

Sandrart's Philosophers on the 'Amsterdam Parnassus'

• FRITS SCHOLTEN •

The Rijksmuseum has had two busts of Greek philosophers on long-term loan from the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, the royal library in The Hague, since 1986 (figs. 1, 2).¹ These expressive philosophers are fittingly placed on round pedestals of antique marble spolia – *fior di pesco and giallo antico* respectively. The sculptures have a respectable and unusually long provenance that can be traced directly back to the art collection of the erudite Amsterdam collector Lambert ten Kate (1674-1731).² At the sale of Ten Kate's holdings in 1732 the busts were sold for 1,400 guilders to the equally illustrious collector Valerius Röver (1686-1739) in Delft, who bequeathed them to his youngest son Matthys Röver (1719-1803).³ In June 1806 the busts appeared at the sale of the Bibliotheca Röveriana, Röver Junior's huge library and art collection, where the dealer Isaac Smit paid a hundred guilders for them. He probably sold them to the Amsterdam banker P.I. Hogguer (1760-1816), for in 1817 both busts came on to the market again, this time at the sale of the art collection of the Lady Anna Maria Ebeling, Hogguer's widow.⁴ There they were acquired by the painter and art dealer Charles Howard Hodges (1764-1837) for the burgomaster of Delft, Emanuel Sandoz (1758-1818).⁵ In 1819, finally, when Sandoz's possessions were auctioned, the bookseller J. Scheurleer

Detail of fig 1.

bought them for the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, where they remained until their transfer to the Rijksmuseum.⁶ For a long time they stood in what was known as the catalogue room in the building in Lange Voorhout, The Hague, as we see in a watercolour by Willem Witjens dating from 1933 (fig. 3).

The earliest mention of the busts so far unearthed occurs in the travel journal of the German traveller Zacharias von Uffenbach. On 19 March 1711 he visited Ten Kate, whose collection he described in detail, including the two philosophers: 'In the morning we went to see Mr Lambert Tenkaaten, a Mennonite. Although he is actually a grain merchant, he is also a very courteous, enquiring and withal scholarly man. First he showed us a fine collection of bas-reliefs, casts, small and large sculptures... He also had two marble busts portraying Sophocles and Plato, very well made, but not from Antiquity. Most of the small sculptures and bas-reliefs Mr Tenkaaten owns are by Canoi [= François du Quesnoy], made by the plaster caster in Calverstraet. He has a great many of them, all very sharp and good... He also showed us innumerable modelled original works by Canoi and by Francis [= Francis van Bossuit], one in particular among them was a very large bas-relief by Canoi.'⁷ Although Von Uffenbach did not say so in so many words, during

Figs. 1, 2

(pages 328-29)

ORFEO BOSELLI
(1597-1667) TO A
DESIGN BY FRANÇOIS
DU QUESNOY,

Plato and Aristotle.

White marble on *fior de pesco and giallo antico* bases, height 44.0 and 46.5 cm (with pedestals 61 and 63 cm respectively).

Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (inv. no. BK-1986-44a, b).



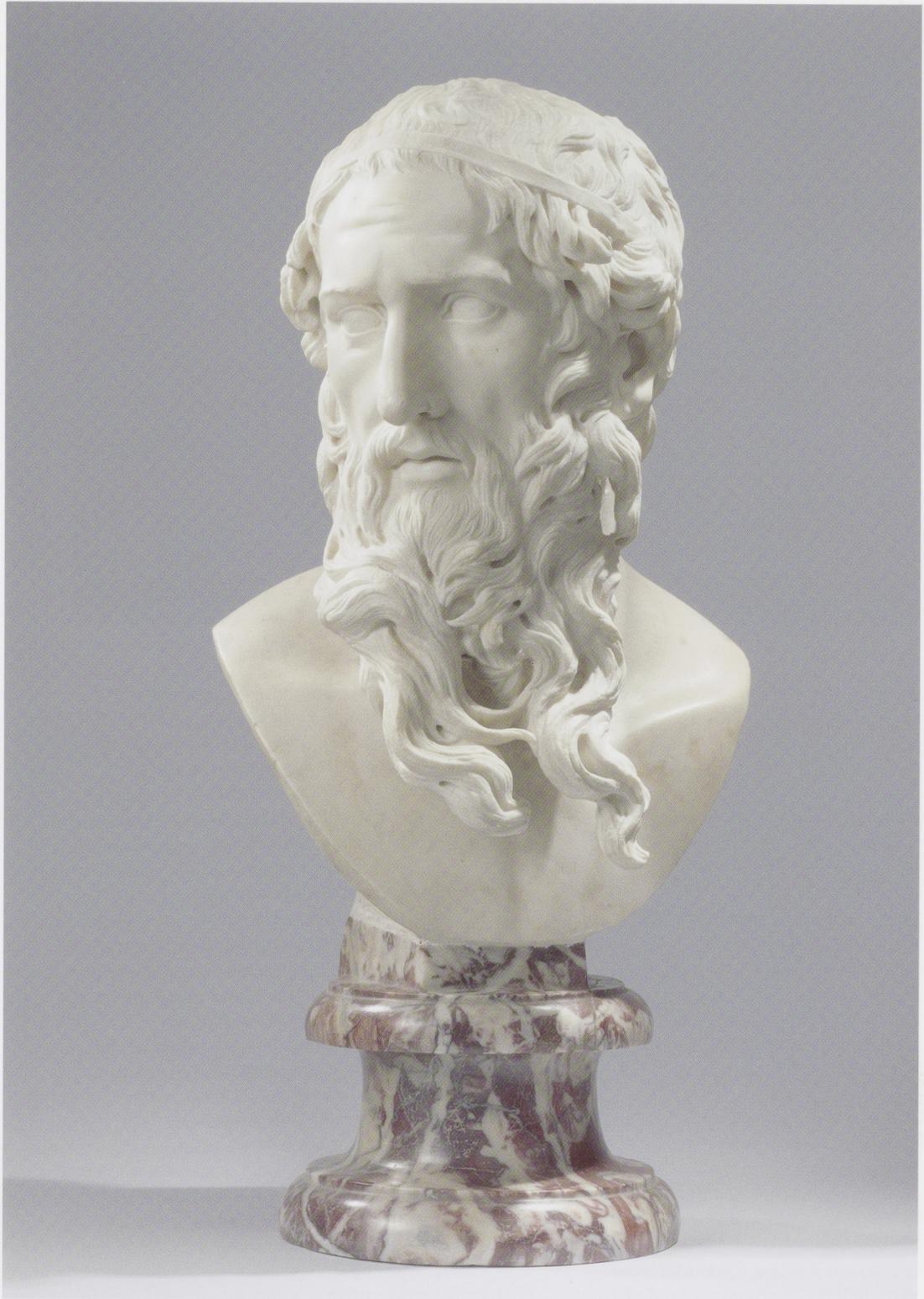




Fig. 3
WILLEM WITJENS,
*The Catalogue Room
of the Royal Library
in Lange Voorhout
in The Hague, 1933.*
Watercolour.
Koninklijke Biblio-
theek, The Hague.

