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## *FAME, CONVENTION AND INSIGHT: ON THE RELEVANCE OF FORNENBERGH AND GERBIER*

Two seventeenth century texts form the subject of this paper. The first has occasionally been referred to by historians of sixteenth and seventeenth century Flemish painting, but has never been adequately analyzed; while the second, although it contains sixty-three lines on Rubens, has been almost entirely overlooked by scholarship on him.<sup>1</sup> This latter text is also of considerable interest for the study of Dutch art in the first quarter of the seventeenth century; and yet it has scarcely been acknowledged since it was first presented by Hirschmann over sixty years ago.<sup>2</sup> There is no obvious connection between the two texts; but since concern with issues raised by the first led to a re-examination of the second, both will be discussed in some detail.

Alexander van Fornenbergh's *Life of Quinten Matsijs* was published in 1658 under the unwieldy title of: "The Antwerp Proteus or the Cyclopean Apelles, that is, the Life and Artistic Deeds of the outstanding and highly-famed Quinten Matsijs, van Grof-Smidt in Fijn-Schilder verandert".<sup>3</sup> (An English translation of the last part of the title would run 'transformed from blacksmith into painter'; but that loses the antithetical word-play of the Flemish phrase, which succinctly brings to the fore the transition from coarse manual labour - *grof-smidt* - to the more refined pursuit of easel-painter - *fijn-schilder*). But Fornenbergh's text has more claim to our attention than the mere fact that it is the second of two lives of Quinten Matsijs published in Antwerp shortly after Rubens' death,<sup>4</sup> and that it thus counts as one of the progenitors of both a distinguished and a tiresome art-historical genre: the monographic treatment of a single painter. Nor is it significant simply because of the useful source material it provides for sixteenth and seventeenth century painting and collecting, nor only because, with satisfying aptness, it suggests a possible link between Julius Held, the Ringling Museum, and the Courtauld Institute.

The starting point for this paper was a certain puzzlement at the comparative thinness of contemporary literary and theoretical references to Rubens. There are two striking aspects both of contemporary testimonia and of his immediate *Nachruhm*: while Rubens' correspondents occasionally have something genuinely perceptive to say about his art, the literary and theoretical material before Bellori in 1672<sup>5</sup> and Roger de Piles in 1677<sup>6</sup> seems extraordinarily feeble, and largely lacking in any real insight into his art. It is as if all the writers were so stupefied by his overwhelming talents that they could barely rise above those tired and even then familiar encomiastic phrases referring to the Belgian Apelles, the Progeny of the Muses, or the reborn Zeuxis.<sup>7</sup> I do not believe that to ask why this was so is somehow akin to asking why there were no landscape paintings in the catacombs. For a start, one does occasionally find a poem or other form of tribute which rises above the clichés, but these, perhaps not surprisingly, are almost wholly North Netherlandish. Indeed, it is to Gaspar

Scioppius in 1607,<sup>8</sup> and the Leiden Professors Daniel Heinsius and Dominicus Baudius between 1609 and 1616<sup>9</sup> that we must turn for some of the best early appreciations of Rubens, and then to Vondel in 1640 (the dedication of the *Gebroeders*)<sup>10</sup> and 1650 (the poem on the *Leander*)<sup>11</sup> for something a little more substantial than the standard rhetoric of encomium. But it may be oversimplified to attribute the Southern Netherlandish lacunae wholly to the meagerness of literary talent south of the Maas.

It seems pertinent to begin by posing this question: what texts are available to determine the criteria of artistic appreciation in the Southern Netherlands in the decades immediately following Rubens' death? Fornenbergh's little book on Matsys then appears as a major source, and provides a significant means of gaining access to the modes and standards of thinking and writing about art in Antwerp during this period. Now it has occasionally been observed, and with some justice, that the artistic resonance of Rubens in the years following his death was not as substantial as one might have expected - even, perhaps, when compared with the resonance of Van Dyck. But what was the basis for the appreciation of Matsijs, and what, apart from civic pride, does it reveal about the problems just raised? The harvest is richer than has generally been assumed.

Fornenbergh's book has usually been considered in the same breath as the even smaller booklet on Matsys published by Franchoy's Fickaert ten years earlier.<sup>12</sup> But while Fickaert's work undoubtedly provided the inspiration for the later biography - and may just conceivably be an earlier attempt by Fornenbergh himself - it is very thin indeed. It does little more than recount the well-worn story of Matsijs's illness, marriage, and subsequent transformation from blacksmith to painter, recall the old puzzle of the precise number of horses on the right wing of the *Lamentation* triptych in Antwerp,<sup>13</sup> and summarize the chequered history of that work during the troubled times between 1566 and 1581. Fornenbergh's book, on the other hand, adds considerably more to these anecdotes and greatly enhances our knowledge of the elements of taste and art historical retrospection in Antwerp in the first half of the century. It is a curious mixture of ingenuous charm and critical acuity. A thoroughgoing analysis cannot be provided here, but the following seem to be the main points of interest.

As in the case of Fickaert's booklet, two of the greatest Antwerp patrons feature prominently - Cornelis van der Geest and Peeter Stevens. Central to both works are, on the one hand, Cornelis van der Geest's role in the reinterment of Matsijs's remains on the centenary of his death in 1629 and his composition of a suitable epitaph inscription for him;<sup>14</sup> and on the other, the dedication to Peeter Stevens. It was Peeter Stevens, rich and pious linen merchant and for many years almoner of the city,<sup>15</sup> who succeeded Cornelis van der Geest as the most important collector in town.<sup>16</sup> It was he who acquired many of the gems of van der Geest's collection, who sold a number of major works to the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm in 1648, and whose inventory of 1668 provides us with insight into one of the most extraordinary rich collections of the time. His importance has always been recognized, but it was only with Jan Briels's

recent publication of the inventory and Stevens's own annotations in his personal copy of van Mander that this importance can be fully appreciated.<sup>17</sup> Amongst much else, the annotations, dating from 1625 to just before Stevens's death in 1668, testify to an astonishingly deep interest in 15th and 16th century Flemish painting. Everywhere Stevens noted the contemporary locations of important works from that period, and considerably added to the range of van Mander's material.<sup>18</sup> This interest is in turn abundantly corroborated by the evidence of his inventory, with its ten Bruegels (at one time he owned as many as twelve),<sup>19</sup> the three most famous Matsijses in private hands,<sup>20</sup> and, above all, the renowned *Bath* by Jan van Eyck which he acquired from Cornelis van der Geest.<sup>21</sup> From the van Mander annotations we know that he also owned Jan van Eyck's portrait of the Cardinal of Santa Croce,<sup>22</sup> thus finally confirming the identification of the sitter as Cardinal Albergati,<sup>23</sup> and enabling Briels to make the plausible suggestion that the *Cabinet d'Amateur* formerly in the Seilern Collection and now in the Courtauld Institute Galleries is in fact that of Peeter Stevens, at an early stage in its creation (Fig. 1)<sup>24</sup> It is in this climate of appreciation that we must situate Fornenbergh's book on Matsijs, the painter who, above all, provides the artistic link between the past and the future of Flemish painting, between the fifteenth century and the sixteenth, between the minutely observed excellence of the Eyckian heritage and the kind of pictorial flair, the bold feats of the brush, that were to lead to the achievements of Rubens himself. As Fornenbergh reminds us, it was Peeter Stevens who inherited from van der Geest Matsijs's most famous adaptation of an early Netherlandish painting, the *Money-changer and his Wife*<sup>25</sup>; and Rubens himself copied at least one of the other works by Matsijs which hang in the *Constcamer* of Cornelis van der Geest represented in the well-known painting by Willem van Haecht (Fig. 2).<sup>26</sup> Such then are the works which connoisseurs sought in the middle of the century; and it is perhaps striking that amongst such riches, only one work by Rubens himself features in Stevens's inventory. It is in fact the first item, *The Flight of Lot and his Wife from Sodom, La fuite de Loth avec sa femme & ses filles hors de la Ville de Sodoma*.<sup>27</sup> Could it be that this is precisely the painting of which a copy hangs in the Ringling Museum and whose provenance has so far been traced back to the collection of the Antwerp painter Jacob de Wit (Fig. 3)<sup>28</sup> or is it the version in the Louvre acquired by Louis XV in 1742?<sup>29</sup>

It is perhaps not surprising - although it is occasionally forgotten or denied - that the constant model for much art historical and theoretical writing was Carol van Mander; and so in the *Eer-Dicht*, the encomium to van Fornenbergh prefacing the work, we find lines like these: 'Van Mander heeft wel-eer 't Groot Schilder beschreven/En Fornenbergh beeldt ons een kleynen uyt naer 't leven' - 'Van Mander once wrote a large book on painting; And now Fornenbergh makes a small one, after the life.'<sup>30</sup> And after attempting a brave comparison with Vondel, the poem concludes with these irresistible lines: '. . . /Dit Boecksken tuyght oock med': waer vondt men onder ander/Twee, soo ghelijck van Gheest, als Fornenbergh en Mander?' 'Where could one find, amongst others, Two so alike in spirit, as Fornenbergh and Mander?'.<sup>31</sup>

Such doggerel is not particularly persuasive, but Fornenbergh's own comments are by no means as banal. After the usual tales of the artist's humble beginnings, he proceeds to his analysis of what was commonly regarded as the greatest of Matsijs's works, the famous *Lamentation* altarpiece in the chapel of the Circumcision in Antwerp Cathedral and now in the Museum there (Fig. 4).<sup>32</sup> He methodically deals with the skill of the composition and then remarks on the remarkable outward rendering of inner emotion, that is, of the *Affection*<sup>33</sup>; he comments on the drapery, the subtle juxtaposition of deep, glowing shadows and clear lights,<sup>34</sup> and the moving representation of Christ's body. In this case, incidentally, there is no question that the use of the verb *beweegh* refers to the spectator's emotion, and not to the mobility of Christ's body.<sup>35</sup> Finally, Fornenbergh invokes what was still a very modern authority, Philips Angel's *Lof-Rede* to the Leyden Painters' Guild in 1642.<sup>36</sup> The painting, he suggests, conforms to Angel's criteria of 'confident and assured drawing, a fluent composition, and a decorously elaborated richness ('een vloeyende Gheest der Ordonnantie, een cierelyke Rijckelickheydt')<sup>37</sup> fitting juxtapositions of lights and shadows; a personal observation of Nature; the representation of mental states on the faces; deep consideration of the story; a thorough understanding of anatomy; a fleshy colouring; and a clear differentiation of all the textiles'.<sup>38</sup> Above all, adds Fornenbergh, it displays an exuberant but well-handled use of the brush:<sup>39</sup> from near it might seem somewhat rough and idiosyncratic in places, with considerable impastoes, especially on the side panels; but the handling of paint is so masterful that from below it gives the impression of exceeding competence and justness.<sup>40</sup> This last observation is interesting in itself, as well as for the fact that it invokes criteria that, instead of being derived directly from the now slightly old-fashioned van Mander, come from the nearly contemporary Philips Angel.

