A *Fiammingo* in Rome: Artus Quellinus and the Origins of the Northern Baroque Bust

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Influence is a slippery concept.[1] Famously, Michael Baxandall went as far as to call influence the 'curse of art criticism', drawing attention to the term's 'wrong-headed grammatical prejudice about who is the agent and who the patient …'.[2] Derived from the Latin *influxus*, the term has its origins in astrology, and means literally a 'flowing in', suggesting that the artist who is influenced is no more than a passive vessel, imbibing indiscriminately that which flows forth from the source.[3] Behind this concept, a more convoluted world remains hidden: a world of seeing, touching, selecting, copying, modelling, interpreting, but also of rejection, or ignorance.

The 'discourse of influence', as we may call it, is particularly evident for itinerant artists. This is, at least partly, the result of the manner in which the sources are constructed. As Malcolm Baker has pointed out in his study of British sculpture of the eighteenth century, biographies of travelling artists are highly formulaic.[4] Of course, a similar case can be made for the seventeenth century. For an example, we may refer to Joachim von Sandrart's brief remarks about the Flemish sculptor Artus Quellinus (1609-1668), who will be the focus of this paper.

> [Artus Quellinus] went to Rome and through François Du Quesnoy, who was well-disposed towards him, reached the true light in all things; [Du Quesnoy] also had him apply himself assiduously at the antique academies, as a result of which he improved markedly.[5]

< *Detail of fig. 4*

Quellinus would surely have approached him on his arrival in Rome, and it is not unlikely that he spent time in his workshop. But Sandrart's clear disposition towards Du Quesnoy, with whom he himself had studied the antiquities of Rome, makes him anything but an objective source.[6] Moreover, a more critical look at what he has to say makes it clear that Sandrart's remarks are questionable, to say the least. The idea that it was Du Quesnoy who guided Quellinus towards the antique can hardly be taken seriously; the study of the antique, the importance of which had already been stressed by Rubens in his notes, would have been one of the main reasons for Quellinus to travel to Italy in the first place.[7] It is, however, Sandrart's suggestion that Quellinus 'reached the true light in all things' only because Du Quesnoy was well disposed towards him that makes him into a passive recipient of the latter's 'influence'. The text does not take into account the fact that Quellinus was already an established sculptor when he travelled to Rome, nor that he might have taken the opportunity to

have a look outside Du Quesnoy's studio. Rather, what appears to be at stake here is Sandrart's attempt to create, in Baker's words, the 'notion of an artistic lineage'.[8] This 'lineage' has hardly been questioned by scholars, who, maybe in part on nationalistic grounds, tend to take Sandrart's account at face value.[9] When Sandrart suggests that Alessandro Algardi, too, was a follower of Du Quesnoy, scholars have been less prone to take him seriously.[10]

This paper aims to reconsider Quellinus's Roman period, looking in particular at the impact his sojourn may have had on his portrait busts. Whereas scholars usually adopt Sandrart's scheme and see Quellinus as a student of Du Quesnoy, it has not gone unnoticed that his portrait busts do not sit well with such a story. Not infrequently, Gian Lorenzo Bernini is brought to the fore as an alternative 'source of influence' – but Bernini's was not the only game in town. Without wanting to dismiss the significance of Du Quesnoy for an understanding of Quellinus's works – there are cases where the connection is, in fact, quite obvious – the intention here is to break the one directionality of such a connection.[11] Indeed, there was more to be seen and learned in Rome for a young talent like Quellinus.

When in Rome…

In order to re-asses this question in a way that Quellinus may appear as an active player, rather than a passive recipient, we should begin by asking what he had at his disposal. Quellinus was in Italy between 1634 and 1639, and although it is not precisely clear when he arrived or left, he was recorded in the Eternal City in 1636, when he lived in the house of engraver Claude Pionier in what is now the Via del Babuino, just across the street from the Canova Tadolini studio.[12] François Du Quesnoy lived around the corner, one block down the road, in the Via Vittoria.[13] Only a few years after Quellinus had left, in 1643, Bernini would take up residence in the large house on the other side of the Piazza di Spagna, in the Via di Mercede; during Quellinus's stay, though, he still lived behind the apse of St Peter's basilica.[14] However, Quellinus could easily have walked over to the house of Francesco Mochi, who lived in the block of the Propaganda fide until its reconstruction by Borromini and, in 1638, was *Stimatore di sculture* of the Accademia di San Luca.[15] Alessandro Algardi also lived in the parish of Sant'Andrea delle

Fig. 1
ARTUS QUELLINUS, *St Peter*, 1658. Marble, life-size. Antwerp, Sint-Andries church. Photo: Lukas - Art in Flanders vzw, photo by Hugo Maertens.

Fig. 2
GIULIANO FINELLI,
St Peter, 1635-40.
Marble, over life-size.
Naples, Duomo.
Photo: Alinari
Archives, Florence.