the time they were with Ten Kate the busts of the philosophers were credited to the famous Flemish sculptor, François du Quesnoy (1597-1643), who spent most of his working life in Rome. Although his oeuvre was relatively small, 'il Fiammingo', as he was known in Italy, built up a great reputation in Italy and the Netherlands as the sculptor of some Classicist statues in Roman churches and, above all, of chubby putti.⁸ His work was highly sought after by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century collectors, even in the form of casts, and we may safely assume that most of the numerous casts after Du Quesnoy that Von Uffenbach saw in Ten Kate's collection were of such putti.⁹

The attribution of the two philosophers to Du Quesnoy first surfaces in Ten Kate's *Verhandeling over het denkbeeldige schoon der schilders, beeldhouwers en dichters*, a manuscript of 1720. In it he identified the bald philo-

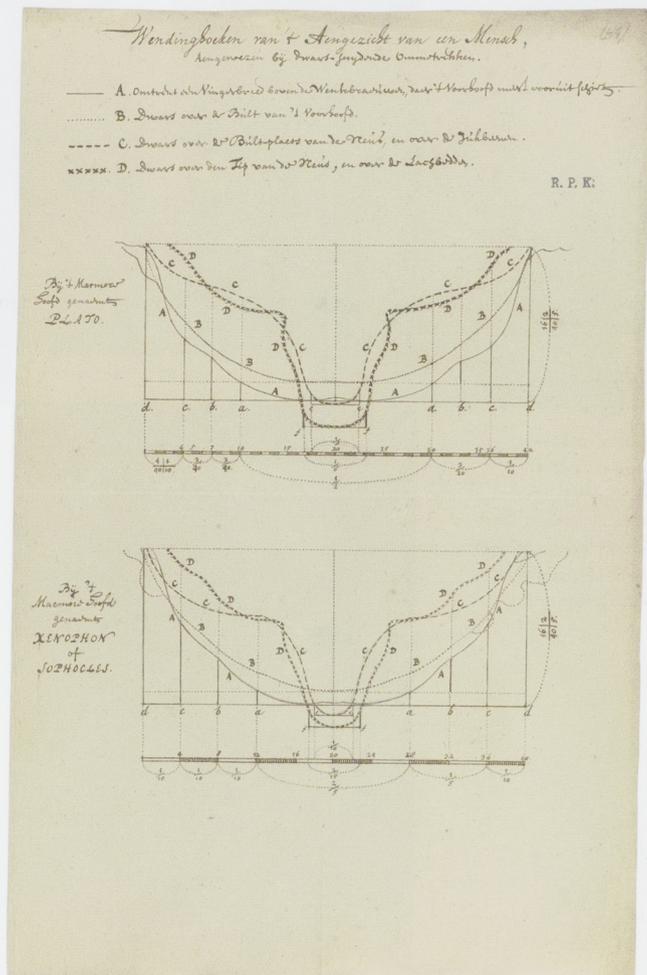
sopher as Plato and – erroneously – took the pendant to be Sophocles or Xenophon: 'Among the contemporary sculptors we have one Baccio Bandinelli, who reveals in his drawings that he has understood the different figure types and variety of the limbs better than Michelangelo. And yet there is one who acquitted himself even better in this area of art: I mean the celebrated François de Quesnoy, known by the name Fiammingo ... This celebrated Fiamingo [sic] is always perfect: one finds in his works a delightful consonance, and a diversity of the parts that exceeds expectations. I could demonstrate this in two fine heads by him that I have. One is very dignified, like a great philosopher, such as Plato, portrayed with a bald head; displaying serious reflection, and a force of mind capable of the most elevated thoughts, very powerful and at the same time very tender ... The other head most characteristically portrays a poet,

such as Sophocles, or rather an army commander and at the same time wise philosopher with a gentle and charming face, such as Xenophon.¹⁰ As we have seen, Von Uffenbach had already described the statues as Plato and Sophocles in 1711. A French translation of Ten Kate's treatise was published in 1728 as *Discours préliminaire sur le Beau Idéal*, as an appendix to the third volume of *Traité de la peinture et de la sculpture* by Jonathan Richardson and his son, also Jonathan. Ten Kate himself was responsible for the translation and publication.¹¹ The two busts are also mentioned in the Richardsons' treatise, which had been published in English six years earlier. This had been prompted by a visit paid to Ten Kate's collection by the younger Richardson in the autumn of 1716. He praised them as 'two very fine Heads of Fiammingo'.¹² The Richardsons even gave the busts a place of honour, as high points in Du Quesnoy's oeuvre, immediately after the two most important works the sculptor had made in Rome. Translated here from the French, they wrote: 'But the finest pieces of all those one has been able to see by this excellent genius, if one considers the dignity of the subject as well as the excellence of the work, are the two heads of philosophers that I saw among an infinity of other beautiful things in the cabinet of Mr te Kate in Amsterdam.'¹³

Lastly, the sculptures also featured in the correspondence between Ten Kate and the art dealer Hendrik van Limborch (1681-1759) in The Hague about a range of art theoretical and physiognomical problems. The heads were used as a test case in Ten Kate's theory of 'applied physiognomy' and proportion. By describing in detail the curvature of their heads and the proportions of their faces, he underpinned his earlier identification of the busts as Plato and Sophocles or Xenophon: 'Lastly I undertook the measurement "Of the angles of the face from the

front" on my two marble heads by Quesnoy, where the difference in the growth of the skull &c can be found with so much contrast, and so appropriately, so excellent, and more readily comparable than I could demonstrate in any Antique [work]; the one head, that is called PLATO, being preeminently stately, and broad-plane, and fine of essence, and the other, whom I call XENOPHON OR SOPHOCLES, less noble, leaner, and generally more prominent in the features. I send you hereby a copy of my work.'¹⁴ And he did indeed enclose two drawn cross-sections of the busts with all the measuring points and the relative differences in size and shape (figs. 4, 5).

Figs. 4, 5
LAMBERT TEN KATE,
Cross-sections of the
busts of Plato and
Aristotle ('Sophocles
or Xenophon') with all
the measuring points
and the differences
in size and shape,
1725. Pen-and-ink
drawing in a letter to
Van Limborch. Rijks-
museum, Amsterdam.



The fame of the two busts in the eighteenth-century Amsterdam art world is evident in the sculpture of the time. We can see the unmistakable face of the old, bald philosopher reflected in the heads of St Paul and God the Father that the sculptor Jacob Cressant made after 1742 for the clandestine Catholic church 'De Pool' in Amsterdam (figs. 6, 7).¹⁵ It is not entirely clear how Cressant knew this bust, since from 1732 onwards the two busts were in Delft, not Amsterdam. It seems

Fig. 6

JACOB CRESSANT
(c. 1700 - before 1766),
*St Paul, Detail of the
Head*, Amsterdam,
after 1742. Limewood,
Ons' Lieve Heer op
Solder (Our Lord in
the Attic), Amsterdam
(photograph Peter
Mookhoek).

