35]

Although none of the other collaborations have been proven so far, not even Rubens's involvement in the building of the church, his interest in architecture cannot be denied, nor his interest in the theoretical side, as he owned several tracts on architecture, by Alberti, Vitruv, Scamozzi, Serlio, and Francart, for example, and in 1622 he even published his own book: *Palazzi di Genova*.[36] There is, however, no record showing that Rubens contributed the sketches for the planned Jesuit church in Antwerp.[37] This church was built by Franciscus Aguilonius and the lay brother Peter Huyssens (1578–1637), a Jesuit mason. Much speculation exists as to how far Rubens was involved in this project and the discussions in this century have indeed "provoked a great diversity of opinions".[38] What remains of the collaboration of Aguilonius, Huyssens, and Rubens are seven drawings of the sculptural parts of the façade, the ceiling, and the crowning of the high altar—possibly by the latter—plans sent to Rome from Aguilonius and Huyssens, and a church influenced by contemporary Italian architecture.[39] On April 14, 1615, the first stone of the church was laid and when Aguilonius died in the spring of 1617 the building was not finished by far. Huyssens continued building the church until 1621.[40] In this year Rubens was to deliver the paintings for the ceilings of the new church, as the contract shows.[41]

Rubens's collaboration with the Society of Jesus increased in the thirties and did not cease until his death: for three decades, from the first title page for the Aguilonius in 1613 to 1640, when he provided the design for title page of the works of Liutprand with the help of Erasmus Quellinus, he designed title pages for the Society in Antwerp. In this town the members of the ruling elite were connected by familial ties, and the Jesuits actively sought the patronage of these members; it is inconceivable that Rubens would not have known several of these highly educated men. He definitely knew the publishers of the books, but not necessarily the authors. The Jesuits were always on the lookout for patrons and good artists, and Rubens was subsequently often approached to either decorate the Jesuit church or provide a design for a title page by a Jesuit author, without necessarily having a close connection to the authors himself. The Society of Jesus, with its many sodalities and members, had many opportunities to contact Moretus or Rubens for a title page.

35 Büttner 2015c, p. 119; Jaffé 1971 includes the new Jesuit church in the collaboration, others the colour theory put forward in Aguilonius's work, Ibid., Parkhurst 1961.

36 Blunt 1977, p. 621, fn. 43 for the most important treatises Rubens bought between 1613 and 1617; Baudouin lists his acquisitions from 1613–1620 when he was building his house. Baudouin 2001, p. 62.

37 Büttner 2015c, pp. 119–120; Lombaerde 2008, passim; J. R. Martin 1968; Ziggelaar 1983, p. 25; Alfred Poncelet, Vol. I, p. 343; Ferndinan Peeters 1945, p. 172.

38 Baudouin 2002a, p. 15. The forthcoming Part XXII, 3 of the CRLB might clarify some open questions concerning Rubens's involvement in the building of the church.

39 Lombaerde 2002, p. 27.

40 Daelmans 2002, p. 42.

41 Büttner 2015c, p. 122, fn. 520.

5.2 The Title Page for Aguilonius's *Opticorum libri sex* (1613)

The title page by Rubens for Aguilonius's main work, six books on Optics, exemplifies why this section addresses Rubens as a humanist rather than an artist in the service of the Society of Jesus. Apart from the mathematical instruments lying on the ground, the title page itself is not overly concerned with the mathematical side, and instead focuses on the allegorical representation of optics. Rubens draws here on classical mythology in order to show *Optica* as the queen of mathematical studies.

The six books on optics by Franciscus Aguilonius, published as *Opticorum libri sex Philosophis iuxtà ac Mathematicis utiles* in 1613, were written as background reading for Jesuit teachers of philosophy and mathematics.[42] Optics was not a subject of its own at the beginning of the seventeenth century, but belonged to philosophical and mathematical studies; it was taught in the philosophy course of physics and mathematics in which it was preceded by arithmetic and geometry, spherical astronomy and geography, the motion of the heavenly bodies and the astrolabe.[43] Mathematics was a fairly new subject and Aguilonius himself must have been among the first to study mathematics in Douai in the 1580s; optics as only a sub-discipline was not taught everywhere. The well-known professor of mathematics at the Roman college, Clavius, had written two treatises in which he praised the discipline and argued for its inclusion in the Jesuits' regulations for studies in the colleges, the *Ratio Studiorum*.[44] A definite version of these regulations had only been published in 1599. Seven years later the Antwerp rector of the college, Carlo Scribani (1561–1629), petitioned the magistrate to open a special mathematical school.[45] The main objective was to move the whole college to a bigger building, and Scribani was able to use the mathematical school, intended for the merchants, gaugers, navigators, and surveyors of Antwerp, as an argument for this move. He gained the support of Mayor Hendrik van Etten,[46] and in 1608 the college moved to the Huys van Liere. Another seven years later, in 1615, the new rector Aguilonius was allowed to open a special mathematical school that also taught astronomy. Although Gregory of St. Vincent (1584–1667) arrived in Antwerp in the same year to help with the curriuculum, a course on mathematics was only started after Aguilonius's death in 1617.[47] During this struggle by the Jesuit college to establish a school for mathematics in the city, Aguilonius's book was published, for which he received 200 guilders from the city of Antwerp.[48] It was a sumptuous book of 684 pages in folio with over 500

42 This subchapter is largely based on an article published in 2016. For a detailed bibliography cf. Bertram 2016.
43 Meskens 1997, Meskens 1996.
44 Cf. Smolarski 2002.
45 Ibid., p. 257; Ziggelaar 1983, pp. 33–35.
46 Dupré 2008, p. 56.
47 Vanpaemel 2003, p. 396; Ziggelaar 1983, pp. 47–52; Parkhurst 1961, p. 40.
48 Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 495.

wood-cut illustrations, as well as a general title page and a vignette for each book. The title page and all vignettes were designed by Rubens and cut by Theodore Galle.

The imagery on the title page, just as the "Letter to the Reader", praises *Optica*, the personification of optics, as the queen of mathematical studies.[49] In her hands she holds the two attributes that combine vision and reason: the optical pyramid and the eye-sceptre (Fig. 29).[50] Both Sven Dupré and Isabelle Pantin show that Aguilonius argues against the new Keplerian theories in order to understand vision in terms of cognition and ultimately in the terms of contemplating God. While Kepler dismisses the *species* in his *Astronomiae Pars Optica* of 1604 as part of a dated, Aristotelian intromission theory, Aguilonius reintroduces them in his theory. It postulates that objects emit rays which carry the *species* and with their help stimulate our internal senses residing in the soul via the external sense of vision. Kepler's theory threatened a central concern of Jesuit mathematicians, as, according to them, spiritual knowledge could only be obtained through the stimulus of the soul through the *species*.[51] The title page puts an emphasis on light by showing rays of different kinds; rays were not only the carriers of the important *species*, but light was also used as a symbol of knowledge, a relationship that is vividly explained in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*:

> A sitting woman is holding a lighted candle in her hand / and has with her an open book / onto which she points with her right index finger. The burning candle means / that / just as our eyes / when they should see and perceive something / have need of light: thus also the inner eye of reason / when it shall grasp / seize and perceive the form of the things that are subject to knowledge and reason / needs the tool of the outer sense and especially of sight to this end / which is indicated by the burning light (as said) / as says Aristotle / Nihil est in intellectu, quod prius non fuerit in sensu: nothing comes or is in the mind (reason) that has not come through the (both inner and outer) sense first: And this is shown by the open book / because we achieve knowledge and science of many things only through seeing / or through hear-reading.[52]

Optica is elevated by Rubens in this title page because vision is an integral part of cognition, and in analogy, not only of cognition as such, but in a narrower way also the soul's knowledge of God. The title page underlines the Jesuits' belief that images and the sense of sight could lead to a knowledge of divine reality.[53] This theory, by this time rather old-fashioned, was presented here with a title page that had a very traditional structure and composition not often used by Rubens. The

49 "[I]ll ac prope divina Optice, regina omnium quas Mathesis complectitur scientiarum." Aguilonius 1613, *Lectori*.

50 Bertram 2016, p. 220. See also the sceptre in the title page to Scribani 1624, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, pp. 237–240.

51 Cf. Pantin 2008, pp. 257–263, esp. p. 260; and Dupré 2013, p. 474, fn. 6; Dupré 2008, p. 54.

52 Trsl. from Ripa 1669, p. 161.

53 Dupré 2013, p. 475; see also J. C. Smith 2002, pp. 29–56; Dekoninck 2005a, passim.

traditional architectural frame was thus used for the writings of an author who favoured tradition over the new developments in the field.

In his architectural title pages, Rubens takes up much of the architectural language from previous title pages, and also from the architectural tracts he owned. Thus Blunt suggests that Rubens knew the widely circulated architectural writings by Giovanni Battista Montano (1534–1621) because the most striking features of the Aguilonius title page, the two caryatids, seem to be copied straight from the *canephori* carrying baskets of fruit on their heads.[54] The architecture in this title page is used to express to the reader that he is about to read a solidly traditional work, while it elevates *Optica* by placing her on a pedestal and framing her with classical architecture.[55] When Rubens uses architecture in this way in his title pages, he usually refers to older title pages of the same genre, as with the Bible, or to previous editions, as with the *Annales sacri* or biblical commentaries.[56] By including the architectural framework, he emphasises and continues the tradition of the books he illustrates. A case in which he ostensibly does not use the architectural framework is the work by Leonardus Lessius, *De iustitia et iure*, even though its previous edition had a very traditional title page that was most certainly known to Rubens.[57]

For Aguilonius's title page Rubens uses the well-known visual language of allegory. By using mythological iconography he refers to various issues connected with the sense of sight: be it the instruments of scientific research depicted at the bottom of the title page, the caryatids of Mercury and Minerva, Jupiter's eagle or Juno's peacock, or the blind and the seeing *cynocephali* in the pedestals.[58] This does not preclude a profoundly Christian reading in which sight has an important place in the education of the soul. Especially Jesuit readers, for whom this book was primarily printed and who were used to see images as a tool for meditation in which they tried to achieve a deeper understanding of God, will have interpreted the well-known mythological allusions in a Christian way with all their allusions to light and life.[59] Just as the subjects of sacred and secular history might not have been rigorously differentiated, as Elizabeth McGrath notes in her introduction to *Subjects from History*, the biblical and classical exempla having been hung alongside each other in collections, the iconography of classical literature could be used for Christian content.[60]

The assimilation of literary pagan antiquity into the Christian culture had already begun in the Middle Ages, when from the beginning of the fourteenth century onwards the fascinating stories of Ovid were explained in moralising terms, in order to make them acceptable.[61] The inclusion

54 Blunt 1977, pp. 612–613; Figs. 12–13.
55 Bertram 2016.
56 See section 6.
57 See section 5.3.
58 For a detailed discussion of these, see Bertram 2016, pp. 227ff.
59 Ibid.
60 McGrath 1997, p. 40.
61 Cf. Seznec 1972, p. 92.

Figure 29 – Title page for Aguilonius 1613; engraving Theodoor Galle after Rubens, 314 x 194 mm. Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-6889. © Rijksmuseum.

of the myths of antiquity in the school curriculum made the knowledge of the Greek and Roman myths widely available and affected art and its visual language.[62] It was possible for Rubens to depict the god of eloquence and the goddess of wisdom in this work on optics that was written by a Jesuit for Jesuit teachers. In this title page they act as the patrons of education and learning, apart from inducing the reader to recall the stories about Argus's many watchful eyes and the fierce gaze of the Medusa, carried by Minerva on her shield, the gorgoneion.

Rubens uses the title page in a discriminating way: especially in comparison with near-contemporary title pages for scientific works that often emphasise the uses of the scientific aspects discussed in the books. The traditional architectural and allegorical frame used by Rubens can be explained by the circumstances in which the book was published. On the one hand, Aguilonius's theory reverts to a rather traditional theory of optics, and it is possible that Rubens intends to emphasise this by using a traditional architectural frame. On the other hand, the architecture in the frame is used to elevate and celebrate Optica as the queen of mathematical studies, which would be beneficial for the Jesuits in Antwerp. Through this use of architecture, the title page elevates Aguilonius's work and thus the highly respected Antwerp Jesuit himself who would become rector of the college only very few years later, in 1615. The book seems to have been crucial in the petition made by Scribani to the city council to open a mathematical school in Antwerp. As it was a book aimed at the future teachers of mathematics, it laid the groundwork for optics in the new mathematical school and could be used to serve as a further argument for such a school. The book was certainly noticed by the city of Antwerp, as the Jesuit College received the sum of 200 guilders from the Lords of the city council in 1613 for this publication.[63]

That Rubens was involved in this project was probably due to his social contacts to the Society of Jesus and those of Balthasar Moretus who coordinated the whole production of his books. It seems that the cooperation with Rubens was a deliberate choice to further the causes of the Jesuits with a special title page, although Rubens did not emphasise the Society in the design, but rather the subject matter at hand. As this title page received a lot of attention over the past centuries, it seems that Moretus had chosen wisely, and it had the desired effect.

Although here was no later edition of Aguilonius's work, Rubens's design was taken up again for a publication twenty years later: Claude Clement, *Musei sive Bibliotecae tam private quam public extraction, instruct, cure, uses, libri iv*, printed 1635 by Jacques Prost in Lyons (Fig. 30).[64] Claude Clement (Claudius Clemens, 1596–1642/43) was a French Jesuit who taught Greek and Latin at the Imperial College in Madrid.[65] His work on libraries was first printed in 1628 in octavo in Lyon. In

62 McGrath 2016, p. 11.
63 Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 495.
64 Clément 1635.
65 Rovelstad 1991, p. 176.

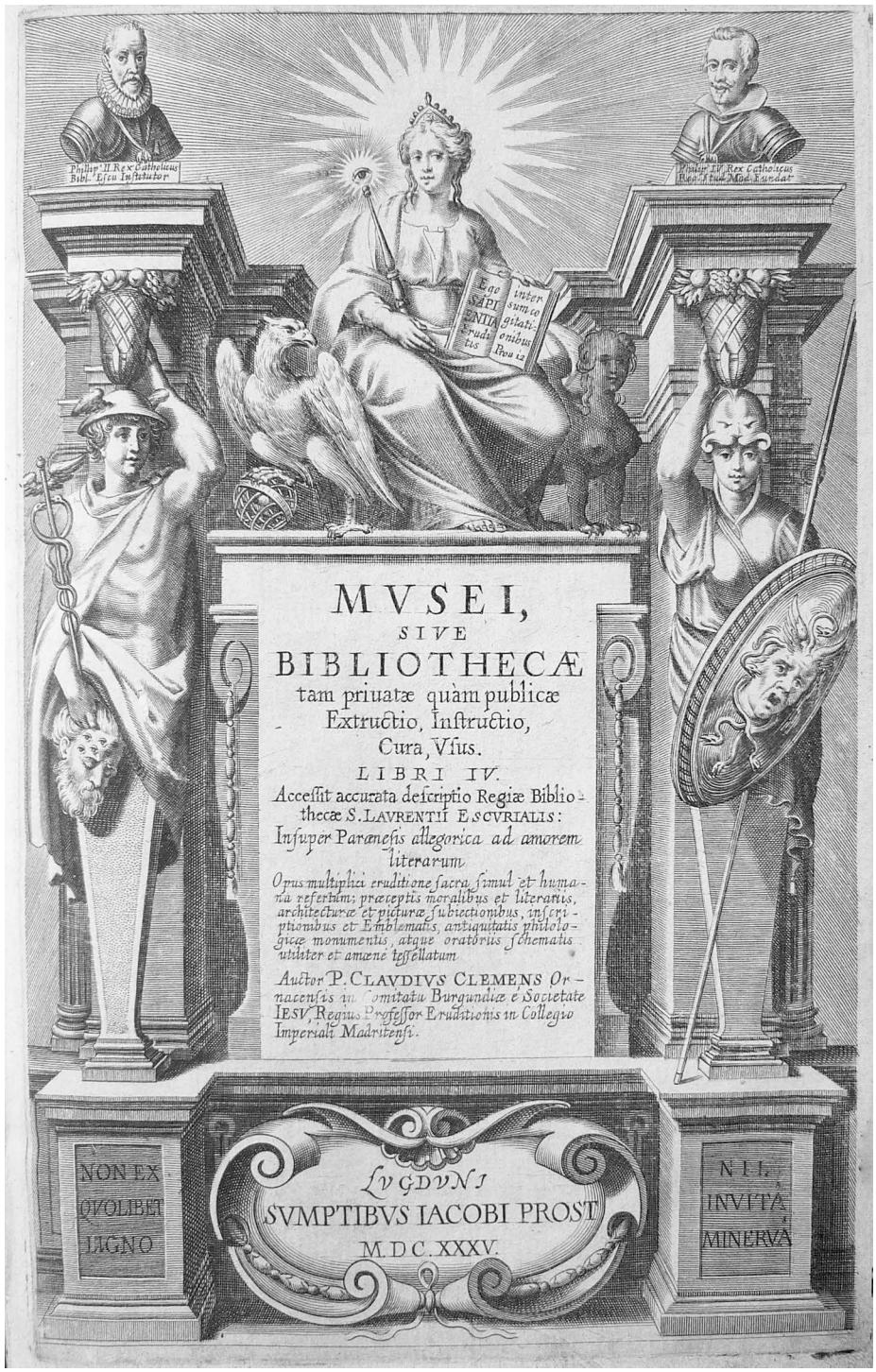


Figure 30 – Title page for Clément 1635; engraving, uknown engraver.

1635 an enlarged version was printed in quarto. Although Rubens had in no way emphasised the Society in the design, a Jesuit librarian wanted this title page for his book on the organisation of a library, its meaning and function.

Only few changes were necessary to adapt the subject matter of the title page to the publication.[66] This was not only due to Rubens's open use of symbolism. The optical references in the title page were well-used for a book on libraries that suggested to facilitate access to a library using visual aids. In the second part of book 1, Clement proposed a pictorial catalogue that was to guide the reader to the literature and stimulate him: figures, emblems, and pictures were to relate to the books either on the walls, on the shelves, or even on the book itself. Clement introduced his work with an allegorical letter to the reader, his suggested use and explanation of emblems in his work explains the adaptation of Rubens's title page with its emphasis on the acquisition of knowledge through vision.

The parts that were too specific for optics, such as the optical pyramid and the peacock, were exchanged for a book and a sphinx, while the pedestals show Horace's dictum "NON EX QVOLIBET LIGNO [fit Mercurius]" and the proverb "NI[hi]L [decet] INVITA MINERVA" instead of Cynocephali.[67] Although the lamps on the top of the title page would have been apt symbols of knowledge and wisdom, they were exchanged for two busts representing Philip II on the left and Philip IV on the right. The book's dedication was to King Philip IV of Spain, reminding him of his ancestor Philip II who built the Royal library in the Escorial, but the figures of course also exemplify what Clement introduces in his book, the use of portrays in libraries. The rest of the title page, the caryatids with Minerva and Mercury with their mythological allusions are still appropriate for this title page, as is the eye-scepter and the eagle with the armillary sphere. It seems that Rubens's use of allegory allowed for reuse and thus the longevity of his designs.[68]

5.3 Leonardus Lessius's *De iustitia et iure*

Rubens's title page, designed for the 1617 edition of Leonardus Lessius's *De iustitia et iure*, confirms the findings from the Aguilonius title page. As in the Aguilonius title page, Rubens emphasises not the religious content or the affiliation of the author, who was also a Jesuit, but advocates the contents with the use of allegories deeply rooted in humanistic scholarship. The Lessius title page,

66 Bertram 2016, pp. 233–237.

67 Both would have been sufficiently known to be understandable in their abbreviated form: "Mercury is not to be fashioned from just any piece of wood" and "Nothing is decent against the will of Minerva"; the first to say that just as a sculptor cannot make a Mercury from any woodblock, you cannot make a scholar from just any man, and the second to emphasise that it is not useful to fight against one's nature. Cf. Ibid., p. 236.

68 In this case parts of the design were used for the title page for *Grounds of Natural Philosophy* by Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, London: Maxwell, 1668.

however, offers earlier and later title pages by other designers, thus good opportunities to compare these other solutions to that of Rubens. All in all, four different title pages were created within a short period of time for this title, offering the possibility to address questions pertaining to the "Jesuit style", to the use of allegory in Rubens's title pages, and to the ways in which Rubens's designs differ from precursors. Before addressing these specific questions, however, the historical relevance of the book in question and the relevance of its author in his time has to be assessed.

Leonardus Lessius and his Work

Leonardus Lessius (Lenaert Leys, 1554–1623) was a renowned Louvain theologian.[69] From 1567 to 1572 he studied at the University of Louvain, where he entered the Jesuit order in 1572 and became a priest in 1580. He was sent to Rome in 1583 to complete his theological studies with Francisco Suarez (1548–1617) and Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621) at the Collegium Romanum.[70] After finishing his theological studies in Rome, he began to lecture in Louvain on Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologiae*. By 1600 he was freed from teaching duties and was able to focus on his writing, which he continued until his death in 1623.[71]

In his time he was a renowned professor of moral theology at the Jesuit College of Louvain. He was especially well-known for his seminal work *De iustita et iure*, essentially a commentary on Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologiae*, first published in 1605 with an engraved title page. Although he is mostly remembered for this learned scholastic commentary on Thomas Aquinas, Lessius also wrote many apologetic, ascetic and mystical works. During his time at Louvain he came into conflict with the Faculty of Theology because of his work on the doctrine of grace. The dispute got so out of hand that the Pope had to intervene.[72] Nonetheless, other publications by Lessius were not less controversial and over the years Lessius became anxious about his image.[73] Toon van Houdt presents Lessius as an author who was careful about what he wrote, also because of his bad experience, and whose authorial image "depended to a large extent on the proper reproduction of his texts".[74] Lessius's stigma as a controversial author never left him and even after 200 years it was not safe to acknowledge his work: a last beatification process failed.[75] Nowadays, he and his work are being rediscovered by law historians because of his influence on European civil law, especially

69 For the most recent critical biography see Stanciu 2015.
70 Cf. Van Houdt 1998a, pp. ix–xiv.
71 Apart from writing, he also held various posts like *praefectus studiorum*, *consultor rectoris* in which he advised the rector of the Louvain *studiehuis*, and *consultor provincialis*, the advisor of the Provincial for the Netherlandish Province. Ibid., pp. xi–xii.
72 See Stanciu 2015, pp. 260–261 for further information on this episode in Lessius' life.
73 Van Houdt 1996, p. 411.
74 Ibid., p. 411.
75 Rai 2016 and Stanciu 2015, passim.

in the history of contract law.[76] With the reassessment of the role the Jesuits played in European culture, Lessius and other Jesuits are often used as examples in order to trace hermeneutical shifts in early modern culture, such as is shown in the informative work of Tutino.[77]

Leonardus Lessius's main work was *De iustitia de iure*, first published in 1605 and subsequently published in many editions.[78] This work was written from the lecture notes of his theological lectures between 1593 and 1595.[79] As Lessius explains in his "Praefatio" in typical authorial humility, which maybe should not be taken entirely literally, the pressure to publish these notes was becoming so high that he had to give in.[80] Before publication, however, Lessius's work had to go through censorship, both official and from the Society of Jesus.

The procedure of censorship in the Jesuit order is beautifully illustrated by the case of Lessius's book. The case shows the order struggling to present a unanimous voice, enforcing a uniformity of the philosophical and theological doctrines in the Society, as well as maintaining the high quality of their order's works, and gives insight into the reception of Lessius's work and its controversial nature.[81] Censorship in the Society was divided into two parts: first censors from the provinces evaluated the work and then sent their reports to Rome, where a central commission, the *revisores*, took over. The General based his conclusion on the evaluations of both groups, and could order the work to be revised or re-evaluated.

In May 1598 the Superior General Acquaviva gave permission to have the lecture notes assessed by local censors, and in July of the same year the Antwerp group around Cornelius a Lapide agreed unanimously that they deserved to be published and should be sent on to the *revisores* in Rome.[82] Although the internal censorship in the Society of Jesus had been introduced by Acquaviva in 1598, it only started to take effect in 1601.[83] Accordingly, from 1603 to 1604, Jesuits from the Belgian Province and from Rome read and commented extensively on some passages of Lessius's work and suggested modifications. While all censors from Louvain and Antwerp admired the "solid doctrine", the "clarity, brevity, and method", as well as the accuracy with which Lessius supported

76 Cf. Decock 2013, pp. 61–63. Decock explains that Lessius's *De iustita et iure* played a vital role in the history of law of obligations and contract law. Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), in his *De iure belli ac pacis*, frequently relies on and summarises Lessius's extensive arguments. Cf. Decock 2012, p. 33. For a short biographical note consult Toon van Houdt, 'Leonardus Lessius' in: Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek, 14 (1992), col. 416–424.

77 Tutino 2014, passim.

78 Wille 2017 Decock 2009, 2013, 2012; Decock and L. S. Lessius 2007, Schefold et al. 1999, Van Houdt 1998b, Van Houdt 1998a, Van Houdt 1996.

79 Van Houdt 1998a, p. xv.

80 See "Praefatio ad lectorem" in *De iustitia de iure*.

81 For the censorship of Lessius's *De iustitia et iure* cf. Tutino 2014, pp.179–182, who draws on the reports in ARSI, Fondo Gesuitico 654, fos. 1r–74v, passim. Van Houdt 1998a, p. xvi.

82 *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu*, Germ. 178, f. 159r–162v. in: ibid., p. xv.

83 Ibid., p. xvi.

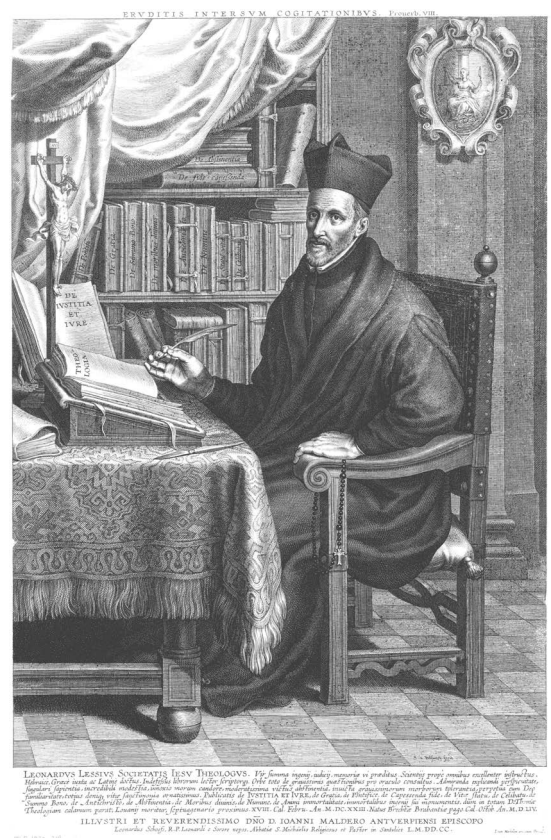


Figure 31 – Boëtius Adamsz. Bolswert, *Portrait of Leonardus Lessius in his Study*, 1623; Engraving: 398 × 258mm; Rijksmuseum, RP-P-1939-318. © Rijksmuseum.

his arguments by quoting "the most learned doctors",[84] the Roman censors were not as unified in their opinion.[85] While the Roman group praised the eloquence, the brevity and clarity of Lessius's work, they had their reservations about some parts: because of Lessius's brevity, the Roman censors thought that difficult matters were not explained in detail, which was especially troublesome as Lessius followed a more liberal view in general. Additionally, they were not satisfied with his "difficult opinions […] that leave the reader doubtful", in other words, he did not quote enough supporting authors.[86] It seems that, already suspicious by the trouble Lessius had caused in Louvain, the censors were especially careful in their scrutiny of his work.[87]

The group of censors disagreed on whether this work should be approved for publication. One censor especially refused the *approbatio*: he requested to see a corrected version of the publica-

84 Tutino 2014, p. 180. Carolus Scribanus (fos. 39Cr–v), Cornelius a Lapide (fos. 41r–42v), and Aguilonius praised "the entire treatment" (f. 39A).

85 Because of the length, the General assigned the examination to a group of Roman theologians: Juan de Salas, Jean Lorin, Cristovão Gil, and Antonio Maria Menù divided the work between them. Ibid., p. 180.

86 22 December 1603, ARSI, Fondo Gesuitico 654, f. 1r., in: Ibid., p. 180.

87 Van Houdt 1996, p. 423, especially fn. 51.

tion before giving his approval, and wrote to the General of the Society.[88] The censor noted, for instance, that Lessius's was becoming famous in Louvain, and that many people were waiting for his book; because of the brevity of the work and its increased readability, he expected it to be a great success—even more reason to avoid all haste and check Lessius's doctrine. Tutino emphasises rightly, that a French Jesuit, "understood better than most the needs of the *tramontani*," those Jesuits that lived and worked north of the Alps, whose problems were quite different from those in the southern regions.[89] However, scarcely any of the propositions were modified, and even after Lessius's death, the Jesuits questioned republishing the work: they considered it too liberal to be published without serious revision. Nevertheless, an authorised revised version was never published, and instead the last version edited by Lessius himself was published repeatedly.[90]

The critical censor's estimate had been right and *De iustitia et iure* became Lessius's most important work, which is why it is depicted as the principle book in his portrait of 1623 (Fig. 31). In the first decades of the century, until his death in 1623, Lessius worked incessantly in improving his text and Moretus received many corrections from him. The work was published in more than 20 editions in the seventeenth century alone. All in all it was published over a period of four centuries, from its first edition in 1605 until today, when translations into various languages are being prepared.[91]

5.3.1 The Title Page of the First Edition of *De iustitia et iure*, 1605

The title page for the 1605 edition of *De Iustita et iure* has the symmetrical and traditional imaginative architectural structure (Fig. 32).[92] The book is a commentary on Thomas Aquinas, divided into four books of the cardinal virtues as announced in the title: *De ivstitia et ivre caeterisque virtvtibvs cardinalibvs: libri qvatvor*. Each of the four cardinal virtues is shown on the title page: on the left of the title is *Prudentia*, depicted with mirror and serpent, on the right is *Iustitia* with sword and scales. On the top of the architectural structure are the saints Peter and Paul holding the sign of the Society of Jesus, together with the two other cardinal virtues: on the right is *Temperantia* watering wine, and on the left *Fortitudo* in armour embracing a column. The columns are here not only a sign for steadfastness, but also the pillars of the church.

The second book dealing with *Iustitia* is by far the longest: it has on a quantitative basis many more chapters and definitions and is more detailed—none of which is mirrored in this title page. The arrangement on the title page foregrounds *Prudentia* and *Iustitia*, and is crowned with a medal-

88 Tutino 2014, p. 181.
89 Ibid., p. 182.
90 See ARSI, Censurae librorum, vol. III, f. 72–73; Letter from the censor librorum Ionnes Camerota, 16 Mar 1625; cf. Le Bachelet, 1931, 2, pp. 332–333, no. 141; in: Van Houdt 1998a, p. xv.
91 A German translation is currently in preparation at the University of Münster, cf. Wille 2017.
92 L. Lessius 1605

Figure 32 – Title page for L. Lessius 1605; engraving.

lion of the Society of Jesus in which the IHS is combined with the heart and the sun of truth. This sign, prominently visible on all Jesuit churches worldwide and on most of the books which the Jesuits wrote, is the monogram of Christ "IHS". This monogram may be read as either the first three letters of the Greek "Iesos Christos" or as the shortened form of "Iesus Hominum Salvator", Jesus the saviour of mankind.[93] The monogram was originally created by the Franciscan priest Bernardino of Siena in 1427 for a confraternity he had established on the site of *Il Gesù* in a chapel taken over by Ignatius in 1541.[94] From that moment the monogram appeared as a vignette on Jesuit title pages, as, for instance on that of the Spiritual Exercises in 1548, and with time, different varieties of the IHS monogram developed. It became the model for the official seal of the Society, which was made in Ignatius's lifetime and is still in use today.[95]

Below the medallion is the coat of arms of Albert of Austria, to whom the volume is dedicated. In his dedication Lessius explains that the virtues under discussion have to be found especially in

93 For the various interpretations and readings of the monogram, cf. Lang 2012, pp. 274–275.
94 Bailey 2005, p. 189.
95 Pfeiffer 2005, p. 202.

the head of the state, the prince.[96] The medallion of the Society is flanked by the saints Peter and Paul. Because of their teaching and founding of Christian communities, the saints were seen as the pillars of the Church, expressed by the two pillars next to them.[97] Peter and Paul are traditionally found in depictions either flanking Jesus or holding the Church between them. In this case they are holding the sign of the Society of Jesus, thus visually linking the Society with the Church and Jesus. The book thus announces as its topmost objective a common goal to the Church, the Society of Jesus and Lessius's book: the saving of souls.

The book was indeed written in order to save souls, at least on one level. Most twentieth-century authors agree on Lessius's pragmatical stance for he was not as interested in the prevalent theological doctrine as he was in giving guidance to confessors—much in the tradition of confessor's manuals.[98] His work can be explained by the Jesuits' general desire to "bring back the whole world to its Creator" which made them focus on people rather than politics.[99] The Jesuits' idea was that mankind could be reconciled with God through consolation and penance with which the Jesuits helped, as exemplary servants of God.[100] Confession was the Sacrament of Penance; a procedure in which the individual could confess to the sins they had committed. Confessors, however, needed to know what was considered sinful and what was not, which is why more and more manuals for confessors were produced. In concrete cases, however, an operational device was needed, which not only the Jesuits found in the legal tradition.

The particular Christian blend of theology and law had already been established in the old testament itself, but, as Wim Decock shows, the origin of the manuals should be sought in the monastic orders and their manuals for confessors.[101] The confessor's manuals tried to determine the practical consequences of *ora et labora* for monks because of their combining the roles of confessors with that of being an economic actor of their times. Thus, the manuals brought "Roman law and Canon Law to bear on cases of conscience stemming from Christians' perceived tension between faith and secular life".[102] Angelo Carletti de Chovasso's confessor's manual, the *Summa Angelica* (1486), famously burned by Martin Luther, contained two thirds of references that were taken from Roman law, Canon law and Medieval jurists.[103] The Protestants condemned this mixture of secular philosophy and law with spiritual advice.[104] Their condemnation, however, only

96 L. Lessius 1617, Dedication, n.p.
97 For an identification of the apostles in general with the pillars of the Church, both architecturally and metaphorically, see Dern et al. 2010, esp. pp. 15–19; and no.135, p. 289 (Gero Seelig).
98 See for instance Tutino 2014, p. 183, who studies Lessius in the context of hermeneutical aspects of the oath; or see Van Houdt 1998b, p. 51, who shows that Lessius's originality is often associated with his pragmatism as an ethicist.
99 Decock 2012, p. 19; see also O'Malley 1993 and Höpfl 2012.
100 Cf. Maher 2000.
101 Decock 2012, p. 20.
102 Ibid., p. 20.
103 Ibid., p. 20.
104 Cf. Frank 2018.

fuelled this model of theology and law, and the century after Trent could, according to Decock, just as well be callled "Confessional Catholicism".[105] This was in stark contrast to the belief of the Protestants: they believed that the sinner would receive divine grace (*sola gratia*) through scripture (*sola scriptura*) and faith (*sola fide*) alone. [106] The Jesuits however, found the Gospel insufficient as a set of rules for everyday life. In the footsteps of the manuals of confessors and the "School of Salamanca", the Jesuits developed the tools to help confessors especially, advising people on their best courses of action by which to please God.

In order to illustrate his cases Lessius included and discussed many practical issues concerning trade in Antwerp. In 1675 already his book was recommended to lawyers by the jurist Zypaeus (1580–1650) in his *Notitia iurius belgici* because of its good analysis of financial techniques used by merchants and bankers at the Antwerp bourse.[107] Although it is of interest even today because of its economical implications and even though the questions he tackles have an immediate repercussion on everyday life, it should not be forgotten that Lessius's ultimate aim was to give guidance in order to save souls on the day of the Last Judgment. Thus his book was much more than a commentary on Aquinas, and while the old title page did nothing to emphasise this aspect, it was reflected in Rubens's new title page.

5.3.2 The New Title Page by Rubens for the 1617 edition of *De iustitia et iure*

Rubens's concept for the title page of *De iustitia et iure* shows more complexity than the first title page, and incorporates a notion of the impact that Lessius's book could have had in his society (Fig. 33). The painter had only been asked for the design in 1617 by Moretus, whose father, Jan I Moretus, had bought the remaining 175 books from Maes and published the first Plantinian edition in 1609.[108] The Officina Plantiniana published five editions of Lessius's major work, beginning with its second amended edition in 1609; the fifth in 1621 was the last edition which Lessius himself had corrected and amended.[109] As *De iustitia et iure* had been an instant success, it was immediately published in Paris and Venice.[110] In 1606 the first Parisian edition was printed by Thierry, who added a letter addressed to the author after the dedication to Archduke Albert: in this letter

105 See O'Malley 2000, pp. 119–145.

106 I thank Katharina Frank for calling my attention to this.

107 Decock 2013, p. 63.

108 Fabri et al. 2004, no. 45, pp. 152–153; Van Houdt mentions that the title page was the same as the one from Louvain except for the printer's mark: Van Houdt 1998a, no. 4, p. xix.

