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# Rubens and the “Smell Of Stone”: The Translation of the Antique and the Emulation of Michelangelo

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SIR PETER PAUL RUBENS (1577–1640) presumably wrote his essay on artistic imitation, *De Imitatione Statuarum*, immediately after spending eight years studying the cultural heritage of Italy, both ancient and Renaissance.<sup>1</sup> The essay itself, originally part of Rubens’ notebook on theory, was never finished. Indeed, three paragraphs are all that survive, but the substance of his thoughts remains intact nevertheless. Rubens’ primary concern is not the relative merits of sculpture versus painting. He is concerned, instead, with the use and misuse of ancient sculpture for those moderns who work with brushes and pigments, with problems of past and present, and ultimately with questions about appropriate relationships between artistic form and the artist’s materials. Rubens argues that painters are uniquely capable of capturing the qualities of living flesh and that they should therefore avoid imitating the material character of stone. At the same time, however, he writes that “in order to attain the highest perfection in painting, it is necessary to understand the antiques, nay, to be so thoroughly possessed of that knowledge that it may diffuse itself everywhere.” What he recommends, then, is a type of “judicious” imitation that is predicated on the prolonged study of ancient sculpture, but that also entails an understanding of the difference between oil glazes and polished marble.<sup>2</sup>

Rubens’ own paintings—to say nothing of his scholarly endeavors or his collecting habits—show that he was, as he says, “thoroughly possessed” by the relics of antiquity, which

he so often clothed in the appearance of living flesh. His idea of artistic imitation was a fundamental aspect of how he understood himself and his art. The past was forever present, forever alive in Rubens' mind, a fact that has always intrigued modern-day art historians. One commentator has gone as far as to call him, "the Michelangelo of his century."<sup>3</sup>

While this phrase may raise a few eyebrows, the idea underlying it, as well as the connection between these two artistic giants, is quite real. In Michelangelo (1475–1564), Rubens found something of a kindred spirit, another artist so possessed by the heritage of antiquity that Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574) famously marked him as equal to the ancients themselves. The connection between Michelangelo and Rubens, moreover, was never stronger than during the Fleming's Italian years, that period of intense study that culminated in *De Imitatione Statuarum*. Shortly after arriving in Rome, in 1601, Rubens made several drawings after monuments by or associated with the Florentine master. Ten detailed studies of the Sibyls and Prophets from the Sistine Ceiling survive, currently residing in the Louvre. Rubens also paid particular attention to the *Belvedere Torso*, a sculpture often referred to as "Michelangelo's Torso," and to the famous *Laocoön*, a work so important for Michelangelo that one art historian maintains he forged it.<sup>4</sup>

Most scholars argue that, in these drawings—these records of Rubens confronting monuments of the classical tradition, "in the flesh," as it were—Rubens approached Michelangelo's work in the same way that he approached antique statuary, looking to uniformly "document"<sup>5</sup> the past and to compile a "collection of themes and motifs for future works."<sup>6</sup> In other words, scholars described these detailed studies as purely practical projects. I suggest that the situation was more complex. The drawings Rubens executed after the *Belvedere Torso*, the *Laocoön*, and Michelangelo's Sibyls and Prophets are inextricably linked to the essay he would write eight years later. As he explored these monuments, Rubens actively formulated his theory of artistic imitation,

articulating the same ideas in graphic form that he would come to express in the humanist Latin of *De Imitatione Statuarum*. Each study he created, each stroke of chalk he left on the page, marks an effort to, as Rubens himself put it, “imbibe” the past, and to understand his own place in history.

In studying works of antiquity, Rubens glimpsed a world that he considered infinitely more admirable than his own, a world populated by specimens of physical perfection and paradigms of moral certitude. In Rubens’ mind, the ancients lived a culturally heightened form of existence. Their intellectual capabilities were more developed, more disciplined, and these qualities found their natural, maybe even their necessary form of expression in the developed physiques and disciplined demeanors eloquently preserved in sculptural form. “Nature herself,” he believed, “furnished the human body in those early ages, when it was nearer its origin and perfection, with everything that could make it a perfect model.” Rubens thus took the artistic relics of antiquity as his models, exploring their various nuances and recording his impressions in the subtle language of line and shade. He was seeking to understand what the ancients understood, to retrieve some of the knowledge and wisdom that humanity had lost. Rubens found the shadow of that knowledge in Michelangelo’s energetic, classicizing bodies, but—as this paper suggests—he also found there a tendency to produce figures that were too mannered and lifeless, a tendency that characterized the modern *maniera* in general, which Rubens took as a symptom of modernity’s wantonness. Rubens thus approached Michelangelo with a critical eye, correcting through the medium of drawing those aspects of the Florentine’s art that conflicted with his own assessment of the character of ancient sculpture. In this sense, Rubens’ careful, accurate renderings of the *Laocoön* or the *Belvedere Torso* were exercises in a form of imitation known as *translatio*, respectful renderings with the purpose of learning. His studies after Michelangelo, however, were exercises in *aemulatio*, imitative encounters in which Rubens simultaneously ac-