Fratte, which is to say somewhere in the neighbourhood.[16] The only important sculptor that Quellinus would have been less likely to run into, at least in Rome, was Giuliano Finelli, at one time assistant to both Gian Lorenzo Bernini and his father Pietro, who left Rome for Naples between 1634 and 1635, the earliest that Quellinus could have arrived.[17]

And yet, it is precisely the work of Giuliano Finelli to which some of Quellinus's later sculptures are, at least at first glance, most intimately related. The similarities between Quellinus's *St Peter*, sculpted in 1658 in Antwerp, and Finelli's, made for the San Gennaro chapel in Naples between 1636 and 1639-40, for example, are striking (figs. 1-2). They share the same austere expression and intense look, and wear comparable garments, the shirt falling open at the top, and a heavy cloak cutting the figures at the waist. It is highly likely that Quellinus travelled to Naples. Many Northern artists in Rome made excursions to Naples; as we know from the account book of the British sculptor Nicholas Stone, the Flemish merchant and collector Gaspare Roomer acted as a bank for Northern visitors.[18] As to portraiture, we can see formal affinities between Quellinus's *Bust of Andries de Graeff* of 1661 and Finelli's *Bust of Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger*, which Quellinus would have seen in Florence (figs. 3-4).[19] They share the conspicuous feature of the hand, the slight turn of the head and, above all, the prominent role of the large folds of drapery occupying much of the busts.

Fig. 3
GIULIANO FINELLI, *Bust of Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger*, 1629-30. Marble, h. 87 cm. Florence, Casa Buonarroti. Photo: Scala, Florence.

Fig. 4
ARTUS I QUELLINUS, *Bust of Andries de Graeff, Burgomaster of Amsterdam*, 1661. Marble, h. 75 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. BK-18305.

The busts of the brothers Alessandro and Michele Peretti di Montalto, which Finelli left unfinished in Rome when he departed for Naples, now in the Bode Museum, Berlin, are of particular interest in the present context (figs. 5-6). These works introduced a new type of bust that was later made popular by Quellinus in the North.[20]

A link between the two might be the Walloon sculptor François Dieussart, who was in Rome from 1618-34/35[21] and introduced this type of sculpture in the Netherlands with his busts of Stadholders Frederick Henry and William II (fig. 7).[22] In fact, the subtle hand gesture of the former bust seems to be modelled directly on Finelli's *Michelangelo* (fig. 3), which Dieussart could have seen in Rome before it was shipped, after some delays, to Florence in 1630.[23] And yet, compared to both Finelli's and Quellinus's busts, Dieussart's look rather stiff. Quellinus was more successful in adopting the motif of the large cloak as a means of solving the inevitable problem of the lower cut of the bust and – much more than Dieussart – Quellinus was able to capture the grandeur that Finelli lent to his busts.

It has often been remarked that Du Quesnoy's portrait busts were hardly up to date with the developments in Rome in the 1630s, with the exception, perhaps, of his striking *Bust of the Dwarf of the Duke of Créqui* (1633-34), inspired, as Irving Lavin has shown, by a bust of Emperor Caracalla,[24] and his *Bust of Cardinal Maurizio of Savoy* (1635), the latter possibly inspired by Bernini's *Bust of Cardinal Scipione Borghese*, as the two cardinals were good friends. In any case, Du Quesnoy's busts do not prepare us for Quellinus's works, and it is for this reason that many scholars have turned to Bernini. And yet, arguably, Bernini was not the most obvious choice for the young Fleming. Algardi, who had burst upon the Roman scene with his *Monument for Pope Leo XI* in 1634, clearly preferred the example of Finelli over Bernini, up to the point that scholars still have trouble separating their works.[25]

With his *Bust of Paolo Emilio Zacchia*, sculpted between 1650 and 1654, Algardi, too, took up the example of Montalto busts (fig. 8).[26]

Fig. 5
GIULIANO FINELLI,
Bust of Alessandro Peretti Montalto,
1632/33-35.
Marble, h. 91 cm.
Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung, inv. no. 8757.
Photo: © bpk / Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, SMB / Antje Voigt.

Fig. 6
GIULIANO FINELLI,
Bust of Michele Peretti Montalto,
1633-35.
Marble, h. 95 cm.
Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung, inv. no. 8756.
Photo: © bpk / Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, SMB / Antje Voigt.

Fig. 7
FRANÇOIS DIEUSSART,
Bust of Frederick Henry, 1641.
Marble, h. 82 cm.
Wörlitz, Gotisches Haus, Kulturstiftung Dessau Wörlitz, inv. no. II-794.
Photo: © Kulturstiftung DessauWörlitz, Bildarchiv, Heinz Fräßdorf.

Fig. 8
ALESSANDRO ALGARDI,
Bust of Paolo Emilio Zacchia, 1650-54.
Terracotta, h. 82 cm.
London, Victoria and Albert Museum,
inv. no. A.78-1970.

Algardi's preference for Finelli over Bernini might have been rather more political than artistic. It was precisely at the time of Algardi's rise that Bernini developed into – in Francis Haskell's words – the 'artistic dictator of Rome', and as such generated a lot of antipathy. Matthijs van de Merwede, who was in Rome between 1647 and 1650, gives us a Dutch view of the situation. Among the extraordinarily frank accounts of his amorous escapades in his *Uyt-heemsen Oorlog ofte Roomse min-triomfen* (1651), he makes a brief but telling mention of Du Quesnoy's *St Andrew*, sculpted for one of the pillars at the crossing of the transepts in St Peter's.[27]

> [Its] location and [, as a result, the] lighting [was] altered by the Italians, and above all by Bernini's jealousy, so that the said Francesco, also suffering many other affronts, first lost his mind, and then his life out of shame. And many say that the Italians drove him mad by putting something into his wine.[28]

Though Van de Merwede is clearly exaggerating here, we do get a sense of an artistic climate in which one was pressed to choose sides. Indeed, other sources corroborate that Du Quesnoy felt cheated, the main culprit, implicitly, being Bernini.[29] Clearly, for an ambitious Fleming such as Quellinus, Bernini's side was *not* the side to be on.