109 The Officina Plantiniana published the second edition of Lessius's major work in 1609 under Jan I Moretus, the third edition under the widow of Jan I Moretus and his sons in 1612, the fourth in 1617 under Balthasar and Jan II Moretus. Rubens provided the title page for this fourth edition which was then used for the the fifth and sixth editions in 1621 and 1626 respectively, under Balthasar Moretus, the widow of Jan Moretus and Jan van Meurs, who by that time had become a partner in the press. Cf. Ibid., nos. 5, 8, 12, and 15; pp. xix–xxii.

110 Ibid., no. 1, p. xviii.

Thierry excuses his non-authorised edition. He justifies his action by stating that it was too difficult to get a copy of the work in Paris which is why he decided to print it in his own name.[111] In 1610 he published his second edition, the third in 1613, and the fourth in 1618.[112] Meanwhile the Venetian edition was published in 1608, while it was printed in Milan in 1613 with two different title pages by two publishers; in 1618 a second edition came out in Milan.[113] With the distances between these printing centres, the competition between the printers cannot have been too high.

Overall, Moretus printed five editions of this work while it appeared in Paris, Venice, Milan, and Lyon. Of particular interest are the two editions published in Lyon in 1622, as both have an illustrated title page, one of which is a copy of Rubens's design, which is why these will be discussed later.[114] The Lyonese editions do not differ from each other in content, but they were printed separately, as the typography, the two title pages, and the various *approbatios* reveal, and were two distinct editions.[115] Thierry's letter in his Parisian copy of 1606 suggests that printing a copy without the author's consent was considered a breach of etiquette, but against the author, not necessarily against the publisher.[116] The Officina Plantiniana clearly catered for a different market and was not affected by the other editions in far-away towns. This difference in market was not only geographical, but also social: Moretus's books were usually in the upper range of the market.

Even though Jan I Moretus was still head of the Officina in 1609, the correspondence with Lessius was handled by his son Balthasar Moretus.[117] It can be assumed that Lessius wanted to be published by Moretus, as the Officina Plantiniana was already the most successful of publishers in the country, if not in northern Europe.[118] In his letter of condolence on the death of Jan I Moretus, Lessius grasps the moment to tell Balthasar and his brother Jan II not only to follow in the footsteps of their inspiring forefathers but also that the entire Christian world and especially all "literati" are indebted to them for the extreme care with which they handle their authors' texts.[119] Lessius, who always took great care to correct his texts, and whose further editions of books were usually amended, must have meant that quite seriously. For the fourth edition, for instance, Lessius decided to add some paragraphs in the midst of the printing process.[120] For Lessius a lot was at stake—he had had his share of bad experiences with censorship.

111 Van Houdt 1998a, no. 2, p. xviii–xix.
112 The 1610 edition is not mentioned in Van Houdt's bibliography. Ibid., nos. 7b, 10; pp. xx–xxi.
113 Ibid., nos. 3, 7 and 7b, 11; pp. xix–xxi.
114 Van Houdt 1998a, nos. 13 and 13b; p. xxi.
115 This is in contrast to van Houdt's estimate that the two versions do not differ: "Behalve voor de titelpagina verschilt deze uitgave niet van de onder nr. 13 vermelde editie." Ibid., p. xxi, no. 13b.
116 Ibid., no. 2, p. xviii–xix.
117 This correspondence lasted for decades: the last letter is from 16 July 1622. Van Houdt 1996, p. 410.
118 In Father Ribadineyra's praise of the Society of Jesus, the Plantin Press is the only publisher mentioned. Cf. Ribadineyra 1608, p. 135. Cf. Van Houdt 1996, p. 408.
119 Ibid., pp. 410–411.
120 Ibid., p. 414, fn. 25.

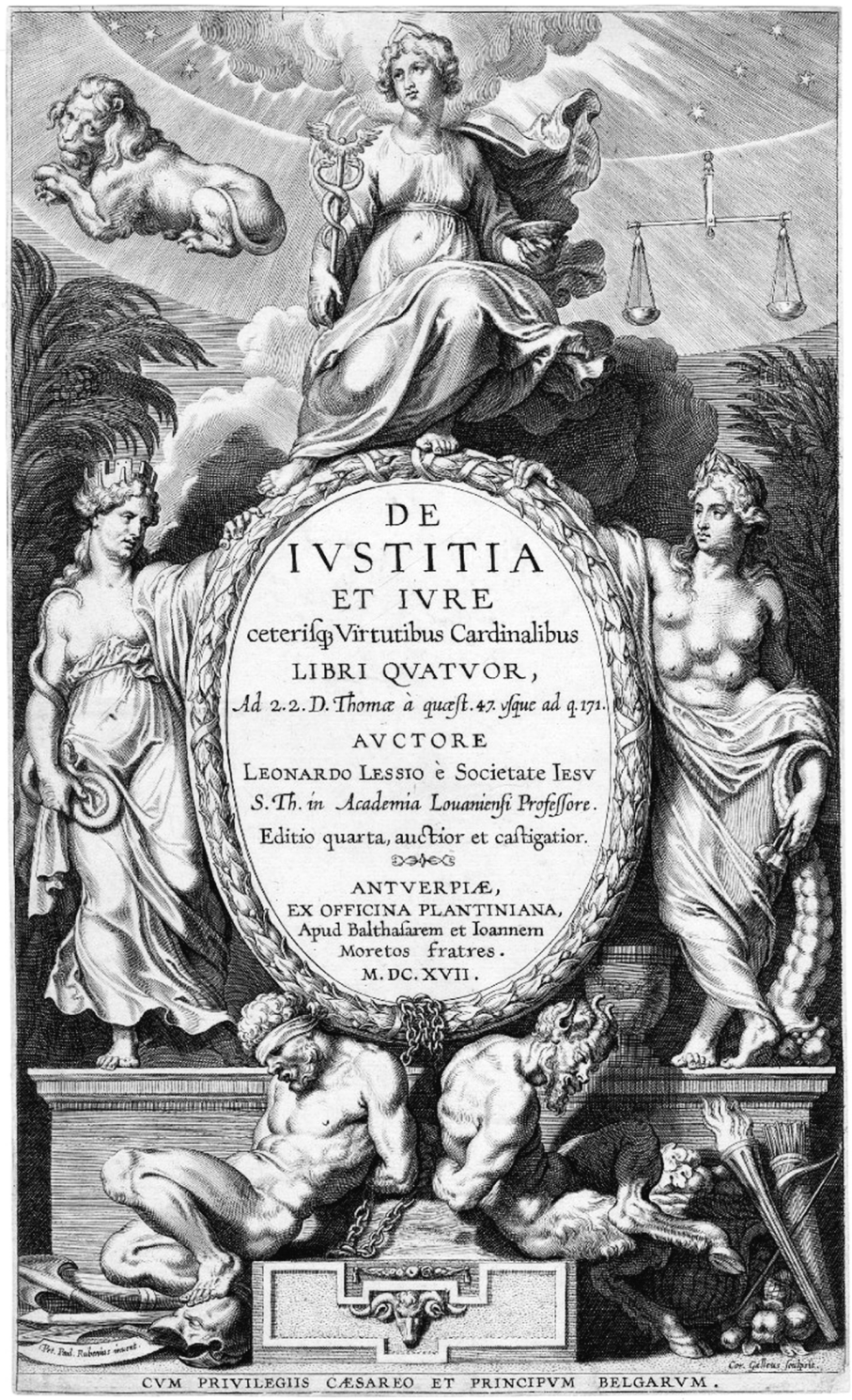


Figure 33 – Title page for L. Lessius 1617; engraving, 327 × 198 mm, by Cornelis Galle I. Private image.

In February 1617 Balthasar Moretus first mentions *De iustita et iure* in his exchange of letters with Lessius and announces that he will start with the book in one to two months.[121] In the letters that follow, Moretus mentions the book repeatedly in order to keep Lessius informed about its progress. In his letters Moretus emphasises the book's steady progress and his goal to have it finished for the autumn fair in Frankfurt.[122] In July Moretus informs Lessius about the new title page for the design of which he had asked Rubens.[123] The reason he gives is that the plate is old and worn. As Moretus had successfully had several plates re-cut for a lower price, the plate was either worn beyond repair or the design was not to his liking. Moretus had the book finished for the book fair but had to resort to an old title page, as books exist of the new edition but with the old title page and the new date. It is possible that the design was not finished early enough to have the title page cut and printed before the autumn fair, as this could take several months.[124] However, for the new title page Rubens uses an entirely new concept and does not take up the older iconography, which he could have done if the older iconography had simply needed a modernised representation. The *Annales Sacri* by Torniello is an example in which Rubens did exactly that (Fig. 63 on p. 236).[125] The fact that Rubens invented a completely new, and much more complex title page, suggests that the old title page simply did not serve the book in Moretus's estimation.

No letters are known in which Moretus or Rubens discuss this title page, and judging from the purely informative letters Moretus sent to Lessius, he did not involve the author in the design of the new title page. Lessius had little chance to do anything else but approve of it, which he did on October 12, only mentioning that it was "full of elegance and ingenuity".[126] On October 6 an entry in the accounts states that Galle received 15 guilders for printing 1,500 copies of the new title page.[127] This means that by the time Lessius approved the title page by letter, Galle had already received the money for the printing of 1,500 title pages for his book. As Galle usually received payment only after he had printed all the pages, and this was at least a week before Lessius approved the title page, Moretus had not really counted on a negative answer from Lessius. The whole design was thus in the hands of Rubens and Moretus, and the latter only presented the author with a *fait accompli*. The high number of prints pulled from the plate suggests that Moretus knew that this new and edited edition of Lessius would sell.

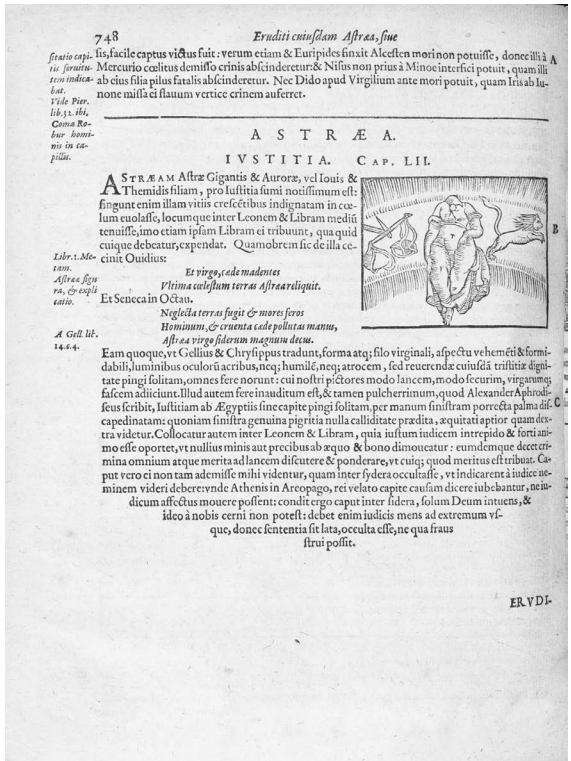
The title page is roughly divided into three registers: the ground, on which two prisoners are shackled to the title surrounded by weapons and fruit; the podium, on which two female figures

121 Letter from Moretus to Lessius, 04 Feb 1617, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, pp. 404–405.
122 "In Opere De Justitiâ recudendo diligenter pergimus, vt saltem ad proximas nundinas exeat in lucem." Letter from Moretus to Lessius, 13 May 1617, in: ibid., p. 405. The spring fair around Easter had already finished by May.
123 Letter from Moretus to Lessius, 15 Jul 1617, in: Held 1977, p. 27.
124 See chapter 2.2 for the printing of a title page.
125 Tornielli 1620.
126 Letter from Lessius to Moretus, 12 Oct 1617, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 405.
127 "Printed the title Lessius, De Justitia, in-folio, 1,500 [copies], at 20 Stuivers." Archives, no. 123, f. 53, in: ibid., p. 461.

flank the medallion containing the title, behind them a palm tree and a laurel; and the top-most register, in which a third female figure is half-standing, half-sitting in the winds in front of the lower part of the zodiac, and surrounded by clouds, stars and rays of light. Placed thus at the top of the title page is Astraea, a very versatile and complex character with a mixed pedigree. The figures depicted beneath Astraea are less easily identified. Rubens leaves these figures purposefully ambiguous. The ambiguity leaves the reader capable of discussing them in terms of several discourses, including, but not exclusively, that of law. Using Astraea as the central figure means that the knowledge of the just virgin was widely known—at least in the circles that would be interested in this book, students of law and theology, confessors, lawyers, and merchants. It is possible that for them the title page would be clear on a very basic level. These educated readers would have known about the various bodies of law governing the world as described by Lessius, for Lessius does not describe anything new here. Lessius's book shows how religion and the marketplace were connected in questions of law; he is the first to explicitly address this combination and is well-known for exactly this even today. Thus the two attributes held by Astraea in her hands can easily be interpreted to reflect this, especially if the reader already knows about Lessius's work, which is highly likely.

From early on, Astraea was identified with the constellation of Virgo. Closely linked to the topos of the new Golden Age, she was, for instance, used extensively in the monarchic iconography of both Elizabeth I and Henry IV of England.[128] This topos can be traced back to the Greek poet Aratos, who, in an astronomical poem, explained that when the virgin Justice left earth in the Iron Age of mankind she appeared as the constellation of Virgo.[129] In this context, the Iron Age was the last of the four ages of mankind. The first, the Golden Age of Saturn, was followed by three ages of decline: the Silver, the Bronze, and lastly the Iron Age, in which all evil was let loose. Astraea, the just virgin, was also taken up by Ovid in his description of the four ages in the *Metamorphoses*; here Astraea is the last of the immortals to leave the world during the Iron Age.[130] More importantly, she appears in the fourth of Virgil's *Eclogues*, in which her return to earth heralds a new Golden Age: "now comes back the virgin and Saturn's reign returns".[131] This new Golden Age begins with the birth of a child destined to rule a reconciled world. Whom Virgil meant by that has always been debated, but is not relevant here, as later ages have read and interpreted these lines according to their own history: be it the Romans who saw in it the Augustan revival of piety with the Augustan empire, or Constantine, who interpreted the child in the Christian sense as Jesus and the just virgin as the Mother of God, Queen of the heavens.

128 Cf. Yates 1985, passim.
129 Ibid.
130 Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I:149–50.
131 "Iam redit et virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna." *Eclogue* IV, 6. Yates 1985, p. 33.



748 *Eruditi cuiuſdam Aſtræa, ſiue*

ſtratio capitis ſoruitem indicat. Vide Pier. lib.32. tbi. Coma Robur hominis in capillis.

ſis, facile captus victus fuit: verum etiam & Euripides finxit Alceſten mori non potuiſſe, donec illi à Mercurio cœlitus demiſſo crinis abſcinderetur: & Niſus non prius à Minoe interfici potuit, quam illi ab eius filia pilus fatalis abſcinderetur. Nec Dido apud Virgilium ante mori potuit, quam Iris ab Iunone miſſa ei flauum vertice crinem auferret.

A S T R Æ A.

IVSTITIA. CAP. LII.

Libr.1. Metam. Aſtræa ſigura, & explicatio.

ASTRÆAM Aſtræ Gigantis & Auroræ, vel Iouis & Themidis filiam, pro Iuſtitia ſumi notiſſimum eſt: fingunt enim illam vitiis crescentibus indignatam in cœlum euolaſſe, locumque inter Leonem & Libram mediũ tenuiſſe, imo etiam ipſam Libram ei tribuunt, qua quid cuique debeatur, expendat. Quamobrem ſic de illa canit Ouidius:

Et virgo, cede madentes
Vltima cœleſtum terras Aſtræa reliquit.

Et Seneca in Octau.

Neglecta terras fugit & mores feros
Hominum, & cruenta cæde polluta manus,
Aſtræa virgo ſiderum magnum decus.

A Gell. lib. 14.c.4.

Eam quoque, vt Gellius & Chryſippus tradunt, forma atq; filo virginali, aſpectu vehemẽti & formidabili, luminibus oculorũ acribus, neq; humilẽ, neq; atrocem, ſed reuerendæ cuiuſdã triſtitiæ dignitate pingi ſolitam, omnes fere norunt: cui noſtri pictores modo lancem, modo ſecurim, virgarumq; faſcem adiiciunt. Illud autem fere inauditum eſt, & tamen pulcherrimum, quod Alexander Aphrodiſeus ſcribit, Iuſtitiam ab Ægyptiis ſine capite pingi ſolitam, per manum ſiniſtram porrecta palma diſcapedinatam: quoniam ſiniſtra genuina pigritia nulla calliditate prædita, æquitati aptior quam dextra videtur. Collocatur autem inter Leonem & Libram, quia iuſtum iudicem intrepido & forti animo eſſe oportet, vt nullius minis aut precibus ab æquo & bono dimoueatur: eumdemque decet crimina omnium atque merita ad lancem diſcutere & ponderare, vt cuiq; quod meritus eſt tribuat. Caput vero ei non tam ademiſſe mihi videntur, quam inter ſydera occultaſſe, vt indicarent à iudice neminem videri debere: vnde Athenis in Areopago, rei velato capite cauſam dicere iubebantur, ne iudicum affectus mouere poſſent: condit ergo caput inter ſidera, ſolum Deum intuens, & ideo à nobis cerni non poteſt: debet enim iudicis mens ad extremum vſque, donec ſententia ſit lata, occulta eſſe, ne qua fraus ſtrui poſſit.

ERVDI-

Figure 34 – "Astraea" , in: Valeriano 1614, p. 748. © Heidelberg University Library

Lactantius (Lucius Caecilius Firmianus Lactantius, c. 250–c. 325 CE), a Latin rhetor and early Christian author and advisor to the first Christian emperor Constantine I, did not equate Virgo with the Virgin but used the concept of the Golden Age and the just virgin on Christian piety in general. For him the age of Saturn was the age of God, an age of peace, which later deteriorated until the just virgin left earth; God then sent a messenger to bring back the old age, but before this could happen justice returned to earth, which is nothing less than the worship of the one God.[132] For Francis Yates, the orator Lactantius laid the foundation for the "assimilation of the description of the Golden Age to the language of Christian mysticism": justice and the Golden Age would return to the faithful and to every individual soul accepting the Christian religion through the worship of the true God.[133] Thus by virtue of her history, the figure of Astraea is already layered in meaning, which is exploited by Rubens for his invention.

Rubens depicts Astraea within a zodiacal circle and with her head in the clouds. The image is very close to a woodcut in Valerianus's *Hieroglyphica*, in which Astraea is placed between Leo and

132 Lactantius, Div. Inst. Lib v, ch. vii. in: Yates 1985, p. 35.

133 "Be just and good, and the justice which you seek will follow you of her own accord. Lay aside every evil thought from your hearts, and that golden age will at once return to you, which you cannot attain to by any other means than by beginning to worship the true God." Lactantius, Div. Inst. Lib. v, ch. viii., in: ibid., p. 35.

Figure 35 – "Virgo", in: Hyginus 1482.

Libra in the zodiac (Fig. 34).[134] Although Rubens's solution does indeed resemble the arrangement in the *Hieroglyphica*, he mirrors contemporary celestial charts in positioning Leo, Virgo and Libra at the lower part of the zodiac instead of the upper part.[135] Valerianus explains the image of Astraea and her use in the zodiacal circle, attributing meaning to her placement between Leo and Libra: the fierceness of the lion is to show Justice's intrepid mind that is required by a fair judgement, while Libra signifies that this judgement should be made without favour.[136] Valerianus obscures the head of Astraea, making her look almost beheaded, and the text explains that her head should be hidden by clouds in order to show her impartial judgement. Rubens tentatively shows her head in a cloud, but only in the later re-cuts of the plate is that cloud reinforced. Thus in the early editions with his title page, Rubens's goddess of Justice, as she was known in antiquity, is much more corporeal than the goddess departed from earth as described by Ovid.[137] For Mattison, in his analysis of

134 Valeriano 1610, p. 634 (first edition Basle 1556). See also McGrath 2006, p. 111; Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, p. 185; Held 1977, p. 106; McGrath also points out that Rubens had his copy of Valerianus, the Lyons edition of 1610, rebound after only five years of use, which, to her, implies a constant use of the book, cf. McGrath 1997, p. 62.

135 A variation of the zodiac was used in the title page for *Franciscus Schwabel a Schwabenfeldt Pragensis, Repetitio de Donationibus*, which Rooses attributes to Rubens, Ruelens and Rooses 1972c, p. 118. Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, p. 185.

136 Valeriano 1610, p. 634.

137 *Metmorphoses*, I, 149–150.

the title page, this corporality is deliberate: in his view, Rubens placed her closer to the foreground, "thus strengthening her association with two personifications related to the affairs of this world", the two figures beneath her.[138] What is most important is that, in contrast to the woodcut in the *Hieroglyphica*, she holds two attributes in her hand, the caduceus and a flat bowl.

The caduceus has a wide variety of meanings as an attribute of various personifications.[139] Hence it is not only an attribute of Mercury and a symbol of peace, but it is also an attribute to the commercial Mercury as pointed out by Mattison.[140] Rubens, however, puts it into the hands of Astraea. Hyginus, for instance, had already depicted the virgin with angelic wings and a caduceus in her hands in his description of *Virgo* as part of the zodiac (Fig. 35).[141] The caduceus as an attribute of Astraea is also used on the façade of the Ancient Greffe in Bruges where *Justice* carries it.[142] The symbols of peace, commerce and justice are therefore combined in both Bruges and Antwerp: these cities were the European centres of trade in the 15th and 16th centuries respectively.

The caduceus was often placed in Astraea's hands for much more profound reasons: together with *Gemini*, *Virgo* was allotted to Mercury according to the astrological authority of Ptolemy.[143] This induced Manilius (first century CE) to state in his *Astronomica* that those born under her sign were given "great facility in eloquence and all branches of rhetoric".[144] Usually, the constellation Astraea was depicted with an ear of corn, the *virgo spicifera*, originating from Latin translations of the Greek astronomical poet Aratos. With that use a particularly bright star in the constellation of *Virgo*, Spica, was indicated in traditional representations of Astraea. In Rubens's depiction, however, Astraea does not carry an ear of corn, but a flat bowl as well as the caduceus; the patera, as the flat bowl is called, was associated with piety and with that Astraea united piety and justice in this image.[145]

Astraea is not the only figure on the title page and Astraea's relationship to the other two personifications and their meanings has been interpreted in various ways. While Judson sees the image of Wise Government in the left figure, Mattison identifies her as Cybele, and McGrath sees her as *lex civilis* in "the guise of turreted Cybele". The right figure is identified by McGrath as Natura or Diana multimammia in combination with Ceres legifera, "the Bringer of Laws"; Judson suggests Temperance or, less specifically, the personification of abundance in times of peace; Mattison fol-

138 Held 1977, p. 106.
139 Cf. Tervarent 1958 for a comprehensive list.
140 Held 1977, p. 106.
141 Ibid.,p. 106. Cf. 'Virgo", in: Hyginus 1482, p. 58; the text only describes the stars of the sign.
142 "Caducée", Item III. Attribut de la Justice, Tervarent 1958, p. 58.
143 Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos* I, p. xx; In Yates 1985, p. 34, fn. 2.
144 This work was first annotated in 1579 by the French classical historian Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609), and then appeared in many editions. Cf. Ibid., pp. 33–34.
145 The flat bowl was identified as a patera by Mattison, who found it to be identical with attribute of Piety in the designs for the Janus temple and in Bidermanus' *Heroum Epistolae*. Held 1977, p. 106, fn. 6.

lows Tervarent in identifying her as Isis, as Valerianus identifies Isis as Ceres legifera.[146] The variety with which these personifications are interpreted reveals the spectrum in which interpretation is possible and it also reveals what is most associated with the personifications. The figures as such are certainly unusual in their use here and most interpreters combine various identifications in order to offer a solution. The reason for this is that Rubens does indeed combine various attributes in an highly enigmatic way. It would be futile to argue for one single solution, as the entertainment for the reader would be in finding associations and interpretations.[147]

Nevertheless, the book's contents can help in interpreting the title page. In broad terms, Lessius distinguishes between natural law and positive law in his treatise. *Ius naturale* derives from the natural conditions of things and is determined by the nature of the things; in Lessius's understanding it cannot be altered even by God.[148] *Ius positivum* is changeable, and depends on the free will of God and mankind; it divides into divine and human law. Of that *Ius divinum* encompasses *ius divinum vetus*, i.e. God's law in the Old Testament, and *ius divinum novum*, i.e. the Gospel and the sacraments. *Ius Humanum* encompasses *ius gentium*, a law common to all nations, while *ius civile* is constituted by secular rulers and *ius canonicum* is issued by the pope and councils.[149] Unlike positive law, however, divine and human law are both concepts for which elements from other personifications can be used, thus it is possible that these two regulations of human behaviour are depicted on the title page.[150] In Rubens's design, Astraea, with her connection to heaven, could well depict *ius divinum*, while the figures below could be *ius naturale* and *ius humanum*.[151] Rubens's use of the figures is thus not a literal transferal of Lessius's concept of law, but a loose interpretation of it, as will be shown by a closer look at the secondary figures.

The figure on the right has been interpreted as Ceres because of her five breasts, taking up the many-breasted depiction of the cult statue of Diana of Ephesus, "the very personification of Nature".[152] McGrath sees in this figure a Rubensian conflation of Ceres legifera and Natura, and other mythological figures: "evidently the artist followed ancient assimilations of Tellus or Terra (Earth) with Ops, Ceres (Demeter: Terrae mater), Cybele (the great Mother) and many-breasted Isis".[153] A painting of Ceres in the Hermitage attests to Rubens's interest in depicting goddesses of nature and abundance (Fig. 36), but the figure reminds the viewer of another painting of his:

146 McGrath 2006, p. 111; Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, p. 186; Held 1977, p. 107.

147 Bauhusius, for instance, claims that a title page"amuses the reader wonderfully". See letter from Bauhusius to Moretus, 1 Aug 1617, in Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, pp. 366.

148 Decock 2012, p. 22.

149 Ibid., pp. 21–22.

150 Also, Rosinus divides law in less detail, he has a threefold division into *ius divinum*, *ius naturale* and *ius humanum*. Rosinus 1611, p. 391.

151 Elizabeth McGrath suggests that Rubens conflated Ceres legifera and Natura so as to produce a personification fo Lex naturalis with Divine Law opposed. McGrath 2006, p. 111.

152 Ibid., p. 105.

153 Ibid., p. 107.

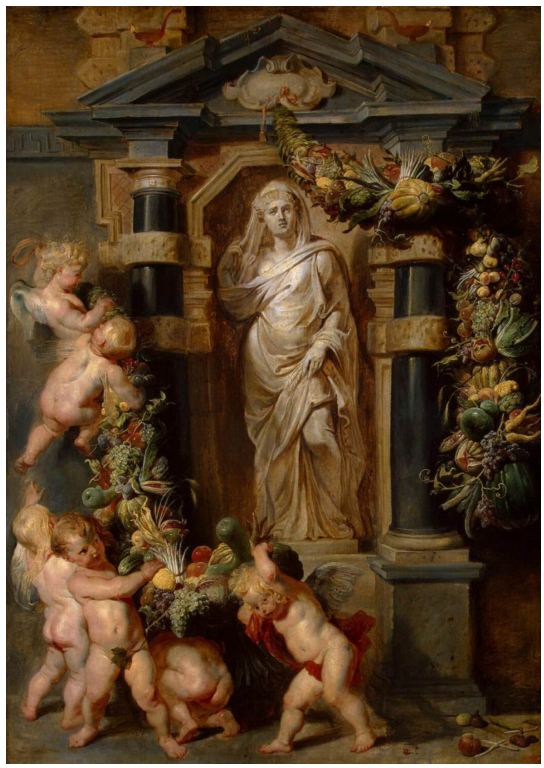


Figure 36 – Peter Paul Rubens, *Homage to Ceres* c.1612–15, LB 777. Oil on panel; 903 × 655 mm; St Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum. Inv. no. GE–504.

Nature Adorned (Fig. 37).[154] In this painting the statue with the multiple breasts is identified by a half hidden inscription on the pedestal: "To the Great Mother, Earth who bears everything".[155] The conflation of Ceres with the bringer of laws and the Mater magna was already given through literary examples.[156]

Ceres as the law-bringer was commonly known in the early modern era: in a sixteenth-century ode, Madeleine Des Roche praised Ceres as a law-making and wheat-bearing goddess.

> On voit par le rond du monde / Le nom de Ceres la blonde / De temps en temp refleurir / Qui garda, tant ell' sçeut faire, / Porte-blez et legifere, / Corps et ames de perir.[157]

Ceres is connected to the age of agriculture, to the downfall of the Golden Age and thus also to cities and the law.[158] The many breasts of the right-hand figure on the title page thus point towards Isis,

154 Peter Paul Rubens and Jan Breughel I, *Nature adorned*. Glasgow, Museum and Art Gallery. Later engraved by Cornelis van Dalen. Cf. McGrath 2006.

155 Ibid., p. 107.

156 Ceres as the bringer of laws is mentioned in Ovids *Fasti*, 5, 342–343: "Prima dedit fruges, alimentaque mitia terris,/ Prima dedit leges."

157 Madeleine Des Roches, "Ode 3", l. 73–78; in: Tarte 2007, p. 211.

158 Cf. esp. Boccaccio's *Famous Women* 5: the building of cities was a fall from the innocence of the Golden Age.

Figure 37 – Peter Paul Rubens/ Jan Breughel I, *Nature and Her Followers*, c.1615. Oil on panel, 1067 × 724 mm Glasgow, Kelvingrove Art Gallery & Museum, Accession no: 609.

the Mother Goddess with her many breasts and the abundance she offers, Ceres as the bringer of laws and also *ius naturale* in the concept mentioned above.

The figure on the left is equally multi-dimensional and problematic. She wears a mural crown which, on the one hand, could refer to Cybele, who established villages and towns,[159] but, on the other, it could more generally be applied to cities in general as the personifications of cities often wore the *corona muralis* in Rubens's time.[160]

Cybele was, just as Astraea, a very complex figure: she was frequently identified with Ceres, Ops, Rhea, Tellus, even Venus—generally with the Mater Magna, and could be associated with growth in general. On antique coins she is depicted seated on a throne, flanked by two lions, a branch in her right hand, and a sceptre in her left, often resting on a drum. The mural crown on the title page could specifically refer to Antwerp, as Lessius refers to this city in his text. The depiction of *Antverpia* with a mural crown is often used in the art of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially in the iconography of festive entries, but by no means exclusively there. Abra-

159 See Lucretius, *De Natura Rerum* (I1, 606ff.) and Ovid, *Fasti* (IV, 219). See also Virgil, *Aeneid* (X, 253 and VI, 736).
160 The *corona muralis* is still used on the coat-of-arms of cities.

Figure 38 – Abraham Janssens, *Scaldis et Antverpia*, 1609. Oil on panel, 1740 × 3080 mm, Antwerp KMSK, inv. no. 212.

ham Janssens I (1575–1632), for instance, depicted *Antverpia* with a mural crown in his allegorical painting of *Scaldis et Antverpia* (Fig. 38).[161]

It is possible that Rubens alludes to civilisation in general with the crown, possibly with an inherent emphasis on Antwerp, and this is not dependent on a specific personification. Rubens himself comments on Cybele in his explanation for a different title page, the *Legatus* by Frederik de Marselaer (1584–1670) (Fig. 41).[162] In this book, first published in 1618, Marselaer discusses the necessary qualities of an ambassador.[163] The book proved to be so popular that Moretus decided to print it in quarto with an engraved title page, designed by Theodore van Loon and cut by Cornelis Galle (Fig. 39). The title page Rubens then designed in the 1630s for a third edition refers to this first illustrated title page by using its central idea and reinforcing it.[164] In the explanation of his title page, Rubens explains that the central position is occupied by the figure of Good Government, wearing "a turreted crown like Cybele because she builds, rules and preserves cities".[165] In the same vein he includes symbols of peace and abundance in the upper part of the Lessius title page: the

161 For more on its political relevance in the negotiations of the truce in 1609 and the bibliography of this painting cf. J. Vander Auwera, in: Van der Stock, *Metropol*, 146–147, cat. 1; cf. also Balis 2010, p.510ff.

162 Marselaer 1666.

163 First printed as *KĒRYKEION, sive Legationum Insigne* in Antwerp 1618. Cf. Van de Velde 1981.

164 Marselaer 1626; Marselaer 1666; Rubens had received a copy of Marselaer's book in 1626, Van de Velde 1981, p. 75.

165 Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, pp. 500–502.

palm and laurel trees behind the two figures, the cornucopia, and the snake, can all be associated with the common good.

The figure with the turreted crown could therefore be interpreted as Cybele, but the snake in her hand also opens other possibilities. Cybele in combination with a snake is rare, and is a playful invention of Rubens, but the snake is the reason why this figure is frequently read as Prudence.[166] The snake, however, is not only an attribute of Prudence, but also of Hygieia, or Salus Augusti, which Rubens painted in around 1614 and which was often copied in the following.[167] Hygieia and Salus were conflated from the first century onwards, both used in political iconography as a symbol of the public weal, meaning both the well-being of the state and its citizens. Although Cicero was not convinced of the divine power of Salus,[168] the veneration and depiction of Salus publica continued well into Christian times: Salus was depicted on coins of the second and third centuries CE, and thus entered political iconography. The political motif, the formula that was used to praise the emperor for his accomplishments concerning the public weal and at the same time remind him of these obligations, was well known to Rubens and his contemporaries; it appeared in the numismatic literature for which Rubens produced numerous title pages.[169] Rubens depicted Salus feeding the snake for the first time in 1614, in an allegorical painting of which many copies followed (Fig. 40).[170] Well aware of the many personifications depicted with snakes, Rubens remains ambiguous on purpose in the design of the title page. In his treatise, Lessius discusses many examples of mercantile practice from Antwerp which makes an allusion to Antwerp on the title page, or at least to cities as ruling bodies, not entirely unreasonable. Especially as the caduceus in Astraea's right hand reinforces this notion and evokes associations with trade, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the lower figure also carries aspects to do with the larger public and its well-being.

On the later title page for the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* (Fig. 10 on page 65) Rubens uses *Salus Publica* again, but more forcefully and with less ambiguity. The entry for Cardinal Infant Ferdinand in Antwerp not only celebrates a new and victorious governor, but also expresses the plight of a city stricken by the war in its vicinity.[171] On the title page of the book *Salus Publica* is depicted in the tympanum of the arch, a very prominent place. In the tympanum, Cardinal Infante is receiving his commander's baton from Philip IV, and *Salus* is used to remind the commander of his obligation towards the well-being of his country. This reading is enforced by a quotation placed prominently on a lintel below this scene in the centre of the title page: TV REGERE IMPERIO BELGAS GERMANE,

166 The snake is an attribute of Prudence in: Ripa, *Iconologia*, 1603 , p. 416. For an interpretation of the snake as Prudence see McGrath 2009a, pp. 405–407; Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, no. 38, pp. 184–187.

167 Cf. Büttner 2018, no. 32.

168 Cicero, On the Nature of the Gods, III, 61; in Ibid., p. 344.

169 Ibid., p. 344, fn. 70. See chapter 4.

170 Seven copies of this painting survived: Ibid., no. 23, p. 331ff. Salus (Hygeia), c. 1614, LB 815, Oil on panel; 130 cm × 74 cm. Nelahozeves Castle, The Lobkowicz Collections, no. LR11563.

171 Z. Arnold 2014, p.192.

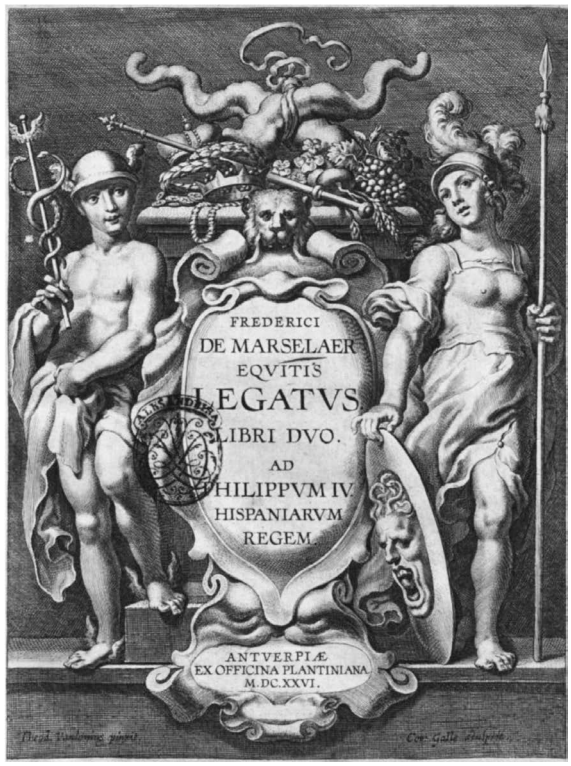


Figure 39 – Title page for Marselaer 1626; engraving by Cornelis Galle after Theodore van Loon.

MEMENTO: PARCERE SVBIECTIS ET DEBELLARE SVPERBOS.[172] In his commentary Gevartius explicitly mentions the source of these words: they refer back to Virgil's *Aeneid* and proclaim the descendants of Aeneas as those who will be restoring the Golden Age of peace.[173] The quotation appears twice in the Festive Entry, on the title page to the book and again on Isabella's stage snd is the programmatic centre of the whole entry: the Cardinal Infante is thus hailed as the restorer of the Golden Age of peace.