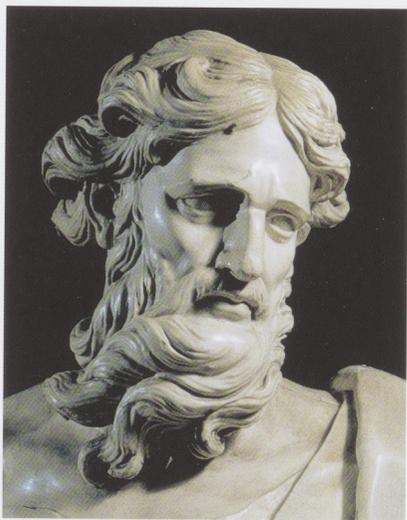
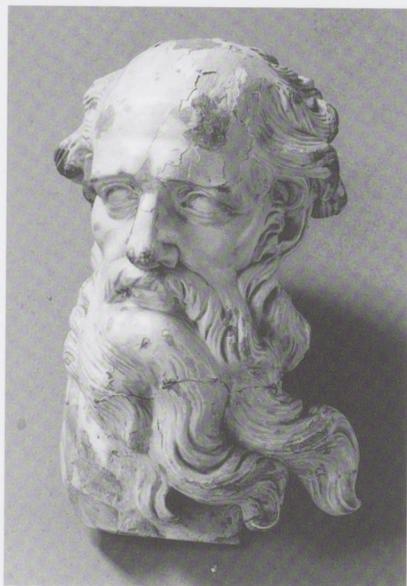


Fig. 7

JACOB CRESSANT,
God the Father,
Amsterdam, after
1742. Limewood, Ons'
Lieve Heer op Solder
(Our Lord in the
Attic), Amsterdam.



likely that plaster casts of the statues were available in Amsterdam, and these were placed at his disposal. From the passage in Von Uffenbach's travel journal it is clear that there was a plaster cast maker in Kalverstraat as early as 1711 and that having such casts made was common practice among collectors. Through the good contacts Cressant had in the world of Amsterdam art collectors, among them Gerrit Braamcamp, it would not have been difficult for him to come by casts of the universally admired philosophers' busts.

Du Quesnoy and Orfeo Boselli

The attribution of the philosophical duo to Du Quesnoy stood until well into the twentieth century, in part because of the lack of a critical monograph on the sculptor, in part because of unfamiliarity with the two busts. It was not until the recently published catalogue raisonné on Du Quesnoy of 2005 that the sculptures were banished from the sculptor's oeuvre – without, incidentally, any reasons being advanced – and credited, with a question mark, to the Roman artist Orfeo Boselli (1597-1667), who owes his reputation less to his art than to his treatise *Osservazione della scoltura antica*.¹⁶ Van Gelder and Schlegel were the first to suggest – in 1980 and 1981 respectively – an attribution to Boselli on the grounds of the stylistic similarities to a large statue of St Benedict, signed by him, in Sant' Ambrogio alla Massima in Rome (fig. 8).¹⁷ The similarities between the faces of the two philosophers and that of the saint are indeed striking, in the lively handling of the beard, the shape and proportions of the face, the straight nose and the prominent cheekbones. On the other hand, the comparison with other work by Boselli – for instance his portraits of Girolamo I Colonna and Paolo Giordano II Orsini (fig. 9), of 1651 and around 1655 respectively – is problematic. The execution is rather dry and



Fig. 8

ORFEO BOSELLI

(1597-1667),

St Benedict.

Marble, 220 cm high.

Sant'Ambrogio alla
Massima, Rome.

Fig. 9

ORFEO BOSELLI

(1597-1667), *Portrait**of Paolo Giordano II**Orsini, c. 1655.*

Marble and alabaster.

Kunsthandel Antichità

Alberto Di Castro,

Rome (from: Benocci

op. cit (note 18), fig. 33).

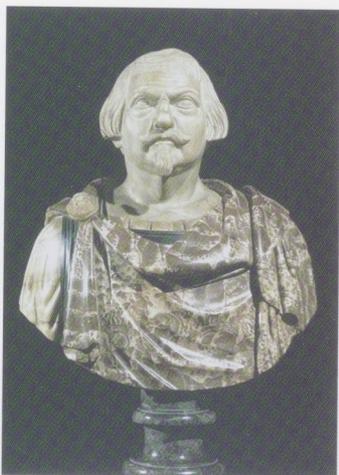


Fig. 10

FRANÇOIS DU

QUESNOY (1597-

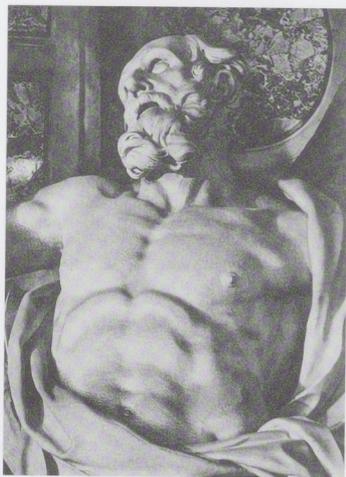
1643), *St Andrew,*

1633-40. Marble and

stucco, height 468 cm.

St Peter's Basilica,

Rome.



schematic and they have none of the subtle and varied vitality in the surface of the marble that is found in the busts of the two philosophers and the *St Benedict*.¹⁸ Evidently Boselli made little if any attempt to practise in his own work the lessons he preached to his readers in the *Osservazione*, for he argued in his treatise that it was above all the subtle modulation of the contours of the face and the curves of body that characterized what was known as the *maniera greca*, the Classicist style emulating the Greek example that Du Quesnoy had promulgated in Rome and he himself had embraced.¹⁹

As early as the seventeenth century it was assumed that Boselli's *St Benedict*, which at that time was taken to be St Ambrose, was carved to a design by Du Quesnoy.²⁰ And indeed the shape of the face, the 'flowing' beard and the lively modelling clearly owe a debt to the much more resigned and dramatic face of Du Quesnoy's *St Andrew* in St Peter's (fig. 10). We also know that Boselli worked with Du Quesnoy – he even described himself as a pupil of 'il Fiammingo', but there is no hard evidence of this and the fact that the two artists were the same age would seem to make it unlikely.²¹ In short, the attribution of the philo-



sophers to Boselli only makes sense if we assume that, as with the *Benedict*, these are Du Quesnoy's inventions, executed by this docile and less talented colleague.