Figure 1. Sir Peter Paul Rubens, *Study of the Laocoön* (1601, Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana).

knowledged his predecessor’s contributions to the classical tradition, and aimed to amend Michelangelo’s excessive but influential reception of the antique.

The drawings Rubens made after classical sculpture and those after the work of Michelangelo are indeed linked, but their bond is one of nuance, their ties inherently theoretical. It was in these studies, as I here suggest, that Rubens first formulated the thoughts that would later find expression in *De Imitatione Statuarum*. He derived his aesthetic standards through his graphic encounters with classical sculpture, and against those standards, he measured the art of what he called “this erroneous age,” hoping to understand—by critically engaging Michelangelo—modernity’s cultural merits and limits, and to correct its incomplete understanding of antiquity. Together, then, these sets of drawings mark an ef-

fort to fully incorporate the past into his personal manner, to continue the project of the Renaissance by restoring to modernity, and more specifically to modern art, something of the ancients' intellectual discipline. The studies are exercises in the humanist practice of *imitatio*, one might even say theoretical "essays" in their own right, and they correspondingly propose the thesis that Rubens would articulate in *De Imitatione Statuarum*, the thesis that he would reiterate throughout the rest of his career—that figures "may not in the least smell of stone" (*omnino citra saxum*).

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RUBENS EXECUTED AT LEAST twelve drawings after the famous *Laocoön*, capturing the forms from a variety of angles.<sup>7</sup> In some, his hand moved with haste, exploring the sculpture's gestural logic and power more than the actual figures themselves. Other studies are the product of a prolonged engagement in which Rubens sought to digest the object in all its complexity. His careful rendering of the sculptural group from a slight angle (fig. 1), executed in 1601 and now in Milan, is one such instance. This particular drawing comprises two separate sheets, carefully matched to record Rubens' on-site observations of the entire group. The assembled study is a veritable map of his mental process, plotting his progress as he worked around the figures, into the shadows and across the surfaces, which he sensitively conveyed by his precise blending of hatch marks. He paid particular attention to the subtle movements of rippling muscles, bones, and tendons; to the play of negative space and positive form; and to the evocation of human pathos. The study of the *Belvedere Torso* (fig. 2), currently residing in the Rubenshuis and executed in the same year, demonstrates a similar, so-called documentary focus. Faced with one of the most damaged of the famous antiquities, Rubens paid little attention to the losses, allowing a few quick hatchmarks to mark their presence. His interest was in the abdomen and lower ribcage,





Figure 2. Sir Peter Paul Rubens, *Study of the Belvedere Torso* (1601, Antwerp, Rubenshuis).

the musculature, motion, and surface detail. In these areas, as in his study of the *Laocoön*, Rubens used crosshatching and blended his strokes so that they read less as lines than as surfaces of soft, flesh-like texture.

These studies confirm what scholars often note: when

Rubens made drawings after ancient statues, he deliberately avoided the impression of copying stone. He often omitted the bases and glossed over damaged areas, occasionally adding missing appendages as if imagining the object's original state. Most importantly, he used chalk, a medium that he likely picked up in Italy.<sup>8</sup> Rubens' use of chalk, however, should not be seen simply as an attempt to avoid the texture of stone, for Rubens' interest in texture was anything but simple. He used chalk, capitalizing on its softness, to create studies in the purest sense of the term; it was the best medium available to capture what he understood to be the essential qualities of the sculptures themselves.

The sculptors of antiquity, or at least those whose work drew Rubens' attention, simulated flesh to the best of their abilities, conveying something of the body's supple texture in their treatment of the stone's surface. Even in the damaged *Belvedere Torso* (fig. 3), it is clear that the artist did not bring the marble up to a fine and artificial polish. Naturalism was important for the ancients, and as a result, it became important for Rubens as well. He decreed that figures “may not in the least smell of stone” because he could see that the ancients were interested in the sensory experience of the body's natural texture, that they made the marble suggest living flesh.