Even the title page for Lessius's *De iustitia et iure* has this political touch that unfolds in full force in the much later *Pompa introitus Ferdinandi*, for the figure wearing the crown of civilisation and the snake of public weal is placed directly underneath Leo depicted in the zodiac. In Valerianus the upper part of the zodiac is shown, placing Libra on the left and Leo on the right of Astraea (Fig. 34); Rubens rotates the zodiac so that the succession within the zodiac is not perturbed when he depicts Leo before Astraea and Libra. The reason for this could be the depiction of contemporary celestial charts, but it should not be forgotten that the *Leo Belgicus* was the common depiction of the Netherlands. It is again possible to refer to the later *Pompa introitus Ferdinandi* in which a con-

172 "Du aber Bruder [Vergil: Römer], gedenke mit Macht der Belger [Vergil: Völker] zu walten, / Schone den, der sich fügt, doch brich den Trotz der Rebellen!" in: Heinen 2008, p. 171. "Remember, brother, that you must reign over the Belgians: spare the conquered and defeat the arrogant." in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, p. 328.

173 Heinen 2008, p. 171.

Figure 40 – P. P. Rubens, *Salus*, c. 1614. Oil on panel; 130 × 74 cm. The Lobkowicz Collections, Nelahozeves Castle. Inv. no. LR11563.

siderably desperate Belgian Leo is placed between Philip IV and Ferdinand, embracing the Belgian territory while being in a pose of submission.[174] The Belgian plight had been reduced through the armistice, but this was about to finish at the end of the 1610s. The Leo Rubens depicts on the title page is not the charging lion shown in the woodcut by Valerianus, but a reclining lion that may be read as a waiting *Leo Belgicus* by Rubens's contemporaries. The *Leo Belgicus* refers to the whole of the Netherlands. The political aspect of this title page is reinforced as *Salus*, civilisation or *ius humanum*, can only feed her snake with the patera if she cooperates with Astraea, trade or *ius divinum*.

The two prisoners depicted below these multidimensional figures contribute to the political interpretation of the title page. These figures on the base of the title page are kept like prisoners and chained to a book that is about the cardinal virtues thus are negatively connoted; these figures could be interpreted as restrained vices. McGrath suggests that the two, a satyr and an enslaved man, represent unruly aspects of nature and society subdued by the particular laws.[175] The paraphernalia next to them can also be seen in this more negative way of unruly behaviour, of war and havoc, and of lust and carnal love. The attributes of weapons, fire and apples offer many interpretations: the first that comes to mind is the war that is represented by the weapons, and also

174 "Leo, Orbem Belgicum complexus, ad pedes eiusdem se submittit & inclinat." Gevaerts 1642, Explicatio.
175 McGrath 2006, p. 120, fn. 29.

Figure 41 – Title page for Frederik de Marselaer, *Legatus Libri duo, ad Philippum iv Hispaniarum Regem*, Antwerp 1666. Engraving: 316 × 208 mm by Cornelis Galle II.

by the bow and arrows and the torch leaning against the wall. Judson and Van de Velde interpret the torch resting against the weapons of war as being connected with peace, possibly because the torch is often shown to burn weapons.[176] Nevertheless, the torch and its flames also carry associations of something uncontrollable, as does the presence of the satyr. Mattison connects the basket overflowing with fruit and vine leaves to the "bacchic sphere", indicating the satyrs' sensuous appetites.[177] He also connects this directly to Lessius's chapter on gluttony and drunkenness in *De iustitia et iure*. The negative interpretation of the satyr is supported by his crossed legs, which was considered inappropriate in classical times.[178]

In any case, the prisoners are antagonists to the positive powers depicted in the upper half of the title page, a concept Rubens mainly used in title pages focussing on the triumph of the church over heathens and heretics. This symbolism was used in Roman political iconography found on coins and repeated by Rubens in various designs throughout his life. In a way, the inclusion of these prisoners contributes to a political reading of the title page.[179] Not surprisingly the prisoners also appear on Jacob de Bie's *Nomismata imperatorum romanorum*, later used for the second volume of Goltzius's collected works (Fig. 28 on page 134). And just like Salus, the two prisoners with the spoils of war appear in the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, on the Triumphal Arch of Ferdinand.[180] In this context they were interpreted accordingly as blind and furious violence.[181] However, they are also shown on title pages concerned with impresе, the history of Procopius, and the collected decrees of Council of Trent, and—with a slightly changed appearance—on all the Counter-Reformation title pages by Rubens.[182] All in all, the prisoners always appear in political contexts: in terms of rulership as shown in De Bie's *Nomismata*; as a political plea to a new ruler in the *Pompa*; as an emphasis on the superior role of the Church in the collected decrees of the councils.

The prisoners illuminate the consequences of a way of living that is not Christian or virtuous. In the particular case of *De iustitia et iure* they show that by following the law—natural, divine, and civil law—the vices can be overcome. They are shackled to the title medallion of the book, as Lessius's book discusses in great detail what behaviour is lawful and can be tolerated, not only in civil law, but also in divine law. For Lessius, these two are invariably connected, as they are part of the *Ius positivum*. Rubens also depicts them as invariably connected on the title page, each leaning on

176 Cf. also the title page for *Pompa introitus Ferdinandi*; cf. also Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, p. 186.
177 Held 1977, p. 107.
178 Winckelmann shows in *Kunst des Alterthums*, 1767, I, p. 61, that a statue with crossed legs would have been scolded by the Greek. Cf. the painting of *Pausias and Glycera* in Büttner 2018, no. 45, pp. 29–36, esp. p. 32.
179 On the "Two Captives with Booty" see no. 29 in Ibid., pp. 404–410.
180 Ibid., p. 408; Gevaerts 1642, fol. C4v–D2r; J. R. Martin 1972, pp. 141–147, esp. p. 144, no. 36, fig. 67.
181 Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, p. 186; Held 1977, p. 107.
182 See chapter 6. Cf. Ruscelli, *Le Imprese Illustri*, Venice 1580; Procopius, *Historiarum Libri VIII*, Augsburg 1607; Ph. Chifflet, *Concilii Tridentini… canones et decreta*, Antwerp 1640.

or holding the central medallion to which the prisoners are bound, for only together will they be able to keep up the prosperity of Belgium.

Thus it again depends on the reader what meaning is created from the image Rubens offers. The attributes the personifications on the title page carry could belong to the cardinal virtues and it is possible to interpret them in this way, as Judson did.[183] Leo and Libra, apart from being parts of the zodiac and adding a specific meaning to the central figure, are signs of strength and equality. Both concepts are important in questions of law and the interpretation of laws. However, both also point to two of the cardinal virtues, fortitude and justice, while the snake and the vessel at the feet of the right-hand figure point to prudence and temperance. The four virtues are still recognisable, but they are woven into the fabric of allegorical invention with various other attributes and symbols, which stands in contrast to the presentation of the old title page: there the cardinal virtues are presented in the context of the commentary on Aquinas.

Rubens, however, provides an humanistic allegory for an educated readership with a juridicial background that enforces a political way of reading connected to the situation in the Netherlands. This would not have been the predominant reading for readers in other parts of Europe, but Rubens's title page offers other possible interpretations for theologians and lawyers with its focus on law and its effect on society (Fig. 33).

5.3.3 Two Editions of *De iustitia et iure* printed in Lyon in 1622

In 1622, one year after the publication of yet another Plantinian edition of *De iustitia et iure* with Rubens's title page, the book was issued twice in Lyon by two different publishers. The edition by Claude Larjot (??–1643) copied Moretus's edition including Rubens's design for the title page, which he reissued in 1630 (Fig. 42). The edition by Louis Prost (1598–1627) had a more compact layout, thus fewer pages than Moretus's and Larjot's editions; it also had its own, new title page invented by Michel Lasne in a very traditional composition using an architectural framework (Fig. 43).[184] The different markets for which publishers issued editions might be the reason why these editions in Lyon were printed at almost the same time as Moretus continued printing and selling the same book in Antwerp.[185] The Lyonese editions were not the only ones printed outside Antwerp, as a Venetian edition was published in 1625. It seems that Moretus's market did not include Italy or southern France, or maybe Lyon had such a great demand for this book that it was possible for these Lyonese publishers to sell their own editions without angering Moretus. Printing another edition in a different city was not considered to be unproblematic, as is shown in the letter to the

183 Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, p. 186.
184 L. Lessius 1622a,b.
185 Moretus published one edition in 1621, other editions followed in 1626 and 1632.

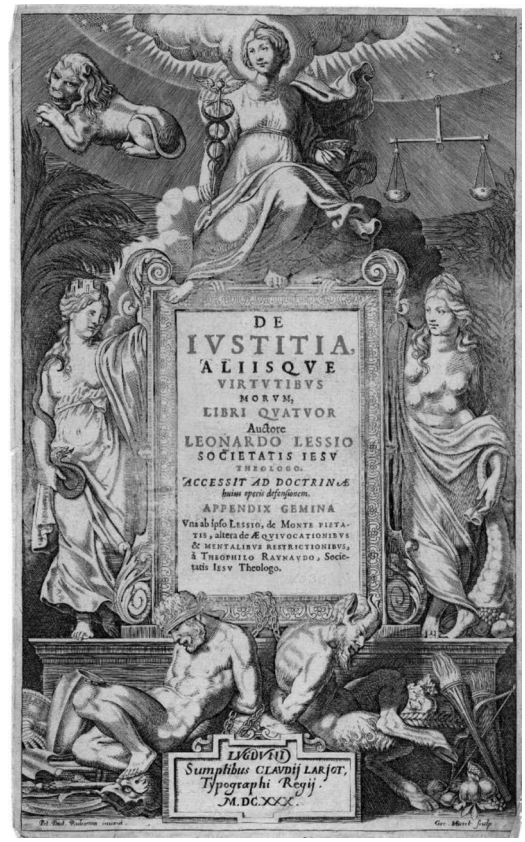


Figure 42 – Title page for L. Lessius 1630; engraving: 326 × 200 mm. British Museum no. 1872,0511.1023. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

author from the printer of the Parisian 1606 edition which was attached to the preliminary matter of the book.[186] In this open letter, the publisher excuses his printing of the unauthorised edition due to the unavailability of Lessius's treatise. The publisher argues that not only was this act in the interest of the general public, but also in the author's interest: the printing would increase his fame.[187] The two Lyonese editions both had permissions and *approbatios* printed in the front matter of the book. Larjot had two *approbatios* copied from Moretus's edition and added four short notices: an *approbatio* by Robertus Berthelot, a Dominican, and three notices of permission all dated to the April 29, 1622. In contrast to that, the edition by Prost only had two: one by the Lyonese censor Ioannes Claudius de Ville dated April 11, 1622, and a second one by the Provincial of the Society of Jesus in Lyon and its Province from April 4.

The copyist of Rubens's title page for Larjot's edition, Grégoire Huret, changed several details: he changed the medallion into a square frame, thereby distorted the figures' proportions, prolonging their limbs and making their stances extremely forced; the frame changed from a laurel wreath

186 Van Houdt 1998a, p. xviii.
187 Ibid., p. xviii.

Figure 43 – Title page for L. Lessius 1622a; engraving.

to a picture frame; he left out the vessel at the feet of the Ceres figure; he increased the number of weapons at the feet of Ignorance and the publisher lengthened the title. That the printer reduced details and enforced the number of weapons could be seen as a sign that the association with war was understood quite well. The title of the work was also changed: in this copy of Rubens's design, Lessius's name appears first, printed in red with larger type, before the title and the addition of Lessius's tract "De vera fide et religione". Because more text is added to the title, the printer's address has moved to the bottom, where, in the original, a bull's head is placed. While the contact of the personifications to the title medallion was deemed important, the prisoners are, for instance, still chained to the frame, it was possible to replace the bull's head.

The changes in the other Lyonese edition were more pronounced (Fig. 43): Michel Lasne designed the title page with a classical architectural frame and a classical personification of Justice on top of a broken pediment. The French engraver Lasne was a member of the Guild of St Luke in Antwerp in the years 1617 to 1618, during which time he made prints for Rubens; he returned to France, where he is recorded in 1621.[188] In contrast to Rubens, Lasne incorporates the society of Je-

188 Hottle 2004, p. 59.

sus in the title page: an angel next to *Iustitia* is holding a medallion with the IHS monogram, the cross and the three nails.[189] In front of the columns are the two authorities of the law: the pope and with him the Church, and the worldly ruler, here in the figure of an emperor. This title page is thus blunter than Rubens's that uses the concepts behind the law discussed in the book, rather than the authorities that enforce the law. In Lasne's title page, Justice is presented as the one force above these worldly authorities, with a quotation by Vergil above her head, one of the many inscriptions found on this title page: "Discite iustitiam moniti [et non temnere divos]."[190] The sentence, cried out by a sinner being punished in the inferno, became a motto in the sixteenth century and by the seventeenth was widely used to admonish readers to "heed the warning, learn justice, and do not scorn the gods."[191] The sentence not only appeared in various emblem books under the lemma "iustitia", but was also commented on by Lipsius in *De constantia*.[192] With this quotation, the title page addresses the monarchs and the Church hierarchy, especially the dedicatee.

The dedication was addressed by Louis Prost himself to Denis-Simon de Marquemont (1572–1626), archbishop of Lyon from 1612. The archbishopric of Lyon is one of the most eminent in France: this archbishop has precedence over several others and is known as the Primate of the Gauls. During much of his office de Marquemont acted as an ambassador for the French king in Rome. Shortly before his death on September 16, 1626, he was elevated to the cardinalate.[193] Archduke Albert, to whom the book had been dedicated so far, had died the previous year and another dedication was thus possible; a fact that was exploited by Prost. The title page of this edition was thus changed in order to express the duties owed by someone this high in the hierarchy of the Church who would still need to be ruled by Iustitia, just as the highest worldly and clerical leaders would.

Balthasar Moretus left the dedication addressed to the archduke in all subsequent editions, even in those after 1621, which was the last authorised edition, and changed only what Lessius wanted to have changed. Larjot, who had kept the Rubens title page, also kept the dedication; it would be interesting to know whether a new dedication made a new title page necessary, whether Rubens's invention simply did not express what Prost wanted on his title page, or whether it was a question of the publisher's honour to produce an entirely new edition. The new title page by Lasne certainly emphasises the authorities of the dedicatee de Marquemont and I would suggest that here the patronage had a greater influence on the title page than the fact that the author was from the Society of Jesus.

189 On the IHS sign, cf. 5.3.1.

190 *Aeneid*, VI.620.

191 O'Hara suggests that it could also mean "learn what justice is" considering that the speaker, Phlegyas, only burned Apollo's temple upon the rape of his daughter by this god. O'Hara 2007, p. 95.

192 De constantia, lib. 2. cap. 10; more examples can be found in: "Virgil's Best Verse. Discite iustitiam, moniti, et non temnere divos"; Silva 2, 7-12-2004 www.studiolum.com/en/silva3.htm.

193 Di Borgo-Mouton-Brady 1977; Marion 1848, p. 50.

5.4 Neo-Latin Poetry for Pope Urban VIII

In the 1630s Rubens designed the title pages for several books of neo-Latin poetry. All these books of poetry were published by Moretus, and most of them within a few years of each other. Although the authors, often Jesuits, emulated classical authors, their poetry was often religious at its core. With only a few exceptions, Rubens designed title pages for the works of neo-Latin poets under the patronage of Pope Urban VIII, who was one of the authors himself. This pope was an important patron for many artists and poets in Rome during his papacy, the results of which are present in Rome to this day. Patronage played an important role in early modern society for artists and poets. For title pages it is of great importance, as many a title page would not have existed without a patron willing to finance the endeavour. However, patronage did not only ensure that the book could be beautifully decorated, and it was more than a possibility for the author to secure financial support.[194] A patron's name gave credence to the publication, making his support official, while at the same time demonstrating the artistic or scientific interests of the patron, and thus honour the patron as much as the author. It seems, however, that not only the author had an interest in securing the patronage of certain people as the following case study shows.

The publication history of the titles enabled me to place Rubens's title pages in a wider historical context of engraved title pages for poetic works. The books with their title pages and many editions offer good comparisons in order to clarify what made Rubens's title pages different from their earlier or later counterparts. Rubens seems to emphasise the classical heritage rather than the Christian subtext. As all of these books belonged to the same book class, it made it possible to see what elements were common to all and could be ascribed to a particular genre. A look at the publication history and the wider context of the title pages also shows that Rubens contributes title pages to works of lasting importance. Sarbiewski in particular was a well-known poet throughout Europe for centuries, although his name is mainly known in expert circles today.

The Title Pages for Books of Poetry

When the Jesuit Bauhusius pleaded with Moretus for a title page at the beginning of his book, he argued for his wish with cases of precedence. He explained that "we have seen it happen here and there before", for example in Heinsius's work.[195] Indeed, Heinsius's *Poemata* were consistently adorned with engraved title pages, the latest edition before this letter had been published being Heinsius's *Niederduytsche Poemata* (Fig. 11 on page 68).[196] Bauhusius felt it necessary to point out

194 Although Parry demonstrates the problems and pitfalls of patronage mainly in England, the system was principally the same in all of Europe. Cf. Parry 2002.

195 Cf. Letter from Bauhusius to Moretus, 1 August 1617, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 366.

196 Heinsius 1616.

that his wish was not so special as it might initially seem. That the wish would seem special at all merits a quick look into the conventions of publishing poetry.

In libraries, the books of poetry were categorised as *Libri humaniores*, humanistic books. Humanistic literature encompassed classical Latin and Greek poetry, and, increasingly, vernacular works. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, books of contemporary poets did not usually have illustrated title pages: in general, only a fraction of poetry books had a title page that was engraved. Most books of poetry had a simple typographical title page with, at most, a printer's mark beneath the title. This is particularly pronounced for the works of Horace which were very rarely introduced with an illustrated title page.

For the genre and the format of a book, certain traditions appear to have developed that can be related to the hierarchies within genres. Scientific title pages, for instance, very often had an illustrated title page, but only specific literary genres seem to be worth a title page.[197] Certain genres, such as epic poetry, were generally valued more than vernacular poems or sonnet cycles, and for certain types of books an illustrated title page had become the standard. Jutta Breyl shows, for instance, that specific conventions developed for the title pages of heroic romances in the course of the sixteenth century. These title pages for this specific genre tended to depict the heroic couple or the titular hero on the title page rather than a generic Minerva or Muse.[198] Thus the literary canon and the expectations and conventions that ruled it were taken into consideration by publishers.

Another criterion considered by publishers was the format of a book and its intended readership or use. Smaller formats were generally less generously decorated. In contrast to the larger quarto or folio formats, they were easier to handle and to carry, and it is assumed that they were produced for daily use. The smaller formats were, of course, also cheaper to produce, and the bigger print runs suggest that a larger market existed for these formats. An engraved title page would have made these cheaper prints more expensive, so it is possible that smaller formats were printed with simple title pages to keep the costs down and the market as large as possible.

Only classical literature of a certain standing regularly received illustrated title pages from publishers: Ovid's *Metamorphoses* or the works by Virgil were chiefly among those. These eminent authors were widely emulated throughout the Renaissance and beyond. Their portraits were often depicted on the title page, usually in a medallion on the top of an architectural structure, surrounded by putti blowing Fame's trumpet or holding a branch of a palm tree, signalling the authors' importance. The classical poets were read in every Latin school and thus a large readership probably made it possible to print these books in the larger and more expensive formats, while

197 This merits more research, however, as only specific title pages have been tackled so far, as for instance, those for scientific works; cf. Remmert 2005.

198 Breyl 2006, passim, here p. 116.

contemporary poetry first had to prove itself. Thus, contemporary Latin poetry was frequently only adorned with an engraved title page if the author had already become very well-known.

The vernacular canon developed over centuries, and by the seventeenth century certain poets were celebrated like the classical Latin poets: Durante degli Alighieri (Dante, 1265–1321), Francesco Petrarca (1304–1474), Ludovico Ariosto (1474–1533) and Torquato Tasso (1544–1595) can be included in this canon of humanistic poetry.[199] The title page for the *Comedia di Danthe Alighieri*, published by Lucantonio Giunti in Venice in 1529, depicts the contemporary Humanistic canon of poets in its frame (Fig. 44). Headed by Apollo, the frame consists of ten smaller medallions with portraits of the canonic poets: the five on the left-hand side depict the canon of classical poets, while the five on the right depict the canon of contemporary "divine" poets. The two rows are headed by Virgil and Dante respectively. Above the whole structure Apollo is playing a stringed instrument, while the muses are shown in a relief-like manner at the bottom of the page.

Nevertheless, a contemporary poet writing in the vernacular, published in a quarto edition and with an engraved title page was apparently so noteworthy that Bauhusius emphasises it in his argument for a title page for his own work.[200] Heinsius's *Niederduytsche Poemata* from 1616 has a title page that shows Apollo, the Muses, Pegasus and Mount Helicon (Fig. 11 on page 68). The symbolism used was thus not far from what Bauhusius in a later letter to Moretus describes as his ideal title page.[201] Two months after the first letter to Moretus, in which Bauhusius argues for a title page, he reinforces his argument with backing from the Reverend Father Viceprovincial and goes on to describe clearly what he expects from a title page for his work: "I have thought of hallowed Parnassus, the Muses, Mnemosyne, all the things associated with the gods etc.".[202] Bauhusius seems to describe what he knows to be a suitable subject matter for a title page for poetry.

The depiction of Apollo on the top playing a stringed instrument was indeed one of the main ways of introducing a book of poetry. The aspect of music was frequently used in title pages for poetry because music and poetry were reported to have been created at the same time.[203] Depicting music on a work of poetry invoked the concept of the sister arts, along the lines of the famous dictum *ut pictura poesis*.[204] The lyre exemplified this connection particularly, because both epic and

199 For illustrated incunabula of classical literature cf. Zimmermann-Homeyer 2018, specifically pp. 32ff for the development of an illustrated classical canon from illuminated manuscripts.

200 The conventions as they are outlined here need a more thorough and systematic investigation than was possible in the course of this doctoral study. I looked at all title pages for contemporary Latin and vernacular poetry I could find in digitalised form: the vast majority was produced with typographical title pages and in smaller formats.

201 Heinsius 1616.

202 "Excogitavi Parnassum sacrum, Musas, Mnemosynem, Apollinem, omnia sacra, etc." Letter from Bauhusius to Moretus, 12 October 1617, in: McGrath 1987, p. 233, fn. 4. McGrath proposes a different translation than Judson and Van de Velde to avoid a Christian implication; Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 367–368.

203 Cf. Frese 1989, p. 17–18.

204 Ibid., p.18; quoting Birken, 1679, ch. IX, p. 97; Junius 1637, p. 23 (I, 3, 12). For more examples cf. Schöne 1993, p. 205; R. W. Lee 1967, esp. p. 3.

Figure 44 – Title page for Dante 1529; woodcut frame.

lyric poetry were said to have been declaimed to the sound of this instrument, and it was used most often to represent poetry. However, as can be seen in the title page for Dante's *Comedia*, Apollo was often shown as playing contemporary instruments. Because of Rubens's interest in antiquity, it could have been expected for him to design title pages for the work of classical poets, and yet the eight title pages for poetry designed by Rubens were for contemporary, neo-Latin poets.

Neo-Latin Poetry published by Moretus

From 1622 onwards, Balthasar Moretus had his most famous illustrator design title pages for contemporary, neo-Latin poetry. The reason for this can be sought in the social context of the authors and dedicatees, as well as of the patrons paying for the additional expenses, and maybe in the longterm planning by Moretus. All of the eight poetry books were printed in the Officina Plantiniana, seven of the eight in the 1630s, five for Jesuit authors, and for half of them Pope Urban VIII is the influential patron. Five were printed in quarto and three in sextodecimo, which are an exception in the designs by Rubens, as he usually designed for folios and quartos.[205] As the earlier case studies suggested that not Rubens himself but Moretus chose Rubens as an illustrator for spe-

205 Only six books with title pages by Rubens are smaller than quarto, and of these six, three are books of poetry.

cific books, this corpus of connected books presented itself as a perfect further case study in order to investigate the role of the publisher, as well as the role of patronage in book production. This chapter focusses on the books connected with Urban VIII: the two books containing the poetry of Mathias Casimir Sarbiewski (1593–1640), the book containing Maffeo Barberini's own poetry, and that by Simonini celebrating the same pope with a collection of silvae.

The first book on contemporary poetry illustrated with a title page by Rubens was Agostino Mascardi's *Silvarum Libri IV* in 1622 (Fig 45).[206] It is a prime example of a book published with the help of patrons. Agostino Mascardi (1590–1640) was one of the most important intellectuals at the court of Urban VIII.[207] He was an ex-Jesuit, who was expelled from the Society in 1617 after eleven years in the order. The reason for his expulsion is not known from the Jesuits' side, but according to himself it was his "employment with the family d'Este".[208] After severing the ties with both the Society of Jesus and his own family, Mascardi was entirely dependent on the Roman patronage system and found powerful patrons in the d'Este and the Barberini families.

In 1622, when Mascardi's book was published by Moretus, Maffeo Barberini had not yet been elected as pope, and Mascardi was neither his "cameriere segreto" nor professor of rhetoric at the Sapienza yet. But he already had powerful patrons who were willing to pay for an illustrated title page, as the arrangements between Carlo Cotta and Raphael Rauano show: Cotta bought 500 copies of Mascardi's book in advance.[209] It remains unclear whether Mascardi bought the books himself with Cotta as an intermediary, but as Tutino describes him as constantly on the lookout for money and patronage it seems highly unlikely that he had the means to do so.[210]

In a letter to Philip Chifflet, Moretus mentions the need for a patron in order to have a book printed which will probably not sell well:

> Therefore, there ought to be the help of some Maecenas, so that the printer does not have to sustain alone all the risks of such an edition. Thus I have printed the *Silvae* of Agostino Mascardi, not so much with my money as with the author's, since he bought 500 copies of the book.[211]

The money probably came through the d'Este family, as the dedication is made out to Cardinal Alexander d'Este. It is possible that Moretus included Rubens in this project because of these powerful patrons. Patronage was important for the publication of poetry, possibly more so in this genre than in any other. After all, it was the powerful patron of Virgil and Horace, Gaius Clinicus Maece-

206 Mascardi 1622.
207 Delbeke 2002, p. 58, esp. fn. 198.
208 Tutino 2014, p. 41.
209 Cf. Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, p. 217.
210 Cf. Tutino 2014, p. 41 for Mascardi's constant need for money.
211 Letter from Moretus to Chifflet, 15 Jun 1623, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 370.

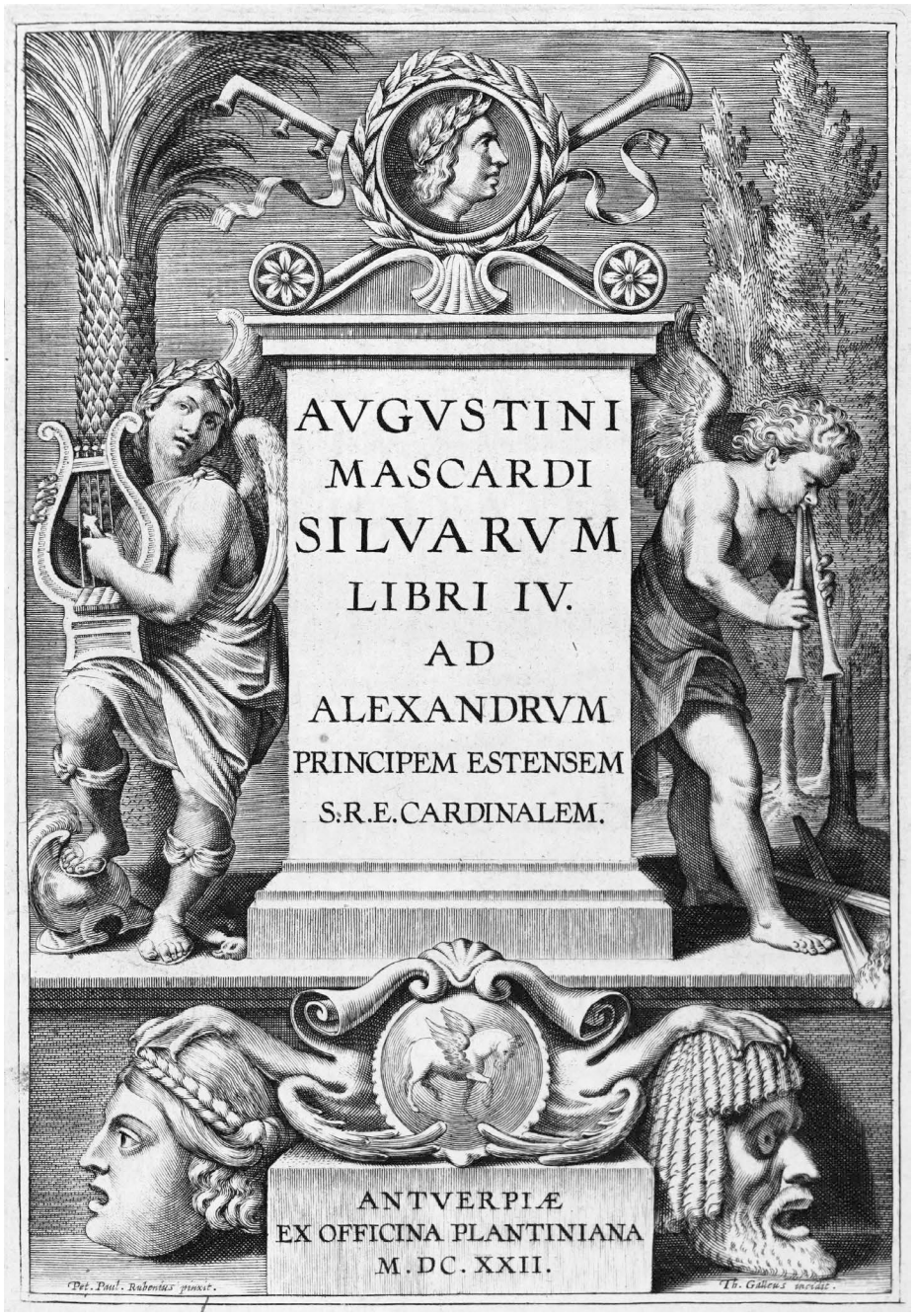


Figure 45 – Title page for Mascardi 1622; engraving: 192 × 134mm by Theodoor Galle. Private Image.

nas, whose surname became the byword for a patron of the arts. The most powerful patron in Rome during the second quarter of the seventeenth century was Maffeo Barberini as Pope Urban VIII, a writer himself. Because Urban was so influential and also a patron of the Jesuit poet, Sarbiewski, for whom Rubens designed two title pages, his work and interest in neo-Latin poetry is illustrated in the following with an interpretation of Rubens's title pages for Barberini's poetry.

5.4.1 | The *Poemata* (1634) by Maffeo Barberini, Urban VIII

Maffeo Barberini (1568–1644; Pope Urban VIII from 1623–1644) wrote poetry from early on and the first edition of his *Poemata* was published in 1620 in Paris. These poems were written at a time when neo-Latin literature was celebrating a last come-back. Because of the renewed interest in neo-Latin literature and, not the least reason, Barberini's election to the papacy, his book was published in various editions until his death, and in 1634 Moretus also published an edition with a title page by Rubens. Additionally, Barberini's poetry was published in the context of school books by the Society of Jesus, as a poetic example to be emulated.

The Jesuits provided a very good Catholic education for students around the whole world and this incorporated a very good knowledge of Latin. Consequently, the Latin language played a central role in the curriculum of the Jesuit colleges, the *Ratio Studiorum*: apart from the grammar, the students had to know classical authors and genres, and had to show their knowledge of and fluency in the Latin language in mock court proceedings, plays and emulations of classical and Christian texts, including poetry.[212] Some of the students developed a real talent for neo-Latin poetry, receiving lasting fame throughout Europe. Maffeo Barberini, too, was educated in a Jesuit college in Florence and later in the famous Collegium Romanum. It was there that he developed his taste for neo-Latin poetry, first in the various secular poetic genres, concerned with the arts and eroticism, later Pope Urban VIII rather emphasised religious topics in moralistic poetry. Throughout his work he remained faithful to his formal and verbal high standard.[213] Urban VIII followed a long tradition of popes writing poetry, but is mainly remembered for his patronage of the arts. A brief introduction to this influential figure is necessary in order to place Rubens's title page accordingly.

Maffeo Barberini was born into a wealthy Florentine family on April 5, 1568, as the fifth child of six.[214] His father, Antonio Barberini, died when he was three and from then on his uncle directed his education. In 1580 the uncle summoned Maffeo to Rome where he attended the Collegio Romano for the following six years receiving the broad humanistic education provided by the

212 Wiendlocha 2005, p. 296.

213 Ibid., p. 305.

214 The most extensive modern biography so far is Pastor 1960. Lutz 2000 provides a detailed bibliography; Schütze 2007 focusses on the early years of Maffeo's life. In the seventeenth century, Cardinal Francesco Barberini commissioned a biography from Andrea Nicoletti: BAV, Barb. Lat. 4730–4738.

Jesuits.[215] For the next two years he studied law in Pisa before returning to Rome and receiving the minor orders. The influence of his uncle helped him in his rapid rise within the Church.[216] In the office of Protonotaio Apostolico, for instance, he had to write the documents used for the absolution of King Henry IV of France. With the election of Clemens VIII (Ippolito Aldobrandini, 1592–1605) a long-term family friend was elected to the papacy, helping Maffeo's advancement in the hierarchy of the Church considerably.[217] In 1600 his uncle Francesco Barberini, died, making him sole heir to an estate of more than 260.000 scudi.[218] In the same year, as part of Cardinal Pietro Aldebrandini's retinue, he took part in the wedding festivities of Maria de' Medici and Henry IV, in which Rubens was present as part of the Duke of Mantua's retinue. Although no meeting is recorded, there remains the possibility for an encounter between Barberini and Rubens.[219]

The decision of Clemens VIII to send the young prelate to Paris in 1601 as an extraordinary papal nuncio had a huge influence on Maffeo's career.[220] He handled the situation at Henry IV's court exceptionally well, inducing the pope to make him nuncio plenipotentiary in 1604 and to give him the archdiocese of Nazareth—thus, considerable position and income. One of his tasks in Paris was to handle and improve the situation between the court and the Society of Jesus in France. Only in 1603 had the Jesuits been allowed back into France, after an attempt on the King's life by a Jesuit student in 1594 had led to the expulsion of the Society from the country.[221] The successful Maffeo Barberini was made cardinal in 1606 and on 14 October of that year he received his biretta from the hands of Henry IV in a ceremony in Fontainebleau.[222] The king also symbolically ennobled the Barberini family: the three "taffani" on the Barberini coat-of-arms, the horseflies with which it had been decorated, were changed to bees after Maffeo Barberini's elevation to cardinal.[223] The next pope, Paul V (Camillo Borghese, 1605–1621), also supported the young cardinal, and provided him with several offices; this development continued under Gregor XV (Alessandro Ludovisi, 1621–1623). Barberini took his offices seriously, and proved to be a conscientious and diplomatic custodian and legate; from early on he began to build alliances with many important cardinals.[224]

215 Ibid., p. 13.
216 Within four years he was Protonotaio Apostolico de' numerarii. Ibid., pp. 13–14.
217 Wiendlocha 2005, p. 281.
218 Schütze 2007, p. 14.
219 Cf. Zurawski 1979, p. 4; Zurawski 1989.
220 Schütze 2007, p. 14.
221 Wiendlocha 2005, p. 282.
222 Ibid., p. 283.
223 While Schütze maintains that the exact date of this change in coat-of-arms is not documented, Wiendlocha dates it to the festivities of 14 October in honour of Maffeo Barberini in Fontainebleau, omitting, however, her source for this claim. Cf. Schütze 2007, p. 31, fn. 6; Wiendlocha 2005, p. 283; Lutz 2000, p. 301.
224 Schütze 2007, p. 17.

Barberini's interests in poetry and his humanistic education influenced to a great part his official image, both as cardinal and as pope.[225] Coming from a somewhat modest family background, Urban began to enlarge his family's estates and bought a new family chapel as soon as he had the means to do so. He actively used poetry and the visual arts to promote himself and his erudition even before his election, thus compensating his modest background. After his election as pope, he supported poets, artists and scientists in Rome, drawing so many to the capital, that Leone Allacci, in his biographical dictionary of learned authors, called them the bees of Urban, *Apes Urbanae*.[226] Throughout his rise in the Church he wrote poetry and several authors poetically celebrate important occasions in his life.[227] His poetic endeavours were increasingly geared towards a renewal of religious and sacred poetry, even though his early poems had been of humanistic origins. Keeping to the conventions and the expectations of a cardinal, he enlarged his collection of books, and after his election started to build one of the most important libraries in Europe, the Barberini library, famed for its quality and completeness.[228] From 1604 onwards, when he first started to invest in the family's estate, he commissioned young artists, and in 1617 he first ordered a painting from the young Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680) who would become his favoured protégé.[229]

After his election to the papal chair, Urban assigned his nephew, Cardinal Francesco Barberini, with the task of enlarging his collection of books housed in the Palazzo Barberini. The Biblioteca Barberina gained fame not only due to the huge quantity and excellent quality of the books and manuscripts, but also due to its lavish decoration and interior design.[230] In the library, Bernini's bronze bust of Maffeo Barberini himself was placed at the end of along row of famous scholars. Countless literary works promoted and celebrated the "Parnaso Barberiniano", and the new golden age of Barberini's rule, for example Leone Allacci's *Apes Urbanae* of 1633, Stephanus Simonini's *Silvae* of 1637, or Girolamo Tetis's description of the library in the *Aedes Barberinae* written in 1642. In 1681 the Barberini library contained around 40,000 volumes and was completely catalogued in the *Index Bibliothecae Barberinae*.[231] In the index 28 titles are listed for which Rubens provided a design.[232] Most of these books were acquired by Cardinal Francesco Barberini after Barberini's election to the papacy, thus after 1623.[233]

In order to understand Barberini's role as a powerful patron, Sebastian Schütze analyses the inventory of the library made in 1623, its focal points and structure. On the one hand, the inventory

225 Schütze 2007, p. 17.
226 Scott et al. 1995, p. 219.
227 Wiendlocha 2005, pp. 281–283.
228 Cf. Schütze 2007, p. 18ff. for an analysis of his library.
229 Cf. Ibid.; Wiendlocha 2005, p. 284.
230 Schütze 2007, p. 18.
231 Index Bibliothecae 1681.
232 In Vol. I twenty titles are listed; in Vol. II eight. Cf. Zurawski 1989, p. 43, fn. 118.
233 Only two books with a connection to Rubens are mentioned in the inventory of 1623. Schütze 2007, p. 27.

reveals that Maffeo Barberini was influenced by the art and culture of his home town Florence: this is attested not only by the historical works on the city in his collection, but also the presence of Dante, Boccaccio, Ficino, and Pico della Mirandola in bibliophile editions.[234] On the other hand, it reveals Barberini's education under the Jesuits with a strong focus on Jesuit *ars rhetorica*,[235] and all the important Jesuit authors are present in his library, sometimes even in manuscript form.