The idea that 'il Fiammingo' was responsible for the design of the philosophers is supported by the striking likeness between the bald philosopher's face, with the straight nose, the sharply carved eyelids and the characteristic mouth with its full lower lip and short, bowed upper lip, and that of Du Quesnoy's famous *St Susanna* (figs. 11, 12, see Boudon, fig. 127, p. 131). And, lastly, the abbreviated bust form that was chosen also suggests very strongly that they were made in Du Quesnoy's workshop. This type of bust, showing only a small oval section of the chest below the base of the neck, was known at this time as *pettino* and expressly

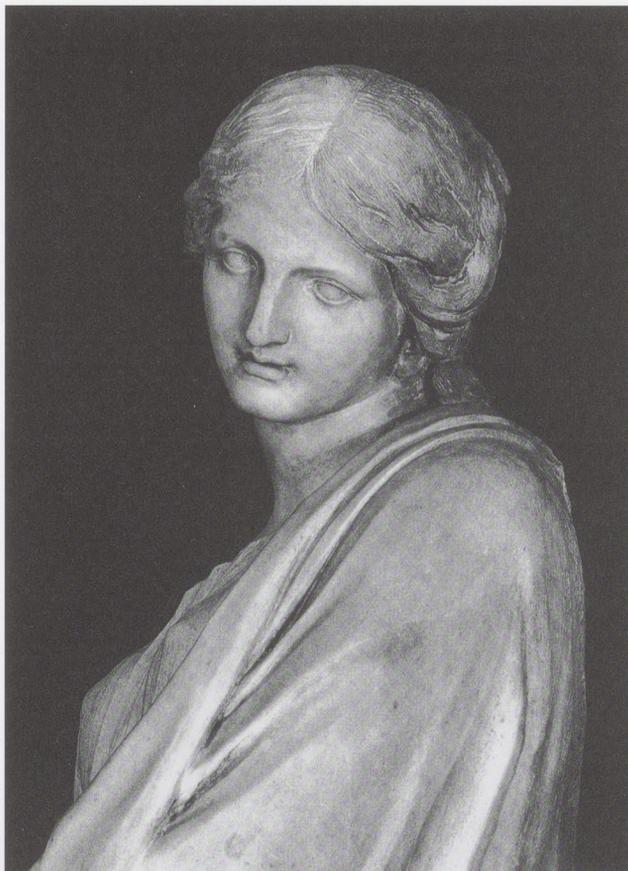


Fig. 11
FRANÇOIS DU
QUESNOY (1597-1643),
St Susanna, 1629-33.
Marble, height 200 cm.
S. Maria in Loreto al
Foro Traiano, Rome
(see Boudon op. cit.
(note 8), fig. 127, p. 131).

Fig. 12
FRANÇOIS DU
QUESNOY (1597-1643),
St Susanna, 1629-33.
Marble, height 200 cm.
S. Maria in Loreto al
Foro Traiano, Rome
(see Boudon, fig. 127,
p. 131).

Fig. 13
Pettino, engraving
from the *Galleria
Guistiniana*, volume 11,
pl. 27, Rome 1640.



associated with the classical Greek portrait style. Examples of classical *pettini* like this in the *maniera greca* were plentiful in Rome (fig. 13).²²

Sandrart and Vondel

In 1644 Joost van den Vondel wrote a number of odes to works of art owned by the German painter Joachim von Sandrart (1606-88) who lived in Amsterdam from 1638 to 1645.²³ One of them, titled *On Plato and Aristotle*, sings the praises of two marble busts of these Greek philosophers, lauding the sculptures for the wisdom they radiate:²⁴

*What wise Divinities have we here?
The Master with his finest pupil:
The one head must be Plato,
So divine, that Jove himself,
Risen from the golden hall,
Would even teach, in Plato's tongue,
His wisdom to the first schoolma'am.²⁵
The other, Aristotle,
Deserves, if I know this look,
To guide Great Alexander's pen,
Had he but hands to do so.²⁶
Their wisdom seems captured in stone.*

Although Vondel does not provide us with a literal description of the sculptures of Plato and Aristotle that would make identification possible, it is highly likely that the two philosophers' busts he praises here were those that subsequently found their way into Lambert ten Kate's collection.

Joachim von Sandrart had settled in Amsterdam in 1638; there he was introduced into the right circles by his older cousin, Michiel le Blon. Le Blon was an art dealer and art agent for the Swedish court and had excellent contacts in the Republic, both at the stadholder's court in The Hague and among the Amsterdam regents.²⁷ Sandrart – himself the son of a prosperous merchant and son-in-law of a wealthy banker – felt thoroughly at home in this setting. According to his own account, his virtuous lifestyle,

his courteous manner and his polite conversation set him apart from the majority of Amsterdam artists.²⁸ The Bickers, the eminent family of burgo-masters in Amsterdam, frequently engaged his services as a portraitist. The prestigious commission for the group portrait of Bicker's civic guard troop to hang in the new hall in the militia headquarters, the Kloveniersdoelen, in 1640 is just one proof of Sandrart's success. It shows the militiamen grouped around a marble bust of Marie de Médicis, a memento of the French queen's extravagant reception in Amsterdam in 1638 (fig. 14). A poem by Vondel commemorating the event is painted beneath the bust. Sandrart also designed the title page of Vondel's collected poems, *Verscheide gedichten*, for him in 1644. In his turn, the poet penned some fifty verses to Sandrart,

Fig. 14
JOACHIM VON SANDRART, *The Company of District XIX Commanded by Captain Cornelis Bicker*, 1640. Oil on canvas, 343 x 258 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (inv. no. SK-C-393).

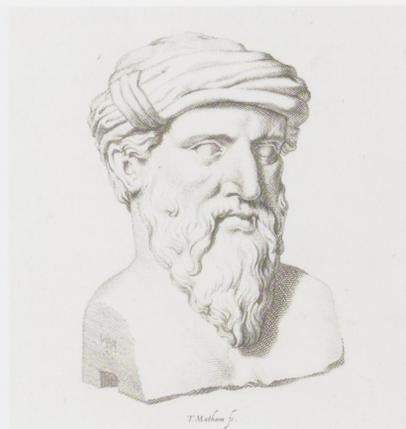


Fig. 15
THEODOOR MATHAM,
Classical Bust of an
Unknown Philosopher,
engraving from the
Galleria Guistiniana,
volume II, pl. 38, Rome
1640.

his paintings and his art collection; the close bond between the two men is most clearly expressed in Vondel's *Klachte aan Joachime Sandrart*, a lament regretting the painter's permanent move to Munich in 1645.²⁹ In his *Lebenslauf* the German painter himself described the artistic and scholarly Amsterdam milieu in which he moved – a circle that included the painters Rembrandt, Govert Flinck and Bartholomeus van der Helst, the polymaths Caspar Barlaeus and Gerard Vossius, the physician and playwright Samuel Coster and the poet P.C. Hooft – as an 'artistic Parnassus of noble painting'.³⁰ Sandrart was the classic example of the successful and wealthy artist, surrounding himself with the right friends and able to afford an imposing house on Keizersgracht where he had amassed a fine art collection, including the busts of Plato and Aristotle that Vondel praised in 1644.

