

Baron W.H.J. van Westreenen van Tiellandt

A Dutch bibliophile in search for antiquity in the early days of
modern archaeology



Caspers, M.A.J. – s0835013
Master thesis archaeology

Cover page: painting of Willem Hendrik Jacob van Westreenen van Tiellandt, by J.R.

Post Brants around 1838. MMW, 25/9. Source: in Lasseur 1998, 7.

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Preface

This thesis is the conclusion of my Master programme in Archaeology at the Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University. It focuses on my main specialisation, Classical and Mediterranean Archaeology, but comprises my other specialisation in Museum History as well. Since my Bachelor in Classical Archaeology at the same faculty, I have taken a great interest in the early nineteenth century reception of antiquity in Europe. An earlier, less comprehensive study of some of Van Westreenen's Roman antiquities under guidance of Prof. Dr. Ruurd Halbertsma had inspired me to delve deeper into this collector's involvement in a fascinating period of European history of collecting. This resulting thesis will moreover offer a way of dealing with written sources of a museum collection.

Fortunately, Halbertsma was willing to also supervise my Master thesis and share his extensive knowledge on the first academic archaeologist C.J.C. Reuvens, of which I am very grateful. He also proved to be an excellent mentor in helping me structure my research and in guiding me through the archives of the *Rijkmuseum van Oudheden* in Leiden. I also would like to express my gratitude to Drs. Jos van Heel, the in the meantime retired curator of the *Museum Meermanno* in The Hague, for helping me transcribe Van Westreenen's handwritten catalogue and guiding me through the archives of the museum. Furthermore, I would like to thank Jolien Gabriels for helping me translate Van Westreenen's publication on Forum Hadriani, and my close family and friends for their support and help during the many hours I have worked on this thesis.

1. Introduction

Partly as a result of the Romantic movement originating at the end of the eighteenth century in Europe, the turn into the nineteenth century brought about a growing appreciation of “the potential of archaeology to reveal aspects of nationality” (MacGregor 2007, 281). Historical awareness emanating from an era of professionalising of science, popularized antiquity for scholars, collectors and institutions. While in previous centuries many stakeholders in antiquity embodied their idea of the Creation in their own universal collections, the fact that an increasing amount of people studied and valued antiquities for their informative value induced a scrutiny of the Creation’s facets, causing said encyclopaedic ambitions to be difficult to maintain. The socio-political and educational changes that came about at the end of the eighteenth century moreover resulted in the further compartmentalisation of study subjects, which would later *inter alia* result in the genesis of the academic discipline of archaeology. This growing realisation of the archaeological potential to uncover nationalistic aspects was clearly visible in the Netherlands as well, where C.J.C. Reuvers (1793-1835) was a prominent figure in maturing the archaeological discipline in the Dutch curriculum of higher education.

Classicists had dominated the antiquarian world in previous centuries, focusing their attention traditionally on the splendour of the classical Mediterranean context. Attractive antiquities were preferred, often in competition for social prestige with others. Archaeological awareness of classical remains in native contexts was not lacking in this time though, this patriotic approach was simply adhered by a minority. In early nineteenth century Europe, the longstanding humanist tradition focusing on regional history became mainstream. With the further professionalising of archaeology and the erection of institutionalised museum of antiquity, partly as a result of growing nationalistic sentiments, this approach took the upper hand over said classicist approach to antiquity. Private collectors and institutions now mainly sought validation of the importance of *their* nation in the native contexts instead of the Mediterranean one, applying the innovative methods of the academic discipline of archaeology.

Taking the above into consideration, it seems that in the late eighteenth- early nineteenth century a shift in the reception of antiquity took place from an ‘aristocratic’ one, prioritizing the aesthetic characteristics of the objects with social prestige as one of the main goals, to a more scientific one, prioritizing historical awareness in order to reconstruct past civilisations and subsequently construct the legacy of a nation. For the study of antiquity in the Netherlands, and more specifically in the case elaborated on be-

low, this focus on the native context meant directing the attention to muddy, unattractive provincial Roman objects such as bricks and tiles. One of the actors in this changing political and cultural climate is Baron W.H.J. van Westreenen van Tiellandt (1783-1848), an early nineteenth century collector of books, whose remembrance is embodied in the current Museum Meermanno in The Hague, his former residence.

In previous academic studies focusing on Van Westreenen, attention is largely paid to his passion for collecting incunabula and handwritings. At first sight an ordinary dilettante, his collection of antiquities is often perceived as being an appendix to his collection of books, which was simply in line with contemporary fashion in the world of collecting. But was it? To what extent were his acquisitions of antiquities either deliberate or coincidental? And how exactly was Van Westreenen's take on the evolving discipline of archaeology? His collection of antiquities has surely been a significant aspect of his life as a collector and should not be easily overlooked. When taking a closer look at his involvements in the study of antiquity, it seems he is not a typical 'aristocratic' collector, but actually distinguishes himself from the contemporary intellectual backdrop in the world of collecting by contributing to some archaeological debates concerning the reconstruction of past civilisations. His contributions treated in this thesis, their nature thoroughly discussed, are the publications concerned with the provincial Roman remains at Arentsburg (Van Westreenen 1826) and Brittenburg (Van Westreenen 1839). These form clear examples of archaeological case studies that had been studied by early modern, patriotic humanists, and gradually gained more, mainstream attention from Van Westreenen and his contemporaries.

These endeavours in the study of antiquity by a collector who was mainly occupied with early prints and handwritings, naturally raise a lot of questions. To what extent can we say Van Westreenen distinguished himself from prestigious collecting and categorize him as a 'modern' collector, valuing the information material culture can provide us with? In what way did said publications contribute to the scholarly debate concerning these case studies? Furthermore, can an underlying rationale be detected in Van Westreenen's policy of collecting antiquities? If yes, does this correspond with the one concerning the collecting of books? Moreover, *how exactly does Van Westreenen fit as a collector in this framework of shifting receptions of and approaches to antiquity in nineteenth century Holland?* By treating Van Westreenen's main contributions to the historiography of two provincial Roman archaeological case studies and the patterns in his collection of Roman antiquities, I hope to answer these questions and decide, without deny-

ing his primary involvement in collecting books and incunabula, whether Van Westreenen was simply passively undergoing the reshaping political and cultural climate, or that he actually was a prominent figure who actively took part in shaping these new ideas concerning the study of antiquity.

The following chapter will elaborate on the historical framework of this thesis, mainly discussing the developments of the study of antiquity that lead up to the nineteenth century changing reception of antiquity. After sketching this backdrop, the main actor of this thesis, Van Westreenen, will be introduced in chapter 3. Judging Van Westreenen on the basis of our current definition of 'scientific' would be an anachronistic error, so Reuvens is incorporated as a marker in the transition from antiquarianism practiced by dilettantes to the early scientific practice of archaeology by a full-timer. He will be introduced in chapter 4. The focus on these two will be mainly biographical, portraying their lives as collectors and external factors influencing these. The aforementioned contributions by Van Westreenen will be subsequently set-out against Reuvens' in the early nineteenth century study of antiquity and politics of museum culture, more specifically in the provincial Roman case studies of Arentsburg and Brittenburg. Respectively chapters 5 and 6 will provide a general introduction to the concerning case study, in order to elaborate on the scholarly contributions made by both Van Westreenen as Reuvens. In chapter 7, Van Westreenen's collecting policy will be analysed diachronically on the basis of his handwritten *Catalogue des livres, manuscrits et antiquites*.¹ This catalogue was composed by Van Westreenen between 1825 and 1835, and describes the acquisition of 264 Roman antiquities between 1797 and 1835. Since selection criteria such as singling out specific time brackets are quite arbitrary and very susceptible to flaws through personal interpretation, the entire collection of Roman antiquities will be treated in this analysis. Does Van Westreenen collect more objects for their informative value as the academic discipline of archaeology matures, and in connection less objects for their aesthetic value? His involvements in the study of antiquity will be calibrated to Reuvens' as a benchmark of contemporary scientific archaeological research. In the conclusion of this thesis, the said involvements will be thoroughly reviewed and connected to the historical framework set out in chapter 2, to accurately position Van Westreenen as a collector in this framework of shifting receptions of and approaches to antiquity in nineteenth century Holland.

¹ Museum Meermano-Westreenianum (further: MMW) 158. FA 137/119-167.

2. The reception of antiquity in 19th century Europe

Before moving on to the discussion of Van Westreenen's involvements in the study of antiquity and thus being able to accurately define his place in the far-reaching political and cultural changes taking place at the turn of the nineteenth century, attention must be paid to the way in which the past was apprehended, studied and reconstituted in museums throughout the centuries leading up to this point. While in the previous centuries antique objects were assembled as part of encyclopaedic collections or as appendices to other collectables, collecting antiquity gradually became an independent niche in the collectors world in the eighteenth century. The appreciation of antique objects as sources of information increased, but still mainly was of aesthetical nature and little awareness of the importance of documenting and academically studying antiquities was present. This gradually started to change with J.J. Winckelmann's (1717-1768) *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* from 1764, which strongly contributed to the development of a scientific approach to the study of antiquity. And although antiquarian focus on national history already existed in early modern times², ever increasing national sentiments of institutionalized European museums from the nineteenth century onwards resulted in an increased need for scientific archaeological research.

These developments in the reception of antiquity, increasingly appreciating the informative value of archaeological objects, played a significant role in the formation of national culture policies. *Description de l'Égypte*³ as well, demonstrates the evolving academic interest in antiquity. The aforementioned and other contemporary publications served as catalysts in stimulating a wide audience and in increasing the need for a scientific study of antiquity, as the socio-political and educational changes that came about at the turn of the nineteenth century resulted in the further compartmentalisation of study subjects. As soon as archaeology was established as an independent discipline in 1818, it was strongly subjected to public interest and debate. The longstanding tradition of studying antiquity in its indigenous context, now gradually took the upper hand over the traditional focus on the Mediterranean world when a wide public interest expanded in its favour in the nineteenth century. Especially from the second half of the nineteenth century

² A clear example is provided by O. Worm's patriotic study of Danish antiquities in the first half of the seventeenth century, realizing antiquity was not restricted to the classical Graeco-Roman tradition (Schnapp 1996, 160-6).

³ The resulting publication of Napoleon's expedition to Egypt in 1798 with approximately 150 scholars and draftsmen, among whom Vivant Denon.

onwards, but slightly visible in the second quarter of the nineteenth century as well⁴, nationalistic minded institutions in Europe used this approach to antiquity to construct the legacy and seek validation for the importance of *their* nation. For the study of antiquity in the Netherlands, the decreasing focus on the classical beauties produced by the Mediterranean world and increasing focus on the native context meant diverting the attention to muddy, unattractive provincial Roman objects such as bricks and tiles.

2.1 The universality of Kunst- und Wunderkammers

Up until the sixteenth century, collections of antiquity were mainly based on the objects *an sich* and not so much on an underlying rationale. This type of collection, where the materiality of the collection is principal, is usually categorized as a *Schatzkammer*. The size of these Medieval *Schatzkammers*, brought together mostly by princes and monarchs, was mostly decided by the owner's social status and wealth and in many cases simply the result of inheritance or gifts. In the second half of the sixteenth century the *Kunst- und Wunderkammers* came into existence. The *Kunst- und Wunderkammer* was a universal collection supposedly containing all products of this world: both *naturalia* (produced by nature) and *artificialia* (produced by man). They conceptually differ from *Schatzkammers* in the way that the latter is mainly a representation, whereas “the fundamental concept of the *Kunstkammer* is the structuring and imparting of knowledge” (Hein 2002, 177-8). We can see that these collections were founded from a more intellectual and political perspective, though often still concerned with shaping the owner's outward image. In the seventeenth and eighteenth century the *Kunst- und Wunderkammer* became a status-symbol of the scholarly citizens as well (Scheicher 1993, 15-6; 35-6). Collections were often used to engage in social interaction: it was not uncommon that nobility and royalty visited the homes of these scholarly citizens, which obviously amounted in a strong boost in social prestige. This increasing social interaction centred on private collections would later allow for a further specialisation of object-categories and their according display by discussing and combining overlapping ideas.

Until well into the seventeenth century, the general encyclopaedic underlying rationale from which objects were selected showed just little variations in form. The em-

⁴ Exemplified by Reuven's correspondences with the Ministry of Education. While Reuven himself was not so much a Romantic (as chapter 5 and 6 will also demonstrate), he did respond to the Dutch government's nationalistic sentiments and drive for European 'cultural competition' to obtain subsidies for his archaeological projects.

phasis on different topics, often depending on the collector's social and/or intellectual background, grew slowly but steadily. Definitely until the seventeenth century only sporadically we can designate specific collecting-themes. Encyclopaedic aspirations were still clearly visible, reflecting on the collector's knowledge and ideas of the world in the formation of a microcosm (Bergvelt 1992). Although during the later phases of the *Kunst- und Wunderkammern* the universality was still evidently present, diversity and curiosity began to lose adherents from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards. Instead, collectors in this time gradually started emphasizing specific fields of personal interest in their collections. This shift in the contemporary style of thought is visible in Holland as well, where generally four categories of encyclopaedic collections are defined. The oldest type of specialisation is the collection of coins, already at the service of philologists and antiquarians from the sixteenth century. The second category lays emphasis on paintings, prints and drawings, another on *naturalia* and ethnography. The fourth category is the most universal one, representing all categories of collectables by a large amount (Van Gelder 1993, 129-33). The collections emphasizing *naturalia* were most dominantly present in the Dutch climate of the seventeenth century⁵, often collected by the bourgeoisie due to their connections with the VOC. This company's ships carried lots of rarities and *naturalia* from the Orient alongside their spices. It has to be stressed though, that well into the eighteenth century it was still customary to complement these somewhat specialized collections with "mathematical instruments, applied arts, arms and armour and an antiquarium" (MacGregor 2007, 30). The latter mainly consisted of sculptures, books, coins, and antiquities.

By the end of the eighteenth century, interest in diversity and curiosity was largely replaced by the Enlightenment mentality, increasingly visible in the collections and their owner's rationalizing method of arrangement. The seventeenth century mentality of focusing on beautiful shapes, colours and arrangements was considered an outdated irrationality. The *Kunstammer* gradually changed in this period to a collection without rarities and curiosities, ordered according to the contemporary scientific and aesthetic insights, such as the influential *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* by Winckelmann in the second half of the eighteenth century on the field of antique art. It was only at the turn into the nineteenth century, with the further development of separate professional disci-

⁵ Take for example the Dutch collectors of *naturalia* J. Govertsz (1558-1617) in early seventeenth century Haarlem, and F. Ruysch (1638-1731) in late seventeenth and early eighteenth century Amsterdam (Bergvelt 1992, 37; 46).

plines, such as ethnology and archaeology, that the encyclopaedic element of the collections of the past three centuries strongly decayed (Meijers 1993, 224). It simply became too difficult to maintain the earlier encyclopaedic aspirations in a shifting socio-political and educational climate where new inventions were made at an industrial level, Biblical ‘truths’ were thoroughly researched and subverted by specialized professional disciplines and mass-production replaced arts and crafts (MacGregor 2007, 238).

2.2 Democratisation of arts

The museums dominating the world of collecting up until the eighteenth century were private ones, owned by wealthy collectors looking to enhance their social prestige. It was not until the last decennia of this century that the scales tipped in favour of institutionalized collections. While wealthy private collectors continued to “indulge their tastes” (MacGregor 2007, 237) in the course of the eighteenth century, the public museums steadily became more widespread and influential. Until the latter days of the Enlightenment, the specialisation of professional curators focusing on governing these public institutions hardly existed. Institutionalized collections in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, the *Theatrum Anatomicum* or the *Hortus Botanicus* in Holland for example, pretended to offer something which the private collectors were not capable of, namely accessibility and continuity (Van Berkel 1993, 203). There was little realisation of the efforts and costs involved in the upkeep of such collections, and this accessibility and continuity was offset in practice by the private collectors with more means to collect and who were involved with undivided attention. Though, these seventeenth and eighteenth century institutionalized collections did pave the road for the nineteenth century large-scale institutionalisation of collections and museums with governmental involvement.

With the growing Romantic mentality and realisation of the museum as an influential actor in shaping a wide public’s perception of antiquity, eventually the collective and public approach of collecting ‘won’ from the individual, sheltered approach. Institutionally based research gained more adherence from the 1800s onwards, and the role played by public institutions and universities gradually took the upper hand over the private, somewhat casual involvements. Even though the transition in museums focusing on a universal history to a national history, directing historical attention on both the international society and one’s nation, might not be as sudden and clear-cut as Hoijtink (2012, 12) would lead us to think, we do observe European museums gradually directing their attention as well to the prehistory, indigenous populations and medieval times of their

native contexts, instead of solely focusing on Mediterranean contexts. The reason this shifting focus in the study of antiquity by institutionalized museums is not so clear-cut, is that they actually built on the longstanding tradition of aforementioned private collectors in studying indigenous history. While in previous centuries the latter approach was espoused by a minority of scholars in comparison with the study of the idealized Mediterranean classical world, it simply popularized in the early nineteenth century with the involvement of European museums due to growing nationalistic sentiments. In these museums with national antiquities the objects themselves were central in a scene built according to chronological and typological criteria (Gallo 1993, 299-300).

A very important contribution to this change of mentality at the turn of the nineteenth century towards a *democratisation of arts* is the French influence in Europe, exemplified by the constitution of the Louvre in 1793 for the citizens of the French Republic. Especially from the start of the French revolution, all across Europe public and specialist museums were erected by all kinds of distinguished actors (MacGregor 2007, 106). Aristocratic rule and mentality evaporated in a few years time and *liberté, égalité, fraternité* was not only visible in the political climate, but in the cultural as well. L. Bonaparte (1778-1846), brother of Napoleon (1769-1821) and the first king of Holland since 1806, introduced French institutions such as the Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences in Amsterdam. The royal houses of Europe were restored in 1815 when Napoleon was defeated, releasing a tidal wave of nationalistic sentiment across Europe, all reclaiming their seized 'heritage' from the Louvre in Paris. Following in Lodewijk's footsteps and feeling the need for unity, the *National Museum of Antiquities* (1818) and the *National Museum of Natural History* (1820) were erected. With these institutions, the scientific, institutionalized collecting was introduced in the Netherlands (Halbertsma 2012, 23), participating as well in these international culture politics where competition was a strong incentive for the collectors world for self-representation. Although there was no regular fund for acquiring antique art, the generous and fascinated king Willem I (1772-1843), strongly inspired by nationalistic sentiments and European competition, was more than willing to provide institutionalized museums with the means to pursue their intended collecting policy. This is clearly reflected in the involvements of Reuvens with the Dutch government concerning the erection of his Museum of Antiquities, as will be elaborated on in chapter 4.

The available money disposed by the benevolent Dutch government to stimulate this cultural climate diminished when the Belgians revolted against the king in 1830. The

secession took its toll economically as well as culturally, considering the military pursuits required so much attention and monetary consideration that the government had to hold back on cultural spending (Halbertsma 2003, 127-8). All in all these developments in the political and cultural climate of late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century Holland could be ascribed to a new humanism, also dominantly present in Germany, England and France. Perhaps not so much based on the ‘revival’ of the classical tradition (Hoijtink 2012, 12), Reuvers is a clear example of continuation of the deeply rooted classical tradition, but more on the professionalizing of the study of antiquity and the growing appreciation of its application in nation building politics. This new form of humanism was strongly linked to the emergence of the new discipline of archaeology, subordinating texts to archaeological objects in its study of antiquity.

2.3 A cyclic historiography based on stylistic criteria

When discussing the development of the independent academic discipline of archaeology, the involvement of Winckelmann in the study of antique art cannot be neglected. The discovery of Herculaneum (and the subsequent erection of the Academy of Herculaneum in 1755), and Winckelmann’s publications in the latter half of the eighteenth century resulted in a changing reception of antique art. The finds from Herculaneum offered a thorough image of antiquity, considering they involved many aspects of daily life that were unknown before. At the same time, Winckelmann’s publications learned that antique statuary, sarcophagi, bronzes, gems, coins, dishes and painting were the most important sources for the historiography of the stylistic development of antique art (Gallo 1993, 280). His conceptions of antiquity and strong appreciation for the Greek ideal of beauty for the first time showed that an actual history of art is plausible, based on the study of art itself instead of art history and biographies of artists. He advocates for an examination of the origin of pieces of art, and those characteristics that distinguish these pieces. The following translation of the German original illustrates the stylistic criteria applied by Winckelmann in the construction of a history of art.

“The description of a statue should demonstrate the reasons for its beauty, and specify the particularities of that style of art: hence one must deal with the subsections of art, before one can arrive at a verdict of its products.”⁶

⁶ Translation of the German original in Winckelmann 1764, which is added as appendix 1.

Antique art was to be apprehended in a chronological fashion. Older objects would have to be differentiated from younger ones on stylistic criteria, and vice versa. This principle was incredibly innovatory, considering past public institutions arranged their antiquities thematically. In the Vatican for example, we could observe a room displaying masks, animals or a selection of philosophers, regardless of the periods in which they occurred. Though the following shows how Winckelmann realizes the value of contextualizing pieces of art by discussing the peoples and times that created them, the suggested chronological arrangements are non-linear but cyclic, something that changed a few decades later with the ideas of C.G. Heyne (1729-1812) as presented in the *Altertumswissenschaft*.

“The history of art should teach its origin, growth, change and decline, in common slope with different styles of peoples, era’s and artists.”⁷

Winckelmann’s fame and appreciation for the Greek ideal of beauty resonated for decades. Fine art was essentially perceived to be static and timeless. Based on the immutability of the Fine, art was regarded as being learnable through imitation of the classical ideal (Van Wezel 1993, 317). That art history of antiquity was increasingly perceived in terms of a general history of antique arts, shows in the fact that in the course of the nineteenth century this new arrangement policy was adopted by the prominent new museums in Europe, such as the British Museum and the museums housed in the Louvre. This suggests that the ideas developed by Winckelmann in the Enlightened eighteenth century seemed to fit in the nineteenth century mentality of nation building (Hoijtink 2007, 77). The first modern museum of antique statuary formed at the end of the eighteenth century, clearly being influenced by Winckelmann’s ideas of ‘Greek’ art, was the *Museo Pio-Clementino*. Its selection and arrangement, chosen by Visconti on the basis of outstanding quality and uniqueness, gained international attention. The thematic arrangement of sculptures was still dominantly present in the exhibition, but for the first time the museum offered an overview of the *development* of antique sculpture, from Archaic times until the decline of antique art in the third century A.D. A clear example of the selection of highlights used based on a cyclic mode of thought, visible in the *Musée Napoléon* in Paris as well. Here, Winckelmann’s instructions were literally followed, exposing exclusively the absolute highlights of antique art (Gallo 1993, 299). Until the restitution of the international heri-

⁷ Translation of the German original in Winckelmann 1764, which is added as appendix 2.

tage after Napoleon's defeat in 1815, Visconti realized as a curator of the *Musée Napoléon* his museum of an idealized antiquity in an iconographical fashion. This museum and its collection, deployed to impress and stimulate imitation (Hoijtink 2007, 79), clearly delineates the different approaches to the study and representation of antiquity, as this would change in the course of the nineteenth century, partly influenced by the ever-increasing sentiments of nationality in Europe.

The popularity of Winckelmann's ideas about the Greek ideal of beauty is visible in the fact everyone wanting to be fashionable became 'à la grecque', without knowing if that term actually was historically correct (Bastet 1984, 37). The coincidence with Winckelmann's proposed division of 'Greek' art into four periods was that it was mainly based on the results of his study of Roman, marble copies of lost Greek, bronze originals. Museums in Rome and Paris at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century that were arranged with a selection of masterpieces from all phases of 'Greek' art, as described by Winckelmann, were museums with predominantly Roman artworks copied after Greek originals (Gallo 1993, 281).⁸ Some years later this was sufficiently demonstrated in Visconti's catalogue of the Museo Pio-Clementino (1782-1807). This demonstrates that although the innovative ideas of Winckelmann contributed to the professionalizing of the study of antiquity, scholars gradually realized that a more veracious and elaborate chronological overview of art and artists from antiquity was needed, incorporating as many sources as possible to this end.

2.4 A linear historiography based on historical awareness

In the second quarter of the nineteenth century during the peak of Romanticism, the presence of indigenous archaeological remains, either non-Roman or Provincial Roman, in museums in North-western Europe is clearly visible. Historiography of the native context seemed to have taken the upper hand over studying the idealized Mediterranean world. The earlier discussed new humanism shifted its focus from the reconstruction of a universal, shared antiquity to a national, individual one (Hoijtink 2012, 67). Alongside these increasing nationalistic sentiments, another notable change in the early nineteenth century study of antiquity is the transition from a cyclic historiography to a linear, historical one. While in the late-eighteenth century museums attempted to thematically represent origin, growth, change and decline of antique art, the museums in the first half of the nineteenth

⁸ Even the famous Apollo Belvedere, actually thought to be Greek, was Roman.

century focused more on the linear history of the objects. The increasing need for a chronological understanding resulted in the incorporation of geological studies and their methods of stratigraphy in the study of antiquity. The stratigraphic geology was applied in an attempt to identify, describe and date different layers, a method which became an important aspect of archaeological research (Daniel 1981, 50-1). This archaeological approach to the study of antiquity gained more adherence from 1810-1820 onwards, when some classical philologists who relied on inscribed objects and other material sources referred to themselves as ‘archaeologists’ (Hoijtink 2012, 55), as opposed to those philological scholars dealing with stylistic development on a textual basis.

These changes within philology and the upswing of archaeology as an independent practice found their origin in Göttingen in the 1770s, where the philologist Heyne was considered to be the founder of the modern *Altertumswissenschaft*, proclaiming words to be *equal* to objects. This philological current was ‘modern’ in its versatility, incorporating many disciplines in the study of linguistics and archaeology. The latter was a quite uncommon term in the time, and considered to be the study of all material remains made by man (*artificialia*) in antiquity. The increasing attention directed at the material remains, alongside the study of textual sources in the construction of a linear chronological overview of the history of antiquity distinguishes itself from the comparisons solely based on stylistic criteria in Winckelmann’s *Kunst des Alterthums*. By this time the concept of a timeless, immutable Beauty had been replaced by the concept of a mutable Beauty tied to place, time and persons. Considering this concept of art perceived Beauty to be time-bound, thus historical, a chronological arrangement of arts would be best to clarify its development. The difference in the reception of antique art is apparently closely related to how history was perceived.

Heyne’s ideas about the study of antiquity were carried on by F.A. Wolf (1759-1824), who also studied Heyne’s tradition during his years as a student in Göttingen. In 1808 he published the *Darstellung der Altertumswissenschaft*, also incorporating his personal *Altphilologische* conceptions (Hoijtink 2007, 77). Wolf contributed actively to this discussion in the first quarter of the nineteenth century⁹, that eventually led to the creation of the Altes and Neues Museum in Berlin. The sculpture collection of the Altes Museum, opened in 1830 by K.F. Schinkel, was arranged and displayed in a linear chronological fashion. No selection of highlights was made, considering all antique statu-

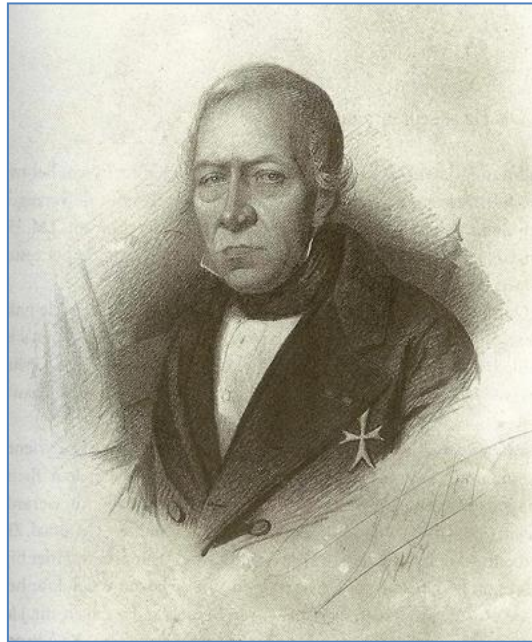
⁹ His contributions to classical philology have been bundled in Wolf 1839, which was also present in Reuven’s personal library.

aries were perceived as monuments of antiquity. Antique sculptures for example, were simply integrated with the plaster casts. The Altes Museum is a clear embodiment of the shifted reception of antiquity, aspiring inspiration instead of imitation with its collections, and aiming at a “Geistige Bildung der Nation durch Anschauung des Schönen” (in Hoi-jtink 2007, 79). These strong neo-humanistic currents in the second quarter of nineteenth century Germany have also influenced the Dutch art-history, considering the visible shift from a universal, cyclic historiography to a national, linear historiography. We see the aforementioned concepts of the *Altertumswissenschaft* reflected in the involvement of Johan Meerman (1751-1815)¹⁰ in the installation of the independent archaeological discipline, and in Reuven’s ideas about the study of archaeology and the underlying ideas to the erection of his own national museum of antiquities. But how does Van Westreenen’s reception of antiquity fit in all this? To what extent does he adhere the ‘outdated’, stylistic approach to antiquity, and to what extent the modern one based on historical awareness? How visible is the nationalistic historiography in his studies on archaeological subjects? And how ‘archaeological’ can we say these approaches to antiquity actually are?

¹⁰ Johan Meerman, Van Westreenen’s uncle, attended classes by Heyne in 1769. In 1807 he was appointed director-general of sciences and arts in Holland by Lodewijk Napoleon, being directly involved in the Dutch curriculum for higher education.

3. The scholarly collector baron W.H.J. van Westreenen van Tiellandt

Van Westreenen's occupations in scholarly debates concerning antiquity cannot be fully understood without treating Van Westreenen's life as a collector. Although the emphasis of this thesis lies on his involvement in the collecting and study of provincial Roman archaeology, his collection of Greek and Egyptian antiquities is not to be overlooked as well and will be shortly treated in this chapter. This should further elucidate Van Westreenen's occupations as a collector and provide a point of comparison to his collection of Roman



antiquities. By whom and to what extent was he influenced in his interest in collecting? Where exactly did his interests lie? What means did Van Westreenen have to collect? In what way is his collecting similar to or different from the contemporary style of thought as portrayed in the previous chapter?

Figure 1: A pencil sketch of Willem Hendrik Jacob van Westreenen van Tiellandt, by J. Kayser in 1847. MMW, 1150/1128. Source: in Laseur 1998, 63.