Maffeo Barberini's stations in Paris and Bologna are equally represented by a large quantity of books concerned with the history of these places, while the juridicial works in his library were probably to a large extent inherited from his uncle.[236] The presence of literary and academic authors from Rome, and Italian humanists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in general, is very pronounced. Just like the other libraries assessed above,[237] his library fits the humanistic scheme of omniscience, and just as in other learned libraries, books on philosophy, theology, law, astrology, astronomy, geography, rhetoric, and literature were present in large numbers. Classical authors, however, were a special feature of his library: both Latin and Greek authors were comprehensively present and that for almost all subjects. Several of the classical authors were present in various editions, often commented, as were the relevant dictionaries, grammars and manuals for the study of these texts. Notwithstanding the comprehensive nature of this library its special focus was poetry, showing Maffeo Barberini's personal interest in this literary form. His interest was equally expressed in his own poetry and his exceptional patronage of poetry.

The Various Editions of Maffeo Barberini's Poemata

Balthasar Moretus's edition was not the first edition of Maffeo Barberini's poetry. Barberini circulated his first poems in the late 1580s: he sent them to the poet Aurelio Orsi, who belonged to the court of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, whom Barberini venerated.[238] In the following years the occasional poem was published in collections of verses and probably also circulated in manuscript; his first own publication was the ode "In S. Mariam Magdalenam" in 1618.[239] The first edition of his collected poems was printed by Antonius Stephanus in Paris at the suggestion of Peiresc, mainly in acknowledgment of Barberini's diplomatic work there: it contained 31 epigrams and odes and was the basis for all later publications.[240] Throughout the rest of his life this book would be re-edited and enlarged, and three bibliophile editions were produced in all. Although Cardinal Barberini

234 Ibid., pp. 18–19; see also Appendix XLII for a transcript of the inventory.
235 Marc Fumaroli extolled the role of Jesuit culture on the Barberini pontificate. Cf. Fumaroli 1978 and 1980.
236 Schütze 2007, p. 25.
237 Cf. section 2.5.1.
238 Schütze 2007, p. 27.
239 Cf. Wiendlocha 2005, p. 308. A systematic analysis of all the editions can be found in: Castagnetti 1979–1980 [publ. in 1982].
240 Rietbergen 2006, p. 111. In 1621 the first edition was reprinted identically in Paris, in 1623 a slightly varied second edition was published.

Figure 46 – Title page for Urban VIII. 1631; engraving by Claude Mellan after Bernini. Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-71.230. © Rijksmuseum.

had been famed as a neo-Latin poet in his own right, reviving a Pindaric style and the *poesia sacra*, the printing of eighteen editions of his poems probably owed more to the fact that he was elected to the papacy. After his death, his poetry was not re-issued for a long time.

The first really important edition in relation to title pages was published in Rome in 1631 under the aegis of the Society of Jesus.[241] For the first time, the pope's poems appeared in an illustrated, decorated, and enlarged edition(Fig. 46). 31 additional poems were printed and, just as Moretus would three years later, the Jesuits used two great artists to illustrate the volume: Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680) and the engraver Claude Mellan (1598–1688).[242] Bernini had been in the Pope's service from early in his life. In 1614, his father, Pietro Bernini, was commissioned to sculpt a statue for the Cappella Barberini. Soon after this, from 1617 onwards, the son was commissioned for statues of the Saints Laurence and Sebastian, as well as the busts of Barberini's parents.[243] A liaison with the Bernini workshop was maintained and from the time of Maf-

241 Urban VIII. 1631.
242 Wiendlocha 2005, pp. 310–311.
243 Schütze 2007, pp. 193–194.

feo's election to the pontificate, Bernini was Barberini's favourite artist for all of the Pope's greater projects.[244]

Notwithstanding the sumptuous appearance of the book, the edition by the Jesuits was mainly made for educational purposes; hence the book contained a tabular overview of the poems' metres. For the students of Latin poetry the metres were schematically introduced before each poem in the work. The panegyric nature of the book was expressed through its very elaborate decoration: each page was printed in two colours, and bees could be found in many depictions and on many pages, while vignettes and decorations and occasionally prints by Mellan were interspersed throughout the book. This strange combination of schoolbook and dedicatory publication was published by the Typographia Vaticana, the official press of the Vatican library, but in the same year the same publisher printed a cheaper edition for schoolroom use.[245]

Rietbergen suggests that a demand for the books must have existed as the Vatican press and the Apostolic Chamber reissued their editions while the Officina Plantiniana brought out its own version a year later,[246] but, as the Jesuits had intended this book of poems for the schoolroom, it is no surprise that the title was constantly reissued. The demand was created by the Jesuits and their educational programme rather than by a frenzy for Urban's poetry. However, the various editions were created for different readerships; a reader of the Plantinian edition was certainly no normal school boy sitting in a Jesuit schoolroom, and it is questionable whether that was the case with the edition containing the Bernini title page. The title page alone suggests an affluent readership, although the didactic aim of the Roman edition could mean that the book was awarded as a prize by the Jesuits for excellent students, while Moretus's edition was aimed at a bibliophile reader.

The title page by Bernini for the 1631 edition is conceived as the illusionistic rendering of a print, corners of the depicted paper curling up, in which the title of the book is above the image. On the subscript, where usually the dedication for such prints would be, all the relevant information is placed: city, printer, date, designer, and engraver. The print shows the fight between David and the lion (I Sm 17,34–37). In the image, the lanky youth, particularly vulnerable in his nakedness, is about to strangle the fierce lion, placed on top of a rock. David's lyre is lying in the foreground, causing the viewer to anticipate the end of the fight upon which David will pick up his lyre again. The lyre, and musical instruments in general, had by that time already become the standard symbols of poetry. David, king and psalmist, praised for his valour as a warrior after this fight against the lion, might refer to Pope Urban VIII here, who put aside his lyre in order to fight for Christendom. Or, as Mary Alice Lee suggests, it indicates a basic analogy of the word and the sword in the

244 Ibid., p.193.

245 Wiendlocha 2005, p. 311. Pope Sixtus V reorganised curial bureaucracy and established the Vatican Press in 1587 in order to print religious books himself. Rietbergen 1983, p. 90.

246 Rietbergen 2006, p. 118.

defence of the faith.[247] David was the archetype of the Christian poet, and was specifically revered by Maffeo Barberini: in an ode he asked Italy's youth to take up his lyre and continue his work.[248] Later Barberini himself was revered as the new David.[249]

Rubens's Title Page for Barberini's *Poemata* (1634): a Question of Artistic Rivalry

With his title page, Rubens went into an artistic competition against Bernini by using the title page's main theme: the fight with the lion (Fig. 47).[250] Rubens knew Bernini's title page, to which not only the depicted fight with the lion attests, but also the use of Urban VIII's portrait. This portrait was depicted on the second page of the Plantinian edition and reverses Bernini's portrait faithfully from the earlier edition.[251] That Rubens took up Bernini's design and went into direct artistic competition with him is maybe not surprising, for the Pope was a powerful patron for whom Rubens had so far not been asked to work. Instead of commissioning Rubens, Urban VIII employed his local artists, Bernini and Pietro da Cortona (1596/7–1669). For the tapestry series of the *Life of Constantine*, for instance, Cardinal Francesco Barberini rather commissioned Cortona to design new tapestries in order to complete the series, instead of buying the remaining tapestries designed by Rubens.[252] Earlier, during Rubens's stay in Italy, when Cardinal Maffeo Barberini decorated his newly bought chapel in Sant'Andrea della Valle, he must have known about the artist; Rubens had provided the paintings for the new altars in S. Croce in Gerusalemme and S. Maria in Vallicella.[253] On 29 November, 1604, Maffeo Barberini had contracted Domenico Passignano for the decoration of his new family chapel, during a time in which Rubens might have been available to him.[254]

Thus it can be assumed that neither the author, nor his agent, his nephew, Cardinal Francesco Barberini, commissioned Rubens with the title page. The publisher, however, had a great interest in pleasing the author. In November 1633 and again in January 1634 Moretus writes to the intermediaries, A. Brogiotto and G. B. Brogiotto Timantino, that he is awaiting judgement from the Pope on this new, Antwerpian edition and that printing has been halted until then.[255] The edition was printed in quarto, embellished with a title page and a portrait of the author, and contained 10 new poems. It is possible that Moretus was anxious about the success of this book, because he had

247 M. A. Lee 1993, pp. 85–89.
248 Schütze 2007, pp. 240–241.
249 Preimesberger 1989, p. 125; Schütze 1994, pp. 271–273.
250 Cf. also Zurawski 1979, pp. 83–84.
251 ibid., p. 83.
252 Zurawski 1989, p. 34.
253 This point is made by Ibid., p. 24. For Santa Croce see Vlieghe 1972, nos. 110–112, pp. 56–58; for the altar in Santa Maria in Vallicella, see Buttler 2011 and Mühlen 1996.
254 Cf. Schütze 2007, ch. 2, for the work on the Cappella Barberini.
255 See Letter from Moretus to G. B. Brogiotto Timantino, 21 Nov 1633, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 370; and Letter from Moretus to A. Brogiotto, 9 Jan 1634, in: ibid., pp. 369–370.

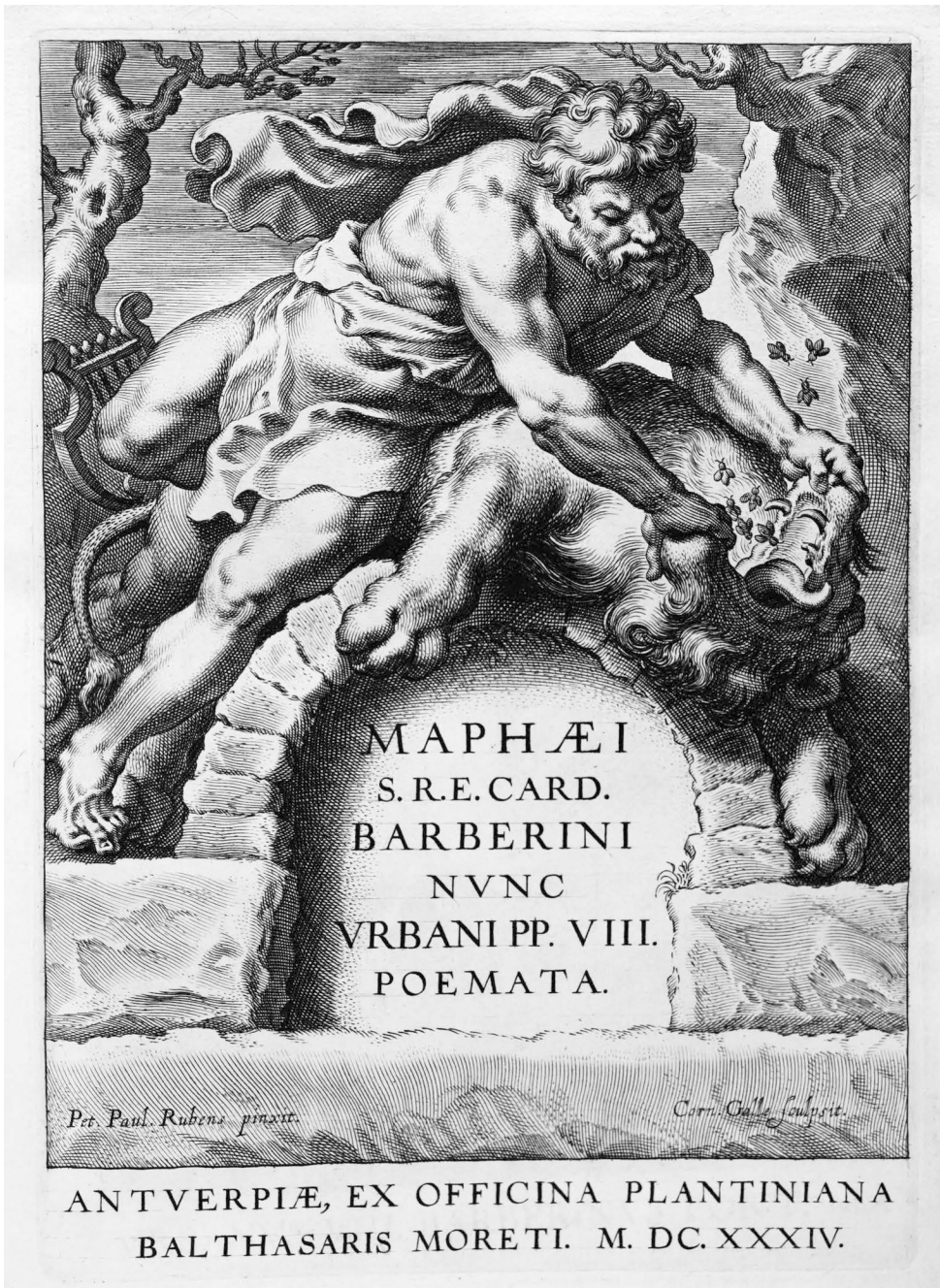


Figure 47 – Title page for Barberini 1634; engraving: 197 × 141 mm by Cornelis Galle I after Rubens. Private Image.

faced some competition for obtaining the long-held papal privilege for his liturgical works, which in effect was the monopoly for printing these works.[256] It seems that those printers with a good relationship with local bishops had gained the desired privileges at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The new edition of the Pope's poetry might have been Moretus's way of drawing Papal attention to himself and thus gaining an advantage over the other printers in Antwerp.

A title page by the most successful painter of Antwerp could have been a good investment for this end, and Rubens's design for the Pope's poetry is one of the most dramatic title pages he designed. On this title page, the protagonist is no meagre youth, but a Herculean Samson, dynamic and powerful.[257] Samson was repeatedly depicted by the Rubens workshop.[258] The story of Samson is related in *Judges*: how Samson came across a young lion while walking to Timnah, where he wanted to marry a young Philistine woman. On the way, the spirit of the Lord came over him and he killed the lion with his bare hands before continuing his journey. He later returned to the place and found that bees had built their state in the lion's skin. He ate some honey and took some back for his parents. In the negotiations with the Philistines he used this episode to pose a riddle and a bet: "Out of the eater came came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness."[259]

On Rubens's title page not only the body of the protagonist is bigger and more muscular than on Bernini's; the scene seems more monumental, the shading in the print increasing this effect. This depiction of the hero's *fortitudo* is especially caused by the positioning of Samson, emphatically leaning across a rusticated arch. The way in which Rubens depicts Samson conflates his two engagements with the lion: he is both tearing the animal apart with his bare hands,[260] while the bees flying above the animal suggest the later scene in which he harvests the honey from the carcass.[261] In Medieval typological readings, Samson was seen as a prefiguration of Christ and this topic was often addressed. This Christological symbolism had not been forgotten in the seventeenth century, but it was not as prevalent as the reading of Samson as a model of courage and virtue.[262] The way in which the scene is shown by Rubens, with the emphasis on the courage and the virtue of the protagonist, also evokes associations of Hercules' fight with the Nemean lion.[263] Thus the figure fighting the lion evokes courage, virtue and power while at the same time acting as a prefiguration of Christ.

256 Van Rossem 2014a, pp. 85–90.
257 For commentaries on this title page, cf. Büttner 2015c, pp. 162–164; Büttner 2014a, p. 118; Freedberg 1998, p. 273; Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, no. 68, pp. 283–287; Held 1977, no. 3, pp. 54–55.
258 D'Hulst et al. 1989, nos. 26–28, pp. 96–104.
259 Judges 14:14.
260 Judges 14:6.
261 Judges 14:9.
262 D'Hulst et al. 1989, p. 98.
263 Cf. the drawing for "Hercules Strangling the Nemean Lion", dated to the mid-30s by Logan, in: Logan and Plomp 2005, pp. 296–297, no. 110.

But, of course, the title page also refers to Maffeo Barberini. Again, as in the Aguilonius title page, the details in this image and its ambiguity, lead to a multitude of possible interpretations. McGrath has suggested that this openness of the title pages should not only be sought in Rubens's preference for generalised allegorical inventions.[264] The "dangers of misinterpretations", so well-known to Rubens, were intensified with the lack of interpretive context. Books travel, they can be read by many readers, and their title pages with their basic function of pleasing a reader provide that. The interpretation changes with the reader, as will be shown below. Very few readers can be pinpointed, but there is always at least one ideal reader: the patron. It is possible that in this case the family of the Pope and his court could also be incorporated into the group of ideal readers. These would have recognised the bees as a thinly veiled reference to the Barberini coat-of-arms, as the three bees appeared everywhere in Rome and the Papal States: the papal critic Gregorio Leti claimed that he had counted some twenty thousand bees in the city.[265] Because of this the bees were major protagonists in this image, and they also carried a number of other associations.

Bees carrying the sweet honey of enthusiasm and setting it down onto the lips of the sleeping were a mythological motif in describing the lives of poets and philosophers.[266] Thus the insects visited not only Pindar, but also Plato, Sophocles, Virgil and Lucan. For Plato already, only a real poet received this kind of enthusiasm, and not those who had to toil day and night to apply their art to poetry.[267] Honey was likened to enthusiasm, which acted like glue between the words of poetry, so that bees themselves were soon read as a sign of eloquence.[268] But Plato also compared the souls of poets to bees flying from flower to flower to collect the sweetness of melody, an image that was later used by Petrarch: a poet should imitate by flitting from poetic model to poetic model, gathering the best and creating a new poetic work from this.[269] What is more, bees were also called the birds of the muses and were said to be an expression of the Divine, the *anima mundi*. There is almost no author, classical or early modern, who did not use the metaphor and image of bees in one way or other: either because of their importance for humans, the simile they offer when their state is compared to that of humans as in *Henry V* by Shakespeare,[270] because of the bees' ingenuity,[271] because of the sweetness they produce, or because of their good example which humans can follow, as they "recognise only common good" as Pliny maintains.[272] They were also said to be

264 McGrath 2016, pp. 62–66.
265 Gregorio Leti, *Il nepotismo di Roma* (Amsterdam 1667), Vol. I, pp. 208, 228. Rietbergen 2006, p. 1.
266 Waszink 1974, p. 17.
267 Plato 2015, 245 A.
268 For which see also Lefkowitz 2012, pp. 59 and 80.
269 Plato, Ion 534.
270 I,2, l. 333–335.
271 Waszink 1974, p. 34.
272 See more on that in Haarhoff 1960.

connected to souls, as Sophocles had compared the dead to a buzzing swarm of bees,[273] and the spirits of the departed were said to leave the body in the form of a bee.[274]

This latter, classical idea was used in a poem in Barberini's *Poemata*: the poem dedicated to Maffeo's deceased brother Antonio Barberini mentions the Samson episode,[275] directly referring to Samson taking the honey from the slain lion, meaning that "the spirit could rise from a defeated body".[276] That Rubens took the image from this poem written by Barberini in memory of his brother as the topic for his title page, would at least be obvious to the most important readers of all: the Pope himself and his family.

In contrast to Bernini, Rubens does not take up the image of the Pope as the next poet-king David who is engaged in his fight against evil; instead, he focusses on the aspect of the triumphant fighter. By modifying the aspect of his hero from Bernini's lanky David into his muscular Samson, he changes the interpretive context. By giving Samson an ambivalent posture, Rubens combines the fight with the finding of the lion, thus not only merging two events that were days apart but also enabling an allusion to Hercules' fight with the Nemean lion. The image offers many possibilities for a favourable interpretation regarding his Holiness Urban VIII. The notion that sweet poetry has come out of the strong, and an equation of the Pope with such a model of virtue and courage as Samson was certainly flattering. Rubens also refers to Bernini's design, most certainly known to his single most important reader. The reference to Bernini's David is reinforced by the lyre in the background, normally not included depictions of Samson.[277] Sufficient parallels in the images make the reference to this earlier title page possible, and the knowledgable reader is thus witness to a case of artistic competition: Rubens not only delivers a more fitting image, alluding to a personally important poem by Maffeo Barberini, but also manages to express both the Pope's strength and his accomplishments in poetry in a visually more captivating, monumental and dynamic image. Compared to this Samson, Bernini's David is a powerless youth. The title page for the Pope's poetry appear at the centre of several other title pages Rubens produced for neo-Latin poetry patronised by this Pope. In the following, the same kind of analysis of the title pages and the production histories of their books was used in order to see whether Rubens used a similar symbolism in his other designs, and whether this symbolism related to the genre or the patron.

273 Waszink 1974, p. 27.
274 The comparison of the activity of the deceased souls with the activity of a swarm of bees is from Vergil. Cf. Ibid., p. 27. See also Büttner 2015c, p. 162.
275 Barberini 1634, pp. 250–253.
276 "Ac veluti Samson dulces ex ore perempti Leonis accipit favos" in Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, p. 284.
277 Glang-Süberkrüb 1977, col. 641.

5.4.2 | Neo-Latin Poetry by Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski

Two years earlier, Rubens had already produced a title page in which Pope Urban VIII and his bees featured largely, the title page for the *Lyricorum Libri IV*. This book was written by Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski (1595–1640) who, although almost unknown today, was considered to be one of the greatest neo-Latin poets in his time and beyond. He influenced the literary endeavours of countless poets in Europe and had a lasting effect long into the nineteenth century.[278] Although vernacular literatures developed rapidly from the Renaissance onwards, neo-Latin poetry was still written until long into the eighteenth century: in an attempt to revive the language of the classical world, humanists all over Europe imitated and emulated the great Roman and Greek poets, such as Horace and Pindar.[279]

Born in the Polish town of Sarbiewo in 1595, Sarbiewski was educated at the Pultusk Jesuit college from the age of twelve to seventeen, when he joined the order.[280] He taught rhetoric and poetics at various Jesuit colleges before going on to study at the Vilnius Academy, and at the Collegium Germanicum in Rome from 1622 to 1625.[281] Rome at this time was a blossoming metropolis in which, from 1623, Urban VIII and the Barberini family promoted all cultural endeavours be they religious, architectural, artistic, poetic, or scientific, and the bees of the family's coat-of-arms dominated the city. In this thriving cultural climate Sarbiewski not only met fellow Jesuits from all over Europe, but also built many lifelong friendships with scholars outside the Society of Jesus. In 1623 he represented his order at the inauguration of the new Pope with a poem on the new Golden Age, his *Auream saeculum*.[282] For this ad hoc performance, Sarbiewski reused a panegyric poem he had written for a Polish prince; as a reward he received a ride in the papal carriage.[283] Two years later, shortly before leaving Rome, he again presented his work. This time he presented his first collection of poems, the *Lyricorum libri tres*, to Pope Urban VIII, for which he received a gold medal.[284] In the same year, 1625, this collection was published for the first time in Cologne while he was back in Poland, teaching. From 1628 he taught at the Vilnius Academy where he acquired his doctoral degrees in philosophy (1632) and theology (1636), and where he published a second, enlarged edition of odes.[285] After taking his final orders in 1629, he continued teaching in Vilnius. From 1635 to 1640 Sarbiewski held the post of court preacher, and died only a month after his resignation from the position in April 1640.

278 For a detailed bibliography cf. Bertram 2018a.
279 Fordonski et al. 2010, p. 17.
280 Sarbiewski 1995, p. xliii.
281 Ibid., p. xliii.
282 The poem is found in the Biblioteca Vaticana as Cod. Barb. Lat. 2105.
283 Wiendlocha 2006, p. 10.
284 Ibid., p. 11.
285 Vilnae: Formis Academicis Societatis Iesv [...], 1628.

After the publication of Sarbiewski's first edition of poems in 1625 more than twenty editions followed in the next century alone, published all over Europe and with varying contents. As was usual, this first edition was not merely reprinted, but continuously enlarged over the next editions.[286] Their final Horatian form of four books seems to have been reached, however, in the editions of the Officina Plantiniana. Moretus knew that the book would sell; he even considered an engraved title page for its small edition, something he did not often do.The 1634 edition published by Moretus had over 100 odes collected in four books and at least 119 epigrams, which bear the influence of Horace, resulting in Sarbiewski's nicknames as the "Christian" or "Polish" Horace.

About 60 editions of Sarbiewski's lyrics were published over the next centuries, fifteen of them in Poland.[287] But even in Anglican England, Casimir, as he was known there, was very popular and his poems were used in grammar schools to teach Latin. Many students had to translate his poems as Latin exercises, which is why so many of them were so influential on young poets. Complete editions translated into the vernaculars are rare, however, although individual poems were translated into many European languages, often also by poets.[288] His concise language made it difficult to translate both form and content accurately, which is one of the reasons why the reception of Sarbiewski's poetry decreased with the falling interest in Latin poetry.[289] That a Jesuit priest and poet was able to fascinate readers in Anglican England or the Dutch Provinces, otherwise not very welcoming to Jesuits, is rather surprising, but can be explained by the variety of odes and the nature of his poetry.[290]

Sarbiewski's language was closely modelled on classical Latin, it was very concise and erudite. Allegedly, he had read Virgil sixty times, and other, unnamed classical authors between ten and twenty times.[291] Even if it is not true, the account alone is a sign of how close Sarbiewski must have

286 *Lyricorum libri III*: Coloniae Agrippinae: sumptibus Bernardi Gualteri, 1625; Vilnae: Formis Academicis Societatis Iesv [...], 1628; Antverpiae: Typis Ioannis Cnobbari, 1630; *Lyricorum libri IV*: Lugduni Batavorum: Typis Bonaventurae et Abrahami Elzeviriorum, 1631; Antverpiae: ex officina Plantiniana, 1632 (the only quarto edition); Antverpiae: ex officina Plantiniana, 1634; Romae: Apud Hermannum Scheus ..., 1643; Antverpiae: Officina Plantiniana 1646; The Odes of Casimire Translated by G.H., H. Moseley, London, 1646; *Lyricorum Libri IV*: Antverpiae: ex officina Plantiniana Balthasaris Moreti, 1647; Divione: Apud Petrum Palliot [...] 1647; Parisiis : Apud Gasparum Meturas, vi Jacobae , sub signo SS. Trinitatis, 1647; Lutetiae Parisiorum: Apud I. Henault ..., 1647; Coloniae Vbiorvm, apud Iodocum Kalcovium, 1648; Coloniae Vbiorvm: Apud Iodocum Kalcovium, 1659; [Breslau?] 1660; Venetiis: Balleonius, 1668; Venetia: n.p., 1697; Calissii: typis Collegij Societatis Jesv, 1681; Coloniae: Sumptibus Godefridi Meucheri, 1682; Cantabrigiae, apud R. Green, 1684; Venezia: L. Baseggio, 1697; Coloniae Agrippinae: sumpt. Joannis Everhardi Fromart, 1721.

287 Fordonski et al. 2010, p. 20.

288 Apparently the first Polish edition was published in 1852 in "rather inaccurate Polish renderings". Ibid., p. 20.

289 The earliest edition of a translated *Lyricorum* was published in England in 1646. Fordonskis and Urbanski identified six waves of interest in Sarbiewski's poetry in England from the seventeenth century onwards. They did not deem it necessary to give any kind of proof for their claims, so that I have to take their estimates at face value. Ibid., p. 23.

290 For an account on the influence of Sarbiewski in the Provinces cf. Hulsenboom 2016. For the German reception see P. Drews, "Die deutsche Sarbiewski-Rezeption im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert", in: Schäfer 2006a, p. 271–288.

291 An account from 1827 maintains that a copy of Virgil was found in Drohicz, that belonged to Sarbiewski and in which he had annotated how often he had read Virgil and other Latin authors. Budik 1827, p. 164.

come to his classical models. Sarbiewski's poems are, apart from the formal references he shares with other neo-Latin writers, are often full of classical mythological references, mostly omitting any poetic medieval and specifically Christian language. While the underlying philosophical and religious assumptions are still at play in his poetry, allowing it to be well-received in the Christian world, his language and vocabulary is classical rather than religious, especially in those poems translated into English.[292] Thus the English could admire his mastery of Horatian language and form, without necessarily being confronted by the Catholic faith of its author. The odes with references to the Catholic Church were simply left out of the English editions. Of the 35 odes translated by George Hils and published in 1646, only five are directly related to the Christian faith, such as "Out of Solomon's sacred marriage song" and "The Voice of Christ upon the Cross".[293] In Hils's edition the name of Urban VIII does not appear, neither does the *Carmen Saeculare* or any other ode or epigram with a strong reference to the Church or Catholicism.[294]

Sarbiewski's poetry did not only emulate the language of Horace, but also the structure of his odes and epodes, as well as the patriotic undertone Horace develops from the first ode onwards. While Horace mixes Greek and Roman literary traditions and allusions in order to express his belief in the young Caesar as the saviour of the *res publica*, Sarbiewski transposes this onto the religious war and his saviour, Pope Urban VIII.

The First Editions of Sarbiewski's Poetry

A first collection of Sarbiewski's poems was published in Cologne in 1625, the year he left Rome. It is unclear why the manuscript was published in Cologne and how it reached its printer and publisher Bernhard Walter.[295] The volume itself contains only a fraction of the odes present in later editions. It seems, however, that Sarbiewski was personally involved in the printing process: after the last book of epigrams, four additional poems were printed and the continuing pagination suggests that the printing of the book was largely finished by the time these odes reached the printer. Sarbiewski must have sent sent them to Cologne in the summer of 1625, as three of them are dedicated to Urban VIII and the last celebrates the sanctification of Queen Elisabeth of Portugal, celebrated on 25 May 1625. Sarbiewski sent these odes to the printer to be added to his book, possibly in order to thank the Pope and to commemorate the event of the sanctification, even though it was

292 In a comparison of two hymns written by Urban VIII and one hymn by Sarbiewski, this difference is made visible by Jolanta Wiendlocha. Wiendlocha 2006, p. 17.

293 Cf. Fordonski et al. 2010.

294 Ibid.; see for instance Freyburger 2006.

295 The dedicatory epistle is written to Nicolaus Veierus by A. Pyratinius who was given the manuscript of these books by a young man called Marcus Golenius. However, the "Typographis Lectori" at the end of the book of epigramms has differing information in the various copies. Manuwald 2006, p. 35. A copy of the *Lyricorum Libri Tres* in manuscript is preserved in the Biblioteca Vaticana as Cod. Barb. lat. 1941. It was the copy for which Sarbiewsky received the Papal medal.

Figure 48 – Title page for Sarbiewski 1625; engraving, unknown engraver.

by then not possible to change the dedicatory epistle or the arrangement of the odes.[296] Nothing further is known about the dedicatee or the printer of this book, nor about the engraver.

From this first edition onwards, all the title pages for Sarbiewski's work emphasise the lyre or musical instruments in general (Fig. 48). [297] This is shown by the Cologne title page of Sarbiewski's work of 1625 featuring a viola da gamba.[298] The viola da gamba was a refined, rather elite instrument in the seventeenth century, also shown several times in the *Allegory of Hearing* by Rubens and Bruegel, and they were produced in Cologne in the seventeenth century.[299] Although stringed instruments were often used on title pages for poetic works, the 1625 title page is still unusual in that the letters of the title are presented on the musical instrument rather than on any other back-

296 Manuwald 2006, p. 35.

297 Although the lyre was the instrument used to introduce poetical works, poetry could also be represented by other instruments. Cf. introduction to this chapter, section 5.4.

298 The instrument is quite large and could be anything between contrabasso, a viola da brazzo, a viola granda or basso di viola da gamba. The terms are endless and not standardised and it does not help that the instrument is only depicted schematically. Bonta 2011.

299 There was a well-known family of lute makers in Cologne, Bochem; cf. Josef Zuth, *Handbuch der Laute und Gitarre*, p. 44.

Figure 49 – Title page for Sarbiewski 1630b; engraving (?).

ground, and in that the muse, already wearing a laurel wreath, holds a second wreath in an oddly raised arm. The gesture suggests that the muse was supposed to hold a bow in her hand with which she could have played the instrument. Maybe the design was intended to be a frontispiece for a work on music or sheets of music and was reused in this way.

The viola was a frequently used instrument in both book illustrations and frescoes, mostly in angelic choirs. Such a choir was depicted on the first Antwerpian edition of the *Lyricorum libri tres*. On this title page a choir of angels is singing from a book on which the title of Sarbiewski's book is presented (Fig. 49).[300] It was published by Jan Cnobbaert (1590–1637) in 1630 who had a small printing company "near the professed house of the Society of Jesus".[301] Cnobbaert's printing company produced largely vernacular books and collaborated closely with the Jesuits.[302] As Cnob-

300 Sarbiewski 1630a.

301 On Cnobbaert see Van Havre 1884, pp. 97–100; Olthoff 1891, p. 18. Cf.Lamal 2016, who emphasises that the Cnobbaerts are not well studied, pp. 130–132.

302 The *Short Title Catalogue of Flanders* records 245 titles under the name Cnobbaert from 1616 to 1648 with a very balanced ratio of vernacular and Latin books, tending to print more vernacular titles. In comparison with the Officina Plantiniana in the same time period, the Cnobbaerts' output is much smaller: Moretus publishes 459 titles in the first decade and over 1000 in all three. STCV. Access Jan 2017.

baert's printing house was located near the Jesuits' professed house, it is possible that the Jesuits approached a printer close-by to print Sarbiewski's poems.

According to the tradition, Cnobbaert's edition depicts a musical aspect on its title page by showing an angelic choir. However, it was divided into two parts, showing a book in each part. The book in the lower part is an awkward repetition and provides somewhat unnecessary information. It emphasises the additional book of epigrams and the permission of the superior, neither of which needed to be mentioned here unless they were special. Maybe a book of *Lyricorum*, the poetry of the lute, was not the usual output by a Jesuit author and needed to be bolstered by an advertisement of epigrams and the permission of the order. The title page apparently needed a religious emphasis, because, apart from pointing towards the poetic content of the book by musical references, the choir invoked cosmic harmony. The angels, and by analogy the author, performed the odes not only for the reader but also for God. God is indicated through the only empty spot at the top centre of the image, to which an angel draws the reader's gaze with his baton. Just like the strange advertisement in the lower part, the emphasis of the title page is so much on the religious that it is possible that the Jesuits were eager use this to justify the classical poetry.

Rubens's Title Page for the Quarto Edition of Sarbiewski's *Lyricorum libri IV* (1632)

Balthasar Moretus produced the only quarto of Sarbiewski's odes, the fourth edition. To use such a large format for a contemporary poet was in itself a matter of distinction. Moretus was in contact with Sarbiewski before the printing as a letter of 2 May 1631 shows. In his letter, Moretus thanks Sarbiewski for the poem that the latter wrote for and dedicated to Moretus, and informs Sarbiewski of his intention to publish the odes when the edition by Cnobbaert has been sold. This consideration for his publishing colleague indicates a good relationship between the printers in Antwerp. The letter shows that Sarbiewski intended to dedicate the book to Pope Urban VIII,[303] but why the dedication was not written by him but by the Antwerpian Jesuits has so far not been explained satisfactorily. However, considering the problems Moretus had in contacting Sarbiewski and several book shops in Danzig, Krakow and Vilnius in later years, it is possible that it had gone astray and the book was to be printed before it could be retrieved.[304] The dedication by the Antwerp Jesuits

303 "Gratissimas tuas accepi, summae erga me benevolentiae indices ac testes, una cum carmine panegyrico, in quo omnia dilaudo praeter nimias meas laudes; quas non a iudicio tuo, sed ab affectu admitto; et de hoc gratias ago et mutuum repono, cum debito cultu. Reverendus Pater Bollandus varie te Lyrica auxisse, et heroicorum item Carminum librum adornare indicavit. Itaque sic auctum, innovatum et quodammodo novum opus prelo subicere haud recuso, cum Cnobarus exemplaria sua distraxerit. Et quia Pontifici Optimo Maximo inscribere statuisti, primo augustiorem et tanta maiestate haud indignam formam meditabor, deinde minorem et quae magis studiosis inserviat. Vale, reverende in Christo Pater, tuo, sacrae religionis et litterarum bono. Antverpiae, in Officina Plantiniana, postrid. Kal. Maias, 1631." Letter from Moretus to Sarbievus, 2 May 1631, in: Sacré 2002, p. 187, Letter no. 1.; MPM Archive 144.