A few further instances may serve to demonstrate Fornenbergh's sensitivity and the quality of his perceptiveness, restricted in scope though it may be. When it comes to the *Holy Kinship* altar then in St. Peter's in Louvain,<sup>41</sup> he confesses that his account may be defective, as he has not seen it for several years, '*sonder vernieuwinghe des ghesichts*' without renewing his impressions<sup>42</sup> - surely an admirable example of art historical candour. He revels in his description of one of Matsijs's most famous easel paintings, the *Madonna and Child with the Cherries*, also acquired by Peeter Stevens from Cornelis van der Geest, and of which a beautiful copy exists in the Ringling Museum (Fig. 5)<sup>43</sup>; he notes the smallest details of the *Money-changer and his Wife* and comments on its monogram and date;<sup>44</sup> in a manner that puts one in mind of the later processes of art history, he observes the similarity between heads in two of the compositions;<sup>45</sup> and he ruefully reflects, in some detail, on the blistering and flaking of a smaller picture and the further damage wrought upon it by an incompetent restorer.<sup>46</sup> There is explicit evidence of archival perusal;<sup>47</sup> much on the ownership and provenance of other works;<sup>48</sup> more on the swift and broad but nevertheless pure handling of the brush;<sup>49</sup> and a careful distinction between the original and the repainted or damaged parts of the wall-paintings surviving in Matsijs's own house.<sup>50</sup>

As a critic, then, Fornenbergh should more than repay further attention; but the evidence of his abilities as a poet is rightly forgotten. At the end of the book, simply, it would seem, in order to fill the remaining pages - 'tot vullinghededes overschietende papiers' he disarmingly states<sup>51</sup> - he appends encomia of Otto van Veen, Rubens and Van Dyck. The one on Rubens is perhaps the worst. It begins: 'O progeny of Thespiis, you nine holy Muses, come down from Olympus to the earth below; conclude your oracles on Cytheron's peak; abandon for a moment the top of Helicon; leave your Aganippe and come to the shores of the Scheldt; redouble your song and retune your strings', and so on and so forth.<sup>52</sup> For one in search of revealing testimonia to Rubens, this all comes as a sore anticlimax; here we will find nothing that is even remotely revealing about him. For insight we have to turn to the pages on Matsijs.

## II

But if the poetic element in Fornenbergh has little to tell us about Rubens, and represents the nadir of the many cliché-ridden attempts to praise Rubens' art from 1609 onwards, there is at least one poem in Dutch dating from Rubens' own lifetime which is by no means as slight. It is Balthazar Gerbier's Lament on the Death of Hendrick Goltzius. This 46 page poem, written in 1618 but only published in The Hague in 1620, entitled 'Eer ende Claght Dicht: *Ter Eeren van den lofweerdighen constrijcken ende Gheleerden Henricus Goltzius*'<sup>53</sup> contains 63 lines on Rubens - thus constituting the longest literary tribute to Rubens written in his lifetime. Its importance can hardly be over-estimated, coming as it does from the youthful pen of one of his closest lifelong associates, seven years before they are first supposed to have met in 1625.<sup>54</sup> But the literature on Rubens has almost wholly passed it by.<sup>55</sup> Although it escaped Rooses-Ruelens, Gerbier's work formed the subject of an article by Hirschmann in 1920,<sup>56</sup> who even transcribed the long passage on Rubens *in toto*; but there is no reference to it either in Prosper Arents's massive Rubens bibliography of 1940, or even in Lieven Rens's useful discussion of the early literature on Rubens published in 1977.<sup>57</sup> The only part of the work which has received attention from Rubens scholars, including Jan van Gelder's *Rubens in Holland in de 17de Eeuw*,<sup>58</sup> has been the brief marginalium later on in the book, referring to a trip by Rubens, Jan Brueghel and Hendrick van Balen to Holland, when they met Goltzius and other Haarlem artists<sup>59</sup> - a trip, incidentally, which has recently been dated with some certainty to June 1612.<sup>60</sup> But apart from this, silence. Yet Gerbier's poem has not only a quite different character to the many Latin tributes decorated with more or less standard phrases and compliments from classical authors, it was also written at a time when Rubens was himself worrying about the status of his works in Holland - as is clear from the well-known correspondence of 1619 with Pieter van Veen about the copyrighting there of prints after his own compositions.<sup>61</sup>

When Hirschmann wrote in 1920, and when Reznicek made his surprisingly slight reference to Gerbier's poem in his monograph on Goltzius of 1961<sup>62</sup> - surprisingly slight given its even greater relevance for the study of Goltzius and his circle - only one copy of the work was known, in the Stadsbibliotheek in

Haarlem (although another copy is reported to have belonged to that great print scholar, Francken).<sup>63</sup> There is, however, another copy in the Print Room of the British Museum<sup>64</sup> bound in the middle of four other works, namely Bidloo's poem on the *Konstkamer* of Philips de Flines,<sup>65</sup> Philips Angel's *Lof der Schilderkonst*,<sup>66</sup> the very rare *Dialogue concerning Architecture and Painting* by Jacques de Ville published in Gouda in 1628,<sup>67</sup> and Fickaert's 1648 booklet on Matsijs.<sup>68</sup> This copy belonged to the late seventeenth century Haarlem engraver and bookseller, Isaack Vincentsz van der Vinne, whose manuscript notes at the beginning of this collection are of some interest, but which I hope to publish in another context, as they are not directly relevant here.<sup>69</sup>

Gerbier's poem is dedicated to Noel de Caron, the Dutch Ambassador with whom Gerbier first went to London in 1616 - the second major move in a turbulent life that saw him vilified for his association with Buckingham, damned for his sale of English state secrets to the Archduchess Isabella, obliged to free his daughter from a Parisian nunnery to which she had been forcibly removed, impelled to undertake a hazardous entrepreneurial expedition to Dutch Guinea, and then finally restlessly flitting in increasing poverty and obscurity between London and The Hague, before dying in 1667 at the age of some seventy-six odd years.<sup>70</sup> The poem is the first literary attempt of a young man whose literary and rhetorical talents were to receive expression in that failed effort to found an Academy for young men in his home in Bethnal Green in 1648,<sup>71</sup> in connection with which he published a number of works on science, literature and rhetoric.<sup>72</sup> Walpole says of one of these tracts that 'it is a most trifling superficial rhapsody',<sup>73</sup> a condemnation which the *Dictionary of National Biography* cannot resist extending to the rest of his oeuvre.<sup>74</sup> But it would be wrong so to dismiss our poem. It is admittedly very expansive indeed, the main subject, as Isaack van der Vinne commented in his manuscript note, smothered by Multifold additions.<sup>75</sup> But is an ingenious composition, sometimes affecting and sometimes witty, a little obsessed, prophetically perhaps, by suspicion of the teeth of envy;<sup>76</sup> but above all a remarkably full and acute assessment of the artistic situation in the province of Holland in the second decade of the century.

The poem begins with a magnificent funeral procession for Goltzius. At its head, of course, is the sorrowing Goddess of Drawing, accompanied by *Fama*<sup>77</sup> and followed by many maidens. The first carries in her hands the black chalk with which Goltzius drew - for, as we shall see, Gerbier here chooses to celebrate Goltzius the draughtsman and engraver, not Goltzius the painter - the second has the swans' quills, the third the graver's burin, the fourth, ink, compasses and parchment.<sup>78</sup> Everyone comes down from Parnassus to accompany the Goddess of Drawing, who in turn is surrounded by a crowd of patrons and connoisseurs, 'die men liefhebbers noemt'.<sup>79</sup> Nature, the Fates and the Three Graces are there too;<sup>80</sup> but suddenly Gerbier realizes that there must be someone to organize so complex a procession; and who should he choose to do so but Wenzel Coebergher!<sup>81</sup> The modern reader might be surprised by such a choice, but it is worth remembering the role this now almost forgotten painter, engineer and architect played in the artistic milieu of the Netherlands around

the turn of the century. In architectural terms at least he was, without doubt, the first major mediator of Italian modes to the Netherlands.<sup>82</sup> He stayed in Italy from 1579/80 to 1603/4, by which time he had already received the important commission for the *St. Sebastian* of the Antwerp Crossbowmen's guild (1599) which still survives as testimony to his early abilities as a painter;<sup>83</sup> for the remaining thirty years of his life he was attached to the court of the Archdukes as artistic adviser and architect of major commissions like the Augustinian Church in Antwerp, the Church of the Discalced Carmelite Nuns in Brussels (for which Rubens was to paint the High Altar), and above all the Basilica at Scherpenheuvel, for which he - Coebergher - also painted the High Altar. As engineer and architect-general he supervised the works at the palaces of Tervuren and Mariemont, drained marshes, and oversaw the development of the Southern Netherlandish *Monti di Pieta*.<sup>84</sup> In the light of such diverse talents it is not after all surprising that Gerbier should have chosen Coebergher as the marshal of his imaginary procession of the artists who walked beside the denizens of Olympus in this remarkably conceived demonstration of homage to Goltzius.