Sandrart and Du Quesnoy

Before he went to Amsterdam Sandrart had spent several years, from 1629 to 1635, working in Rome. There he was appointed curator of Vincenzo Giustiniani's art collection and was responsible for the publication of a book of plates on this famous collection of classical sculpture, the *Galleria Giustiniana*.³¹ Sandrart was one of a coterie of predominantly foreign artists who immersed themselves in the study of antiquities and had organized into a sort of academy known as the *Antiquität-Academia*. Their particular interest was the 'pure' classical art of the Greeks, which had been adopted by the Romans. 'We wish to mention here only the most exquisite antiques made largely by Greeks and Italians [in] white marble in which, above all, the excellence of the ancient Greeks is evident; in the *Antiquität-Academia* in Rome I have often spoken about *La gran maniera Greca*, as this miraculously great art of the Greeks is called, and praised it above every-



thing.³² The select company that made up the antiquities academy included the painters Nicholas Poussin and Claude Lorrain and the sculptor François du Quesnoy.³³ Sandrart and Du Quesnoy were close friends, and he devoted a lengthy life history to the sculptor in his *Teutsche Academie*, the collection of artists' biographies he compiled towards the end of his life.³⁴ In it Sandrart did not omit to mention how, assisted by his superb network in Italy, he gave Du Quesnoy's initially rather sluggish career a boost. He helped the sculptor, for instance, in the sale of his bow-making putto to the Amsterdam merchant Lucas van Uffelen in Venice, and later he arranged for Du Quesnoy, who had been waiting for more than a year to be paid for a commission he had undertaken for the pope and was almost penniless, to be given a new commission and a generous advance by Vincenzo Giustiniani.³⁵ Du Quesnoy designed the title page of the *Galleria Giustiniana*, and it was with him that Sandrart climbed the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius on the Campidoglio to study the quality of ancient bronze casting.³⁶ In the light of this artistic friendship, but more importantly because of their great stylistic likeness to Du Quesnoy's work, it is very probable that the two philosophers' busts in Lambert ten Kate's collection were in

fact the Plato and Aristotle that Vondel praised in 1644. Additional support for this conjecture is provided by a classical bust of a philosopher in the *Galleria Giustiniana* which, to go by the engraving that Matham made of it, had features that were remarkably similar to those of Lambert ten Kate's two busts (fig. 15). The figure has a different head covering, but the shape of the face is clearly related. Du Quesnoy had direct access to this work, which was after all in the collection of his patron Vincenzo Giustiniani, presided over by his friend Sandrart. It would have been easy enough for him to use this as the point of departure in modelling his – much more expressive – philosopher duo.

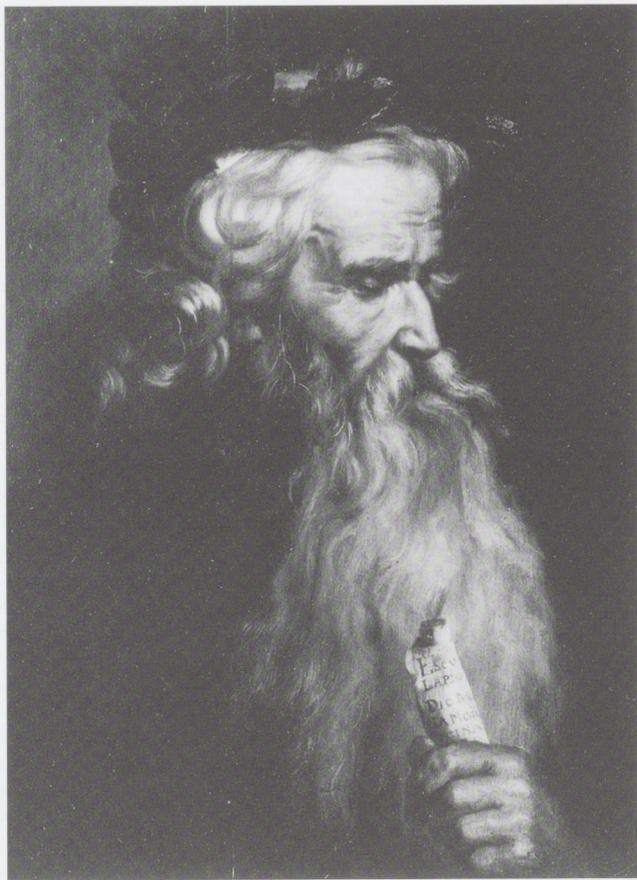
The suggestion that Sandrart was indeed the first owner of the busts (and took them back to the Netherlands straight from Du Quesnoy's studio in Rome) would also seem to be confirmed in his own oeuvre. One particularly striking feature is the frequent appearance of 'tronies' of bearded old men in his paintings, often portraying classical figures.³⁷ The earliest known head of this kind was painted – perhaps not entirely coincidentally – in Amsterdam in 1638 and depicts Aesculapius (fig. 16), but Sandrart also did similar paintings of Pythagoras, Archimedes and an unidentified philosopher writing. This last seems almost to be a pictorial response to Vondel's poem in which he wished the bust of Aristotle hands to write with. The paintings are certainly not literal renditions of the marble philosophers, but similarities there undoubtedly are and they demonstrate the fascination that heads of bearded old men held for the artist.

By his own account, when Sandrart moved from Amsterdam to Munich in 1645 he sold all the art he owned. 'He had, however, at the express request and urging of art lovers in Amsterdam, left behind all his works of art at very high prices, including

two books of Italian sketches for 3,500 guilders to the aforementioned Swedish envoy Mr Spiering, and sold to various people by auction other sketches and engravings for 4,555 guilders, and 14,566 guilders cash was paid for the remaining rare paintings.'³⁸ This means that the two busts also stayed behind in Amsterdam. Regrettably we do not know who the buyer was, but it would seem obvious that they found their way into another Amsterdam art collection before ending up with Lambert ten Kate at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The intervening period of more than sixty years was in any event quite long enough for the correct identification of the busts as Plato and Aristotle and their provenance in Joachim von Sandrart's collection to be forgotten.³⁹

Fig. 16

JOACHIM VON SANDRART, *Aesculapius*, 1638. Oil on panel, 47.5 x 37.5 cm. Present whereabouts unknown (in the Städtisches Museum, Riga, until 1939).