304 About the problems Moretus had sending Sarbiewski copies of his own books, cf. ibid.

only mentions that the author had approved of it.[305] Moretus printed 1,025 copies of the title page, a typical number of impressions for this sort of publication.[306]

Sarbiewski's poetry is framed by the dedication to Urban VIII and the *Epicitharisma sive Eruditorum virorum ad auctorem poemata*, an appendix containing poems in honour of Sarbiewski by fifteen of his admirers, all fellow Jesuits except for the first, Erycius Puteanus.[307] Puteanus was at that time a professor in Louvain; he had been a student of Lipsius, thus connected to an important circle in the Southern Netherlands. In his contribution he pleads for peace and the unity of the Netherlands, invoking the famous neo-Stoic dictum (and Moretus's family motto) *Labore et constantia*. Sarbiewski answers his Belgian friends with an ode of his own published in the next edition in 1634: in "Ad Amicos Belgas" he hails all of those who had praised him in the previous edition, starting with Bollandus, possibly the best-known of all, and ending with Puteanus and Boelmans.[308] Such an exchange of poetry among friends praising each other was not unusual, and was here celebrated in public with the aim of strengthening the ties between the actors and proclaiming an intimacy that was not necessarily there. The same exchange was celebrated between Sarbiewski and Moretus, with a poem that Moretus included in the collection. Although the addenda to the poetry celebrate a distant friendship with the author, they also show that the above-mentioned networks of humanists and Jesuits overlapped in a considerable way.

The title page focusses on the author and the patron, however, with the central placement of the patron's coat-of-arms (Fig. 50). Urban VIII's coat-of-arms is hanging above a lyre placed on an altar, and flanked by several figures. In the background two peaks can be seen, while a spring is flowing from underneath the altar. The two peaks, of which one certainly denotes Mount Helicon, create the Valley of the Muses, which was described in detail by Hesiod.[309] Hippocrene, source of poetic inspiration, was located in the valley, together with the Sanctuary of the Muses.[310] Two trees frame the action in the foreground from which the Papal emblem hangs: a laurel to the right, and a palm tree to the left, both connected to poetic fame and victory.

On the left-hand side of the title page is Apollo, a complex deity: he is god of the Sun, the patron god of music and of poetry, but he is also the leader of the Muses, as *Apollon Musegetes*, and of their choir. While it was Hermes who created the lyre as an infant, the instrument soon became a

305 Sarbiewski 1632, Dedication.

306 The plate of the title page is still in the Museum Plantin-Moretus; no. KP 103 C.

307 Ijsewijn attributes this collaboration to the many contacts Puteanus had, his interest in Poland, and his closeness to the Jesuits, as one of his sons was a Jesuit; IJsewijn 1998 pp. 28–29.

308 For "Ad Amicos Belgas" (Lyr 3,29) see Düchting 2006.

309 Wallace 1974.

310 The Hippocrene was created by the hooves of Pegasus; cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, II, 221; idem, V, 256–264. Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, p. 267; Weber 1993, p. 86.

Figure 50 – Title Page for Sarbiewski 1632; engraving: 193 × 136mm by Cornelis Galle I. Private Image.

common attribute of Apollo.[311] In the famous contest between Apollo and the satyr Marsyas, the victor, Apollo, flayed Marsyas alive for daring to challenge his virtuosity on the lyre with his base lute.[312] Apollo has been portrayed with a lyre in hands, singing for the gods since Homeric times, often at gods' feasts in Homer's *Illiad*.[313] In the early modern artistic canon, his appearance was partly standardised by the print of Apollo Belvedere that was circulated in Europe from at least 1530. But even before Marcantonio Raimondi made this engraving of the marble, it received immense attention from artists after it had been placed in the Vatican in 1509.[314] Rubens's Apollo, however, is not playing his lyre, but laying it on the altar underneath the Barberini coat-of-arms.

Rubens's depiction of the altar is also intriguing. The altar is classically decorated with lion's paws and ram's heads that, apart from being a general reference to antiquity, could be read as symbols of the pastoral. The pastoral was seen as the most ancient and original of poetry, "vestustissimum genus".[315] This notion was introduced into literary discourse by the Leiden professor Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609), one of the most respected authorities on the classics.[316] The shape of the altar itself is a tripod, and differs considerably from Roman altars which shows that Rubens did not use just any shape of a classical altar but differentiated between the cultures.

In this context the correspondence between Peiresc and Rubens is of importance, in which they discuss a tripod found among temple ruins in Fréjus.[317] Peiresc had written an illustrated treatise on the subject, which he sent to his friends in order to be discussed.[318] The tripod was of interest to the antiquarians, and to Peiresc especially as he wanted to solve the mystery of the Delphic oracle and Greek religion. It was understood as being sacred to Apollo or at least connected to him, which is also shown on some Greek coins (Fig. 51).[319] The altar on the title page is nothing like the image Peiresc sent to Rubens, but it has distinctive elements that it shares with it: the three legs of the

311 "The Homeric Hymn to Hermes, similar in form and style to the earlier Hymn to Apollo but written in a less serious vein, probably belongs to this period [sixth century] and is important for its description of Hermes' 'invention' of the tortoiseshell lyre (chelys-lyra)." Maas et al. 1989, p. 26.

312 Herodotus (7.26; cf. 5.118) and Xenophon (Anab. 1.2.8) reveal that the river Marsyas in Phrygia received its name from this foolish satyr who challenged Apollo to a musical contest with an instrument both invented and discarded by Athena. Apollodorus (1.4.2) and Hyginus (Fab. 165), two mythographers of the second century CE, as well as Ovid in both the *Fasti* and the *Metamorphoses* give more detailed accounts. Nizyńska 2001, pp. 152–153.

313 It almost goes without saying that Homer was part and parcel of a humanist's education. Rubens and his friends talk about his works in letters, and two complete works of Homer are listed in the inventory of Albert's library.

314 "The Apollo Belvedere from the Vatican his left hand resting on the tree trunk around which coils a python." Marcantonio Raimondi (ca. 1480, before 1534), ca. 1510–27, Engraving (29.1 x 16.2 cm), Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 49.97.114. Cf. Winner 1992 for Rubens's use of this statue.

315 Manuwald 2006, p.17.

316 For him the pastoral was "vestustissimum igitur Poematis genus ex antiquissimo viuendi more". In: *Politics and the Pastorali: a Study of the Tudor and Stuart Pastoral Eclogue as a Vehicle for Political Expression*, 1967, p. 6.

317 Meulen 1977; P. Gassendus: *Viri illustris Nicolai Claudyj Fabricij de Peiresc*, The Hague [1651], p. 152 (anno 1630).

318 For the images see Jaffé 1989, p. 43, Figs. 6–8.

319 Cf. Ossa-Richardson 2011, p. 266, fig. 2. Another Greek coin shows Apollo's head on one side and a tripod on the other. Bruttium, Kroton. Circa 330–300 BCE. AR nomos. Laureate head of Apollo right KPO, ornate tripod; filleted branch to left. SNG ANS 398ff; SNG Lockett 515; SNG Lloyd 623.

Figure 51 – Tripod with dolphin and crow, silver denarius of Vitellius germanicus, from G. P. Bellori, *Adnotationes nunc primum evulgatae . . . priorům Caesarum numismata* , pl. II.II, no. 8. From Ossa-Richardson 2011, p. 266, fig. 2.

altar, their lion's feet and ram's heads at the top.[320] Peiresc was convinced that his tripod was not only religious in nature, but was "a tripod of Apollo".[321] Rubens did not share this conviction about the use; he thought that Peiresc's small tripod had been used to burn incense during sacrifices, but he nevertheless used its ornaments in his design for Sarbiewski's book (Fig. 52). Peiresc pursued his idea of Apollo's tripod, however, and wrote to Cardinal Barberini about it, who in turn sent him a sketch of a Roman mosaic in 1632. Rubens's allusion to Peiresc's "tripod of Apollo" would have been recognised by the Barberinis, as by most of Peiresc's correspondents.[322]

Although it suffices to read the lyre as a general symbol of poetry, the way it is offered on the altar by Apollo evokes other associations, myths and tales. The lyre as an instrument is above the lute, not only because it has a less shrill tone, but also because one can simultaneously declaim poetry to its harmonies.[323] The lyre, as a simple stringed instrument with a soundbox and two arms surmounted by a crossbar or yoke, had been invented even before the Minoan lyre, but because of a lack of sources, the history of the lyre usually starts with these instruments depicted at around

320 These are described by Peiresc, cf. Ruelens and Rooses 1972c, "Mémoire de Peiresc sur un Trépied de Bronze", pp. 317–331, esp. p. 327; Ossa-Richardson 2011, p. 265.

321 Ibid., p. 265.

322 For a watercolour drawing of the Roman mosaic similar to that sent by Cardinal Barberini in 1632, see Ibid., p. 271, Fig. 4.

323 For Hamilton the lyre refers to reason and is an instrument that accompanies the voice with harmony, wheras the *aulos* was considered a base instrument in ancient Athens, associated with slaves, prostitutes and satyrs. Hamilton, John T. *Music, Madness, and the Unworking of Language*, pp. 37–39.

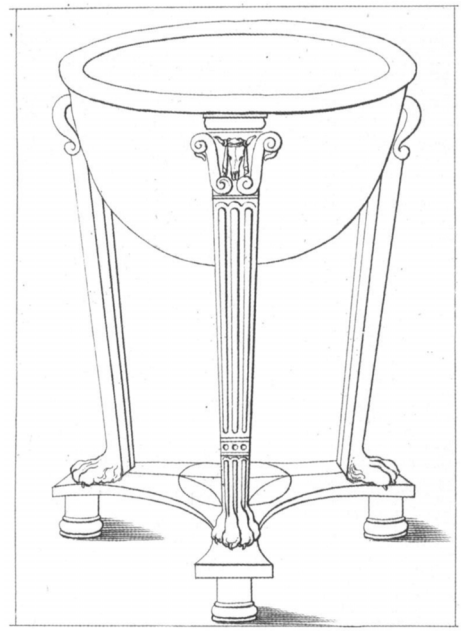


Figure 52 – Peiresc's Tripod discovered at Fréjus, 1629. Engraving published by Bernard de Montfaucon, *L'Antiquité expliquée*, II.I, pl. LIII. From Ossa-Richardson 2011, p. 265, fig. 1.

1600 BCE.[324] Over the next centuries, millennia even, the names given to the lyre, the shape of the instruments, and even the number of strings have varied.

Rubens's sketch and the engraving show a very unusual lyre, with a special shape even for Rubens.[325] It has a very large soundbox, it is not flat like the kythara that is usually depicted in Apollo's hands, its arms are shaped like horns, and rise unusually high above the cross bar. The lyre depicted here seems to be of Rubens's own invention, both the shape and the number of strings being rare.[326] Maas and Snyder have shown that, while the number of strings probably remained constant throughout Greek antiquity, there was no consistent representation. Lyres could have been depicted with any number of strings depending on the material on and with which they were depicted, the space available and the artist's interest in naturalistic images.[327]

324 Maas et al. 1989.

325 Rubens had depicted Apollo with his lyre in other sketches, for instance in the "Sketches for the Figure of Victory" Büttner 2018, no.11c, p. 156. or in the oil sketch for "The Judgement of Midas" which later was painted by Jordaens for the Torre de la Parada in 1637. McGrath shows that Rubens had probably used Apollo's contest with Pan on his house. Although it was not an invention known from antiquity it had a high currency in the sixteenth century, especially as its main theme was ignorance or unenlightened aesthetic judgement. McGrath 1978, p. 274. Cf. also Alpers 1971, no. 41 and 41a, pls. 147–148.

326 McGrath points out that the ancient lyre was usually said to have seven or nine strings, occasionally also three or five, but rarely six as shown in the engraving. She concludes that the engraver Galle unknowingly gave Apollo's lyre an extra string, as the sketch shows it with only five. McGrath 1987, p. 237, esp. fn. 37.

327 For instance, bronzes and terra-cottas tend to show few strings, and the space on seals is limited. Cf. Maas et al. 1989, p. 203.

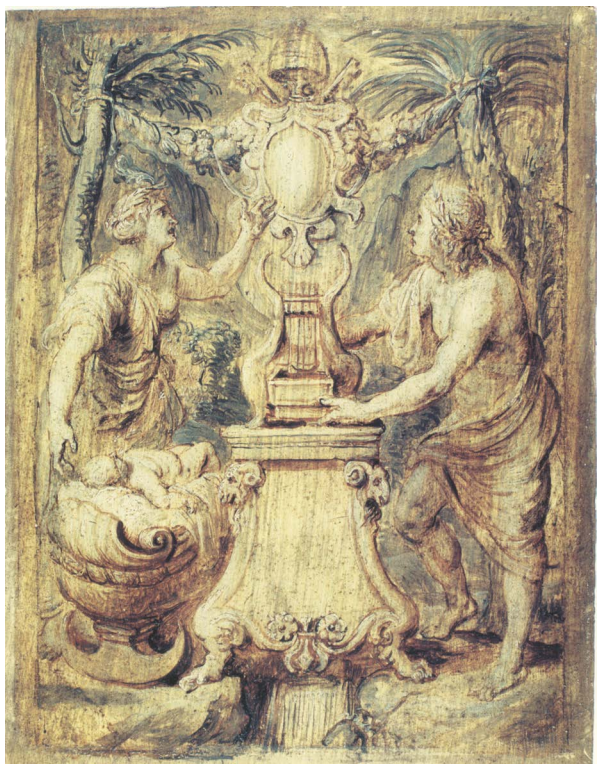


Figure 53 – Peter Paul Rubens, Oil sketch for Sarbiewski 1632; oil on panel, MPM.

It is in this way that the number of strings have to be understood, the lyres usually depicted by Rubens are those that can be found on antique coins. What Rubens intended with the depiction of a lyre in this shape is, however, not known. It is possible that he wanted to emphasise the pastoral with the use of horns for the lyre's arms.

On the other side of the altar and the lyre a woman with a child are depicted, commonly regarded as a muse and the young Pindar. In Rubens's oil sketch for the design, she is unambiguously identified as a muse by a feather on her head (Fig. 53).[328] The same feathered muse was pointed out by Rubens in a sketch for a different book on poetry (Fig. 12 on page 69).[329] On the left-hand side of the sketch Rubens left a message that the engraver should note "that the Muse has a feather on her head by which she is distinguished from Apollo" (Fig. 8 on page 52).[330] Both McGrath and Held have pointed out that Rubens might have felt it necessary to include this note, as two years earlier, in the sketch for Sarbiewski's quarto, the feather he had painted was not included in the finished print.[331] However, for an engraver it would not have been difficult to later add this feather, if Rubens had felt it necessary. That Rubens drew attention to the feather was probably due to

328 Grisaille Sketch, Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, pp. 267–268, no. 62a.
329 Bauhuis et al. 1634. Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, pp. 268–271, no. 63 and 63a.
330 Ibid., p. 271, no. 63a: "nota quod Musa habeat Pennam in capite qua differt ab Apolline."
331 See Held 1980, pp. 418–19, no. 304; McGrath 1987, p. 237.

the difficulty of distinguishing the muse from Apollo, especially as she was depicted with a lyre on this title page. Confusing Apollo with a muse occurred repeatedly throughout history, as McGrath shows, most notably in the case of the Barberini Muse, excavated in 1678: she changed her gender when she was pronounced as Apollo Citharoedus.[332] Nevertheless, in this image the muse is distinctly female and, as Apollo is already depicted, there is no danger of confusing the two. What remains ambiguous is the identity of the muse, although Calliope alone is invoked in the book.[333] As McGrath has convincingly argued, Erato, the Lyric muse, is too often associated with erotic verse to be fitting for this book by a Jesuit author.

The missing feather opens a different interpretive possibility and with it a slightly different discourse. The two parent-like figures above the cradle, together with the garland of fruit used to hang Urban VIII's coat-of-arms, evoke the image of the Golden Age, as put forth in Virgil's "Fourth Eclogue".[334] In Virgil's "Fourth Eclogue", the new Golden Age is characterised by the reign of Apollo, the return of the virgin and the birth of a child. The meaning of the child has been read in multiple ways over the past centuries: it is possible to read this child in its historical context as the son of Octavia and Marc Anthony, the ruler whose marriage brought an end to Civil War; but the child could also have been read as representing a link between the past, present, and future, a "symbol of continuity and an embodiment of the survival of Rome"; or in religious and mythological terms as the birth of a prophet.[335] Whatever the interpretation of Virgil might be, a Golden Age in terms of a lost age of prosperity and peace whose renewal was dependent on the return of the virgin and the birth of a child, the symbolism of the child lends itself to a Christian reading.

The title page to Sarbiewski's poetry can be read particularly well in terms of the coming of the Golden Age. Sarbiewski had addressed Urban as the herald of a Golden Age in his laudatory poem of 1625, *Aureum saeculum Vrbano VIII. P. O. M. Orbi invectum*. Even more so, as Sarbiewski's first ode connects Urban VIII with this state of abundance and an earthly paradise. The idealisation of the Saturnian life of peasants in Virgil is reflected in the pastoral landscape in the background of the title pages, and the rams' heads on the altar. This pastoral scene signifies an absence of war, a fertility and abundance reflected in the garland that flanks the coat-of-arms with angels' heads, and the flourishing of the arts and of harmony as signified by Apollo's lyre. And all this is promised by the child, or, as Sarbiewski had earlier claimed in his poetry, by the new Pope Urban VIII. In this reading of the title page, the gesture of the "virgin" that connects the child with the coat-of-arms

332 Ibid., pp. 234–235, esp. fn. 12.

333 Once by Libens and several times by Sarbiewski in I, 10; II, 20; and IV, 9.

334 At least Philip had read Virgil's Bucolic Eclogues, and it stands to reason that Rubens had also read them long before he obtained a different edition in 1637 from Moretus. Arents et al. 2001, p. 286, O11 and 12 for a note on Virgil to Lipsius in 1604 (the Works of Virgil had been published by Plantin in 1580 and in Paris in 1600); p. 198, E 190 and 192 for the "aankopen bij de Officina Plantiniana" in 1637. Rubens had alluded to this topic already in his title page for Lessius and the just virgin Astraea.

335 Whittaker 2007, p. 65.

is anything but ambiguous, for in this context the child, as Urban VIII, is proclaimed as the herald of peace and a Golden Age.

The title of epode VI, "Carmen Saeculare Divinae Sapientiae in anno saeculari MDCXXV C m Vrbanvs VIII. Pont. Opt. Max. portam auream aperiret", announces 1625 as the year in which Urban opens the golden gate. Sarbiewski's *Carmen Saeculare* is closely related to Horace's hymn of the same title, while the latter "shows evidence of a complex intertextual relationship with the Fourth Eclogue".[336] These literary relationships must have been obvious to Sarbiewski, who, even if he had not read Virgil about sixty times, would have known his Virgil just as Rubens or the educated readers of this book did theirs. Especially those texts which lend themselves to a Christian reading had long become key texts of early modern humanism.

The insects have commonly been read as bees referring to the Pope,[337] but because the bees are placed above the infant's mouth, the child is commonly interpreted as the young Pindar and the female figure behind it as a muse. Pindar was considered to be the greatest Greek lyric poet at least from the Augustan age onwards, during which time Rome began to develop a serious interest in the Greek writer.[338] The most successful *aemulus* of Pindar was without doubt Horace;[339] in the sixteenth and following centuries the two poets were frequently compared.[340] By invoking this relationship between Pindar and his aemulus, Rubens invoked other similar relationships of *aemulatio*, as this was how poets were educated: imitating and emulating, and finally superseding a great poet. By analogy, the same claims are made for Sarbiewski and Urban VIII on this title page.

However, bees offer wide possibilities for interpretation, and their symbolism is not necessarily related to Pindar only.[341] Like most of famous poets, Pindar was said to have been visited by the bees who put their honey onto his lips, the honey being that of poetic enthusiasm.[342] With the inclusion of Barberini's emblem bound between the two trees, a reminder of the Pope's own poetry, it is possible to interpret the child in this context as representing the Pope. In this context, the bees can be seen in analogy to the soul of the poet who collects the best for his poetry by flitting from

336 Whittaker 2007, p. 76.

337 Nave 1997, pp. 140–141, no. 44a/b; Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, p. 266; Judson and Hoozee 1977, p. 59, no. 23a; H. Bouchery et al. 1941, pp. 81 and 139ff.

338 Kennedy 1975, p. 9.

339 Ibid., p. 11.

340 Both names had become descriptions of quality: it was possible to describe an early modern poet in terms of the one or the other, but it was possible to call a great poet a new Pindar, although his poetry was more Horatian in form and language. Waszink 1974, pp. 78–79.

341 See section 5.4.1.

342 Waszink 1974, p. 17. Of Pindar it is said that bees built a honeycomb in his mouth while he was sleeping which is why his poetry is so sweet, while Pindar himself links honey to poetry; Crane, p. 401–402. Cf. Dornseiff, *Pindars Stil*, Berlin 1921, p. 61. Others report of bees feeding the child honey, which is what Cicero says of the infant Plato, and which he interprets as a sign that he would be marvellously eloquent. Cicero. De Div. i. 78. See e.g. Philostratus, *Imagines*, Book II, 13.

poetic flower to poetic flower.[343] In their dedication to Urban VIII the Antwerp Jesuits explain that the book was born with his help, because of his example, and through his appreciation. With the inclusion of several odes dedicated to Urban in the first book of the Antwerpian editions, the relationship of Sarbiewski and Urban as patron is strengthened. In light of this dedication the child could be the symbolic child that Urban helped bring forth, namely the book and its poet. The child could depict the little Sarbiewski, to whom the muse shows Urban VIII as a worthy example and patron. The placement of Urban's coat of arms directly above the altar carrying Sarbiewski's name mirrors that ingeniously. The frame of reference opened by the bees is endless and varied: their duty and activity, their diligence and productiveness, the sweetness of their honey or the sound of their hive could be likened to the productivity of the poet or the sweetness of his poetry. In the context of Christian Horatian odes, however, reading the child as Pindar is more apt.

Thus the title page identifies its book as a poetic work belonging to a tradition that goes back to the beginnings of poetry. The various analogies which were invoked by such an image in a learned reader who had enjoyed a humanistic education are countless and depend on the knowledge and the interests of the reader, and of his reasoning in deciphering the image. It is not accidental that the letters announcing the book are inscribed on the altar. Apollo offers his lyre in honour of the Pope and to God on the altar of the *Lyricorum libri IV*, while the muse, who inspires all poets, indicates the relationship between Pindar and Urban VIII, claiming both as her poets. Hippocrene flows towards the reader, inspiring the reader just as Pindar had inspired Horace, and Horace Sarbiewski. The lyre is the connective visual element in the title page, just as the poetry is the connective element for these figures. Through Sarbiewski's book both the Pope and through him God are honoured, and the muse's inspiration declared a holy one. The garlands of fruit that bind the pope's coat of arms to the trees of poetic fame are, just like the cornucopia, a symbol of abundance and nourishment, which in this context is not only applied to the poetic abundance and nourishment. Sarbiewski emphasises a vision of peace in his odes and in the concept of the four books, complete with the next edition by Moretus. In the 1634 edition this vision was expressed by the added eighth epode in imitation of Horace's sixteenth epode. It takes the European catastrophe of the Thirty Years' war and the envisioned rescue by Europe's princes as its central theme. Whereas Horace ends his fourth book with a vision of the *pax augusta*, Sarbiewski ends it with the crowning of King Władysław IV of Poland and the hope for peace in his country.[344] With this last epode, Sarbiewski completed his emulation of Horace's work and achieved the final form of four books.

343 Plato, Ion 534.
344 Schäfer 2006b, p. 174.

Rubens's Second Title Page for Sarbiewski's *Lyricorum libri IV* (1634)

The relationship between holy inspiration and the poet is equally made clear in the title page for the next edition of Sarbiewski's work, also published by Moretus. This book, however, is not the collector's book that the quarto edition was: Moretus printed this next edition in sextodecimo, more common for contemporary poetry. Less paper was needed for smaller formats, making them cheaper and easier to sell, which would account for the immense size of this edition, reportedly 5,000 copies.[345] Books of that size could also easily be carried around, thus they appear to have been intended for everyday use.[346] Notwithstanding the smaller size, the pagination is almost the same and it is printed in the same pristine manner as the quarto. However, the small format made it necessary to have another title page printed, and again Rubens was asked to provide the design. He did so for this and for two other editions of poetry of similar size at the same time, which makes it possible that the other two titles were furnished with a title page in the course of designing the smaller Sarbiewski.[347] The engraver most probably needed a large copper plate for such a small format, because a smaller plate would have been impossible to handle. Cornelis Galle is known to have engraved four smaller illustrations on one large plate, sending the whole plate to Moretus in order to have it cut in Antwerp.[348] Thus it is possible that the other two poetic works simply received title pages because Galle would have used the larger plate in any case, and would most certainly have charged Moretus for it. For the smaller formats, Rubens decided to have less imagery on the title page and for all three small editions he reduced the forms drastically, achieving a maximum of clarity. Nevertheless, he retained the basic content of the previous title page for Sarbiewski: again the lyre is placed on an altar, framed by two trees between which six bees fly around a laurel wreath bound to the trees with two bands of white cloth.

With fewer figures and less detail, the frame of interpretation is narrower, but the title page is still comparable to the two similarly sized earlier editions with illustrated title pages (Fig. 54). As in the larger title page, the lyre plays an important role: it is placed monumentally on an antique altar, crowned by a laurel wreath. The reference to Urban VIII is reduced (the coat-of-arms had been left out) but it could still be induced by the six bees, one of which is framed by the laurel wreath. Again, Rubens emphasises the classical inheritance visible in Sarbiewski's poetry and neglects its religious colouring. In the following years this title page was copied and repeated by many publishers all over Europe and was thus one of Rubens's biggest successes. If the print runs

345 Plantijns Archief, Antwerpia Groothoek, 1624–1655, vol. 134, k° 222. in Chrościcki 1977, p.308, fn. 48.
346 This could be the reason why the book is so rare nowadays.
347 Rubens received 15 guilders for all three designs. Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, pp. 448–449; MPM Archives no. 134, f° 222.
348 Stijnman 2012, p. 145, and fn. 164, p. 237.

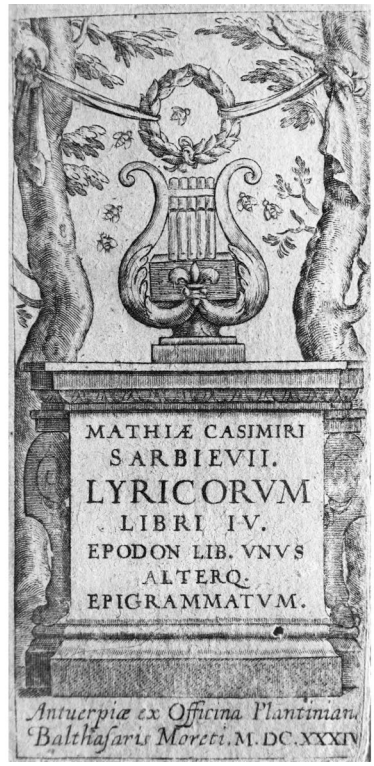


Figure 54 – Title page for Sarbiewski 1634; engraving, 100 × 50 mm, by Karel van Mallery after Rubens. Private Image.

were similar to those in Moretus's publishing house, the distribution of this title page in Europe would have been widespread indeed and with it the name of Rubens.

The Title Page for Stephanus Simoninus's *Silvae*

The quarto title page for Sarbiewski's work was used five years later for a completely different book: the *Silvae* by Stephanus Simoninus.[349] The same plate as for the Sarbiewski quarto edition was used, the title scratched off, and the book title for the *Silvae* inserted. Simoninus's (??–1668) work is a collection of eight silvae and an eclogue in five books, praising Pope Urban VIII, his education, his patronage, the beatifications, his commitment to the faith and, finally, it is a plea for peace. The book is dedicated to both Pope Urban VIII and his nephew Cardinal Francesco Barberini. With the reuse of a title page, Moretus was able to enrich Simoninus's work without many added costs; something which printers often did with the plates in their possession.

349 Simoninus 1637.

Not much is known about Simoninus,[350] but letters to Philippe Chifflet show that he was in Rome during 1634 and 1635.[351] Simoninus was born at the end of the sixteenth century in Gray, studied theology at a university in Flanders, and then travelled to Italy. He was allowed to recite poetry to the Pope, a distinction which had previously been granted to Sarbiewski. After returning to his province he received the title of Professor of Theology and held the chair for ten years before he died in 1668.[352]

Silvae, the plural of silva, if used in a title usually designates a collection of poems of various kinds with the association of early, insignificant verse and impromptu poetry.[353] The name alone alludes to forests in general, but on title pages specific trees could also point to specific uses of the silvae by at least the eighteenth century: a group of cedars would indicate spiritual poetry for the reader, while cypresses would point to a lament, oak or palm trees stood for paeans of praise, and laurel was a sign of veneration.[354] The influential *Silvae* by Publius Papinius Statius (c.45–c.96 CE) had reached the Southern Netherlands by 1595 at the latest, by means of an edition by Johan Bernaert.[355] Bernaert was part of the Louvain circle around Justus Lipsius, who himself imitated and praised the *Silvae* by Statius repeatedly. Statius's poetry had been of interest to the most important scholars of the early modern Netherlands, whether Hugo Grotius and his circle, or Caspar Gevaerts who had borrowed Scaliger's annotated copy of Statius's poetry.[356] Imitating Statius's *Silvae* was a common pastime in Leiden, and possibly elsewhere (as can be seen by Gevaerts), by Heinsius, Scriverius, Meursius and many others.[357]

Nevertheless, the poetry by Simoninus, with its properties usually not shared by books of silvae, is unusual. A defining property of this kind of text was its *varietas*, the rhetorical use of variation in language and topics used to delight a reader. The book in question, however, focuses on the life of Urban VIII, his education, his work as a patron, and the beatifications under his rule, and as such does not display the *varietas* expected from silvae, and the prose introductions to each chapter are highly unusual for such a work. Simoninus's insistence that his poems are not improvised but that he has worked on them for some time, as they are addressed to the single most important person

350 The entry in the *Zedler Universallexikon* only states that he is a little known author: "Simoninus oder Simonius (Stephan) ein unbekannter Scribent, hat Sylvas Urbanianas L. de gestis Urbani VIII. Pontif. Max. geschrieben, welches Werck zu Antwerpen 1637. in 4. herausgekommen. Barbarini Biblioth. Gryph. de Scriptor. Hist. Saecul. XVII.". Zedler et al. 1743, p. 1486.

351 It is interesting that Simoninus was in contact with Philippe Chifflet, who collected information about the Infanta Isabelle-Clara-Eugenia in these years. Cf. Bibliothèque municipale de Besançon, Tome XXXIII: 2,1 Collection Chifflet, f° 405.

352 Weiss 1833, 2856, right col.

353 For a categorisation of the term silvae, cf. Dam 2013.

354 Frese 1989, p. 123. Siehe auch *Die Buchillustration im 18. Jahrhundert: Colloquium der Arbeitsstelle 18. Jahrhundert* 1980, pp. 76–92.

355 Cf. Dam 2008, p. 52.

356 Ibid., p. 61.

357 Ibid., p. 64.

on earth, the pope, does also break with the tradition of this poetic genre, for which the typical claim would be the spontaneity of its creation.[358] The only characteristic of silvae he retained is the metrical variety of his verses. For van Dam, this and the imitation of a great variety of Latin poetry is the only link between Simoninus's poems and the poetry of Statius.[359]

Although Sarbiewski and Simoninus did not share the same literary recognition, the circumstances and the social context of the books are comparable: both authors were strict Catholics and had used the classical models for their Catholic neo-Latin poetry; both had presented their poetry to the Pope; and both expressed their hope for a new era of peace or a Golden Age under this particular Pope's leadership—all of which is expressed in the title page. There are, however, also differences. Sarbiewski wrote panegyric poetry in which the poetic content featured primarily, while Simoninus wrote panegyric poetry for the sake of the panegyric. Accordingly, Simoninus was, and has remained, little known, and only one edition of his work was printed. Simoninus never reached the kind of fame Sarbiewski enjoyed from the moment his poems were published.[360] All of these differences also influence an interpretation of the title page.

While it was possible to read the child in the cradle as the new Pindar, referring to Sarbiewski, in the first printing of the title page, this is hardly possible in the second. In Simoninus's title page, the child relates more strongly to Urban VIII who was already famous as a poet, or to one of the older poets, Pindar or Horace. Even if the child is read as Pindar himself, the context of Sarbiewski's work opens other dimensions to the interpretation that cannot be invoked in the second work. Sarbiewski was so famous for his poetry that he was called the Polish, or the Christian, Horace. He in turn praises Urban VIII as a worthy successor of Pindar and Horace in Ode I, 22, and emphasises the role of the Pope in bringing back classical poetry both as a poet and a patron.[361] In contrast to Simoninus's book, the work of Sarbiewski can be located within this discourse of *imitatio* and *aemulatio*, the rhetorical aim to surpass a literary predecessor, and Sarbiewski could be seen as being the Apollo, or the young Pindar, being inspired by the muse. This means that the first title page can be interpreted in relation to the author as much as to Urban VIII. The second title page, however has more to do with Urban, his life and the panegyric nature of the book, than it has to do with Simoninus's poetry, as the author was, and remained, little known. Interpretations possible for the title page of the first book are not feasible for that of the second, although they use the same image. This suggests that reused title pages are highly dependent on the context within which they are presented.

358 Simoninus 1637, Introduction.
359 I am very grateful to Harm-Jan van Dam for generously giving me his time and helping me with placing this book.
360 Bertram 2018a.
361 Manuwald 2006, p. 25.

5.5 Conclusion: Humanistic Allegories on Title Pages for Jesuits

The Jesuit Bauhusius wrote to Moretus that he was sure "M. Rubens with his divine gifts will invent something to be put on it which befits my poetry, the Order to which I belong, and the Faith".[362] The order and the faith were indeed of great importance to the eighteen Jesuit authors for whose work Rubens designed title pages, but that does not mean that Rubens would have changed his design in a special way for authors of this order. The books presented in the case studies above were indeed prime examples of books for important Jesuit authors, and yet all those books showed that Rubens was not overly interested in the Jesuit background of the authors. The imagery on the title pages belongs more to a humanistic background than a Jesuit one.

Although the books were written by eminent authors of the Society, the title pages did not relate to this fact in their imagery; Rubens never acknowledged the Society visually.[363] He neither did so through his allegorical inventions, nor through the use of the IHS sign that usually emphasised the affiliation to the Society of Jesus on their books. When earlier title pages emphasised at least the Catholic content of the work, Rubens's inventions worked with humanistic, and mainly classical imagery. This is not to say that it was an either-or situation. Of course, this imagery could also be understood in a deeply religious way, but the visual emphasis had shifted, as was repeatedly shown.

The large number of Jesuit authors in this chapter made it possible to investigate the collaboration between Rubens and the Society of Jesus. As was revealed through from the production history of Lessius's book, the author was not necessarily asked for approval of the design of the book and thus had little influence on the design. So even though the Jesuits had relatively easy access to Rubens and Moretus through the sodalities to which both belonged, and even though it was clear for Bauhusius that Rubens and no other artist would illustrate his book, the authors seem to have had relatively little influence on the artist or the publisher. The Society of Jesus was, however, the reason why the books discussed above were printed in the Officina Plantiniana, and often provided the necessary contacts to Moretus. While Aguilonius and Lessius were authors who were personally available, Sarbiewski, who by the time his book was published was back in Poland, probably came into contact with Moretus through his brethren in Antwerp.

It is nevertheless more probable that the publisher commissioned Rubens for these books, especially as most of the books were not just any books, but titles by popular authors. The many European editions printed only of Lessius's and Sarbiewski's works show the importance of these authors and a title page by the most prominent artist in Antwerp appears to honour them. The

362 Letter from Bauhusius to Moretus, 1 Aug 1617, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 366.

363 This alone speaks against a so-called Jesuit style, the spectre of which still haunts the historiography of the Society of Jesus. Cf. Dekoninck 2012, Hills 2006, O'Malley 2005, Levy 2004, Bailey 1999.

fame of the authors seems to have justified an expensively engraved title page because it probably correlated to the number of editions of their books Moretus could publish.

When Moretus decided to print the 1632 edition of Sarbiewski's work in quarto and with an illustrated title page, Sarbiewski was already so famous that Moretus could advertise him as the "Polish Horace".[364] Additionally, the book was dedicated to Pope Urban VIII, a fact that Moretus exploited and he produced a carefully designed book for the bibliophile pontifex and his family. It is entirely possible that the reason for the large size of the work and the inclusion of a title page is due to its very important patron rather than Sarbiewski's popularity. The design of the book, and its size and appearance, including the title page, made it particularly valuable for collectors, but it could also be offered as a present by the bibliophile Pope or other dignitaries.

