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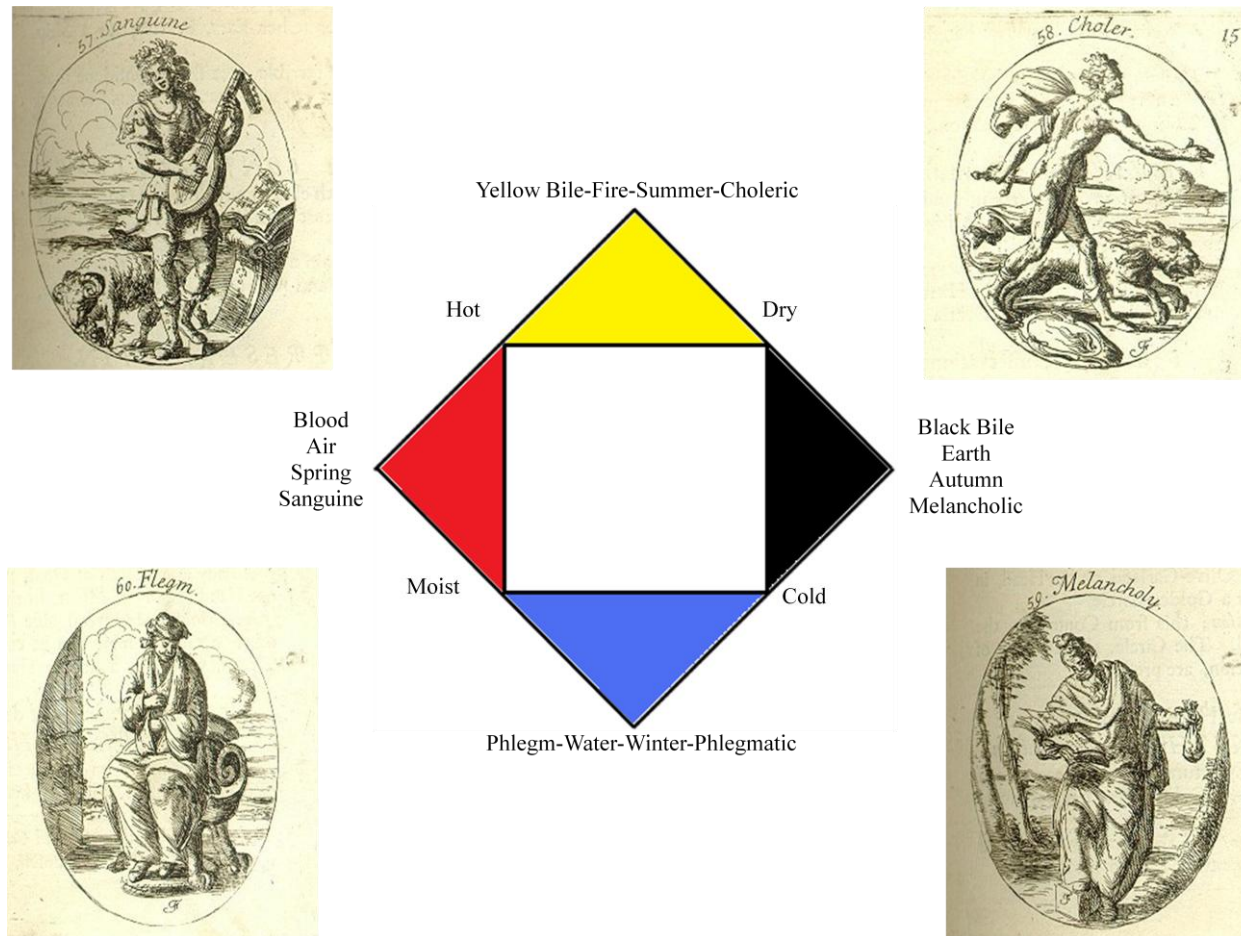
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**Figure 2.** *Humoral Theory* (the adaptation is mine); and Caesare Ripa's *The Four Complexions*, Iconologia, London, 1709, p. 15.





**Figure 3.** *African Fisherman (Dying Seneca)*, Roman 2<sup>nd</sup> century after a Hellenistic original, Louvre, Paris, black marble, enamel and alabaster, h. 118 cm.



**Figure 4.** P. P. Rubens, copy after *African Fisherman*, 1600-1608, The State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, black chalk on paper, 46 x 32 cm.



**Figure 5.** P. P. Rubens, *The Dying Seneca*, 1612-13, Alte Pinakothek, Munich, oil on panel,

181 x 152 cm.





**Figure 6.** P. P. Rubens, *Anatomical study*, c. 1600-1605, The G. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, pen and brown ink, 27.9 x 18.7 cm.



**Figure 7.** P. P. Rubens, *A left forearm in two positions and a right forearm*, c. 1600-1602, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, pen and brown ink, 27.8 x 18.6 cm.





**Figure 8.** Andreas Vesalius' *De corporis humani fabrica, Liber duo*, "Secunda musculorum tabula", Basle, 1543, bk. 2, p. 174, 34 x 21 cm, Biu Santé Banque d'Images et de Portraits.



Figure 9. P. P. Rubens, *Flayed head of an old man*, Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth.



Figure 10. P. P. Rubens, *Study of a Roman Portrait Bust*, Rubenshuis, Antwerp, dimensions unknown.



**Figure 11.** P. P. Rubens, *Democritus and Heraclitus*, 1603, Museo de Escultura, Valladolid, oil on panel, 95.4 x 124.5 cm.