Antique Examples

Obviously, the sculptures of Antiquity were more neutral objects of study. Sandrart's remark that Du Quesnoy incited Quellinus to 'apply himself assiduously at the antique academies', though again a *topos*, reminds us that antique sculpture was a central point of reference for Baroque sculptors, and certainly not exclusive to Du Quesnoy's milieu.[30] In fact, it is not unlikely that Quellinus, like all the sculptors mentioned before, was involved in restorations of antique sculptures while in Rome.[31] With regard to his portrait busts, we may have a closer look at an antique example that would have drawn his interest in particular: a Roman bust from the first century BC, generally identified as *Cicero* (fig. 9).[32] It was already in the Barberini collection before 1628. Girolamo Tezi, in his 1642 description of the Palazzo Barberini, locates it in the *sala ovate*, the room where Cardinal Antonio Barberini was known to hold his literary gatherings.[33] Tezi presents the bust as an actual living presence, conversing with illustrious members of Antonio's *accademia* such as Lucas Holstein, Lelio Guidiccioni and Francesco Bracciolini – the latter portrayed in a striking bust by Finelli.[34] The bust was, of course, one among many in Rome, yet it is outstanding in its vivaciousness, the irregular features, suggestion of movement and slightly open mouth, prefiguring the baroque busts by Bernini, Finelli or, indeed, Quellinus.[35] And there were other reasons to think back to this particular bust when Quellinus took up a position in Amsterdam. For Cicero, statesman and theoretician of the Roman republic, spoke to the imagination of the Amsterdam ruling class.[36] Not coincidentally, Joost van Vondel, in a poem on what may have been Quellinus's first marble busts in Amsterdam,[37] compares the Bicker brothers to Cicero; another Dutch source of the time describes Cicero as a 'burgomaster' of Rome: 'den Roomschen burgemeester Cicero…'.[38] But classic examples were present in the North too. Frits Scholten has argued that Quellinus took his inspiration for his *St Peter* from the Pseudo-Seneca, which, although no longer present in Rubens's Antwerp collection, was known there through various casts (fig. 10).[39] In Rome, there were at

Fig. 9
ANONYMOUS ROMAN SCULPTOR, *Bust of Cicero*, 63-43 BC (with later additions). Marble, h. 93 cm. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Sala dei Filosofi, inv. no. MC 589/s. Photo: Archivio Fotografico dei Musei Capitolini, Zeno Colantoni © Roma, Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali – Musei Capitolini.

Fig. 10
ANONYMOUS ROMAN SCULPTOR, *Bust of Pseudo-Seneca*, first century AD. Marble, h. 47 cm. Naples, Museo Nazionale, inv. no. 6187.

least two versions of the bust in the Farnese collection.[40] Later, in Amsterdam, Quellinus, together with art dealer Gerrit Uylenburgh, was responsible for compiling the so-called 'Dutch gift' to King Charles II of England, which, among other things, consisted of an important collection of antiquities, originally part of the Vendramin Collection in Venice and later of that of the Reijnst brothers in Amsterdam.[41] Among the works, engraved and published in about 1665 as *Signorum Veterum Icones*, was a huge number of portrait busts, including a bust of the Emperor Vitellius, another version of the better known Grimani *Vitellius*, so often drawn by Tintoretto (fig. 11).[42] Casts of the bust, whichever version, crop up in various Dutch and Flemish paintings, and it seems that again Rubens may have owned a cast.[43] That this particular version elicited the interest of local artists appears to be confirmed by François Dieussart's *Bust of Pieter Spiering*, where the ancient cuirass and drape of the *Vitellius* have been translated quite literally into the

Fig. 11 ATTRIBUTED TO GERARD DE LAIRESSE, *Antique Bust of Vitellius*, c. 1665. Etching. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum Research Library, GF-382-A-II.

dress of a seventeenth-century merchant/courtier (fig. 12).

Painters and Sculptors

Rubens's name has been mentioned a few times now, and it might be helpful to stay with him for a while and ask what an artist such as Quellinus was looking for – what he saw in these particular works of art. Without question, Rubens can be regarded as a leading example for artists and sculptors alike. Rubens himself stated that Lucas Faydherbe (1617-1697) 'lived with me for three years and was my pupil, and through the community shared by our arts of painting and sculpture, with my instruction and his diligence and good mind, he profited greatly in his art.'[44] Gabriel Grupello, who had probably worked with Quellinus on the decorations of the Amsterdam Town Hall, stated: 'Ever since my youth, I have tried to follow this great Rubens. And it did not do me any harm.'[45] As to Quellinus, there can be no doubt that he was at least aware of Rubens's art. In fact, Artus's