At the head of the procession of artists, Coebergher places Rubens, a shining Phoebus, who rightly claims the lead of all artists on this side of the Alps; time cannot diminish either his art or spirit.<sup>85</sup> Gerbier now imagines a series of paintings which Rubens does in homage to the Haarlem artist. He paints an *Emblema* full of allegorical figures, on a large canvas;<sup>86</sup> his brush moves so quickly that he produces a whole host of paintings<sup>87</sup> - and in this comment on Rubens' speed we have the literary antecedent both of Vondel's comment (in the dedication of the *Gebroeders*) on the hand that does not rest till it has finished the work,<sup>88</sup> and even perhaps of Bellori's *furia del pennello*.<sup>89</sup> Here Rubens paints Parnassus, with the contest between Apollo and Pan; there the Nine Muses; here Andromeda tied to the rock;<sup>90</sup> and many more mythological subjects.<sup>91</sup> Then he turns to subjects from sacred scripture, and above all the Passion, all in honour of the deceased.<sup>92</sup> But the most beautiful are six very large works, which challenge all envy, and pull the mask off Momus's face.<sup>93</sup> The first of these Gerbier describes in some detail, prefacing his description with lines like 'a little softly now, pen and chalk, let brush now flow - Grief must now grow from this soil; these are the shores where Cypresses abound, where there is no longer place for laurel'.<sup>94</sup> Here Charon appears with his ragged boat, then Cerberus with his back all bent from the passage through Acheron. Sweat pours from Charon's torso, as he struggles to get his soul-swallowing boat through the torrent. But however inexorably he proceeds, he finds no booty here; he has no chance against Goltzius<sup>95</sup> - despite all the efforts of his detractors, as Gerbier comments in the marginal annotation.<sup>96</sup> All this is brilliantly represented by Rubens; with a few swift strokes and touches of the brush he shows Charon's muscles and his misshapen brow.<sup>97</sup> There is no one who so captures the very essence of the art by means of which each lively figure plays its appropriate role.<sup>98</sup> 'But as I write', Gerbier concludes, 'my pen slows down, my eyes lift to the scene, Rubens concludes his work, and Charon picks up his rags, in this place meeting no one who will so much as yield to

him: "ontmoetend op dit pas niemant die voor hem swight".<sup>99</sup>

But why should Gerbier have chosen this subject at all? As far as we know, Rubens never painted this kind of underworld scene (except, of course, in some of the eschatological subjects of just these years); and yet the description of the Charon paintings is more substantial than that of any of the others in this poem. Could it be that Gerbier had in mind an implicit parallel with Michelangelo, whose Charon appears so tellingly at the bottom of the fresco of the *Last Judgment* in the Sistine Chapel? We may wonder at what Rubens himself would have thought of both the content and the context of Gerbier's tribute; but what better compliment than to suggest that he too was capable of a grand conception of the subject, and of thus emulating one of the greatest achievements of art? Not even the Belgian Apelles would have demurred at such expectations.

Now these lines may all seem a little breathless, but there can be no doubt of the graphic and colourful plausibility of the paintings by Rubens Gerbier has imagined. Hirschmann thought that these were descriptions of real paintings which had since been lost;<sup>100</sup> but this is surely wrong, however much we may be tempted to see in the brief allusion to an Andromeda tied to a rock a reference to an existing or recorded painting,<sup>101</sup> and even though the three paintings mentioned by Baudius in his poem of 1616 - a *Venus and Adonis*, a *Ganymede*, and a *Prometheus* - may just conceivably be identifiable.<sup>102</sup> The pictures mentioned by Gerbier are plainly imaginary,<sup>103</sup> just as in the case of the elaborate painting described by Vondel in the dedication of the *Gebroeders* twenty years later;<sup>104</sup> but even so we are left with the impression of a writer, however uncouth and overwritten some of his lines may be, who has managed to capture in words something of the spirit and breadth of Rubens's art, at a time when this seemed to be quite beyond the capabilities of better educated and more refined talents. It is hard to avoid reflecting on the irony of what must be the longest contemporary poetic tribute to the Antwerp painter appearing in a lament for the passing of Haarlem's greatest draughtsman.

A whole procession of artists follow Rubens in this cortege. To each of their names Gerbier appends a few illuminating lines or marginalia. First comes Hendrik van Balen, then Bloemaert, then Cornelis van Haarlem, Hendrik Vroom, Cornelis Claes van Wieringen, Esaias van de Velde, Floris van Dyck, Jan Pynas, Frans Badens, Pieter Lastman (especially highly praised), Adriaen van Nieulandt, Werner van der Valckert, Francis Venant, Jan Tengnagel, David Vinckboons, Govert Jansz., Roelandt Savery, Abraham Vinck, Adam van Vianen, Cornelis van der Voort, Joachim Uytewael, Cornelis Boissens;<sup>105</sup> and then two artists of special importance for the funeral procession: Hendrick de Keyser, who sculpts the tomb from white marble;<sup>106</sup> and Abraham van Doort, already then in the service of the English court, but now reimported to make the life-like wax image of Goltzius.<sup>107</sup> After this key pair comes Goltzius's brother-in-law, the then renowned scientist and naturalist, Cornelis Drebbel.<sup>108</sup> Drebbel is allotted more lines than anyone else in the poem besides Rubens, and when we come upon his name, we half expect to find that Gerbier will assign him the task of automating the wax image made by van Doort, in



the manner of those automata that were to be popular in Amsterdam later on in the century.<sup>109</sup> But this is expecting too much, even though Gerbier speaks of Drebbel's experiments that would make man swim like fish, fly, rise to the moon, explore the depths of the sea, and sail without the aid of sails, rudders or oars. "Come here, Archimedes; come everyone to learn at this source".<sup>110</sup> What Drebbel does provide for Goltzius's tomb, however, is a *perpetuum mobile*, to symbolize the perpetual immortality of Goltzius's soul.<sup>111</sup> Then the procession resumes, with Hendrik van Steenwyck, Jan Brueghel, Jacob de Gheyn, Simon Frisius, the recently deceased Isaac Oliver, Miereveld, Ravesteyn, Daniel Mytens, Abraham Blyenbergh, Dirck Boissens and several others from London, The Hague, and Amsterdam bringing up the rear;<sup>112</sup> and finally Jacob Matham arrives, with fresh impressions of prints straight from the press.<sup>113</sup> It is quite an assortment, but a most instructive one; and this is only the first of the three books.

We need not dwell on the second book, for it continues in much the same vein, with a few more artists mentioned, and further reflections on envy, death and immortality.<sup>114</sup> The third book brings down more figures from the mythological Pantheon,<sup>115</sup> and the tone grows loftier still. But it also contains an interesting variation on the theme of Rome and the Netherlands. In much the same manner as Lucas d'Heere's 1565 *Invective Against a Certain Painter*,<sup>116</sup> Gerbier reflects on the craze for visiting Rome, not much use for lesser talents, since 'he who goes there a donkey does not easily return as a horse; many live there amidst cares and woes, simply in order to make their art more skillful and ingenious. O Goltzius you too were there, but now it is plain to all that the real Antique is not at Rome'.<sup>117</sup> And then, very much in the spirit of Hendrik Spiegel and the other writers who extol the attractions and virtues of the Netherlands over Rome or some mythical Arcadia,<sup>118</sup> he exhorts Athena to remain in the Netherlandish Garden, whose pious citizenry adorn her with wreaths and will comfort her for her loss.<sup>119</sup> This land is worth as much as the Rome she - Athena - nourishes so well.<sup>120</sup> Finally bringing up the rear comes a constellation of seven stars who will ensure the fame of Goltzius' drawing: the engravers Jacob Matham, Jacob de Gheyn, Jan Muller, Pieter Serwouters, Hendrick Goudt and Crispin van de Passe;<sup>121</sup> and at the very end Three Graces to console the Goddess of Drawing: the lovely Anna and Maria Tesselschade, Roemer Visscher's daughters, and Magdalena van de Passe.<sup>122</sup>

Gerbier concludes his work with a seven-page postscript in prose. In it he apologizes for the deficiencies of his literary abilities - but justifies his efforts on the ground that Haarlem had not given Goltzius his due.<sup>123</sup> It is perhaps not surprising that Gerbier could find no publisher in Haarlem, and that Aert Meurs in the Hague kept his manuscript for two years before finally taking the decision to go ahead with it;<sup>124</sup> but it *is* true that Goltzius was not immediately accorded a gravestone and epitaph, possibly because of the damage his personal reputation suffered in his last years;<sup>125</sup> and so Gerbier's poignant tribute in the form of an imaginary cortege is in this sense wholly justified. Again, however, he gives way to his obsession with the carpings of the envious, and here his reflections have the ring of truth about them. "It has come to such

a pass these days, that no one seems able to speak well of another", he comments.<sup>126</sup> He worries at length about the fact that there will be some who will be upset, even direct their venom at him, either for making them part of the procession when they would have preferred Goltzius's name to be buried;<sup>127</sup> or for leaving them out; or for having devoted more lines to some artists than to others. He admits that he could not have included everyone in so small a space - although some 50 artists *are* included - and he was, after all, not trying to emulate Van Mander.<sup>128</sup>

As Gerbier's further comments were written in the very year that van Mander was to be reprinted,<sup>129</sup> it may be worth considering them for a moment. Every day one sees van Mander being misused, he says; the *Schilder-Boeck* is turned inside out and upside down, by some to see if they have been sufficiently highly rated, by others to note who stands in front or at the rear, and by others yet who say that van Mander had better have remained silent. "I realize," Gerbier seems to be saying, "that for the same reasons my few lines in honour of Hendrik Goltzius will also be vilified."<sup>130</sup> What a vivid and easily understandable picture of the petty jealousies and rivalries that must have characterized the artistic climate in Haarlem at the time! Occasionally art historians have attempted to diminish the impact of van Mander on contemporary art and artists, but a passage like this gives the lie to such a view.

We have come some way from Rubens, and I may have been carried away by the obvious interest of the poem for students of Dutch, rather than Flemish, art. But even if Gerbier had devoted fewer lines to Rubens, even if they had been of the same order of clichéd and fulsome hyperbole that we find in the conventional tributes of the time, we would still be left with this first testimony of a relationship that was to become quite close and in which art and politics were soon to become inextricably linked. In 1627 Rubens and Gerbier spent a week together in Delft supposedly treating for peace between England and Spain, but taking the opportunity now to visit the leading painters of Holland - including in Utrecht Bloemaert, Moreelse, Terbrugghen, Poelenburgh and Honthorst.<sup>131</sup> Their diplomatic efforts were wholly thwarted by the powers that be, when unbeknownst to them and to their mutual distress, Legañes and Olivares concluded a separate treaty with Richelieu.<sup>132</sup> But despite Gerbier's apparently dubious character, their relationship, alternately affectionate and guarded, lasted until Rubens' very last days.<sup>133</sup> What bound them together was not only political exigency but a common commitment to art; what more auspicious beginning could it have had than Gerbier's touching inclusion of Rubens at the head of his imaginery tribute to the draughtmanship of Goltzius? If there was one thing that Rubens desired as keenly as anything else, it was the reunion of the Northern and Southern Netherlands; we can be sure that nothing would have given him greater pleasure than to give symbolic expression to that ideal by taking his place amongst the artists of Holland in their joint homage to Goltzius, among so many whose careers had been disrupted by the very rift that Rubens spent his life vainly trying to heal. The new art of the North was to take wholly different course to that represented both by Goltzius and Rubens, but in 1620 there was still only one artist who could take the place at its head; and that artist was Rubens.