Baron Willem Hendrik Jacob van Westreenen van Tiellandt (fig. 1), born in The Hague on the 2nd of October 1783, was the son of Johan Adriaan van Westreenen (1742-1820) and Maria Catharina Dierkens (1747-1826). His father was a well-off lawyer, his mother the daughter of a counsellor of the province's High Council. He greatly admired his grandnephew Johan Meerman, son of Gerard Meerman (1722-1771), for his proficiency in collecting books and incunabula. Gerard Meerman collected as well, but both the policy in collecting as their bibliography show that Johan Meerman had different interests than his father. Not the history of law and printing, but national history literature, geology and ethnology mainly grasped his interest. Johan Meerman expanded the bibliographical collection of his father to about 10.000 prints of which 250 incunabula, 1100 handwritings and 300 maps (Laseur 1998, 21-2). The admiration of Van Westreenen for his grandnephew, who contributed to the introduction of the archaeological discipline, would result in expanding his collection and the naming of the museum. Van Westreenen himself mainly collected books and handwritings, but also a considerable amount of Egyptian and Greco-Roman antiquities, antique coins and medals.

3.1 The birth of a collector at heart

In 1799, a day before Van Westreenen turned sixteen, he voluntarily joined the Batavian army as a cadet. After a year in the army he started a training to become a military engineer at the School of Artillery in The Hague. The latter was lifted in 1805, resulting in Van Westreenen leaving service without having achieved the desired results. Subsequently in 1805 and 1806 he supposedly registered as a law student at the Leiden University, though there is no proof he actually studied there (van Heel 2012, 48). During his education in the previous years, Van Westreenen developed a strong interest in material remains of the history and culture of past societies, genealogy, national history and especially the history of printing (Ekkart 2012, 11). Judging from his rapidly growing amount of collectables in this period, when Van Westreenen actually was expected to prepare for a future political career, the scholarly collector in Van Westreenen took the upper hand. Already at the age of twelve, Van Westreenen started collecting and documenting all of his purchases carefully in his cash book, starting with toys bought at the market or at auctions. It gradually became clear that Van Westreenen was a collector at heart for the rest of his life. His initially modest budget, mainly allowance and what other family members would pamper him with, was spent on old prints, handwritings, coins and antiquities. Though the budget would change in the coming years, this pattern of collecting would not. From the catalogues of handwritings and early prints composed by Van Westreenen it becomes clear that his main passion was the origin of printing (van Heel 2012, 48-9). His *Register of Purchase*, dating back to 1815, mentions his acquisitions of thousands of books, handwritings, antiquities, coins and medals. Moreover, he also kept a handwritten *Catalogue* of his collection of antiquities, not only describing them but also mentioning, if traceable, their places of origin. Unfortunately, not every object in his collection has been identified using this catalogue (Galestin 1977, 9).

As an adolescent collector from The Hague, Van Westreenen was not only influenced by Johan Meerman as a collector of books, but by seasoned collectors like P. van Damme (1727-1806) and J. Visser (1753-1814) as well (Boddens Hosang 1989, 11). The fact he got in contact with these collectors willing to share their experience, strongly invigorated Van Westreenen's interests and learning process. Concerning the history of printing, the elderly advocate Visser, a friend of the Meerman family, was of great assistance. He was known as a connoisseur in the field of national history and literature. The latter eventually put Van Westreenen in touch with Van Damme, who familiarized him with the world of numismatics (Laseur 1998, 16). Through these lessons in collecting, the

young Van Westreenen developed a distinct interest for early books and numismatics. As mentioned earlier, especially the origin and early distribution of printing grasped his interest. While Visser limited himself as collector to the incunabula of the Netherlands, Van Westreenen would spend his life documenting the origin and distribution of printing across Europe. Van Damme brought Van Westreenen into contact with the world of contemporary collectors and auctions, contributing greatly to Van Westreenen's connections as well. Due to the help from these two connoisseurs, Van Westreenen was able to grow from an enthusiastic novice into a self-aware connoisseur of book and coin in a relatively short time-span (van Heel 2000, 49-63). From around 1800 onwards the influence of his experienced friends became more and more visible in his collecting. Both his collection of handwritings and early prints and his collection of coins and medals rapidly increased. He definitely did not scruple showing his enthusiasm. Particularly satisfied with two recent acquisitions of special coins, Van Westreenen writes to Van Damme:

“to speak the language of my heart, the more I look at them, the finer and more precious they are to me. Mentally I visit several famous Cabinets in which they lack, and to myself I feel the excitatory idea: I already have those.”¹¹

Regarding the value of the completeness of a collection as paramount, typical for a collector at heart, was a strong stimulant for his collecting and will be made visible in the following chapters.

3.2 Acquisition of antiquities to illustrate ancient texts

Considering the scientific interest for archaeological objects in the study of antiquity only came about by the end of the eighteenth and in the first half of the nineteenth, little was actually known about Egyptian and Greco-Roman antiquities to Van Westreenen and his contemporary collectors. Obviously in contrast with numismatics and incunabula, which had been subject to bibliographical studies in the past centuries and were easier to contextualize and chronologically order. Besides collecting objects for their aesthetical and prestigious value, Van Westreenen collected both his literature and his antiquities with the corresponding interest of studying the development of the past societies that provided the concerning material remains. The antiquities acquired by the Baron served mainly to exemplify the stages of cultural development, as delineated by his literary sources (see

¹¹ Translation of the old-Dutch original from 23-07-1803, which is added as appendix 3.

chapter 7). Collecting both Western handwritings and costly early printings *and* gathering antiquities with inscriptions was a logical combination, since the latter has examples of scripts and languages from the earliest history of the written word (Schneider 1989, 7), the Baron's main interest. Besides, not only authentic antiquities were bought and displayed. Van Westreenen also used plaster casts and papier-mâché copies to decorate his living room and simultaneously allowing him and his guests to discuss the objects and their inscriptions. We see the same use of antiquities as an illustration of antique texts in the collecting of painted Greek pottery. This black- and red-figured type of pottery, also collected by the Baron, found its way to Italy in the sixth and fifth century B.C., and often represented antique mythological tales. In Van Westreenen's days it became a habit to decorate libraries with this kind of pottery as well (Halbertsma 2012, 24 and 41).

Evident in his purchase of archaeological books, Van Westreenen kept himself informed on the recent developments in the philological and emerging archaeological discipline. For example, one of the 98 archaeological books he owned was the well-known eighteenth century book *Museum Etruscum* written by Gori.¹² His interest for historical and archaeological debates is also visible in his handwritten *Catalogue*, where the Baron occasionally refers to specific publications that mention archaeological parallels. It shows that Van Westreenen preferably acquired antiquities he was familiar with through the literature concerning the subject. Objects from Brittenburg for example, were emphasized in this *Catalogue*, considering he gained affinity with the Roman fort on the Dutch coast whose historiography he studied (see chapter 6). This approach to collecting antiquities is most clearly visible in his collection of aegyptiaca, focusing his attention on acquiring objects he studied in advance in order to represent Old Egyptian writing and their application in various media. In a way studying the history of the book in its broadest sense (Raven 2012, 15).

Egyptology as an independent scientific discipline was ushered with the landing of Napoleon in Egypt in 1798, who, along with his military expedition, brought some 150 scholars, headed by the antiquarian D.V. Denon (1747-1825).¹³ These scholars were assigned to document all scientific and cultural, ancient and modern objects that Egypt had to offer (not mentioning the annexation of so many objects in Europe, and to a lesser ex-

¹² An overview of his collection of archaeological documents, sorted by category, can be found in Mare 1938 I, 603-30.

¹³ The first director of the Musée Napoléon, the later Musée du Louvre, appointed in 1802 by Napoleon Bonaparte.

tent also in Egypt). One had been aware of the Greco-Roman influences on Europe in the present and past, but now the Egyptian civilisation also turned out to be an important factor of European culture. Pharaonic culture became fashionable in the nineteenth century. The expedition and its resulting publication between 1809-1822, *Description de l'Égypte*, demonstrate the evolving academic interest in antiquities. Though absent in Van Westreenen's collection of archaeological books, he did acquire Denon's travel journal *Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Égypte* from 1802 (Mare 1938 I) which stimulated his purchase of the famous hieratic scroll¹⁴, given by Napoleon to Denon as a gift, at the latter's auction in Paris in 1827.

And though this discipline was still in its infancy, Van Westreenen followed its developments on foot. The attempts of deciphering the hieroglyphs by J.F. Champollion (1790-1832) and T. Young (1773-1829) were closely followed by Van Westreenen, resulting in the purchase of "handwritings on papyrus" (Laseur 1998, 42). In 1822, he bought Egyptian antiquities among which five papyri with old-Egyptian writing that were nowhere to be found in Holland at the time, following up with the purchase of Champollion's *Précis du système hieroglyphique* from 1824. Considering his interest in books, it is not surprising these old forms of writing drew his attention. Though, as far as his Egyptian collection is concerned, the Baron apparently preferred inscriptions and papyri instead of statues acquired for their aesthetical value, it must be noted Van Westreenen did not solely collect scripts or inscribed objects, but objects from Egyptian daily life as well. A selection of 65 objects¹⁵ from his collection of 372 Egyptian antiquities shows his main interests lay in language and writing, preparations for eternity and daily life and religion. Besides hieroglyphic and hieratic writing, Van Westreenen also owned two texts in demotic writing and hieroglyphics inscribed on statues and steles. He furthermore acquired *shabti*'s (mortuary statues), bronze votives, scarabs of stone or faience and amulets. Eventually, not only papyrus or objects with texts grasped Van Westreenen's interest. Two very notable collectables are mummies, evidently characteristic of the Egyptian culture. One child mummy of 70cm and one of a cat of 35cm (Raven 2012, 19-21).

¹⁴ MMW, 42/88

¹⁵ This selection has been composed and categorized by Boddens Hosang (1989). It was made with the intention to provide a representative picture of the collection and simultaneously stimulate the interest for the entire collection.

3.3 His travels and the means to collect

As mentioned earlier, Van Westreenen's collecting and carefully documenting started at a young age with playful objects. Restlessly Van Westreenen worked on expanding his collection, regularly buying from catalogues sent to him by traders from Holland and abroad. Partly thanks to his contact with Van Damme who put Van Westreenen in touch with the contemporary collectors market, Van Westreenen managed to acquire his books and antiquities both in Holland at auctions, privately at antiquarians and during his travels abroad from 1827 onwards. Although the auctions were mainly visited by the Baron himself, he occasionally requested others to do the buying for him, since auctions Van Westreenen was interested in were in France, Germany and Belgium, but in private collections in Italy, England or elsewhere too. Some auctions were even famous, like the aforementioned one from Denon in 1827. Fortunately, the Baron's passion for collection is also reflected in the fact he had a hard time clearing away all the directories and catalogues he used to inform himself of the antiquities available for purchase at auctions, which is obviously advantageous to the modern-day scholar museologist.

Van Westreenen got in contact with J.B. de Lescluze (1780-1858) in the summer of 1826, a merchant from Bruges who was one of the first after the Napoleonic wars to start trading again in the Mediterranean (Raven 2012, 17). De Lescluze obtained a lot of antiquities, among which a considerable Egyptian collection, and decided to sell the latter. Van Westreenen bought some objects from the collection to the dismay of the contemporary museum director in Leiden, C.J.C. Reuvens, who at the time attempted to purchase the complete collection for the Museum of Antiquities. The latter wrote an angry letter to De Lescluze rebuking the supposed underhand way he sold parts of a collection on which the Museum had an option (Galestin 1977, 10). De Lescluze responded:

“The objects sold to mister Westreenen were no part of the large collection [in which the Museum was interested], but of some objects assembled by my eldest son.”¹⁶

Whether this was true or simply a merchant's way of satisfying two interested parties is unclear, but the lion's share of the De Lescluze collection ended up in the Museum of Antiquities in Leiden. Another notable case in Van Westreenen's history of collecting is his involvement in the auction of his grandnephew Johan Meerman's possessions. When

¹⁶ Translation of the old-Dutch original from 29-07-1826, which is added as appendix 4.

both Johan Meerman and his wife had died in 1821 and their possessions made public, the city council of The Hague did not wish to accept the bequest. His entire collection of books and handwritings was to be sold in auction, which, responding to Meerman's request, had to be led by Van Westreenen himself. The Baron in vain attempted to purchase the collection *en bloc* to prevent scattering, and eventually ended up saving parts of the collection, *inter alia* by buying the majority of the family's paintings and the family archive including 63 incunabula and 45 handwritings (van Heel 2012, 20).

Even though his collection of antiquities rapidly grew in the 1820's, the contributions to the collection were still significant in later years when Van Westreenen started to frequently travel abroad. Van Westreenen had visited his grandnephew Johan Meerman on a regular basis, who lived just a few hundred meters apart from his parental home. He most probably will have heard of Meerman's travels through Italy in 1791-1792 and the artefacts and souvenirs he brought along. It is then quite remarkable that until the 1820's Van Westreenen hardly undertook any travels abroad. This changed when the parents of the unmarried man who resided with them, died. His father passed away in 1820 and his mother in 1826, invigorating Van Westreenen's travelling spirit (Ekkart 1984, 69) and providing him the opportunity to regulate the arrangement of display in his house. From 1829 onwards he travelled abroad yearly, with visits to Italy in 1833 and 1834 being of great importance to his collection of antiquities. These travels are traceable through extensive accounts of his travels, such as his journal, bills, guides, topographical prints, etc.¹⁷ The Baron's journal shows us that he was not only well informed concerning the purchase of antiquities, but also on the touristic sights he was about to encounter during his travels. He used guides and literature to orientate on the specific sights offered by the various areas he wanted to visit.

During summer in 1833 Van Westreenen travelled to Italy for the first time, where he enlarged his collection of books and antiquities significantly. Evidently the most important sights he encountered were the libraries, museums and monumental buildings which he thoroughly studied and compared to the statements in his guidebooks and literature (Ekkart 1984, 70). In Milan he purchased some Egyptian antiquities from a trader, and during his visit to the Piazza San Marco in September 1833, Van Westreenen bought some objects from the Venetian antiquarian Antonio Sanquirico. It concerned

¹⁷ MMW, S 27-37.

eleven antiquities, among which two marble busts, ‘Etruscan’ vases¹⁸ and some small statues. In 1834 Van Westreenen returned to Italy, spending three months in travel and three months actually in the country, acquiring even more books and antiquities than the



Figure 2: One of the two tables with inlaid mosaics, as currently displayed in the museum. MMW, 138. Source: photographed by author.

year before. During his stay in Naples for example, he bought some pieces from Giustiniani’s factory producing imitation-Greek pottery. When visiting the ruins of Paestum, Van Westreenen acquired some fragments of terracotta statues and bought antiquities from the antiquarian Ignazio Vescovali at the Piazza di Spagna in during his stay in Rome (Galestin 1977, 9) at the nearby Hôtel de Londres. He purchased dozens of antiquities from Vescovali, among which marble statuettes, jugs and oil lamps. On the 28th of September, the Baron finally visited Tivoli and purchased the biggest amount of objects during his travels. Marble reliefs and some large mosaics were included which were later used for the inlay of tabletops (fig. 2).

3.4 An introvert though vane and prestigious collector

Although Van Westreenen was often quite reserved in the publicity of his display¹⁹ and his collection mainly remained a private domain (van Heel 2012, 20), he did occasionally arrange small exhibitions in his house to show off his collection and discuss its content with the scholarly visitors. In line with contemporary style of thought, prestigious display was not strange to the Baron, who gladly flaunted his knowledge of books, incunabula and antiquities. He kept his collection of antiquities in a special ‘antiquity-room’ on the first floor, while only a few special pieces were kept in between the furniture on the ground floor where they could evoke admiration of Van Westreenen’s guests. As men-

¹⁸ Winckelmann suggested in his *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* that the black- and red-figured Etruscan vases were actually Greek ones, amplifying the growing appreciating of the Greek ideal of Beauty. Though, not all scholars and collectors agreed and stuck to the ‘Etruscan taste’ (Halbertsma 2012, 41). Luciano Bonaparte, prince of Canino for example, contradicted Winckelmann in saying the vases he excavated in 1828 and 1829 were typical for Etruscan culture.

¹⁹ He allowed almost nobody to view his collection, not even close friends as the librarian of the Dutch Royal Library, Holtrop.

tioned earlier, alongside authentic antiquities he placed plaster cast copies and imitation pottery as well on bookcases for decoration and discussion. It is striking that some objects even show traces of tallow, probably a result of closely studying the antiquities in candlelight (Galestin 1977, 9). An example of one such reception, which apparently were rare but grandiose, is provided by one of the Baron's guests in March 1826.²⁰ He describes the exuberance of the reception of Van Westreenen's guests, calling the event a real "gala". The Baron interrupted the demonstration and explanation of his exhibited objects to a group of guests, to politely welcome the anonymous visitor. The latter subsequently proceeded alone through Van Westreenen's residence, appreciating his collection "arranged with order and taste". The absolute highlight of the exhibition was an Egyptian papyrus with funerary texts, a piece "definitely 2000, perhaps 3000 years old and preserved very well". One of the visitors, prince Frederik (brother to king Willem I of Holland), was guided by the host to this rare piece and Van Westreenen started elaborating on the meaning of the hieroglyphs. In the course of the night, the Baron's house became so full it was difficult to pass through the crowd of "ambassadors, ministers, counts, barons, generals and councillors and their beloved wives and daughters". The servants supposedly could not find a spot to serve their tempting and alluring "stomach poison", such as tea, pastry, wine and other refreshments (in Laseur 1998, 43-7).

Van Westreenen's somewhat introvert attitude – for example, the anonymous author mentioned the Baron's platonic attitude towards beautiful, young women - was of influence to the political career he was supposed to pursue. Unlike the Meerman family, Van Westreenen did not succeed in acquiring any political role of meaning, despite of Johan Meerman's efforts. Van Westreenen was mainly a collector at heart who often kept to himself. As mentioned earlier, while Van Westreenen should have been preparing for a political career, he instead focused on collecting books and antiquities. While Gerard Meerman participated in European scientific debates and Johan Meerman was active as a meritorious historian on a national level, Van Westreenen mainly stayed a dilettante for his entire life (van Heel 2012, 19-20), partly as a result of the professionalizing of scientific disciplines.²¹ And though quite reserved in the display-policy of his collection of books and antiquities, he *did* partake in the aristocratic mentality of using his collection to

²⁰ The name of the author and residence of the original are unknown. A typed copy was received by the museum in 1972 (MMW, S 66).

²¹ Although apparently intrigued by the study of antiquity, Van Westreenen himself hardly published in this field. He occasionally published small works on for example his antique coins and medals, such as his publications from 1803 and 1804.

foster his socio-political network, often in order to gain prestigious titles. In 1831, for example, king Frederik Willem III of Prussia was given an issue of *Breviarium Magdeburgense*, which was once in the possession of his forefather Joachim Friedrich, and some other rare handwritings. The king reacted as expected, and granted Van Westreenen the order of the Prussian St. John (Laseur 1998, 49). He furthermore acquired the honorary title in the High Council of the *Dutch Royal Library*. These pursuits and the occasional reception of high-placed friends, such as princes and generals, clearly indicate the Baron's vane personality attempting to gain high esteem by flaunting his knowledge of his collection, also considering the amount of titles he acquired in the course of time. Besides collecting these titles (he acquired fifteen honorary titles in total), Van Westreenen also collected memberships of Dutch and foreign scholarly societies such as the *Zeeuwsch Letterkundig Genootschap* at Middelburg and the *Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde* at Leiden, and was appointed to the state of nobility in 1818.

After Van Westreenen's death in 1848, his house and collection were, according to his will, bequeathed to the Dutch State, stating that his collection had to remain intact and open for the public under the name of Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum. Van Westreenen meant to honour his grandnephew Johan Meerman, his role model as a collector of books, by mentioning both their names on the facade of the museum. The museum was to be opened for the public once every fortnight, and the collection was not to be complemented or studied outside the museum. After some major rebuilding, the museum was opened on a daily basis for the first time in 1960. Nowadays in his former home, the remembrance of three consecutive generations of bibliophiles is kept alive.

4. The early archaeologist C.J.C. Reuvens

Another important personage that requires an introduction is Caspar Reuvens, the world's first professional archaeologist. As mentioned in the introduction, Reuvens will be introduced in this thesis to form a point of comparison in placing Van Westreenen in the early nineteenth century world of collecting. The former is incredibly suitable for this purpose, considering Reuvens was a key figure in the cultural climate of this time where the older antiquarian research evolved in accordance to the shifting reception of antiquity. He revolutionized the early, modern practice of archaeology and embodied the changing needs



Figure 3: An oil painting of Caspar Jacob Christiaan Reuvens, by Louis Moritz. Veluws Museum van Oudheden, Harderwijk. Source: in Brongers 2002.

in that time for a new approach to material culture and its application in the study of antiquity and national cultural policy. Who were responsible for the formation of this young academic's character and career? How did Reuvens' appointment as professor of archaeology fit in the changing reception of antiquity in the early nineteenth century? What were his means to collect and how did he plan to use his collection?

Caspar Jacob Christiaan Reuvens (fig. 3) was born in The Hague on the 22nd of January 1793, one day after the execution of Louis XVI. He was the son of Jan Everard Reuvens (1763-1816) and Maria Susanna Garcin (1759-1798). Caspar remained their only son and lost his mother four days after his fifth birthday. Although Jan Everard was a caring father, a middle-class *homo novus* from a quite simple family, due to his many public duties he had to rely partly on his brother's wife concerning the upbringing of his child. Jan was a high-placed lawyer in the Dutch society who had made his professional career in Batavian and French times. He became councillor at the Court of Justice of Holland and Zeeland, and president of the National Court of Justice during the French administration. In this latter function he was summoned by Napoleon to work in Paris at the Imperial Court of Cassation (Halbertsma 2003, 21). The close relation fostered with his father would eventually help in shaping the young intellectual and prepare for his future

academic career in classics at Harderwijk and the university of Leiden, which would radically change the way antiquity was received and studied in the early nineteenth century Netherlands.

4.1 A young student of law and classics

After having received an elementary education at home by his father and various domestic teachers, the twelve year old Caspar went to the Latin School in The Hague in 1805 where he lived with the aforementioned aunt. The young student was apparently highly gifted, considering he graduated from five classes in just two-and-a-half years time (Brongers 2002, 53-4). He subsequently went to Amsterdam in October 1808 to study at the *Athenaeum Illustre*, while still living in The Hague. Caspar specialized in the study of classics through the teachings of professor D.J. van Lennep (1774-1853). The latter excited Caspar for both the classical authors as the material artistic remains, seemingly important in the formation of the young archaeologist-to-be. His father, who wrote letters weekly with all kinds of advice, wanted him to become a lawyer, at the time a *nobile officium*, to provide him with esteem and a steady income. The dutiful Caspar started reading law in Leiden after two years in Amsterdam, but continued following his passion for classics with the aid of D.A. Wijttenbach (1746-1820), professor of classical literature in Leiden. The latter was clearly influenced by the *Altertumswissenschaft*, combining all the facets of the classical world (texts, inscriptions, material remains), and most probably promoted these ideas to his young pupil.

When Bonaparte annexed the Kingdom of Holland in 1810, Jan Everard was summoned to Paris in 1811 to work at the imperial Court of Cassation. Caspar was brought along and he continued his juridical studies in Paris (Halbertsma 2003, 21). The combination of his education under Wijttenbach concerning the ideas of the *Altertumswissenschaft*, and his visits to the recent installation of the Musée Napoléon²², must have been great stimuli in his transformation from a regular philologist to an archaeologist oriented towards material culture (Brongers 2002, 56). The larger part of this museum's collection was taken from the collections Braschi and Albani (the latter forming the basis for Winckelmann's *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*), mainly assembled on the basis of aesthetical criteria. The Musée Napoléon was the first to present the totality

²² The former Musée Central des Arts was baptised to Musée Napoléon in 1803, with Dominique-Vivant Denon as its first director and Visconti as curator of antiquities until Napoleon's defeat in 1815.

of sculptures that were eulogized by Winckelmann as an example of Beauty (Hoijtink 2007, 78). In the meanwhile, through his experience with the French archaeology and its political, nation building aspect, and the literature of German classics on the study of antiquity, Caspar started to shape different thoughts on philology (Otterspeer 2007, 11).

In 1814 at the age of 21, Caspar returned to Holland with his father. He soon had an audience with the recently installed king Willem I and was shortly hereafter appointment as professor in Classics at the newly founded *Athenaeum* at Harderwijk, even though his father had a pro-emperor history. In the meantime, and in close relation to Caspar's appointment, his *Collectanea litteraria*²³ was still in the process of printing. In December 1815 Caspar Reuven's finally presented the finest copy to the king and had a list of approximately 75 high-placed individuals or institutes to whom he could send another copy (Brongers 2002, 72-3). It was partly thanks to his father's attempts to present Caspar to the academic world by distributing the *Collectanea* and introducing his son to his manifold connections, that Caspar was appointed professor of Greek and Latin. He gave his inaugural lecture on the 25th of January 1816. Later that year, Jan died in Brussels when preparing a revision of the Civil Code - controversy still exists surrounding the question whether he died of natural causes or was killed— orphaning young Caspar. This must have had a big impact on the young archaeologist, considering the close relation father and son had as he asked his father advice on many, even the smallest, cases.

Two years later, the *Athenaeum* in Harderwijk lost credibility, partly a result of the troublesome cultural climate and the accusations of depravity; the institution supposedly 'sold' diploma's (Halbertsma 2003, 23-4). By royal decree, the *Athenaeum*'s doors were closed on the 13th of June in 1818 and new positions were needed for the young professors. A.R. Falck (1777-1843), minister of Education and characterized as a neo-humanist, was responsible for the redistributing of the young, in his eyes capable, professors. Since no vacancies for the study of classics were available anywhere in the Netherlands for Caspar, he initiated a new project in collaboration with Caspar's former teacher Van Lennep (Brongers 2002, 54-5) to seat the young Caspar Reuven's. This new seat concerned Archaeology, which had to enhance the knowledge of antiquity using remaining monuments. The former professor at Harderwijk, educated in law and classics, was appointed extraordinary professor of archaeology on the 13th of June 1818 by king Willem I.

²³ This concerned a series of conjectures to restore corrupt passages from mostly Roman playwrights, but with Varro and Ovidius as well (Otterspeer 2007, 9-10).

This chair would be placed in Leiden, where the means were available for professing this new discipline (Halbertsma 2003, 25).

4.2 The appointment of the world's first professor of Archaeology

Both Meerman, appointed Director-General of Sciences and Arts by Louis Napoleon in 1807, and Falck had followed Heyne's classes in *Altertumswissenschaft*, or the archaeology of art, in Göttingen in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Johan Meerman was partly responsible for designing and incorporating the new independent archaeological discipline in the Dutch curriculum of higher education (Hoijtink 2012, 26), and Falck had been a close contact of Reuvs in his early years as the world's first professor of archaeology. To aid Reuvs in studying and professing antiquity, the university established an Archaeological Cabinet, placed under the supervision of this young professor. On the 24th of October 1818, Reuvs gave his inaugural lecture *De laudibus archaeologiae*²⁴ (the praises of archaeology). He states that our knowledge of antiquity relies on two sources; the *opus ingenii* (texts) and the *opus manuum* (artefacts). The young professor stimulated interdisciplinary thinking within the humanities and praised the value of artefacts as relatively unbiased sources of information in the study of antiquity. He paid attention to the different collections in the Netherlands and the rest of Europe, such as the university's coin cabinet, the Papenbroek-collection and a well-provided library. Not only could archaeology help us understand the past, it could also serve to promote social cohesion and nation building.

Reuvs clearly realized he was to face some opposition in regards to the importance of archaeology, considering his defence against the prejudice that "collecting old pots and rusted copper is the general idea attached to the name of Archaeology" (Reuvs 1822, vi-vii). It is clear that Reuvs defends the neo-humanistic philology earlier described, which struggled with the eighteenth century Enlightened criticism on humanistic archaeology. The Enlightened historians ridiculed the archaeologists as fetishists of facts (Langereis 2007, 91-2). But according to Reuvs, it is exactly the empirical observations of these artefacts that can further elucidate antique texts. Not only could objects complement texts, in some cases they might even correct them, since artefacts are notably less corrupt witnesses of the past in comparison to antique texts.

²⁴ Published in 1819.

Reuven's ideas concerning the institutionalizing of the academic discipline of archaeology, partly influenced by his Parisian studentship and visits to the Musée Napoléon, fitted seamless in the contemporary situation. Not only did it fulfil the educational needs in the Netherlands, the cultural-political aspect of the discipline was used in the country's nation building policy. As set out before, European nation states were profiling themselves as descendents of the civilized, classical world and competed with each other in the process for claims of individual superiority (Hoijtink 2012, 46). Archaeology was used for this goal as well, valuing the narrative aspects of materiality in the reconstruction of the nation's classical legacy, in line with the acquainted *Altertumswissenschaft* from Germany. It seems that the influences from revolutionary France on Reuven, the planning of his academic career, his affect on the early days of archaeology and the improvement of this discipline in the academic curriculum seem to be a product of the combination of Reuven's personal efforts and the time he lived in. With regards to the study of antiquity, "the Netherlands had Caspar Reuven as one of the earliest motors of modernisation" (Otterspeer 2007, 22-3).

Right after Reuven's appointment he started effectuating his plans for the study of archaeology by collecting, studying and teaching antiquity. This is mainly visible in the fact Reuven started classes in numismatics right after his inaugural lecture. He prioritized this discipline according to his conception that numismatics was the key for all the other sections of archaeology, as it studied the uninterrupted history of ancient civilisations (Brongers 2002, 83). The classes organized by Reuven were attended by few people in the first years of the curriculum, but gradually increased due to Reuven's efficient recruitment policy. The antiquarian magazine *Antiquiteiten* was oriented at a wide public until 1826, publishing both news from the archaeological world as scientific articles. Furthermore, from 1833 onwards, Reuven taught his classes in Dutch instead of the customary Latin, to reach a wider public such as the bourgeoisie and enhance the appreciation of artists and architects for art-historical aspects of antique architecture. As chapter 5 will demonstrate, newspaper articles were written during his excavation at Arentsburg and excursions were organised for those who were interested. Reuven was self-reliant concerning the purchase and/or development of didactical tools for his lectures, such as books, prints, maps and schemes.

4.3 The start and expansion of the Museum's collection

Part of the responsibilities of Reuvens' new chair was the *Archaeological Cabinet* of the university of Leiden, founded in the same year as the institutionalisation of the discipline of archaeology and which would later be succeeded by a national museum of antiquities. As director of the cabinet, Reuvens was able to significantly expand the archaeological collection of the university. Shortly after his appointment as professor, Reuvens wrote an extensive report to the curators of the university, requesting material resources for his plans to develop this new discipline. A treatise followed in which Reuvens discusses decent housing for the collection, the acquisition of antiquities for this collection and the erection of a library for the purpose of education. The Netherlands might compete with great European nations as France and Germany with regards to the education system, but the antiquarian collections and libraries were severely lacking. The curators only partly responded to Reuvens long-term plan requiring resources (Halbertsma 2007, 30-1).