Fig. 12
FRANÇOIS DIEUSSART, *Bust of Pieter Spiering (?-1652)*, c. 1645-50. Marble, h. 89 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. BK-1971-115-A; purchased with the support of the Stichting tot Bevordering van de Belangen van het Rijksmuseum.

brother, Erasmus the Younger, had been part of Rubens's workshop,[46] and the Quellinus brothers, in turn, worked closely together.[47] There can be little doubt, then, that at least in the first decades of the seventeenth century Rubens also set the artistic agenda for sculptors. If Rubens's advice to young artists to avoid the hardness of sculpture when working after the antique – a point driven to extremes by Rubens himself – was certainly taken to heart by Quellinus, Rubens's approach to portraiture, though less explicit in the sources, seems no less important. His drawing of the aforementioned *Bust of Seneca* (fig. 13), with its irregular face and lively eyes, gives us a hint of what Rubens sought – and sought to capture – in such works. It is a quality that characterizes Rubens's portraits as well: the depiction of, in Hans Vlieghe's words, a 'glimpse of human action'.[48]

The idea that the portraitist captures a human action in a portrait has been associated first and foremost with the works of Bernini. Rudolf Wittkower's characterization of the *Bust of Scipione Borghese* as a '"speaking" likeness' has carried particular weight in the scholarly debate, all the more so because it finds an echo in the sources.[49] Bernini believed, or so his biographers write, that 'when one remains still, one is never so like oneself as when moving, which reveals all those individual qualities that belong to no other and that give likeness to a portrait'.[50] Although Bernini's biographers relate this insight to the sculptor's unique approach to portraiture – 'un costume … dal commune modo assai diverso', write both Domenico Bernini and Filippo Baldinucci – the insight in itself was, it seems, acknowledged by other artists too.[51] This becomes apparent if we have a closer look at Baldinucci's biography of Medici court portraitist Justus Sustermans (1597-1681), a painter who received his first training in Rubens's Antwerp. Baldinucci, presenting these remarks as the words of the artist himself, writes:

> every figure has a movement that is his alone, and nobody else's: and when painting a portrait, it is necessary to know the properties of these movements, which play an important role in the figure's likeness.[52]

The striking overlap between Baldinucci's remarks about the ideas of Bernini and Sustermans, presents us with the question of their origins. Certainly, Sustermans could simply have learned them from Bernini, whom he must have met in Rome when he portrayed Pope Urban VIII – Bernini's great patron – in 1627, or later, when, in the 1640s, he returned to Rome and portrayed Pope Innocent X.

I would like to argue, however, that the remarks attributed to Bernini and Sustermans reflect a tradition that goes back further still, to Rubens and the Carracci, and eventually to Titian. In the end, though, it was not Rubens, but his student Anthony van Dyck who was the true revolutionary portraitist. A case in point is Van Dyck's portrait of the poet *Virginio Cesarini*, painted in Rome between 1622 and 1623 and now in the State Hermitage in St Petersburg (fig. 14). In comparing Van Dyck's animated portrait of the young poet with that painted a year or two earlier by Domenichino, we get a sense of the leap that was taken in sculpture a decade later; from the perhaps penetrating and psychological, but

< *Fig. 13*
PETER PAUL RUBENS AND ASSISTANT, *Bust of Pseudo-Seneca*, 1600-26. Pen and brown ink over black chalk heightened with white, with brush and grey ink, 26.5 x 17.7 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 1975.1.843; Robert Lehman Collection, 1975.

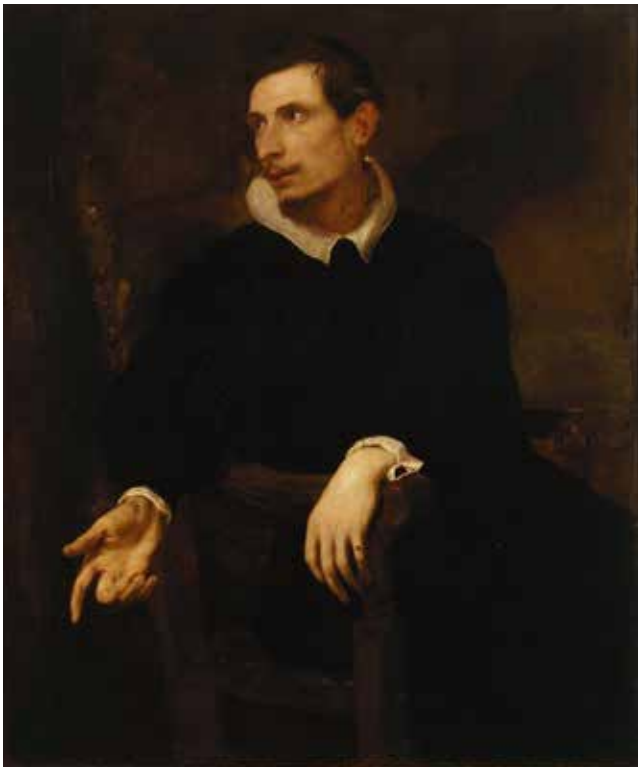

Fig. 14
ANTONY VAN DYCK, *Portrait of Virginio Cesarini*, 1623. Oil on canvas, 104 x 86 cm. St Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, inv. no. GE-552. Photo: Vladimir Terebenin.