## Footnotes

1. Dr. Marjon van der Meulen, however, tells me that she has already included it in the collection of Rubens testimonia that she is in the course of preparing and annotating.
2. O. Hirschmann, "Balthasar Gerbiers Eer ende Claght Dight ter eeren van Henricus Gol-tius", *Oud-Holland*, XXXVIII, 1920, pp. 104-125.
3. (Alexander van Fornenbergh), *Den Antwerpschen Protheus, ofte Cyclopschen Apelles; dat is, Het Leven, ende Konst-rijcken Daden des Uytnemenden, ende Hoogh-beroemden, Mr. Quinten Matsys: Van Grof-Smidt, in Fyn-Schilder verandert . . . door AVF Schilder*, Antwerp (Henrick van Soest), 1658.
4. For the first, see note 12 below.
5. Giovanni Pietro Bellori, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti moderni*, I, Rome (successori al Mascardi), 1672, pp. 217-248.
6. (Roger de Piles), *Conversations sur la connaissance de la peinture, et sur le jugement qu'on doit faire des tableaux, ou par occasion il est parle de la vie de Rubens, et de quelques-uns de ses plus beaux ouvrages*, Paris (Nicholas Langlois), 1677. See also C. Ruelens, "La vie de Rubens, par Roger de Piles", *Rubens-Bulletijn*, II, 1883, pp. 157-211. For the important but rare material prior to 1640, see Arents, pp. 11-12 (easily overlooked, as these pages precede Arents' Table of Contents); but note too the poem by Baudius cited in note 9 below and the piece by Gerbier discussed in the present article.
7. For instances of this kind of compliment in works cited in the present article, see for example the passage by Fornenbergh quoted in note 52 below; while even Dominicus Baudius is capable of delivering himself of the tired cliché *Macte Apelles nostri aevi* on p. 645 of the edition of his poems cited in note 9 below. The culmination of Southern Netherlandish panegyric is provided by the unremittingly hyperbolic verses of Cornelis de Bie, *Het Gulden Cabinet van de Edel Vry Schilder Const . . .*, Antwerp (Jan Meyssens), 1661, pp. 56-59, where Rubens is set above a whole variety of painters from antiquity.
8. Gaspar Scioppius (Scaliger), *Hyperbolimaeus, hoc est Elenchus epistolae Josephi Burdonis Pseudo-Scaligeri, de Vestustate et splendore gentis Scaligeranae . . .*, Mainz (Johannes Albinus), 1607, fol. 110v. For the squabble about the genealogy of the Scaliger family that provoked this work, and for comment on the significance of the lines on Rubens, see C. Ruelens, "Un témoignage relatif à P.P. Rubens en Italie", *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, 1896, pp. 113-117.
9. For Heinsius's poem celebrating the marriage of Rubens and Isabella Brant, see Daniel Heinsius, *Poemata*, Leiden (Elzevier), 1621, p. 236 (Rooses-Ruelens, No. CXX, pp. 331-332). For Baudius's poem mentioning three paintings by Rubens, see Dominicus Baudius, *Poematum nova editio*, Leiden (Basson), 1616, pp. 577-580 (cf. p. 000 above and note 102 below). Baudius's three long eulogistic letters to Rubens were first all printed in Dominicus Baudius, *Epistolarum Centuriae III*, Leiden, 1620, No. 52, pp. 644-646 (letter of 4 October, 1611); No. 47, pp. 632-634 (letter of 11 April, 1612); No. 69, pp. 682-683 (letter of 21 February, 1613). All these in Rooses-Ruelens, Nos. CXXX, CXXXIII; see also van Gelder, pp. 122-125, and Rens, pp. 332-334 for some discussion. On the significance of these letters for the dating of Rubens' first trip to Holland (on which see note 59 below), see R. de Smet, "Een nauwkeuriger datering van Rubens' eerste reis naar Holland in 1612", *Jaarboek, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen*, 1977, pp. 199-220 (which also gives the references to the letters in later editions of Baudius's correspondence).
10. Vondel, *Gebroeders*, Amsterdam, 1640, Dedication to G.J. Vossius. Discussed in Rens, pp. 347-350. See also note 104 below.
11. Vondel, *Op den dooden Leander in d'armen der zeegodinnen, door Rubens geschildert. Uit Marino, in: Poesy de verscheide gedichten*, Amsterdam (Hartgers), 1650, p. 486. See van Gelder pp. 137-140, and Rens, pp. 334-335 for further discussion.
12. *Metamorphosis, ofte Wonderbaere Veranderingh' ende Leven vanden vermaerden Mr. Quinten Matsys, Constigh Grof-Smit, ende Schilder binnen Antwerpen*, Antwerp (Franchoy's Fickaert), 1648.
13. Now Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, No. 245. Fickaert, p. 14, notes that some think there are six heads, others seven; while those who have looked hard only find four. "Dit comt door veel aerdige uytwerkinghen van persoonen die daer in te vinden zijn, soo datmen de dinghen qualijck can onderscheyden ende dat sy eenighen helm oft

ander lidt maedt voor een peerdts-hoofd aenmercken”, he plausibly explains in a passage that is presumably derived from van Mander's life of Matsijs. Fornenbergh, on the other hand, is somewhat more sophisticated in his approach to the matter: “. . . Dit twijffel ghetal en bestaet niet uyt eenighe verdorvenheydt als Karel van Mander meynt, van Helmen voor Peerdts-hoofden aen te sien, maer wel van meer als 147. Jaerighe oudtheydt ende vervuylinghe des tijds beneffens de suckelingh die het gheleden heeft ghelijck verhaelt sal worden” (Fornenbergh, pp. 19-20).

14. Fickaert, pp. 3, 16-17; Fornenbergh, pp. 32-33. The “centenary” was, of course, based on what was then assumed to be the date of Matsys's death (1529 instead of 1531). It is perhaps worth noting that Cornelis van der Geest acted swiftly to preserve Matsys's original tombstone when the Carthusian Cloister in which he was buried was renovated and enlarged in 1621.
15. On Peeter Stevens (1590-1668), see now the article by Briels, especially p. 164 for the main biographical details.
16. Cornelis van der Geest has attracted considerable interest over the years; see the article by Held for references, including the Postscript and the notes to the Postscript in the 1982 reworking of this article.
17. For the *Catalogue des raretez très renomées de feu Sr. Pierre Stevens en son vivant Aumônier de la Ville d'Anvers* of 13 August, 1668 ff. (only known copy in the Public Record Office London), see Briels, pp. 223-226, Bijlage II (henceforward *Catalogue*). For a transcription of the notes in Stevens's own copy of the 1618 edition of van Mander's *Schilder-Boeck*, see Briels, pp. 203-222, Bijlage I. To judge from the inscription *Pr. Stevens. 1625-* on the title page, Stevens appears to have acquired (or at least begun annotating this copy) (now in the Biblioteca Hertziana in Rome) in 1625.
18. See especially Briels, pp. 166-202.
19. In 1558, Fornenbergh, bii, mentions that Stevens owned ten works by Bruegel. For the identification of these works, see Briels pp. 197-199. To these must be added the “tres renommée Bruyère, la où des paysans et Paysanes vont au marche avec un chariot & un porché, & autres” and the “Idée de l'automne” which feature as Nos. 13 and 22 in the *Catalogue* of 1668 (see note 17 above). The former is mentioned in Stevens's van Mander annotations as the “Heyke dat Abraham Ortelius heeft toebehoort”; it then belonged to Cornelis van der Geest (Briels, pp. 206 and 199). The *Catalogue* mentions 11 works by Bruegel in Stevens's collection sub Nos. 13-23. Not mentioned is the “notenkraker met een conterfijtsel van den ouwen Brugel” sold by Forchoudt at the Stevens sale on 13 December, 1668 (Briels, p. 199, note 184). No. 14 “La femme adultère” (described as “een wit ende swart stuxken van het vrouken in overspel” in Stevens's van Mander annotations, Briels, p. 206), formerly in the Seilern collection, London, is now in the Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection; while No. 18, “La Morte de Nostre Dame” (described in the van Mander annotations as “noch een stuck wit ende swert den sterfdach van ons L. Vrouw”, Briels, p. 206) is now in Upton House, Warwickshire (and not in the collection of Viscount Lee of Fareham in Richmond, as Briels, p. 199 maintains). Count Seilern also owned the “Fuite en Egypte avec une belle vuë des Paysages” (*Catalogue* of 1668, No. 16), now in the Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection. Of the remaining works listed in the 1668 *Catalogue*, No. 15 (“Le Monde renversé, représenté par plusieurs Proverbes et Moralités”) is presumably to be identified with the *Flemish Proverbs* now in Berlin, and No. 17 (“La Ville d'Anvers avec deux Singes” with the *Two Monkeys* also in Berlin; No. 22 (“L'Idée de l'Automne”) may be the *Sombre Day* in Vienna, while No. 23 (“Une fête villageoise”) could be any one of several paintings of this kind of subject. No. 17 (“L'Idée du Mont St. Godard en Suisse”) came from Rubens's collection, but has since disappeared (Briels, p. 198), as has No. 19, “La Pourtrait de la femme de Mr. Pierre van Aelst, Peintre”. Is it possible that No. 20, “Le Bateau duquel Jonas fut jette en la Mer” (the “Schip daer Jonas wort uytgeworpen” of the van Mander annotations, Briels, p. 206) is to be identified with the painting of the *Storm at Sea* now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna? In the absence of other plausible candidates, the presence of both boat and large fish suggest the possibility.
20. *Catalogue* of 1668 (as in note 17 above), Nos. 10-12; described *in extenso* by Fornenbergh on pp. 24-28. The pictures concerned were either the archetype or the best version of the *Madonna and Child with Cherries* (Cf. p. 000 above and note 43 below); the *Money Changer*