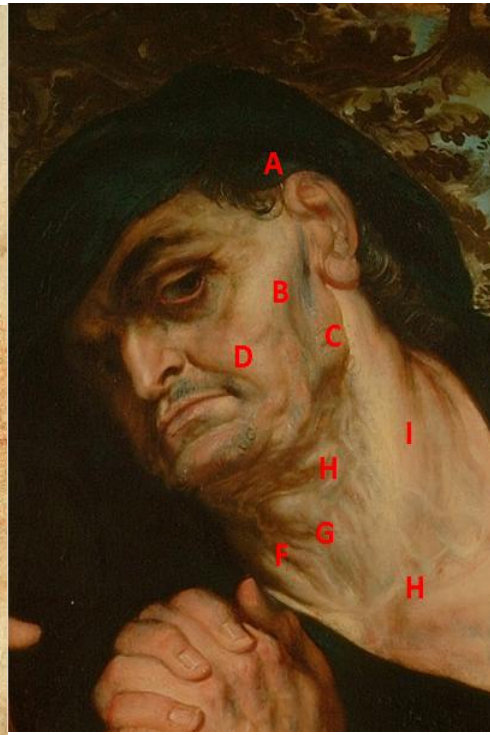
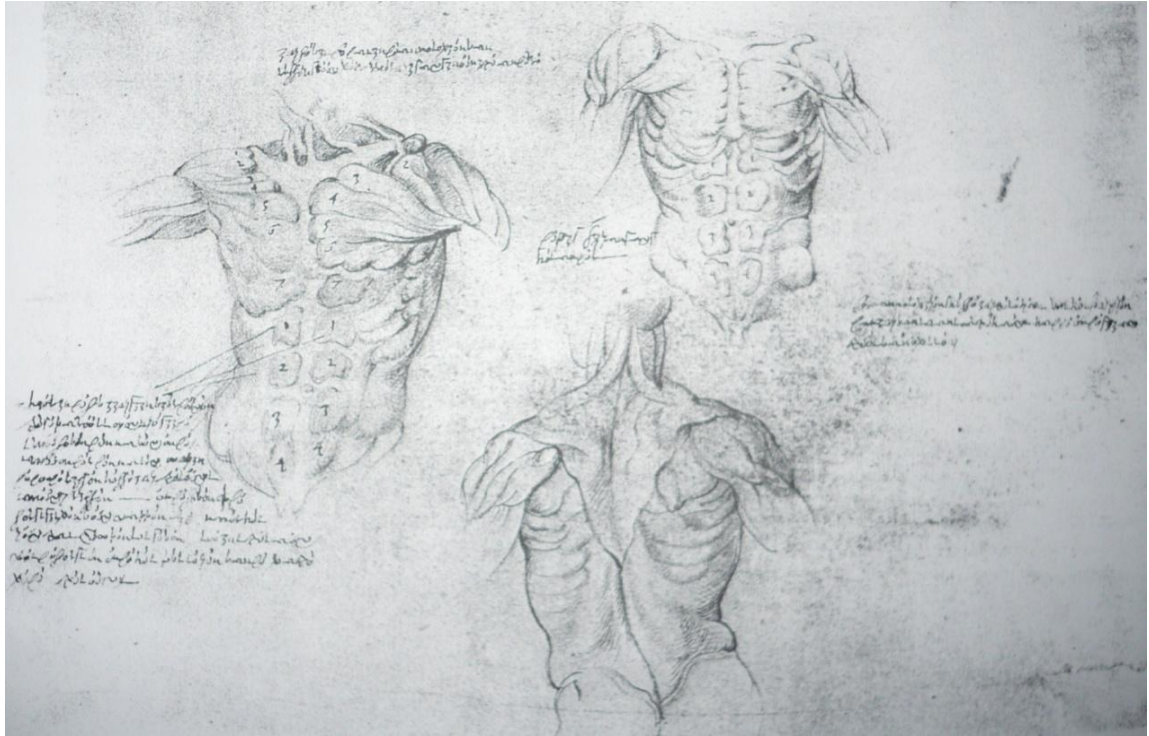
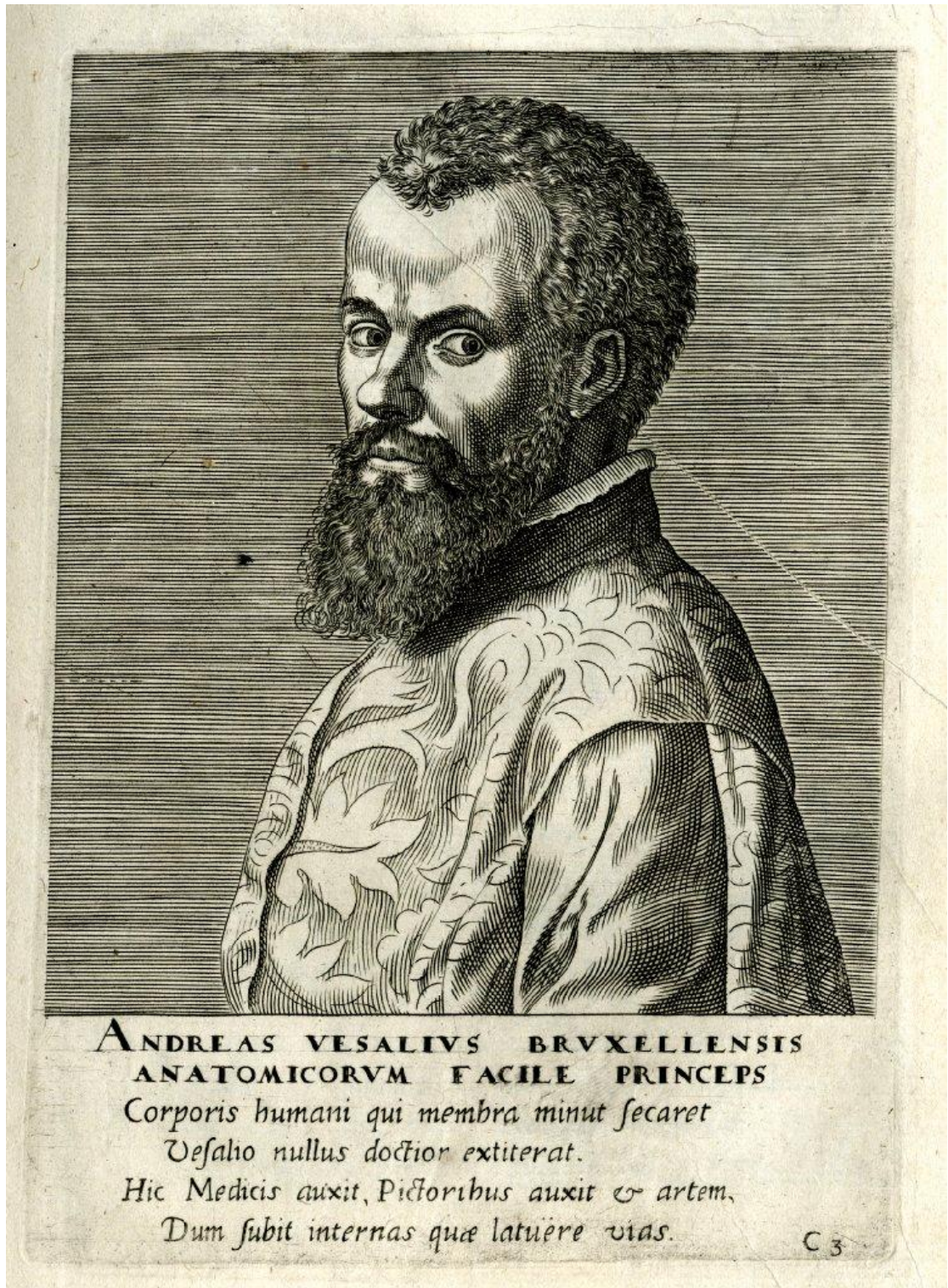


Figure 12. Details of figs 4-7.



**Figure 13.** Willem Panneels, *Three anatomical studies (after Valverde)*, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, Kopenhagen, dimensions unknown.





**Figure 14.** Philips Galle (after Jan Stephan van Calcar), print (engraving) from *Virorum Doctorum de Disciplinis benemerentium Effigies XLIII*, “Andreas Vesalius Bruxellensis”, 1572, British Museum, London, 17.5 x 12.3 cm.



**Figure 15.** P. P. Rubens, *Ludovicus Nonnius*, c. 1627, National Gallery, London, oil on panel,  
124.5 x 92 cm.



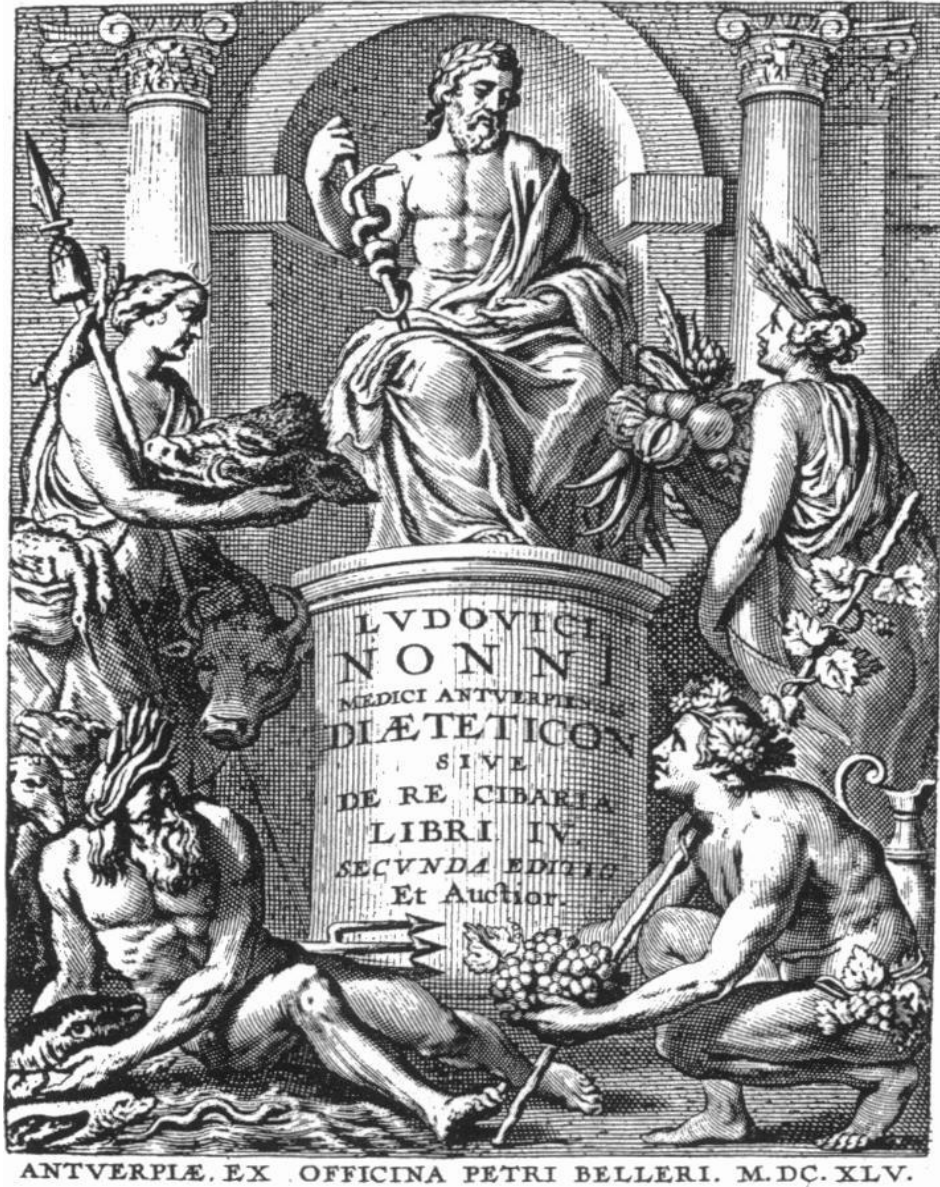


Figure 16. Frontispiece of Ludovicus Nonnius' *Diæteticon*, Antwerp, 1645.