The collection immediately under Reuvens' supervision mainly consisted of the antiquities of the so-called *Marmora Papenburgica*. These antiquities belonged to G. van Papenbroek (1673-1743), owner of one of the largest Dutch art collections of his time. He had acquired his objects through purchase from private collectors and auctions, assembling mainly material from collections formed in the seventeenth century. Especially considering he did not go on a Grand Tour to the Mediterranean to visit and study antiquity, which was common at the time for European scholars, he proves to be a 'typical representative of the Dutch sedentary school' (Halbertsma 2003, 15). Van Papenbroek systematically assembled classical objects and often displayed them in the mindset of *vanitas* (underscoring the transience of life). He acquired five statues from the famous painter P.P. Rubens and a large part of the collection Reynst. The latter collection was composed by the brothers Reynst in an attempt to form their own 'Palazzo' in Amsterdam, inspired by their trade-visits to Venice (Brongers 2002, 42). He furthermore collected Greek and Latin inscriptions, altars, gravestones, funeral urns, sublime sculpture, statues and busts. When Van Papenbroek died in 1743, in accordance to his will the classical sculptures were displayed in the university's Hortus Botanicus. The collection was neglected in the following years, until they came under the custodianship of Reuvens in 1818, who put a stop to their further deterioration (Halbertsma 2003, 18-20).

By the end of the eighteenth century plaster casts were considered the ideal example in aiding the education of Beauty, in line with the neo-classicist mindset. The first academic collection of plaster casts used for education in archaeology was assembled in

the late-eighteenth century Göttingen (Hoijtink 2007, 82-3), a practice strongly promoted by Heyne and his teachings of the *Altertumswissenschaft*. Since Reuvens had very little antiquities to visually aid his lectures, in the absence of sufficient funds plaster casts of antiquities were ordered. Soon after his appointment as professor of archaeology, Reuvens travelled through London, Cambridge and Oxford to inspect the archaeological collections of the respective museums. He asked Falck for plaster casts of the famous Elgin Marbles, usable for his classes on the history of sculpture. Falck discussed the matter with king Willem I, who directly put enough money at Reuvens' disposal for the casts and subsequent transport (Halbertsma 2007, 30-1). Reuvens furthermore acquired the Phigaleia plaster casts from the British Museum and plaster casts of the Aegina-sculptures from Rome for the same purpose.

Other considerable collections immediately at Reuvens' disposal were the coins and medals included in the university's numismatic cabinet in 1750, and the Egyptian antiquities acquired in 1821 from the former *Theatrum Anatomicum*. Even though this collection was quite significant, the young professor was not satisfied and requested a new accommodation to house the collection and its future expansion. The university realized this appeal in 1821 with a new accommodation at the Houtstraat in Leiden. Reuvens shared the new building with H. de Superville (1770-1849), who was administrator of the cabinet of Plaster casts and collection of prints. Minister Falck, and after his leave his successor D.J. van Ewijck (1786-1858), had considerable funds at their disposal for the acquisition of antiquities, which led to an exponential growth of the archaeological collection in this new cabinet at the Houtstraat. Around 1820, Reuvens met two military men who would considerably alter his collection of antiquities. Flemish colonel B.E.A. Rottiers (1771-1857) and military engineer J.E. Humbert (1771-1839) played a considerable role in the expansion of the museum's collection, even though Reuvens had to deal with these gentlemen with the needed criticism.²⁵ With the help of their practical knowledge, business instinct and feeling, Reuvens expanded and developed the museum (Brongers 2002, 124).

In 1820 through the mediation of minister Falck, a year before the actual move into the museum, Reuvens acquired the first Rottiers collection of Greek antiquities, generously financed by king Willem I. After an inspection by Reuvens, the government decided to buy the collection for the price of 12.000 Dutch guilders. The collection mainly

²⁵ For a detailed description of Rottiers' and Humbert's collaborations with Reuvens and the *National Museum of Antiquities*, see Halbertsma 2003, Chapter 5, 6 and 7.

contained marble objects, but pottery was also sporadically represented. Between 1820 and 1826 an important share of the Greek collection of antiquities was assembled in two parts by Rottiers, derivative of Greece and Minor-Asia. Subsequently between 1826 and 1830, Humbert acquired extensive collections Etruscan and Roman antiquities in Italy and North-Africa. Egyptian antiquities of excellent quality were purchased as well, being the most important part of the Museum's collection causing the Museum to be one of the most important players in the field of Egyptian archaeology. The collections of J. de l'Escluze from Antwerp, Maria Cimba from Livorno and J. Anastasy from Alexandria formed the backbone of the collection of Egyptian antiquities. The quality of the Greek and Roman antiquities were moderate in comparison, especially the pottery.

4.4 Plans for a new museum

Mainly due to the exertions of Rottiers in the early 1820's, the museum's collection expanded rapidly. Soon even the new accommodation in 1821 located at the Houtstraat would prove to be too small for the huge amount of antiquities acquired for the university's archaeological collection in just a few years time, let alone for Reuven's innovative plans for future expansion. Not only was the cabinet at the Houtstraat filled from the outset with the university's archaeological collection, according to Reuven the rooms were poorly lit due to the low windows, steep stairs and a damp atmosphere (Halbertsma 2003, 129). He aspired a new museum building with different departments representing Egypt, the Near East, India, the Netherlands, Coins/Medals/Cut Stones, Plaster casts, Models of antique Buildings, spaces for education, restoration, repositories, etc (Bastet 1987, 126-9). This proposal for new museum, presented in 1824, would incorporate all these different sections and end all problems of arrangement due to lack of space. The new building became a symbol of Reuven's ideas about the place of archaeology in society.

Important in the shaping of Reuven's study of antiquity and museum design is his honeymoon with L.S. Blussé (1801-1896) in 1822, spent throughout Germany and ending up in Berlin. Already familiar with the literature and issues regarding the modern *Altertumswissenschaft*, he met Wolf there, who had lived in Berlin since 1806 and was a professor since 1810 (Brongers 2002, 57). Reuven met other important figures in the science of antiquity as well, a discipline which was used in Germany at the time as an "instrument in the neo-humanist Bildung concept" (Hoijtink 2012, 54). Even though Reuven never went to Berlin again, and did not get to see the Altes Museum, he was invigorated and his enthusiasm for a new museum of antiquities in the Netherlands grew. Reu-

vens was strongly inspired by such travels through Germany and England and visits to their national museums displaying antiquities, not to mention the Musée Napoléon in his younger years. His nationalistically minded ideal was the erection of a national museum of antiquities, capable of competing with the contemporary British Museum and the Musée Charlex X (the Louvre), which he had personally visited and closely observed.

In his *Memoire* written in 1824 and addressed to minister Falck, Reuvens' vision on the study of archaeology and its application in Dutch society became clearly visible. Inspired by in Germany developed *Altertumswissenschaft*, based on classical philology, the young professor plead that the study of archaeology, excavations and education formed an inseparable whole. This meant that as a professor of archaeology, Reuvens explicitly strove for a new archaeological museum fulfilling both its scientific duty as its public one. The costs estimated by the commissioned architect Z. Reijers for Reuvens' first proposal for the university's board of curators and the ministry of Education were 250,000 guilders, later lowered by Reuvens to 200,000 by reshaping the plans (Halbertsma 2003, 131). Still the price was too high, and king Willem I refused this expenditure and suggested to house the collection in an already existing building.

A few years later in September 1826, after Reuvens' appointment as *professor ordinarius* of archaeology, he held his inaugural speech *Oratio de archaeologiae cum artibus recentioribus conjunctione*. In June 1827 he offered the published version to king Willem I in a new attempt to convince him to provide sufficient means to realize Reuvens' plans for a new museum. Especially with Humbert's new acquisitions in the late 1820's the problem became more and more pressing. Still no budget was made available and new negotiations between Reuvens and the university's curators commenced, of which often the housing of the archaeological collection in already existing buildings was the result. Reuvens refused to settle for less and the continuing problems between the two parties eventually led to the suggested separation of the archaeological collection from the university and creation of an independent museum in a different city, perhaps the country's capital (Halbertsma 2003, 133-4). A meeting was set by Reuvens for all parties involved in the possible transfer of the university's collection to Amsterdam, but never took place due to Reuvens' unfortunate early death in 1835.

In the museum building at the Houtstraat the arrangement of antiquities was made according to category and material with little regard for chronology (likely due to the relatively unknown dating methods). We do see Reuvens attempted to contextualize the objects in the collection, by trying to form an impression of their original surroundings

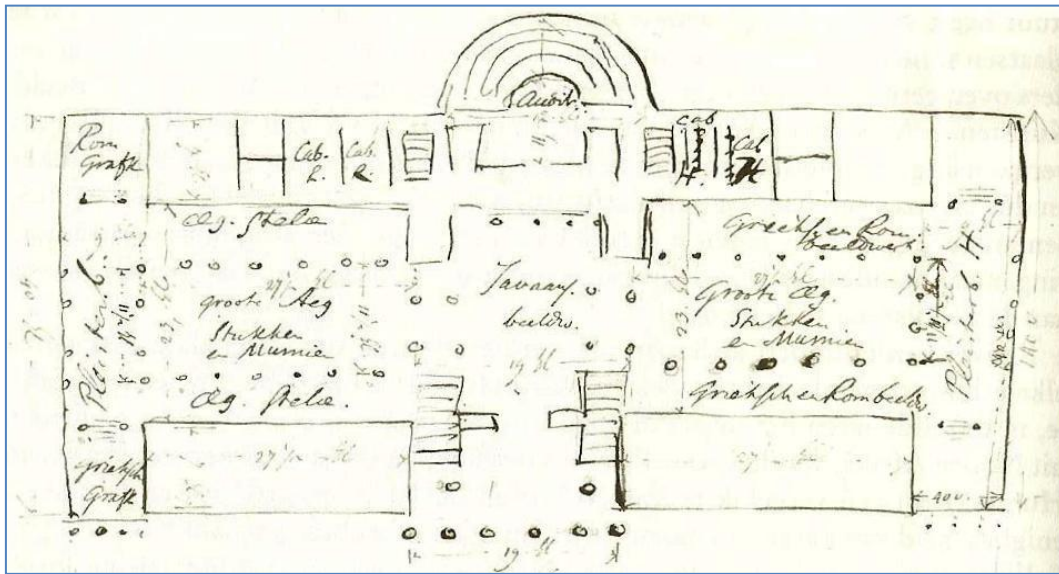


Figure 4: Reuvens' sketch of his future museum. The statues from Java were placed in between the Classical and Egyptian objects. The plaster casts of Humbert de Superville were to be placed to the right, the others to the left. RMO, Leiden. Source: in Hoijtink 2007, 86.

(Halbertsma 2003, 129). For the planning of his ideal museum, we clearly see his juridical background recurring, judging from the clear and strict rules set out for the collecting policy. Reuvens tried to define the fine line differentiating which objects were to be received as antiquities and which objects were not. The definition of this separation was based on the assumption of Greek and Roman culture being the testators of Western civilisation, so all objects in his museum of antiquities were those known to or influenced by these cultures. This would incorporate German to Egyptian to Indian antiquities. This geographical arrangement of the museum as proposed to the curators of the university (fig. 4) formed a reflection of the study of archaeology in the tradition of the modern *Altertumswissenschaft* (Hoijtink 2007, 83). Reuvens furthermore made a sub-organisation for specific types of material to provide for comparative research and didactics. One of the categories represented in the new museum proposal was the department of pre- and proto-historic objects from the Netherlands and Germany, closely related to Reuvens' archaeological projects in these areas (see chapter 5).

When returning from a visit to the auction of Salt's collection of Egyptian antiquities in London in 1835, Reuvens suffered from a brain haemorrhage on board of the ship and died at the age of 42 in a hospital in Rotterdam. His early death leaves us wondering to what extent Reuvens' scientific legacy would have grown, especially considering the manifold plans for academic publications he was still working on. He planned on

publishing on the history of Dutch architecture, especially of Roman and medieval structures, a historical geography of North-Africa using Humbert's maps, notes and drawings made during his stay in Tunis and a catalogue of the objects in the museum (Brongers 2002, 113-4). The intended final report on Reuven's exertions at the first modern archaeological excavation at Arentsburg and the methods applied was also never published.

5.1 Forum Hadriani – the first academic archaeological excavation

A clear example of indigenous archaeological remains that had attracted scholarly attention from the sixteenth century onwards, is provided by the Roman site called Forum Hadriani at the estate of Arentsburg near Voorburg. As this chapter and the next will show, both Reuvens and Van Westreenen placed themselves in the tradition of studying material remains in their native contexts, in a period when this approach to antiquity started to change from being underground to mainstream. Reuvens was not only a innovative museologist as demonstrated in the previous chapter, at an early stage he already mastered advanced methods in the practice of archaeology. Some of these methods are still applied today, such as the practice of ‘vertically docking’ and ‘planing’. His documentation of the excavation of Forum Hadriani has been so thorough that approximately 180 years later we can still repeat the process (Buitendorp 2007, 119). Recording traces and remains that seem unimportant at the time of documenting indicates a scientific approach and shows the progressiveness of Reuvens’ methodology. Such an approach became increasingly necessary after centuries of excavations in the Netherlands only with the intention to find ‘curiosities’ and/or building material (Halbertsma 2003, 112), completely disregarding the context of the remains.

In his short life, Reuvens was able to perform one large excavation and three smaller ones. When the excavations at Arentsburg came to an end in 1834, Reuvens started researching two prehistoric barrows near Eefde and Rhenen, and excavating at Fort Krayenhoff near Nijmegen. The excavation at Forum Hadriani, executed by Reuvens from 1827 onwards, together with these three minor research-projects formed part of an overarching project aimed at composing an ancient topography of the Netherlands. This project generally concerned archaeological sites in the Netherlands that had kept early modern antiquarians busy for the past centuries (Langereis 2007, 94). Excavations could, in Reuvens’ belief, complement and in some cases even correct information provided by the ancient writers. Reuvens extensively documented his observations as he travelled through the Netherlands, *inter alia* through Drenthe where he studied indigenous material remains, earlier described by for example Johan Picardt (1600-1670).²⁶ Due to his early death the work was never finished, so what remains are his preliminary publications on

²⁶ When Reuvens visited Drenthe he was guided to the supposed Roman fortified camps (*castra romana*) mentioned in the literature of the past centuries, which he immediately recognized as being pre-Christian and documented them as such. His archaeological field surveys in Drenthe furthermore resulted in the recognition of the so-called ‘Celtic fields’, inducing further research (Brongers 2002, 109-10).

Forum Hadriani from 1828, 1829 and 1830, alongside his extensive *Diary of the excavation*, drafted in collaboration with his assistants P. van der Chijs (1802-1867) and C. Leemans (1809-1893). Reuven's successors as curators of the archaeological museum, Leemans and L.J.F. Jansen (1806-1869), complemented his initial work with a map of the Netherlands and the adjoining Belgian and German terrain, finally publishing this compilation in 1845. Insights in the relation between topography and historical information were required for composing this ancient topography. For this purpose Reuven consulted the Peutinger map²⁷ - also used in the study of antiquity from as early as the sixteenth century onwards - for the interpretation of the unearthed archaeological remains.

5.1 Visibility and discovery of Roman remains near Voorburg

Nowadays the structures at Arentsburg excavated by Reuven and studied by previous antiquarians are known to be of the city Forum Hadriani²⁸, also depicted on the Peutinger map. In 47 AD the Roman general Corbulo constructed a canal between the Rhine and the Meuse, alongside which Forum Hadriani was founded as the political capital of the *Civitas Cananefates* in 120 AD. Forum Hadriani soon gained the status of a marketplace in around 121 AD, after the emperor Hadrian had visited the area (Halbersma 2003, 113). Somewhere in the period between 121 and 151 AD the marketplace was elevated by Antoninus Pius to a *municipium*, a city with city rights, and adopted the name *Municipium Aelium Cananefatium* (Buijtendorp 2007, 120-1). In such a city it was fitting to systematically construct square building blocks (*insulae*) surrounded by roads perpendicular to each other, also visible in Reuven's documentation of the unearthed remains. The bathhouse with hypocaust has been identified by Reuven in the centre of the town, where most probably the forum had been situated. Furthermore, mainly houses have been found, both simple as wealthy. A few hundred years later when the Roman border collapsed in this area, the city was demolished in approximately 270 AD (Halbertsma 2003, 113). But clearly this was not known in such detail at the time when Reuven was appointed professor of archaeology and both him and Van Westreenen separately attempted to gather all the eyewitness and, often speculative, scholarly reports drafted in the previous centuries.

²⁷ The Tabula Peutingeriana is a copy of a Roman travelling map dating to the first half of the third century A.D., which, divided into segments, displays the entirety of the Imperium Romanum.

²⁸ For a detailed historiography starting with the prehistoric predecessors of the region, to the Roman *municipium* up until medieval Voorburg, I refer to De Jonge *et al.* 2006. In this thesis I will focus on the rediscovery of the Roman settlement and its reception in the early nineteenth century.

In the late Middle Ages the estate of Arentsburg was used for sand extraction and as a stone quarry, frequently exposing Roman material remains. More finds were unearthed in the beginning of the seventeenth century as well, when tuff was extracted from a site known as the *Hooge Burg* (“the high castle”) for building purposes. These finds and associated reports became more widely known when in the Low Countries humanistic historiography and archaeology arose. Especially after 1500, the early modern rediscovery of Voorburg’s Roman heritage developed and the search for the exact location of Forum Hadriani attracted scholarly attention. The first mentions of the Forum can be dated back to the early sixteenth century, when C. Aurelius (1460-1531) published the *Divisiiekroniek* (1517) in line with the humanistic tradition which had focused attention on the Batavian antiquity and regional history of the Netherlands (Hees and De Jonge 2006, 204-6). Aurelius elaborated on the descriptions of the chronicler J. Van Beek, who mentions, in approximately 1350, a legendary, early medieval ruler who supposedly had a fortified settlement nearby Voorburg. Other publications in the sixteenth century, mostly concerned with the Batavian history, make note of a stronghold in this area as well.²⁹ According to Hees and De Jonge (2006, 209), a gradually increasing appreciation of archaeological remains can be observed in these sixteenth century publications, mentioning finds such as bronze, silver and gold coins and golden necklaces. Although these sixteenth century publications seem to indicate that most of the walls had disappeared, an account dating from the first half of the seventeenth century clearly mentions that the material remains at Arentsburg were still discernible at that time, albeit probably just foundations: “the traces, the ruins and monuments are also now visible” (Boxhorn 1632, 176). In the same publication, Boxhorn mentions the unearthing of three new inscriptions, one dedicated to the goddess Isis, and many more coins at the site of Voorburg in 1624 and 1625 (1632, 176-9). These new finds made him wonder if a temple of Saturn could have existed here³⁰, or that coins were minted at this location. Though, nothing has been found so far to indicate these assumptions are actually true.

Besides the mention of a Roman coin hoard and some small finds between 1626 and 1628 by S. van Leeuwen, no new archaeological information was provided until H. van Wijn (1740-1831) by the end of the eighteenth century. Van Wijn, appointed ‘Nestor de notre littérature Hollandaise’ (Nestor of our Dutch literature) by Van Westreenen

²⁹ For an overview of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth century humanist scholars mentioning the Forum Hadriani, see De Jonge *et al.* 2006, 207-8.

³⁰ In the temple of Saturn in Rome the treasury of the Roman state was kept.

(1826, 24) who studied his work closely, mentions that around 1760 a Roman oil lamp was uncovered in the country house at the Arentsburg estate (Van Wijn 1800, 22). The most striking mention is that of the events in 1770 and 1771, which has also been incorporated in Van Westreenen (1826). In 1770 an urn was found nearby the country house, smashed by the workers hoping to find gold or silver. He further elaborates on the find of a bronze hand, supposedly belonging to a more than life size statue of an emperor:

“While one was busy changing and improving the plantation near the forest of Arentsburg, one had to dig deeper than usual to unearth a large chunk of stone and unearthed at the depth of at least eight feet a metal hand of more than usual size”.³¹

These mentions of extraordinary unearthed material remains by the early modern writers - the hand gained international attention (Halbertsma 2003, 113) - contributed to the nineteenth century realisation that nearby Voorburg something was buried that required more dedicated attention. This fitted well in a time where the general public became increasingly literate and archaeology and national history steadily continued to popularize.

5.2 Reuvens' applied methodology at the excavation

Before actually starting his archaeological research projects, Reuvens thoroughly studied the available literature on the subject. This is clearly reflected in his personal library containing approximately 7000 titles, of which 2002 archaeological ones (see Brongers 1996). Picardt's *Antiquiteiten* (1660) and Van Wijn's *Historische Avondstonden* (1800) for example, are two of the archaeological books present in his collection. Both such publications and Reuvens' own handwritten documents clearly underline how Reuvens elaborated on the humanistic-antiquarian tradition of the past centuries. His search for archaeological remains was preceded by a thorough study of both published and unpublished material from early modern authors, roughly between 1500 and 1800. For the study of Forum Hadriani as well, documents were summarized and sometimes copied, and subsequently compared and complemented where possible (Langereis 2007, 94). After a year of excavating the Arentsburg estate in 1828, Reuvens had already incorporated the potential finds in the sketched arrangement of his ideal museum, contributing to its 'national' character (Hoijtink 2003, 231).

³¹ Translation of the old-Dutch original in Van Wijn 1800, which is added as appendix 5.

At the suggestion of J.C. de Jonge (1793-1853), superintendent of the Royal Coin Cabinet in The Hague, Reuvs contacted the ministry in the person of Van Ewijk in 1826 to discuss the possibilities of purchasing the Arentsburg estate for the purpose of excavation. He intentionally responded to the nationalistic, competitive feelings of the government to increase their willingness to subsidize, offering them a chance to profile the Netherlands as culturally advanced in comparison to other European countries such as Germany. Van Ewijk initially preferred to simply purchase another collection of antiquities, but Reuvs contradicted by stressing that for science the archaeological context, besides the artistic or museological value, is incredibly important:

“It is not with one jar or one coin or even with a statue that science is favoured, but with the consequences for ancient geography, history or statistics resulting from those.”³²

Van Ewijk’s department approved of the project and the Arentsburg estate was purchased in April 1826 for excavations in search of Forum Hadriani. Reuvs started excavating in June 1827 nearby the forest where the aforementioned bronze hand was found in 1771, assisted by his students Van der Chijs and Leemans. He was required to draft an estimation of the yearly costs of the excavation (Halbertsma 2003, 113-4).

There is much to say regarding Reuvs’ methodology due to his detailed description of the excavation, provided by the *Diary of the excavation at Arentsburg*. Together with in the initial year Van der Chijs, and following years Leemans, he documented all the details observed in the field.³³ A clear distinction between practical and interpretative notes can be observed: on the right pages Reuvs’ assistants noted special finds, made sketches and documented details of traces and foundations during the day. On the left pages Reuvs placed comments, questions and possible explanations at the end of the day. In this *Diary*, Reuvs discusses, amongst other things, the practice of exploration by means of trenches, the carefulness with which the seemingly unimportant stones should be approached, the importance of profile sketches, documenting the discolouring of the soil, the technique of skimming off the top soil for visibility, the realisation that excavating is destructive and requires thorough documentation, the managing of per-

³² Reuvsarchives 57: letter to Van Ewijk in Leiden 11.1.1827 fol. 75 en 77.

³³ Part I (Reuvsarchives 53) treats the period 1827-1828; Part II (Reuvsarchives 54) treats the period 1828-1834. In the latter part advices intended for the final publication are incorporated, simply noted in keywords, incomplete sentences and abbreviations.

sonnel, etc. (Brongers 2002, 104). This is especially remarkable when one considers the unfamiliarity with a lot of situations and challenges for these archaeological pioneers. As mentioned before, the site and its foundations have been partly demolished as well, due to extraction of tuff for building purposes elsewhere. The early realisation that the discolouring of the soil remaining from these extractions can help in reconstructing past actions underlines Reuven's advanced analytical skills. To have a clear view on these features, Reuven ordered his workers to skim off the top soil (Halbertsma 2003, 121) after having accurately measured and levelled the area of excavation. All visible features and finds were docketed vertically (*coupe*) and subsequently drawn. This keen eye for detail in search of material remains resulting from human activity, should be seen in light of Reuven's education by and connection with adherents of the modern *Altertumswissenschaft*.

An important part of Reuven's archaeological methodology, and still crucial today, is drawing. His staff of draughtsmen consisted of W.J. Gordon (1811-1846) and T. Hooiberg (1809-1897), who were responsible for drawing features and finds from different angles, emphasizing different aspects of the material remains. They mainly drew horizontal planes, vertical sections and perspective elevations. Not only the finds were drafted, but effort was made in documenting the discolouring of the surrounding soil as well (Brongers 2007, 111-2). The remaining sketches and drawings clearly show that Reuven stressed the importance of profile drawings for the identification of these surrounding soil structures, which could result in relative dating using geological methods. An example is provided by figure 5, showing a three-dimensional drawing of an excavated room depicting a trench perpendicular to the foundation. The profile of this room can be seen in figure 6. Other disciplines and specialisations were consulted by Reuven as well, for example for the identification of wood, leather, stones, water samples and skeleton remains (Buijtendorp 2007, 119). Regarding the value of the archaeological context, Reuven attempted to overlook as few sources of information as possible by incorporating many different scientific approaches. This is again underlined by Reuven's mention in the *Nederlandsche Staatscourant* (05-09-1828) of "faint indications that there would have been cinerary urns, which indications one tries to further investigate with chemical tests".

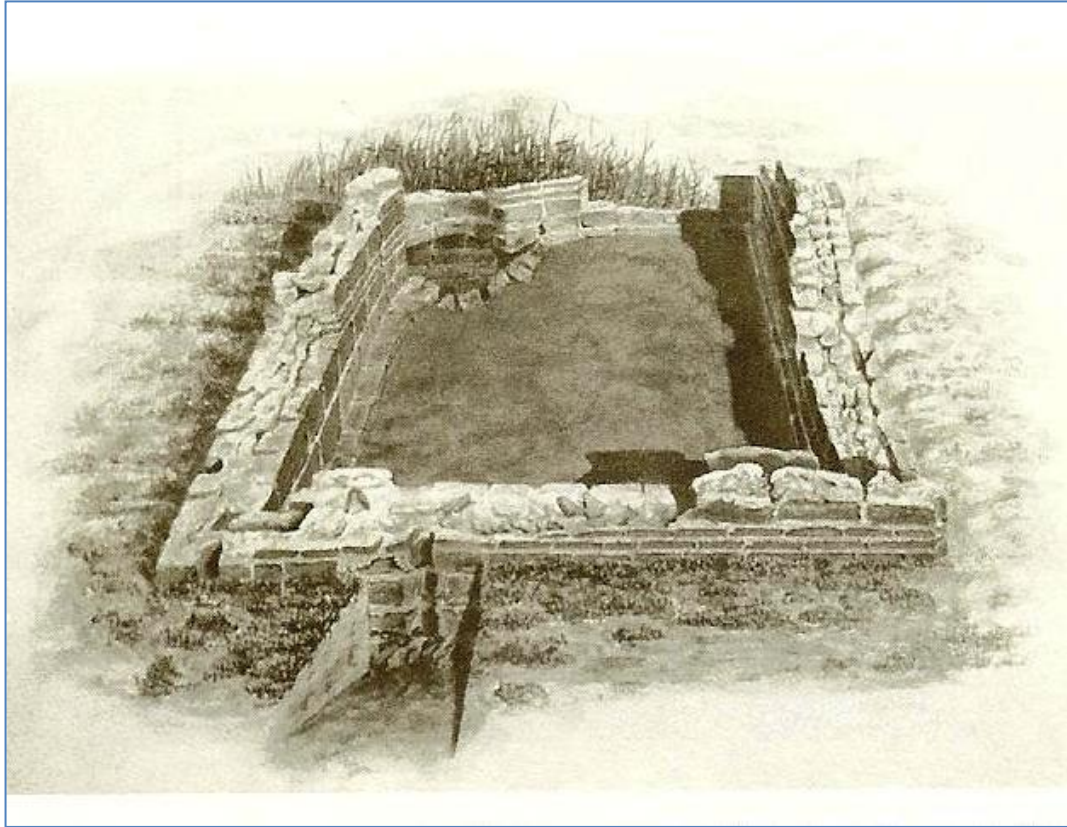


Figure 6: Bird's-eye drawing of a room uncovered at Forum Hadriani, with a well in the corner. Notice the small trench with a profile towards the wall on the foreground. RMO, RA.30.e19. Source: in Brongers 2007, 115.

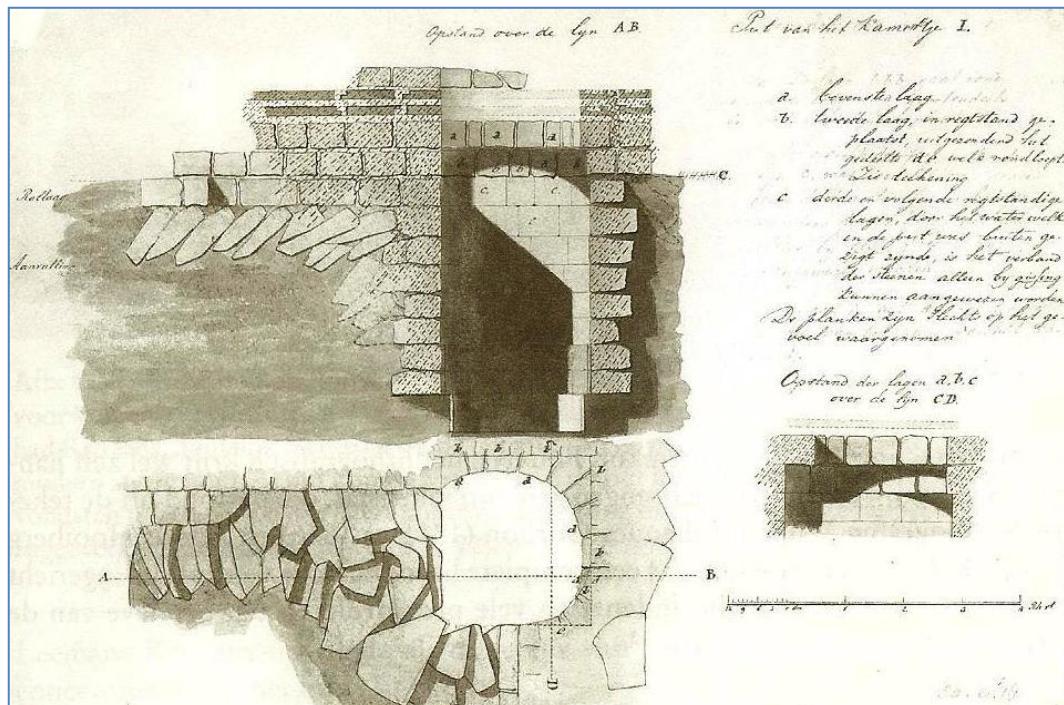


Figure 5: Profile of the room with a well. Notice the drawn soil empty of finds. RMO, RA.30.e18. Source: in Brongers 2007, 115.