- and his wife now in the Louvre (Cf. notes 25 and 44 below), and the lost painting described in the *Catalogue* as "Le très fameux Ieu de Cartes, dont parle Alexandre van Fornenbergh avec grande estime en la vie de Quentin Matsys" (*Catalogue* of 1668, No. 12).
21. *Catalogue* of 1668 (as in note 17), No. 3. Discussed at length by Held, pp. 43-50 and pp. 57-58 and notes, as well as by Briels, pp. 171-180.
  22. "Noch bij Peeter Stevens een fraey conterfeytsel van Jan van Eyck met dato 1438, wesende den Cardinael Santa Croce die alsdoen tot Brugge was gesonden vanden Paus om de peys te maecken met Hertoch Philips over zyn vaders doot met den dolphyn van Franckryck. Ditto stuck is nu in handen vanden Ertshertoch Leopoldus die het nu gecocht hadde V. April 1648" (Briels, p. 211).
  23. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. No. 624; Briels, pp. 182-183. For the counter-claims, see R. Weiss, "Jan van Eycks 'Albergati' portrait", *The Burlington Magazine*, XCVII, 1955, pp. 145-147; and J. Bruyn, "Twee kardinaalsportretten in het werk van Jan van Eyck", in *Album Discipulorum, aangeboden aan Professor J.G. van Gelder ter gelegenheid van zijn zestigste verjaardag*, Utrecht, 1973, pp. 17-30.
  24. Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection, No. 28, as by Frans Francken the Younger and David Teniers the Younger. See Briels, pp. 166-168, and (Helen Braham), *The Princes Gate Collection*, London, 1981, p. 19, No. 28.
  25. Paris, Louvre, Inv. No. 1444. Signed and dated 1514. Fornenbergh, p. 26. For the provenance of this work, see S. Sulzberger, "Considerations sur le chef-d'oeuvre de Quentin Metsys: le Prêtreur et sa femme", *Bulletin, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, XIV, 1965, pp. 27-34; de Bosque, pp. 190-193; Briels, pp. 191-192.
  26. Willem van Haecht, *The Konstkamer of Cornelis van der Geest*. Antwerp, Rubens House. Signed and dated 1628. On this work, see now Held and his note 19 for earlier literature on the painting, as well as F. Baudouin, "The Picture Gallery' of Cornelis van der Geest by Willem van Haecht", in *Pietro Paulo Rubens*, New York, 1977, pp. 283-301 (first published in Flemish in *Antwerpen*, XV, 1969, pp. 158-173). For the paintings represented within the picture, see the identifications in Held. On Rubens' copy of Matsijs's Paracelsus (now in Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, No. 388), see W. Stechnow, "Some Thoughts on Rubens as a Copyist of Portraits, 1610-1620", in J.R. Martin, ed., *Rubens Before 1620*, Princeton, 1972, p. 24 and note 7. Doubts about the identification of the sitter are expressed by G. von der Osten, "Paracelsus — ein verlorenes Bild von Wolf Huber?", *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, XXX, 1968, pp. 201-214. For the surviving copies of Matsijs's Paracelsus and a further discussion of the identification of the sitter, see de Bosque, pp. 246-249.
  27. *Catalogue* of 1668 (as in note 17), No., 1; Briels, p. 223.
  28. Sarasota, Florida, The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Inv. No. SN 18. See W.H. Wilson in F. W. Robinson and W. H. Wilson with contributions by Larry Silver, *Catalogue of the Flemish and Dutch Paintings 1400-1900*, Sarasota, Florida, 1980, No. 41, with references to the other versions of this composition in Miami (Bass Museum) and Tokyo (National Museum of Western Art; ex Martin von Wagner collection).
  29. Paris, Louvre, Inv. No. 1760. K.d.K. p. 283.
  30. Fornenbergh, cii verso.
  31. *Ibid.*, ciii.
  32. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, No. 245. Panel, 260: 273 cm. (central panel); 260: 120 cm. (wings). pp. De Bosque, pp. 96-100.
  33. "... Aen de voeten Christi sit Maria Magdalena geknieldt, schijnende bitterlijck te weenen: ende verwonderlijck is te sien de schoonheydt in haere Tronien uytghebeeldt, ende te samen de Affectien, ende inwendighe Herts-tochten van een lydende Ghemoedt ..." Fornenbergh, p. 17. Cf. also the passages cited in notes 35 and 49 below.
  34. "Hier sietmen een Vremde ende Gheestighe kleedinghe, vloeyende Laeckenen ende sijden, aerdigh ghekrookt ende gheplooyt; met gloeyende schaduwen ende schoone vlacke daghen ...", Fornenbergh, p. 17.
  35. "... ende schijnt alles roerelijck en natuerlijck te geschieden: Jae de wonden der steeck doornen, het ghekertelde vleesch ende af-vloeyende bloedt is alles soo eygentlyck uytghebeeldt dat men beweeght word (bijde der konst en des med'lijdens halven) 't selven

- aen siende . . .”, Fornenbergh, p. 18.
36. Philips Angel, *Lof der Schilderkonst*, Leiden (Willem Christiaens), 1642. For a rare copy of this work, see the second item in the composite volume in the Print Room of the British Museum referred to in note 64 below. Fornenbergh's references to Philips Angel occur on p. 20.
  37. “. . . een rijp Oordeel, een sekere ende vaste Teekeningh, een vloeyende Gheest der Ordonnantie, een Cierelijcke Rijckelijckheydt”, Fornenbergh, p. 20. Cf. Philips Angel, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
  38. “het wel schicken der Lichten ende Schaduwen; een eyghen waer-neminghe der Nature; de uytbeeldinghe des Ghemoeds ofte Lijdens inde Tronyen; een diepe bedenckinghe der Historie; een Grondighe verstandt in d'Anatomic, ofte Musculen der naeckten; een vleesigh colorit; ende een Onderscheydt van alle Goude ende Wolle, Laeckenen, Lijnen ende sijde Stoffen . . .”, Fornenbergh, pp. 20-21. Cf. Philips Angel (as in note 36), pp. 34-35.
  39. “Ende boven desen een malsche ende wel-Ghehandelde Schilderingh, seer soet-vloeyende en suyver inde veruwen verdreven”, Fornenbergh, p. 21.
  40. (The passage continues from that cited in the previous note) “doch is van beyd's te sien hier en daer wat Rouw ende gheestigh af gheklotst in sonderheydt de flincke Deure die met kloecke Pinceel-streken Meesterlyck is aen-ghetast 't welck van beneden eenen grooten wel-stondt gheeft”, Fornenbergh, p. 21.
  41. Now in Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Inv. No., 2748. De Bosque, pp. 88-95.
  42. After describing the work at some length, Fornenbergh emphasizes: “soo hier in de eyghendommen der beschrijvinghe van dit stuck eenighe fael-grepen sijn, den Leser ghelieve my t'onschuldigen want het uyt-houdinghe (naer een deel verlopen Iaren, sonder vernieuwinghe des gesichts) aldus is aengheteeckent”, Fornenbergh, p. 24.
  43. John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Florida, No. SN 200. F. W. Robinson et al., *cat. cit.* (as in note 28 above), No. 30. For the work which was admired as the jewel of van der Geest's collection and was later acquired by Peeter Stevens, see Held, pp. 40-41, and Briels, p. 191. For Fornenbergh's comments on it, see his pp. 24-25. Our plate 2 shows van der Geest pointing to the painting in the midst of a group of distinguished personages (identified by Held, pp. 40-41) on the occasion of the famous visit of the Archduke and Archduchess to his collection in August 1615, which van Haecht's picture commemorates. Fickaert gives the date as 15 August, while Fornenbergh gives 23 August. According to M. de Maeyer, *Albrecht en Isabella en de Schilderkunst*, Brussels, 1955, p. 000, the latter date is more likely to be the correct one. De Bosque, pp. 207-218 gives the various versions of the celebrated composition of the *Madonna and Child with Cherries*.
  44. Fornenbergh, pp. 26-27.
  45. In discussing the third of the paintings by Matsijs owned by Stevens (the Catalogue of 1668, No. 12 refers to it as “Le très fameux Ieu de Cartes, dont parle Alexandre van Fornenbergh avec grand estime en la vie de Quentin Matsijs”), Fornenbergh notes a figural comparison with the right wing of the Lamentation altarpiece (as in note 32 above): “Aen de rechte sijde vande Tafel staen eenen ouden, versierlijck ende vrent van wesen stekende den kop voor uyt, schijnt natuurlijk eenigh *Argument* te maecken in het spel. End dat is de selve Tronie van Quinten te pass-ghebrocht in de Deure van S. Jan in d'Olie t'onser L. Vrouwen, die het vier stoockt met de gaffel”, Fornenbergh, p. 27.
  46. Fornenbergh refers to a small altarpiece of the *Lamentation* earlier in the Oratory of the Archduke Albert: “ende alsoo het selfde begonde af te schelferen was het boven-dien noch in veel partijen bedorven gheweest, en t'er dier plaetsen, met een onverstandigh Pinceel (mishelpende) gheholpen . . . soo dat door de vermetende onwetende schildery-schuurders dese treffelycke Stucken in de ooghen der Konst-Beminders selfs haren jammerlijke onder-ganck beklaghen . . .”, Fornenbergh, p. 28. One may, however, incline to scepticism about the objectivity of this assessment in the light of his claim that he himself restored it to its former state “met grooten danck des eyghenaers ende goedt oordeel der beste kendens sonder eenighe officie der konst” (*Ibid.*, p. 29). With these observations one should compare the remarks on the right wing of the *Lamentation* altarpiece cited in note 13 above. See also his comments (p. 30) on the condition and restoration of the wall paintings in Matsijs's own home.