largely frontal portrait to, again, a slice of human action. A sculpted portrait of the poet in the Musei Capitolini (fig. 15) has been variously attributed to Bernini, Du Quesnoy and Francesco Mochi, but whoever made the bust, it is a fine illustration of how far sculpture still lagged behind at this point.[53]

'Opportunism' of Style

Returning to Quellinus, we may surmise that, between Antwerp and Rome, he developed a sensitivity for the depiction of the individual that can really not be understood as the passive adaptation to the work of a Du Quesnoy or a Bernini. Rather, by carefully observing the advances in portraiture of his time, he acquired a formal repertoire that allowed him to shift registers at will, remaining, moreover, open to new impressions. Indeed, his later Dutch busts are very much attuned to Dutch portraiture; in addition to the lessons learned in Rome, he managed to integrate a number of particularly northern, even Dutch qualities in his busts. The strikingly soft texture of the draperies, for example in the busts of *Cornelis Witsen* and his wife *Catharina Gaeff Opsy* (figs. 16-17), both of 1658, appear

Fig. 15
ANONYMOUS ROMAN SCULPTOR, *Bust of Virginio Cesarini*, 1624. Marble, 60 cm. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Sala dei Capitani, inv. no. MC 1196/S. Photo: Archivio Fotografico dei Musei Capitolini, Arrigo Coppitz © Roma, Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali – Musei Capitolini.

Fig. 16
ARTUS I QUELLINUS, *Bust of Cornelis Witsen*, 1658. Marble, h. 71 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. RF3518. Photo: © RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Michel Urtado.

Fig. 17
ARTUS I QUELLINUS, *Bust of Catharina Gaeff Opsy*, 1658. Marble, h. 72 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. RF3519. Photo: © RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Michel Urtado.

Fig. 18
BARTHOLOMEUS VAN DER HELST, *Portrait of Andries Bicker*, c. 1642. Oil on panel, 93.5 x 70.5 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-147.

to reflect the central role of textile production in the Dutch economy and the elite's awareness of such textures that must have come along with it[54] – in fact, one Italian source counts among the achievements of modern sculpture its capacity to 'dress [the sculpted figures] in the finest fabric, as if it was the subtlest Dutch cloth'.[55] Only at a second glance do we become aware that *Andries de Graeff* must have his left hand placed on his hip (fig. 4), a pose that we find, for example, in Bartholomeus van der Helst's *Portrait of Andries Bicker*, and if we look closely, we see that there too, the other arm, as in the bust, hangs in the dark cape (fig. 18). If Quellinus here indeed relies on Finelli's example, he has adapted it to his own needs.

Yet, Quellinus's art did not move in a single direction. Rather, we should attribute to him, using a term that Damian Dombrowski significantly reserved for Finelli, an '"opportunism" of style.' For his stunning *Bust of Luis Francisco de Benavides Carillo de Toledo* (1664) (fig. 19), governor of the Spanish Netherlands in 1659-64, he refers back to a type of bust that was rather more Spanish in character. A significant example is Jacques Jonghelinck's bronze *Bust of the Duke of Alva* (fig. 20), a bust that shows strong similarities to the Spanish busts of Pompeo and Leone Leoni, in whose studio Jonghelinck had been trained. The present bust, though, was sculpted in Antwerp during Alva's governorship of the Spanish Netherlands (1567-73).[56] If, with the addition of the arms in Quellinus's bust we may again think of Dieussart's example, the bust, again, has nothing of the awkwardness of the latter's works. Quellinus has managed to go beyond his examples, creating a work of striking credibility and unity – a work, moreover, that, like the busts of the Amsterdam burgomasters, set the example for generations of Northern sculptors to come.

The examples I have discussed here are not, of course, exhaustive. They do, however, or at least this is what I hope, give an impression of the variety of the objects at Quellinus's disposal. Although Finelli has played an important role in my considerations, it is not my aim to argue that Quellinus was influenced by Finelli rather than Du Quesnoy or Bernini. Nevertheless, as an important player in the Roman art world, and someone who explicitly positioned himself against Bernini, Finelli was an obvious point of reference for the Flemish sculptor. If a sense of an artistic lineage remains – if, in other words, Quellinus's works appear to have particularly northern traits – this is because he chose to position himself as part of such a lineage.[57] That is to say, in different contexts the artist referred to different traditions, references that may have had a specific aim. Such references, then, are not

Fig. 19
ARTUS I QUELLINUS,
Bust of Luis Francisco de Benavides Carillo de Toledo, 1664.
Marble, h. 98 cm.
Antwerp, Royal Museums of Fine Arts, inv. no. 701.
Photo: Lukas - Art in Flanders vzw, photo by Hugo Maertens.

without meaning; they indicate that Quellinus had a keen sense of his own position in the history of art, as well as of the expectations of his patrons. It is herein that the success of his works lies: Quellinus managed to select and adapt, taking in the different sources that were at his disposal. The result is a group of works that stand very much on their own; though grounded in his Roman experience, Quellinus's works open up a new chapter in the history of the Baroque portrait bust.