Since Reuvens was convinced that the study of antiquity, both reflected in museums as in excavations, should be widely accessible to enhance the general public's archaeological awareness, and obviously the fact the project was financed by the taxpayer, he attempted to arouse general interest. Both in 1827 and 1828 he posted news items in the *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, starting the article in 1827 with a short summary of archaeological achievements in other European nations, such as the German research of the *Porta Nigra* near Trier (Halbertsma 2003, 117-9). After stating that now the Netherlands as well have started archaeological fieldwork at Arentsburg, Reuvens invited people for a visit, which was possible daily in the afternoon, except for Sundays. For visitors and colleagues, Reuvens printed handbills in both Dutch and French, which provided a short description of the unearthed foundations and associated finds (Brongers 2002, 99). Most probably he wanted to impress public opinion with wonderful finds, which he could, perhaps somewhat optimistically, use as *Denkmale des Altertums* in his museum for arousing public interest in ancient history. Although finding the remaining statue belonging to the bronze hand found in 1771 would definitely aid in generating such interest, it was never unearthed. Instead, mainly building foundations and shards of tiles and jars were found.

Reuvens planned a richly illustrated publication of his activities at the estate of Arentsburg, starting with summarizing all previous events leading up to the start of the excavation, ending up with providing advice on future excavations in retrospect. Reuvens probably used the manifold drawings not only for a thorough documentation, but to also clearly express his complicated thoughts on the material remains (Brongers 2007, 114-5). To aid in this dominantly visual documentation, which was at the time quite innovative, Reuvens made use of the recently developed lithographical method. This technique was invented by A. Senefelder (1771-1834) by the end of the eighteenth century and already applied by Denon around 1817, even though Senefelder's final textbook was not published until 1818. Reuvens was one of the first in the Netherlands to use this method, inspired by Denon's experiments. The archives now contain water-colour drawings made by Hooiberg and Gordon during fieldwork, as well as two-coloured lithographs intended for the final publication (Halbertsma 2003, 124). In the Museum of Antiquities in Leiden a lithographic workshop was created, where this illustration technique would still be used throughout the nineteenth century.

5.3 Van Westreenen's involvement in the Arentsburg case

Reuvens' extensive project at Arentsburg was probably followed closely by Van Westreenen, who had studied Forum Hadriani prior to the start of the excavations. As this and the next chapter will demonstrate, he mastered the historiography of his study subjects quite well as a dilettante.³⁴ Van Westreenen's thorough research on the available literature regarding the finds unearthed at the Arentsburg estate did not go unnoticed by Reuvens, who mentions in one of his preliminary publications:

“Concerning the antiquities unearthed from this classical soil, almost all known sources are gathered by baron VAN WESTREENEN VAN TIELLANDT in his *Recherches sur l'ancien FORUM HADRIANI* [capitals and italics in original].”³⁵

Van Westreenen's *Recherches* was published in 1826, a year before Reuvens started the excavations in Arentsburg. Judging from a letter from Van Westreenen to Reuvens written in 1824, initiating with ‘mindful of our conversation regarding [the genealogies of the residents at the castle of Egmond]’³⁶ and finishing with thanking Reuvens for the latter's hospitality during his stay in Leiden, it can be concluded that the two had contacted each other more than once. Regarding their personal communication and Reuvens' mention in 1829 of Van Westreenen's conducted research, we can suppose the latter could have contributed to stimulating Reuvens' archaeological interest in this Roman city, eventually realized after his contact with Van Ewijk.

The fact that Van Westreenen kept up with recent developments in the academic study of antiquity becomes clear in the introduction of his *Recherches*³⁷, mentioning the ‘disappearance of the darkness that hovered over the ruins of Thebes and Persepolis’ and referring to the deciphering of ancient Egyptian and Persian languages. He mentions the benevolence of modern rulers in financially aiding archaeological research in their states, among which Willem I's purchase of the Arentsburg estate, providing access to this ancient monument for modern scholars (Van Westreenen 1826, 5-6). Van Westreenen

³⁴ His *Recherches sur l'ancien Forum Hadriani* is supported with many references to publications and other sources on which Van Westreenen had based his historiography, for example the aforementioned *Historische Avondstonden* (1800) by Van Wijn.

³⁵ Translation of the old-Dutch original in Reuvens 1829, added as appendix 6.

³⁶ Van Westreenen 1824, in Special Collections (KL) of Leiden University Library, BPL 885.

³⁷ The original publication is written in French. For the sake of convenience, I have translated the publication in its entirety to a workable Dutch version. This translation, structured according to Van Westreenen's original arrangement of paragraphs, is added as appendix 7.

rightly attributes the origin of Forum Hadriani around 120 AD to the visit of Hadrian, adoptive son of Trajan, to Gaul and the Germanic provinces of the empire. During his stay on 'l'Isle des Bataves', Hadrian supposedly had commissioned a marketplace or a forum bearing his name (Van Westreenen 1826, 7-9). Making use of the topographical information provided by *inter alia* the Peutinger map, Van Westreenen discusses the location of Forum Hadriani in relation to surrounding Roman forts along the *limes*. The surface covered by Forum Hadriani was not limited to the Arentsburg estate according to the Baron, but included the Hoekenburg and Hogebug estates as well, possibly even a part of the Zuiderburg estate at the other side of the Vliet-canal. After treating the age of the settlement, the origin of its name and the visibility of the remains during the Middle Ages, Van Westreenen arrives at the early modern rediscovery of the Roman settlement, starting with historian Heda's descriptions, around 1500, of the destruction of the Forum.

It seems Van Westreenen did not only summarize previous works, but used his numismatic knowledge³⁸ for the purpose of debunking earlier proposed interpretations of coins. Junius, in his *Batavia* written in 1575, reproduced the fable of Elinus that came into existence a few years earlier when finding coins inscribed with the same name. According to Van Westreenen, this name was nothing else than a remnant of the inscription 'Madelinus', a minting master from Dorestad (Van Westreenen 1826, 21). Van Westreenen continues describing the finds between 1626 and 1628 mentioned by Van Leeuwen, among which the aforementioned coin hoard, and thoroughly discusses the finds reported by Van Wijn in his *Historische Avondstonden* (1800). His earlier discussed mention of a Roman lamp in 1760, an urn broken by the workers in hopes of finding gold or silver in 1770 and finally the unearthing of the famous bronze hand in 1771 are addressed (Van Westreenen 1826, 23-24). Once again his strong predilection for numismatics becomes visible, in mentioning a denarius of emperor Vespasian found at the Arentsburg estate depicting the conquest of the Jews (*Judaea Capta*), 'qui se trouve dans le cabinet de l'auteur de cette brochure' (that can be found in the cabinet of the author of this brochure; Van Westreenen 1826, 26). This clearly underlines the earlier statement that Van Westreenen was a collector who passionately acquired objects he read about, and vice versa, possibly for domestic display in order to provoke discussions with guests and flaunt his knowledge of the concerning antiquities.

³⁸ Partly as a result of his contact with Van Damme, Van Westreenen published articles in *Algemeene vaderlandsche letteroeffeningen* at an early age to contribute to the interpretation of Roman coins. See for example Van Westreenen 1803a; 1803b.

The discussion regarding the remains of Forum Hadriani at the Arentsburg estate raised by Van Westreenen is clearly historical in nature - which is not surprising considering his specialisation in early printing. However, acknowledging the shortcomings of these literary works and speculations, he shows appreciation for archaeological research and the information it can provide us with to either confirm or debunk said speculations and assumptions (Van Westreenen 1826, 27). The excavation at Xanten for example, which brought to light many curiosities, is mentioned for example to advocate future archaeological research which should incorporate the means and methods already deployed in other countries.³⁹ It is striking how Van Westreenen suggests a 'survey' as one of these methods, proposing to identify the circumference of the city walls in order to define the research area and avoid the unnecessary (Van Westreenen 1826, 28). This view, although obviously neglecting the value of the surrounding, rural areas treasured by the modern day archaeologist, does indicate he did carefully employ an archaeological approach to the study of antiquity.

Van Westreenen ends his article with stressing the importance of this piece of archaeological heritage in its native context. Van Westreenen states, quite romantically, that we are almost obligated to take all precautions necessary in the search for this land

“so venerable by its antiquity, so remarkable for its location, where the interests of neighbouring peoples were treated, where justice was served, where trade was important, where the value of soldiers had been proved, and that, as a graveyard of past centuries, might even contain the bones of the children of the Tiber and the mortal remains of the Boreal nations, who came to crush the legions' eagles and the Christian cross, as well as the gods of the Capitol and the Saviour of Calvary.”⁴⁰

On the one hand we observe a striking resemblance between Van Westreenen's methodology in studying antiquity with Reuven's, mainly visible in their study of the historiography of specific indigenous archaeological remains. While the pioneering archaeologist Reuven had 2002 archaeological documents in his library, Van Westreenen had 233, still quite significant for a collector specialized in early printing and incunabula. Both used

³⁹ The Forum Hadriani continued to grasp the attention of scholars of antiquity after Reuven's and Van Westreenen's involvements, and future archaeological research has definitely been conducted. For the results of this research, mainly conducted in the twentieth century, I refer to Holwerda 1909; 1923, Bogaers 1964; 1971 and De Jonge 2006.

⁴⁰ Translation of the old-French original in Van Westreenen 1826, added as appendix 8.

these publications on archaeological topics to investigate and summarize research by early modern antiquarians, mainly focusing on classical material remains in their native context. On the other hand, their methodology shows a striking difference as well. Reu-vens used this study of literature as preparatory work for further research in the field and hands-on experience, appreciating even the smallest fragments of terracotta as sources for the study of ancient societies. Van Westreenen on the contrary, even though mastering the historiography of his study objects quite well as a dilettante, made just small contributions of his own to their archaeological discussions and mainly maintained a historical approach in his personal observations.

6. The Brittenburg - riddles surrounding a submerged Roman fort

Before treating Van Westreenen's and Reuvens' involvements in the provincial Roman case-study of Brittenburg, the fort situated near the West coast of Holland will be introduced and its historiography discussed. From the Middle Ages onwards, the wall remnants of a Roman fort occasionally spotted by locals have stimulated the imaginations of both antiquarians and illiterates and have been sought ever since. And while throughout the ages many eyewitnesses assumingly reported the 'Huis te Britten' everybody had been searching for, they often described different structures spotted on slightly different locations. Situated on the dunes, the Brittenburg was regularly visible around the fourteenth and fifteenth century. But with the advancement of the sea due to a gradually rising seawater level, the fort became less and less visible during the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Certainly the current coastline prevents us from witnessing the mysterious Roman ruins, as it now must be situated someplace in the Rhine estuary. Though the diving campaign of 1960 received attention of huge proportions, the attempt to locate the supposed fort was futile (Dijkstra and Ketelaar 1965, 71-9), which again underlines its inaccessibility. During more recent attempts around 2000, it became clear that the excitement had visibly diminished in the past decades, as visitors of the beach could hardly be stirred to move aside their towels for the electromagnetic research (Parlevliet 2002, 115). Given this inaccessibility of the fort, little further research has been conducted⁴¹ and we have to rely on the manifold eyewitness and/or scholarly reports throughout the ages, among which the short works by Reuvens (1830) and Van Westreenen (1839). The drawings that accompanied these eyewitness reports will be discussed below as well.

6.1 Visibility and discovery of Roman remains near Katwijk aan Zee

Even though the first report of an eyewitness known to us dates to 1520, a text by elocutionist W. van Hildegaersberch (1350-1408) that dates back to 1401 provides us with the first mention of the Brittenburg as *Borch te Bretten* (in Verwijs and Verdam 1952 part II, 519). In his tale, Van Hildegaersberch remembers the time when the Borch te Bretten was in the possession of the counts of the province Holland, and served as a toll post for the ships sailing up and down the old Rhine. More than a century later in 1520, a heavy storm

⁴¹ Albeit to a lesser extent compared to Arentsburg, the Brittenburg continued to grasp the attention of antiquarians in the last two centuries. For the results of the modern investigations and the various reinterpretations accompanying them, I refer to Dijkstra and Ketelaar 1965, Bloemers 1984, Oud 1995 and Parlevliet 2002.

exposed a giant fort on the beach of Katwijk aan Zee, scattering mainly Roman artefacts – mostly bricks and coins - all over the beach. Antiquarians until then were required to travel further south to see similar structures, so naturally the excitement was significant. Most probably thinking they were dealing with the earlier mentioned Borch te Bretten⁴², the structure was named Brittenburg. During the following two centuries plenty reports of a castle rising up from the sea have been made by eyewitnesses or simply intrigued passersby (Parlevliet 2002, 115-8). In most cases, during its short period of visibility, the structure's walls have been demolished for materials (as illustrated in figure 7). Unfortunately tearing down antique structures for the reuse of the stones in construction after it fell into disuse was regular practice in these times. When on the fourteenth of January 1552, the Brittenburg 'rose' for 63 cm above seawater level, it was subsequently plundered for its precious tuff blocks. Finds such as marbles, stamped tiles, amphorae and copper statues were taken home and have thus mostly become dispersed and untraceable (Dijkstra and Ketelaar 1965, 10-8). An accurate illustration of the attention given to these mysterious ruins in the past centuries and following years, is provided by E. Browne (1644-1708), who narrates:

“But a nobler Antiquity lieth under the Sea, than any above ground; not far from hence near Carnyck is a square fortress called Arx Britannica, built by Caligula; in the declining of the Roman Empire ruined in part by the Normans, and afterwards neglected, & overwhelmed by the Sea. But in some years, and great retire of the Sea, the ruines have been discovered, and many noble Antiquities brought from it, some having this inscription, Ex[cercitus] Ger[mania] Inf[eriori]" (Browne 1677, 5).

The oldest known picture of the Brittenburg comes from a woodcut made by A. Ortelius (1527-1598) in 1562, which was replaced by an engraving in 1566 (fig. 7). The woodcut was originally made for L. Guicciardini's (1521-1589) editions of *Germania Inferior* (1588). His printed version of the engraving, in the first edition from 1568 until the last from 1591, has been frequently used by later scholars. Another map of the Brittenburg and its surroundings is made in 1572 for the Lord of Wassenaar, manor of Katwijk, depicting a more accurate background and structure. Besides copies of these two maps,

⁴² *Borch* is old Dutch, resembling the modern *Burcht*, meaning castle or stronghold. *Bretten* supposedly is the Medieval Dutch word for the area between Leiden and the North Sea, where the regional water authority Borch te Bretten was active at time. For a discussion of the genesis of the name 'Brittenburg', I refer to Dijkstra and Ketelaar 1965.

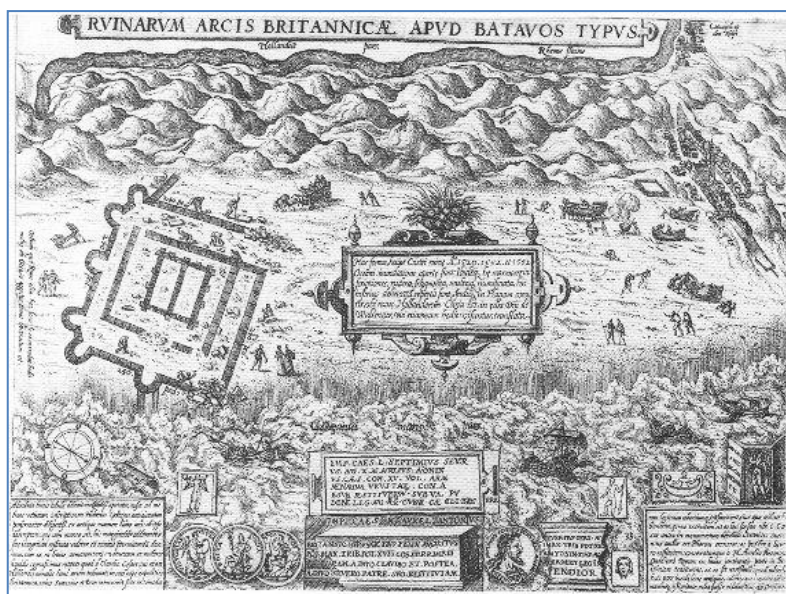


Figure 7: The engraving by Ortelius of the supposed ruins of 'Brittenburg', incorporated as one of the 63 maps in the cartographic publication of *Germania Inferior* by Guicciardini. Source: Guicciardini 1588.

many other drawings and engravings have been made throughout the years. The structures depicted in these later drawings differ to such an extent that they probably depict a different structure than the 'real' Brittenburg (Parlevliet 2002, 116).

Though the sixteenth and seventeenth century mainly yielded drawings of the structure and appetizing stories concerning the Brittenburg, little of essence was contributed to the archaeological debate of the exposed remains. All texts and drawings are generally believed to be either based on Ortelius' or purely on fantasy. This gradually started to change in the eighteenth century when independent drawings based on own observations of ruins at the beach of Katwijk appear (Oud 1995, 225-6), starting with the contributions of C. van Alkemade (1654-1737). Together with his historical companion and son-in-law P. van der Schelling (1691-1751), he studied and described the Brittenburg, paying close attention to the depth and sizes, building materials and finds (in Dijkstra and Ketelaar 1965, 19-21). Van Alkemade claimed to have seen the structure in 1701 and made a report in handwriting in 1734, titled *Afbeeldinge der oude Romeynsche antiquiteiten in de Nederlanden nagelaten en ontdekt, tot opheldering en verstand van de historiën des lands*. This script was published by Van der Schelling (1745), in the back of his edition of Pars' original *Catti aborigines Batavorum* from 1697. Recent studies have shown that these new drawings of the eighteenth century actually depict a different structure than the 'original' Brittenburg (Parlevliet 2002). In the course of the eighteenth century the questions surrounding Brittenburg seem to have started forming a more scientific problem, underlined by Van Alkemade's descriptions and Cannegieter's *Dissertatio de Brit-*

tenburgo (1734). Though the concerning questions surrounding the mysterious case of Brittenburg were taken more seriously, the treatment of the subject was still not really ‘scientific’ and contained an abundance of Greek and Latin quotes (Dijkstra and Ketelaar 1965, 26-7). It was definitely in the first half of the nineteenth century, when the study of antiquity in its native context gained the upper hand, the Brittenburg increasingly gained scholarly attention, partly illustrated by Reuven’s archival material dating from approximately 1830 and Van Westreenen’s publication dating from 1839. Both studied the Roman fort in their own way and laid emphasis on different aspects.

6.2 Reuven’s involvement in the Brittenburg case

When after some intense years of fieldwork at Arentsburg Reuven did not have enough material to justify a separate manuscript, he started looking for data to expand his archaeological, historical and topographical archive on the Netherlands in Roman times. This research generally concerned archaeological sites and finds which have kept early modern antiquarians busy for centuries, among which the Brittenburg (Langereis 2007, 93-4). The documents regarding the submerged castle gathered by Reuven mainly in 1830 and 1831, and his own handwritten additions, are archived as appendices to Reuven’s antiquarian magazine *Antiquiteiten*.⁴³ In these archives we encounter an inventory of finds which supposedly derived from Brittenburg, with plenty references to earlier mentions of these remains in Pars’ *Katwijksche Oudheden*. Finds such as coins, tiles and fibulae are present in this list of 17 antiquities. The most significant contribution by Reuven concerning the discussion of the Roman remains of Brittenburg though, is found in the following.⁴⁴ As mentioned earlier, Van Alkemade claimed to have seen the Brittenburg in 1701 and finished a script stating his observations in 1734 which was subsequently published by Van der Schelling. Unfortunately Van Alkemade and Van der Schelling’s original collection of handwritings from the first half of the eighteenth century has been lost after a public auction in 1848. Though, Reuven had the opportunity to view the handwritings in 1829 in the residence of Van Vollenhoven in Rotterdam. The latter formally invited Reuven, saying that “next Saturday morning I am able to receive you, and grant you access to the required notes”.⁴⁵ Reuven gladly did and copied almost all of the notes and added his own comments.

⁴³ RMO, RA 35, 19.2.1/61, 16-36.

⁴⁴ RMO, RA 35, 19.2.1/61, 18-22.

⁴⁵ RMO, RA 35, 19.2.1/61, 18

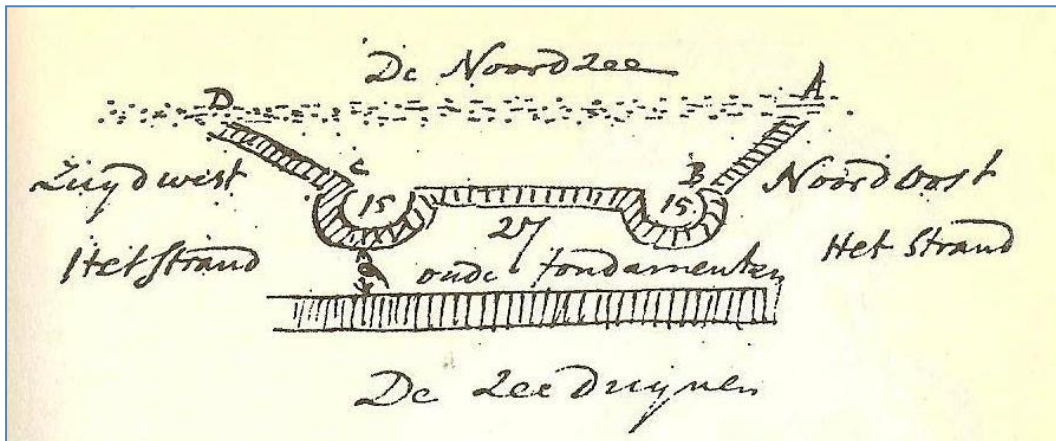


Figure 8: Supposed remains of the 'Brittenburg' from Van Alkemade's handwriting from 1734, copied by Reuvens in 1829. Source: RMO, RA 35, 19.2.1/61, 22.

Van Alkemade's original addition to his drawing (fig. 8), copied by Reuvens, is as follows: "This foundation was on the beach close to the dunes and so high that it hardly overflows during a period of high water; showing that it is false that the *Huys te Britten* is situated deep in the sea and this was another work more landward, situated upstream of the Rhine".⁴⁶ Van Alkemade is strongly convinced he witnessed the Brittenburg and dismisses the idea that the 'actual' Brittenburg was situated deep in the sea as a rumour brought to life by sailors. He continues describing the archaeological features of the witnessed remains. "The two rounds are 27 feet apart measured on the outside of the walls. The thickness of the walls are 3 and 3 ½ feet, which would have been 4 feet with the wearing of the stones. The middle line or diameter of the rounds was 15 feet measured on the inside of the walls and are both evenly big and regular. All the walls were made with tuff blocks, though some blue ashlar were used as well. The blocks were so eroded that, and especially the blue ashlar, they disintegrated like shale or slates".⁴⁷ The following furthermore shows Reuvens did not only copy the notes in Van Alkemade's handwriting, but also added critical comments to the text and drawing:

"The adjacent drawing is not entirely consistent with the known one from Guicciardyn [fig. 8], Junius, etc. The distance between the towers being much bigger than with those writers. This I will take to be a mistake by the latter [Van Alkemade], whose draughtsmen probably did not have the time to measure the details. Also the lines, marked AB en CD by me, being extended, make no right angle like they should. This again seems

⁴⁶ Translation of the old-Dutch original from 1830, which is added as appendix 9.

⁴⁷ Translation of the old-Dutch original from 1830, which is added as appendix 10.

to be a mistake by the later draftsman, who will have drawn this to the naked eye, without measuring the corner. The old foundations finally, running alongside the round structures, are unknown on earlier ground plans (though are similar to the original drawing of Le Franck van Berkhey [fig. 9]).⁴⁸

Van Alkemade's notion that the concerning structure supposedly is *not* the Brittenburg is simply a rumour, is apparently adhered by Reuvens, considering he unsuspectingly attempts to compare the older drawing of Ortelius with this one, even though finding notable differences. It seems that Reuvens was onto something but could not accurately define the problem, considering he assumes the lack of similarity to be a mistake of the draftsman. The fact Reuvens does see similar traits in the depiction by J. Le Francq van Berkhey (1729-1812), drawn roughly in the same period as Van Alkemade, underlines the idea that in the first half of the eighteenth century definitely a Roman structure was visible at the beach of Katwijk, but simply not the same as depicted by Ortelius and Junius in the second half of the sixteenth century. Reuvens had furthermore browsed through the maps drawn up by Van Berkhey, on which he commented approximately a year later than on Van Alkemade's script. The exposing of the Roman ruins witnessed by Van Berkhey was reportedly the last one in 1831.⁴⁹ Van Berkhey's maps were studied and subsequently commented on by Reuvens, again emphasizing the ease with which scholars can make errors, clearly referring to the 'mistakes' earlier mentioned in his comments on Van Alkemade's description of the remains as well. He says that "these [antiquarian] maps and more, similar ones are incredibly susceptible to imaginary comparisons of antiquity



Figure 9: The supposed remains of the 'Huis te Britten' as drawn by Le Francq van Berkhey in 1749. Source: RMO, RA 35, 19.2.1/61, 26.

⁴⁸ Translation of the old-Dutch original from 1830, which is added as appendix 11.

⁴⁹ RMO, RA 35, 19.2.1/61, 27.

and mostly miscalculations in geodetic accounts.⁵⁰ By studying the manifold drawings of the supposed Brittenburg he gathered, clearly underlining Reuvens' strong tendency for a visual documentation, he was able to accurately define some of the problems inherent to the study of antiquity.

6.3 Van Westreenen's involvement in the Brittenburg case

After completing his study of the Roman settlement at the estate of Arentsburg near Voorburg, Van Westreenen did not idle in the study of antiquity. Thirteen years past the publication of his *Recherches sur l'ancien Forum Hadriani*, Van Westreenen had finished another exertion concerning classical remains on native soil. In 1839, he published *Het Huis te Britten* (Brittenburg) in the *Zuid-Hollandsche Volksalmanak*. In a time when the academic discipline of archaeology and its application in European nation building continued to mature, Van Westreenen contributed to the historiography of this mysterious piece of 'Dutch' heritage. As is the case in his study of the Roman remains at the Arentsburg estate, Van Westreenen praises this evolving application of the archaeological method in the reconstruction of antiquity. The use of literary sources for the same purpose obviously was self-evident for this bibliophile, which will become clearly visible once more in his study of the Brittenburg. In this publication as well, Van Westreenen starts his article with some kind of justification for investigation by him and contemporary colleagues, regretting the scarcity of classical material remains in the Netherlands. "Rare in our Fatherland [...] are the remains from Roman times and even from the Middle Ages" (Van Westreenen 1939, 135). He imputes this to contemporary growth of population and cities and as a result a growth in the number of leisure places. Another factor he considers in its demise is the geographical position in the proximity of a disruptive sea. The latter, diminishing the existence of material remains from antiquity, brings him to the Roman fort at Brittenburg. Van Westreenen is straightforward in admitting no new information can be provided at the time of writing⁵¹, but considers it an addition to the debate concerning the stronghold to gather the manifold and often differing reports by eyewitnesses and scholars of the past three centuries. Van Westreenen subsequently discusses the supposed erection, history, demise, temporary reappearances after that time and its yielded finds (Van Westreenen 1839, 136-43).

⁵⁰ RMO, RA 35, 19.2.1/61, 34.

⁵¹ Even today we have acquired hardly any new information or insights regarding the structure.

As well in regard to the case-study Brittenburg, judging from Van Westreenen's manifold references to publications of humanist scholars of the past centuries, we notice the thoroughness of his reading on the subject, leaving no stone unturned. He disputes the argumentations that either Drusus or Caligula were responsible for the erection of the stronghold for instance, and adheres the idea that the *Praetorium Agrippinae* depicted on the Peutinger map coincides with the concerning structure. In doing so, he clearly opposes some antiquarians, such as Cannegieter, who actually consider the fort at Roomburg to be Peutinger's *Praetorium Agrippinae* (Cannegieter 1734).⁵² He further attempts to reconstruct the history of restorations to the fort, mainly based on stamped tiles. He induces a restored state of the fort during the reign of Trajan, based on a tile of the thirtieth legion ascribed to this period by Dio Cassius, based on the assumption that if this legion was present in the stronghold, they would not have left it untended. According to Van Westreenen, after being submerged again for several years, the fort was restored by Severus and Caracalla (Marcus Aurelius), based on an inscription placed on an altar stone mentioning repair by the emperors (Van Westreenen 1839, 139). Subsequently an overview of the Brittenburg's historiography is offered, also mentioning for example Van der Schelling's work (1745) already discussed in the previous paragraph. Strikingly, the name Ortelius does not occur in his article, either missing the concerning drawings or purposely neglecting their value. This lack of attention to the maps, whose considerable value is discussed in the previous paragraphs, is quite remarkable.

Although recognizing the archaeological value of the fort, the summary and analysis by Van Westreenen remains mostly based on eyewitness and/or scholarly reports and inscriptions. He mainly puts forward historical arguments and his analysis is not so much on archaeological features of the remains. It seems that, since these reports and publications are in Van Westreenen's field of interest as well as his focus on the early days of civilisation visible in his distinguished attention to the establishment of the fort, he was a bit reticent in leaving his 'historical comfort zone'. Supporting the assumption that Van Westreenen's focal point was mainly the historiography of classical remains more than their archaeological features, is the mention that "lots of antiquities and coins that were found in the ground and immured, and jars, lamps, bowls, small bronze statues, keys, key rings, etc., [are] little different from other excavations. *More important* are various bricks with inscriptions indicating people, periods, as well as stamped tiles that

⁵² Nowadays the Roman fort at Roomburg is identified as *Matilo* on the Peutinger map.

show that parts of the Exerc[itus] Germ[anicus] Inf[erior] or some legions, recognizable through their numbers resided in or in proximity of this stronghold” (Van Westreenen 1839, 142). While archaeologists as well keep busy with stamped tiles in the reconstruction of provincial Roman history, Van Westreenen somewhat neglects the value of non-textual archaeological objects such as pots and bowls in this reconstruction and underscores the value of these inscriptions to exemplify the early history of the written word. But although considerably historical of nature, Van Westreenen contribution was essentially to an archaeological discussion concerning Roman ruins in the Netherlands. The gathering and studying of all available information on the subject by him, should be seen as an attempt to construct a starting point for further (archaeological) research.