In all probability, Rubens was predisposed to see this interest long before he stepped onto Italian soil. Describing sculpture as “living flesh” was a trope that writers used to praise works of art, specifically those of antiquity. Pliny, for instance, writes of a group of wrestlers “being notable for the fingers, which seem genuinely to sink into living flesh rather than into dead marble.”<sup>9</sup> Vasari likewise notes how all the “best” sculptures of antiquity have “the appeal and vigor of living flesh.”<sup>10</sup> Rubens, of course, studied the “best” examples of classical art, and he correspondingly explored the statues’ most characteristic and laudable qualities. His graphic renderings of ancient statues thus mark probing efforts to perceive, understand, and imitate the artistic intentions of the ancients themselves.

When, shortly after his time in Italy, Rubens penned *De Imitatione Statuarum*, he developed the knowledge gained from these graphic inquiries into a fully articulated, if only partially preserved theory of artistic imitation. His essay, as scholars have noted, owes much to ancient and Renaissance thought, which Rubens notably encountered as part of the circle orbiting the figure of Justus Lipsius



Figure 3. Apollonius, *Belvedere Torso* (ca. 150 BCE, Vatican City, The Vatican Museum).



(1547–1606), the renowned translator, scholar, and font of Stoic wisdom. But the physical relics of antiquity were equally important for the genesis of Rubens' ideas. Ancient sculpture provided him with a tangible guide for his abstract thinking, a stimulant towards heightened forms of intellectual activity.

Painters must imitate antique statuary, Rubens states. But there are risks that accompany the ample rewards of imitative practice. "Several ignorant painters and even some who are skillful," he writes, "make no distinction between the matter and the form, the stone and the figure, the necessity of using the block, and the art of forming it." When artists fail to make these distinctions, "they disgrace nature, since instead of imitating flesh, they only represent marble tinged with various colors." Rubens thus recommends "judicious" imitation, drawing on Aristotle's metaphysics and Quintilian's lessons on rhetoric.<sup>11</sup>

Rubens, who was intimately familiar with the story of Zeuxis, advocated Quintilian's model of selective imitation, based on the beliefs that only the best exemplars are worthy of study and that everything has its flaws. "It is certain," Rubens writes, "that as the finest statues are extremely beneficial, so the bad are not only useless but even harmful." The artist, like Quintilian's orator, must use the faculty of judgment to filter his experience, carefully determining which sculptures merit attention, and which artistic qualities warrant reproduction. According to Rubens, as his study of the *Belvedere Torso* demonstrates, proper—judicious—imitation recognizes an Aristotelian distinction between form and matter. He is not concerned with the material of the stone, which manifests itself in the breaks and losses, but with the "art of forming" the stone, with the way the ancient sculptors manipulated the marble to capture in one instance the most perfect impressions of natural experience: the ideal anatomy, movement, and texture of the human body. "For," as Aristotle writes in the *Metaphysics* (1035b), "the bronze is a part of the particular statue, but not of the

statue as form. (For each thing must be referred to by naming its form, and as having form, but never by naming its material aspect as such.)”<sup>12</sup>

In his drawings, Rubens had made exactly the same distinction that he advocated in *De Imitatione Statuarum* and that Aristotle articulated in his *Metaphysics*. Rubens used chalk because he was not interested in the material of the sculpture, in its brittle coldness, but in what Aristotle called the form, metaphorically eliding the term’s philosophical and artistic meanings. Fully versed in humanist thought, Rubens saw the *Laocoön* and the *Belvedere Torso* as visual investigations into the nature of humanity, ancient attempts to understand and render visible human form in its most essential, perfect, and universal state. In his studies after these monuments, Rubens thus attempts to follow the example of the ancients by transcending the material characteristics of the object before him and capturing the heightened creative and intellectual processes that just happen to be recorded in stone.

When Rubens wrote that the artist must distinguish “between the matter and the form, the stone and the figure, the necessity of using the block, and the art of forming it,” he was codifying his own manner of practice. Indeed, the normal distinction between theory and practice does not apply here. The act of drawing was an act of theorizing for Rubens, and *De Imitatione Statuarum* was his way of articulating with words what he had already said as a draughtsman. When he studied the *Laocoön* or the *Belvedere Torso*, he was translating the knowledge embodied in the famous sculptures, their form, into graphic media, imprinting it on his mind, so that he might “imbibe” it. And the effort certainly left its mark on his later work. To borrow from the noted Rubens scholar, Julius Held, “Rubens had so thoroughly absorbed into his system the artistic language of the ancients that he could speak it with only a trace of a Flemish accent.”<sup>13</sup>



Figure 4. Sir Peter Paul Rubens, *Study of Michelangelo's Libyan Sibyl* (1601, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY).