Figure 18. Print (engraving) from Johannes Remmelinus' *Catoptrum Microcosmicum*, plate II, Augsburg, 1619, Wellcome Image Library.



Figure 19. Detail of the sun of fig. 17.

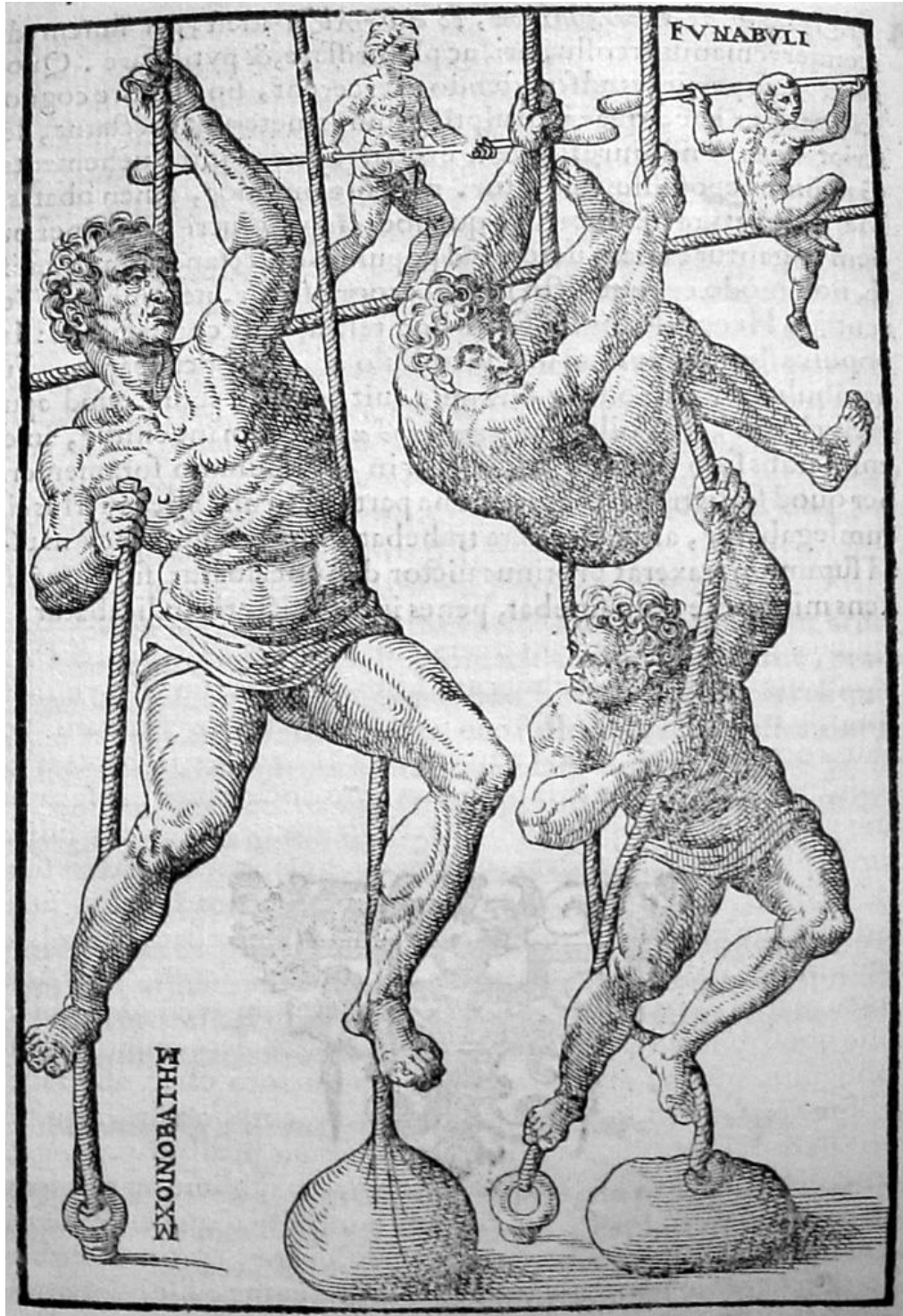
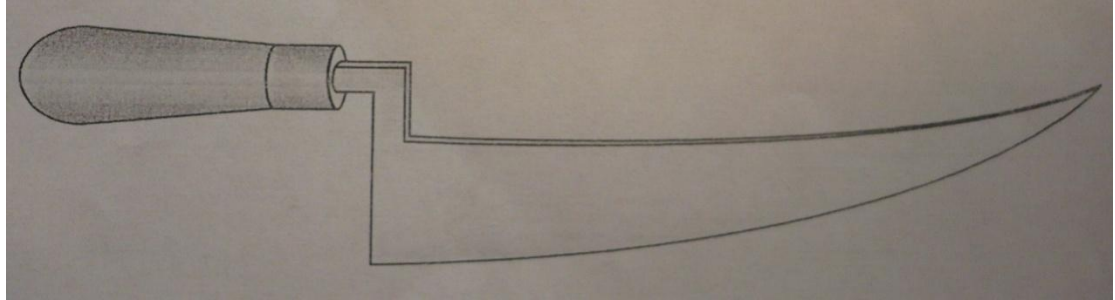


Figure 20. Woodcut illustration from Girolamo Mercuriale's *De arte gymnastica libri sex*, Venice, 1573,

p. 148.





**Figure 21.** Knife for undercoating, Sloane 2052, fol. 5<sup>r</sup> (image after Fels, 2001: 148).



**Figure 22.** Amputation knife, Paris, France, 1701-1800 (L0058146), Wellcome Image Library.



**Figure 23.** Amputation knife, Germany, 1701-1800 (L0058145), Wellcome Image Library.



**Figure 24.** P. P. Rubens, *Dr Theodore Turquet de Mayerne*, 1630-31, North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh, oil on canvas, 135.5 x 107 cm.



**Figure 25.** Detail of Rubens, *Dr Theodore Turquet de Mayerne*, 1630-31.





**Figure 26.** Detail of Rubens, *Dr Theodore Turquet de Mayerne*, 1630-31.



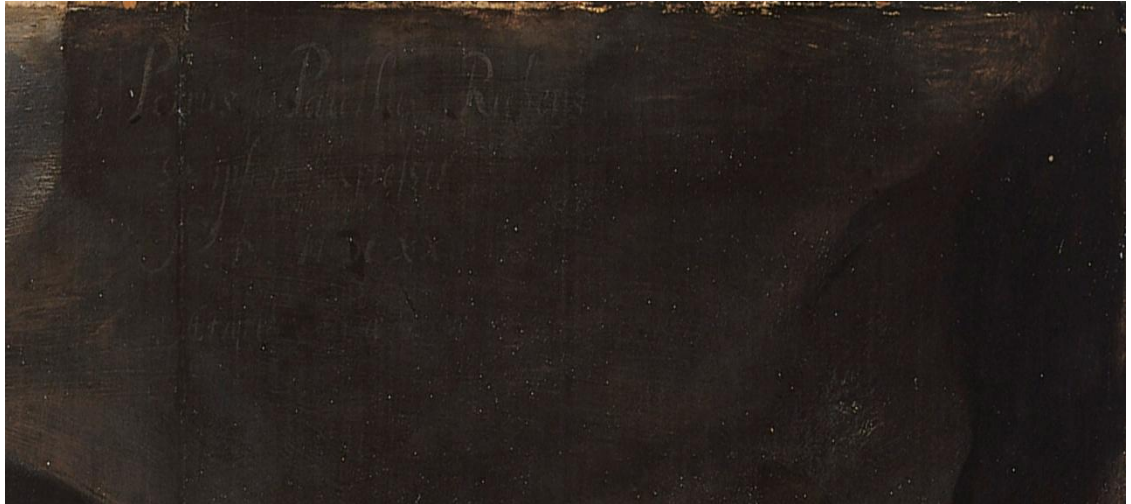
**Figure 27.** P. P. Rubens, *Self-portrait*, 1623, The Royal Collection, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, London, oil on panel, 85.7 x 62.2 cm.