NOTES

- 1 Inv. no. BK-1986-44a, b; height 44.0 and 46.5 cm (with bases of 61 and 63 cm respectively).
- 2 The provenance was originally reconstructed by L. Brummel, 'Twee teruggevonden werken van Francois Duquesnoy', *Oud Holland* 59 (1942), pp. 97-101; on Ten Kate see J.G. van Gelder, 'Lambert ten Kate als kunstverzamelaar', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 21 (1970), pp. 139-86, esp. p. 163-64, and Hessel Miedema, *Denkbeeldig schoon: Lambert ten Kates opvattingen over beeldende kunst*, Leiden 2006, 2 vols, II, pp. 8-19.
- 3 See Brummel 1942, op. cit. (note 2), p. 99 and J.G. van Gelder, 'Beelden en rareitjen in de verzameling Valerius Röver', *Nederlands Kunst-historisch Jaarboek* 31 (1980), pp. 341-54, esp. pp. 341-43. See further exh. cat Amsterdam, Amsterdam Historical Museum, *De wereld binnen handbereik: Nederlandse kunst- en rareitjen-verzamelingen, 1585-1735*, Amsterdam & Zwolle 1992, no. 168.
- 4 This was reported by Jaap Leeuwenberg in a letter to Brummel of 29 May 1962 (object file, Rijksmuseum), but has not been noted in the literature. The sculptures are listed as nos. 6 and 7 in the sale catalogue of Lady A.M. Ebeling's collection (18 August 1817), where they are described as: 'The head of a Philosopher, with long beard and classical headband; finely and skilfully carved in marble, by F. Quisnoi, on a red marble base, 26 inches high and One as before, depicting the Head of a Greek Philosopher, with a finely worked beard and bald forehead; by the same, with the red marble base 24 inches high.' ('Het hoofd van een Wijsgeer, met langen baard en antiicken hoofdband; fraai en meesterachtig in marmer gehakt, door F. Quisnoi, op rood marmeren voetstukje, hoog 26 duimen en Een als voren, verbeeldende het Hoofd van een Griekschen Wijsgeer, met een fraai uitgewerkten baard en kaal voorhoofd; door denzelven, met het rood marmeren voetstukje hoog 24 duimen.') Hodges bought the two for 105 and 85 guilders. The sale catalogue description of both bases as red marble is undoubtedly the result of a careless error.
- 5 In the sale catalogue, *Bibliotheca Röveriana sive catalogus librorum qui studiis inservierunt Matthiae Röveri* (Leiden 1806), p. 341, they are listed as 'Two philosophers' heads by the celebrated Duquesnoy, known by the name Francesco Fiammingo, 17 inches high. These two pieces were once in the Cabinet of Mr L.H. te Kate of Amsterdam. The description of these two heads can be found in his "Discours préliminaire sur le Beau Idéal", which he put at the beginning of the work entitled "Traité de la Peinture et de la Sculpture par M.M. Richardson Père et Fils" ('Deux têtes de philosophes du célèbre Duquesnoy, connu sous le nom de Francesco Fiammingo, 17 pouces de haut. Ces deux pièces ont été dans le Cabinet de M.L.H. te Kate à Amsterdam. On trouve la description de ces deux têtes dans son "Discours préliminaire sur le Beau Idéal", qu'il a mis à la tête de l'ouvrage intitulé "Traité de la Peinture et de la Sculpture par M.M. Richardson Père et Fils".') A note adds: 'These masterpieces were purchased by Mr Röver's father at Mr Ten Kate's sale for 1,400 Dutch guilders.' ('Ces Chefs d'oeuvres ont été achetés par le père de M. Röver à la vente de M. Ten Kate 1400 flor. de Hollande.') For Hodges as an art dealer see A.C.A.W. Baron van der Feltz, *Charles Howard Hodges (1764-1837)*, Assen 1982, pp. 16-17.
- 6 Sale E. Sandoz Collection on 20/30-12-1819 (at Scheurleer in The Hague), p.171: 'Two outstanding marble heads or busts, portraying Plato and Aristotle, made by the skilled Franciscus Quesnoy, very powerfully and masterfully handled, standing on marble bases; 2 feet tall.' ('Twee uitmuntende marmere koppen of borstbeelden, verbeeldende Plato en Aristoteles, door den bekwaame Franciscus Quesnoy vervaardigd, zeer kragtig en meesterlijk behandeld, staande op marmere voetstukken; hoog 2 voet.')
- 7 'Morgens fuhren wir zu Herrn Lambert Tenkaaten, einem Mennonisten. Er handelt zwar eigentlich mit Korn, ist aber ein sehr höflicher, curiöser und dabey gelehrter Mann. Er zeigte uns erstlich einen schönen Vorrath von bas reliefs, Abgüssen, Bildern und Statuen Er hatte ferner zwey Brustbilder von Marmor, den Sophocles, und Plato vorstellend, seher wohl gemacht, aber nich antique. Die meisten kleine Bilder und bas reliefs, so Herr Tenkaaten hatte, sind von Canoi [=François du Quesnoy] dem Gipsgiesser in der Calverstræat gemacht. Er hat deren eine grosse Anzahl, alle sehr scharf und gut.... Er zeigte uns auch etlich poussirte Original-Bilder von Canoi und Francis [= Francis van Bossuit], insonderheit war schön darunter ein bas relief von Canoi sehr gross.' Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach, *Merkwürdige Reisen durch Niedersachsen, Holland und Engelland*, 3 vols., III, Ulm and Memmingen, 1753-54, pp. 651-52 (19 March 1711).
- 8 For Duquesnoy see G.P. Bellori, *Le vite de pittori, scultori, ed architetti moderni ...*, Rome 1728 (ed. princ. 1673), pp. 159-70; Mariette Fransolet, *François du Quesnoy, sculpteur d'Urbain vIII 1597-1643*, Brussels 1942; Marion Boudon-Machuel, *François du Quesnoy 1597-1643*, Paris 2005 and Estelle Lingo, *François Duquesnoy and the Greek Ideal*, New Haven & London 2007.
- 9 See Miedema 2006, op. cit. (note 2), I, p. 236 and II, p. 209. It emerges from this that Ten Kate also