IN THE SAME years that he studied the *Laocoön* and the *Belvedere Torso*, Rubens completed over ten drawings after the Sistine Ceiling. The spatial and temporal proximity of these two projects belie the fact that there is, of course, an inherent difference

between them. When studying Michelangelo's frescos, Rubens was not studying sculpture. He could not work around the figures or experience them with the same presence, mobility, and freedom that he enjoyed when standing before classical statues. There are, however, significant indicators that the projects were linked in Rubens' mind. For instance, several of the pages on which Rubens made his Sistine drawings share a water-



Figure 5. Sir Peter Paul Rubens, *Study of Michelangelo's Jeremiah* (1601, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY).

mark with his drawing of the *Belvedere Torso*.<sup>14</sup> What unites these studies most, however, is the affinity of the figurative forms they explore, an affinity born of the fact that Michelangelo had “imbibed” the *Torso* and the *Laocoön* more than had any other modern artist.

It is not surprising, then, that Rubens’ studies of Michelangelo’s figures focus on some of the same pictorial qualities that he explored in the relics of antiquity. The drawing of Michelangelo’s *Libyan Sibyl* (fig. 4) shows Rubens meticulously observing the figure’s anatomy and motion. In his study of *Jeremiah* (fig. 5), he explored Michelangelo’s use of facial expressions to evoke a sense of pathos. Rubens, it seems, found a connection between Michelangelo and the antique, and it was that connection that he wanted to understand. It was that connection, in fact, that became the true subject of the drawings he executed while standing in the Sistine Chapel.<sup>15</sup>

Rubens began his drawing of the *Libyan Sibyl* with black chalk, quickly laying out the formal composition. The fineness of these initial touches can still be seen on the pages of the book, which the Sibyl places on the plinth behind her. Rubens then built up the figure’s form with a combination of red and black chalk, using the former to render her flesh and part of the drapery. Predictably, he paid careful attention to the musculature across the Sibyl’s back, articulating the tensions with precise hatches. He may have even used a stump or slightly wet chalk to blend his strokes in places.<sup>16</sup>

While Rubens’ study is remarkably faithful to the general appearance and mood of Michelangelo’s original (fig. 6), the Fleming made important changes to his model. Rubens’ Sibyl leans forward in a way that does not correspond to the figure in Michelangelo’s fresco. The Fleming altered the angle of the leg and spine, disrupting Michelangelo’s balanced movements, the dynamic equipoise of the *figura serpentinata*, rendering thereby the exaggerated twist slightly more plausible. Rubens’ use of chalk, moreover, particularly his subtle blending in the musculature across the back, lends



Figure 6. Michelangelo Buonarroti, *Libyan Sibyl* (1512, Vatican City, The Sistine Chapel; Photo Credit: Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY).

Michelangelo's figure a softer, fleshier character than what appears in the Chapel.

It is in the area of color, however, that Rubens departed most from Michelangelo's example. On the ceiling, the Prophets and Sibyls display expressive and artificial juxtapositions of bright hues. On Jeremiah's shirt (fig. 7), for instance,

areas of radiant yellow abruptly meet slightly less luminous, but no less prominent passages of red. These *cangianti* often create a strong sense of plasticity, as on the *Libyan Sibyl*, but they are always read by the beholder as pure color, a fact that would have been more apparent to Rubens, who—even if a film had begun to accumulate on the ceiling—saw the frescos when the chapel still had its original stained glass windows. Although he undoubtedly understood the thematic function of Michelangelo's color, Rubens took little interest in this artificial handling of paint. In his study of the *Libyan Sibyl*, he captured only the tonal value of the form, making no effort to even hint at the figure's chromatic power. This too is consistent with his other studies, but it is perhaps most evident in the drawing after *Jeremiah*, where he uses black chalk to render the prophet's shirt, one of the most chromatically expressive moments on the ceiling.



Figure 7. Michelangelo Buonarroti, *Jeremiah* (1512, Vatican City, The Sistine Chapel; Photo Credit: Album / Art Resource, NY).