**Figure 28.** P. P. Rubens, *Self-portrait*, c. 1638, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, oil on canvas,

109.5 x 85 cm (photo: permission Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna).



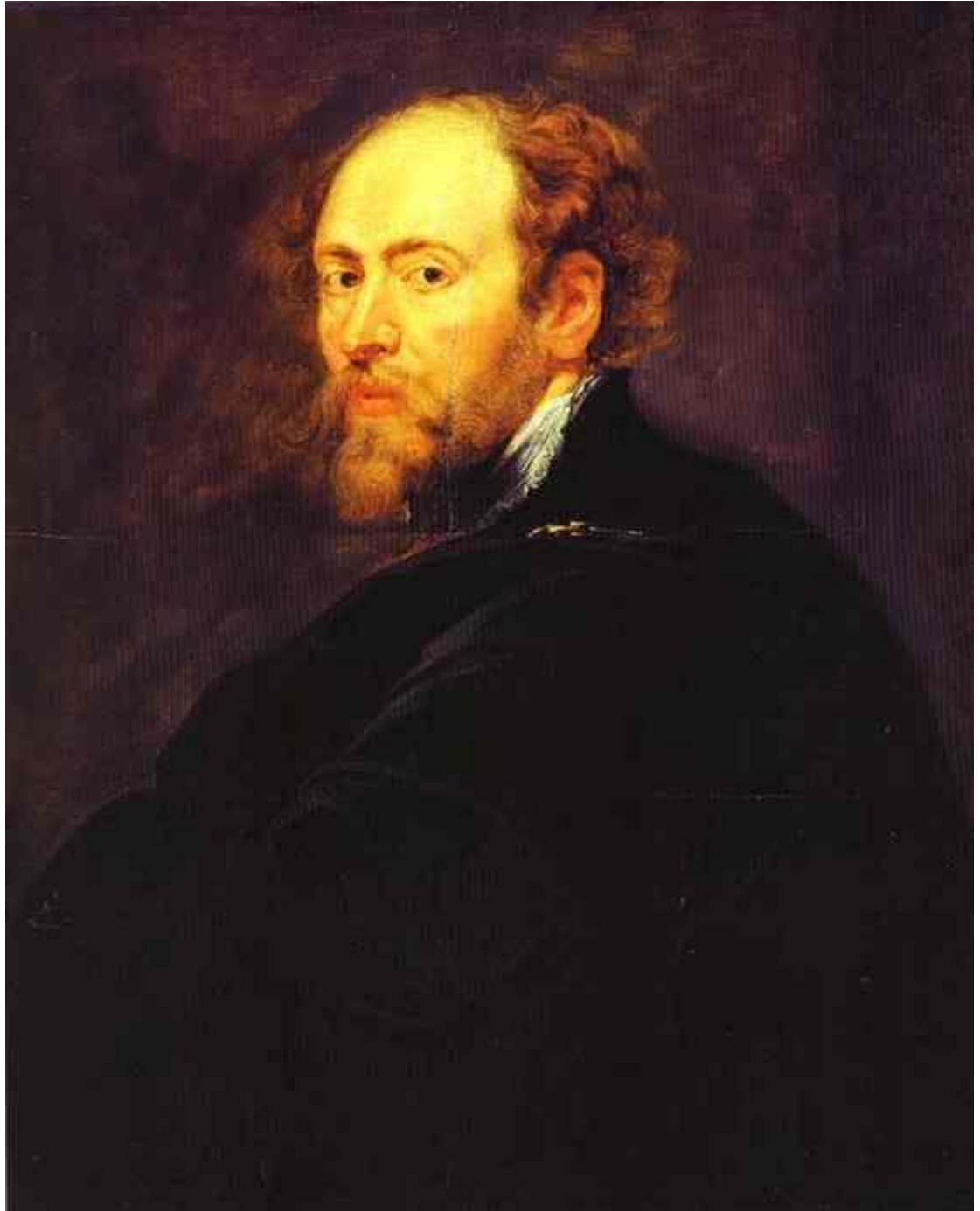


**Figure 29.** Detail of P. P. Rubens, *Self-portrait*, 1623, Rubens' inscription, "Petrus Paullus Rubens / se ipsum expressit / A.D MDCXXIII / Aetatis Suae XXXV".

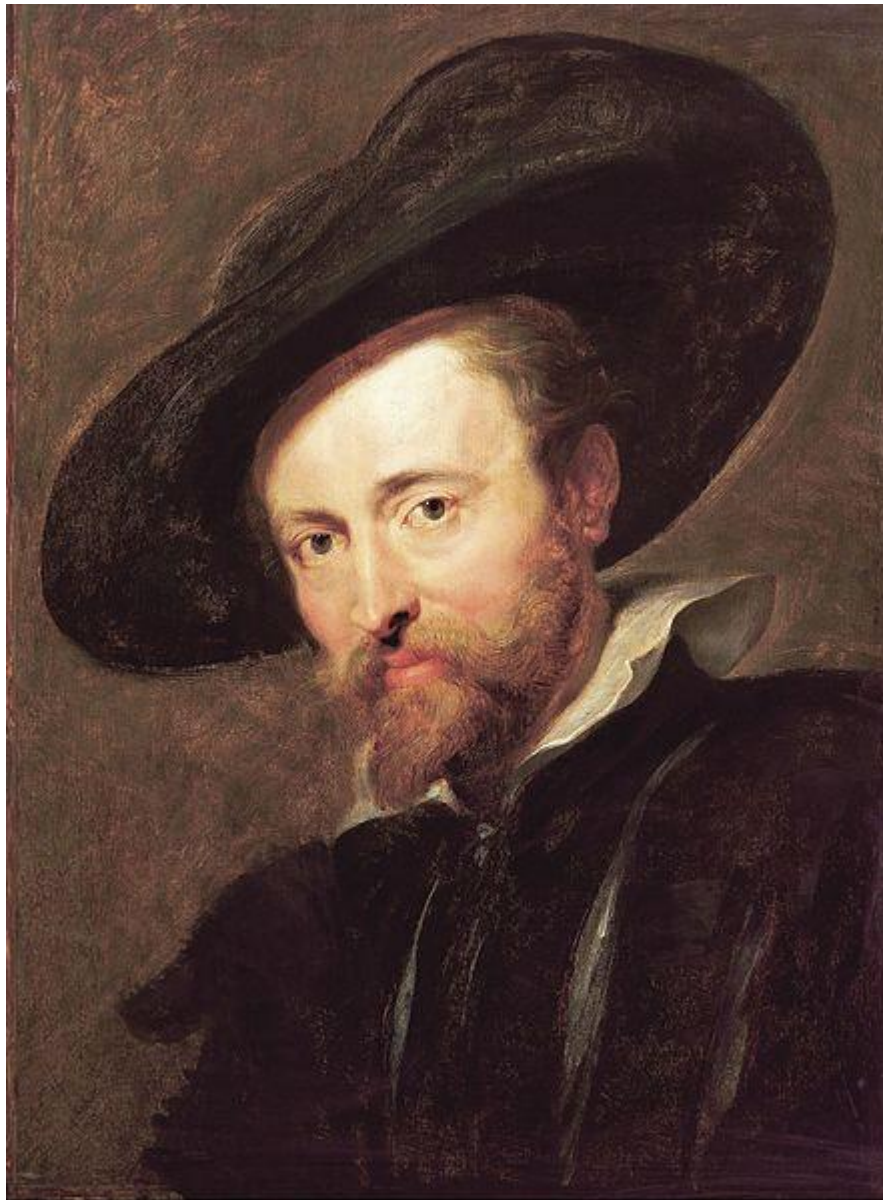


**Figure 30.** Detail of P. P. Rubens, *Self-portrait*, 1623.





**Figure 31.** P. P. Rubens, *Self-portrait*, c. 1615, Uffizi Gallery, Florence, oil on panel, 78 x 61 cm.



**Figure 32.** P. P. Rubens, *Self-portrait*, c. 1628-30, Rubenshuis, Antwerp, oil on panel,

61.5 x 45cm.



**Figure 33.** Detail of P. P. Rubens, *Self-portrait*, c. 1638.





**Figure 34.** Johannes Wierix after Hans Vredeman de Vries published by Pieter Baltens, *The Ages of Man*, Forty-eight to Sixty-four Years, Antwerp, 1577, engraving, 21 x 27.2 cm.



**Figure 35.** Johannes Wierix after Hans Vredeman de Vries published by Pieter Baltens, *The Ages of Man*, Sixty-eight to Eighty Years, Antwerp, 1577, engraving, 21.2 x 27.3 cm.