He finishes his article by eulogizing a stamped tile with the inscription *GENS BATAVORUM AMICI ET FRATRES ROM. IMP.*, supposedly found in Brittenburg as stated by Oudendorp and Haverkamp (Van Westreenen 1839, 143). Though this inscribed tile is nowadays conceived to be a fake, in Van Westreenen’s time it was a

“honourable memorial piece for the friendly relations between our ancestral people and the mighty Rome, and reveals itself to the gaze of compatriots and strangers from all kinds of nations in a Museum [Rijksmuseum van Oudheden], [...] which can be counted among the wealthiest of Europe.”⁵³

In the previous chapter we have seen how Van Westreenen romanticized the Roman settlement at Arentsburg, almost glorifying the presence of the mighty, culturally advanced Romans in the landscape of the Netherlands. The discussion of this stamped tile supposedly derived from Brittenburg again demonstrates how Van Westreenen praised the classical world and used archaeological remains to shape his idea of a ‘Dutch’ identity and illustrate the supposed unity and superiority of its ancestors in comparison to the other nations of Europe, based on its indigenous classical roots.

The susceptibility of the reconstruction of antiquity to personal interpretation mentioned by Reuvs was in comparison somewhat neglected by Van Westreenen, who had a stronger tendency to adopt argumentations and interpretations with less criticism. Possibly this awareness of Reuvs comes from the fact he paid considerably more attention to the different drawings that all supposedly depicted the Brittenburg, in contrast to Van Westreenen who mainly focused on the literature concerning this Roman fort. Reu-

⁵³ Translation of the old-Dutch original in Van Westreenen 1839, which is added as appendix 12.

vens was able to draw comparisons between different mentions of the ‘Brittenburg’ and spot differences between for example Van Alkemade’s drawings and the one made by Ortelius. The contributions of both Reuven and Van Westreenen seem to have been based on thorough research, but show a different analytical emphasis. Partly as a result of his contact with his great-nephew Johan Meerman and Reuven himself, who had clearly been influenced by the modern *Altertumswissenschaft* developed by German classical philologists, Van Westreenen praised the application of the archaeological method in the study of antiquity.⁵⁴ Judging from his treatises on the both Brittenburg and Arentsburg though, we can say Van Westreenen himself did not adopt the methods of the evolving archaeological current, as his approach remains largely historical. This is in contrast with Reuven’s approach, who clearly had a keen eye for even the smallest archaeological details. In any case, the underlying idea of their study is similar: a study of antiquity combining all available facets; texts, inscriptions and material remains to better understand and help reconstruct the classical roots of the Netherlands.

⁵⁴ He furthermore had four publications by Winckelmann in his library, each one treating the discovery of Herculaneum and/or Pompeii, and one publication of Wijttenbach, professor of classical literature, clearly influenced by the *Altertumswissenschaft*.

7. A quantitative graphical analysis

In the previous chapters Van Westreenen's reception of and approach to antiquity have been studied, focusing on his involvements in the archaeological case-studies Arentsburg and Brittenburg in comparison to the contemporary archaeologist Reuvens. Both can be placed in the longstanding humanist tradition focusing on indigenous classical remains, in a period of ever increasing national sentiments and the professionalizing of the study of antiquity. We have also seen that the Baron's approach to antiquity remains quite historical, even though closely following and praising the innovative archaeological methods applied by early archaeologists such as Reuvens. But Van Westreenen did not limit his occupations with antiquity to sole literary studies. He also assembled antiquities, in line with the contemporary style of thought, by means of purchase at auction houses and from collectors in person, or even as gifts. As is previously demonstrated, these two activities were not unconnected. He purposely sought objects for his archaeological collection he had earlier read about, underlined by the references in his handwritten catalogue as well. For example, a description accompanying one of the four objects supposedly derived from Brittenburg (he also had six from Arentsburg) reads:

“Fragment of a red tile, with the inscription EX.GER.INF. (EXercitus GERmania INFerioris), found in the ruins of the castle of Brittenburg. Shown in Pars' *Katwijkse en Rhijnsbursche Oudheden*, p. 85” (#292 in appendix 14).

In this chapter the possibilities of a graphical presentation of Van Westreenen's collection of Roman antiquities will be explored. In my opinion using graphs and tables is a good way to clearly present and analyze a collection as extensive as Van Westreenen's in an orderly fashion, without having to resort to a long enumeration of objects. The analysis of a collection can provide insights in the decisions made by the collector and associated processes in the contemporary collectors market. Hopefully this chapter will demonstrate certain aspects of Van Westreenen's interests and methods, such as the preference to certain antiquities and the collector's acquisition policy i.e. at auctions, travels or by means of barter, etc. This analysis will treat not only the percentages of specific types of objects in his total collection, but also the trends in his acquisition policy diachronically. Does the interest for specific antiquities shift or does it remain the same throughout his life as a collector? Does he collect more objects for their informative value as the academic discipline of archaeology matures, and in connection less objects for their

aesthetical value? In other words: did Van Westreenen adapt to the changing approach to antiquity? Judging from his contributions to the archaeological case studies Arentsburg and Brittenburg and the many references in the descriptions of his antiquities, we can surely say Van Westreenen's historical awareness was adequate. But what about his archaeological awareness, judging from the type of objects he acquired? This quantitative graphical analysis will hopefully provide the answers and help in clarifying Van Westreenen's collection policy. But before proceeding to the actual analysis, some essential considerations and general remarks need to be treated.

7.1 Some general remarks and considerations

The graphs presented below are all based on the inventory of Van Westreenen's handwritten *Catalogue* (part III, 139-62), comprising the acquisitions of Roman antiquities between 1797 and 1835. In this period Van Westreenen described 264 objects with 219 descriptions. He did not stop collecting after 1835, but simply stopped documenting after acquiring extensive collections by for example Karl August Böttiger. Acquisitions such as these might have been considered too large to process. The inventory is presented in two separate appendices. The original French handwriting has been transcribed, accompanied by the concerning catalogue numbers, categories, date and place of acquisition, etc. in appendix 13. The English translation of these French descriptions, accompanied by the same corresponding information, is displayed in appendix 14. Note that the categories such as type of object, material, year of purchase, etc. are based on the descriptions provided by Van Westreenen, not on modern catalogues or empirical observation. This approach has been chosen to avoid commixture as much as possible, and to have this graphical analysis purely represent Van Westreenen's documentation.

These inventories are largely self-explanatory, although some abnormalities need to be mentioned. The height and diameter/size was measured by the Baron in *pouce* (also *Rijnlandse duim*: 2,61 cm), which was a common measure in the Netherlands at the time. Furthermore, until 1816 the Netherlands used a monetary system consisting of *guldens* (*f*), worth 20 *stuivers* each, which in turn are worth 16 *penningen* each. The latter was no coin, but simply arithmetic. The prices of objects⁵⁵, are therefore displayed as *guldens-stuivers-penningen*. The decimal system was introduced thereafter, but Van Westreenen continued to document his purchases according to the old method until 1828, perhaps in

⁵⁵ Later added to Van Westreenen's catalogue, either by Holtrop or Campbell between 1849-1852.

imitation of the antiquarian trade (Jos van Heel 2013, personal communication). The prices of the objects #404 to #418 in Van Westreenen's enumeration are the same; this was the total price paid for the ensemble bought in Xanten.

Unfortunately some parts of the original French handwriting are not very clear. The limited readability is partly due to Van Westreenen's quite peculiar handwriting, but also considering he occasionally added descriptions to his catalogue of Roman antiquities later on, resulting in a crumple manuscript (see figure 10 for an example). In the inventories, the text between the []-brackets are own additions to provide structure or clarification in some cases, the rest is digitalized and translated as accurately as possible. Another limitation of the document is Van Westreenen's tendency to 'skip' parts of the descriptions by referring to previous ones, for example stating "Another, unearthed at Xanten". The abbreviation *Uts.* (*Ut supra*) is also frequently used, but in reference to the place of acquisition. Since Van Westreenen occasionally added descriptions in between, the references *Another* or *Ut Supra* do not always refer to the intended description, leaving unwanted room for interpretation.

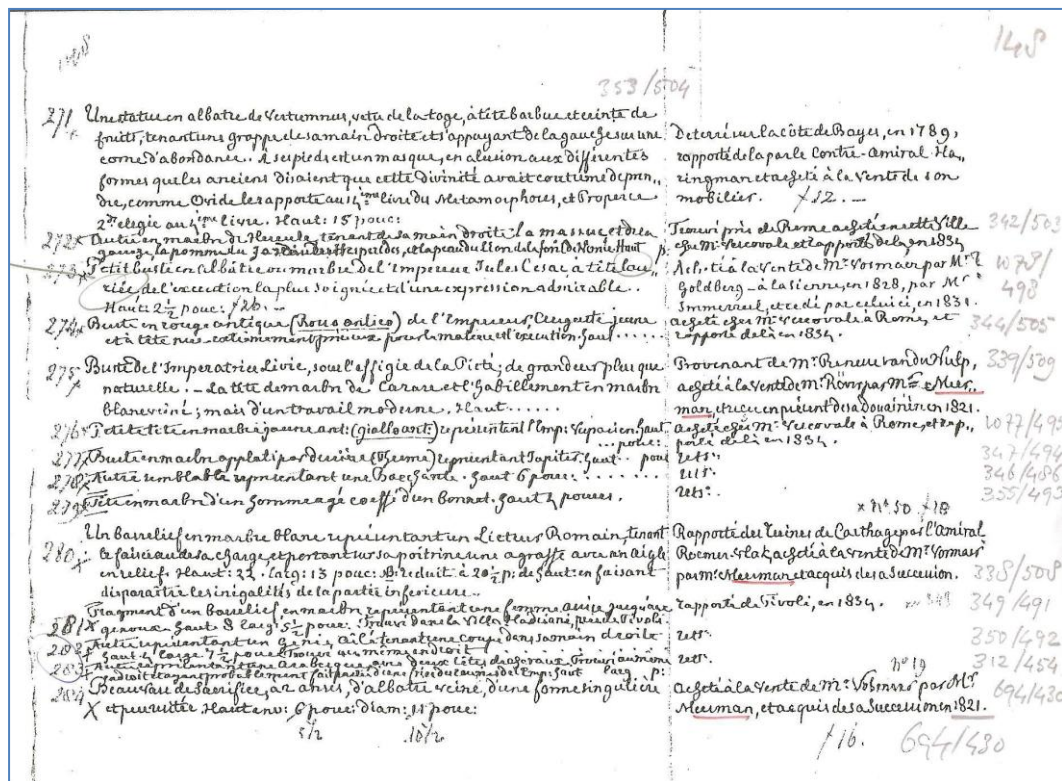


Figure 10: A page of Van Westreenen's handwritten *Catalogue*. The enumeration on the left is Van Westreenen's, the later additions are clearly visible on the right side. Source: MMW 158, FA 137/148.

Providing a complete transcript of his written catalogue would be too extensive considering the limited space in the current structure of this thesis. The goal of making an inventory and translation of Van Westreenen's descriptions is to create a workable version in order to roughly distil the different categories of objects, material, dates and places of acquisition. These will subsequently be used for shaping this quantitative graphical analysis. Studying all the Roman antiquities physically, tracing their places of origin and purchase through auction catalogues, studying the similarities or differences between Van Westreenen's descriptions and those of the auction catalogues, the objects that were available for purchase at auctions but were purposefully *not* bought by the Baron, tracing the parallel objects mentioned in Van Westreenen's manifold references to early modern publications and subsequently cross-referencing this information to both Van Westreenen's catalogue and the one from the current Meermanno museum is certainly to be aspired in future research, but justifies an entire separate publication.

7.2 The analysis of Van Westreenen's collection of Roman antiquities

Appendices 13 and 14 demonstrate that Van Westreenen collected a wide variety of antiquities. Some categories are largely represented, while others consist of only a few, and sometimes just a single object. These minuscule categories will not suit the purpose of attempting to trace patterns in Van Westreenen's collecting, thus will be considered negligible⁵⁶ for the graphical presentations unless stated otherwise. Nevertheless, we cannot proceed to the analysis leaving these categories unmentioned. Van Westreenen owned five weaponry objects (mainly bronze), six small sculptures (also mainly bronze), five terracotta cinerary urns and four marble bas-reliefs, each depicting different sceneries. Remarkable singular objects are a fragment supposedly of Virgil's tomb, a piece of red porphyry pavement from the ruins of Villa Ciceronis and a bronze etui providing *styli* of different kinds of metal for writing on tablets coated with wax. He furthermore acquired four keys (mainly bronze), four bronze mirrors, two bronze stamps and four vases of varying material, each without decorations.

⁵⁶ The minimum to be incorporated in this graphical analysis is set to seven objects per category. The amount of seven is chosen to separate the smallest categories while still maintaining a representative assemblage (84%). This elimination should diminish the factor of random purchases and aid in identifying Van Westreenen's more deliberate purchases, and thus a possible underlying rationale.

7.2.1 A general overview of the assemblage

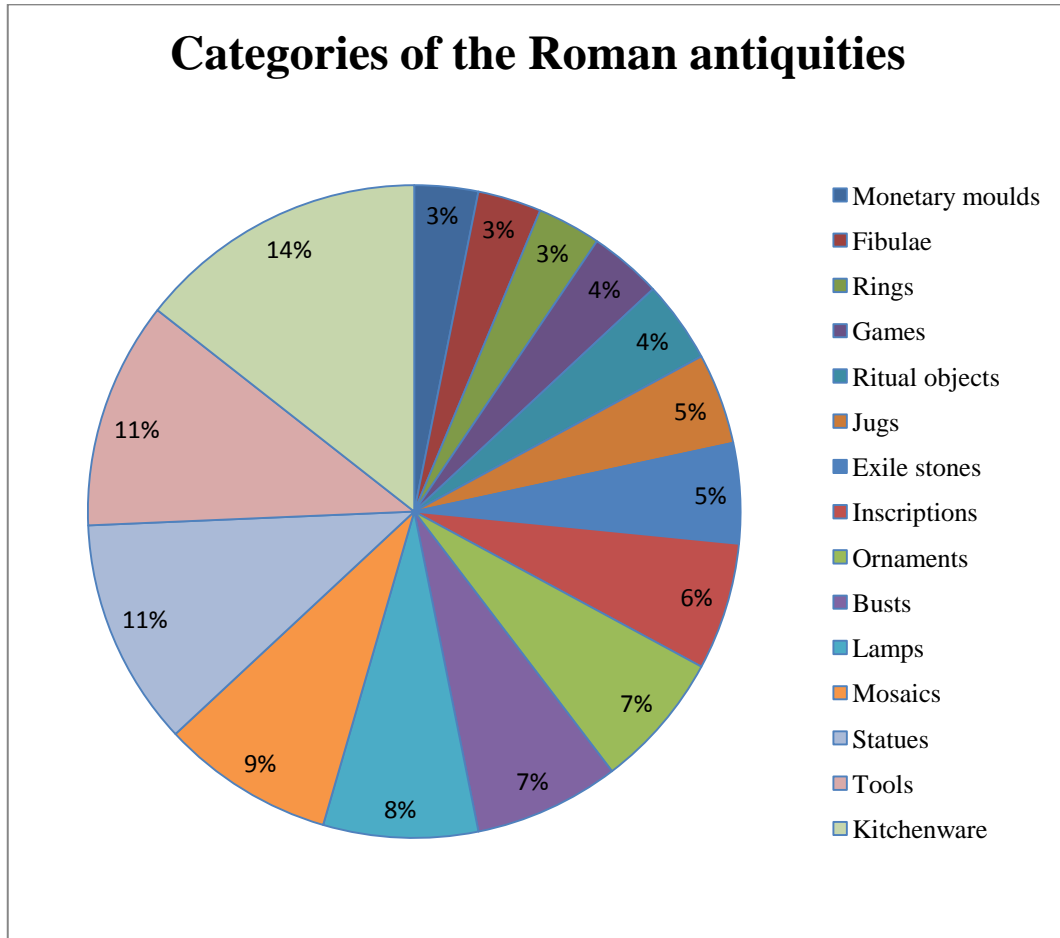


Figure 11: The main categories of the Roman antiquities, based on the inventory of Van Westreenen's collection as presented in appendix 14.

After eliminating the smallest categories for the aforementioned reasons, we are left with 222 objects out of 264. The proportions of the various categories of these objects in relation to these 222 objects is shown in figure 11. The three categories most dominantly present are Kitchenware (such as plates and bowls, mostly made of *terra sigillata*), Statues (mostly made of bronze) and Tools (such as nails and scrapers, made of varying material). Mosaics, Lamps, Busts, Ornaments and inscribed objects follow. The minor categories consist of Exile stones, Jugs, Ritual objects, objects used for games, Rings, Fibulae and Monetary moulds.⁵⁷ Since Van Westreenen closely followed the developments in the professionalizing archaeological discipline, and considered inscribed antiquities to be examples of scripts and languages from the earliest history of the written word, it is quite

⁵⁷ The monetary moulds have now been moved to the numismatic department, but were documented in the 'Roman' section by Van Westreenen.

remarkable that he acquired only 14 inscribed objects. The few iconographical sources of information in his collection as well, a few bass-reliefs and decorated kitchen wares (for example #217 and #218), do not persuasively advocate for Van Westreenen's archaeological awareness. The amount of objects purely acquired for their aesthetical value, such as bronze statues, marble busts and mosaics, are represented to such an extent that it seems these type of objects have enjoyed Van Westreenen's main attention between 1797 and 1835.

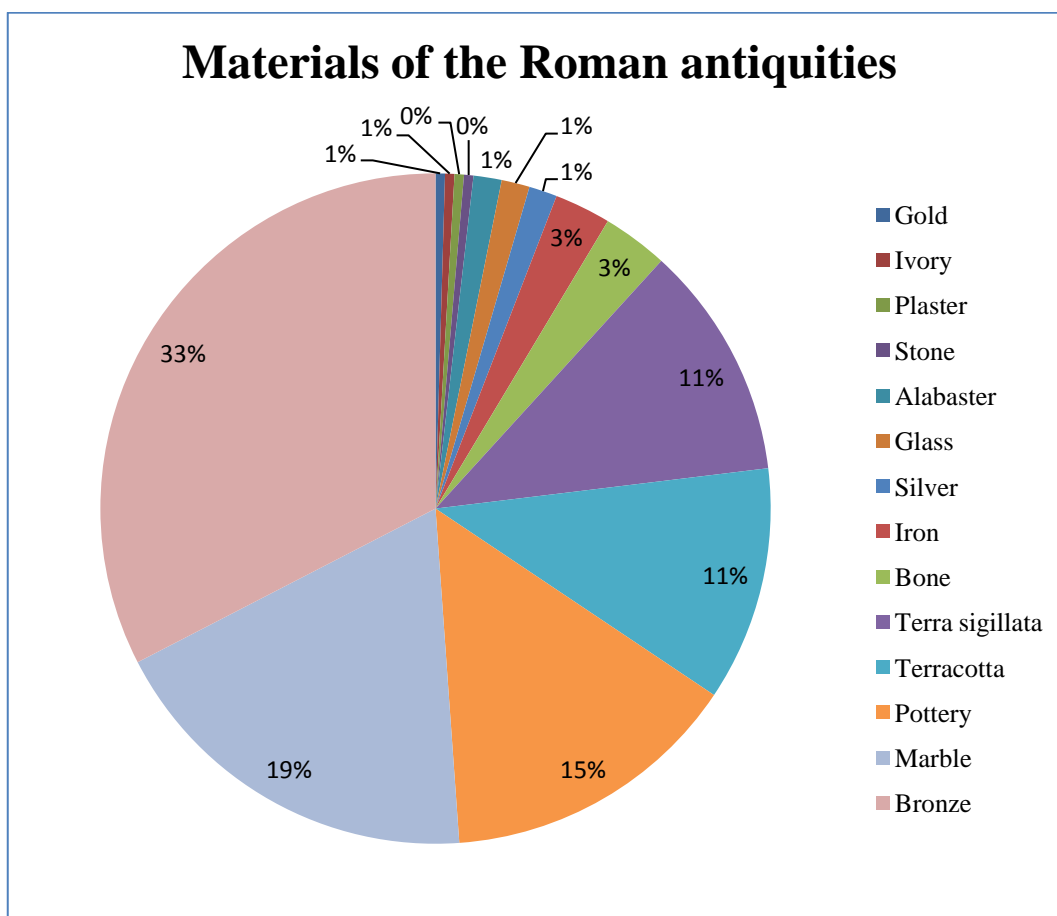


Figure 12: The materials of the Roman antiquities, based on the inventory of Van Westreenen's collection as presented in appendix 14.

With regard to the material of the objects collected by Van Westreenen as well, the proportions of the various categories in relation to the aforementioned 222 objects is shown in figure 12. Most notably present in his collection of Roman antiquities is the category Bronze, comprising as many as 72 objects. These bronze objects are mostly statues, but a wide variety of other objects in Van Westreenen's collection are bronze as well (for example ornaments, busts, tools and votives). Other considerable categories of material are

Marble, Pottery, Terracotta and Terra sigillata. Besides these five main material groups, some minor, and in some cases quite costly categories are present: Bone, Iron, Silver, Glass, Alabaster, Plaster, Ivory and Gold. Besides Van Westreenen's obvious predilection for bronze objects, the amount of terra sigillata objects is quite significant as well. This might be ascribed to the previously demonstrated communication between Van Westreenen and Reuvens. The latter paid special attention to the typical red pottery unearthed at *inter alia* Arentsburg, and perceived these shards of pottery as indicators of Roman presence and activity and their decorations as iconographical sources for Roman life (Brongers 2002, 105-6). The second largest category Marble, comprising 46 objects, mainly consists of nice-looking busts and mosaics. This category of material nevertheless also represents narrative objects, for example three inscribed (one mortuary) marble slab.

7.2.2 A diachronic overview of the acquisitions

The following (fig. 13) shows an accurate representation of Van Westreenen's total collection over time. This does not aim at an analysis specified to category, but his general passion for collecting. The earlier eliminated categories will therefore be included here as well. The date of purchase is unclear for four of the objects in his collection, so the following graph will be based on 260 entries. These four objects concern three statues and one ornament (#380, #341, #342 and #271 in appendix 14). The figure clearly shows the most active years of Van Westreenen as a collector of Roman antiquities are 1802, 1822, 1826 and 1834. It leads us to believe he generally becomes more active as a collector of antiquities in the latter half of his life. At the age of 14, Van Westreenen bought his first antiquity in 1797 at the auction of mister Boer for the price of *f* 10-8-0. The collector at heart clearly manifested in the teenage Van Westreenen when he visited Xanten on a trip with his parents in 1802. There he purchased 20 Roman antiquities, out of the 22 he purchased in total that year. In the following years only sparsely antiquities were acquired, until we see his activities re-emerging in the years following 1818. It is generally known Van Westreenen was a prestigious collector. Being promoted to the state of nobility at the age of 35 in the latter year could have been a stimulant to purchase more antiquities to show off with and further enhance his social prestige. This idea is not underlined by the type of objects he acquired in the years 1818 to 1822 though, as from the wide variety of antiquities no clear predilection for attractive objects can be detected. Besides statues and busts, the Baron also collected tools, ritual objects, jugs, etc. We can only surely say that Van Westreenen's collection of Roman antiquities significantly increased in these years.

Perhaps this can be correlated to the death of his father in 1820, resulting in Van Westreenen inheriting half of his father's possessions⁵⁸ (his mother the other half) and becoming the householder. The increased financial capacity and aspiration to have a representative living room to receive his guests could be regarded as stimulants. But on the other hand, this growth can be simply coincidental. After his grand-nephew Johan Meerman had died in 1821, a great part of his collection was up for sale in 1821 and 1822, clearly reflected in Van Westreenen's catalogue. Another significant proportion of the large amount of purchases in 1822 can be traced to De Betouw's auction, who had a lot of Roman antiquities originating from Nijmegen.

During the following years no Roman antiquities were purchased until 1826. In that year he had contact with the travelling antiquarian De Lescluze. 20 of the 24 Roman antiquities purchased that year were from the latter, who brought those antiquities along from Italy and sold a very large part to of his collection to Reuvens as well. After his mother died in 1826, Van Westreenen started travelling through Europe frequently from 1827 onwards. Again these events are clearly reflected in his *Catalogue* - the place of acquisition of Roman antiquities between 1827 and 1835 is just sparsely an auction. Mostly the objects were purchased through personal contact with antiquarians in for example Germany and Italy. In the years 1830 and 1833, the Baron visited Xanten and purchased some Roman antiquities there. The main focus of these purchases lie on attractive objects, rather than narrative ones. One of the last years in Van Westreenen's documentation of acquisitions of Roman antiquities is quite remarkable. In 1834 he bought 39 antiquities, of which 34 were purchased during his travels in Italy. Most striking is the large amount of antiquities bought from Vescovali in Rome, which he ordered to have shipped to the Netherlands. Among this assembly is a variety of objects, such as busts, kitchenware and lamps. During his stay in Tivoli in the same year, noticeably the Villa Hadriani had grabbed Van Westreenen's attention. It is quite possible that Villa Hadriani had been another one of Van Westreenen's 'archaeological projects' such as Arentsburg and Brittenburg, considering the recognition and elaborate descriptions of the bas-reliefs, mosaics and inscribed objects purchased indicate he dug into the subject prior to arriving.

⁵⁸ His mother inherited the other half. When his mother became sick a few years later and spent most of her days in her room on the first floor, Van Westreenen used the rooms on the ground floor – two lounges and two dining rooms – for himself and started decorating them with antiquities (Laseur 1998, 36).

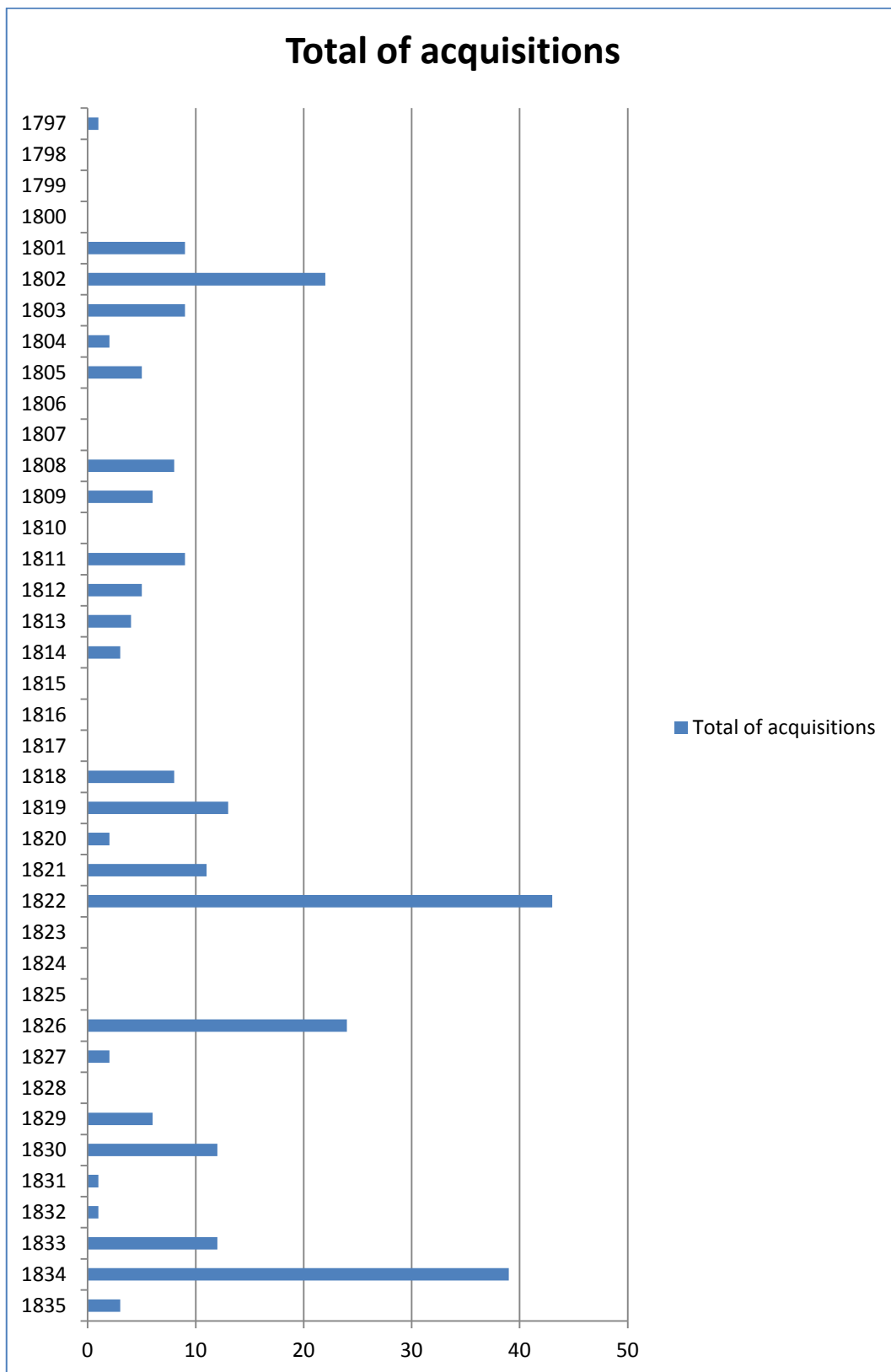


Figure 13: The total amount of Roman antiquities in relation to time, based on the inventory of Van Westreenen's collection as presented in appendix 14.

One of the goals of this quantitative graphical analysis was to trace patterns in Van Westreenen's collecting and identify an underlying rationale, by studying his acquisitions over time sorted by category. In an attempt to achieve this goal, again only the main categories are incorporated and the earlier discussed minor categories are considered negligible. The size of these groups is simply too small to provide plausible conclusions in relation to an underlying rationale, assuming that is even possible for the main categories. This approach would again result in a sample of 222 objects, if it were not for the four objects that lack date of purchase. Figure 14 shows the result of the 218 entries, each colour representing one of the main categories of objects in their acquired amount per year. When studying this graph, it seems no specific trends can be deduced. Even the main categories, when spread out over 39 years of collecting, do not display clear patterns over time. Not only are there yearly gaps in Van Westreenen's collecting of Roman antiquities, the other acquisitions do not seem to correlate. One could roughly observe the purchase of kitchenware increase through time, peak in 1826 and from there onwards diminish. Or see the purchase of exile stones start in 1822 and gradually increase up until 1833. But personally I believe we have to conclude that an analysis of a private collector's purchase of specific categories of antiquities is susceptible to so many external factors, for example the accessibility (either geographic or linguistic) of collectors or simply the supply of specific objects at auctions⁵⁹, that an underlying rationale is incredibly difficult to detect, if existing at all.