While it is obvious that Rubens was not working with paint and was therefore at a disadvantage when it came to transcribing the ceiling's bright hues, there can be little doubt that such a gifted draftsman could have suggested color—if he wanted. In fact, he often retouched drawings after completing them, returning to them multiple times and combining different media, including colored chalks and pigments, in order to achieve the effects he desired. In terms of the Sistine studies, then, the logical conclusion is that Rubens was not interested in Michelangelo's *cangiantismo*, for he made no effort to reproduce it while he was in the chapel or after he left. Instead, Rubens used rustic earth tones to breathe life into Michelangelo's figures and to cleanse them of the “smell of stone.”

Rubens' drawings after Michelangelo thus betray a degree of ambivalence. The very existence of these sheets unequivocally shows that Rubens saw his predecessor as an artist worthy of imitation, but the way Rubens executed the drawings suggests that he approached Michelangelo with a critical eye, that he sensed in the Renaissance master something fundamentally opposed to the ideals he so venerated in antique sculpture. What he sensed was *maniera*, the aesthetic ideal underlying the effort to crystalize figures and idealize them away from the natural.



*De Imitatione Statuarum* manifests the same ambivalence and calls for the same aesthetic critique found in the Sistine drawings. In his essay, furthermore, Rubens directs his criticisms at the larger tradition of Mannerism, a style that in so many ways revolved around the legacy and legend of Michelangelo.<sup>17</sup> Rubens is adamant that artists who fail to distinguish between the form of sculpture and the material of stone "disgrace nature, since instead of imitating flesh, they only represent marble tinged with various colors." This last phrase is a rather accurate description of Mannerist art and the work of Michelangelo, whose recorded thoughts on the relationship between painting and sculpture run against the current of Rubens' argument, so much so in fact that *De Imitatione Statuarum*—like Rubens' drawings after the Prophets and Sibyls—might be a direct response to Michelangelo: "*Io dico che la pittura mi par più tenuta buona quanto più va verso il rilievo.*"<sup>18</sup> ["It seems to me that painting is better the more that it approximates relief."]

Rubens, however, is less concerned with the *paragone* argument than with the proper relation between artistic form and material. Despite what he considered to be the unfortunate influence of Michelangelo's sentiment, in the final paragraph of his essay Rubens metaphorically introduces the possibility for progress, attributing modernity's cultural decline to "sloth" and a "want of exercise." He suggests that, as properly structured exercise tones the body, so proper rules might restore modern culture to the heights of classical antiquity.<sup>19</sup> *De Imitatione Statuarum*, which calls for "judicious" imitation, is an effort to codify such rules, an effort to cultivate in the modern world the intellectual virtues that informed classical culture by correcting the confusion between "the necessity of using the block, and the art of forming it."

That Rubens graphically corrected this same confusion in Michelangelo's figures, several years before he wrote *De Imitatione Statuarum*, indicates that working through Michelangelo was Rubens' way of attempting to understand modernity and his own place in history. By exploring

Michelangelo's classicizing analysis of the human form, but purging his figures of the mannered qualities that conflicted with his own assessment of the classical aesthetic itself, Rubens was emulating the work of arguably the most famous and influential modern artist, hoping to curtail the excess of *maniera* in early *Seicento* art by reconceptualizing its source. The drawings after the Sistine Seers are thus theoretical and critical in nature. And *De Imitatione Statuarum* was Rubens' attempt to articulate that same critique in a language that carried all of the trappings of humanist sophistication.

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WHEN PETER PAUL RUBENS entered the city of Rome in 1601, he immersed himself in history, put chalk to paper, and began developing a theoretical approach to the art of the past. The studies of antique sculpture and the work of Michelangelo that he executed during his Italian sojourn were searching efforts to cultivate, in his own work and mind, the intellectual character and virtue of classical antiquity. Like so many of his contemporaries, Rubens saw Michelangelo as a guide and companion in the effort to reclaim the cultural heights first scaled by the artists of ancient Greece and Rome. But on this journey, Rubens could only travel with Michelangelo to a point before parting company. The reason for the break seems to be, to use Rubens' most graphic and theoretical terms, that Michelangelo "smelled."

#### NOTES

I would like to thank Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr for his thoughtful suggestions and support during every phase of this project. I would also like to thank Meredith J. Gill, Quint Gregory, and Lara Yeager-Crasselt for their comments on earlier versions of this paper.