- had a cast of a standing putto posed as if looking at his raised hand ('t Handkykertje') and one of a gladiator, both attributed to Du Quesnoy. It is illustrative of Du Quesnoy's reputation that Rubens wrote to the sculptor, thanking him for sending some casts of his figures of children; see Bellori 1728, p. 170, where the letter from Rubens is printed in translation after Du Quesnoy's biography as a sign of the great esteem in which the sculptor was held. See also R.S. Magurn, *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1955, letter no. 248.
- 10 'Onder de heedaagsche Beeldhouwers hebben wy een Baccio Bandinelli, welke in zyne Tekeningen toont dat hy de byzondere gestaltes en verscheidenheid der leden beter dan Michel Angelo verstaan heeft. Doch men vind'er een, die zich van dit deel der Kunst nog beter heeft gekweeten: Ik meen de vermaarde François de Quesnoy, onder den naam van Fiammingo bekend ... Deze vermaarde Fiamingo is overal denkbeeldig: men vindt in zyne werken eene verrukkende welgeschiktheid, en eene Schakeering der deelen die de verwachting te boven gaat. Dit zoude ik kunnen aantoonen in twee fraaije koppen, welke ik van hem hebbe. De eene is zeer achtbaar, als een groot Wysgeer, gelyk Plato, met een kaal hoofd verbeeld; aantoonende een ernstige overdenking, en eene kracht van geest tot de allerverhevenste gedachten bekwaam, alles krachtig en tevens zeer teder ... De andere kop verbeeldt niet oneigenaartig eenen Dichter, gelyk Sophocles, of eerder eenen Veldoverste en tevens verstandigen Wysgeer, van een zacht en aanminnig gelaat, gelyk Xenophon.' Quoted from the edited text in Miedema 2006, op. cit. (note 2), II, p. 224.
- 11 The text is printed in its entirety alongside the original Dutch version in Miedema 2006, op. cit. (note 2), II. Ten Kate and his friend, the art collector Anthonie Rutgers, were responsible for the French translation and publication in Amsterdam. See also Brummel 1942, op. cit. (note 2), p. 100, for the whole passage. Van Gelder 1980, op. cit. (note 3), p. 341.
- 12 Jonathan Richardson (father and son), *An Account of the Statues, Bas-reliefs, Drawings, and Pictures in Italy, France, etc. with Remarks*, London 1722, pp. 540-43. See Brummel 1942, op. cit. (note 2), p. 100; Van Gelder 1980, op. cit. (note 3), p. 341 and Miedema 2006, op. cit. (note 2), II, p. 17.
- 13 'Mais les plus beaux Morceaux de tous ceux qu'on peut voir de cet excellent génie, si l'on considère la dignité du sujet aussi-bien que l'excellence de l'ouvrage, ce sont deux têtes de philosophes, que j'ai vues entre une infinité d'autres belles choses, dans le cabinet de Monsieur te Kate à Amsterdam.' Quoted from Brummel 1942, op. cit. (note 2), p. 100; Van Gelder 1970, op. cit. (note 2), pp. 163-64; Van Gelder 1980, op. cit. (note 3), p. 341.
- 14 'Ik ondernam eindelyk de meting "Van de Wendinghoeken van 't Aengezicht van voren" op mijne twee Marmore Koppen van Quesnoy, daer 't onderscheid van groei in 't Gebeente &c, te vinden is met zo veel onderscheid, en zo veel Gevoeglyk-eigen, zo uitmend, en klaarder om te vergelyken als ik eenig Anticq weet aen te toonen; zynde de Eene Kop, die men PLATO noemt, bij uitstek statig, en breed-vlak, en fynkantig van Wezen, en de andere, dien ik XENOPHON of SOPHOCLES noeme, minder nobel, spigtiger, en rondscheutiger vooruitschietende van Aengezicht [is]. Hiernevens zende ik UwE: een Afschrift van mijn arbeid.' Miedema 2006, op. cit. (note 2), I, p. 209 and II, p. 233-37 (letter from Ten Kate to Van Limborch of 13 October 1725).
- 15 J. Knoef, 'De beeldhouwer Jacobus Cresant', *Oud Holland* LVIII (1941), pp. 169-77, esp. pp. 172-73. With thanks to Robert Schillemans (Museum Ons' Lieve Heer op Solder, Amsterdam) for his confirmation of this provenance.
- 16 Boudon-Machuel 2005, op. cit. (note 8), p. 360, nos. R.143 and R.144. Her opinion is based on old photographs and not on personal observation.
- 17 Van Gelder 1980, op. cit. (note 3), p. 342, and letter from Dr Ursula Schlegel (Skulpturengalerie, Berlin) to Willy Halsema-Kubes, dated 22 July 1981 (in object file, Rijksmuseum): 'There is nothing directly comparable in Du Quesnoy's known oeuvre to date. As far as the handling of the marble is concerned, the head of the dancing satyr, now in the V&A, probably comes closest. Even more alike, however, is the hair, carved in so many strands, of the statue of St Benedict by Orfeo Boselli in S. Ambrogio alla Massima in Rome, which was made to Du Quesnoy's design. Solely on the grounds of the photographs (!) I would attribute your head to this interesting pupil.' ('Unmittelbar vergleichbares in dem bis jetzt bekannten Oeuvre Duquesnoys gibt es nicht. Für die Marmorbehandlung steht vielleicht der Kopf des tanzenden Satyr, jetzt im v & A am nächsten. Noch ähnlicher ist allerdings das in so viele Strähnen zerlegte Haar der Statue des hl. Benedikt von Orfeo Boselli in S. Ambrogio alla Massima in Rom, die nach Duquesnoys Entwurf gearbeitet wurde. Allein aufgrund der Fotos (!) würde ich Ihre Köpfe diesem interessanten Schüler zuschreiben.')
- 18 See for example Carla Benocci, *Paolo Giordano II Orsini nei ritratti di Bernini, Boselli, Leoni e Kornmann*, Rome 2006, pp. 73-75 and figs. 33, 58, 59.
- 19 Lingo 2007, op. cit. (note 8), pp. 94-95
- 20 Filippo Titi's *Studio di Pittura, Scultura & Architettura nelle chiese di Roma*, Rome 1675, p. 56: ... e la statua di S. Ambrogio nell'ultima Cappella fu formata nello stucco da Orfeo Buselli col modello di Francesco Fiammingo. See also Fransolet 1942, op. cit. (note 8), p. 126; Boudon-