7.3 Discussion of the methods and results

With regard to the main categories of Roman antiquities present in Van Westreenen's collection, a strong predilection for eye-catching objects can be detected. Bronze statues and marble busts form a significant part of his collection. In contrast, the category of antiquities that could advocate for the Baron's archaeological awareness is relatively small. Besides these groups, terra sigillata kitchenware is also dominantly present, even though it is questionable if Van Westreenen perceived these material remains as indicators of Roman presence and activity like Reuvens did. It is quite remarkable though, that this small group of inscribed objects, iconographic sources and terra sigillata pottery are for a large part connected to classical remains on Dutch soil. Van Westreenen collected inscriptions originating from the Brittenburg, terra sigillatas and an inscription from Forum

⁵⁹ Not to mention that Van Westreenen's primary purpose of a visit to an auction house or a private collector might have been to purchase books.

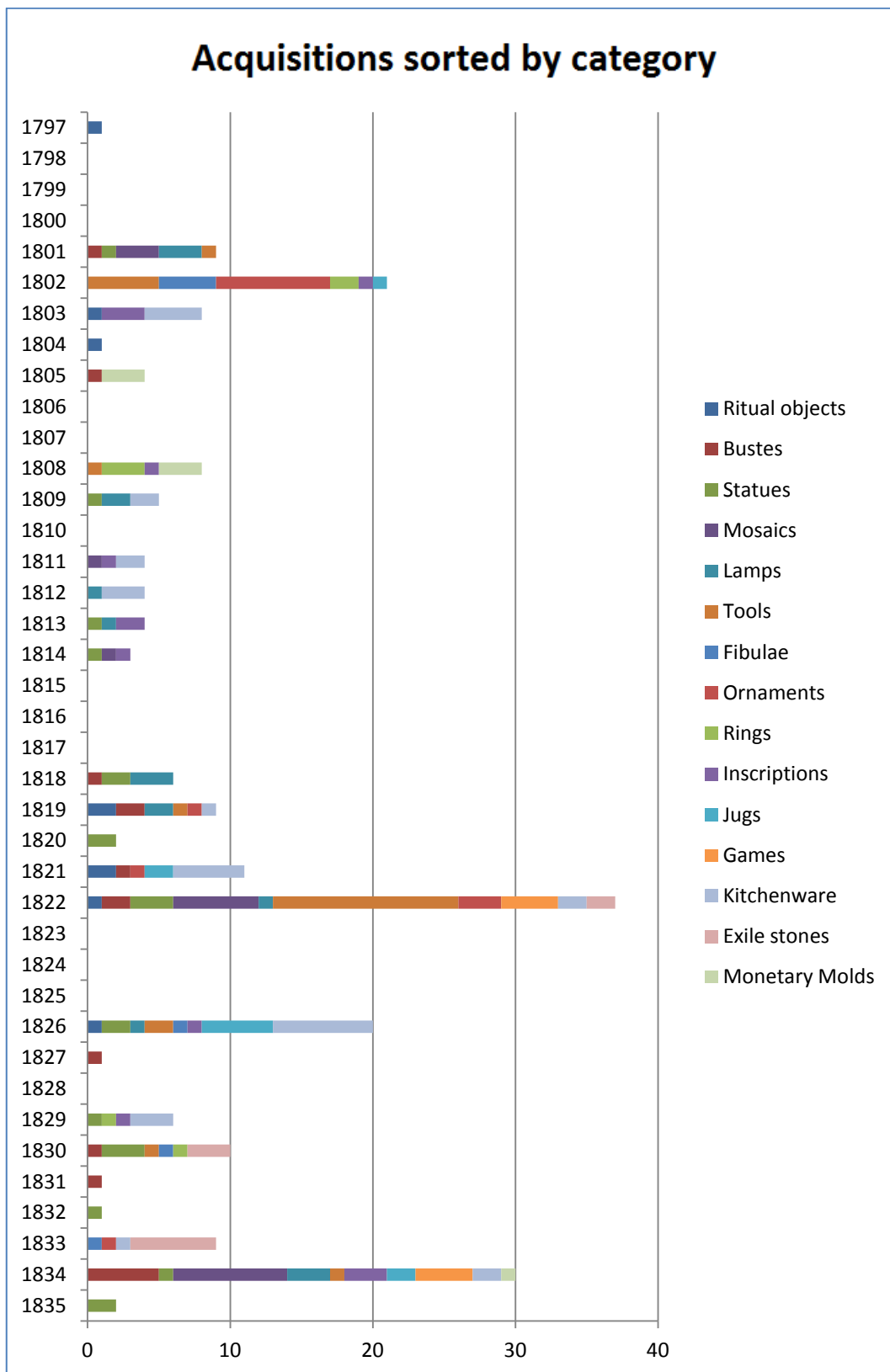


Figure 14: The main categories of Roman antiquities in relation to time, based on the inventory of Van We-streenen's collection as presented in appendix 14.

Hadriani, and an Ionic capital and an inscription originating from the *Oppidum Batavorum* near Nijmegen. We have seen that a very large part of Van Westreenen's collection has been acquired at auctions or antiquarians, with just a small part received as gifts. The spikes visible in Van Westreenen's acquisition of Roman antiquities in specific years could be interpreted in different ways. Either the purchase of antiquities in these years are a result of auctions and antiquarians coincidentally offering collections, or Van Westreenen deliberately searched for them in the concerning years. A combination of the two elements is not unthinkable either. Furthermore no underlying rationale to the purchase of specific categories of antiquities could be detected. It seems Van Westreenen mainly collected antiquities for the sake of collecting antiquities, except for the occasional object that could be related to an archaeological case study that had earlier grasped his interest. Finally, even though the current data-set is not comprehensive enough to allow for a study of the objects their price and size⁶⁰, it is important to keep in mind this is also a valuable factor in the analysis of Van Westreenen's patterns of collecting. If the entire collection would be physically studied, measured and cross-referenced to the museum catalogues and original auction catalogues, questions should be asked such as: is Van Westreenen's growth in financial wealth after inheriting his parents possessions reflected in his expenditure at auctions? Does size matter? i.e. does Van Westreenen search for larger objects after becoming the householder, possibly to enhance his self-presentation and social prestige?

⁶⁰ The prices have so far been identified for less than half of the Roman antiquities in Van Westreenen's possession. The heights are known of 74 out of 264 objects and the diameter only of 16.

8. Conclusion

Without denying the primary involvement of Van Westreenen in collecting incunabula and early handwritings, his endeavours in the study and collecting of antiquity should not be easily overlooked. Van Westreenen, a bibliophile born in The Hague, was evidently charmed by classical material remains in general and more specific those unearthed on Dutch soil. The main aim of this thesis has been to elucidate his role in the contemporary museum culture and involvements in the study of antiquity, asking the principal research question: *how exactly does Van Westreenen fit as a collector in this framework of shifting receptions of and approaches to antiquity in nineteenth century Holland?* Additional questions have been addressed in the course of this thesis to support this main question. These additional questions mainly dealt with the nature of his contributions to the historiography of Forum Hadriani and Brittenburg, and the visibility of patterns in his collecting policy based on his collection of Roman antiquities. An attempt at answering these questions is provided in this conclusive chapter.

We have seen how the universality of the *Kunst- und Wunderkammern* strongly decayed from the end of the eighteenth century onwards, when diversity and curiosity had been largely replaced by the Enlightenment mentality. The encyclopaedic aspirations of these collections were difficult to maintain, as the professionalizing of academic disciplines overthrew Biblical ‘truths’ on which many private microcosms were based. In regard to the study of antiquity, Winckelmann and later Heyne and Wolf contributed greatly to its maturation. The developments of the *Altertumswissenschaft*, incorporating all facets of the classical world (texts, inscriptions, material remains) in its historiography would later result in the genesis of the academic archaeological discipline. Moreover, the longstanding humanist tradition of the past centuries, focusing on classical remains in their native context, became mainstream in the early nineteenth century. Partly due to the Romantic movement and the involvement of institutionalised museums of antiquity, this approach took the upper hand over the focus on the splendour of the classical Mediterranean context that had dominated the antiquarian world before. The discussion of the Arentsburg case for example has clearly supported this assumption, where the archaeological excavation of Forum Hadriani in the late 1820’s was financially supported by the Dutch government, intending to reveal aspects of nationality. Partly due to Reuven’s *public relations*, this piece of ‘national heritage’ also gained widespread attention.

Forum Hadriani and the Brittenburg, two provincial Roman remains that had grasped the attention of Dutch antiquarians ever since the sixteenth century, have been

thoroughly studied by Van Westreenen as well as Reuvens. Based on their specific interest for antiquity, both scholars can apparently be placed in the longstanding humanist tradition that focused on classical remains in their native context. Not only did their compasses point in the same direction, the thoroughness of their contributions indicate a similar passion in their study. But when taking a closer look at the nature of their involvements in the historiography of these two case studies, significant differences can be observed as well. Although nationalistic sentiments were fashionable in the early nineteenth century, Reuvens was not so much a patriot and mainly responded to the Dutch government's nationalistic culture policy simply to acquire financial support for his archaeological endeavours. His perception of antiquity as reflected in his publications is rather temperate and sober, a typical Dutchman one could say. Van Westreenen on the other hand, had a different take on these regional antiquities and clearly approached his studies from a more patriotic, somewhat exuberant stance. His publications on both Arentsburg and Brittenburg close with a notable glorification of the concerning remains, and clearly stress the importance of having these on the soils on our 'Fatherland'.

Besides their different perception of antiquity, their methodology as well shows significant dissimilarities. Strongly influenced by the ideas of the modern *Altertumswissenschaft*, Reuvens incorporated as many sources as possible in the reconstruction of a past civilisation. We have observed his thorough preparatory reading, keen eye for archaeological detail and the innovative use of visual documentation techniques. Van Westreenen on the other hand mainly limited himself to a historical approach, paying just little attention to the archaeological features of the structures and the drawings fabricated by early modern humanists studying Batavian antiquity and regional history of the Netherlands. Even though it is highly likely that Van Westreenen was fully aware of the innovative methods applied by the new academic discipline of archaeology. He frequently contacted Reuvens and his grand-nephew Johan Meerman, the latter having followed classes by prominent figures in the *Altertumswissenschaft*, and closely followed the developments in other academic disciplines, such as Egyptology, as well. In his contributions discussed in this thesis, Van Westreenen moreover praised the archaeological methods in the study of antiquity after also having read, for example, Winckelmann's treatises regarding the excavations at Herculaneum and Pompeii. Considering even in 1839 the nature of his contributions is not *more* archaeological than in 1826, it seems it has been a deliberate choice to remain distinctively historical in his approach.

From the discussion of his assembly of Roman antiquities, composed between 1797 and 1835, we learn that Van Westreenen had an overall preference for the aesthetic value of objects. Mosaics, marble busts and bronze statues are dominantly present in the collection. The relatively small amount of inscriptions and iconographical sources do not advocate for his archaeological awareness. He did acquire plenty terra sigillata kitchen wares, considered valuable in the reconstruction of Roman activity by Reuvens, but the very brief descriptions provided by Van Westreenen lead us to question whether he perceived them in the same way. In the diachronic analysis of Van Westreenen's purchases, his travelling is clearly reflected in the way that from 1827 onwards only sparsely auction houses were visited, as the Baron abroad did no longer have the connections he had in Holland. He then mainly visited antiquarians in person and occasionally had the purchases shipped to The Hague. On the basis of these analyses we have not been able to identify a general underlying rationale in his collecting policy, as the purchases of specific objects in relation to time do not seem to cohere. But although it seems Van Westreenen's main occupation was collecting antiquities for the sake of collecting, we have discussed several indications supporting the assumption that he occasionally sought objects he could relate to, and which he used as illustrations of ancient texts.

As for defining Van Westreenen's place in the socio-political and educational changes taking place in the early nineteenth century, we can say he was neither prominently partaking in developing the academic approach to antiquity, nor passively undergoing them. Even though we can say Van Westreenen was well aware of the innovative archaeological methods being applied, it rather seems these developments went past him as he witnessed them from a safe distance in his historical 'comfort zone'. We do see how his historical awareness was recognised by contemporary scientific archaeology, in this case embodied by Reuvens, and furthermore have speculated how Van Westreenen might have stimulated Reuvens in the search for Forum Hadriani on the occasion of his *Recherches*. Considering the above, Van Westreenen can be characterised as a hinge in this transitional period where antiquarianism practice by dilettantes had largely been replaced by the early scientific practice of archaeology. Quite Romantically, the Baron attempted to study the classical history of the Netherlands, focusing on texts and using archaeological objects to illustrate its different cultural phases. And unlike many other contemporary private collectors, Van Westreenen had achieved the accessibility and continuity that was intended and provided by institutionalised national museums. His impressive collection of books and antiquities can still be viewed at the Prinsessegracht in The Hague today.

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- S 66 Typed copy of an anonymous guest's account of his visit to Van Westreenen's home in March 1826
- S 131 Van Westreenen to Van Damme, 23-07-1803

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- 158, FA 137/119-167 The handwritten *Catalogue des livres, manuscrits et antiquites du cabinet de M. Guil. Henr. Jacq. Baron de Westreenen de Tiellandt*, part I-III.
- 234, FA 114/130-138 Working material of Van Westreenen, used in his study of the Brittenburg

Collection of the Museum Meermanno

- 25/9 Painting of W.H.J. van Westreenen van Tiellandt
- 42/88 Hieratic scroll purchased at the auction of Vivant Denon
- 138 One of the two tables with inlaid mosaics
- 1150/1128 Pencil sketch of W.H.J. van Westreenen van Tiellandt

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- 19.2.1/61 Appendices to the Reuvs' magazine *Antiquiteiten*
- 19.2.1/53 Part I of the *Diary of the excavation at Arentsburg*
- 19.2.1/54 Part II of the *Diary of the excavation at Arentsburg*
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- 19.2.1/30, e19 Bird's eye sketch of a room at the Arentsburg excavation

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Appendices

Appendix 1 to paragraph 2.3

“Die Beschreibung einer Statue soll die Ursache der Schönheit derselben beweisen, und das Besondere in dem Stile der Kunst angeben: es müssen also die Theile der Kunst berührt werden, ehe man zu einem Urtheile von Werken derselben gelangen kann” (Winckelmann 1764, XI).

Appendix 1 to paragraph 2.3

“Die Geschichte der Kunst soll den Ursprung, das Wachstum, die Veränderung, und den Fall derselben, nebst dem verschiedenen Stile der Völker, Zeiten und Künstler, lehren” (Winckelmann 1764, X).

Appendix 3 to paragraph 3.1

“Om de taal van mijn hart te spreken, hoe meer ik die beschouw, hoe fraaijer ik die vind, en hoe dierbaarder zij mij worden. In gedachten doorloop ik verscheide beroemde Cabinetten waarin zij ontbreken, en tot mij zelve wederkeerende gevoel ik het streelende van het denkbeeld: ik bezit die reeds” (MMW, S 131).

Appendix 4 to paragraph 3.3

“De voorwerpen aan de Heer Westreenen verkocht maakten geen deel uit van de groote Collectie maar wel van eenige objecten door mijn oudsten zoon verzameld” (*Received letters of the RMO, 29-07-1826*).

Appendix 5 to paragraph 5.1

“Terwijl men bezig was het plantaadje van het bosch van Arensburg te veranderen en te verbeteren en daar men, om een zwaaren bonk steenen uit den grond te krijgen, dieper dan gewoonlijk moest graaven, bragt men, op eene diepte van wel agt voeten, eene hand van metaal, van meer dan gewone grootte boven” (Van Wijn 1800, 6).

Appendix 6 to paragraph 5.3

“Omtrent de oudheden in vorige tijden op deze classischen grond gevonden, zijn nage-noeg alle bekende berigten bijeen verzameld door en baron VAN WESTREENEN VAN TIELLANDT in zijne *Recherches sur l'ancien FORUM HADRIANP*”(Reuvens 1829).

Appendix 7 to paragraph 5.3

Translation of the old-French in Van Westreenen 1839 to modern Dutch.

Page 5-6:

Het lijkt wel eigen aan de menselijke geest om minder interesse te tonen in de huidige tijd en zich bij voorkeur meer bezig te houden met het verleden, zowel het verleden als de toekomst. Er worden belachelijke en vergeefse pogingen ondernomen om te proberen de sluier van de toekomst die voor de ogen van stervelingen hangt, op te tillen. Maar nogmaals deze inspanningen van nieuwsgierigheid zijn nuttig om zich te verdiepen in de stof die door de eeuwen heen is doorgegeven. We zien tegenwoordig de duisternis verdwijnen die hing over de ruïnes van Thebe en Persepolis, en de taal van het oude Egypte en de oude Perzen wordt begrijpelijk, tegelijkertijd genieten we de voldoening van hun regeringen die met hulp van machtige bedrijven leren aan de harde maar heerlijke vorsten en vrienden van de wetenschap, ze openen hun schatten om het archeologisch onderzoek in hun staten aan te moedigen.

Page 6:

Bij dit aantal hoort, zonder twijfel, de aankoop door de koning van Nederland van het in deze uitgave besproken landgoed Arentsburg, gesitueerd in de buurt van 's-Gravenhage, op de bodem van Hadrianus' antieke marktplaats (Forum Hadriani). Deze interessante overname, die we te danken hebben aan de ijver van de vorst bij het verspreiden van het licht, gaf de geleerde beweging de mogelijkheid om in contact te komen met dit antieke monument. Het lijkt erop dat deze mededeling, waarbij ik veel heb gehad aan deze mogelijkheid, niet altijd voor zou kunnen komen.

Page 7:

De illustere Trajanus gaat zijn glorieuze carrière beëindigen, en komt terug als veroveraar van de Oriënt, hij stierf in de stad Selinunte op Sicilië. Zijn jammerlijke weduwe, de deugdzame Plotina, keerde terug naar Rome met de asresten in een gouden urn. Deze werd geplaatst op een kolom die de senaat ter zijner ere had opgericht, welke nog steeds bestaat. Zijn geadopteerde zoon, Hadrianus, echtgenoot van Sabina, nicht van de keizerin, nam vervolgens het keizerlijk purper in Antiochië in het jaar 117, en ging het jaar daarop naar Rome.

Page 7-8:

Om zijn vijanden buiten de grenzen te houden, probeerde hij vrede in zijn staat te behouden en deed 6 reizen in ruim 13 jaar om al zijn provincies te bezoeken die toen bestonden.

Page 8-9:

Het is in deze reizen dat hij Gallië en Germanie bezoekt, ongeveer in het jaar 120, waarna hij naar Groot-Britannië gaat. Hij verblijft op het eiland van de Bataven waar hij meer dan waarschijnlijk omstreeks die tijd een markt of forum bouwde dat zijn naam droeg. Dit voldoet aan zijn bouwwoede met inbegrip van de muren, gebouwd in Engeland, om te waken tegen invallen van de Chalcedonen, de wederopbouw van de stad Hadrianopolis, de bouw van de brug Aelius [vernoemd naar Hadrianus] en zijn eigen mausoleum in Rome, vandaag de dag bekend als de brug en het kasteel van Sant' Angelo die tevens kunnen dienen als bewijs.

Page 10-15:

De Peutingerkaart, hier zijn de belangrijkste grote en de meest onderscheiden wegen van het Romeinse Rijk uiteengezet. Het geeft tevens de status aan van Forum Hadriani die langs de militaire weg ligt door de meest zuidelijke regio's van het land. Er zijn resten van gevonden in zowel Duif-Steenen-Huis en oude fundamenten bij het van Crooswijk Kasteel op de Rotte of in de stad Delft, of in dat van Vlaardingen. Het is gelegen over de duinen naar de oevers van de zee. Deze zou ook gelopen hebben niet ver van Leiden, op weinig afstand van het *Praetorium Agrippina*, die door enkele geleerden te herkennen zou zijn in de ruïnes van het Britse huis [Brittenburg], en volgens anderen in Roomburg of Rodenburg in de buurt van Leiderdorp. In de nabijheid werd ook een mijlpaal gevonden, na zoveel eeuwen, in het jaar 1500, rond Naaldwijk. Het is ongetwijfeld erg moeilijk, vanwege de manier waarop topografische gegevens zijn opgenomen op dit oude monument, om deze via onze moderne geografische begrippen te erkennen. Maar gelet op de wijze van indicatie, gevolgd in dit document, vinden we de positie die wordt aangegeven als Forum Hadriani. De ligging is ongeveer ter hoogte van Voorburg. Samen met de ontdekkingen in het westelijk deel van de gemeente (de wijk waar Voorburg, Rijswijk en Stompwijk grenzen) maakt het daarom mogelijk om het advies goed te keuren en aan te nemen dat deze plaats correct is. Het is bijzonder dat de Romeinen deze plaats hebben

uitgekozen in onze provincie, een niet zo interessante bestemming om zijn gebrek aan utiliteit. Hoewel het zonder twijfel ongepast is om te proberen deze markt in een provincie te vergelijken met de pracht en praal van een forum in de hoofdstad zoals het forum van Trajanus, voorganger van Hadrianus, gepresenteerd op munten van de prins, is het zeer waarschijnlijk dat het niet zonder aanzien was als men bedenkt dat het een plaats was waar overheidszaken en het bedrijfsleven plaats hadden. Een mozaïek bestrating, de resten van een standbeeld en kostbare voorwerpen, zijn gevonden van tijd tot tijd (zoals we in het volgende zullen rapporteren), ten gunste van de laatste aanname, en de omvang, indien men sommige auteurs gelooft, moet meer dan 10 hectare zijn geweest. Dit lijkt op het eerste gezicht overdreven maar als men de omliggende grond observeert, mits de antieke, blijft die niet alleen beperkt om het landgoed van Arentsburg (op zichzelf al bijna 5 hectare), maar omvat het ook die van Hoekenburg (waar een urn, munten etc. zijn opgegraven) en Hogebug (dat produceerde antieke gebruiksvoorwerpen), en het strekte zich misschien zelfs uit in een deel van het landgoed van Zuiderburg aan de overkant van de Vliet (waar ook munten zijn gevonden) en uiteindelijk het kanaal, zoals we het interpreteren, dat van Drusus, ook wel bekend als de Fossa Corbulonis, gegraven onder Nero. Het is heel natuurlijk om te veronderstellen dat de markt, die enige tijd later is opgericht, eerst werd gebouwd langs een kanaal vanwege de communicatie en ook omdat het gemakkelijk was voor de handel.

Page 15-16:

De munten uit het Tweede Keizerrijk, die in deze plaatsen gevonden zijn, tonen op een voor de hand liggende manier aan dat deze nederzetting tot die tijd bestond. Deze bestond ook daarna, gebaseerd op munten geslagen onder Karel de Grote en Lodewijk de Vrome, met name afkomstig uit Dorestad en Madelinus, en zelfs in de eeuwen van het Christendom in die provincies, gebaseerd op onder andere een klein terracotta figuurtje van het kind Jezus in Gothische stijl, die een wereldbol vasthoudt met daarboven een kruis. Deze werden op dezelfde wijze gevonden. Het lijkt erop dat de nederzetting bestond tot de tijd van de Carolingers, en de vernietigingen als gevolg van het heidendom in deze landen overleefd heeft.

Page 16-17:

Echter, het bestaan ervan heeft niet lang meer geduurd, omdat volgens erkende schrijvers de stad aangevallen en afgebrand werd tijdens de invasie van de Noormannen in de 9e

eeuw. De plundering is volgens Scriverius definitief gebeurd tussen de jaren 838 en 856, ook door verschillende andere auteurs bevestigd. Heda echter, onder het toezien van bisschop Hungurus, die de bisschoppelijke troon bezette in Utrecht, plaatste deze gebeurtenis tussen de jaren 854 en 876. Hiernaar kijkende is er meer vertrouwen in de tweede van deze periodes, gezien de gegevens verstrekt door Jan van Leiden, de kwestie lijken te beslissen in diens voordeel. Volgens deze schrijver, na het noemen van de verkiezing van bisschop Hungerus, stelt dat men verslagen is onder deze in het jaar 856, nadat de Nederlanders door de wreedheid van de Denen in grote getale hun toevlucht moesten zoeken in het kasteel in de buurt van Voorburg, waar de beroepsbevolking en het leger met haar leiders, de Friese heren Gerlach of Gerolf en Dibbald of Theobald, omkwamen en het kasteel tenslotte werd gesloopt en met de grond gelijk gemaakt.

Page 18-19:

Het is echter niet onwaarschijnlijk dat het kort daarna was herbouwd, of dat zijn naam werd getransplanteerd naar een nabijgelegen plaats, de huidige stad Voorburg, omdat in een geschrift van Karel de Eenvoudige uit 922 de naam *Fortrana* terugkomt, dat afgeleid is, blijkbaar, van de naam Forum Hadriani. Echter, de naam van Voorburg, of het voorvoegsel Bourg, komt waarschijnlijk van zijn positie ten aanzien van de Romeinse nederzetting, algemeen bekend als de stad, dat wellicht ooit werd verdedigd door vestingwerken, om invallen te weerstaan die gegarandeerd werden door onbeschaafde volken rondom, en het was onder deze naam dat we dit dorp hebben ontmoet in de documenten van vele voorgaande eeuwen.

Page 19-20:

Er zijn meer dan zes eeuwen gepasseerd, terwijl deze ruïnes begraven bleven of in ieder geval genegeerd. Holland, om te schuilen tegen de aanslagen van de vele malen bewezen noordelijke volken, zag een man stijgen tot de rang van soeverein, en een van zijn nakomelingen droeg het diadeem van de Caesars, maar zijn zoon werd het slachtoffer van roekeloosheid en trouweloosheid. Vijf dynastieën volgden elkaar op, en meestal waren er inwendige stoornissen, die zelfs de meest heilige relatie tussen moeder en zoon verbrak, en beroofde de interessante soeverein van vrijheid, gevoeligheid en dapperheid. Maar deze horrorscènes werden aan de andere kant gecompenseerd door daden van deugd en dapperheid, door de glorie van nuttige uitvindingen, en om te zien dat een jonge wees, de erfgenaam van deze staten, zijn lot wist te verenigen aan dat van de eerste Prins van Eu-

ropa, en het is onder deze omstandigheden in de 16de eeuw, dat uiteindelijk de monumenten van de tweede zouden worden onthuld.

Page 20:

Rond het jaar 1500 leefde Heda, de historicus van de bisschoppen van Utrecht, die onder bisschop Hungerus de vernietiging van het Forum beschreef en meldde op plek met de aangewezen plaatsnaam *Arundulum* in zijn tijd gezien te hebben, ondergrondse ruïnes, het fragment van een mozaïek, en een meter hoog bronzen gebroken beeld, die opgegraven waren geweest, en een groot aantal munten in goud, zilver en brons en een gouden ketting met smaragden, wat gebruikelijk was om aan te brengen bij kinderen als een middel tegen epilepsie.

Page 21-23:

Junius, die zijn *Batavia* schreef in het jaar 1575, en dit behandelde in het 18e hoofdstuk van het boek over Nederlandse kastelen, reproduceerde hierin de fabel Elinus, gebaseerd, zoals we hebben gezien, op de enige gevonden munten die men een paar jaar geleden had gevonden bij opruimen van zulke oude gebouwen, wat een enorme hoeveelheid munten produceerde. Daaronder had hij een munt gezien met aan een kant de naam Elinus (maar die in feite niets had verstrekt andere dan de geldstad Mad-elinus), en de andere de naam van de stad Dorestad, en gevonden steen die helaas gebroken was met het volgende opschrift: DIANAE IVNIANIVS AMABILIS VIR AVC. C. V. T. EX IVSSV. IPSIVS. L. M. De inscriptie was toentertijd gevonden op het landgoed van Henri Croesinek, Heer Benthuisen, in de buurt van Rijswijk. En een zeer dikke fles van groen glas, een inham; als een vriend van goud, een zeer fijn werk, deze is te vinden in het kantoor van een zekere amateur qua antiquiteiten, Van Adrichem wonende in Den Haag. Deze gegevens zijn in het boek van Scriverius, ook getiteld *Batavia*, gepubliceerd in 1609 te vinden, waarin dezelfde gebrande groene glazen vaas wordt besproken. In 1626 of 1628, afhankelijk van de rekening van Van Leeuwen, zoals *Batavia* illustreert, werden deze opgegraven uit de fundamenten van het oude metselwerk (aan wie hij de naam van de stad of het kasteel gaf) tijdens het extraheren van kalk. Meer antiquiteiten zijn gevonden, waaronder een pot met de inhoud van ongeveer een wateremmer, gevuld met zilveren munten geslagen onder verschillende Romeinse keizers.

Page 23-24:

Zonder kennis van de opgravingen die tijdens de rest van de 17e eeuw en de eerste helft van de 18e, zouden we niet kunnen stoppen bij het jaar 1760 toen een Romeinse lamp gevonden werd in het gebied ten oosten van Arentsburg, en vervolgens in 1770, toen onder een oude lindeboom op het landgoed, een urn werd ontdekt. De arbeiders, in de hoop op goud of zilver te vinden, braken deze vervolgens in. Later is de urn verdwenen. Tot slot, het volgende jaar (1771) werd de beroemde ontdekking van een bronzen hand gedaan. Het bleek een deel te zijn geweest van een kolossaal standbeeld. En aangezien, in die tijd, deze gebeurtenis zoveel ophef veroorzaakte dat iemand die pretendeerde in Napels geboren te zijn er een dissertatie over schreef. Het is merkwaardig om de bijzonderheden te kennen, zoals de Nestor van onze Nederlandse literatuur, herdacht in een van zijn interessante werken die al meer dan eens genoemd zijn [Van Wijn 1800].