**Figure 36.** P. P. Rubens, *Het Pelsken*, c. 1635-40, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, oil on panel,

175 x 83 cm.



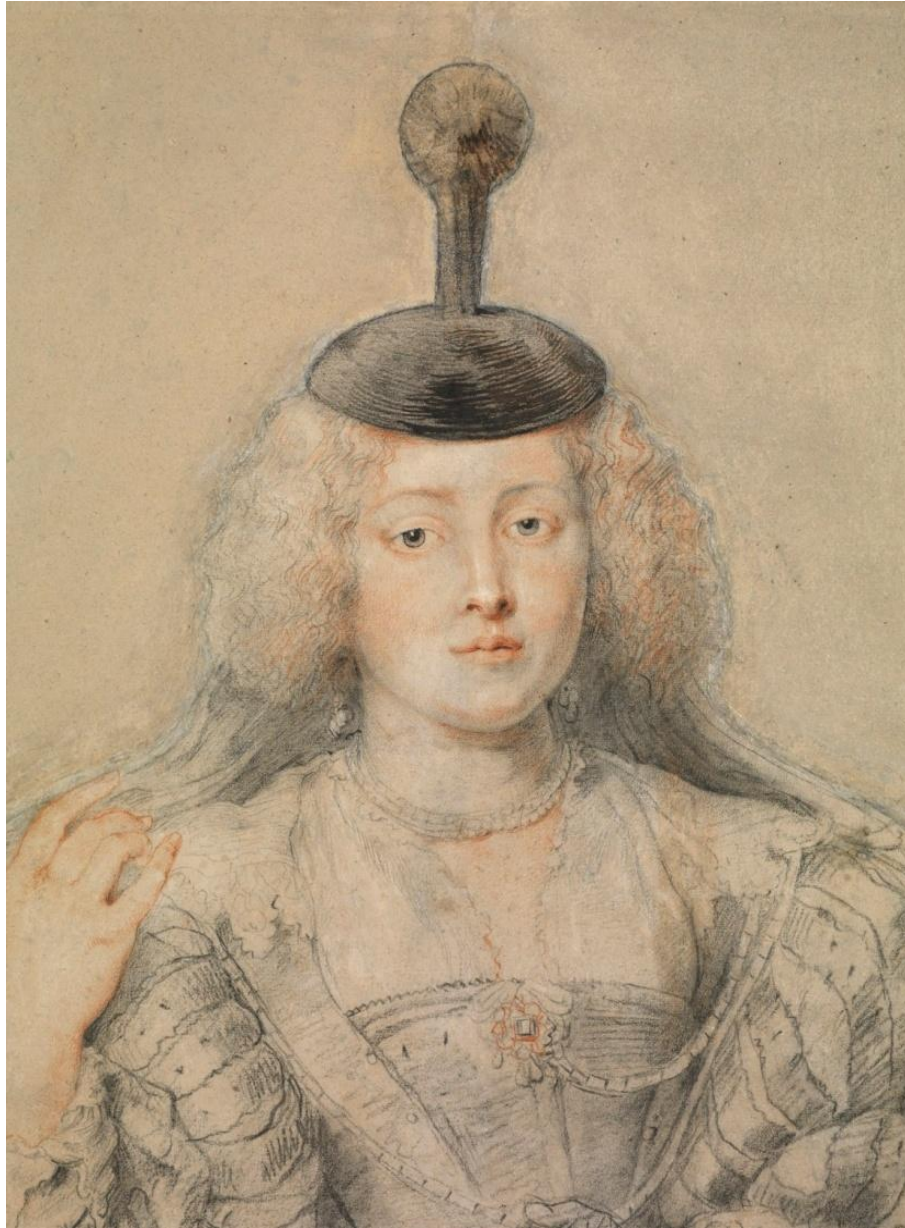


**Figure 37.** P. P. Rubens, *Dr Theodore Turquet de Mayerne*, c. 1629-30, The British Museum, London, oil and black chalk, grey wash on paper, 31.1 x 21.8 cm.





**Figure 38.** Detail of P. P. Rubens, *Dr Theodore Turquet de Mayerne*, c. 1629-30.



**Figure 39.** P. P. Rubens, *Hélène Fourment*, c. 1630-31, The Samuel Courtauld Trust, The Courtauld Gallery, London, black, red and white chalk on paper, 61.2 x 55 cm.





**Figure 40.** P. P. Rubens, *Isabella Brant*, c. 1621, The British Museum, London, chalks and brown wash on paper, 38.1 x 29.4 cm.



**Figure 41.** P. P. Rubens, *Thomas Howard, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Arundel*, c. 1629-30, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, pen and brush in brown ink over black & red chalk on paper, 27.5 x 19.3cm.



**Figure 42.** P. P. Rubens, *Thomas Howard, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Arundel*, c. 1629-30, The National Gallery, London, oil on canvas, 67 x 54 cm.



deux conseruer Les Azurs. poudres  
 froyez a fuyte sur le blanc de plomb  
 ou de gros espartil, mais principalement  
 de belle couleur d'azur, laissez seicher. & en  
 tout ce qui ne se peut secher par  
 desus de blanc de ceuf. ou de Lithocolle  
 ou quelqun de ces autres, laissez avec les  
 vermes touz secher.

Il Cavaliero Pietro Paolo  
 Rubens.

Il Signor Cavaliero Rubens a detto che bisogna  
 che tutti i colori siano presto macinati, o per acqua  
 con acqua di rapia, o cum olio <sup>di castoreo</sup> ~~di castoreo~~ <sup>di castoreo</sup>  
 che e migliore, de non tanta forza come lo stagio  
 di Anica.

Per far la smalta bella e chiara bisogna  
 temperarla con vernice tosta, & metterla  
 piano & non affaticarsi, ne a mescolars troppo  
 mentre il colore e humido, per che questo  
 se ittaione, guasta il colore. Ma quando il fauore  
 secco si puo lauorar di sopra come vi piace.

Così se puo far con le ceneri. <sup>de la</sup> ~~de la~~ <sup>de la</sup>  
 Colpe marino & le ceneri di oltramare  
 sono bellissime per Anica, la Antananza.

Figure 43. Remarks by Rubens (c. 1629-30), in Theodore Turquet de Mayerne's *Pictoria, Sculptoria, Tinctoria...*, 1620-46, MS Sloane 2052, fol. 150<sup>r</sup>, British Library, London.





Figure 44. Frontispiece of Andreas Vesalius' *De humani corporis fabrica*, Basle, 1543.