- Machuel 2005, op. cit. (note 8), p. 360, nos. R.143 and R.144
- 21 See Lingo 2007, op. cit. (note 8), pp. 19-27, 28, 44, 78, 82, 89-94 and Phoebe Dent Weil, *Orfeo Boselli, 'Osservazioni della Scoltura Antica' – an edition of a 17th century manuscript written by a Roman sculptor*, Florence 1978.
- 22 Lingo 2007, op. cit. (note 8), pp. 90-92.
- 23 See Vondel, *Volledige dichtwerken en oorspronkelijke proza, verzorgd door Albert Verwey* (reissued with an introduction by Mieke B. Smits-Veldt and Marijke Spies), Amsterdam 1986, p. 939: *Op schilderkunst, tekeningen en marmerebeelden ten huize van Sandrart* (after the 1644 edition).
- 24 'Wat wijze Godheën ziet men hier?/ De Meester met zijn Hoofdscholier:/ Het ene hoofd wil Plato zijn./ Zo goddelijk, dat zelfs Jupijn./ Gestegen uit de goude zaal./ Zijn wijsheid zelfs, in Plato's taal./ Zou leren d'eerste schoolmeesters./ Het ander, Aristoteles./ Verdient, indien ik 't aanzicht ken./ Des Groten Alexanders pen/ Te voeren, zo het handen had./ Hun wijsheid schijnt in steen gevat.'
- 25 This may refer to Minerva.
- 26 Aristotle was Alexander the Great's teacher.
- 27 H. de la Fontaine Verwey. 'Michel le Blon. Graveur, kunsthandelaar, diplomaat', in: *ibid. Drukkers, liefhebbers en piraten in de zeventiende eeuw. Uit de wereld van het boek*, vol. 11, Amsterdam 1976, pp. 103-28, esp. pp. 105-06, 124; For Sandrart's Amsterdam period see Karel Porteman, *Joachim von Sandrart, Joost van den Vondel, Caspar Barlaeus, De maanden van het jaar*, Wommelgem 1987, p. 17-32.
- 28 A.R. Peltzer (ed.), *Joachim von Sandrarts Academie der Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-künste von 1675*, Munich 1925, p. 32.
- 29 Porteman 1987, op. cit. (note 26), pp. 24-31.
- 30 'kunstvolle Parnass der Edlen Mahlerey', Peltzer 1925, op. cit. (note 27), p. 32.
- 31 *Galleria Giustiniana del Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani*, 2 vols., Rome 1640 with 328 plates after J. Sandrart, J. de Pape et al. and engraved by C. Bloemaert, M. Natalis, T. Matham, C. Mellan, P. a Persyn et al.
- 32 'Wir wollen hier nur meldung thun von diesen auserlesenste Antichen die meistentheils von Griechen und Italiänern weissen Marmelstein gebildet seyn in welchen der alten Griechen Vortreflichkeit vor allen erscheint vor die Antiquität Academia zu Rom mit dero ich hierinnen offtmals Unterredung gepflogen solche La gran maniera Greca, das ist die verwunderliche grosse Art der Griechen genannt und ihnen vor allen das Lob gegeben.' Joachim von Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie der Bau-, Bild-, und Mahlerey-Künste*, Nuremberg 1675-1679, vol. 11, book 2 (*Von der Scultura oder Bildhauer=Kunst*), introduction, p. 1. The translation of this quotation in Lingo 2007, op. cit. (note 8), p. 14, is not entirely correct.
- 33 Lingo 2007, op. cit. (note 8), pp. 12-18.
- 34 Peltzer 1925, op. cit. (note 27), pp. 231-34.
- 35 Peltzer 1925, op. cit. (note 27), p. 232; later the sculpture was purchased by the City of Amsterdam and presented to Amalia van Solms. It subsequently found its way into the possession of the Elector of Brandenburg in Berlin. It was badly damaged in the Second World War (Bodemuseum, Berlin, inv. no. 540).
- 36 Sandrart 1675-1679, vol. 11, book 2 (*Von der Scultura oder Bildhauer=Kunst*), chapter 1, p. 5: 'When in my time at a meeting of the Academy in Rome a discussion of good and skillful bronze-casting took place, and the present statue was cited as an excellent example of this, it so impressed the talented Francesco du Quesnoy and me that we climbed up on it ourselves and through very careful investigation judged that the whole work came out from the casting so neatly and cleanly that nothing on it was filed over (with the exception of the core-pins) and also that the entire work including the horse was all of equal thinness, not thicker than a rixdollar: We saw these things with amazement and approvingly thought this statue to be an excellent work of sculpture.' ('Als zu meiner Zeit bey gehaltener Academia in Rom von gutem und künstlichem Metall-giessen einige Reden gefallen und gegenwärtige Statua für ein Wunder-Exempel dessen angezogen worden hat solches den kunstreichen Francesco du Quesnoy und Mich dahin bewegen das wir selbst hinauf gestiegen und durch genaues Nachforschen so viel befunden dass das ganze Werck vom Guss dermassen nett und sauber hervorgekommen dass an demselben nichts (ausser der Nägel welche im Giessen die Sehl gehalten) überfeiler auch sonst das ganze Bild samt dem Pferd alles in gleicher Dünne und nicht über einen Reichsthaler dick gewesen: Welches wir dann mit Verwunderung gesehen und daher billich diese Statua für ein vortreffliches Stück der Bildhauerkunst gehalten.') See also Lingo 2007, op. cit. (note 8), p. 15 (with a partially incorrect translation).
- 37 Christian Klemm, *Joachim von Sandrart, Kunstwerke und Lebenslauf*, Berlin 1986, nos. 15 (Aesculapius), 35 (January), 49 (Joseph), 53 (apostle), 56 (Saturn), 57 (Archimedes), 60 (Archimedes), 68 (Joseph and Joachim), 70 (philosopher writing), 91 (Pythagoras) and 92 (Moses).
- 38 Er [= Sandrart] hat aber daselbst alle seine Kunstwerke auf inständiges Bitten und Anhalten der Kunstliebhabere in Amsterdam gegen hochwichtigem baarem Wehrt hinterlassen, massen ihm von dem vorgedachten Swedischen Abgesandten Herrn von Spiring 3500 Gulden für zwey Buch Italienischer Handrisse, in dem Ausruff aber 4555 Gulden für andere von einem und andern erkaufte Handrisse und Kupferstiche, und für die noch

übrighabende rare Gemälde 14566 baare Gulden bezahlt worden.' Peltzer 1925, op. cit. (note 27), p. 33. Sandrart also painted a portrait of Spiering, who is represented in the Rijksmuseum by his marble bust by Dieussart (inv. no. BK-1971-115). Contact was undoubtedly established through his cousin Le Blon, who frequently did business with the agent of the Swedish court, see La Fontaine Verwey 1976, op. cit. (note 26), pp. 114-15, 118-21.

- 39 The fact that the old, bald philosopher is Plato and the younger is Aristotle can be deduced from the famous depictions of the two philosophers in Raphael's *School of Athens* in the Stanza della Segnatura in the Vatican. In the sale of the collection of Anthonie Rutgers, Ten Kate's friend, there was another bust of a philosopher that was attributed to Du Quesnoy, and Van Gelder suggested that it might have belonged with Ten Kate's pair (Van Gelder 1970, op. cit. (note 2), p. 164, note 40). This suggestion deserves to be taken seriously, since the fact that the sale catalogue specifically states that this was a work after a classical bust in the Giustiniani Collection again points in the direction of Sandrart, who after all was in charge of this Roman collection. We therefore cannot rule out the possibility that Sandrart also brought this philosopher with him from Rome and that it arrived by this route in Amsterdam collecting circles: 'A Greek philosopher's head or bust, portraying Pindarus, so it is thought, after the Greek original in the Palace of Justinian in Rome. See the Gallery of Justinian, and the Antiquities of Bast. Kennet, fol. 30. This work is carved in marble, more than life size, standing on a wooden pedestal; being the counterpart of the two admired busts which were sold in Amsterdam in 1732, at the sale of the late art-loving Mr Lambert ten Kate, for fourteen hundred guilders together, to Mr Valerius de Rover ...' ('Een Grieksch Pilosoophs Hoofd of Buste, verbeeldende, zo men meent, Pindarus, naar het Grieksche Origineel, in 't Paleis van Justini te Romen. Zie de Gallery van Justiniaan, en de Oudheven van Bast. Kennet, fol. 30,- . Dit Kunststuk is gehouwen in Marmer, ruim Levensgrootte, staande op een houten Pedestal; zynde de wederga van die twee in Kunst vermaarde Busten, welken in Amsterdam 1732, op de Verkoopning, van wylen den Kunstlievenden Heere Lambert ten Kate, zyn verkogt, te zamen voor veertien honderd guldens, aan den Heere Valerius de Rover ...')