All in all, patronage played a key role in the production of Rubens's title pages for the poetic works, with references to the patron, bees in this case, highly visible. For the Barberini *Poemata* Rubens used an allusion to the 1631 edition with a title page by Bernini and Mellan, to draw attention to his own artistic superiority while at the same time honouring the Pope. He included the Pope in the poetic allusions and the praise included in the title page for Sarbiewski's poetry. The social ties between patron and artist could have induced Rubens to participate in the project for Urban's poetry, in the hope of arousing the Pope's attention, but it seems unlikely, considering that no commission followed. It was rather the personal connection to Rubens that induced Moretus to commission him for this title page. As the Pope could issue papal privileges that granted a printer exclusive rights to publish liturgical books, Moretus was anxious to please the Pope. These privileges, with their stable income, had helped Christopher Plantin to continue printing less profitable but still important work, and it stands to reason that this practice was not abandoned over the generations. In the 1630s, however, Moretus experienced severe competition for these privileges, and it is possible that Moretus wanted to counterbalance his insufficient connections to the local bishops with this chance to please the Pope.[365] The title page for Sarbiewski seems to have had a similar motive in attracting papal interest, although the Jesuits from Antwerp seem to have had an equally great motive. The title page, in any case, underlines the Jesuits' dedication to Pope Urban VIII.

In his design for the title page for Sarbiewski, Rubens combines classical myths and poets, the origins of poetry, and a panegyric for Urban VIII, as well as a vision of the Golden Age of peace. The ability to express the genre and the content through allegorical images that drew mostly on classical usages of images, often taken from coins, is shown on all of the title pages for poetry by Rubens,

364 "Seneca Lipsii et Fromondi iam a prelo meo prodiit itemque Historia Miraculorum Beatae Mariae Silvaducensis, elegantissimo stilo a Patre Othone Zylio Soc. Jesu sacerdote conscripta et Casimiri Sarbievii (qui nostri est aevi Horatius) Lyricorum libri quattuor." Letter from Moretus to F. de Calatayud, 23 Oct 1632, in: Sacré 2002, p. 193, no. 6.

365 Van Rossem 2014a, p. 89.

as well as on the title pages for Aguilonius and Lessius. These classical references were surprisingly pronounced, considering that these authors were mostly Jesuit or strict Christian authors, including the Pope himself. Rubens distances himself there from earlier title pages for these poets, that often had a rather religious title page, for instance the angelic choir on Sarbiewski's third edition or the depiction of the cardinal virtues on Lessius. With his humanistic references to classical sources, Rubens shows that he understands the context in which the works were written, and he gives the books a more fitting framework by visually reflecting the way in which the early modern authors draw on classical authors.

However, the classical myths could be linked to a panegyric image as used in the title page for Pope Urban's own poems, enhanced by its Christian content. With the fight of Samson and the lion, Rubens enters an artistic contest against the previous title page by Bernini depicting the fight of David and the lion. Rubens can be seen to emulate the previous title page by Bernini, changing the story but not the theme of the fight, in order to encompass more by opening the interpretative field. Thus by opening this field of interpretation and the ambiguity it creats, the reader is offered what Bauhusius called entertainment: "Mire enim lectorem recreat".[366] Bauhusius's argument is part of a bigger, rhetorical demand that a speech, and, by analogy, an image, should teach, delight and move the audience.[367] This description of the perfect orator whose speech instructs, delights and moves the audience, was given by Cicero in his *De optimo genere oratorum*: "Optimus est enim orator qui dicendo animos audientium et docet et delectat et permovet. Docere debitum est, delectare honorarium, permovere necessarium".[368] From the fourteenth century onwards, these classical works on rhetoric were used as the basis on which to build a new discourse about art, and the demands on the perfect rhetor were transferred onto the perfect artist. The best example of how this worked was the writing of Franciscus Junius who cited this prominent dictum of Cicero's in his *De pictura veterum*. [369]

Bauhusius refers to an intellectual entertainment that depends on the knowledge of the educated reader. This ideal learned reader had read his Latin texts and could draw associations and find resemblances. He was also mostly educated in and amused by what is nowadays called the allegorical mode, but what in Rubens's time did not have its own name. The allegorical mode was expressed by words of darkness and shadow and it was clear that the allegorical use invited misreadings. Thus Spenser in his "Letter to Raleigh" accompaning the *Faerie Queene* explains the basic gist of his conceit "knowing how doubtfully all Allegories may be construed, and this booke of mine, which haue entituled the Faery Queene, being a continued Allegory, or darke conceit, I haue

366 "It amuses the reader wonderfully, it attracts the buyer, it decorates the book and it does not add much to the price". Letter from Bauhusius to Moretus, 1 Aug 1617, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 366.

367 A point already made by Dekoninck 2011, p. 72.

368 Cic. opt. gen. I, 3, 4.

369 Cf. Junius 1637; Dundas 2007.

thought good aswell for auoyding of gealous opinions and misconstructions, as also for your better light in reading thereof".[370] Through the allegory something was alluded to, but not precisely named. Samuel Hoogstraten deals with allegories, or Zinnebeelden as he calls them, in a similar way: they are "bywerk dat bedektlijk iets verklaert", additions that covertly explain something.[371] The point of these figures is, in Spenser's words, to be "doubtful", i.e. to be ambiguous; the explaining has to be done by the reader but it offers the author or the painter possibilities to express doubt, critique and dissent as well as a panegyric simultaneously, and as such it was widely exploited. Although this might be dissatisfying for a modern reader, it is this reason why only a framework can be provided for an interpretation, indicating the sources with which a contemporary viewer might have argued for his reading of the images.

Rubens's figures offer multiple associations and options of interpretation. The compound nature of the personifications used in the Lessius title page confirms suspicions about the inherently "open" title page: parts of the figures, their gestures, their stances, their gazes, and the individual attributes could each for themselves point to a specific personification, but in combination with the other parts become problematic if the aim is to pinpoint one meaning. However, if an inherently open title page is postulated, a title page in which the reader has to weigh one interpretation against the other, then the compound figures with their recognisable attributes become possible anchors for a multitude of interpretations. This is the reason why the interpretation of the 1617 title page for Lessius *De iustitia et iure* has seen so many differing opinions. It is also in this vein that the feather on the head of the Muse shown in the sketch for Sarbiewski's quarto title page is left out of the print, as it offers the viewer more possibilities for interpretations.[372] The entertainment or delight of the reader was created through the ambiguity of the figures and with that a general openness of the title page that could mean something different for every reader, and also something else each time the same reader looked at the title page.

All in all, Rubens works within the prevalent traditions of title page design and visual invention which becomes visible through a comparison with older title pages. The comparison with older title pages, especially where a comparison with older title pages for the same work is possible, shows the difference of Rubens's design for Lessius and the designs by others. His designs provide a novelty and a stark contrast to the highly traditional title pages of previous editions. Novelty as such needs to be different, but still understandable, in order to be stimulating and not boring or unsettling.[373] However, the contemporary understanding of novelty differs from ours in that it had to refer to older examples, and preferably the highly valued examples from the classical past.

370 Spenser 2007, p. 714.
371 Hoogstraten 1678, p. 89f..
372 See the discussion in section 5.4.2.
373 Bianchi 1998, p. 3.

Another aspect that has come to the fore in these title pages, especially those for poetry, was the expectations of the readers. Even more than in other book classes, a canon of symbols had been developed that were expected to be present on the illustrated title pages for literary books. To these belonged musical instruments, the muses or allusions to the muses' dwelling place, Mount Helicon, and allusions to poetic inspiration such as, for instance, Pegasus, or the Hippocrene. Other means to illustrate a poetic title page were the inclusion of the author's portrait together with symbols showing the fame of a poet. The use of classical imagery was especially pronounced for books on neo-Latin poetry, while vernacular poetry, especially in other genres such as courtly romances, rather alluded to the contents of the book, for example its heroes. The wishes of the Jesuit Bauhusius indicate the expectations that authors and potential readers had of neo-Latin title pages: they expected to see indeed "Parnassus, the Muses, Mnemosyne, all the things associated with the gods etc.".[374] Rubens knew this symbolism, he knew of the expectations and used them in his designs. His focus on the classical content of the poetry is especially pronounced when compared to the earlier title page for Sarbiewski's work, where an angelic choir rather emphasised the Christian nature of his neo-Latin poetry.

Rubens's title pages for historical works, especially those for profane history, corroborate the importance of his networks in Antwerp, the patronage system and the genre in the design of title pages, but they also introduce a fourth influence: a political dimension. The hope for a Saturnian age of peace expressed in the title page for Sarbiewski's title page reflected that in his poetry and in the dedication by the Antwerpian scholars. This dedication was not made by chance in the midst of the Thirty Years' War that wrecked all Europe and made the situation in Antwerp especially difficult. It is thus no wonder that the hope for the victorious Habsburg and Catholic Netherlands pervaded the designs for the title pages from 1623 onwards.

374 "Excogitavi Parnassum sacrum, Musas, Mnemosynem, Apollinem, omnia sacra, etc." Letter from Bauhusius to Moretus, 12 October 1617, in: McGrath 1987, p. 233, fn. 4. McGrath proposes a different translation than Judson and Van de Velde to avoid a Christian implication; Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 367–368.

6 | Books for God and Country: Rubens the Catholic Patriot

From 1622 onwards pro-Habsburgian and often Counter-Reformatory title pages were increasingly designed by Rubens. Although not exclusively, most of these can be found in the historical book class of "Libri Historici".[1] This book class of "historical books" cannot be transposed into a modern one, as the early modern understanding of historiography covered a broader range than it does today.[2] It included accounts such as travel literature, literature on festive entries or feasts, and numismatic literature, as well as encompassing geographical and topographical work.[3] It could, of course, also encompass historical events and annals, both secular and religious, and, because of the situation in the Low Countries, these were often both. The imagery used in these title pages is often used by Rubens in works that touch on the complex political situation in Antwerp during the Eighty Years' War in particular, and the Thirty Years' War in Europe in general. A good example of this is the depiction of the opened Temple of Janus in several of Rubens's works, analysed in the first part of this chapter. Rubens, however, also saw a solution to the political problems in his country, and that was the victory of the Spanish Habsburgs over the northern Provinces, resulting in a Catholic unity. The triumphant Catholic Church was thus another topic used in title pages from the 1620s onwards, and is the theme discussed in the second part of this chapter.

6.1 | Secular Historical Works: the Temple of Janus is Opened

Allegories of Peace and War occupied Rubens from the 1620s at the latest. One of the first depictions of the open doors of the Temple of Janus is the title page for the third book of *Annales ducum seu principum Brabantiae totiusque Belgii* published in 1623 (Fig. 55).[4] The work is a history of Bra-

1 Cf. Table 1, p. 106.
2 Lang 2012, p. 67ff.
3 Andermann 1999; Kintzinger 1995, p. 15.
4 Haraeus 1623.

bant from Burgundian times until the Truce in 1609, and written by Franciscus van Haer (Verhaer, Haraeus, c.1550–1632). Haraeus was a priest who, after his studies in Douai and various placements all over Europe, became the rector of the Antwerp convent of the "witzusters", the White Nuns, from 1609 until 1617.[5] During this time he must have written the "Annales of the Dukes or Princes of Brabant", because the *approbatio* by Laurentius Beyerlinck, censor in Antwerp, is from 31 May 1617, and the Ducal Privilege was granted on 7 July of the same year.[6] Moretus started printing the work in 1621, but had to stop due to a lack of paper.[7] When Rubens designed the two title pages is not known, but it can be assumed that it was shortly before they were engraved in the beginning of 1622; Cornelis Galle was paid 75 guilders for cutting the title on 5 April 1622.[8] A second entry of 10 April 1623 mentions Lucas Vorsterman cutting the second title page for Volume Two.[9] Thus the production of the books took almost two years, which does not at all explain why Moretus waited four years to publish this work at all.

The timing of the printing coincides with the end of the 12-year truce in 1621. The dedication to the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia expresses the wish for peace, a notion also expressed in a letter by Moretus to Van der Heyden written in May 1623. In his letter he explains that Haraeus's work was written "impartially and truthfully, for and against both parties."[10] Moretus wanted this book written, as he mentions that he himself encouraged the author and helped him both financially and by providing the necessary sources; he also edited it himself in order to make sure that the work would not offend, but show both parties "where their faults lay." Thus Moretus intended this to be a diplomatic work, and for the title pages he turned to Rubens who was, by that time, already known as a political mind. As far back as 1618, Frans Sweerts already advertised Rubens in a letter as a painter who was extremely well versed in history and politics.[11]

5 Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, p. 226.

6 Haraeus 1623.

7 Letter from Jan van Meurs to Antonio de Toro, 27 Dec 1621, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 422.

8 Ibid., p. 463.

9 Ibid., p. 464.

10 "Voor soo vele aangaet het werck ende des selven stil, versekere V.L. volcomelijcker te wesen als wel sommighe sullen verwachten, onpartydichlyck ende waerachtelyck geschreuen, soo wel tot voordeel als naerdeel van beyde de partijen. Hebbe selue den Aucteur, den welcken beuende inde historie van onse Landen genoegh geuerseert te wesen, tot het schryven van deze Annales met sekeren loon verweckt, ende necessaria Librorum adiumenta gesupeditert: ende daer naer de selve Annales met alle neerstigheydt selfs ouersien, op dat de waerheydt van beyde de partijen soude geseght worden, ende dat met sulcken manière ende moderatie van woorden dat d'eene oft d'andere met redenen niet en souden geofiendert worden. Alsoo dat ick hope dat dese historie sal dienen om d'een ende d'andere kennisse van syne faûlten te brengen; den prys is sesthien guldens." Letter from Moretus to Van der Heyden, 27 May 1623, in: ibid., p. 400; MPM Archives, no. 139, pp. 122–123.

11 "Wij van Antwerpen willen allenskens Italiae monumenta incorporeren. Petrus Paulus Rubenius, seculi nostri Apelles, heeft: onlanckx uut Engelant becomen over 100 capita marmorea & statuas. Sijn daer comen van Venetiën ex Musaeo Patriarchae Aquileiae. Desen Rubbens windt dagelickx 100 guldens. Is niet alleen schilder, maer versatissimus in historiis et re politica. Heeft alreede over 24 duysent guldens versnoept in syn huys." Letter from Frans Sweerts to Janus Gruterus, 18 Jul 1618, in: Heinen 2002, p. 310. Cf. chs. 2.2 and 2.5.

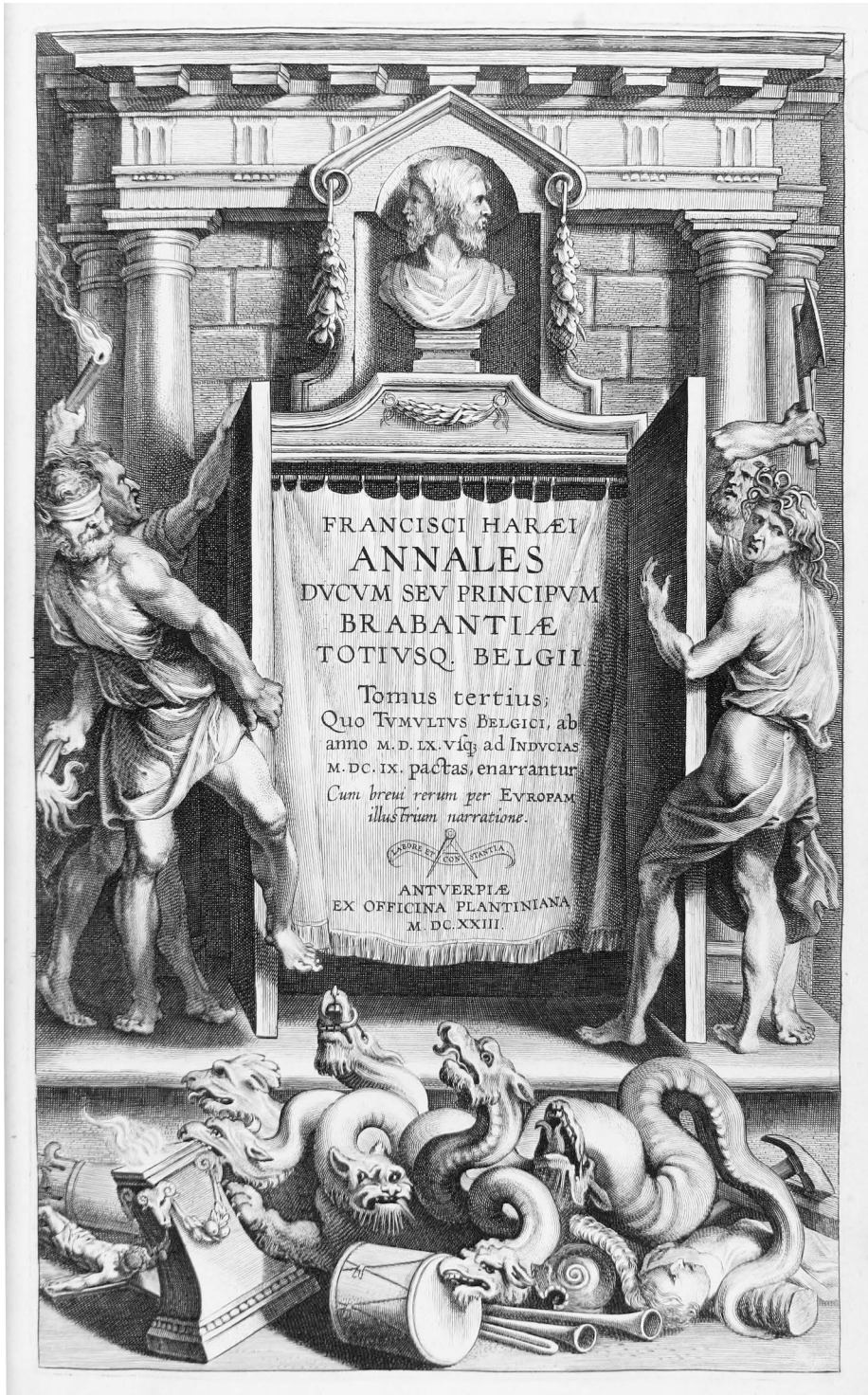


Figure 55 – Title Page for Vol. 2 of Haraeus 1623; engraving: 288 × 177mm by Cornelis Galle I after Rubens. Private Image.

Figure 56 – Title Page for Vol. 1 of Haraeus 1623; engraving, 285 × 177mm by Cornelis Galle I after Rubens. Private Image.

The title page for the first two books, published in one volume, (Fig. 56) depicts an enthroned *Historia* carrying an burning torch and reading from a book, while seated on a globe. She is surrounded by symbols of eternity with the *ouroboros* in the hand of one putto, and the endless scroll of yet untainted parchment in the hands of two others on her left. Below her are the two opposing forces in history, War in the form of Mars, and Peace, personified by Pax who is holding the caduceus and putting a flame to weapons. The geographical location of this history is personified by the reclining river god of the Schelde, and the personification of *Belgica* with her lion.[12] The two latter figures were used by Rubens in a memorial print for a military commander of the Southern Netherlands, Charles Bonaventure de Longueval, 2nd Count of Bucquoy, who was killed in 1621.[13] In this memorial print the situation of the Southern Netherlands is expressed even more dramatically than in the title page for Haraeus's work: both *Belgica* and the river god are shackled and bound and, instead of reclining, they are bowed in desperation (Fig. 57). This illustrates the desperate situation the Southern Netherlands found themselves in, as they fought against an escalation

12 Cf. Kintzinger 1995, p. 58. The title page was copied in 1625 in the work by a publisher from Brussels designed for the Spanish market: *Historia De Las Gverras Civiles Qve Ha Avido En Los Estados De Flandes* is a history of the war in the Netherlands from the years 1559 to 1609, Carnero 1625.

13 Rubens, Oil sketch on panel, 1621; Hermitage Leningrad, Inv. no. 508; engraving by Lucas Vorsterman after Rubens. Vlieghe 1987, pp. 67–70, no. 82–82a. Cf. also Heinen 2002, p. 301.

Figure 57 – Rubens, *Portrait of Charles de Longueval*; oil on panel, 620 × 500 mm. Hermitage Leningrad, Inv. no. 508; Wikimedia-Commons. Private Image.

in a war that threatened to leave the country isolated from the rest of the Habsburg empire, and dependent on France.[14] On the title page for a book that also covered the history of the Golden Age of Antwerp, such a desperate depiction of *Belgica* and the Schelde, that secured the region's wealth, would not have been acceptable.

The Horrors of War were thus illustrated on the second title page for the third book, bound in a separate volume. The book deals with the rebellion of the seven northern Provinces from the Spanish Netherlands from 1560 until the beginning of the 12-year truce in 1609. Accordingly, this title page shows a stage-like depiction of the opening of the doors of the Temple of Janus. The temple is crowned by a two-faced bust of Janus, the Roman god of gates and transition, looking into the past and the future. The open doors of his temple marked the times of war for the Romans; in the rare times of peace they were closed.[15] Virgil, in his *Aeneid*, explained how *Furor* was kept in chains behind the closed doors of war.[16] Although the doors of the temple are opened in the title page, the reader is not allowed to glimpse the inside of the temple. The title of the book, woven into a hanging tapestry, still blocks the view and is thus an additional barrier to war. It reflects Moretus's

14 Cf. the account of the problems of the Southern Habsburgian Netherlands in: ibid., pp. 297–302.
15 Vergil, *Aeneid*, VII:601–605; Ovid, *Fasti*, I:99 and I:140.
16 Vergil, *Aeneid*, I:293–296.

wish for peace and an ending in which both parties concede their faults. A similar ambivalence is visible in the four figures surrounding the open doors: two of them seem to be attacking the doors themselves and blindfolded *Furor* and *Discord* are both caught in the middle of an action. *Furor* is the embodiment of a blind madness, expressed as a "blindness of the mind, totally deprived of intellectual light" by Cesare Ripa.[17] John Rupert Martin interprets these figures as pulling the doors open, but their bodies are not necessarily in a forward motion.[18] Judging from the way they are depicted by Rubens, they could be either stepping out of the temple or creeping back into it, especially if compared with other depictions of the Temple of Janus by Rubens.

In 1635 Rubens designed the Temple of Janus as a two-storeyed stage of 19 metres height and 15 metres width for the triumphal entry of the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand of Spain into Antwerp on 17 April 1635 (Fig. 58).[19] The stage was placed on the Melkmarkt in the shadow of Antwerp Cathedral, and was an open acknowledgment of the plight of Antwerp, for, in contrast to the Temple of Janus raised for the Entry of Prince Philip into Antwerp in 1549, the doors of Rubens's Temple were wide open. A painting in the background of the stage depicted the opening of the temple's doors and divided the building into two opposing sides. To the left of the opening doors is the side of war with Ferocity in the midst of the allegorical figures; to the right is the side of peace with Tranquility in the centre. While the whole depiction of war and peace, in fact the whole of Rubens's design for the Entry of the Cardinal-Infante, merits a closer look, I want to focus on the opening doors, as these show the differences to Rubens's invention of fourteen years earlier.

In the painting of the opening, engraved by Theodoor van Thulden for the belated publication with a commentary by Rubens's friend Gevaerts, *Furor* does not politely hold the door open but is seen to hurl himself at the viewer, sword in one hand and the a flaming torch in the other (Fig. 58).[20] *Discord* and Tisiphone, a Fury, are opening the door for *Furor*, while *Peace* is trying to close it, helped by the Infanta Isabella and *Piety*. The appeal to Ferdinand was inscribed by Gevaerts in the epigraph placed above the picture and preserved in the subscript on van Thulden's engraving:

> Having won triumphs on both land and sea, O Prince, would that you might close the inmost shrine of warlike Janus! And may savage Mars, who has now oppressed the Belgians for almost seven decades, and the fierce Harpies, and Grief and Furor, depart hence to the distant recesses of Thrace and Scythia: and may Peace, so long desired, return to the people and the land![21]

17 "Furore", in: Ripa, Iconologia, Siena, 1613 , p. 256; trsl. by J. R. Martin 1972, p. 174.
18 Ibid., p. 174.
19 J. R. Martin 1972, p. 164. For the entry cf. Ibid., Knaap 2014, Manfré 2013, Berghaus 2005, Mulryne 2004a.
20 The oil painting by Theodoor Rombouts is lost, cf. J. R. Martin 1972, pp. 169–175, nos. 44a–45.
21 "O vtinam, partis terraqve mariqve trivmphis, belligeri clvdas, Princeps, penetralia lani! Marsqve fervs, septem iam pæne decennia Belgas qvi premit, harpyiæque trvces, lvctvsqve, fvrorqve, hinc procvl ac thraces abeant, scythicosqve recessvs paxqve optata div, popvlos atqve arva revisat!" Trsl. by Ibid., p. 175.

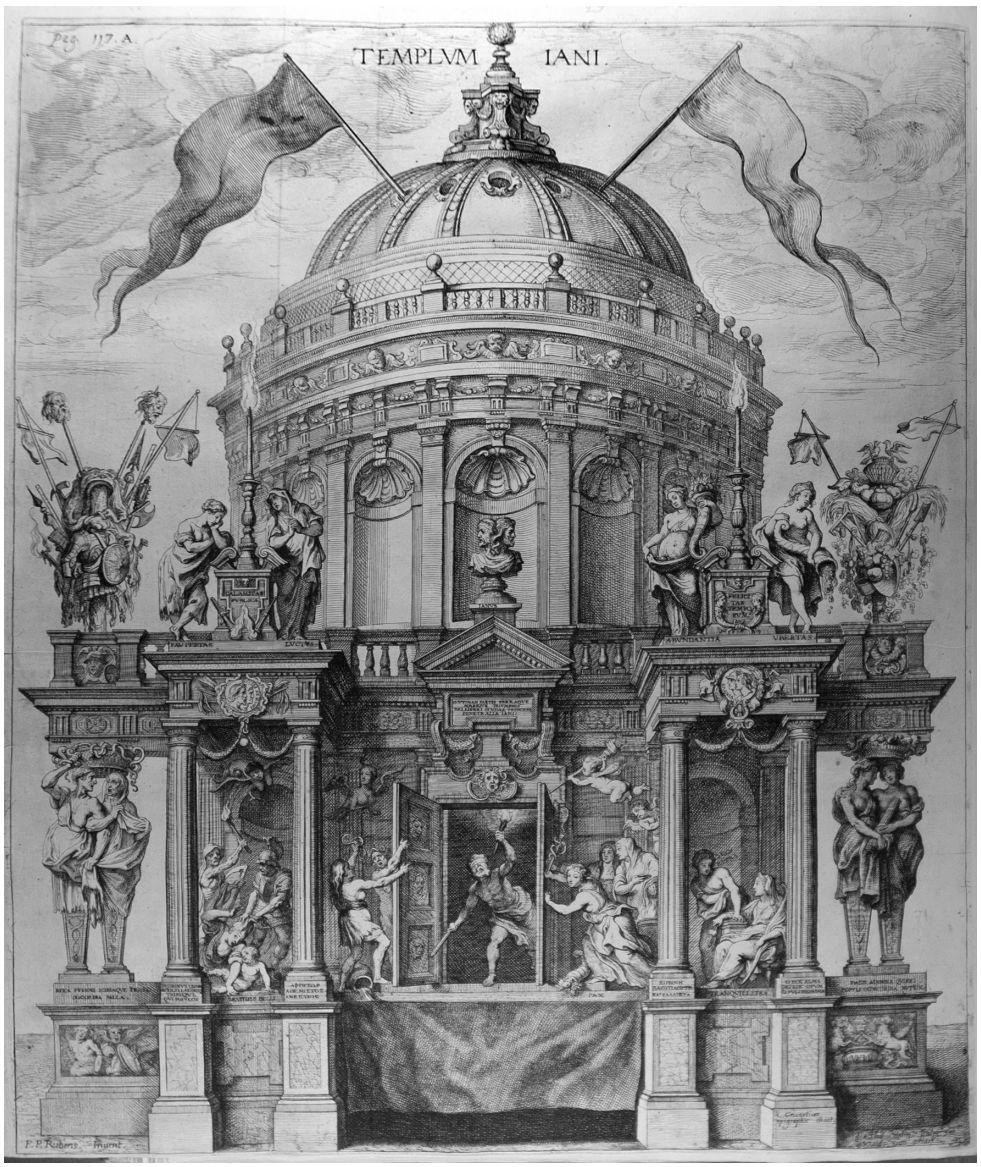


Figure 58 – "Temple of Janus", in: Gevaerts 1642; engraving, 511 × 453 mm by Theodor van Thulden after Rubens. Private Image.

This plea to Ferdinand was also forcefully expressed in the title page designed by Rubens for the large commemorative volume that was illustrated by Theodoor van Thulden after Rubens's designs, and was accompanied by a learned commentary by Gevartius.[22]

The same impetus from the open doors of the Temple of Janus towards war has been depicted by Rubens in a very dramatic way in his painting *The Consequences of War* painted between 1637 and 1638 (Fig. 59).[23] In this painting it is, however, not blind *Furor* emerging from the Temple, but Mars. Rubens himself, in an often-quoted letter to Justus Susterman, a Flemish painter at the Florentine court, described the painting that was on its way to Florence for his customer:

> The principal figure is Mars, who has left the temple of Janus open (this in time of peace, according to Roman custom, remained locked) and advances with shield and bloody sword, threatening people at large with great ruin [see the opening verses of Lucretius]. He pays little heed to Venus, his Lady, who strives with caresses and embraces to hold him back, accompanied by her Amors and Cupids. From the other side, Mars is dragged forward by the Fury Alecto [see Virgil, book IX of the Aeneid], with a torch in her hand and two monsters next to her symbolising Pestilence and Famine, inseparable companions of War [Pestilence's mouth is on fire and Famine's is wide open]. On the ground, turned away, lies a Woman with a right-angled lute, which denotes Harmony which is incompatible with the discord of War. There too is a mother with a babe in arms, illustrating how Fecundity, procreation, and Charity are thwarted by War, which corrupts and destroys everything. In addition, there is an Architect thrown on his back with his instruments in his hand, to show how that which in time of Peace is constructed for the use and ornamentation of cities, is brought to ruin and hurled to the ground by the violence of armaments. I believe, if I remember rightly, that you will also find on the ground under the feet of Mars a book as well as a drawing on paper, to imply that he treads underfoot literature and other fine things in life (altre galanterie). There should in addition be a bundle of darts or arrows, with the band which held them together undone; this was, when bound together, the Emblem of Concord; and likewise the Caduceus and olive, symbol of Peace which I have put lying alongside. That sorrowing woman (matrone), clothed in black and with torn veil, and despoiled of her jewels and all sort of ornaments, is the unfortunate Europe who, for so many years now, has suffered plunder, outrage, and misery, which are so

22 Gevaerts 1642; Cf. Knaap 2014, therein: Z. Arnold 2014, Berghaus 2005, J. R. Martin 1972, Arents 1949, and especially Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, pp. 327–334, no. 81.

23 Cf. Büttner 2018. Also called *The Horrors of War*, Galleria Palatina Florence, Inv. no. Pal. 86; first engraving by Ferdinando Gregori (1771) in: Heinen et al. 2004, cat. no. 17, pp. 157–161. Cf. also Chemlinová 2014.

Figure 59 – Rubens, *Consequences of War*; oil on canvas, 2060 × 3420 mm. Galleria Palatina Florence, Inv. no. Pal. 86.

> injurious to everyone that I need not specify them. Her mark is that globe, held by a little Angel or Genius, with the cross on top, which denotes the Christian World.[24]

Thus Rubens explains the destruction of the arts by war, be they architecture, music, learning, or indeed painting. The two figures on the title page to Haraeus's work attacking the doors of the Temple of Janus could thus be an example of the furious destruction of buildings. But the figures commonly interpreted as opening the doors to the temple do not show a movement out of the temple. *Furor's* and *Discord's* rather hesitant movements could also be interpreted with regard to the ambivalent situation in Antwerp at the beginning of the 1620s. Although the truce had ended on 9 April 1621, war did not immediately break out. All the parties endeavoured to work for lasting peace in the first year.[25] Thus the hesitancy of the figures on a title page dealing with the war in Brabant until the truce could be a visible sign of hope for all who contributed to this book, that peace might be an option soon, and *Furor* might yet be contained.

In the foreground the consequence is already visible: a seven-headed hydra with lion's paws and forked tongues is crawling there, destroying religion, Christianity, piety, soldiers, buildings, and the arts and crafts. Martin identifies the hydra as the monster of civil war laying waste to the

[24] Trsl. after McGrath, *War and Peace*, forthcoming. Baldinucci, Notizie dei professori, 1845–1847, IV, pp. 492–495.
[25] Büttner 2006b, p. 69.

land.[26] This interpretation is very probable, as the northern Provinces were still seen as a part of the Low Countries by the Habsburg loyalists. Only with the Peace of Westphalia was the Dutch Republic recognised as an independent country, which Rubens would not live to see. For Rubens, the war with the northern Provinces was thus a civil war in his country, and a war furthermore, that was brought to his doorstep.

That title pages dealing with this topic increase from then on coincides with Rubens's own diplomatic activity. He actively contributed to the negotiations with the northern Provinces on 30 September 1623, mostly due to family connections and connections of his humanist circle.[27] This was only the beginning and Rubens was to travel on diplomatic errands for the next ten years until the death of the Infanta Isabella. In his biography of Rubens, Büttner shows how important a certain reputation was for Rubens on these diplomatic missions, and how Rubens used his reputation as a gentleman and a painter for the benefit of himself and his family. It is thus entirely possible that the production of title pages with such a diplomatic or even patriotic content benefited not only Moretus, but also Rubens's reputation as a man "extremely versed in history and politics."[28]

The title page for the History of the Dukes and Princes of Brabant was only the beginning of title pages that thematised the war. To name but one other notable example, the *Obsidio Bredana* (1626) describes the siege and fall of the city of Breda.[29] As the only noteworthy success of the Spanish forces, the most was made of this victory: apart from the books (two English translations, a Spanish and a French translation; the Latin version was printed again in 1629), a large engraving by Jacques Callot and Velazquez' *Las Lanzas*, the event was the historical source for the literary endeavours of Calderón, Alonso Vázquez and Lope de Vega.[30] Another account of a siege was published in 1638 and introduced by a title page by Rubens: *La siège de la ville de Dole* is an account of the city of Dole, attacked by the French army in 1636 and regained by the Spanish forces three months later. A book that can be placed in the vicinity of these descriptions of sieges is de los Ríos y Alarcón's *De hierarchia Mariana*, published in 1641.[31] Both of these titles were discussed above in terms of the authors' or intermediaries' involvement in the design of the title pages.[32] It was precisely because of the publicity these works enjoyed and because of their political importance that the intermediaries were worried that the king might not be depicted in the proper way or with the proper decorum.

26 J. R. Martin 1972, p.174.
27 Büttner 2006b, pp. 69ff. and Heinen 2002.
28 See the Letter from Sweert to Gruterus in Ibid., p. 310, quoted in 2.5.
29 Hugo 1626.
30 Engelen 2008; D. Velázquez, *Las Lanzas o La rendición de Bredá*, Oil on canvas, 307 x 367 cm; Madrid, Prado, Inv. no. 1172.
31 Rios y Alarcón 1641.
32 Cf. Section 2.4.

Moretus and other publishers often commissioned Rubens for books that praised the Spanish Netherlands and its rulers, so that an increasing tendency to create designs for pro-Habsburgian literature can be perceived in Rubens's title pages in the later years of his life. This goes hand in hand with a panegyric aspect that moves into the centre of Rubens's title-page design: *La peinture de la Serenissime princess Isabelle Claire Eugenia infante d'Espagne* (1634) celebrates the life of Isabella Clara Eugenia in a poetic work by Tristan l'Hermite (1601–1655); in *El memorable y glorioso viaje del Infante Cardenal D. Fernando de Austria* (1635) Diego de Aedo y Gallart describes the journey of the new governor of the Spanish Netherlands to the Netherlands; *Diverses pieces pour la defense de la Royne mere du roy tres-chrestien Louys XIII* (1637) is a reprint of several political tracts against the French king in favour of the Queen-Mother Maria de'Medici; this culminates in the design and the subsequent and belated publication of the *Pompa introitus Ferdinandi*.[33] In the 1630s, Rubens's tendency to design panegyric title pages is also reflected in the neo-Latin books described above, among which the panegyric to Pope Urban VIII is central. The culmination of Rubens's efforts in service to his hometown and country was the triumphal entry he designed for the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand, for which neither Rubens nor Antwerp spared any expense. Apart from this political side of the fight for Catholic unity, there were also book productions that were more religious in their tenor, but had the same agenda.

6.2 Ecclesiastical History: the Triumphant Church

For the modern eye most books published in these centuries could be considered religious as they often had a religious or moral justification even when the authors understood their work as historical, as for instance in terms of ecclesiastical history or the histories of the saints and hermits.[34] It is, however, possible to distinguish between books that were primarily religious and those that only had a religious undertone. In the books with religious content, finer distinctions can be made: the book class of religious books contained the Bible and liturgical books, such as breviaries and missals; it also contained pious literature meant for everyday use and aimed at bolstering belief; and it included the writings of the venerated church fathers or commentaries on parts of the Bible, thus more theological books. A finer distinction into subcategories of the book classes is necessary, as a liturgical book has a different use and readership than a pious one, thus often these books also have different formats and the title pages a different design, especially if Rubens designed them. The same can be observed for historical books: the subcategories for this book class are ecclesiastical history, profane history, and books about antiquity. In both book classes, title pages of certain

33 Tristan 1634; Aedo y Gallart 1635; Morgues 1637; Gevaerts 1642.
34 For this problem considering religious publications, cf. Colllinson et al. 2002.

subcategories, liturgical, ecclesiastical and profane history books, emphasise the Catholic faith in connection with the war against the reformists on their title pages.