47. Cf. his consultation of the 1615 Account Book of the Cabinet Makers' Guild in order to discover the details of the commission and payment for the *Lamentation* altarpiece (300 guilders in three installments); Fornenbergh, pp. 21-22. Although Fickaert (p. 14) already appears to have known of this source, he apparently had difficulty in interpreting it and the information he derived from it is considerably less precise.
48. Eg. on the purchase by "Thomas Lopes, Baron de Umale (sic), Pagador tot Antwerpen" of the precious altarpiece of the *Nood Godts* referred to in note 46 above (Fornenbergh, p. 28); on the several "ou-bollighe Monstrueuse Tronyen" owned by d'Heer Borghemeester Smidts tot Aelst" (Fornenbergh, p. 31); and, of course, the details of the works owned by Cornelis van der Geest and Peeter Stevens.
49. He describes a painting of *Unequal Lovers* (on the versions of this picture, see de Bosque, pp. 193-195; cf. also L.A. Silver, "The Ill-Matched Pair by Quinten Massys", *Studies in the History of Art* (National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.) VI, 1974, pp. 105-123, thus "Hier sagh men de eygentlicke inwendighe Passien, de weersijdsche begeerlijckheydt, uytwendigh in de Tronyen spelen . . ."; it was done "Net ende Rouw, want hier-in een snelle manier van schilderen te sien was, nochtans seer suyer staende" (Fornenbergh, p. 29).
50. Fornenbergh, p. 30, concluding with the comment that "Dit werck is met een gheestighe manier Rouw en Swadderigh af-ghedaen; en derhalven niet van Quintens beste maer wel van sijn leste" (indeed, as Fornenbergh recalls, the paintings were dated 1528).
51. Fornenbergh, p. 41.
52. "Thespiades Gheslacht, ghy Neghen Heyligheden!/Komt van Olimpus Kruyn, op 't soedighste beneden;/Sluyt uw Orac'len, op den Kop van Cytheron;/Ontwijckt een weynigh tijds den Top van Helicon;/Verlaet uw' Aganipp' en kom aen Scheldis Baren/Verdubbelen u Ghesangh; Herstellen uwe snaren" etc. Fornenbergh, p. 42.
53. Full title as in Appendix. For the lapse of time between the writing and publication of the poem, see Gerbier's own statements on p. 41, where he notes that it had been with the publisher Meurs for over two years before it was finally printed.
54. Their first recorded encounter was in Paris in the Spring of 1625, when Rubens was completing the cycle of the *Life of Marie de' Medici* prior to the marriage of Charles I of England and Henriette of France. For the details and circumstances of their meeting, see now F. Baudouin, *Pietro Paulo Rubens*, New York, 1977, pp. 219-20, and Rooses-Ruelens, p. 397.
55. Since the present article was written, however, J.M. Muller, "The Perseus and Andromeda on Rubens's House", *Simiolus*, XII, 1981-82, pp. 131-146, has appeared. In it, Professor Muller discusses the fictive canvas of *Perseus and Andromeda* shown overlapping the loggia of Rubens' House in Antwerp in Haarewijn's engraving of 1692; and briefly, in his note 45, refers to the line by Gerbier on an Andromeda subject (Appendix, line 18). See also E. McGrath, "The Painted Decoration of Rubens' House", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XLI, 1978, pp. 245-277, as well as notes 101 and 103 below.
56. See Bibliography for full references.
57. See Bibliography for full references.
58. Van Gelder, pp. 119-120.
59. For the amusing incident in which Rubens and his companions were "arrested" by the disguised painters of Haarlem before being escorted to a banquet in their honour, see Gerbier, p. 44 *in margine*. First noted by H. Hymans, "Un voyage artistique de Rubens ignore", *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique*, 3me série, XXIV, 1882, p. 402; but see also Hirschmann, pp. 118-119; W. Stechow, "Zu Rubens' erster Reise nach Holland", *Oud-Holland*, 1927, pp. 138-139; and van Gelder, p. 120.
60. See R. de Smet, *op. cit.* (note 9 above), pp. 199-220.
61. Rooses-Ruelens, No. CCXXXIV, and commentary on pp. 202-212. Translated by Magurn, pp. 69-70. For the implications of this letter for the status of Rubens in Holland and its connection with the question of the earlier dissemination of Rubens compositions in print there, see van Gelder, pp. 128-130.
62. E.K.J. Reznicek, *Die Zeichnungen von Hendrik Goltzius*, 2 vols., Utrecht, 1961, I, pp. 28-31.
63. Hirschmann, pp. 104 and 119, note 1; Reznicek, p. 28.

64. London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, pressmark 157.a.35.
65. (G. Bidloo), *Aan den Heer Philips de Flines, Op zyn Kunstkamer van Beelden, Medatiën, Schilderyen, Tekeningen en Prenten*, Amsterdam (Erfgenamen van Jacob Lescaijje), 1681.
66. *Philips Angels Lof der Schilderkunst*, Leiden (Willem Christiaens), 1642.
67. *T'Samen-spreekinghe Betreffende de Architecture ende Schilderkunst . . . Door I. de Ville, schilder ende liefhebber der Mathematische Konst*, Gouda (Pieter Rammasyn), 1628.
68. Full reference in note 12 above.
69. On the verso of the first endpaper is an annotation by Johannes Enschede stating that he bought the composite volume from Isaak van der Vinne "Figuur-Snyder, tekenaar en Boekverkoper te Haarlem" (1665-1740). It seems fairly clear that the annotations and sectional drawings on the verso and recto of the next two pages are by van der Vinne himself; both comments and drawings, as well as the date of the hand, are consistent with this suggestion.
70. On Gerbier see M.G. de Boer, "Balthazar Gerbier", *Oud-Holland*, XXI, 1903, pp. 129-160, and the excellent article in the Dictionary of National Biography, VII, pp. 1106-1108.
71. The prospectus for his Academy (on the model of Charles I's *Museum Minervae*) was issued in several different forms in 1648 and 1649 (*To all Fathers of noble families and lovers of Vertue*) giving the plans and rules of the school; but the Academy itself only opened on 19 July, 1649.
72. Cf. the list given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, VII, p. 1107, including the printed lectures on Cosmography, Geography, Navigation and Military Architecture, all first published in 1649; but note also the publications of 1650: *The Academies Lecture concerning Justice; The Art of Well Speaking, A Publique Lecture on all the languages, arts, sciences and noble exercises which are taught in Sr B.G.'s Academy*; and so on.
73. Cited in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, VII, p. 1107.
74. *Ibidem*: 'which is equally true of all Gerbier's writings'.
75. ". . . een seer poetisch dog geen sagt vloeyend Gedigt; het is al te breed-weydende, het voorname onderwerp versmoort onder de menigvuldige byvoegingen . . ." (Van der Vinne MS. notes in the British Museum copy of Gerbier's poem as noted in note 69 above).
76. For examples see notes 126-128 below. In this respect one should bear in mind the frequency of this *topos* in Dutch writing on art of the seventeenth century. One has only to think of the recurrent references to fame and envy in the *Clinck-* and *Lofdichten* at the head of van Mander's *Schilder-Boeck* of 1604 and 1618 (see especially the poem by P. Bor following the sonnet which he wrote too).
77. Gerbier, p. 1.
78. "Veel Maeghden volgden haer, de eerste droegh in handen/ De cool daer Iupijn selfs! med teeckent aen sijn wanden/ . . . De tweede Maeght verschijnt met witte swane veren./ De derde draeght een spits een graef-stift t'sijner eeren./ De vierde brengt den inct, den passer, 't parkement", Gerbier, p. 2, lines 5-11.
79. Gerbier, p. 1, line 19.
80. "*Natura* d'oude Vrouw soo 't scheen had oock berouwen/ . . . En aen de rechte hand o wreede susters dry./ Ghy ghier'ghe Parken snel, soo volgt gy op een Ry/ (and much more on the Fates) . . . Dry susters gaven 'twoort, vol macht en vol van reden./ En spraecken als hier volgt . . .", Gerbier, p. 3, lines 21-24. In the marginalium here the "dry susters" are specifically identified as the three graces ("De dry gratien").
81. Gerbier, pp. 3-4 eulogizes Coebergher at length, with special reference to his trip to Italy and his activities there.
82. See the excellent pages devoted to Coebergher in M. de Maeyer, *Albrecht en Isabella en de Schilderkunst*, Brussels, 1955, especially pp. 198-206, with full bibliographic references.
83. Nancy, Musée des Beaux-Arts. Illustrated in T.H. Fokker, "Wenzel Coebergher, Schilder", in *De Kunst der Nederlanden*, I, 1930-31, p. 176, pl. 7. On this work and the post-iconoclast history of its altar, see H. Vlieghe, "Het altaar van de Jonge Voetboog in de Onze-Lieve Vrouwekerk te Antwerpen", in *Album Amicorum J.G. van Gelder*, The Hague, 1973, pp. 342-



346. For his remaining pictorial production, see Fokker, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-179, and De Maeyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-212.
84. The best summary of all these activities of Coebergher's is to be found in De Maeyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-213, with extensive archival and bibliographic references.
85. Appendix, lines 1-6.
86. Appendix, line 8. It seems clear that in his use of this phrase, Gerbier meant to suggest a painting with allegorical figures. Cf. Abraham van der Doort's description of the painting of *Peace and War* (National Gallery, London) which Rubens presented to Charles I as an "Emblin wherein the difference and ensuencees between peace and warrs is Shewed" (O. Millar, ed., "Abraham van der Doort's Catalogue of the Collection of Charles I", *Walpole Society*, XXXVII, 1958-60, p. 000.
87. Appendix, lines 9-10.
88. Vondel, *Gebroeders* (1640), Dedication to Vossius: "Hy (Rubens) valt aen het tekenen, ordinceren, en schilderen, nocte zijn wakkere geest rust eer het werckstuck voltoit zy".
89. G. P. Bellori, *Le Vite . . .*, a cura di E. Borea, Turin, 1976, p. 267: "Nel comporre poi se ne servira di motivo e ne arricchiva li suoi componimenti, ed in vero che alla copia dell'invenzione e dell'ingegno, aggiunta la gran prontezza e la furia del pennello, si stese la mano di Rubens a tanto gran numero d'opere". Cf. earlier, in connection with the *Marie de' Medici* cycle: "Espose il Rubens in questi componimenti la gran prontezza e 'l fuoco del suo spirito, avendo usato una maravigliosa sicurezza e liberta di pennello. Si tiene pero che la maniera del dipingere non possa essere ne più facile ne più naturale", Bellori, ed. cit., p. 251.
90. Appendix, lines 13-18. On the possibility of identifying these works — the *Andromeda* in particular — see p. 000 above and notes 101 and 103 below.
91. "En duysent dinghen meer, ghehaelt uit d'Heydens boeck", Appendix, line 19.
92. Appendix, lines 22-23.
93. Appendix, lines 24-25.
94. Appendix, lines 32-35.
95. Appendix, lines 36-43.
96. "Hoe den Poetischen Heydenschen Caron aen Goltius gheen cans en heeft, waer van sijn eynde ende godtsalich sterven een goet bewijs van gheweest is, dienende tot wederlegginghe aen de quade gerucht-makers ende faem-roovers", Gerbier, p. 6.
97. Appendix, lines 50-54. Here I have abbreviated Gerbier's description of the imaginary Charon in these lines, and have omitted to translate the passages on his bare head, his wrinkled skin, and the rumbling noises he utters as he proceeds.
98. Appendix, lines 58-59.
99. Appendix, lines 60-63.
100. Hirschmann, p. 109.
101. Hirschmann, p. 109, suggested that the *Andromeda* mentioned here might be identifiable either with the painting of *Perseus und Andromeda* in Leningrad, No. 461 (K.d.K., p. 224) or with that in Berlin, No. 785 (K.d.K., p. 225). But the possibility of either of these identifications is undermined by the fact that both paintings almost certainly date from just after 1620, by which time Gerbier had already finished writing his poem. Professor J. Muller, however, in the article cited in note 55 above, notes that the enormous fictive canvas tacked to a wooden stretcher showing *Perseus and Andromeda* in Harrewijn's engraving of 1692 is identical with the composition now in Leningrad. Now although it is just possible that some knowledge — probably secondhand — of the decoration of Rubens' House may have been at the back of Gerbier's mind when he wrote his poem, the vagueness of each description, the odd juxtaposition of a variety of subjects, and the constant tailing-off into thoughts provoked by each subject which are more or less appropriate to the general theme, suggests a process of somewhat undisciplined literary invention rather than the consistent reflection of a sequence of real paintings — but see the hypothesis outlined in note 103 below. There is neither any reason nor any need for descriptions of real paintings here: the whole point of the cortege which Rubens heads is that it is an imaginary one, in honour of an artist to whom the homage is purely literary. As for the proposed *Andromeda* identification, it may in any case be noted that the description "d'onhey!ghe rots daer