Fig. 20
JACQUES JONGHELINCK,
Bust of Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, 3rd Duke of Alba, 1571.
Bronze, h. 116.5 cm.
New York, The Frick Collection, acc. no. 1916.2.61.

NOTES

1 Cf. Jonathan Harris, *Art History: The Key Concepts*, London 2006, pp. 161-63; Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures*, New Haven 1985, pp. 58 ff.
2 Ibid., pp. 58-59.
3 Hannah Baader, 'Einfluss', in Ulrich Pfisterer (ed.), *Metzlers Lexikon Kunstwissenschaf. Ideen, Methoden, Begriffe*, Stuttgart 2011 (2nd edition), p. 97. I would like to thank Maurice Saß for sharing his ideas on the concept of influence with me.
4 Malcolm Baker, *Figured in Marble: The Making and Viewing of Eighteenth-Century Sculpture*, London 2000, pp. 22-33.
5 Joachim von Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie der Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste …* , Nuremberg 1675-80, vol. 2, book 3, p. 351: 'Woraufhin er nacher Rom gezogen und vermittelst des Francisci Quesnoy, als welcher ihm wolgeneigt gewesen in allem das rechte Liecht überkommen auch ihme sich bey denen antichen Academien steif zu halten fleißig angelegen seyn laßen wordurch er dann merklich zugenommen …'. Trans. by Estelle Lingo, *François Duquesnoy and the Greek Ideal*, New Haven 2007, pp. 14-15.
6 Von Sandrart 1675-80 (note 5), vol. 1, book 2, p. 39, cf. Lingo 2007 (note 5), pp. 14-15.
7 Steven J. Cody, 'Rubens and the "Smell of Stone": The Translation of the Antique and the Emulation of Michelangelo', *Arion* 20 (2013), no. 3, pp. 39-55; Jeffrey M. Muller, 'Rubens's Theory and Practice of the Imitation of Art', *The Art Bulletin* 64 (1982), no. 2, pp. 229-47.
8 Baker 2000 (note 4), p. 24.
9 See for example Hans Vlieghe, *Flemish Art and Architecture 1585-1700*, New Haven 1998, p. 243; Katharine Fremantle, *The Baroque Town Hall of Amsterdam*, Utrecht 1959, pp. 148-49.
10 Sandrart 1675-80 (note 5), vol. 2, book 3, p. 350: 'Er folgte des Francesco du Quesnoy Manier in den Bildern, Kindern und andern nach …'.
11 See for example Marion Boudon-Machuel, *François du Quesnoy 1597-1643*, Paris 2005, no. In.69 dér 1; V. Krahn (ed.), *Von allen Seiten schön. Bronzen der Renaissance und des Barock*, exh. cat. Berlin (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin) 2005, no. 196.
12 Vlieghe 1998 (note 9), p. 243; Godefridus Johannes Hoogewerff, *De Bentvueghels*, The Hague 1952, p. 128. According to the latter, on p. 142, the Bentvogel with the name 'Corpus' should not be identified with Artus but with Jan-Erasmus Quellinus. According to Juliane Gabriels, in her book *Artus Quellien. De oude 'kunstrijck belthouwer'*, Antwerpen 1930, p. 14, it was Artus who adopted this name; cf. ibid., note 44 with reference to Arnold Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen*, vol. 2, Gravenhage 1753 (2nd edition), p. 350. Quellinus's presence in Rome is confirmed by Godefridus Johannes Hoogewerff, *Nederlandsche kunstenaars te Rome 1600-1725. Uittreksel uit de parochiale archieven*, The Hague 1943, p. 102, who cites from the *Descrittione dell'anime della parocchia di San Lorenzo in Lucina* of 1636, f. 29v: 'Paolina [= Via Babuino], cominciando da incontro S. Atanasio [= S. Atanasio dei Greci] verso la Trinità, mano sinistra:

> Claude Pionier, pittore, comunicato.
> Francesco di Giardino.
> Giovanni Ottavio Blau.
> Giorgio Sibilla, comunicato.
> Artix Cuellin, comunicato. Sono tutti pittori fiamenghi.

In the *Descrittione dell'anime* of 1637, transcribed in ibid., p. 104, a 'Marco, pittore' lives in the house of Pionier. In his note 5, Hoogewerff suggests that Marco could refer to Arto or Artus. In 1638 (cf. p. 107) there is no longer anyone who could be connected to Quellinus in the house of Pionier. The 'status animarum' of 1635 is missing (cf. ibid., p. 101).
13 Cf. Lingo 2007 (note 5), p. 7.
14 Franco Mormando, *Bernini: His Life and His Rome*, Chicago 2011, p. 25.
15 Marcella Favero, *Francesco Mochi. Una carriera di scultore*, Trento 2008, p. 25.
16 At least he lived in the parish of Sant'Andrea delle Fratte in 1634, in the same house as the Bolognese painter Emilio Savonanzi, cf. Jennifer Montagu, *Algardi. L'altra faccia del barocco*, Rome 1999, p. 25.
17 Damian Dombrowski, *Giuliano Finelli. Bildhauer zwischen Neapel und Rom*, Frankfurt am Main 1997, p. 204.
18 Nicholas Stone, 'Diary of Nicholas Stone Junior 1638-1642 (Brit. Mus. Harl. MSS., No. 4049)', *The Walpole Society* 7 (1919), p. 192. For Roomer see Renato Ruotolo, *Mercanti-collezionisti fiamminghi a Napoli. Gaspare Roomer e i Vandeneynden*, Naples 1982.
19 Many northern travellers travelled via Livorno, making Florence more or less on the way to Rome. Quellinus's visit to Florence is

corroborated by his copy of Michelangelo's *Day*. Cf. Frits Scholten, *Artus Quellinus: Sculptor of Amsterdam*, Amsterdam 2010, p. 7. Also the *Samson and Delilah* in Berlin, attributed to Quellinus, appears to be inspired by Michelangelo's sculpture.