Books with Counter-Reformatory content appear more often from 1619 onwards. The first religious books to which Rubens contributed a title page in the 1610s were mostly liturgical and scholarly works: the Bible, liturgical works, exegetic commentaries, and the history of the cross.[35] This coincides with a general increase in the production of liturgical works in the Officina Plantiniana: from the 1590s when these works amounted to a quarter of the overall production to the 1640s, when they constituted three quarters of the production.[36] Particularly from 1609 onwards, the production of the Officina Plantiniana increased as the Spanish market was suddenly reopened for Moretus: the Spanish publishers could not supply the demand for high quality products.[37] In the 1620s and '30s Rubens increasingly provided title pages for theological and pious works,[38] and works of a Counter-Reformatory nature.[39] A generally an increased output of pious and Counter-Reformatory literature could explain Rubens's increased contribution to this kind of literature. On the other hand, he also contributed several title pages of a panegyric and patriotic nature from the 1620s onwards,[40] which could also be attributed to a sense of patriotism and religious belief on Rubens's part. While these last books were connected to the Counter-Reformation because of the strong emphasis of the Southern Low Countries on Catholicism, the religious books and the ecclesiastical histories can be attributed to a more global goal of Catholic reform.

This term has been strongly criticised in the past decades for its strong connection with the art-historical period "Baroque" and its deprecative association of decay and decadence.[41] The term Counter-Reformation is neither used in the sense of historical periodisation here, nor in the sense of a Catholic Reform out of which many new orders were founded, and in the wake fo which the Council of Trent was held in the sixteenth century. Even when used in an art-historical context, the term is misleading when used as a means of periodisation; after all, the movement against the reformation was only one concern of the Catholic Church, and plays almost no role in relation to the theology of images.[42] Even though Counter-Reformation might be not precise enough when used

35 *Biblia Sacra* 1617; Bosio 1617; *Breviarium Romanum* 1614; Steen 1616.

36 This also meant that the print run was increased to over 2,000 for these liturgical works; one third of all these runs were of over 2,000 per edition. Materné 1991, p. 482.

37 Ibid., p. 489.

38 Rosweyde 1617, Jesu 1620, Haeften 1635, Rios y Alarcón 1641.

39 Cf. sec. 6.2.1.

40 E.g. *Gelresche Rechten des Rvremvndtschen Qvartiers* 1620, Hugo 1626, Tristan 1634, Aedo y Gallart 1635, Boyvin 1638, Gevaerts 1642.

41 For a historical, critical discussion of "Counter-Reformation" and "Catholic Reform" cf. Hecht 2016, Ditchfield 2015, O'Malley 2000, p. 35; Hsia 1998, passim; Jedin et al. 1967, pp. 449–450.

42 Hecht 2016, p. 11.

Figure 60 – Title page for Hazart 1681, unknown engraver.

for a period or even for a larger movement of the Catholic Church,[43] for the Southern Netherlands, and especially for the book production in this region, it is found to be a fitting term. The Eighty Years' War took place on Antwerp's doorstep and it is safe to say that it occupied the minds and influenced the lives of the city's inhabitants. The war was not only religiously motivated, but also had economical and political reasons, such as the political and financial independence of the northern Provinces from Habsburg Spain. And it was not only waged with weapons, but was also a war of books: via their writings the reformers had heated discussions with those scholars and priests concerned with countering the allegations, and tried to defend their faith and the foundations of their territories. While Rubens provided title pages for books with that emphasis, it is visible, however, that he, or at least his son Albert, did not favour these books: most of them are not in the inven-

[43] For Hecht "Counter-Reformation" is particularly useful concerning images as Catholic theologians explicitly argued against the "reformatory" use of images. He sees Counter-Reformatory tendency of the Catholic Church as one among many, if a very central one. "Weil das ausdrücklich 'gegen die Reformation' gerichtete Handeln der katholischen Seite für die kirchliche Theorie und Praxis beständig wahrzunehmen ist, konnten die Versuche, andere Begrifflichkeiten einzuführen, nie völlig überzeugen". "Counter-Reformation" is used for a second phase of a much larger Catholic Reform from the 12th century onwards. Ibid., p. 11.

Figure 61 – Portrait frame from Hazart 1681, unknown engraver.

tory drawn up on Albert's death.[44] Nevertheless, some of these title pages were often copied and reused for other polemic Counter-Reformatory works, and were thus very successful inventions.

Rubens's success in title page design can be assessed by the frequency in which his designs return to other works, were reused and reinterpreted. This is also why this chapter begins not with a Rubens title page, but with the reception of his designs in the decades after his death. The European Wars of Religion had been officially ended by the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, but that did not mean that the conflict had been solved. The Jesuits put as much zeal, if not more, into their writing as before, and published many Counter-Reformatory books in the latter half of the seventeenth century, for many of which Rubens's title pages were reused and copied. A particularly interesting reuse of Rubens's designs can be found in the *Triomph der Pausen*. Four of his title pages were taken up as frames for the portraits of popes in a book of the popes' short biographies of all the popes written by Cornelius Hazart (1617–1690) (Figs. 60–62).[45] Hazart's work, as most of his other books, was a polemic work against the heretics who had defamed the papacy and were

44 See Table 1 in which the white indicates the books that were not listed in the catalogue.
45 Hazart 1678.

Figure 62 – Portrait frame from Hazart 1681, unknown engraver.

for him enemies of the true faith.[46] His writings were part of a new movement of authors writing Catholic Church history. For Hazart, as for any other author writing on Catholic Church history, the aim of historiography was showing the Catholic Church as the true church and the only possible belief. The designs that were copied from Rubens for framing the popes' portraits mainly depicted the triumph of the Holy Catholic Church—thus, his designs were well suited to Hazart's polemic work *Triomph der Pausen*.[47]

While it would lead too far to investigate each and every one of the original title pages and the books for which they were designed in *Triomph der Pausen*, it is worthwhile to investigate the central idea in most of these: the triumph of the Church and the depiction of the two captives over whom she triumphs. This motif, in all its variants, enables us to see how the title page design worked and how widespread the ideas became through the dissemination of these images into the world. For an understanding of the motif, is necessary to delve deeper into history and look at the beginnings of ecclesiastical history in the Catholic Church which began with Caesar Baronius's *Annales ecclesiastici*. The title page for this work had become a brand for Catholic ecclesiastical history by

46 Tollebeek et al. 1992, p. 315. More than 90 polemic works were written by Hazart, cf. Backer et al. 1890.
47 Cf. Poorter 1978, esp. *The Triumph of the Church*, no. 11.

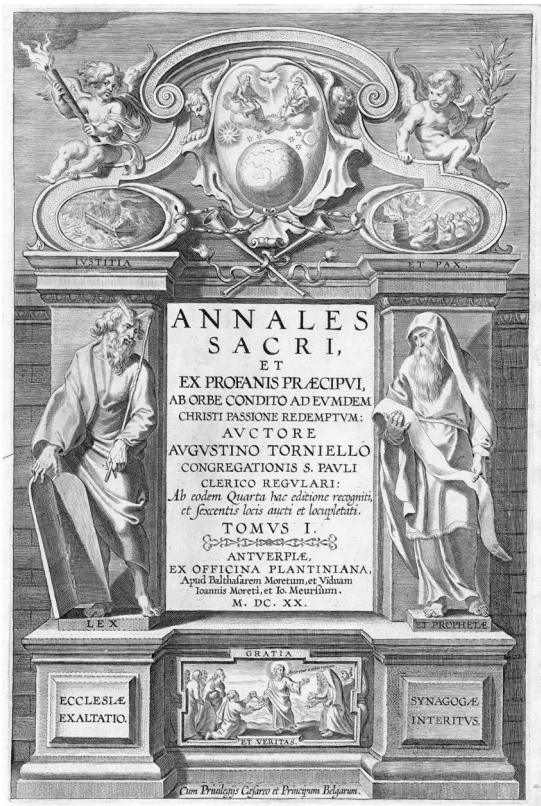


Figure 63 – Title page for Tornielli 1620; engraving, 329 × 216 mm. Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-6887. © Rijksmuseum.

the middle of the seventeenth century, and Rubens's later title pages take up its central theme of the triumphant Church. Among these are the title page for the *Annales sacri* (Fig. 63) and for two vernacular compendia of Baronius's *Annales* published in quick succession in Antwerp.[48]

6.2.1 The *Annales ecclesiastici* by Caesar Baronius

The beginnings of Catholic ecclesiastical history lie with the famous Caesar Baronius, an Oratorian cardinal, and his *Annales ecclesiastici*. This bulwark of the Catholic faith with its defence of the papacy was in parts the answer to a large project published in Basle that shook the Catholic world when its first volume was published in 1558. It was the first volume of *Historia Ecclesia Christi*, later called the *Magdeburg Centuries* after the location where it was compiled and the way history was presented: in centuries.[49] This project was initiated by Matthias Flacius (1520–1575), a Lutheran theologian. He had developed a concept in which the history of the Church from Christ to the present day would be shown in 16 volumes, with one century per volume. In the end, only thirteen volumes were published from 1558 to 1574. The project was to be based entirely on medieval

48 Tornielli 1620, Mudzaert 1622, Baronio and Sponde 1623.
49 Flacius 1558; Mentzel-Reuters et al. 2008, Pullapilly 1975, p. 15.

sources, a novelty in early modern historiography.[50] Flacius and his contacts collected and copied manuscripts from all over Europe, sending their copies to the group of scholars in Magdeburg.[51] The publication of this feat of scholarship was disastrous for the Catholics: for the first time a history of the Church was meticulously researched on the basis of sources, but directed against the authority of the Church and against the Pope.

In the same year that the first volume of this history was published, a fervent young Catholic on his way to become a secular priest, was asked by his mentor Philip Neri to provide his Oratory with a series of lectures on the history of the Church from the beginning to contemporary times.[52] The young Catholic was Caesar Baronius (Cesare Baronio, 1538–1607), born in Sora into an impoverished noble family. Baronius finished his doctorate before finally committing to religious life in the newly founded order of Oratorians, a congregation of secular priests that was officially recognised in 1575 under its leader Philip Neri (1515–1595). Baronius obliged his mentor and began to study and compile the history of the Church on the basis of historical records in order to refute the Magdeburg *Centuries*. In the following decades he gave seven lecture series on Church history, refining his scholarship and his arguments before finally writing them down. In 1577 he had almost finished the first volume, twenty years after the first of the *Magdeburg Chronicles* had appeared, when he requested for the first time to be allowed to read this Protestant work.[53]

Both publications of Church history were considered bulwarks in the debate between Protestants and Catholics and were incredible feats of scholarship. The *Magdeburg Centuries* contended that the Church had deviated from its course somewhere between the third and seventh centuries with the establishment of the papacy as the supreme authority in the Church. The Reformers tried to prove this claim with the use of many old manuscripts and books, to show that their wish to restore the Church to its pre-papal purity and its original state was valid and right. For Baronius the true history of the Church was and remained uncorrupted and was not to be separated from the papacy. He also unearthed a large number of documents with the help of many of his learned contacts to substantiate the authority of the church fathers; as the reformers' case had been mainly a historical argument, the Catholics had to refute it in same manner.[54] Although both works are polemic in nature, the interest shown in the original sources is a milestone in early modern historiography and both parties saved many long-forgotten and hitherto unknown documents.

Due to the many changes of publishers, the publishing history of the *Annales* is tangled. Baronius had finished his work on the first volume in spring 1579, but it took another eight years until its

50 Hartmann 2008, p. 5.
51 Ibid., p. 14.
52 For Baronius and the beginnings of ecclesiastical history, see Machielsen 2017, Finocchiaro 2005, Rietbergen 1983, Jedin 1978, Pullapilly 1975.
53 Ibid., p. 15.
54 ibid., p. 145.

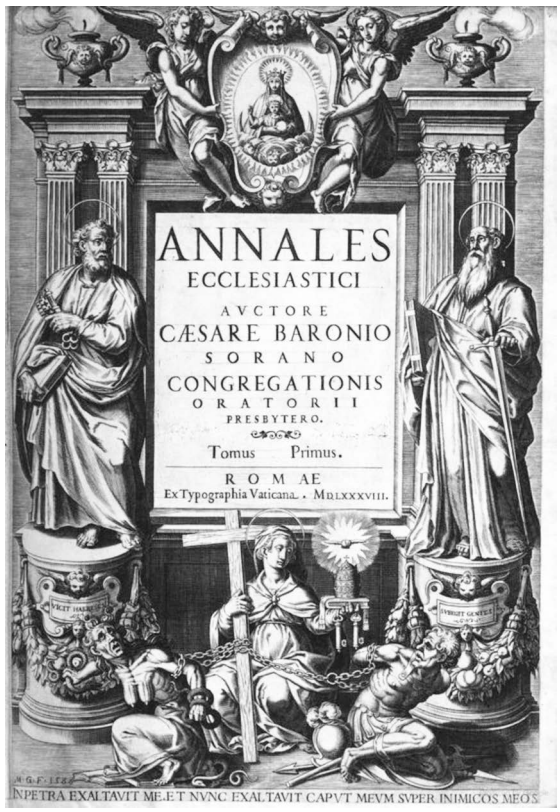


Figure 64 – Title page for Baronio 1588.

publication. The reason for the slow publication of this and the other volumes was the many tasks in which Baronius was involved, among them the revision of the *Martyrologium Romanum* under Gregory XIII. This task, however, put him into contact with the Officina Plantiniana and Christopher Plantin who was eager not only to print an edition of the *Martyrologium Romanum* but also the *Annales*. The publication of the martyrology had already been a traumatising experience for Baronius, as only its third edition was deemed acceptable for publication, and the printing of the first edition of the *Annales* was equally difficult for him. At the request of Sixtus V, the *Annales* were printed at the newly established Vatican Press.[55] However, the newly founded Typographia Vaticana had enormous problems, and the first printing was full of errors, even though much of the text had been reset.[56] Nevertheless, the first two volumes were published there.

55 Papal Bull of 27 April 1587 reorganised curial bureaucracy. The fourteenth congregation was charged with the institution and administration of the Typographia Vaticana that was to print "libri sacri, sanctorumque Patrum traditiones, vitae, gesta, miracula ac purae doctrinae christianae dogmata et alia sacra opera, non modo latine et italice, verum etiam [...] diversarum barbararum linguarum idiomate." Bullarium Romanum, vol. VIII (Turin 1863), pp. 841–847, in: Rietbergen 1983, p.90.

56 Ibid., p. 93.

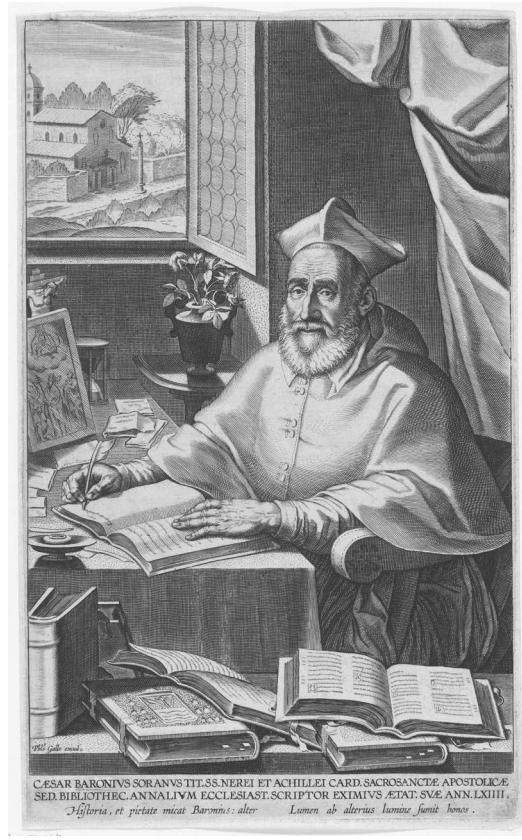


Figure 65 – Philip Galle after Villamena, *Cardinal Cesare Baronio*, 1610; engraving, 315 × 193 mm. Rijksmuseum, RP-P-1909-4463. © Rijksmuseum.

This first edition had an engraved title page by an artist or engraver with the monogram M. G. F., which would be copied in all of Europe for the next century (Fig. 64). On the title page the title is presented on a central plate that is immersed in a classical architectural frame. Peter and Paul, the pillars of the Church, are standing on the pedestals, above them are two oil lamps burning. In the centre, above the title, two angels carry a medallion with a Madonna and child. Below the title a group of three figures is a depiction of the triumphant church: the central figure is a depiction of the holy Church with a cross in her right hand, and the Bible, keys, the papal tiara, and the dove of the holy ghost in the left. Two figures are chained to the cross: an old hag lying on open books and accompanied by snakes, and a Roman soldier kneeling on weapons and armour.

Baronius must have had a say in the design of this title page, as it depicted the Vallicellan Madonna at the top. The Madonna della Vallicella was a miraculous medieval icon from the church of S. Maria in Vallicella, also known as the Chiesa Nuova. It was very important to the Oratorians as it was their only Marian relic.[57] Devotion to the Virgin Mary was one of the collective values shared by the members of the Congregations of the Oratory and in March 1599 the high altar was dedi-

[57] Mühlen 1996, p. 258.

cated to the Nativity of the Virgin and Saint Gregory the Great.[58] In 1606 the medieval fresco was removed from a side chapel in the church and taken to the high altar where it would eventually be placed within a painting that was commissioned from Rubens.[59]

This image was also depicted in the portrait of Cardinal Caesar Baronius, created in 1602 by Francesco Villamena.[60] This portrait was soon the authoritative portrait, reproduced in many volumes of the *Annales*, but also in other later books.[61] Philipp Galle reproduced the author's portrait in the reverse (Fig. 65).[62] Cardinal Baronius is seated at his desk, the several open books referring to his work, while in the background his titular church, SS. Nero ed Achillo, can be seen through an open window.[63] The portrait shows Baronius's dedication to his order and his church by the image of the venerated Madonna della Vallicella leaning against the crucifix. Thus even before the decision was made that the miraculous icon would be incorporated into Rubens's painting on the high altar, it was broadcast across the world and brought into close contact with Baronius's endeavours. This increased when Baronius decided to print the next volumes on his own.

Throughout its history, the personification of the Church had been depicted in several ways: most common were the use of the apocalyptic woman, Virgin Mary as the elected Woman of the Apocalypse, as a woman on a four-headed beast, or simply as a woman holding a chalice.[64] Often Church, representing the new law and the new testament, is usually depicted triumphing over the personification of the old law, Synagogue, as, for instance, in the title page for a Bible that Rubens designed in 1617.[65] On this title page Rubens depicted these two personifications in the form of caryatids, with Synagogue on the left-hand side and Church on the right (Fig. 2 on page 31). The depiction of Church with a chalice was similar to that of Faith and often they appear as one and the same. This is the central idea of the Counter-Reformation authors, who insisted on the existence of one faith only. Church, as she was represented on the first title page for Baronius's *Annales ecclesiastici* (Fig. 15 on page 79), was shown as "Roma Santa": cross in one hand, and in the other holding the book from which two keys dangle and upon which the tiara rests . The dove, the continued guidance of the Holy Spirit, usually hovers over the tiara.[66] Chained to the cross are the Church's captives: Heresy is an old hag is sitting on her books, holding snakes and smoke curling out of her mouth as she sows discord with her words in both speech and writing. The heathen, however,

58 Verstegen 2015, p. 9 and p. 53; Mühlen 1996, p. 254.
59 Noyes 2016; Buttler 2011; Mühlen 1996; Herzner 1979; Müller-Hofstede 1964.
60 Hecht 2016, p. 43.
61 Ibid., p. 43, fn. 255. For Christian Hecht, the author's portrait is a response to Dürer's Erasmus portrait while showing the cardinal explicitly as a servant of the Church; ibid., pp. 43–44.
62 Philip Galle, engraving; in the Collection of the Rijksmuseum, object no. RP-P-1909-4463.
63 A small picture leans against the crucifix on his table, in which Justus Müller Hofstede sees Rubens's design for the main altar for the Chiesa Nuova. Müller-Hofstede 1964, pp. 445–446.
64 Knipping 1974, pp. 348ff. See also "Maria, Marienbild", in: Kirschbaum et al. 1971, cols. 154–210.
65 *Biblia Sacra* 1617.
66 Knipping attributes this ensemble to Galle, but it is older. Knipping 1974, pp. 350–351.

only sows discord with his weapons. In the *Annales ecclesiastici* the heathen is depicted as a Roman soldier, but on the following copies of the title page, he is slowly transformed into an unspecified heathen.

6.2.2 The Printing History of the *Annales*

The problems with the Vatican Press increased when it ceased to function properly due to the the rapid succession of various popes from 1590 until 1592 and the bureaucratic difficulties this entailed.[67] Thus in 1590, Baronius turned to Jacopo Torniero, a Roman printer, for the printing of the third volume.[68] This was published in 1592 but Torniero "failed in the same year [the venture] turned out its first volume of the Annals",[69] and Baronius had to look for another publisher yet again. In the meantime, Plantin had started printing his edition, a quarto edition had been published in Rome, Marcus Fugger from Kirchheim had finished his German translation (published in 1594), and a Polish edition was issued.[70] Baronius decided to get into the printing business himself, willing to back the printing of his work himself financially, and founded the Vallicellian press.[71] During the time when his work was printed at his press the title page changed significantly (Fig. 66). Instead of using the title page that had been used by both the Vatican Press and Torniero, Baronius had an oversized printer's mark or emblem cut, depicting the miraculous image of the Madonna della Vallicella. Decorated by an elaborate frame with the superscript "Signum Magnum", the focus is fully on the icon. While the earlier title page had also incorporated the Church both through the depiction of Peter and Paul and its personification, the Church was left out of this title page.

The reason for the change from a fully illustrated title page to a title page with a vignette only, was most probably Baronius's personal involvement in the Vallicellian Press. Essentially, it was an in-house Oratorian press, located next to the headquarters of the Oratorians, the monastery attached to the church of St Mary of Vallicelliana. With Luigi Zannetti, Baronius had found a printer who was willing to participate in this joint venture: the contract between Zannetti and Baronius stipulated that while Zannetti would provide the presses and undertake the necessary steps to acquire the material needed, Baronius would finance the necessary equipment. This encompassed the type, the sheets of paper and the renting of the building—all in all a considerable investment, for which Baronius had to take up a loan.[72] As Baronius had learned from his previous collaborations with printers, the contract also stipulated that faulty printing had to be remedied by the printer at his own costs. Given that Baronius identified heavily with his order and had even con-

67 Calenzio 1907, pp. 287–288; Rietbergen 1983, p. 94.
68 Baronius to Talpa, December 1590, in: ibid., p. 94.
69 Calenzio 1907, p. 287. I take it to mean that he went bankrupt.
70 Rietbergen 1983, p. 94.
71 Ibid., pp. 95ff.
72 Calenzio 1907, pp. 343–344.

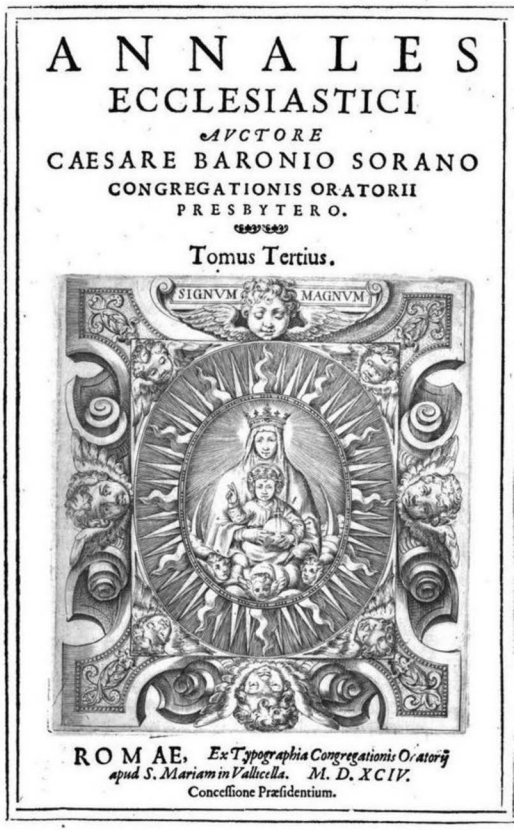

ANNALES
ECCLESIASTICI
AVCTORE
CAESARE BARONIO SORANO
CONGREGATIONIS ORATORII
PRESBYTERO.
Tomus Tertius.
SIGNVM MAGNVM
ROMAE, Ex Typographia Congregationis Oratorij apud S. Mariam in Vallicella. M. D. XCIV.
Concessione Præsidentium.

Figure 66 – Title page for Baronio 1594.

sidered publishing the *Annales* not under his own name, but that of his order, the step to advertise his order via the vignette seems in line with what is known about his personality. When Baronius wanted the honour and credit of his work to go to the Oratorians, the brethren of the Oratorian community decided after some deliberation that the books should be published under Caesar Baronius's own name.[73] With the icon of the Madonna della Vallicella presented on the title page, Baronius made sure that some of his honour was again transferred to his order.

Nevertheless, the move to use a different title page is baffling. All the other volumes had so far had the same title page that had been used in the first volume: it was copied by Plantin in Antwerp, as well as by publishers in Cologne and Venice. Additionally, the title page was also used for all further volumes (volumes XIII–XXI) printed in Cologne from 1616 onwards and in Rome from 1646 onwards, as well as the Latin compendium by Spondanus. So even though the title page was already used in two editions by 1593, Baronius decided to have his own printer's mark for his own Vallicellian press. Apparently the emphasis on his own press was more important than a coherent title page throughout the series. For the publication of volume VII he returned to the Vatican Press

[73] Pullapilly 1975, p. 36.

because he had been elevated to the cardinalate and subsequently to a membership of the Sacred College in the meantime. This also included a seat on the committee overseeing the press, which made it impossible for him to continue printing his seminal work in his own press.[74]

In 1588, during the printing of the *Martyrologium Romanum* Plantin inquired about the *Annales*; as Baronius had mentioned this work repeatedly in the new Martyrology, Plantin was informed about this forthcoming work. Plantin offered to print the work, and in the summer of 1589 the first volume of the *Martyrologium Romanum* was published in Antwerp.[75] Plantin found a way to finance the project and thus published an Antwerpian edition of the *Annales* (Fig. 15 on page 79). In general, the Officina Plantiniana managed to bring out their revised second editions of the following volumes within a one-to-two-year period after the Roman edition. The further history is very complicated as Baronius began to revise and correct editions before all twelve volumes of the first edition were printed. Bowen and Imhof have taken the opportunity presented by the prolonged and confused printing history of the *Annales* in the Officina Plantiniana and have analysed the wear, the reworking and the reprinting of the title pages of these volumes.[76] The edition of the first volume of the *Annales* published by Plantin was an immediate success, which resulted in a second edition, "which, though the price had been raised by thirty-three per cent, still sold out within a remarkably short time."[77] Only a few editions were printed in Baronius's lifetime, but many more were printed for many centuries to come. The 12 volumes of the *Annales* inspired many authors to write either sequels or concise compendia.

6.2.3 Enter Rubens: Two Vernacular Compendia for Baronius's *Annales*

The title page of the *Annales* is crucial to the title pages designed by Rubens from 1620 onwards, as he increasingly collaborated with authors writing against the reformation and for a Catholic and regional Catholic history. In 1620, Rubens bought the *Annales ecclesiastici* for himself,[78] but he had known the books and the author before then. Held surmised that Rubens must have known Baronius through his brother, who had been to see Baronius in Italy in 1606.[79]

Balthasar Moretus sent Philip Rubens some parcels to be distributed in Rome, among those one for Baronius with whom he also had to talk regarding Baronius's prohibited publication of "De monarchia siciliae".[80] This was a long treatise at the end of the eleventh volume in which Baro-

74 Calenzio 1907, pp. 467ff.; Rietbergen 1983, p. 96.
75 *Martyrologium Romanum, ad novam Kalendarii rationem et ecclesiasticae historiae veritatem restitutum…*, Antwerp 1589. Bäumer 2004, pp. 476–478.
76 Bowen and Imhof 2005.
77 Rietbergen 1983, p. 94; Verweis auf Pullapilly, p. 54.
78 McGrath 1997, p. 65. Rooses, Moretus, 183, p. 193.
79 Held 1980, p. 70.
80 Ruelens and Rooses 1972a, pp.286ff.

nius attempted to prove that the claim of the Spanish crown to the Kingdom of the two Sicilies was based on falsified documents, and that they in truth belonged to the Holy See. The Spanish king was not pleased, and forbade the publication of this offending text. Rumour has it, that it was this text that cost Baronius the papacy.[81] Baronius, however, stubbornly refused to have an eleventh volume of the *Annales* published without this treatise.[82] Moretus even considered sending the printed material to a printer outside the Spanish territories in order to circumvent the prohibition. He had already printed the book and, because of the reinforced prohibition, was still not able to publish it.[83] In the fourth letter Philip also conveys greetings from his brother Peter Paul, with whom he was in contact during this whole Baronius episode. This strengthens Held's assumption that the painter knew of the author, before he was commissioned to paint the altar for the Oratorian church, even though he probably never met him.[84] In December 1606 Rubens reports to Annibale Chieppio that he would not be able to return to Mantua where he was still employed as the court painter, because he had the commission to paint the main altar for the Chiesa Nuova.[85]

The *Annales* were also recommended to artists by Roger de Piles (1635–1709), in his prose translation of Charles-Alphonse Dufresnoy's didactic poem *De arte graphica* (1667). In this poem he not only explained why artists should read, he also lists the books he found most necessary to the craft: he recommended Josephus,[86] a Roman History or even two,[87] Homer (translated into French from the beginning of the sixteenth century onwards[88]), and also Ovid, Philostratus, and Plutarch. The *Annales* by Baronius often mentioned images, making it a great source for both artists and theologians of images.[89] Thus it is possible that Rubens bought the books at this point in time when he was considering the tapestry series of Emperor Constantine, although the first mention of this series is not until 1622.[90] It is, however, also the time in which the truce between the Southern Netherlands and the northern Provinces slowly came to an end, and a project that had to do with this fact might have induced him to finally buy all the volumes of this important work.

At the beginning of the 1620s two vernacular compendia of Baronius's Church history were published in Antwerp: *De Kerckelycke Historie van de Gheboorte onses Heeren Iesu Christi tot het tegenwordich Iaer MDCXXII* in 1622 with Hieronymus Verdussen, and *Generale kerckelycke historie van de*

81 Pullapilly 1975, pp. 107–108; Voet 1969, p. 104.
82 Ruelens and Rooses 1972a, pp. 305ff.
83 Ibid., pp. 330ff. The same letter also carries the news of the death of Lipsius, Philip's teacher and friend.
84 Ibid., pp. 333ff.
85 Büttner 2015c, p. 48. For more information see Mühlen 1990, 1996 and Müller-Hofstede 1964.
86 Flavius Josephus, *Histoire des Juifs et l'Antiquité judaique* publ. in French 1569.
87 N. Coeffeteau, *Histoire romaine depuis Auguste jusqu'à Constantin*, 1621; De Piles also suggests Livy's *Les Decades* with comments by Vigénere, in French from 1583.
88 Pettegree et al. 2007.
89 Hecht 2016, p. 43.
90 McGrath 1997, p. 65. For the first letters between Peiresc and Rubens written in the summer of 1622 and pertaining to the tapestry series, cf. ch. 3 in Brosens 2011, pp. 83ff.

Figure 67 – Title page for Mudzaert 1622; engraving: 322 × 204 mm, by Jan Collaert III; Rijksmuseum, RP-P-BI-6100. © Rijksmuseum.

gheboorte onses H. Jesu Christi tot het jaer MDCXXIV. The *Annales ecclesiastici* by Baronius had been a long awaited book and the publishing took many years until the final volume of the first edition was brought out. Because of its bulk and its perceived usefulness in the fight against heretics, the idea to publish a compendium of the work arose early; the first was to appear in Italian in 1590.[91] Baronius did not grant Henri de Sponde, an ex-Calvinist and bishop of Palmiers, the right to publish a Latin compendium until 1606. This first came out in Paris in 1612; it was one of the better Latin compendiums and was thus published in many editions and translations. Its translation into Dutch by Heribert Rosweyde was published by Jan Cnobbaert in folio in 1623, one year after another compendium by Dionysius Mudzaert (1580–1635), published by Hieronymus Verdussen. Rubens designed the title pages for both works and this deserves closer examination. For one thing both works were drawing on Baronius's famous *Annales*; they were thus very similar in nature and can only be seen as competing books by two rival printers in the same city. Additionally, the decision to print both books with new title pages, and not the well-known title page usually used for works related to the *Annales*, needs to be analysed.

Dionysius Mudzaert, *De Kerckelycke Historie*

The first title page by Rubens for Dutch Church history was published by Verdussen in 1622 and was for Mudzaert's *De Kerckelycke Historie* (Fig. 67). Dionysius Mudzaert was a Norbertine priest who had studied at Louvain and Douai, and at the time of this publication was priest at Kalmthout.[92] A close reading of this title shows what is emphasised, what exactly was advertised to potential readers, and explains some choices by Rubens and Verdussen:

> DE KERCKELYCKE HISTORIE VAN DE GHEBOORTE ONSES HEEREN IESV CHRISTI TOT HET TEGENWOORDICH IAER M. DC. XXII. Inhoudende den Oorspronck, het Veruolgh ende den tegenwoordighen Standt der H. R. Kercke: de Successie der Pausen, den opganck ende val der Ketteren, d'Outheyt des geloofs in onse Nederlanden; midsgaders de Heylighen aldaer. Alles getrocken uyt de kerckelycke iaer-boecken CÆS. BARONII, ende andere treffelycke schryuers; Door F. DIONYSIVM MVDZAERT Religieus-Canonick van O. L. Vrouwe te Tongerloo, der Ordre van Premonstreyt.

The title is already divided into two parts, the first is the short title in capitals and very large type; the second, in smaller capitals, sets the time frame from the birth of Christ to the year of writing; it emphasises that the full Church history is covered in the publication. The second part is a summary and lists the main points of Catholic historiography: the beginning, continuation and the

[91] Baronius first ordered a Latin compendium and had to be reminded that as an abridged version for the common people a vernacular version might be more to the point. Pullapilly 1975, p. 55.

[92] Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, pp. 219.

current state of the Holy Roman Church, the papal succession, the rise and fall of the heretics, and the history of the faith in the Netherlands. This is reinforced by Mudzaert in the introduction to the work where he explains why the reader should read the history of the Church: to see and understand "how the promise of Christ to his Church, to remain with her until the end, is fulfilled in no other assembly than in our Catholic Church".[93] The third part of the title, set in italics, reveals the book's main source, the *Annales* of Baronius, while the fourth part introduces the author of this publication with his occupation and religious affiliation. That the source of this publication is explicitly mentioned is possibly the result of historiographical paradigmatic change that emphasised sources even in Church history and maybe suggested reliability. It is, however, also a way to show the dependence on a very influential and famous work that would have been known widely by that time. At the bottom is the name of the city with the printer and the address of his printing shop, as well as the date of printing.

Accordingly, with indebtedness to Baronius in mind, Rubens uses the central imagery from Baronius's *Annales*, but replaces the Madonna della Vallicella with the personification of the Church, at the bottom of the *Annales* title page. All in all, Rubens expresses visually what is expressed verbally on the title page. On a pedestal carrying the title, the Church sits as if on a throne, holding the cross in her right hand, but the dove of the holy ghost is placed above her head in a circle of light. As on the previous title page, she holds the papal tiara in her left hand, next to which a phoenix perches on a celestial globe. The phoenix is a bird famed for its ability to be reborn, suggesting that the Church will always survive. This same aspect of eternity is expressed by the angel carrying a snake coiled in a circle and eating its own tail, the *ouroboros*. The light of the faith pushes the dark clouds away that gather to the feet of the Church, and a putto carrying a torch while pointing to the source of the light, furthers the spread of this light. This putto looks down to a woman holding a book with the inscription "veritas vincit", expressing the conviction that truth will prevail. This is a depiction of History, who, while pointing at the words, has her foot firmly placed on three books of the Bible—the law, the prophets and of grace—while she looks at the cross.[94] On the other side of the pedestal is the personification of Papal Succession, carrying a string of medallions with portraits of the popes in her hand. The emphasis on the uninterrupted succession of popes is delivered by her matronly dress, the veil over both shoulders and the snake above her head.[95] At the bottom of the page are two captives as on the title page for Baronius, but Rubens has changed their appearance. In contrast to the hag and the Roman heathen depicted in the *Annales*, Rubens shows Ignorance, blindfolded and with ass's ears, while heresy focuses on the viewer and looks him, snarling, in the eye. The two are not bound to the cross, but to a lion's head, showing strength and invincibil-

93 Mudzaert 1622, f. a 4v; in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, p. 219.
94 For the depiction of History in early modern title pages, see Kintzinger 1995, passim; here esp. p. 27.
95 This is also expressed in Ripa's *Iconologia*, Rome 1603, p. 141; Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, p. 219.

ity. The hag's snakes have turned into her hair, alluding to Medusa, and to depictions of envy. The books that in the *Annales* were unidentified writings, have received a name on this later title page, and refer directly to the Magdeburg Centuries. Apparently time had made it necessary to give the books a name, while in Baronius's time the reference would have been explicit without this.