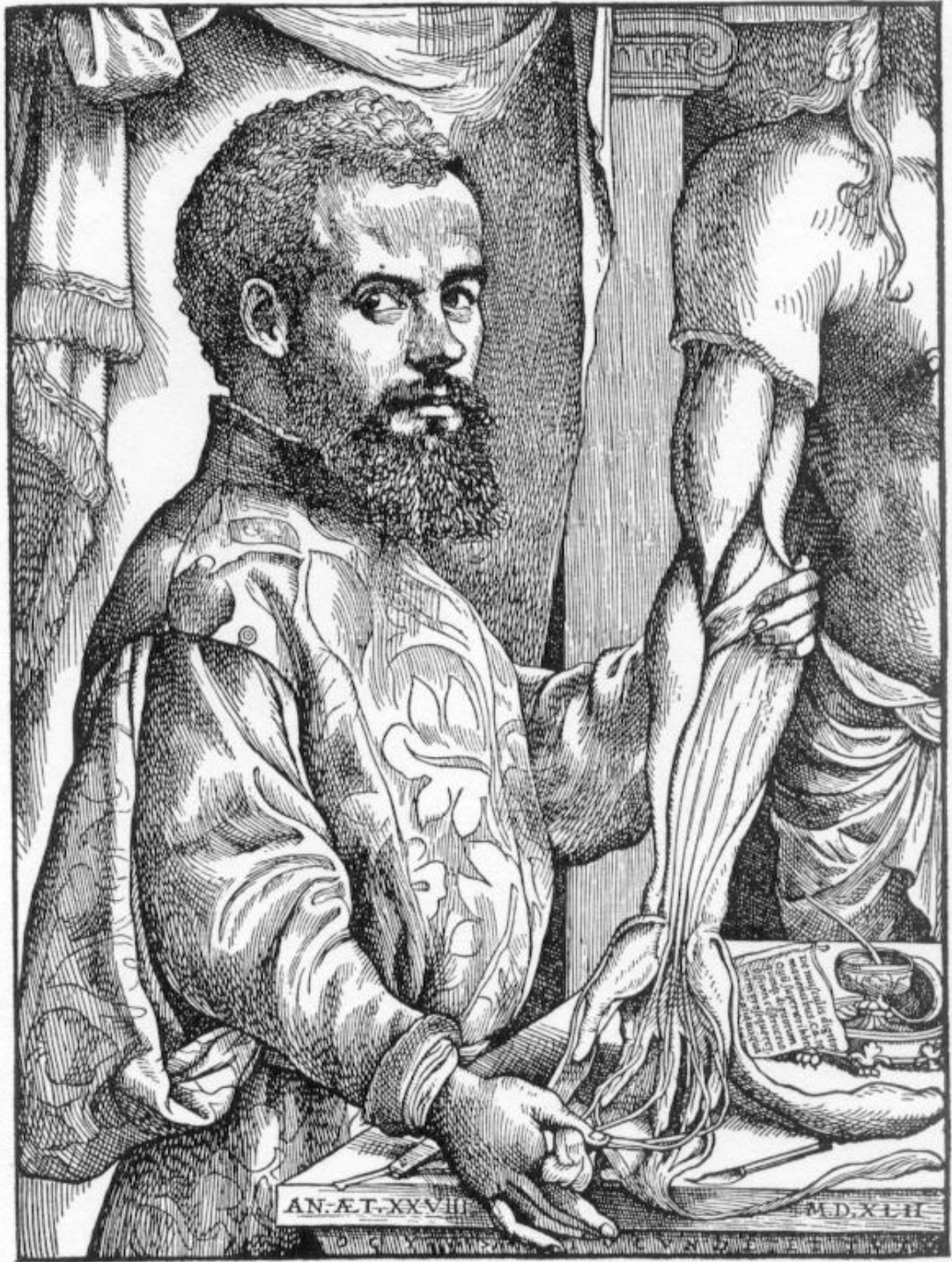
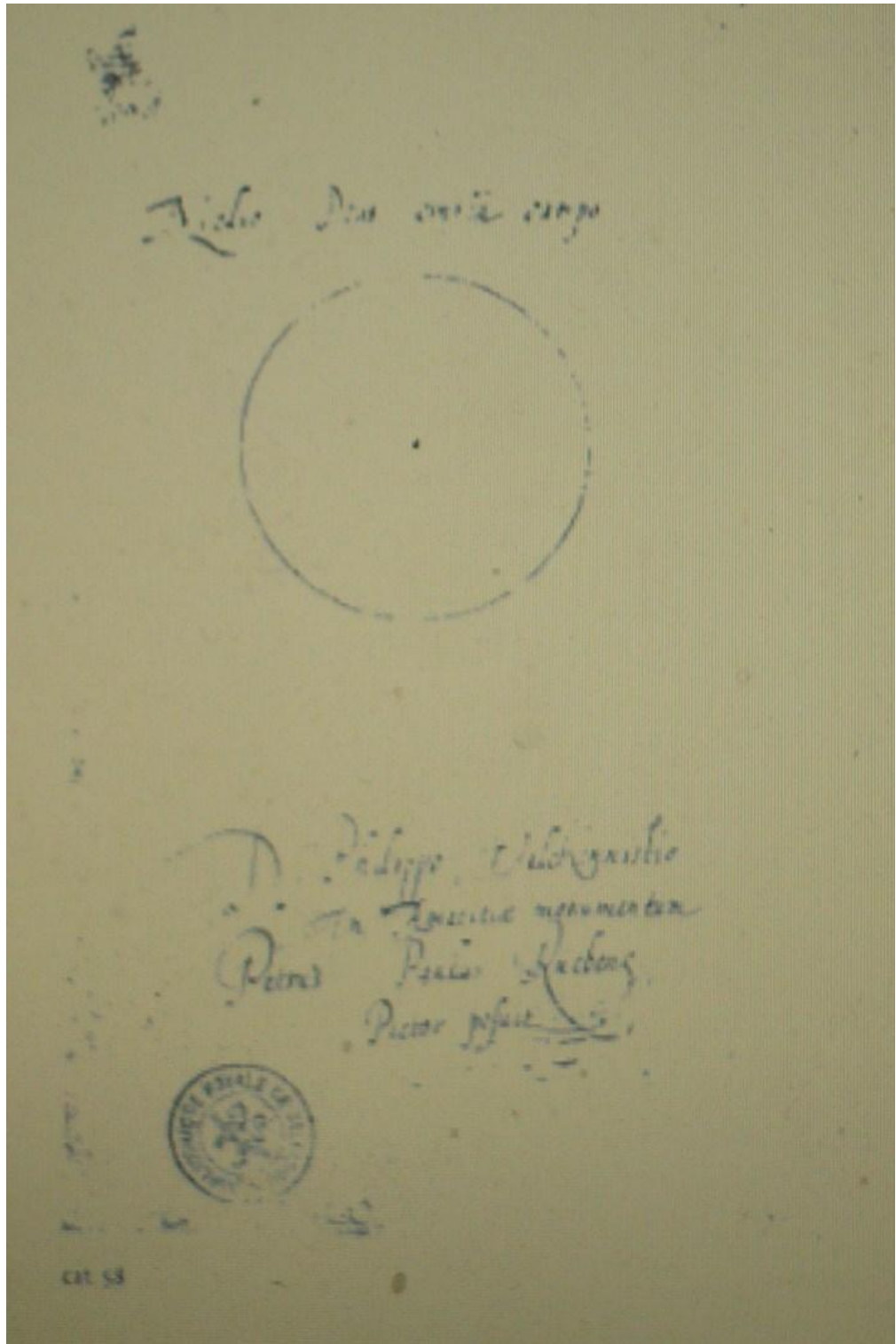


Figure 45. Self-portrait of Andreas Vesalius from *De humani corporis fabrica*, Basle, 1543, fig. G.



**Figure 46.** John I Hoskins, *Sir Theodore Turquet de Mayerne*, 1635, Green Templeton College, University of Oxford, oil on panel, 81 x 64 cm (one identical copy survives at the Longleat House).



**Figure 47.** Contribution to the album amicorum of Filips van Valckenisse I, Ms. 11. 1688, fol. 127<sup>v</sup>, Brussels, R.L.B., pen and ink on paper, 208 x 130 mm (after Dubois, 2007: no. 58, 187).





**Figure 48.** P. P. Rubens, *Self-portrait in a circle of friends from Mantua*, c. 1602-1606, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, oil on canvas, 78 x 101 cm.



**Figure 49.** *Democritus*, detail of *Democritus and Heraclitus*, 1603.





**Figure 50.** *Heraclitus*, detail of *Democritus and Heraclitus*, 1603.



**Figure 51.** P. P. Rubens, *Head of a Weeping Bearded Man*, c. 1603, The British Museum, London, pen and brown ink on paper, with some grey-green wash in the background, 32 x 19.7 cm.



**Figures 52.** Detail of *Democritus and Heraclitus*, 1603.



**Figures 53.** Detail of *Democritus and Heraclitus*, 1603.



Belägerung der Statt Ostende.  
**IOVRNAL:**

Tagregister vnd eigentliche beschreibung aller gedencwürdigen Sack-  
 hen/ handlungen vnd geschichten / so inner vnd außserhalb der weisberumbten vnd fast vnt-  
 nderindlichen Statt Ostende in Flandern defenitive bey den Belägerten/ Offensive aber durch dem gewaltigen  
 Veldzer des Kayserthums Alberti zu Oosterrich sich jagetagen/ welcher musen die A. geschick oder saderungen/ Zufälle/ Stürme/ auch  
 vnd erfolge der Schiffe durch die Geule vnd seine Layen / allerhand hitzen/ schiff vnd saderen zu verhoffung vnd sperung  
 derselber Geule. Item mancherley Feuerwerke vnd neue Inuentories zu ansehung seltener werke / zu vnd ansehung.  
 Auch sonsten viel vortrefliche Krieger- begehrteten vnd Strategemata von beyden theilen girtet vnd angelegt sich werden/ auch  
 sonderslich begriffen vnd von Anfang derselben Belägerung nemlich von c. July 1604. bis auff diese gegenwertige Zeit  
 mitte Jansu 1604. extendirt, vnd in zwey theil verfasst/ auch mit ebenen neuen Kupfer- stichen vnd Diagram-  
 matisirt vnd den zugt sorgegeben. Alles zum vertheilichsten auß den glaubwürdigen Schrifften verjunct/  
 vnd mensglichen so zu solchen neuen Zeichnungen laß vnd sich haben/ zu dienlichen weisge-  
 selen in nicht geringe / vnd auß der Tüderindlichen in die Hochstetste  
 Sprach tranckirt vnd in Druck verlanget.