20 This is not to say that there were no precedents in the depiction of half figures; for examples cf. Frits Scholten, 'Johan Gregor van der Schardt and the Moment of Self-Portraiture in Sculpture', *Simiolus* 33 (2009), no. 4, pp. 195-220; Damian Dombrowski, 'Fashioning Foreign Identities: Finelli's "Opportunism" of Style', *The Sculpture Journal* 20 (2011), no. 2, pp. 265-74.

21 For Dieussart in Rome see Marion Boudon Machuel, 'François Dieussart in Rome: Two Newly Identified Works', *The Burlington Magazine* 145 (2003), no. 1209, pp. 833-40.

22 Cf. Charles Avery, 'Francois Dieussart (c. 1600-61): Portrait Sculptor to the Courts of Northern Europe', in Charles Avery, *Studies in European Sculpture*, London 1981, pp. 205-35, esp. pp. 211-12, 223-24.

23 Dombrowski 1997 (note 17), p. 326.

24 Irving Lavin, 'Duquesnoy's "Nano di Créqui" and Two Busts by Francesco Mochi', *The Art Bulletin* 52 (1970), no. 2, pp. 132-49, esp. p. 135. For the Caracalla bust in Berlin, bought in Rome in 1875, cf. Andreas Scholl and Gertrud Platz-Horster (eds.), *Die Antikensammlung. Altes Museum, Pergamonmuseum*, Mainz 2007 (3rd revised ed.), no. 145.

25 See, for example, the discussion about the bust of an unknown man in the Bode Museum, Berlin; Andrea Bacchi et al. (eds.), *Bernini and the Birth of Baroque Portrait Sculpture*, exh. cat. Los Angeles (The J. Paul Getty Museum) 2008, no. 5.2.

26 Jennifer Montagu, *Alessandro Algardi*, New York 1985, vol. 1, p. 165 and note 21.

27 Godefridus Johannes Hoogewerff, 'Nederlandse dichters in Italië in de Zeventiende Eeuw', *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Historisch Instituut te Rome* 3 (1950), no. 6 [26], pp. 84–90.

28 Matthijs van der Merwede, *Uyt-heemsen oorlog ofte Roomse min-triomfen*, The Hague 1651, p. 166: 'S. Andries van Francesco Fiamingo, ofte Frans Kenoy van Brussel, in S. Peeters Kerk te Roomen gemaekt / en door d'Italiaenen, ende meest Bernin sijn nydicheyd / van plaets ende licht verandert / dat Francesco voorn: nevens noch eenige andre *affrontjes*, van spije sijn sinnen / ende daer na sijn leven kosten / werd ook van velen gesegt dat hem d'Italiaenen, met yet in sijn wijn te werpen / hebben simpel gemaekt.'

29 Lingo 2007 (note 5), p. 133.

30 Christian Theuerkauff, 'Enkele kanttekeningen bij Artus Quellinus en de "antiche Academien"', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 50 (2002), pp. 309-19; Andreas Linfert, 'Die "Zingarella"', *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 93 (1978), pp. 148-201.

31 Cf. Jennifer Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture: The Industry of Art*, New Haven/London 1989, pp. 151-72.

32 Eugenio La Rocca and Claudio Parisi Presicce (eds.), *I giorni di Roma. L'età della conquista*, exh. cat. Rome (Capitoline Museums) 2010, no. II.9; Henry Stuart Jones, *A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures Preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome: The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*, Oxford 1912, p. 249 (*Filosofi* 75).

33 Hieronymus Tetius [Tezi], *Aedes barberinae ad quirinalem descriptae | Descrizioni di Palazzo Barberini al Quirinale. Il palazzo, gli affreschi, le collezioni, la corte* (ed. Lucia Faedo and Thomas Frangenberg), Pisa 2005, p. 473 and more generally, by Lucia Faedo, p. 43. For the literary gatherings cf. ibid., pp. 38-39, 50. For the background of the bust see Joris van Gastel, *Il Marmo Spirante: Sculpture and Experience in Seventeenth-Century Rome*, Berlin/Leiden 2013, note 404.

34 Bacchi et al. 2008 (note 25), no. 5.1.

35 Cf. Van Gastel 2013 (note 33), pp. 126-28.

36 Scholten 2010 (note 19), p. 14.

37 Frits Scholten, 'Quellinus's Burgomasters: A Portrait Gallery of Amsterdam Republicanism', *Simiolus* 32 (2006), no. 2/3, pp. 87-125, esp. pp. 87-90.