Heribert Rosweyde, *Generale Kerckelycke Historie*

In the following year, a similar book was published in Antwerp by a different publisher, the *Generale Kerckelycke Historie* by Cnobbaert also with a title page by Rubens.[96] The title again summarises the content and intent of the book, but is longer and has more variation in the fonts:

> Generale Kerckelycke Historie Van de Gheboorte onses H. IESV CHRISTI tot he Iaer M. DC. XXIV. Bewysende den vasten stand der H. ROOMSCHE KERCKE; de onghebroken successie der PAUSEN; de SYNODEN der VADEREN; victorie der MARTELAREN; opganck en onderganck der KETTERYE. Ghemaeckt door den Doorluchtichsten Cardinael CÆSAR BARONIVS ende den Eerw. Heer HENRICVS SPONDANVS. Ouersien, verrijckt, ende noch vermeerdert met eene besondere KERCKELYCKE HISTORIE VAN NEDERLANDT. Veruatende d'outheyt des GHELOOFS inde XVII. Provincien, stiften der BISCHDOMMEN, fondatien van CLOOSTERS, de SYNODEN,HEYLIGHEN ende KETTERS.
>
> Ghetrocken wt Authentycke Registers en Chronycken Alles door HERIBERTVS ROSWEYDUS Preister der Societeyt Iesv.

The contents of this book seem to coincide with the contents of that printed by Verdussen the year before. It accentuates Baronius's name by capitalising the larger type, and seems to put stress the strong stand of the Roman Catholic Church. Both books include an ecclesiastical history of the Netherlands, but the second book emphasises that this information was taken by the Jesuit Rosweyde from authentic registers and chronicles. The first book merely mentions Baronius and other excellent authors, without naming them, just as it only mentions Baronius's history without mentioning "authentic registers". The increased emphasis of points raised in the first book, but accentuated in the second title seems to indicate a certain competitiveness; this is then proved by Verdussen's reaction,[97] for he reacted quickly and enlarged his edition by two parts, including history from before the coming of Christ, as well as an even more detailed Church history of the Netherlands: these constituted parts 1 and 4 to the previous two volumes, parts 2 and 3 of the 1622 edition.

96 Baronio and Sponde 1623.
97 Van Rossem 2014a, 152–153.

Figure 68 – Title page for Baronio and Sponde 1623; engraving, 334 × 234 mm, by Lucas Vosterman after Rubens. Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-33.064. © Rijksmuseum.

The title page by Rubens again shows references to the *Annales* (Fig. 68). Although the contents of the two books are very similar, he designed a title page that highlights very different aspects from the first vernacular compendium discussed above. Rather than a stone pedestal into which the title was "engraved", the title is presented in this title page on a cloth carried by two angels blowing trumpets. By leaving the architectural elements out of the title page, Rubens gained more freedom to present the Church. It is unclear on what kind of throne the personification of the Church sits, but it seems as if it is set upon a globe with clouds billowing across the sky behind her. Instead of the cross and the papal tiara in her hand, she now carries a torch representing the light, and has the tiara on her head. The Church is thus set between the earth and the celestial spheres on which Saints Peter and Paul stand next to the title, the one pointing towards the Church below with his keys, the other leaning on his sword. Above the title and in a circle of light is not the dove as would be expected, but the Lamb of God carrying a cross with the banner of the red cross, the symbol of Christ. Below the lamb is an open book with seven seals, a reference to Revelations 5:1–10, where the Apocalyptic Lamb is mentioned placed in the context of light.[98] Below the clouds, and thus unable to see the light emanating from the Lamb, there are four heathens in various stages of belief. While the one on the left is able to see Church and starts to venerate it, the other behind him has covered his eyes. On the right side is a native American receiving the light from an oil lamp given to him by one of the angels, lighting their lamps from the torch carried by Church.

The distribution of light in this title page is a symbol for the apostolic mission and the spreading of the one belief. After all this was a title page for a Jesuit author, whose order was founded on the grounds of a missionary zeal and who were active missionaries all over the world. The aspect is also expressed by the two saints: Saint Paul is deliberately resting on his sword looking pointedly towards Peter, the great missionary of the early Church.

6.2.4 The Title Page for the *Sacrosancti et oecumenici Concilii Tridenti*

The small title page for the decrees of the council of Trent, *Sacrosancti et oecumenici Concilii Tridentini […] canones et decreta*, is the last title page by Rubens in which the topic of dominance over heretics and heathens is the key idea (Fig. 69).[99] The title page is dominated by a depiction of the Council of Trent, as it took place in SS. Maria Maggiore in Rome; depictions of this event circulated throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, always showing the elevated benches in the Roman church on which the Council was seated. The viewer is kept outside of this space by a rusticated arch, as are the enemies of the Church: the seven-headed beast, Discord depicted with bat's wings,

98 "The glory of God did lighten [the city], and the Lamb is the light thereof. And the nations of them which are saved shall walk in the light of it: and the kings of the earth do bring glory and honour to it". Revelations 21:23–24. Cf. Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, p. 235.

99 Chifflet 1640. Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, no. 77, pp. 315–318.

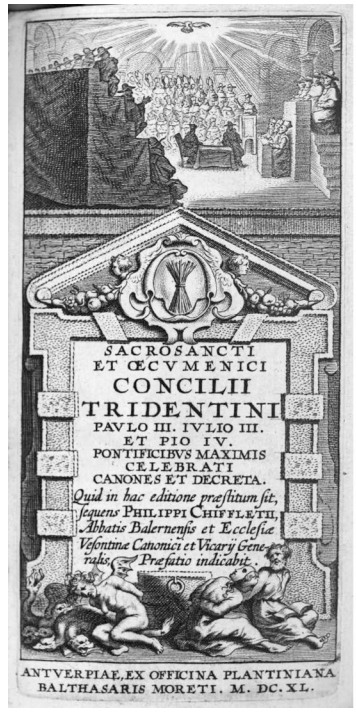


Figure 69 – Title page for Chifflet 1640; engraving, 120 × 57 mm, by Cornelis Galle II after Erasmus Quellinus II. Private Image.

Deceit, and Heresy as an old man with an open book on his lap.[100] On top of the rusticated arch a medallion of a bundle of arrows or sticks announces the unity or concord of the Council inside. The tiny figures on this small duodecimo title page are highly untypical of Rubens, and it is possible that by this time his long-time assistant Erasmus Quellinus had more freedom in the design. This title page was copied and reprinted for twelve editions in the next half century. In the following editions the basic design for the title page by Quellinus and Rubens was enlarged and enriched. The composition was rearranged in various other editions all over Europe, which shows vividly how international the printing business was.[101]

6.3 | Conclusion: The Triumphant Church in Rubens's Title Pages

Rubens's title pages depicting the triumph of the church were often reused for other Counter-Reformatory publications in later years. Especially the title pages and illustrations for works by the renowned preacher against the Calvinists in the Low Countries, Cornelius Hazart (1617–1690), often referred to Rubens's designs. His most popular work was without doubt his own version of ecclesiastical history, a version that had four title pages, one for each volume and all designed by

100 Ibid., pp. 317–318.

101 Cologne: Egmond 1644, 1656, 1679, 1688; Lyon: Cellier 1657; Paris: Pepingue 1661; Venice: Pezzana, 1688, 1705 and 1729; Antwerp: Verdussen 1644, 1694; Brussels: Fricx 1704.

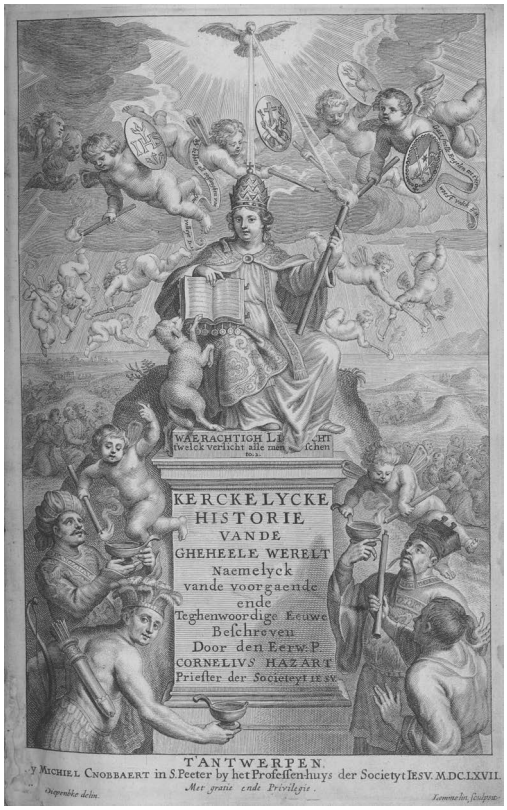


Figure 70 – Title page for Hazart 1667; engraving by Abraham van Diepenbeek.

Abraham Diebenbeek (Fig. 70).[102] These title pages took up much of what Rubens had previously delivered. The fourth volume of Hazart's Church history even combines two Rubens title pages (Fig. 71):[103] the title page for *Icones Imperatorum Romanorum* (Fig. 26 on page 130) was combined with the title page for the *Kerckelycke Historie* (Fig. 67).[104] Rubens's triumphal iconography used for a work on coins depicting Roman emperors was here used for a polemic Catholic. The depiction of the first Christian Roman emperor and the first Habsburg emperor together with the defeated enemies of the Church and with the Church's blessing is a fitting title page for a work that is an ecclesiastical history of the whole world, claiming the imperial motif for the Church itself. In Hazart's *Triomph der Pausen*, Rubens's designs were even used as the frames for the portraits of popes, which shows that his designs were understood in an explicitly Counter-Reformatory way.

The two title pages by Rubens for the compendia of Baronius's *Annales* discussed above highlight two very different aspects: the triumph of the Church over the heathens and reformists and the missionary success of the Church. It is possible that the two very similar works were intended

102 Hazart 1667, 1668, 1669, 1671.
103 Hazart 1671.
104 Goltzius 1645a, Mudzaert 1622.

Figure 71 – Title page for Hazart 1671; engraving by Abraham van Diepenbeek.

for different markets, or at least different readers, and that the title pages reflect this. Charles Parker emphasises that Catholic literature was regularly sold in the Northern Provinces and found a broad audience there. That Calvinist preachers found it necessary to denounce the trade with these books in their preaching shows that selling the Catholic literature into the north was indeed a substantial trade for Antwerp printers.[105] While the title page of Verdussen's publication celebrates the triumph of the church over heathens, highlighting the fight and the dominance, Cnobbaert's edition celebrates the Jesuit's mission by placing emphasis on benevolence and education. Cnobbaert's edition might thus have been used more in a missionary context in the Northern Provinces, while the Verdussen's might well have been for a Catholic market in which the readers would take the dominance of the Church as granted.[106]

Both Verdussen and Mudzart had high ambitions with this work, for which a title page by Rubens could already be seen as a sign.[107] And indeed, even though Baronius is mentioned in the titles of the works, and even though compendia of Baronius's work could and would use the estab-

105 Parker 2008, esp. p. 137.
106 I thank Rudy Jos Beerens for pointing this difference out.
107 Van Rossem 2014a, p. 152.

lished title page of the *Annales*, these books do not.[108] But Rubens refers to this old title page by using the group from the lower half of the Baronius title page with the depiction of the Church and two captives (Fig. 15 on page 79). He rearranges the group on the title page and places the Church on the top of a pedestal, with a cross and the papal tiara in her hands and the dove above her head in a circle of light. With this placement Rubens elevates the Church in a similar way to that he had done for *Optica* in Aguilonius's title page (Fig. 29 on page 149), and his depiction of Church in the Breviary (Fig. 72). While on the title page for Baronius's work the venerated icon of the Vallicellan Madonna was in the most elevated place, drawing attention to Baronius's order of the Oratorians, here Rubens places the Church at the centre. The central idea was the unity of the faith in the Holy Roman Catholic Church, the continuance of the succession of popes, and with it the continuity of the Church from Apostolic times until his own, and the downfall of the heretics which the Church had brought about.[109] This is mentioned explicitly in Mudzart's introduction but it was also central to Baronius's work. The novelty Rubens introduces is not the imagery as such, which has a long tradition, but the composition and arrangement of the title page.

The depiction of the Church in Rubens's title pages always depends on the central idea and aim of the book. The Church is not presented in the same way in any of the title pages. The aspect of the enemies of the Church, for instance, so present in the Church histories, is not present in his first books concerning the Church. One example is the Breviary, in which the focus is on the liturgical aspect of the Church. The Church is thus portrayed in full regalia and without her enemies (Fig. 72).[110] On the title page for the 1617 Bible (Fig. 2 on page 31), the Church and the Old Testament are present as a pair of caryatids: Church holds the medallion above her head with her hand, and with the other the cross and keys; the tiara and the chalice are at her feet, together with books and a vessel.[111] On the title page for Bosio's *Crux triumphans* (Fig. 73), a book that tries to explain the forms of the cross in heaven and the reason for the sacrifice of Christ on the cross, the Church is not present in the form of an explicit personification; the imagery, however, alludes repeatedly to the Church, such as with the depiction of the tiara and the keys beneath a figure that could be interpreted as Divine Love.[112] In the *Annales sacri* (Fig. 63), another title page which Rubens rearranged, the Church is also not present in the form of a personification; instead it is alluded to by the vignette in the lower part.[113] A quotation of Matthew 21:43, "auferetur a vobis regnum", the kingdom will be taken from you, was added to the image in which Christ hands Peter "the power

108 The compilation by Spondanus, for instance, had the Baronius title page in editions printed: *Annales ecclesiastici ex XII tomis Caesaris Baronii… in Epitomen redacti*, Paris: de la Nouë, 1613; Mainz: Schönwetter 1617.

109 Mudzaert 1622, f.a. 4v. in Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, p. 219.

110 *Breviarium Romanum* 1614.

111 *Biblia Sacra* 1617.

112 Cf. Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, p. 180.

113 Tornielli 1620.

Figure 72 – Title page for *Breviarium Romanum* 1614; engraving, 298 × 193 mm by Theodoor Galle after Rubens. Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-6847. © Rijksmuseum.

Figure 73 – Title page for Bosio 1617; engraving, 328 × 210 mm, by Cornelis Galle I after Rubens. Private Image.

of the keys while repudiating the Jewish cult".[114] Thus, until 1620, the title pages that thematised the Church depicted it in a rather neutral way, while from then onwards the Church was depicted as victorious over the enemies of the true belief in works that were openly apologetic and polemic.[115]

The enemies of the Church could be, on the one hand, enemies because of their ignorance of the true faith, i.e. because they were ancient or present-day heathens, or, on the other, because they knew of the true faith but renounced it. Both these ideas are often coupled. The basis for the depiction of Heresy as a hag is the personification of Envy who was often depicted as an old hag; it was suggested that the Spanish "herejo" contributed to this conflation of the allegories.[116] The basic iconography of *Invidia* or Heresy had already been described by Ripa as an old woman with wild hair, naked, with sagging breasts, surrounded by snakes, and with flames and smoke shooting out of her mouth.[117] A very similar personification is that of Deceit, who is also often shown in connection with the triumph of the church: she, however, shows two faces and often has eagle's feet. All these attributes could, however, also be mixed and denote certain aspects of sin. In this

114 This quotation is present in an edition from Milan 1610, but not in those from Frankfurt. Knipping 1974, p. 349.
115 Baronio and Sponde 1623; Mudzaert 1622, Longo a Coriolano 1623, Ibid., Mudzaert 1624, Chifflet 1640.
116 Knipping 1974, p. 377; J. Brouwer, "De achtergrond der Spaanse Mystiek", p. 74f.
117 For instance in Ripa 1611, pp. 261–263.

representation of triumph in *De Kerckelycke Historie* (Fig. 67),[118] Rubens recurs to classical iconography by using the concept of bound captives that can often be found on Roman coins, emphasising the dominance of Rome.[119] The motif that expressed Rome's triumph on coins contrasted the emperor's name or even portrait on the one side of the coin with the kneeling prisoners of war, barbarians of course, with weapons, on the other.

The captives on another title page again make the triumph of the Church its central theme, but in a different manner. This title page for the *Summa Conciliorum Omnium* (Fig. 74) was conceived in the same year as, or shortly after, the *Kerckelycke Historie*.[120] The *Summa* was an account and a discussion of all the Councils held by the Catholic Church from the first Synod in Jerusalem in 51 CE.[121] The book was written by a well-known Roman Franciscan preacher, F. Longo a Coriolano (1562–1625). The depiction of the Church in this case has its focus on the papacy, carrying the papal staff, the tiara and the coat-of-arms of Gregory XV. Behind the personification of the Church the council is represented by a symbolic congregation of cardinals and bishops, while the two saints Peter and Paul, the pillars of the Church, stand beneath her. St Paul, resting on his sword, is looking down towards the chained and ailing figures at the bottom of the page. There is again chained Heresy with snakes in her hair, mouth opened in reference to the *Gorgoneion*, the head of Medusa depicted on Minerva's shield. She holds a torch in her hand, leaning on the books with which she will ignite the flames of discord, while a devil is helping her. On the left is defeated Deceit, depicted classically as in an allegory of a conquered province painted by Rubens.[122] Rubens here again employs the classical imagery of triumph, but ignores the missionary aspect which is not the main point in this work.

This central idea of the Counter-Reformation was thus repeatedly expressed by Rubens, and not only in the title pages. The triumphant Church and its eternal domination over the world was also used by Rubens for the series of tapestry known as the "Eucharist Series".[123] In this depiction of the "Triumph of the Church" the prisoners, Ignorance and Blindness, play an important role, as they are led into the light.[124] In the title pages, Rubens had repeatedly used this idea of the triumphant Church, but always with a different emphasis.

118 Mudzaert 1622. Cf. Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, no. 49, pp. 218–222; Held 1979, no. 33, pp.132–134.
119 For the two captives see also a painting on panel, 31.7 x 49.8 cm, c. 1628, in: Büttner 2018, no. 29, "Two Captives with Booty", pp. 404–410.
120 Longo a Coriolano 1623.
121 Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, no. 50, pp. 223–225; Held 1979, no. 28, pp. 115–116.
122 Büttner 2018, no. 28, pp. 397–403.
123 Cf. Poorter 1978.
124 Ibid., no. 11, pp. 319–335, esp. p. 325.

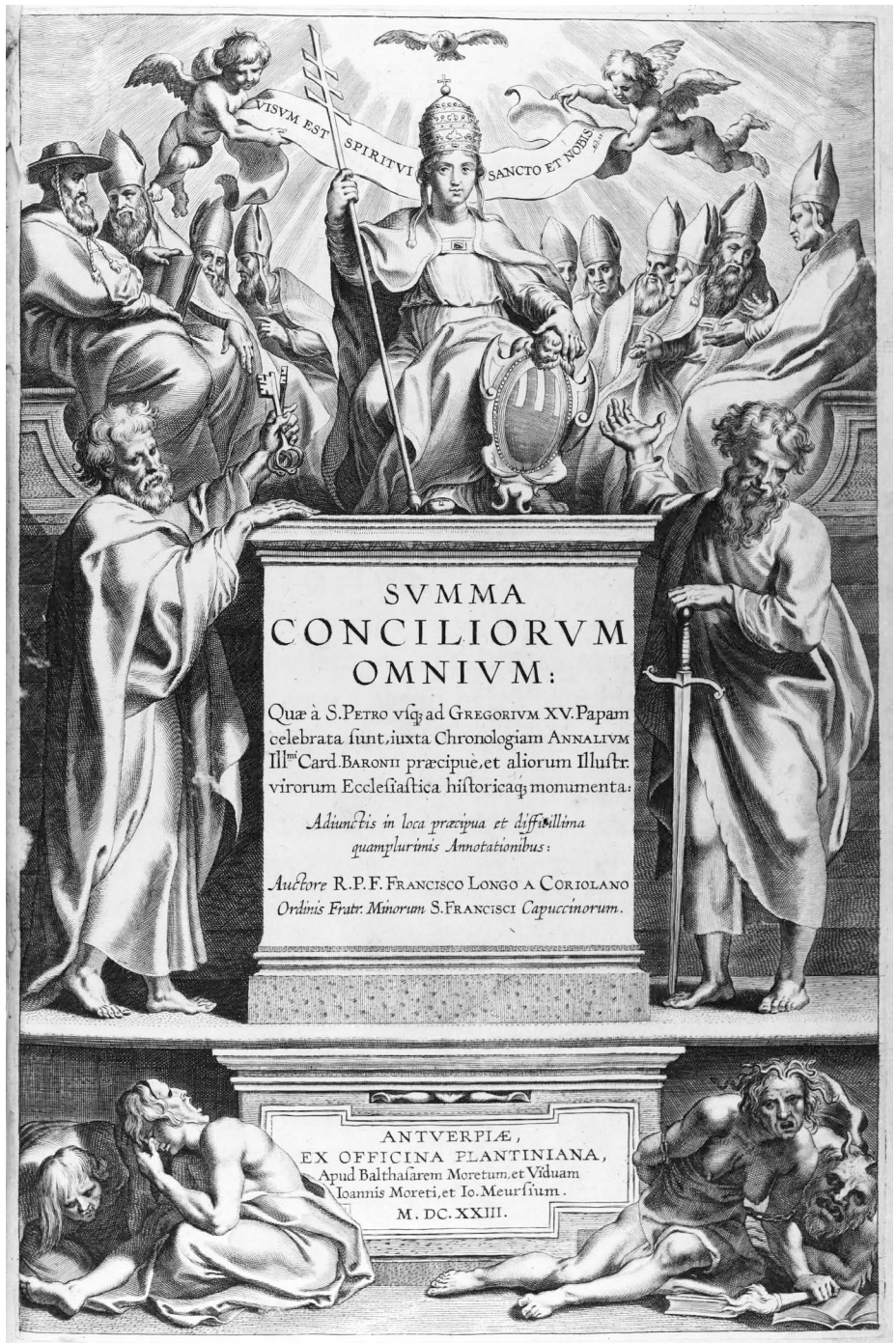


Figure 74 – Title page for Longo a Coriolano 1623; engraving, 314 × 205 mm, by Cornelis Galle I after Rubens. Private Image.

7 Rubens the Designer, or the Social Life of Books

Rubens's designs for title pages are not acknowledged as works of art in their own right, but his lifelong occupation with title pages has intrigued many scholars over the past century. Especially from the 1970s onwards, this artistic output was studied more closely, mostly because of the production of a Catalogue Raisonné of Rubens's vast oeuvre, but also because art historians became more interested in media other than painting. However, even then the title pages were perceived as a "marginal artistic area".[1]

In previous research, Rubens's designs have been studied to trace his stylistic development, and have thus been researched in a chronological way with a strong focus on the artist. This focus is explained by the fact that previous scholarship had mainly catalogued the title pages in the context of the catalogue raisonnée, providing a wealth of sources and a good framework for the present thesis, but it did not consider the book-historical aspects connected to Rubens's contribution to this field. Additionally, the focus on Rubens's oeuvre did not allow for a deeper look into the wider context of title-page production and the historical development of this genre. This means that the title pages were seen as singular events in the artist's oeuvre, rather than an individual event in the history of the works for which he designed them. A shift of the focus was thus deemed necessary, and I decided to put the books into the centre of this work. The aim was to show the title pages and the books in their context: how they were produced, by looking at the book history with the many editions that often existed of the books for which Rubens provided a title page, and also by looking at the possible interpretations a contemporary reader might have gleaned from the title pages.

What was not visible from previous scholarship on Rubens's title pages was the reason why he would be involved in these particular book projects. The prevalent explanation so far had been his relationship to one of the most successful publishers of his days, but Rubens collaborated with

1 Cf. Held 1977, p. 3.

Moretus for only about half of his designs, which suggests reasons other than the social relationship with one printer. However, not much evidence remains from other publishers, and research about these is still scarce; this means that the relationship between Rubens and Moretus, as the only tangible one, was put into the foreground. As the Moretus's correspondence was included in earlier research, there are many available interpretations and, more importantly, transcriptions of the letters. Because Moretus's correspondence with authors and engravers is the only source so far that might tell us about the process and attitudes of the agents within the process, I decided to re-examine the letters. Especially the letter from Moretus to the Jesuit Balthasar Cordier saw a close reading, as the past interpretations of this letter were increasingly used to show that Rubens produced title pages only in his leisure time. The letter was written by Moretus to refuse an author's proposal to print his work with a Rubens title page, rather than to deliver an account of Rubens's working hours.

A close reading of the letters, mostly written by Moretus, showed him to be fully responsible for the book and its contents. He decided whether a book would receive a title page and by whom this would be designed. Not every book was given an illustrated title page, and not every illustrated title page was by Rubens. Moretus can also be seen to discuss the visual content of the title pages, which suggests that the authors had little say in what was depicted on their title page or who designed it. However, Moretus routinely asked the authors what they wanted to see on their title pages, and he sent the finished title pages to the authors or their intermediaries to have them check the outcome, and would only print the title page after their input.

Looking closely into the production process revealed the necessity to look at the material aspects of the production and their meaning in Rubens's time: the costs of producing a title page, the print run of the edition, and the formats of the books. All of these give hints as to the potential customers, and the intended market, and with this the expectations readers could have had when buying a specific book. Often especially the ideal readers, i.e. the dedicatees of books such as current rulers, are mentioned in the correspondence where the expectations and the *decorum* of the images are discussed. The way in which authors and intermediaries sometimes insisted on changes to the title page reveals the importance of such a title page for those involved. The changes, however, are always minor changes to do with the physiognomies of dignitaries on the title pages, or the representation of coats-of-arms. That these questions occurred for title pages by Rubens is certainly no coincidence. During the research it became apparent that Rubens was commissioned by Moretus especially when he was printing for important dedicatees or authors.

This question of the intended readers made it necessary to look into the social relevance of books and their value for Rubens and his contemporaries. While their market value at one point in time is visible from the price that Moretus asked, it is more difficult to estimate that for other printers. From various other sources, it became clear, however, that books had a great relevance not

only in the education of painters, but also in the education of young gentlemen. Their education was often reflected in the libraries these gentlemen started to collect and that were part of a nobleman's conspicuous consumption. If seen in the light of a gentleman's library, Rubens's library is not the exceptional library it had been considered to be in comparison with a typical artist's library of his time. Just as for his peers in Antwerp's elite, the library was a social marker for Rubens, a claim that is bolstered by his self-portraits and his conduct in society. Thus, when Rubens designed title pages for some of the most important books of his time, he knew perfectly well what he did and who would read or at least collect these books.

This contextualisation of the production of title pages revealed that, although the title pages were only a small part of the enormous oeuvre of Rubens, they nevertheless were very relevant for him, not only as an artist, but also as a gentleman and diplomat. The title pages and the books carried his name into the best-known libraries and to many courts all over the world, providing exactly the kind of advertisement an artist like Rubens would wish for. If the work was printed in the Officina Plantiniana, it was Moretus who chose Rubens as a designer, usually as a distinction for authors and books that were already significant, culturally, socially or politically.

In order to deal with the title pages and to be able to ask questions that had nothing to do with Rubens's stylistic development, I had a fresh look at the corpus of Rubens title pages. Rather than dealing with the title pages in a chronological way, I decided to deal with them in clusters that were determined by a shared context. In order to define the categories, Grounded Theory Method was used; this means that the categories developed during the research and from the work with the visual material itself rather than using modern organisational principles. For the study of title pages a qualitative method was found to be preferable as each title page is dependent on a huge variety of factors which a quantitative method distorts out of necessity.

In order to limit present-day assumptions in my interpretation, I progressed from a close reading of the material at hand to the media's historicity and arrived at more abstract concepts that were complemented by theoretical reading. A constant reflection of my assumptions, by continuously taking notes, and a constant comparison of the title pages with other contemporary title pages within one book class proved to be necessary in order to contextualise the title pages.

The best way to structure the material was found to be the historical book classes as they presented themselves in seventeenth-century catalogues of libraries, in the inventories drawn up on the death of a bibliophile, and in the contemporary literature on the organisation of a library. Most importantly, the inventory of Rubens's son Albert allowed me to find some of the books Rubens had illustrated into the book classes in which Albert would most probably have sorted them in his library. I was only able to find clusters through the use of these book classes and by doing so investigate the relationships between books. These had been invisible before this categorisation, due to the fact that Rubens designed title pages throughout his professional career in Antwerp and

that there is no obvious pattern visible: he designed for a great variety of authors with various affiliations writing about a great variety of subjects for a variety of printer-publishers, and for books with varying success. Using the historical book classes, a fundamental methodological problem was solved: the books and their title pages have become comparable.[2] However, by looking at the books through the lens of the historical book classes patterns are suddenly visible that have been obscured by the previous chronology.

A striking new insight is that the numismatic books were all connected to each other, as they all have to do with Rubens's numismatic network in Antwerp and beyond. The same can be said about the neo-Latin poetry that was published by Moretus and received title pages by Rubens. This small corpus revolves around Pope Urban VIII and his interest in this kind of literature. The class containing the books on history seems to have been filled with either patriotic works or works of Counter-Reformatory content, while the theological works often contain important authors from Antwerp and the surrounding universities, or the liturgical work that was so important to the Officina Plantiniana. These developing clusters also show different motivations for Rubens to design title pages. Certainly, a different motive can be attributed to Rubens when he designs a title page for a group of friends who are all as interested in the collecting of coins as he was, than when he designs title pages for books that are all intended to be seen by the then current Pope who was a patron of the arts.

For the case studies the history of the books Rubens designed was crucial. Often the works for which Rubens was commissioned had been exceedingly successful in their earlier editions, which was read as a reason for his commission in the first place. On the one hand, the precursors to these commissions can be used in order to compare Rubens's design, and find out what Rubens did differently. On the other, later editions often copy Rubens, so that these can also be interesting as comparative material in order to see what in Rubens's designs was seen as particularly noteworthy. Looking at the various editions often printed for those works reveals that Rubens usually knew about the previous title pages, and that he recognised the reader's expectations concerning the genres of the works. Sometimes this look at the book history of a particular work also reveals that Moretus and Rubens had found an older title page to be insufficient, as with Lessius's *De iustitia et iure*; Rubens could have left the main allegorical invention as it was on the old title pages, something he did for the *Annales sacri* by Torniello.[3] Of especial interest was the fact that even when Rubens designed title pages for his Jesuit friends and acquaintances, he did not use the IHS sign that is usually seen on every Jesuit book production, but advertised their work in a highly humanistic way. While Rubens often changed the title pages of works in their later editions, his designs

[2] The chronological approach made it very difficult to compare the title pages to each other; the title page of a Bible in folio is hardly comparable to a title page in a small format, introducing the work of a poet, for example.

[3] L. Lessius 1617;Tornielli 1620.

for title pages were reused and often copied throughout all Europe. Through this repetition and through the work of his assistants who tried to copy their master, his way of designing title pages was consolidated for a period of time in the seventeenth century.

By using the historical book classes, three categories could be developed from the visual evidence and the evidence provided in the secondary sources: there is Rubens the antiquarian who not only used these books professionally, but also made sure that his son was introduced into this international network from early on; there is Rubens the humanist who showcased his knowledge with these intellectual conceits for mainly humanistic works, although often produced by Jesuits; then there is Rubens the patriot, who is actively involved in the fight for his country, and seems to contribute in any way he can, be it with his network or by illustrating title pages.

The antiquarian network in which Rubens firmly established himself was not only a one of people with shared interests. It extended from early on into his family: many of his antiquarian friends were also in his brother's network, and his brother's friend and fellow student of Lipsius later became his son's teacher, for instance. Of course, as the correspondence between Rubens and De Peiresc shows, Rubens had a deep interest in antiquarian matters. This was not only a personal interest in history, but also a professional one; all of his designs use the imagery found on classical coins. Throughout his life he was known as being especially knowledgable in this field, and this was certainly also because his viewers recognised the references in his designs and paintings. A letter of introduction from Sweerts, a tapestry merchant, shows that these contacts were not only family contacts, but were also part of a bigger network in which being an antiquarian could guarantee trustworthiness and education.

The humanistic allegories Rubens provided for the Jesuits could all be read in a deeply religious way, but were full of references to classical mythology and learning. The Society of Jesus had been Rubens's patron from early on in his career, and he was an active member of one of their sodalities; the social network provided easy access to the artist. However, it was rather the publisher who commissioned Rubens. Moretus's correspondence shows that Rubens rarely had contact to the authors. Additionally, there is some reason to think that the publisher had reason to obtain important patrons himself, such as to receive a papal privilege for printing liturgical work. Rubens's designs for the Jesuit authors are among the more intricate and beautiful title pages he designed, title pages that were inherently open and which have since then received various, often differing interpretations. Maybe designing humanistic title pages for Jesuit authors made it necessary to have such inherently ambiguous title pages. It was the intention of this work to not explain these ambiguities away; after all there is not one single correct interpretation of a title page, the interpretations differ with each reader.

Rubens's work for the designs of historical books is less ambiguous. The title pages for several books were used in decidedly Counter-Reformatory works after Rubens's death. This shows that

Rubens's designs were mainly understood in that way. Over the course of several years, Rubens designed title pages that featured mainly a triumphant Church with chained or shackled adversaries depicted at the bottom of the title page. With these title pages Rubens connects a bulwark of Counter-Reformatory ecclesiastical historiography, the *Annales ecclesiastici* by Baronius, with the more contemporary Dutch compendia of this work and the intended uses for these works. Again, Rubens uses his numismatic knowledge in order to represent the triumphant Church and its eternal domination of the world, a typical feature of the work of Rubens who usually finds the sources for his visual designs in classical art.

In the context of book production, Rubens's work as a book illustrator turns out to be anything but marginal. His designs are an introduction to the books they adorned; they advertise them and summarise their contents often in elaborate allegories; they give the books they adorned their lives as commodities, as heirlooms, as gifts or as collectibles; they enhance their monetary value; they are missionaries; they advertise a victorious Catholic country, and contribute to a political discussion that, throughout Rubens's life, was discussed with weapons in the Eighty Years' War. In contrast to the earlier assessment, Rubens appears to be on the forefront of book production, having illustrated many prominent works. He was also employed for the production of books for several important and influential patrons. His designs often also had a considerable afterlife as they were re-used for different works or copied in many parts of Europe for other editions of the same title or different works in the same book category.

For the further study of title pages, be they by Rubens or other designers, the consideration of the historical categories is necessary, as it is very likely that other designers were also sensitive to the requirements of each book category and its traditions. For other designers this would need to be adjusted and refined, as Rubens's production was limited to the seven book classes mentioned above. However, a broader, diachronic study of the categories themselves would probably be more useful than a study of a specific designer; most designers of title pages are unknown and do not offer such a deep well of information as Rubens's case does. Such a study could help identify traditions that had been developed within the single categories.[4] This should be made from a broader point of view than has previously been possible not only including the well-known designers and publishers. With the help of the growing digital collections, a truly international study of book illustration could be made that also includes lesser-known designers and books.

Another point several case studies made clear was that the nationalist perspective, often prevalent in studies on book design, is a severe problem, especially for the seventeenth century. As could be seen, the printing world gravitated around a few printing centres, and the prints from these cen-

[4] In the past two decades some studies and exhibitions focussed on single book categories and investigated the scientific or historic title page, for instance. Cf. Vital-Durand 2011, Elmqvist Söderlund 2010, Breyl 2006, Remmert 2005, Kuechen 2002, Kintzinger 1995.

tres were delivered into the whole of Europe via the big book fairs, and the networks of printers and literati. Rubens could be shown to be influenced by title pages created in other countries, just as he would influence engravers in other countries. Not only were most books considered here written in the *lingua franca* Latin and were sold all over Europe, but engravers and publishers often migrated from one printing centre to the next, and they, too, would have been able to spread new ideas and designs all over Europe. Thus Rubens's designs were not only influenced by the various book categories and their traditions, but also by the books he himself received via Moretus from Cologne, Venice, Rome, and other European cities, apart from the fact that he lived in Italy for almost a decade in which he would have been exposed to great libraries.

By including the social, historical and media-historical context as the background for an investigation into the production process and the design of title pages by Rubens, the title pages were re-evaluated and interpreted. The collaboration of Moretus and Rubens was certainly more than help between friends; this collaboration helped all parties involved, as the title pages function as advertisements not only for the books, but also for the authors, the publishers and those whose names were also inscribed on the title page, the designer and the engraver within a finely tuned system of patronage, and, not least, the artist himself. Considering the social relevance of the books for which Rubens designed the title pages and the involvement of so many influential individuals in the production, not to mention the patrons he acknowledged on his title pages, the design of these title pages should not be seen as a recreational activity of Rubens. On the contrary, with the title pages Rubens showed himself to be in the midst of the intellectual world, up-to-date with recent publications, and capable of producing intelligent designs which were then produced and copied in the thousands and sold all over Europe. For Rubens the contribution to a book meant that with his title pages he could publicly participate in scholarly discourses otherwise relegated to his letter writing. And the title pages contributed considerably to his growing fame: the distribution of the books and the often many editions meant that his inventions were transported all over the world. The circulation of some books must have been enormous, especially if all the copies are included in the counting. With their many references to classical literature and art, it would not be surprising if the title pages were to a large extent responsible for his reputation as a learned artist.

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Rubens as a Designer of Title Pages

This socio- and media-historical research on Peter Paul Rubens's title page design shows that he consciously developed its traditions. In collaboration with engravers and publishers, Rubens created 48 visual and intellectual masterpieces for a great variety of books which belonged in every seventeenth-century library of rank. His designs were not only advertisements for these works, but also for their authors and publishers, often Balthasar Moretus. Rubens's title pages were repeatedly copied, and their wide distribution contributed immensely to Rubens's fame as a learned artist, antiquarian, humanist and Catholic.

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ISBN 978-3-947449-13-2