Nach die glaubwürdigste Schrifften vnd Couranten auß Ostende vnd andern Orten  
 geschriben / in Druck verlanget. 1604

Figure 54. Title-page of journal *Belägerung der Staat Ostende* (Cologne? 1604-1605).

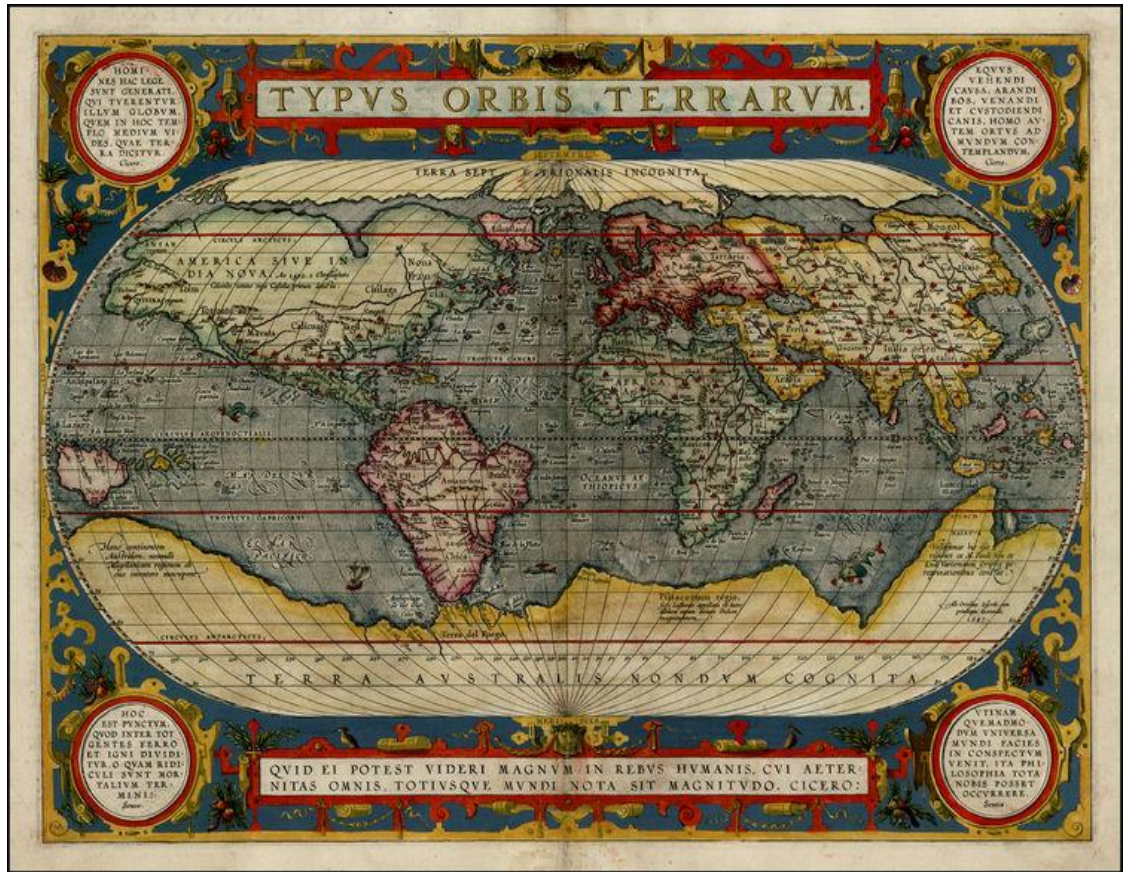


Figure 55. Abraham Ortelius, *TYPVS ORBIS TERRARVM*, 1<sup>st</sup> published in Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, Antwerp, 1587.



Figure 56. Detail of *TYPVS ORBIS TERRARVM*.





Figure 57. Albrecht Dürer, *Melencolia I*, 1514, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, engraving,

24 x 18.5 cm.





**Figure 58.** P. P. Rubens, *The Miracles of St Ignatius Loyola*, 1617, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, oil on canvas, 535 x 395 cm.





**Figure 59.** P. P. Rubens, *The Miracles of St Francis Xavier*, 1617, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, oil on canvas, 535 x 395 cm.



**Figure 60.** The façade of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp, photograph, <http://www.trekearth.com/gallery/Europe/Belgium/Flanders/Antwerpen/Antwerpen/photo1112368.htm> (accessed 16 December 2014).



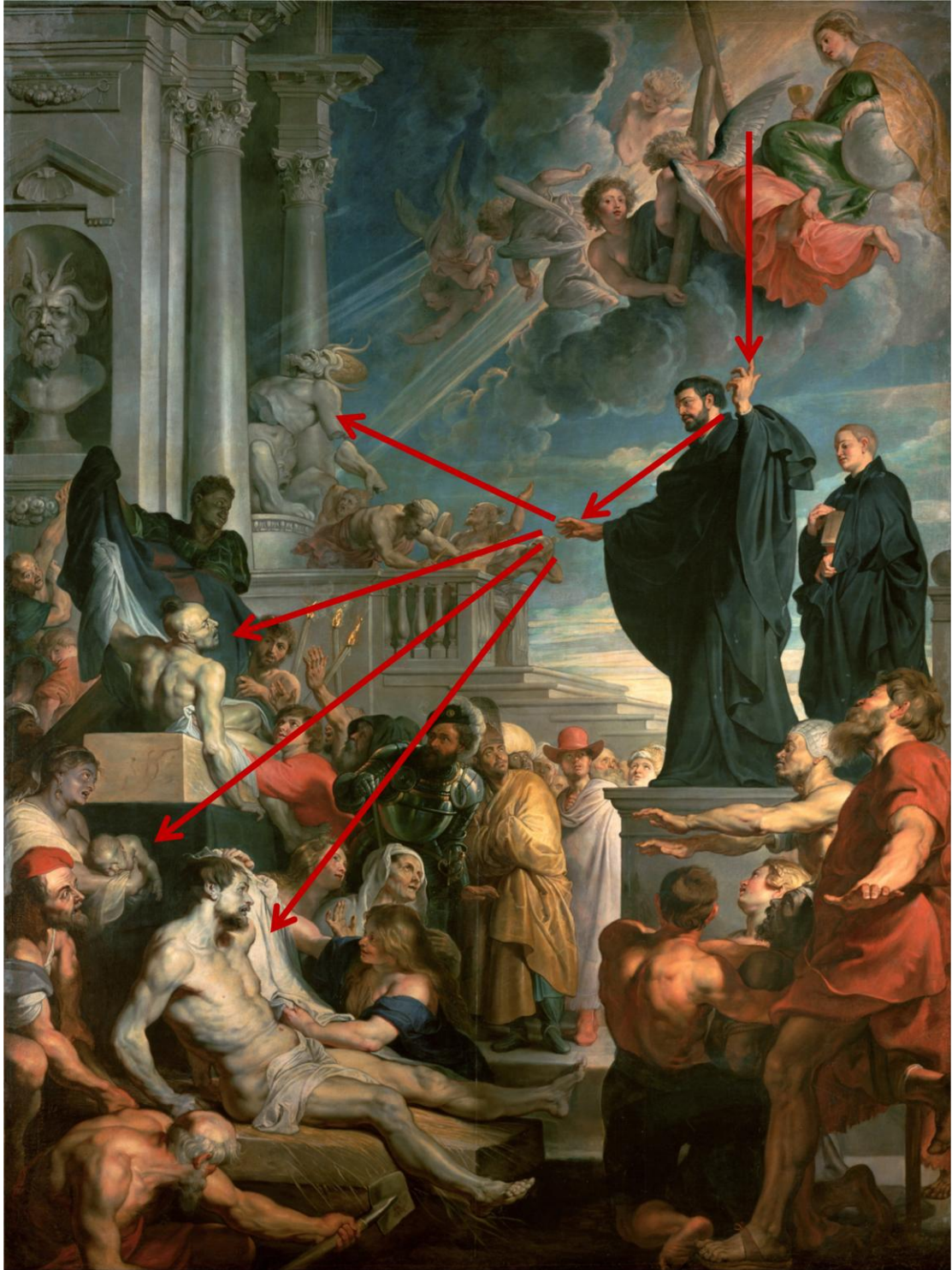


**Figure 61.** The interior of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp, photograph, [http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/50/Interieur\\_Carolus\\_Borromeuskerk.jpg](http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/50/Interieur_Carolus_Borromeuskerk.jpg) (accessed 16 December 2014).



**Figure 62.** Pieter Neeffs and Sebastian Vrancx, *Interior of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp*, c. 1630, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, oil on panel, 52 × 71 cm.