38 Augustijn Bloemaert, 'Trompet of lofrede over den Eeuwigen Nederlantschen Vrede', in J.B.V. (ed.), *Olyf-krans der vreede, door de doorluchtigste geesten, en geleerdste mannen, deezes tijds, gevlochten*, Amsterdam 1649, p. 384: 'den Roomschen Burgemeester Cicero …'. Cf., for the author of this text, Marijke Spies, 'De Vrijheid in de "Olyf-Krans der Vreede" (1649)', *De zeventiende eeuw* 13 (1997), pp. 201-07, esp. p. 205.

39 Frits Scholten, Rijksmuseum object description, http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.510524 (consulted 2 September 2014).

40 Carlo Gasparri (ed.), *Le sculture Farnese*, vol. 2, Milan 2009, nos. 3-5.

41 Friso Lammertse, 'Gerrit Uylenburgh: Art Dealer and Painter in Amsterdam and London', in Friso Lammertse and Jaap van der Veen, *Uylenburgh & Son: Art and Commerce from Rembrandt to De Lairesse 1625-1675*, Amsterdam 2005, pp. 64-70; Anne-Marie S. Logan, *The 'Cabinet' of the*

Brothers Gerard and Jan Reynst, Amsterdam 1979, pp. 75-81.

42 *Signorum veterum icones per D. Gerardum Reynst … collectae*, Amsterdam 1671 [1665], no. 35.

43 Marjon van der Meulen (ed. Arnout Balis), *Rubens: Copies after the Antique*, vol. 1, London 1994, p. 143, although on p. 66 the author argues that he may have studied the bust in Venice.

44 Erik Duverger, 'Het getuigschrift van Rubens voor Lucas Faydherbe', *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1977), pp. 259-79. A. Balis, 'Rubens and His Studio: Defining the Problem', in Joost vander Auwera (ed.), *Rubens: A Genius at Work*, Brussels 2007, p. 35.

45 Udo Kultermann, *Gabriel Grupello*, Berlin 1968, p. 31.

46 Hans Vlieghe, 'Erasmus Quellinus and Rubens' Studio Practice', *The Burlington Magazine* 119 (1977), pp. 636-43.

47 Hans Vlieghe, 'Erasmus Quellinus der Jüngere und Italien', in Ekkehard Mai et al. (eds.), *Die Malerei Antwerpens. Gattungen, Meister, Wirkungen …*, Cologne 1994, pp. 217-18; Carl van de Velde, 'Rubens, de gebroeders Quellin en de beelden van Sint-Ignatius en Sint-Franciscus in het koor van de jezuïetenkerk te Antwerpen', in Arnout Balis (ed.), *Rubens and his World: Bijdragen, Etudes, Studies, Beiträge*, Antwerp 1985, pp. 297-306.

48 Hans Vlieghe, *Rubens Portraits of Identified Sitters Painted in Antwerp*, London 1987 (*Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard* 19/2), p. 22.

49 For a discussion cf. Andrea Bacchi and Catherine Hess, 'Creating a New Likeness: Bernini's Transformation of the Portrait Bust', in Bacchi et al. 2008 (note 25), pp. 20 ff.

50 Domenico Bernino, *Vita del Cavalier Gio. Lorenzo Bernino*, Rome 1713, pp. 133-34; Paul Fréart de Chantelou, *Diary of the Cavaliere Bernini's Visit to France* (ed. and trans. Anthony Blunt and George C. Bauer), Princeton 1985, p. 44, note 130; Filippo Baldinucci, *Vita del cavaliere Gio. Lorenzo Bernino, scultore, architetto, e pittore*, Firenze 1682, p. 70.

51 For the Bernini *vite*, cf. Maarten Delbeke et al., 'Prolegomena to the Interdisciplinary Study of Bernini's Biographies', in Maarten Delbeke et al., *Bernini's Biographies: Critical Essays*, University Park 2006, pp. 1-72.

52 Filippo Baldinucci, *Notizie de' professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua: Secolo V. dal 1610. Al 1670*, Firenze 1728, p. 186.

53 Cf. Bacchi et al. 2008 (note 25), no. D2.

54 See for example Jan Luiten van Zanden, 'Economic Growth in the Golden Age 1500-1650', *Economic and Social History in the Netherlands* 4 (1992), pp. 5-29.

55 Giovanni A. Borboni, *Delle statue*, Rome 1661, p. 6: 'Crebbe finalmente la Scoltura con sì felici progressi, che lo scarpello nulla cedendo a' pennelli, sa anche'esso nel duro marmo fare i capelli piumosi, dare le arie alle faccie, esprimere in quelle tutti gli affetti, tesservi sopra panneggiamenti sì fini, come se fossero sottilissime tele di Olanda … Onde è, che sotto il trasparente marmo, spiccano le Carni ignude, e ne risaltano le vene.'

56 John Wyndham Pope-Hennessy et al., *The Frick Collection: An Illustrated Catalogue*, vol. 4, coll. cat. New York 1970, pp. 28-32.

57 Cf., more generally, the discussion of 'Netherlandishness', in Frits Scholten and Joanna Woodall, 'Art and Migration: Netherlandish Artists on the Move', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 63 (2013), pp. 6-39, esp. pp. 24-30.

Detail of fig. 4