Page 24-28:

“Terwijl we bezig waren met het veranderen en verbeteren van het plantsoen op het landgoed [Arentsburg], en uit de aarde een zware massa stenen te verwijderen, groef men tot een diepte van 8 meter, en vond daar een bronzen hand, meer dan natuurlijke grootte. De graaflui hadden geprobeerd om deze curiositeit te verkopen, maar de eigenaar van de plaats, de heer Isaac Scheltus, een gewone uitgever van de Nederlandse staten, voorkwam de diefstal van de in Noord-Holland gevonden hand”. Dezelfde geleerde [Van Wijn] zegt dat de heer Fr. Hemsterhuis, een bekende antiquair, gezien de aanname dat het onlangs gebroken beeld nog steeds in de grond ligt, had gewenst, om deze reden, dat de opgravingen werden voortgezet. Maar verschillende omstandigheden, en de exacte locatie van de vondst door onwetendheid of door de werknemers bewust vergeten, verhinderde het effect. Het geeft ook de beschrijving van een gouden ring, een gouden kwastje, en een saffier, paars, met de beeltenis van een Steenbok, eindigend in de staart van een dolfijn, gevonden in dit land, waar de bodem rijk voorzien is. Van tijd tot tijd levert deze bodem wat op, zoals op een locatie aan de voet van een muur, in de buurt van de boomgaard, een aantal Romeinse munten, en onder anderen een denarius van keizer Vespasianus, met op de achterkant de verovering op de joden (*Judaea Capta*), die gevonden kan worden in het kabinet van de auteur dezes. Maar aangezien deze marktplaats moet zijn opgericht door Hadrianus, lijkt deze ook veel op de munt van Nero, waarvan Scriverius spreekt daar te zijn geweest, later geslagen door vervalsers, hetzij door de bewoners van het Forum, of door Romeinse soldaten gelegd in deze plaatsen. Want hoewel de redenen voor de han-

del het belangrijkste waren van de bevolking van deze plaats, is het echter zeer waarschijnlijk (zoals we hierboven al hebben opgemerkt) voor de opvang van omwonende mensen. Barbaren werden belast door de meer beschaafde Romeinen, daardoor zou deze markt gepaard moeten gaan met vestingwerken, die waarschijnlijk aanleiding gaven tot de naam van Bourg, diens naam helemaal rondgedrukt, en nog steeds te vinden zijn in het dorp Voorburg, en verscheidene plaatsen in het omliggende platteland. Misschien dat ondergrondse bouwwerken, waarvan een deel bedekt met hout, worden geacht vulgaire kelders te zijn, gehouden in een versterkt kamp, en opgravingen van dergelijke oude militaire kampen, zoals die van Xanten, Neuwied en elders, hebben curieuze voorwerpen bekend gemaakt, die veelal aanwezig zijn. Maar in veel opzichten zijn we nog steeds beperkt tot louter speculatie in de hoop dat met voortdurende opgravingen, uitgevoerd door verlicht leiderschap, men er in zal slagen om verschillende aannames te bewijzen. En met de lichten van hen die, naar alle schijn, dit interessante werk leiden, garanderen wij op voorhand gebruik te zullen maken van de middelen die vaak gebruikt worden in andere landen, om dergelijke ondernemingen te versnellen en bevruchten. Hieronder kunnen we waarschijnlijke de volgende methode rekenen, zoveel mogelijk, de rondgang van de muren te bestuderen om de omvang van de antieke nederzettingen te leren kennen, en hiermee te identificeren, om het zo te zeggen, het gebied van onderzoek en het onnodige te vermijden.

Page 28-29:

Alle voorzorgen, in feite, zijn aannemelijk en zelfs verplicht, om te zoeken naar een land zo eerbiedwaardig door zijn oudheid, zo opmerkelijk om zijn locatie, waar de belangen van naburige volkeren werden behandeld, waar recht werd gesproken, waar de handel belangrijk was, waar de waarde van de soldaten klaarblijkelijk was bewezen, en die, als een kerkhof van de afgelopen eeuwen, misschien wel beenderen van de kinderen van de Tiber en sterfelijke overblijfselen van de Boreale naties bevat, die kwamen om de adelaars van de legioenen en het Christelijk kruis te verpletteren, evenals de standbeelden van de goden van Capitoool en de Redder van Golgotha.

Appendix 8 to paragraph 5.3

“Aussi vénérable par son antiquité, que remarquable par ses destinations, où jadis se traitait les intérêts des peuples voisins, où la justice se rendait, où roulait le commerce, où la valeur des soldats fut apparemment éprouvée, et qui, comme un cimetière des siècles

écoulés, renferme peut-être dans sons sein les ossemens des enfans du Tibre et les dépouilles mortelles des nations Boréales, qui vinrent les écraser, les aigles des légions et la croix des chrétiens, les simulacres des divinités du capitole et du Sauveur du Calvaire” (Van Westreenen 1826, 28-9).

Appendix 9 to paragraph 6.2

“Dit fondament lag op het strand digt aan de duynen en zoo hoog dat het bij hoog water naawlyks overvloeide; waaruit blijkt dat het vals is dat dit Huys te Britten zeer diep in zee legt; ten ware dit een ander werk was dat binnen ’s lands, hooger op aan den Ryn gelegen was. Maar dit gerugt is ontstaan, zoo mij oude ervare zeeluyden aldaar getuygd hebben, omdat den toorn die geweest is de wagttoorn en baken in zee, een half uur en meer diep in zee is gelegen, waarop dezelve zeeluyden en vissers hunne handboomen stoten en hun netten scheuren, werdende bij hun dese plaats genaamt op Calla, of den toorn van Calla, dat is Caligula, volgens derzelve eenparig verhaal” (RMO, RA 35, 19.2.1/61, 21).

Appendix 10 to paragraph 6.2

“De twee ronden leggen buytens muers gemeten 27 voet vaneen. De dikte der mueren van 3 en 3 ½ voet, dat met het afslyten der steenen wel 4 voet geweest zal zijn. De middellyn of diameter van de ronden was 15 voet binnen ’s muers gemeten en zynde even groot en regulier. Alle de muragien waren van trassteen, dog eenige weynige van blaauw arduyn, dog zoo vergaan dat ze en wel voornamely de blaauwe arduyn, als met schilferen vaneen vielen, gelyk leyen of schalien. Buyten de 2 ronden lag een zware regtdoorgaande fundament van blaauw arduyn na de duynkant toe, omtrent 6 voet van de ronden af gerekent. Binnen den omtrek van de ronden en de verdere mueren op het strand staande, waren ettelyke fondamenten met stukken en brokken die niet waren af te teykenen, gelyk ook buyten de ronden, ten wederzyden langs het strand verstroyt, sulks dat het scheen als of dese twee ronden zoo van binnen als buyten met eenige fondamenten waren omset of gebolwerkt. Over al langs het strand, wel 100 roeden int ronde, lagen brokken van steen, pannen, tegelen en tras of kalkbrokken” (RMO, RA 35, 19.2.1/61, 22).

Appendix 11 to paragraph 6.2

“Nevenstaande teekening komt niet geheel overeen met de bekende uit Guicciardyn, Junius enz. Zynde de afstand tusschen de toren veel grooter dan by die schryvers. Dit houd ik voor eene vergissing dezer laatsten, wier teekenaars waarschyndlyk den tyd niet gehad

hebben om de byzonderheden te meten. Ook maken de lijnen door mij gemerkt AB en CD, doorgetrokken zynde, geenen regten hoek gelyk zy zouden moeten doen. Dit schynt my weder eene vergissing van den lateren teekenaar, die zulks op het bloote gezigt zal afgeteekend hebben, zonder den hoek te meten. De oude fondamenteu eindelijk, langs de roudedeelen loopende, zyn op vroegere plannen niet bekend (doch komen overeen met de oorspronkelyke teekening van Le Franck vBerkhey)” (RMO, RA 35, 19.2.1/61, 22).

Appendix 12 to paragraph 6.3

“Zoo prijkt aldaar een eervol gedenkstuk der vriendschappelyke betrekking van ons voorouderlyk volk met het magtige Rome, en vertoont het zich aan den blik van Landgeuootten en Vreemden, uit allerlei natien, in een Museum, hetwelk door e bescherming van het Hoog Bestuur, en de zorgen der Heeren opzigters, tot eene hoogte is geklommen, dat het onder de rijkste van Europa geteld mag worden” (Van Westreenen 1839, 143).

Appendix 13 to paragraph 7.1

Van Westreenen's catalog #	Meerman- no catalog #	# of objects	French description	Type	Material	Height (pouce)	Dia- meter (pouce)	Date Acquired	Price	Find location
196	359/511	1	Une statuette en terre cuite de femme assise, à ciffure élevée en forme de pain de sucre; mais d'un travail grossier. Haut: 6 pouces.	Statues	Terracotta	6		1818 in Paris	f 4	
197 & 198	261/516 & 362/521	2	Deux petites têtes de femme, en terre cuite, offrant des coiffure différentes; probablement, ainée que le suivant, les image enculee, ou petits portraits, dont parle Ciceron dans ses lettres à Atticus.	Statues	Terracotta			1818 in Paris	f 6	
199	358/513	1	Un buste d'homme, portant le bonnet Phrygien, en terre cuite. Haut. 3,5 p.	Bustes	Terracotta	3,5		1818 in Paris		
200		1	Une patère antique, de terre cuite, large en diamètre 6 pouces et 1/2, avec un support (Ara), que l'on plaçait dans la concavité de l'autel, Haut de 6 pouces sur 9,5 en diamètre. Les sentiments sont partagés, si ce Monument appartient aux Romains, ou bien, à cause de la rudesse du travail et de ses formes à quelque peuple Germanique.	Ritual objects	Terracotta	6	9,5	1797 At Boer's auction	f 10-8-0	
201	784/983	1	Une cruche à une anse, en terre cuite blanchâtre, employée aux sacrifices pour les libations. - Haut 7,4 p.- Trouvé dans les ruines du Chateau de Britten, décrite et représentée dans Pars <i>Katwijkische en Rijnsburgsche Oudheden</i> p. 81, et lettre N. - par conséquent la même qui avait été montrée à Junius; et provenant, selon une note autographe de C. van Alkemade de la collection de cet antiquaire.	Ritual objects	Terracotta	7,5		1803 At Naber's auction	f 2-18	Brittenburg
202	782/981	1	Autre de terre brunâtre, déterrée pris De Cleves.	Jugs	Pottery			1804 At prof. Schutte's auction		Van Kleef
203		1	Autre plus petite et de couleur jaunâtre, probablement destinée à un usage différent, trouvé à Xanten dans le sarcophage mentionné plus bas.	Jugs	Pottery			1802 in Xanten		Xanten
204 & 205		2	Deux autres de couleur grisâtre, et d'un grain grossier.	Jugs	Pottery			1826 From De Lescluze		
206 & 207	755/974 & 756/975	2	Deux autres de forme différentes, de couleur jaunâtre et d'un grain plus fin.	Jugs	Pottery			1826 From De Lescluze		
208	765/949	1	Une autre de form différente.	Jugs	Pottery			1826 From De Lescluze		
209		1	Une petite cruche, à une anse, en terre jaunâtre.	Jugs	Pottery			1834 From Vescovalli in Rome		
210	604/818	1	Autre de pareille matière, mais de forme différente.	Jugs	Pottery			1834 From Vescovalli in Rome		
211	757/956	1	Autre sans anse de terre blanchâtre assez fine.	Jugs	Pottery			1821 At Meerman's auction		
212	750/973	1	Autre de terre grisâtre et d'un travail grossier.	Jugs	Pottery			1821 At Meerman's auction		
213		1	Un pot, à deux anses, de terre grisâtre.	Kitchenware	Pottery			1826 From De Lescluze		
214		1	Autre de terre noirâtre.	Kitchenware	Pottery			1826 From De Lescluze		
215	732/963	1	Autre à une anse de semblable, terra noirâtre, mais plus petit, et d'une forme ressemblante à pilon.	Kitchenware	Pottery			1826 From De Lescluze		
216		1	Un petit pot de terre Samnite rougeâtre, trouvé à la campagne d'Arendsburg, près de Voorbug sur le sol de l'ancien Forum Hadriani.	Kitchenware	Terra sigillata			1829 At Van Olden's auction		Forum Hadriani
217	696/909	1	Une très belle écuelle de terre Samnite rouge, orné en dehors d'un relief représentant des animaux et arabesques.	Kitchenware	Terra sigillata			1811 At pastor Koning's auction	f 0-10-0	
218	697/910	1	Une pareille, mais orné en dehors d'un relief différent.	Kitchenware	Terra sigillata			1812 As a gift from De Schuylenburg de Bommenede		
219	606/820	1	Une très petite à 2 anses, pareillement de terra Samnite et de forme élégante	Kitchenware	Terra sigillata			1826 From De Lescluze		
220	715/928	1	Le fragment d'une écuelle de terra Samnite rouge, déterrée à Voorbug à l'endroit Ou la bourg, l'ancien Forum Hadriani, était situé.	Kitchenware	Terra sigillata			1803 At Naber's auction	f 6-6	Forum Hadriani
221 & 222		2	Deux autre fragmens pareils, trouvés au même lieu à la campagne d'Arendsburg.	Kitchenware	Terra sigillata			1829 At Van Olden's auction		Forum Hadriani
223		1	Le fragment d'une semblable écuelle, mais décoré d'un relief représentant des figures &c.	Kitchenware	Terra sigillata			1811 At pastor Koning's auction	f 0-10-0	
224		1	Autre fragment semblable avec des figures d'animaux &c en relief.	Kitchenware	Terra sigillata			1822 At Van Elk's auction		

225	1	Une petite écuelle de terre jaunâtre.	Kitchenware	Pottery		1834	From Vescovalli in Rome	
226	712/925	Une tasse à boire (<i>ampulla potatoria</i>) de terra Samnite rouge d'une forme élégante et ornée sur les bords de fleurs de lotus en relief. Voyer une semblable dans Caylus rec: d'ant: t. 2. pl. 118. n.s.	Kitchenware	Terra sigillata		1803	At Naber's auction	f 1-4-0
227	708/921	Une pareille, mais sans relief, et portant en dedans l'inscr: RIMVSI. Nom du potier.	Kitchenware	Terra sigillata		1812	As a gift from De Schuylenburg de Bommene	
228	706/919	Autre sans relief ou inscription.	Kitchenware	Terra sigillata		1819	At prof. Bonn's auction, in Amsterdam	f 2-7-8
229	707/920	Autre de forme différente.	Kitchenware	Terra sigillata		1821	Meerman, acquired in Italy	
230 & 231	710/923 & 709/922	Deux plus petites.	Cups	Terra sigillata		1821	Meerman, acquired in Italy	
232	716/929	Une souscoupe de terre Samnite rougeâtre, avec l'inscription MORICVS.F. Nom du potier.	Kitchenware	Terra sigillata		1821	As a gift from Meerman's widow	
233	717/933	Autre plus petite, avec le nom du potier en ces lettres CRISPI.M.	Kitchenware	Terra sigillata		1821	As a gift from Meerman's widow	
234	728/941	Autre sans inscription et de terre jaunâtre.	Kitchenware	Pottery		1826	From De Lescluze	
235	729/942	Autre plus petite et de terre jaunâtre.	Kitchenware	Pottery		1834	From Vescovalli in Rome	
236	1	Autre à une anse, de terre blancheâtre.	Kitchenware	Pottery		1826	From De Lescluze	
237	727/940	Le moule en terre cuite, d'une sous-coupe avec figures et autres ornemens. Diamètre 6 pouces.	Kitchenware	Terracotta	6	1833	As a gift from Jong, conservator of the museum of antiquities in Strasbourg.	Spère
238	1	Une jatte en terre cuite brunâtre.	Kitchenware	Terracotta		1803	At Naber's auction	f 0-5-5
239	1	Une pareille	Kitchenware	Terracotta		1809	At Van Alphen's auction	f 0-5-8
240	1	Un plat en terre Samnite rougeâtre.	Kitchenware	Terra sigillata		1803	At Naber's auction	f 0-5-0
241	1	Un pareil.	Kitchenware	Terra sigillata		1809	At Van Alphen's auction	f 0-5-8
242	718/932	Autre plus petit ou peut-être le couvercle de quelque vase.	Kitchenware	Terra sigillata		1812	As a gift from De Schuylenburg de Bommene	
243	1	Autre plus petit encore, peut-être aussi le couvercle d'un vase.	Kitchenware	Terra sigillata		1826	From De Lescluze	
244	758/957	Un petit vase de terre grisâtre et sans anse. Haut 3,5 pouce.	Vases	Pottery	3,5	1826	From De Lescluze	
245	1	Autre de terre grisâtre.	Vases	Pottery		1834	From Vescovalli in Rome	
246	576/790	Un petit vase de verre grisâtre à une anse. Haut 3,5 pouce.	Vases	Glass	3,5	1812	As a gift from De Schuylenburg de Bommene	
247	780/4	Une grande Amphore de terre cuite - haut.	Vases	Terracotta		1822	At Meerman's auction	
248	534/743	Une lampe de terre cuite, ornée en relief d'un combat de deux coqs.	Lamps	Terracotta		1801	At Schouten's auction	f 0-16-0
249	530/739	Une pareille, ornée en relief d'un autel allumé entre deux épis.	Lamps	Terracotta		1809	At Van Alphen's auction	f 0-5-8
250	559/762	Une pareille avec l'inscription MVNTR.E. Fracturée.	Lamps	Terracotta		1818	At Schouten's auction	f 0-12-0
251	562/776	Autre avec l'inscription L.CASAE. Fracturée.	Lamps	Terracotta		1834	From Vescovalli in Rome	

252	538/753	1	Autre de forme différente et de terre Samnite rougeâtre, portant le nom du potier NERI.	Lamps	Terra sigillata	1801	At Euler's auction	f 1-8		
253	542/757	1	Une semblable avec l'inscription FORTIS.I	Lamps	Terra sigillata	1818	At Schouten's auction	f 0-12-0		
254	555/761	1	Une pareille avec l'inscription STROBIL.	Lamps	Terra sigillata	1818	At Schouten's auction	f 0-12-0		
255	548/765	1	Autre d'une forme et espee de terre différent, et sans inscription.	Lamps	Pottery	1801	At Schouten's auction	f 0-16-0		
256	546/758	1	Une pareille, mais plus petite.	Lamps	Pottery	1809	At Van Alphen's auction			
257	566/780	1	Autre encore différente.	Lamps	Pottery	1834	From Vescovalli in Rome			
258	552/747	1	Autre plus petite.	Lamps	Pottery	1834	From Vescovalli in Rome	f 0-16-0		
259	565/770	1	Autre d'un semblable espèce de terre, mais à trois lumignons, ce qui se trouve peu communément.	Lamps	Pottery	1812	As a gift from De Schuylenburg de Bommene			
260		1	Autre de terre Samnite rougeâtre et à un seul lumignon, faite pour être suspendu.	Lamps	Terra sigillata	1826	From De Lescluze			
261	370/514	1	Fragment d'une lampe de terre cuite, en forme de tête de Satyre, semblable à celle représentée dans Smetius ant: Neom:	Lamps	Terracotta	1822	At De Betouw's auction	f 3-15		
262	677/890	1	Un lacrymatoire de terre cuite, haut 4,5 pouce.	Lacrymatories	Terracotta	1826	From De Lescluze			
263	679/892	1	Autre de forme différent et de terre rougeâtre. Haut 4,5 pouce.	Lacrymatories	Terracotta	1803	At Naber's auction	f 2-2-0		
264	674/887	1	Autre plus petit. Haut 3 pouces.	Lacrymatories	Terracotta	1811	At pastor Koning's auction	f 0-10-0		
265	675/888	1	Autre de terre cuite jaunâtre. Haut 2,5 pouces.	Lacrymatories	Terracotta	1834	From Vescovalli in Rome			
266		1	Une urne cinéraire de terre cuite.	Cinerary urns	Terracotta	1811	At pastor Koning's auction	f 0-11-0		
267		1	Une autre d'une forme plus ou moins différente.	Cinerary urns	Terracotta	1811	At pastor Koning's auction	f 0-11-0		
268		1	Une autre trouvée près de Cleves.	Cinerary urns	Terracotta	1804	From W.G. Schutte	Van Kleef		
269	739/953	1	Une autre, avec de canelures.	Cinerary urns	Terracotta	1811	At pastor Koning's auction	f 0-11-0		
270		1	Une autre à une anse, et avec un couvercle, ce qui se trouve rarement, étant sujet à être brisé.	Cinerary urns	Terracotta	1811	At pastor Koning's auction	f 0-11-0		
271		1	Une statue en albatre de Vertumnus, vetu de la toge, à tête barbe et ceinte de fruits, tenant une grappe de sa main droite, et s'appuyant de la gauche sur une corne d'abondance. À ses pieds est un masque, en alusion aux différentes formes qui les anciens disaient que cette divinité avait coutume de prendre, comme Ovide le rapporte au 14 livre du Metamorphoses, et Properce 2 elegie au 4 livre. Haut: 15 pouce:	Statues	Alabaster	15	Unkown	As a gift from Haringman's auction f 12	Bayes	
272	342/503	1	Autre en marbre de Hercule tenant de sa main droite la masque et de la gauche, la pomme du jardin des Hespérides, et la peau du Lion de la forêt de Némée. Haut [blanc] p:	Statues	Marble	1834	From Vescovalli in Rome			
273	1078/498	1	Petit buste en albatre ou marbre de l'empereur Jules Cesar, à tête laurier, de l'exécution la plus soignée et d'une expression admirable. Haut 2,5 pouce:	Bustes	Marble	2,5	1831	From Immerreil	f 26	
274	344/505	1	Buste en rouge antique (Rosso antico) de l'Empereur Auguste jeune et à tête - extrêmement prise aux pour la matière et l'exécution. Haut [blanc].	Bustes	Marble	1834	From Vescovalli in Rome			
275	339/509	1	Buste de l'Imperatrer Live, sous l'effigie de la Pieté; de grandeur plus que naturelle. - la tête de marbre de carare et l'habillement en marbre blanc veiné; mais d'un travail moderne. Haut [blanc].	Bustes	Marble	1821	As a gift from Meerman's widow		Van der Wulp	
276	1077/495	1	Petite tête en marbre jaune ant; (gialloant); représentant l'Emp: Vespasien. Haut [blanc] pouce:	Bustes	Marble	1834	From Vescovalli in Rome			
277	347/494	1	Buste en marbre applati par derrière (Therne) représentant Jupiter. Haut [blanc] pouce:	Bustes	Marble	1834	From Vescovalli in Rome			

278	346/486	1	Autre semblable représentant une Bacchante. Haut 6 pouce:	Bustes	Marble	6	1834	From Vescovali in Rome	
279	355/493	1	Tête en marbre d'un homme âgé coiffé d'un bonnet. Haut 4 pouces.	Bustes	Marble	4	1834	From Vescovali in Rome	
280	338/508	1	Une bas-relief en marbre blanc représentant un Lecteur Romain, tenant le faisceau de sa charge, et portant sur la poitrine une agraffe avec un aigle en relief. Haut 22. larg: 13 pouce: réduit à 20,5 p: de haut: en faisant disparaître les inégalités de la partie inférieure.	Bas-reliefs	Marble	20,5	1822	At Meerman's auction	Carthage's ruins
281	349/491	1	Fragment d'un bas-relief, en marbre, représentant une femme assise jusqu'aux genoux. large 5,5 pouce: Trouvé dans la Villa Hadriani, près de Tivoli.	Bas-reliefs	Marble	8	1834	In Tivoli	Villa Hadriani
282	350/492	1	Autre représentant un génie allé tenant une coupe dans sa main droite. Haut. 4 large 7,5 pouce. Trouvé au même endroit.	Bas-reliefs	Marble		1834	In Tivoli	Villa Hadriani
283	312/454	1	Autre représentant une Arabesque avec deux têtes de chevaux. Trouvé au même endroit et ayant probablement fait parti d'une fries du ruines de l'Emp: Haut [blanc] larg [blanc]. P:	Bas-reliefs	Marble		1834	In Tivoli	Villa Hadriani
284	694/430	1	Beau vase de sacrifice, a 2 anses, d'albatre veine, d'une forme singulière et peu usitée. Haut env: 5,5 pouce: diam: 10,5 pouce:	Ritual objects	Alabaster	5,5	1821	At Meerman's auction	f 16
285	693/429	1	Très belle coupe de sacrifice sur un pivot, d'albatre transparent, a une forme fort élégante. Haut. 6 pouce: diam: 11 pouce:	Ritual objects	Alabaster	6	1821	At Meerman's auction	f 8-10
286	695/1049	1	Une magnifique d'une espèce de pierre de lard verdâtre, entremêlé de dendrites, avec son couvercle jadis un peu endommagé. Haut 9 pouce: diam 8,5p:	Ornaments	Stone	9	1821	At Meerman's auction	f 16
287	314/456	1	Pomme de Pin en marbre semblable pour la forme à celui en grand et en bronze qui ornaient jadis le mausolée d'Adrien (maintenant chateau St. Ange) et que l'on conserve encore au Vatican. Haut 4,5 pouce.	Ornaments	Marble	4,5	1834	From Vescovali in Rome	
288	311/451	1	Une dalle de marbre, large de 13 pouces et 1/2, haut 8 pouces et 1/4, et épais d'un pouce, portant cette inscription tumulaire: *D*M* AVRELIAE FELICISSIM. VIMT ANNIS XXIII. ET MENS. VI. IVLIA. IN GENVUA MATER. PIENTISSIMA. FECIT.*	Inscriptions	Marble	8,25	1813	At the Bakhuyzen bookstore	f 4
289	310/448	1	Autre avec l'inscription; T.AEL.INS.AVC.LIB.SATURINVS A.DIPLOMATIBVS SARDONYCHI ALVMNO FIDELISSIMO.	Inscriptions	Marble		1813	At the Bakhuyzen bookstore	f 4
290	308/450	1	Autre avec l'inscription; FABIA ANTHVSA CARA SVS HP.58.M.F	Inscriptions	Marble		1826	At Meerman's auction	
291	324/469	1	Une brique de couleur jaunâtre, large au delà de 5 pouces et 1/2. haut environ 4 pouces et 1/2, et épais d'un pouce et 1/2, avec l'inscription: L.VOLVSI.PHASIS. Voyer à l'égard de cette pièce et [unclear] de l'explication de l'épigraphie les lettres de J.A.N. (Jean ant: Naber) et C.J.A. dans les Mélanges des <i>Algemeene Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen</i> , pour 1797, p. 392 et 470. et pour 1799, p. 548. où le résumé des explications est ainsi: Lapis VOLVTe Sinus PHASIS. ou (ce qui me paraît plus probable) L.VOLVusio Vota Solverunt Incola PHASIS.	Inscriptions	Pottery	4,5	1803	At Naber's auction	
292	328/473	1	Fragment d'une tuile rouge, avec l'inscription EX.GER.INF. (EXercitus GERmania INFERioris), trouvé dans les ruines du chateau de Britten. Voyer Pars Katwijkische en Rhijnsburgsche Oudheden, p. 85.	Inscriptions	Pottery		1803	At Naber's auction	f 1-8-0 Brittenburg
293	332/477	1	Fragment d'un carreau de pavé rouge, avec l'inscription .LEG.XXX. (LEGio Trecesima), trouvé dans les mêmes ruines. Voyer Pars I.e: p. 85.	Inscriptions	Pottery		1803	At Naber's auction	f 1-8-0 Brittenburg
294	329/474	1	Autre fragment d'un carreau de pavé rouge, avec l'inscription EX.G.I. (EXercitus Germania INFERioris.)	Inscriptions	Pottery		1814	At Greve's auction, in Delft	f 0-18-0
295	335/480	1	Autre fragment d'un carreau de pavé rouge, avec l'inscription G.G.P.F. [blanc] trouvé à la campagne d'Arendsburg - soldee Forum Hadriani.	Inscriptions	Pottery		1829	At Van Olden's auction	Forum Hadriani
296	326/471	1	Une brique de terre rougeâtre avec l'inscription EX.GER.IN. (EXercitus GERmania INFERioris), trouvé à la demolition du bourg à Nimegus, dont monseigneur De Betouw a publié l'histoire.	Inscriptions	Pottery		1802	As a gift from De Betouw, in Nijmegen	Nijmegen
297	323/468	1	Fragment d'un carreau de pavé en terre cuite grisâtre, avec l'inscription semi-circulaire E R/LLIVS SAR F EGT. Trouvé dans la villa Hadriani.	Inscriptions	Terracotta		1834	In Tivoli	Villa Hadriani
298	331/476	1	Une brique antique formant une espèce de l'orange d'un travail de Maçonnerie Romaine dit <i>Opus Tessalatum</i> . Trouvé dans la Villa Hadriani.	Inscriptions	Pottery		1834	In Tivoli	Villa Hadriani
299		1	Fragment d'une brique figurée des ruines du chateau de Britten.	Inscriptions	Pottery		1811	At pastor Koning's auction	Brittenburg