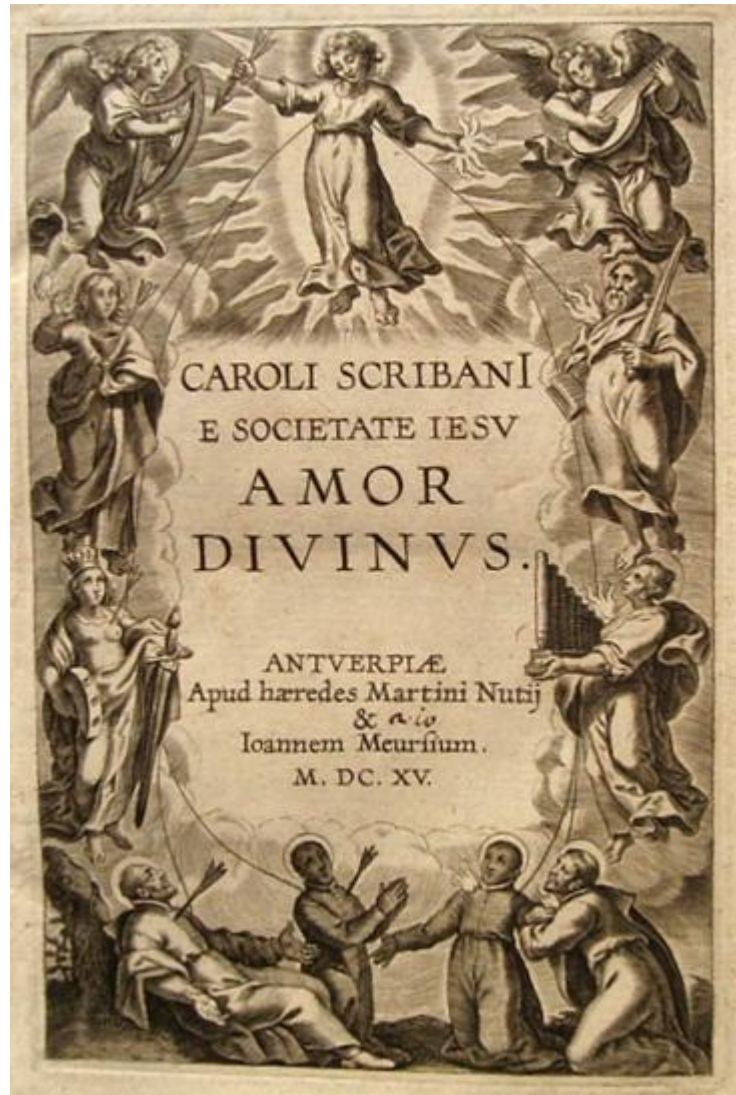


**Figure 63.** P. P. Rubens, *The Miracles of St Francis Xavier* with compositional arrows.





Figure 64. P. P. Rubens, *The Miracles of St Ignatius Loyola* with compositional arrows.



**Figure 65.** P. P. Rubens, frontispiece of Carolus Scribani's *Amor Divinus*, Antwerp, 1615.



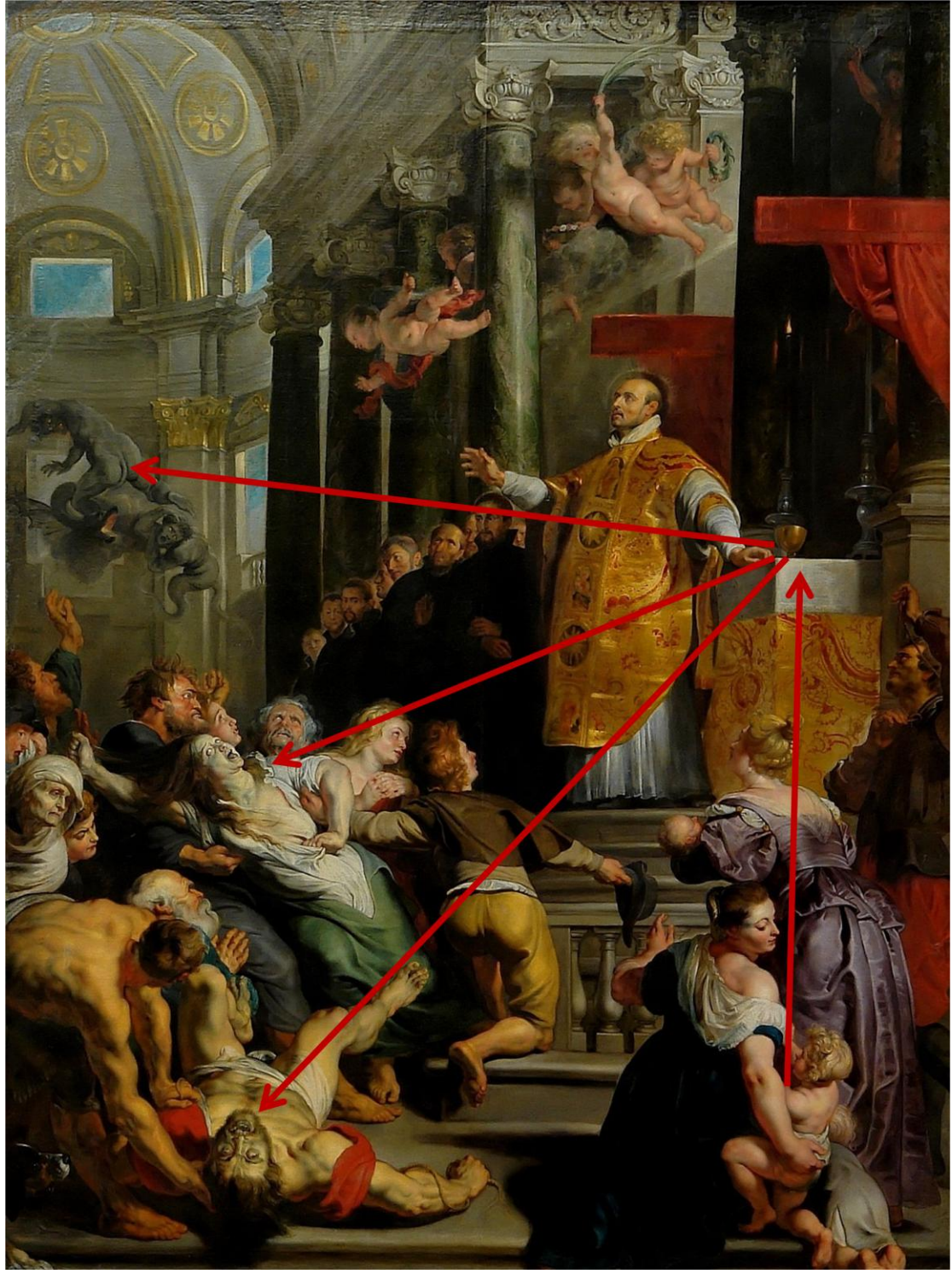


Figure 66. P. P. Rubens, *The Miracles of St Ignatius Loyola* with compositional arrows.





Figure 67. P. P. Rubens, *The Miracles of St Francis Xavier* with a compositional arrow.





**Figure 68.** P. P. Rubens, *The Miracles of St Francis Xavier* with compositional arrows.





**Figure 69.** P. P. Rubens, *The Miracles of St Francis Xavier* with a compositional diagonal.



**Figure 70.** P. P. Rubens, *The Last Judgment*, c. 1617, Alte Pinakothek, Munich, oil on canvas,

608.5 x 463.5 cm.





**Figure 71.** Detail of *The Last Judgment*, 1617.



**Figure 72.** Detail of *The Miracles of St Francis Xavier*, 1617.



**Figure 73.** P. P. Rubens, *The Miracles of St Ignatius Loyola* with a compositional diagonal.





**Figure 74.** P. P. Rubens, *The Resurrected Christ Triumphant*, c. 1615-16, Palazzo Pitti, Florence, oil on canvas, 183 x 155 cm.



**Figure 75.** Detail of *The Miracles of St Francis Xavier*, 1617.

# ROLLE DER DEVGDSAEMHEYDT:

Tot naer-volghinghe Christi op den  
Christelijcken Waerseggher dienende,

ASPICIENTES IN AVCTOREM FIDEI. HEB. XII.



Christiani nomen ille frustra sortitur, qui  
Christum minime imitatur. D. August. de ver. Christ.

Figure 76. Title page from the 2<sup>nd</sup> part of Jan David's *Veridicus Christianus (Orbita probitatis, ad Christi Imitationem)*, Antwerp, 1601.