*Andromeda claecheden*" suggests the kind of composition where *Andromeda* is shown tied mournfully to rock, and not one in which she is in the process of being freed by Perseus: indeed, in both the Leningrad and the Berlin pictures the expression on her face reflects anything but the emotion suggested by Gerbier's lines. The largest part of the poem, moreover, is devoted to the complex description of Charon ferrying souls across the Styx: this is certainly an odd subject for a painting or series of paintings, even when they relate to a dead hero; who is to know the extent to which the name of the dedicatee of the poem, Noel de Caron, may, paronomastically, have inspired these lines? One has only to notice Gerbier's fondness for expansive plays on proper nouns — cf. for example the play on the first syllable of Abraham Bloemaert's surname cited in note 105 below. And how can one take the references to "a thousand things more, taken from pagan books" (Appendix, line 19), and the consequent need to include subjects from the Passion too, in any terms other than those of a profuse literary inventiveness, restricted only by the vague possibility that these are all subjects Rubens could well have treated? But see again note 103 below.

102. For the possible — but unlikely — identifications of the *Venus and Adonis* with the painting in Dusseldorf (K.d.K., p. 29), the *Ganymede* with that in the collection of Erbprinz Karl zu Schwarzenberg in Vienna (K.d.K., p. 39) and the *Prometheus* with that in Philadelphia (reproduced in van Gelder, p. 127, plate 18; but see also J.S. Held, "Rubens' Prometheus Bound", *Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin*, LIX, 1963, pp. 17-32), see Rooses-Ruelens, p. 59, van Gelder, pp. 122-128, and Rens, pp. 332-334. Rens rightly points out the discrepancy between Baudius's descriptions and all of these paintings; cf. also W. Prohaska, in (Cat. Exhib.), *Peter Paul Rubens 1577-1640*, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1977, No. 8, pp. 58-60. On the other hand, it is by no means impossible that Baudius may have recalled paintings of these subjects. In any case, he is likely to have been as familiar as Rubens was with the ekphrastic passages in Achilles Tatius on both a *Prometheus* and a *Perseus and Andromeda* subject. For the connection between Rubens' Philadelphia painting and Achilles Tatius, see C. Dempsey, "Euanthes Redivivus: Rubens' *Prometheus Bound*", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXX, 1967, pp. 420-425.
103. Indeed, it seems by no means impossible that Gerbier was thinking of works by Goltzius when he composed these lines on Rubens. When he described a *Contest between Apollo and Pan*, followed by a reference to the *Nine Muses*, might he not have had in mind Goltzius's engraving of the *Judgment of Midas* (where the Nine Muses are actually present)? Might Goltzius's *Andromeda* engraving then have occurred to him, and then finally his *Passion* series (the generic description "De Passy" in line 23 of the Appendix may well suggest a series rather than an individual subject)? Given the general difficulty in assessing the early stages of any creative conception, this seems nonetheless a plausible account — oddly ironic though it may now seem to be; and I am grateful to Elizabeth McGrath for suggesting it to me. The engravings concerned are catalogued in O. Hirschmann, *Verzeichnis des Graphischen Werks von Hendrick Goltzius, 1558-1617*, Leipzig, 1921, Nos., 132, 157 and 21-32 respectively.
104. Reference in note 10 above. Vondel expansively describes a supposed painting of *David's Judgment of the Sons of Saul in the Presence of the Gibeonites* (2 Samuel 21 — although the subject of the *Gebroeders* is taken from a variety of passages concerning the Sons of Saul in both the first and second books of Samuel).
105. Gerbier, pp. 7-10. This initial list thus combines artists representing a surprisingly wide range of tendencies in Dutch art around 1617-18. The following are the artists who receive more than obvious attention: Abraham Bloemaert (although the lines about him are largely devoted to a play on the first syllable — *Bloem* for flower — of his name), Cornelis van Haarlem, Esaias van de Velde ("Breng d'Aerd' veel oncruyt voort, dat niemand deugd en doet/ Siet hoe Velden noch goe Vrucht draeght, en veel voet;/ Des Velden soeten borst!" — a significant early reference), Frans Badens (probably because Goltzius was "sijn liefste vriend"), Pieter Lastman ("Lastman, d'eer d'Amstels voet, die wil ick hier aen voeghen./ Op wiens Const't weeld'rigst ooggh moet sterren met genoeghen") but most of the lines on individual artists here are in fact more worthy of attention than transpires from the meagre attention accorded to them in the literature.
106. Gerbier, p. 10, lines 21-24.
107. Gerbier, p. 10, lines 25-32 and p. 11, lines 1-10.
108. On Drebbel, see G. Tierie, *Cornelis Drebbel (1572-1633)*, Amsterdam, 1932. For Rubens' comments on Drebbel — whom he met in 1629 — see Rooses-Ruelens, V, No. DCXV, p. 153.

They are unusually cool for the time.

109. See W. Brückner, *Bildnis und Brauch. Studien zur Bildfunktion der Effigies*, Berlin, 1966, p. 160 and note 74.
110. Gerbier, p. 11, lines 11-24 (lines 17-18: "Comt Archimedes hier, comt alle hier ter Schoolen/ Comt suyght uyt desen Boom . . ."). The reference to exploring the depths of the sea is, of course, an allusion to Drebbel's various attempts — some apparently successful, at least later on — at making a submarine.
111. Gerbier, p. 11, lines 21-24.
112. Gerbier, p. 11, line 25 - p. 13, line 14. In this listing, both Abraham Vinck and Cornelis van der Voort are mentioned for a second time.
113. "En Matham comt oock in, seer mildelijck ghelaen/ Met drucksels die noch versch sijn door de Pars ghegaen", Gerbier, p. 13, lines 21-22.
114. Gerbier, pp. 15-23; see especially pp. 19-20 for the further reflections on Goltzius, fame, envy and immortality. Note too the insistently breathless tone of lines like "Prijst prijst Italia u *Raephel* en *Angele*,/ Duyts-Landt *Albert Durer* pugt Vranckrijck van *BelAngele*./ Ghy Neerlandt die nu voet soo menigh' gheest vermaert,/ Roemt vry soo veel ghy wilt, mijn Dicht is niet vervaert,/ Te meerder dat ghy pocht, te meer mijn Pen wil schrijven/ Te meer 'twoort my ontvlieght, te meer den inct wil drijven" (Gerbier, pp. 16-17).
115. Gerbier, pp. 23-28. At the beginning of this section, for example, Gerbier again invokes the Fates, Minerva, Fauns, Pans, Ceres and Diana; and Perseus and Andromeda yet again ("En ghy *Perseus* cloeck ghy cost door 't minnen-vyer/*Andromeda* de Maeght verlossen van het Dier: Cost ghy hem niet in noot oock cloecklick comen helpen?" (Gerbier, p. 24, lines 19-21).
116. Lucas de Heere, *Invective, an eenen Quidam schilder: de welke beschimpte de Schilders van Handwerpen*, in *Den Hof en Boomgaard der Poesien . . .*, Ghent, 1565, p. 87. Available with very useful notes in the edition introduced and edited by W. Waterschoot, Zwolle (Zwolsse Drukken en Herdrukken, 65), 1969, pp. 80-82. For a short discussion of this work within the context of de Heere's other writings on art and in relation to sixteenth century art literature in general, see Jochen Becker, "Zur niederländischen Kunstliteratur des 16. Jahrhunderts: Lucas de Heere", *Simiolus*, VI, 1972-1973, pp. 113-127, as well as the articles cited in Becker's note 78. Also published and briefly discussed by C. van de Velde, *Frans Floris (1519/20-1570) Leven en Werken*, 2 vols., Brussels, 1975, I, pp. 1-2.
117. "Doch die een Ezel gaet niet licht weer keert een peert,/ Met commer en ellendt en sorghe daer veel leven/ Om eenen cloecken aert aen hare handt te gheven,/ Goltij ghy waert oock daer, daer nu merckt ghy ghewis,/ Als dat de recht Antic, te Romen niet en is", Gerbier, p. 26, lines 24-28. Cf. the marginal comment on this page warning of the moral dangers of Rome: not only do those who go there as donkeys return as donkeys; they go there as Christians but return with as much evil as art, having been transformed by a pagan metamorphosis into Epicureans and *dwardgeesten* (Gerbier, p. 26 *in margine*).
118. On these writers, with a variety of examples, see D. Freedberg, *Dutch Landscape Prints of the Seventeenth Century*, London, 1980, pp. 12-15.
119. Cf. Gerbier, p. 31, lines 15-18: "Blijft op der consten oort, blijft in dijn Neerlants Tuyn./ Wiens vrome Burgherij met Cransen ciert u cruyt/ Daer zijn die, wien ick u tot dijn troost sal vertoonen/ Niet vol van const, als weerdich uwe croonen".
120. "Dat Landt is eeren weert wiens Room u so wel voet", Gerbier, p. 30, line 28.
121. Gerbier, pp. 32-34.
122. Gerbier, pp. 34-37.
123. Gerbier, p. 39.
124. Gerbier, p. 41.
125. See Reznicek, *op. cit.* (as in note 62 above), pp. 29-30, as well as Gerbier, pp. 22-23.
126. "Het is hedendaeghs soo verre ghecomen dat men van malcanderen wel te spreekken gheen ghebruyck meer en maeckt, ende die nu maer best verachten can, die meynt, dat hij sijn saecken daer door beter sal uytrichten", Gerbier, p. 41. Cf. p. 42: "Dat ick hier wat derf van schrijven, de ervarentheyt van dit pestilentiael fenijn op d'een ende d'ander te hebben sien

spouwen, gheeft my daarvan macht ende vryheyt: voor mijn deel ick en wil de stormen die my de sotte nydighe clapachtighe tonghen hebben aenghedaen, hier niet ten toon setten, want het mijn wit niet en is alleene trachte mijn GOLTIUS voor te staen". Cf. the passage (shortly following this one) in the next note. All the pages of the postscript similarly - and sometimes even more heatedly - reflect Gerbier's obsessiveness about the venom of the envious.