1. Rubens' *De Imitatione Statuarum* was first published in the eighteenth century in Roger de Piles, *Cours de peinture par principes* (Paris 1708). De Piles was then in possession of Rubens' notebook on theory, which is now lost. In this paper, I use the translation from the English edition of de Pile's text, *The Principles of Painting* (London 1743), 86–92. All quotations, unless otherwise

noted, come from this source, which also contains a transcription of Rubens' original Latin. On the dating of Rubens' treatise, see Justus Müller Hofstede, “Rubens und die Kunstlehre des Cinquecento: Zur Deutung eines theoretischen Skizzenblattes im Berliner Kabinett,” in *Peter Paul Rubens, 1577–1640: Katalog 1*, ed. Gerhard Bott et al. (Cologne 1977), 53.

2. Jeffrey M. Muller, “Rubens's Theory and Practice of the Imitation of Art,” *The Art Bulletin* 64 (1982), 229–47. See also Andreas Thielemann, “Rubens' Traktat: *De Imitatione Statuarum*,” in *Imitatio als Transformation: Theorie und Praxis der Antikennachahmung in der fruehen Neuzeit*, eds. Ursula Rombach and Peter Seiler (Petersberg 2012), 95–150. Thielemann's article came to my attention only after I submitted the present paper to this journal. My understanding of *De Imitatione Statuarum*, however, owes much to Muller's important article, where one can find a more detailed discussion of Rubens' essay, its relationship to his later paintings, and its place in intellectual history. Muller discusses the relationship between *De Imitatione Statuarum* and the *paragone* tradition, for instance, on 230, particularly in n. 14. I should emphasize that, while I find Muller helpful in many regards, my argument concerns what I take to be the connections between Rubens' essay and his earlier drawings after ancient sculpture and the work of Michelangelo.

3. Ordenberg Bock von Wülfigen, *Rubens in der deutschen Kunstbetrachtung* (Berlin 1947), 29–30. Cited in Wolfgang Stechow, *Rubens and the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge 1968), 92.

4. Lynn Catterson, “Michelangelo's *Laocoön*?,” *Artibus et Historiae* 26 (2005), 29–56.

5. See Marjon van der Meulen, *Rubens: Copies after the Antique* (London 1994), 1.25–95. Jeremy Wood, *Rubens, Copies and Adaptations from Renaissance and Later Artists: Italian Artists, I: Raphael and His School* (London 2010), 27–127. For an excellent analysis of Rubens' more general practices as a draughtsman, see Catherine Helen Lusheck, *Rubens' Graphic Eclecticism: Style, Eloquence and the Matter of Drawing, Circa 1600–1620* (PhD dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 2000), particularly 1–65.

6. Anne-Marie Logan, “Peter Paul Rubens as a Draftsman,” in *Peter Paul Rubens: The Drawings*, Anne-Mari Logan, in collaboration with Michiel C. Plomp (New Haven and London 2005), 4.

7. Van der Meulen (note 5), cats. 76–93.

8. Julius S. Held, *Rubens: Selected Drawings* (London 1959), 1.52; Logan (note 6), 21–22.

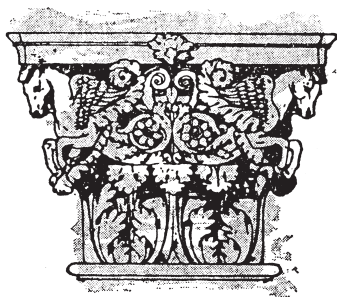
9. Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historiae*, XXXVI.iv.25. Translation from Pliny, *Natural History*, ed. and trans. D. E. Eichholz (Cambridge 1962), ed. vols. 10, 19.

10. Giorgio Vasari, *The Lives of the Artists*, trans. Gorge Bull (New York 1987), 251.

11. Muller (note 2), 229–31.

12. Cited in Muller (note 2), 230. Translation from *The Complete Works of Aristotle*, ed. Jonathan Barnes (Princeton 1984).

13. Held (note 8), 51.
14. Uwe Westfehling, "Drei vorscholle Zeichnungen von Peter Paul Rubens," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 62 (2001): 171-222; Logan (note 6), 69.
15. I follow Anne-Marie Logan's argument that Rubens executed the drawings in the Sistine Chapel. See Logan (note 6), 69-70.
16. Logan (note 6), 69.
17. Craig Hugh Smyth, *Mannerism and Maniera* (Vienna 1992), 95.
18. Michelangelo's comments were published in *Due Lezioni di M. Benedetto Varchi nella prima delle quale si dichiara un sonetto di M. Michelangelo Buonarotti, Nella seconda si disputa quale sia piu nobile arte la scultura, o la pittura, con una lettera d'esso Michelangelo & piu altri eccellentiss pittori, et scultori, sopra la quistione sopradetta* (Florence 1550).
19. Muller (note 2), 231-33.



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