127. "... ick achte daer sommighe wel soo opgeblasen sullen zijn, die het tot een cleyn achtighe sulle trecken, dat ick haer achter aen by Goltius oft tot Eere der Teecken Const in sijn eer Dicht begrepen hebbe, die denck ick alsoo lief hadden dat *Goltius* naem oock begraeven waer, also dat men hun naem alleen een gantsch boeck vullen soude", Gerbier, p. 42.
128. "... ende al ist saecke dat ick van den eenen somtijds breeder verhael als van den anderen . . . Willende oock menighe andere cloecke Baesen die daer niet is verhaelt en zijn ghebeden hebben, dat sy het hun niet aen en trecken dat ick haer schijne voor bij te gaen, ende haer laten dese reden ghenoeghen, dat het stuck in dese weynighe blaeren begrepen hun allen niet by-een en verheyste; oock dat ick gheen *Carel van Mandere* en ghedacht naer te bootsen . . .", Gerbier, p. 43.
129. *Carel van Mander, Het Schilder-Boeck . . . Hier is op nieu by-ghevoecht het leven des Autheurs*, Amsterdam (Jacob Pietersz Wachter), 1618.
130. "... men siet noch daghelix hoe van *Mandere* mishandelt wert ende voor looninghe van sijnen arbeyt, het finijn van quade ghemoeden moet voelen, hoe hy om ende wederom ghetommelt wert, den eenen om te sien oft hy daer hoogh genoeg in uytgheset is, den anderen om te sien wie voor oft achter staet, den andere scyt van *Mandere* mocht beter ghesweghen hebben, het welcke denke ick op dese reghelen ter eeren *Henrici Goltii* geschreven is, oock ghespoghen sal werden", Gerbier, p. 43. See also the *Clinck- and Lof-Dichten* - especially the one by P. Bor - that preface both editions of van Mander's *Schilder-Boeck* for conventional collocations of fame and envy.
131. For the details of this trip. see Joachim von Sandrart, *Academie der Bau-, Bild und Mahlerey-Künste* (1675), ed. A.R. Peltzer, Munich, 1925, p. 157 and note 687; also van Gelder, pp. 134-136 and Magurn, p. 164.
132. Magurn, pp. 164-165; cf. also F. Baudouin, "Rubens the Diplomat" in *Pietro Paulo Rubens*, New York, 1977, pp. 22-230.
133. See, for example, the remarkable series of letters to Gerbier from 1627 right March, 1640: Magurn, Nos. 100, 105, 109, 117, 121, 124-126, 225, 227, 228, 231, 246, 249 provide revealing insights into Rubens' relations with him.

## Appendix

Balthasar Gerbier

Eer ende/CLAGHT-DICHT/ Ter Eeren van den lofwaardighen Constrijcken/ ende Gheleerden/  
HENRICVS GOLTIVS/ Constrijcken Schilder, Plaetsnijder, ende/ Meester van de PENNE/  
Overleden tot HAERLEM, den 29. December/ ANNO 1617) Door BALTHASAR GERBIER.

In 's GRAVENHAGHE./ Ghedruckt, By AERT MEURS, Boeckvercooper, woonende/ inde  
Pape-straet, inden Bybel, Anno 1620. Pp. 5-6.

- 1 , Hier stelt hy (Coeberger) boven aen een \*Phoebus vol van stralen,  
Hier is een cloecken Gheest dien ick niet can afmalen,  
Hier staet een, d'eerst' van al, die vol Const 't voorhoofd verghet  
Aen allen die hier zijn, aen dees' zijd van't Gheberghet.
- 5 Die toont sich als een heldt, die niet en heeft te dencken  
Dat cortheyt van den Tijd hem Const oft gheest sou crencken,  
Biedt hier sijn rappe handt, en beeld daer af seer cloeck  
Een Emblema vol sins, op eenen grooten doeck.  
Daer swierdt sijn snel ghesicht! den borstel wil hier baren,

- 10 Niet een beeldt twee of dry, maer in een stontd veel scharen,  
't En is het Pinceel niet, het is sijn rijpen Gheest  
Die noyt gheen vorm en slaet van ander lieden leest.  
Hier maelt hy af den Berch waer Apollo sijn snaren,  
Laet drillen in den strijdt, daar Pan cruypt uyt sijn blaren,
- 15 Met sijn Satyr'sche hoop daer't oordeel is ghegaen,  
Wie dat van beyden heeft het alderbest ghedaen.  
Hier beeld hy Constich by de neghen wijse Maeghden  
Daer toe d'onheyl'ghe Rots' daer Andromeda claechden,  
En duysent dinghen meer, ghehaelt uit d'Heydens boeck.
- 20 Daer naer neemt hy sijn vlucht naer 's Hemels heyl'ge wegen,  
En stelt veel sinnen voor in 't heylich woord beschreven,  
Zoo werd tot d'hoochste eer des overleden loff  
De Passy afghemaelt, vol mergh, vol constich stoff.  
Doch 't geen hier 't schoonst' verschijnt zijn zes seer groote stucken
- 25 Die Nijdichey't hoofd bien, en Momus 't Mom afrucken,  
Wett daer u Tand en op ghy broeders in de Can,  
Ghy Copp en vol van wint, stom' bocken voor de Man.  
Dit is het eerste deel, wear in men licht can mercken  
Dat haere schors' omvaet de uytegekipste wercken,
- 30 Dien hy voort heeft ghebracht, en die hier zijn gesteldt  
Op dat soo wel mijn Dicht, als Fama, daer van meldt.  
Maer sacht wat, spalt, oft swart, laet dijn pinceel nu vloeyen,  
't Schijnt oft droetheyt moet zijn dat op dees' gront sal groeyen,  
Ciprés, Atropos cruyt, woelt hier op dese Strandt,
- 35 'k En sien den Lauwer niet hier spruyten uyt dit Landt.  
Het is een teghendeel, hier wilt Charon verschijnen  
Met sijn ghelapte Boot, wie sou schier connen pijnen,  
Te schrijven van den hont, daer comt hy aenghestoeyet,  
Crom-ruggich door het nat van Acheron ghegroeyet;
- 40 Daer loopt hem 't sweet van 't lijff, daer siet den bul eens hijgen,  
Om sijn Ziel-slockigh schip door dese vloet te krijghen.  
Versinckt vry onderweegh, naeckt hier noyt met u schuyt,  
Maer smooert in de Sticx, hier is voor u gheen buyt.  
Noch drijft hy dapper aen, wat baet ghy sult doch \*wenden,
- 45 Want dien waer ghy naer tracht is vry van u ellenden,  
Ghevaren door de Locht, en rust, in vreed' en vreught,  
De Heerlickhey't besit by 't Centrum van de Deught.  
Ey siet den calen cop, hoe slecht dat hy sal wijcken,  
Hooft hoe jij brullen wil als ledich hy moet strijcken,
- 50 Sijn leden zijn gherecht, vol cronckels is sijn huyt,  
't Is Rubens cloecken Gheest die dit al beeldet uyt.  
Charon gheen spiren heeft, gheen soo mismaeckte fronsen  
Oft sijn handt plant het recht met een veegh of twee gonssen,  
Soo dat wie sijn werck siet denckt stracks dat het al leeft,
- 55 Wat dat sijn Gheest, sijn handt, en sijn Pinceel ons gheeft.  
Met recht soo heeft de Faem hem in dit stuck verkoren  
Dewijl de Const met hem schijnet te zijn gheboren,  
En dat daer niemant is die 't wesen soo uytbeelt,  
Waer door elcke Figuer haer rechte rolle speelt.
- 60 Maer terwijl ick verhael, hij is my al ontvloghen,  
Mijn Pen die cruypt vast voort en volghet hem met de ooghen,  
Hy eyndicht nu dit werck, Cnaron sijn lappen light,  
Ontmoetend' op dit pas niemant die voor hem swight."

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## Illustrations

- Fig. 1** Frans Francken the Younger (?) and David Teniers the Younger, *The Interior of a Picture Gallery*, oil on panel, Princes Gate Collection, Courtauld Institute of Art Galleries, London.
- Fig. 2** Willem van Haecht, *The Picture Gallery of Cornelis van der Geest*, oil on panel, Rubenshuis, Antwerp.
- Fig. 3** After Rubens, *The Flight of Lot and his Family from Sodom*, oil on canvas, The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota.
- Fig. 4** Quentin Matsys, *Altarpiece of the Lamentation* (central panel), oil on panel, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp.
- Fig. 5** After Quentin Matsys, *Madonna and Child with Cherries*, oil on panel, The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota.



Fig. 1

Fig. 2





Fig. 3

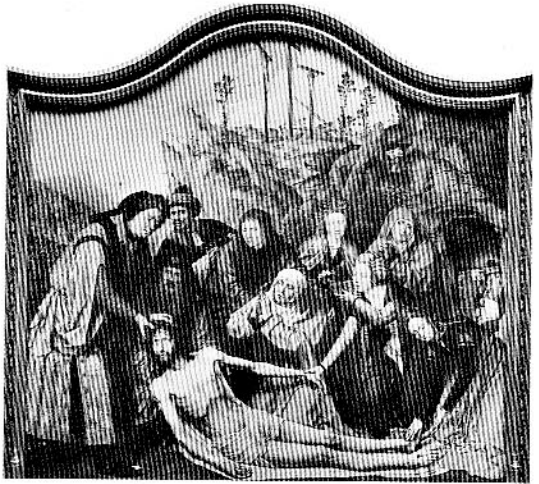


Fig. 4



Fig. 5