319	1084/535	1	Autre du Dieu Priape assis. Haut 2,5 pouce:	Statues	Bronze	2,5	1820	At De Tersan's auction, in Paris	f 5
320	467/534	1	Autre représentant Hercule, portant les pouilles du lion de la forêt de Némée sur son bras gauche, pomme du jardin des Hespérides de la même main, tandis qu'elle bras droit est fracturé. Haut 2, pouces.	Statues	Bronze	2	1835	From a traveler to Africa.	
321	376/543	1	Autre d'un Satyre, debout, à ce qu'il semble action de danse. Haut: 12 pouce:	Statues	Bronze	12	1829	At Van Olden's auction	
322	468/576	1	Autre d'un Hélène assis, ayant un oiseau perché un la main gauche. Haut 1,75 de pouce:	Statues	Bronze	1,75	1830	From a pastor at Van Kleeef.	f 2-50
323	384/566	1	Autre très petite du Dieu Crepitus, d'un très beau travail. Haut. 3,5 pouce: Dans le cat: des collections de M. de Tersan, on trouver p. 20. #121. à l'occasion de cette même figurine, la note suivante; "les anciens divins aient tout, même le corps impalpable, un lequel l'auteur du Mercure galant à fait une énigme ingénieuse, qui commence ainsi; Je suis un invisible corps qui du bas lieu tir mon être."	Statues	Bronze	3,5	1830	At De Tersan's auction, in Paris	f 5
324	470/588	1	Autre très petite de la Déesse Angerona, ayant la tête ornée de la fleur de Lotus et portant la main droite sur sa bouche, et la gauche sur la partie diametralement opposée une belleère qui attachée prouve qu'elle servi d'amulette. Haut 5 pouce et 1/4. [...]	Statues	Bronze	5,25	1814	From the librarian Gevers	f 5
325	382/542	1	Autre de la déesse de la Victoire de bout, ayant perdu la rameau qu'elle tenait dans la main droite. Haut: p:	Statues	Bronze	3	1830	From a pastor at Van Kleeef.	f 5
326	391/568	1	Autre d'un figure Virile, entièrement nue. Haut 4,25 pouce.	Statues	Bronze	4,25	1832	From Marguier, in Paris	
327	1093/595	1	Autre d'un enfant assis. Haut 1,25 pouce:	Statues	Bronze	1,25	1826	From De Lescluze	
328	478/578	1	Une petite épée en son fourreau, ayant probablement appartenu à quelque statuette.	Statues	Bronze		1835	From a traveler to Africa.	
329	478/578	1	Un petit buste de Mercure, couvert de la petose ailée. Haut 3 pouce:	Bustes	Bronze	3	1827	In Paris	
330	1086/582	1	Un petite buste en bronze de Flore, la tête ceinte de fleurs. Haut 3,25 pouce:	Bustes	Bronze	3,25	1805	At Van Nisper's auction	f 0-10-0
331	474/586	1	Autre du Roi Midas. Haut 1,5 pouce.	Bustes	Bronze	1,5	1819	At prof. Bonn's auction, in Amsterdam	f 5-10
332	480/581	1	Autre, ayant beaucoup de rapport sur ceux de l'Empereur Othon.	Bustes	Bronze		1830	From a pastor at Van Kleeef.	f 0-15
333	479/579	1	Autre de femme, de forme platte par derrière, faite à ce qu'il semble pour être attaché quelque part. Haut 1,75 pouce:	Bustes	Bronze	5	1801	At Schouten's auction	f 1-5-0
334	475/587	1	Autre d'une jeune enfant, avec une manche par derrière, pour pouvoir au qu'il parait l'attacher quelque part. Haut 1,75 pouce:	Bustes	Bronze	1,75	1819	At prof. Bonn's auction, in Amsterdam	
335 & 336	145 K 65	2	Deux petits bustes de Sicambres en bronze d'environ 1 pouce de haut, pareillement destinés à ce qu'il semble à être attaché quelque part; semblables à ceux représentée dans Smetint ant; Neom: p. 70 et trouvées au Wénuling près de Nimègue	Bustes	Bronze	1	1822	At De Betouw's auction	f 2 Nijmegen
337	493/667	1	Un simpulum en bronze (espece de cuiller, dont une servait aux sacrifices pour les libations), décoré d'une petite tête de porc au bout de la manche, et long de 6,25 pouce: - voyer en pareil, mais avec une autre décoration à la manche dans Caylus rec: d'ant: t.1. pls. 102. #1.	Ritual objects	Bronze	6,25	1819	At De Tersan's auction, in Paris	f 2
338	483/600	1	Tête de belier en bronze, ayant probablement servi de main à la manche de quelque instrument sacerdotal. Haut 3 pouce:	Tools	Bronze	3	1809	At Van Alphen's auction	f 3-10
339		1	Tête de cheval, à crins entrelassés, d'un fort beau travail, ayant eu probablement la même destination. Haut 4,5 pouce:	Tools	Bronze	4,5	1822	At Meerman's auction	f 4-5
340	488/602	1	Manche de couteau ou de quelque instrument en bronze, en forme de chien levrier courant: long environ 2,25 pouce:	Tools	Bronze	2,25	1822	At De Betouw's auction	f 6
341		1	Autre d'un beau travail représentant deux genies adossés contre une colonne. Long 2 pouce. Trouvé au Humneberg près de Nimègue.	Statues	Bronze	2	Un-kown	At an auction in Nijmegen	Nijmegen

342	1	Autre représentant un soldat casqué. Long 3 pouc:	Statues	Bronze	3	Un- kown	At an auction in Nijmegen	Nijmegen	
343	1089/590	1	Une jambe votive, pour sacri pour quelque guerison, en bronze. Long environ 2 pouces.	Ritual objects	Bronze	2	1822	At De Betouw's auction f 1-15	
344	489/592	1	Une main votive, tenant un oiseau, en bronze. Long 2,25 pouc: Trouvé à Xanten.	Ritual objects	Bronze	2,25	1826	At Annet's auction Xanten	
345	1092/594	1	Un petit phallus votif en bronze, avec une beillère. Long 1,5 pouc:	Ritual objects	Bronze	1,5	1819	At prof. Bonn's auction, in Amsterdam	
346	476/585	1	Mascaron en bronze, haut 1,5 pouc: représentant, selon toute apparence, l'Oracle personnifié sous l'effigie d'une Sybille; ayant des rapport sur un pareil que se trouve dans le rec: d'ant: du Caylus. T.4 pl: 50 #3.	Statues	Bronze	1,5	1822	At De Betouw's auction f 5	
347	1094/598	1	Un Dauphin en bronze, ayant peut-être servi d'ornement, long 3 pouc:	Statues	Bronze	3	1835	From a traveler to Africa.	
348	490/681	1	Une mesure de bronze, dans la forme d'un nef de vaisseau, soutenu par deux beliers, et portant l'inscription: IMP. CAESARE L. SEPTIMIO SEVERO COS. MENSURAE EXACTAE IN CAPITOLIO. Haut 5,5 pouc: Chevalier en a publié une semblable dans ses Recherches sur; d'ant; pl. 9.	Inscriptions	Bronze	5,5	1808	At Van Damme's auction f 18-10	
349		1	Une balance; avec ses chaînons, globules, crochets & C. Plus complete que celle représentée dans chevalier pls. 26. - extrêmement curieuse pour la connaissance du pied Romain, et d'une grande rareté. Trouvé dans l'Escaut.	Tools	Bronze		1808	At Van Damme's auction f 3-10	
350	520/734	1	Une lampe en bronze, trouvée dans les fouilles du châteaulet. Long 5,25 pouc:	Lamps	Bronze	5,25	1819	At De Tersan's auction, in Paris f 4-10	
351	519/733	1	Autre, décoré d'un croissant et peut-être con sacrée à Diane, trouvée dans les mêmes fouilles. Long 6,5 pouc:	Lamps	Bronze	6,5	1819	At De Tersan's auction, in Paris f 4-10	
352	521/735	1	Autre en forme d'une tête enfantine, et a deux luminignons. Long.	Lamps	Bronze		1813	From Hertogh f 2	
353	412/611	1	Un étui en bronze, dans lequel sont 3 styles du même métal, destinée à tracer l'écriture sur des tablettes enduites de cire. Long 6,5 pouc: diamètre environ 0,5.	Containers	Bronze	6,5	0,5	1819	At De Tersan's auction, in Paris f 6
354	455/659	1	Un trousseau de 4 clefs antiques, en fer, de formes différentes, fort rare à trouver ainsi réunies.	Keys	Iron		1818	in Paris f 7	
355	1106/660	1	Une clef antique de bronze. Long 3,75 pouc:	Keys	Bronze	3,75	1819	At prof. Bonn's auction, in Amsterdam	
356	450/663	1	Autre long 3 pouc: Deterré à Xanten.	Keys	Bronze	3	1826	At an auction in Amsterdam Xanten	
357	448/653	1	Une petite clef annulaire de bronze, faite pour être portée au doigt, trouvée près de Calcar.	Keys	Bronze		1830	From a pastor at Van Kleef. f 0-15	
358-9	1113/695	2	Deux petits cachets ou sceaux en bronze, portant chacun, en crux, un buste lauréat. Haut environ 1 pouce.	Stamp	Bronze	1	1819	At prof. Bonn's auction, in Amsterdam	
360	429/718	1	Une fibule en bronze, trouvée à Xanten.	Fibulae	Bronze		1826	At an auction in Amsterdam Xanten	
361		1	Autre sans aiguille, trouvée au même endroit.	Fibulae	Bronze		1833	In Xanten Xanten	
362	416/627	1	Autre en argent, avec son aiguille (ce qui se rencontre rarement) Trouvée à Calcar.	Fibulae	Silver		1830	From a pastor at Van Kleef. Calcar	
363	1130/725	1	Une petit cercle en forme de couronne de branches, avec un barre transversale au milieu, ayant peut-être servi d'agraffe. Diam: 2,25 pouc:	Tools	Unkown	2,25	1819	At prof. Bonn's auction, in Amsterdam	
364	438/846	1	Une bague en argent, portant une petite pierre gravée, Trouvée à Xanten.	Rings	Silver		1830	In Xanten Xanten	
365	440/647	1	Une bague en bronze, trouvée a Arendsburg situé sur le soldu Forum Hadriani; decrite et représentée dans Van Wijn Avondstonden 2d part; p [blanc] et # [blanc] de la planche, mais annoncée erroneusement comme étant d'or.	Rings	Bronze		1829	At Van Olden's auction f 3 Forum Hadriani	

366	497/702 & 498/703 & 499/704	3	Trois petites bulles de bronze, de différentes formes, avec leurs couvercles et dont deux émaillées en couleurs; quel'on faisait porter aux enfants en guise d'amulettes, selon Caylus rec; d'ant: t.4. p.90. #1, 2 et 3.	Ornaments	Bronze			1822	At De Betouw's auction	f 1
367	1128/722	1	Une paire de castagnettes en bronze, ayant fait partie d'un instrument de musique des anciens, connu sous le nom de crotale, représenté, dans son ENSEMBLE. Aut. 7. pl: 62. #1 du rec: d'ant: de Caylus.	Tools	Bronze			1822	At De Betouw's auction	f 1
368	508/674	1	Pointe de lance en bronze, Long 3,5 p: pareille à celle du rec: de Caylus t. 1. pl: 96. #3.	Weaponry	Bronze			1822	At De Betouw's auction	f 0-14-0
369	509/675	1	Autre d'une fleche endommagée; long 1,75 pouce: ayant beaucoup de rapport sur celle au susdit RECUEIL t. 1. pl: 93. #6.	Weaponry	Bronze	1,75		1822	At De Betouw's auction	f 0-14-0
370	510/676	1	Autre fer de fleche très petite.	Weaponry	Iron			1833	In Xanten	
371	505/665	1	Une épée en bronze, dont la garde est ornée d'une tête d'aigle. Longuit 6p: et 1/2.	Weaponry	Bronze	16,5		1833	In Heidelberg	
372		1	Une agraffe de bronze, ayant probablement servi au fourreau d'une épée. Longuit 2 pouce:	Weaponry	Bronze	2		1827	As a gift from Vicomte du Foiet	
373	403/605	1	Un miroir en bronze de form ronde et à manche, portant quelques gravures détruites, en grande portée par la Nuille. Diaméter 4,5 pouce.	Mirror	Bronze	4,5		1834	From Vescovalli in Rome	
374	404/605	1	Le fragment d'un miroir en bronze.	Mirror	Bronze			1826	From De Lescluze	
375	1096/606	1	Autre, trouvé à Xanten.	Mirror	Bronze			1830	In Xanten	Xanten
376	1097/607	1	Autre, trouvé au même endroit.	Mirror	Bronze			1833	In Xanten	
377	406/603	1	Peigne antique en cuivre. Long 2,5 pouce:	Tools	Bronze	2,5		1822	At De Betouw's auction	f 0-4-0
378	1112/694	1	Une petite canolette de bronze, ayant servi peut-être à bruler des parfums, de forme élégante, et large d'environ 1 pouce.	Incense burners	Bronze	1		1822	At De Betouw's auction	f 2-15
379	414/617 & 414/618	5	Cinq pincettes en bronze de formes différentes; et dont la plus grande d'environ 2,5 pouce: de long, ressemblent à celle du Rec: d'ant: de Caylus: t. 7. pl: 55. #4 & 5.	Tools	Bronze			1822	At De Betouw's auction	f 0-8-0
380	495/724	1	Une chaînette en bronze, longue de 7 pouces, avec un anneau et un crochet.	Ornaments	Bronze	7		Blanc		
381	494/699	1	Un petit piedestal en bronze, rond de forme et sut monté d'un petit ornement en guise de vau de la même matière. Trouvé dans les ruines de l'ancienne ville de Polentia près de Turin.	Ornaments	Bronze			1834	As a gift from C. de Robilant.	Polentia
382	1279/U	1	Les lettres D.F.I.M.T. En bronze haut de [blanc] pouces. Et ayant fait parler d'une inscription antique, cramponnée dans un mur, ou en marbre.	Inscriptions	Bronze			1834	Blanc	
383	507/678	1	Divers cloués antiques.	Tools	Iron			1826	From De Lescluze	
384	512/669 & 513/670 & 514/671 & 515/672	4	Un petit marteau de fer, long 4 pouces, trouvé à Xanten.	Tools	Iron	4		1830	In Xanten	Xanten
385		1	Quatre hameçons a pecher de bronze, dont le plus fort à environ 2 pouce: de long.	Tools	Bronze			1822	At De Betouw's auction	f 0-6-0
386		1	Une très petite écuelle, de terre cuite, avec une espèce de beliere, ayant fait partie, selon monseigneur De Betouw, des instrumens de pêche des anciens.	Tools	Terracotta			1801	At Schouten's auction	f 0-5-0
387		1	Autre à peu près pareille, de terre grisâtre.	Tools	Pottery			1834	From Vescovalli in Rome	
388	601/731	1	Un disque de jeu des Romains, de terre cuite, ayant 2,25 pouce: de diametre trouvé près de Monster en 1777. avec le petit taireau de bronze.	Games	Terracotta	2,25		1822	At Van Elk's auction	Monster
389	597/622	1	Un fragment d'un strigilis d'ivoire, dont on se servait dans les bains, pour racler le corps. Long 3,5 pouce:	Tools	Ivory	3,5		1822	At De Betouw's auction	f 2-10
390	458/691	1	Poids antique de marbre noir. Haut. 1 pouce: diam: 1,5 p:	Weights	Marble	1	1,5	1822	At Meerman's auction	f 1
391	1111/693	2	Deux petites pierres rondes, l'une blanche l'autre noire, ayant servies au ballottage des Romains, connu sous le nom d'Ostracisme.	Exile stones	Marble			1822	At Meerman's auction	f 1

392	459/690	2	Deux autres des mêmes couleurs, trouvées à Xanten.	Exile stones	Marble	1830	In Xanten	Xanten
393	459/690	1	Autre noire à rayures jaunes, trouvée au même endroit.	Exile stones	Marble	1830	In Xanten	Xanten
394	459/690	6	Six autres, dont 3 noires et 3 blanches, trouvées au même endroit.	Exile stones	Marble	1833	In Xanten	Xanten
395	464/688 & 465/689	3	Trois petite des Romains, tels qu'on en trouve souvent à Avanches et autres lieux de la Suisse.	Games	Bone	1822	At Meerman's auction	
396	463/687	1	Un plus grand.	Games	Bone	1834	From Vescovalli in Rome	
397	460/684	3	Trois plus grande encore.	Games	Bone	1834	From Vescovalli in Rome	
398	1110/692	1	Une perle de verre, de couleur bleuâtre.	Ornaments	Glass	1833	In Xanten	
399		1	Un instrument inconnu de terre cuite.	Tools	Terracotta	1826	From De Lescluze	
400a	Now in the numismatic collection	3	Trois moules monétaires d'anciens dinaires Romains, de terre cuite rougeâtre l'un d'Alexandre Severe, rec: Victoria aug; et les deux autres de Julie Mamée: Hilaritas et Fides militum, type étrange à une princesse.	Mold	Terracotta	1808	At Van Damme's auction	f 3
400b	Now in the numismatic collection	3	Trois autres, trouvés en 1777 près de Xanten; l'une de Julie Domna rec: Fecund Augusta, et les deux autres de Julie Mamée rec: Hilaritas et Marti propugnatori, type singulier pour une femme. Voyer au sujet de ces moules monétaires Caylus rec: d'ant: t.1. pl: 186.	Mold	Terracotta	1805	At Visser's auction, in Dordrecht	f 4
400c	Now in the numismatic collection	1	Une autre, d'Élegabale, rec: Concordia, type étrange pour un Empereur.	Mold	Terracotta	1834	From Fontaine, in Lyon	Lyon
401	436/640	1	Une très belle bague antique des Romains, en or, décoré d'un jaspé, portant la gravure d'un ligé. On sait que celles en or étaient la marque distinctive de l'ordre Equestre chez ce peuple.	Rings	Gold	1808	At Van Damme's auction	f 10
402	437/642	1	Autre en argent, dans laquelle est en chassé une Cornaline rouge, avec la figure de Minerve.	Rings	Silver	1808	At Van Damme's auction	f 1-8-0
403	439/631	1	Autre en fer, avec une cornaline rouge, sur laquelle est gravé Bacchus tenant une grappe de raisins et la thyrée.	Rings	Iron	1808	At Van Damme's auction	f 0-12-0
404	441/679	1	Une aiguille de Cheveux des dames Romaines, en bronze, camelée et ayant été dorée, comme il paraît parier trans qui en existent encore.	Ornaments	Bronze	1802	In Xanten	f 2-8-0 Xanten
405	425/636	1	Une fibule ou agraffe des Romains avec une pingle, ce qui se trouve rarement.	Fibulae	Bronze	1802	In Xanten	f 2-8-0 Xanten
406		2	Deux autres de formes différentes, mais sans épingle.	Fibulae	Bronze	1802	In Xanten	f 2-8-0 Xanten
407	1104/648	1	Un anneau de fer de forme ronde.	Rings	Iron	1802	In Xanten	f 2-8-0 Xanten
408	1105/649	1	Un autre de fer de forme plate.	Rings	Iron	1802	In Xanten	f 2-8-0 Xanten
409	511/688	1	Un crochet de fer au quel pendait une lampe Sepulchrale dans son Sarcophage de pierre calcaire, trouvé près de Xanten, en 1802. Il était séparé en deux parties, dont la supérieure un fermait la sur dite lampe attachée à ce crochet, aîné qu'une cruche de terre cuite (décrite plus haut), et l'inférieure un petit morceau et 5 médailles en bronze des Maximiens. - On le supportait le tombeau d'un enfant, mort venu tems.	Tools	Iron	1802	In Xanten	f 2-8-0 Xanten
410		1	Un ornement en bronze de la forme d'une pendelotte, ayant servi peut-être, à décorer le poitrail d'un cheval.	Ornaments	Bronze	1802	In Xanten	f 2-8-0 Xanten
411		3	Trois instruments incertains du même métal.	Tools	Bronze	1802	In Xanten	f 2-8-0 Xanten
412		1	Une aiguille de cheveux, en bronze, avec un trou, pour y faire passer le ruban - voyer un semblable, mais de forme plate, dans l'Almanac de Gothia, de 1797.	Ornaments	Bronze	1802	In Xanten	f 2-8-0 Xanten
413		1	Une fibulle ou agraffe, avec son épingle; différente de la précédente.	Fibulae	Bronze	1802	In Xanten	f 2-8-0 Xanten
414	485/727	1	Un ornement en bronze de la forme d'une fleur de Lis; et ayant été destiné, peut-être, à décorer le dessus d'un vase. Un pareil est représenté dans Schmidt rec: d'ant: d'avanches. Pl: 24. #4.	Ornaments	Bronze	1802	In Xanten	f 2-8-0 Xanten
415	1116/701	1	Un ornement en bronze de la forme d'une pendelotte, destiné peut-être a été placé au poitrail d'un cheval.	Ornaments	Bronze	1802	In Xanten	f 2-8-0 Xanten
416	1120/713	1	Autre, ayant servi peut-être de monture à la bande supérieure du foureau d'une épée	Ornaments	Bronze	1802	In Xanten	f 2-8-0 Xanten
417		1	Un instrument incertain.	Tools	Bronze	1802	In Xanten	f 2-8-0 Xanten
418	1111/693	2	Deux perles de verre, de couleur bleu et verte.	Ornaments	Glass	1802	In Xanten	f 2-8-0 Xanten

Appendix 14 to paragraph 7.1

Van Westreenen's catalog #	Meerman-treenen's no catalog #	# of objects	English translation	Type	Material	Height (pouce)	Dia- meter (pouce)	Date Acquired	Price	Find location
196	359/511	1	A terracotta statue of a seated woman, with an upstyle in the shape of a sugar loaf; but roughly worked.	Statues	Terracotta	6		1818 in Paris	f 4	
197 & 198	261/516 & 362/521	2	Two small terracotta female heads, wearing different hairdos; probably similar to the images, or small portraits, mentioned by Cicero in his letters to Atticus.	Statues	Terracotta			1818 in Paris	f 6	
199	358/513	1	A terracotta bust of a man, wearing the Phrygian cap.	Bustes	Terracotta	3,5		1818 in Paris		
200		1	An antique terracotta hook, 6,5 diametre wide, with a support (Ara), which is placed in the concavity of the altar, which is 6 pouce high and 9,5 pouce in diametre. The feelings are shared that the monument belonged to the Romans, or, because of the rudeness of the work and form to Germanic people.	Ritual objects	Terracotta	6	9,5	1797 At Boer's auction	f 10-8-0	
201	784/983	1	A jug with one handle, of whitish terracotta, used to sacrifice for libations. Found in the ruins of Brittenburg, as described and presented in Paris <i>Katwijkische en Rijnsburgsche Oudheden</i> p. 81, and the lettre N. - therefore the same was shown in Junius, and derived from, according to a note by C. van Alkemade, the collection of this antiquarian.	Ritual objects	Terracotta	7,5		1803 At Naber's auction	f 2-18	Brittenburg
202	782/981	1	Another [libation jug] of brownish pottery, unearthed nearby Van Kleef.	Ritual objects	Pottery			1804 At prof. Schutte's auction		Van Kleef
203		1	Another smaller [jug] with a yellowish colour, probably intended for a different use, found in Xanten in the sarcophagus mentioned below [#409].	Jugs	Pottery			1802 in Xanten		Xanten
204 & 205		2	Another two [jugs] with a greyish colour, with a coarse temper.	Jugs	Pottery			1826 From De Lescluze		
206 & 207	755/974 & 756/975	2	Another two [jugs] with a different forms, a yellowish colour and a very fine temper.	Jugs	Pottery			1826 From De Lescluze		
208	765/949	1	Another [jug] with a different form.	Jugs	Pottery			1826 From De Lescluze		
209		1	A small jug, with one handle, of yellowish pottery.	Jugs	Pottery			1834 From Vescovali in Rome		
210	604/818	1	Another [jug] of similar material, but with a different form.	Jugs	Pottery			1834 From Vescovali in Rome		
211	757/956	1	Another [jug] without handles of quite fine whitish pottery.	Jugs	Pottery			1821 At Meerman's auction		
212	750/973	1	Another [jug] of greyish pottery and roughly worked.	Jugs	Pottery			1821 At Meerman's auction		
213		1	A pot with two handles, of greyish pottery.	Kitchenware	Pottery			1826 From De Lescluze		
214		1	Another [pot] of blackish pottery.	Kitchenware	Pottery			1826 From De Lescluze		
215	732/963	1	Another similar [pot] with one handle, of blackish pottery, but smaller and a form resembling a pestle.	Kitchenware	Pottery			1826 From De Lescluze		
216		1	A small pot of reddish Samian ware, found at the Arensburg estate near Voorburg, at the floors of the ancient Forum Hadriani.	Kitchenware	Terra sigillata			1829 At Van Olden's auction		Forum Hadriani
217	696/909	1	A beautiful bowl of red Samian ware, decked out with a relief depicting animals and arabesques.	Kitchenware	Terra sigillata			1811 At pastor Koning's auction	f 0-10-0	
218	697/910	1	A similar [bowl], but decked out with a different relief.	Kitchenware	Terra sigillata			As a gift from De Schuylenburg de Bommene		
219	606/820	1	A very small [bowl] with two handles, of similar Samian ware and an elegant form.	Kitchenware	Terra sigillata			1826 From De Lescluze		
220	715/928	1	A fragment of a bowl of red Samian, unearthed near Voorburg at the place where the castle, of the ancient Forum Hadriani, was situated.	Kitchenware	Terra sigillata			1803 At Naber's auction	f 6-6	Forum Hadriani
221 & 222		2	Two other similar fragments [of a bowl], found in the same place at the Arensburg estate.	Kitchenware	Terra sigillata			1829 At Van Olden's auction	f 0-10-0	Forum Hadriani
223		1	A fragment of a similar bowl, but decorated with a relief representing figures etc.	Kitchenware	Terra sigillata			1811 At pastor Koning's auction	f 0-10-0	
224		1	Another similar fragment [of a bowl] with figures of animals etc. in relief.	Kitchenware	Terra sigillata			1822 At Van Eik's auction		
225		1	A small bow of yellowish pottery.	Kitchenware	Pottery			1834 From Vescovali in Rome		
226	712/925	1	A drinking cup (ampulla pоторia) of red Samian ware with an elegant form and decorated alongside the edges with lotus flowers in relief. A similar one can be seen in Caylus t. 2, pl. 118.	Kitchenware	Terra sigillata			1803 At Naber's auction	f 1-4-0	
227	708/921	1	A similar [drinking cup], but without relief, with on the inside the inscription: RIMVSI. Name of the potter.	Kitchenware	Terra sigillata			As a gift from De Schuylenburg de Bommene		
228	706/919	1	Another [drinking cup] without relief or inscription.	Kitchenware	Terra sigillata			1812 At prof. Bonn's auction, in Amsterdam	f 2-7-8	

229	707/920	1	Another [drinking cup] with a different form.	Kitchenware	Terra sigillata		1821	As a gift from fam. Meerman, acquired in Italy	
230 & 231	710/923 & 709/922	2	Two smaller [drinking cups].	Kitchenware	Terra sigillata		1821	As a gift from fam. Meerman, acquired in Italy	
232	716/929	1	A plate of reddish Samian ware, with the inscription MORICUS.F. Name of the potter.	Kitchenware	Terra sigillata		1821	As a gift from Meerman's widow	
233	717/933	1	Another smaller [plate], with the name of the potter in the letters CRISPI.M.	Kitchenware	Terra sigillata		1821	As a gift from Meerman's widow	
234	728/941	1	Another [plate] without inscription and of yellowish pottery	Kitchenware	Pottery		1826	From De Lescluze	
235	729/942	1	Another smaller [plate] of yellowish pottery.	Kitchenware	Pottery		1834	From Vescovali in Rome	
236		1	Another [plate] with one handle, of whitish pottery.	Kitchenware	Pottery		1826	From De Lescluze	
237	727/940	1	A terracotta mold, for a plate with figures and other ornaments.	Kitchenware	Terracotta	6	1833	As a gift from Jong, conservator of the museum of antiquities in Strasbourg.	Spère
238		1	A platter-bowl of brownish terracotta.	Kitchenware	Terracotta		1803	At Naber's auction	f 0-5-5
239		1	A similar [platter-bowl].	Kitchenware	Terracotta		1809	At Van Alphen's auction	f 0-5-8
240		1	A plate of reddish Samian ware.	Kitchenware	Terra sigillata		1803	At Naber's auction	f 0-5-0
241		1	A similar [plate].	Kitchenware	Terra sigillata		1809	At Van Alphen's auction	f 0-5-8
242	718/932	1	Another smaller [plate] perhaps the lid of a vessel.	Kitchenware	Terra sigillata		1812	As a gift from De Schuylenburg de Bommenede	
243		1	An even smaller [plate], perhaps also the cover of a vessel.	Kitchenware	Terra sigillata		1826	From De Lescluze	
244	758/957	1	A small vase of greyish pottery without a handle.	Vases	Pottery	3,5	1826	From De Lescluze	
245		1	Another [vase] of greyish pottery.	Vases	Pottery		1834	From Vescovali in Rome	
246	576/790	1	A small vase of greyish glass with one handle.	Vases	Glass	3,5	1812	As a gift from De Schuylenburg de Bommenede	
247	780/4	1	A large terracotta amphora.	Vases	Terracotta		1822	At Meerman's auction	
248	534/743	1	A terracotta lamp, decorated with a relief of two fighting cocks.	Lamps	Terracotta		1801	At Schouten's auction	f 0-16-0
249	530/739	1	A similar [lamp], decorated with a relief of a lit altar between two ears.	Lamps	Terracotta		1809	At Van Alphen's auction	f 0-5-8
250	559/762	1	A similar [lamp] with the inscription MVNTRE. Fractured.	Lamps	Terracotta		1818	At Schouten's auction	f 0-12-0
251	562/776	1	Another [lamp] with the inscription L.CASAE. Fractured.	Lamps	Terracotta		1834	From Vescovali in Rome	
252	538/753	1	Another [lamp] with a different form and of reddish Samian ware, with the name of the potter NERI.	Lamps	Terra sigillata		1801	At Euler's auction	f 1-8
253	542/757	1	A similar [lamp] with the inscription FORTIS.I	Lamps	Terra sigillata		1818	At Schouten's auction	f 0-12-0
254	555/761	1	A similar [lamp] with the inscription STROBIL.	Lamps	Terra sigillata		1818	At Schouten's auction	f 0-12-0
255	548/765	1	Another [lamp] of a different type and pottery, and without inscription.	Lamps	Pottery		1801	At Schouten's auction	f 0-16-0
256	546/758	1	A similar [lamp], but smaller.	Lamps	Pottery		1809	At Van Alphen's auction	
257	566/780	1	Another different [lamp].	Lamps	Pottery		1834	From Vescovali in Rome	
258	552/747	1	Another smaller [lamp].	Lamps	Pottery		1834	From Vescovali in Rome	f 0-16-0
259	565/770	1	Another [lamp] of similar sort of pottery; but with three candles, which is not commonly found.	Lamps	Pottery		1812	As a gift from De Schuylenburg de Bommenede	
260		1	Another [lamp] of reddish Samian ware and only one candle, made to be suspended.	Lamps	Terra sigillata		1826	From De Lescluze	
261	370/514	1	A fragment of a terracotta lamp, in the shape of a Satyr-head, similar to that presented in Smetius' publication.	Lamps	Terracotta		1822	At De Betouw's auction	f 3-15
262	677/890	1	A lacrymatory [tear bottle] of terracotta.	Lacrymatories	Terracotta	4,5	1826	From De Lescluze	

263	679/892	1	Another [lacrymatory] with a different form and of reddish pottery.	Lacrymatories	Terracotta	4,5	1803	At Naber's auction	f 2-2-0		
264	674/887	1	Another smaller [lacrymatory].	Lacrymatories	Terracotta	3	1811	At pastor Koning's auction	f 0-10-0		
265	675/888	1	Another [lacrymatory] of yellowish terracotta.	Lacrymatories	Terracotta	2,5	1834	From Vescovali in Rome			
266		1	A cinerary urn of terracotta.	Cinerary urns	Terracotta		1811	At pastor Koning's auction	f 0-11-0		
267		1	Another [cinerary urn] with more or less different form.	Cinerary urns	Terracotta		1811	At pastor Koning's auction	f 0-11-0		
268		1	Another [cinerary urn] found nearby Van Kleef.	Cinerary urns	Terracotta		1804	From W.G. Schutte	Van Kleef		
269	739/953	1	Another [cinerary urn] with grooves.	Cinerary urns	Terracotta		1811	At pastor Koning's auction	f 0-11-0		
270		1	Another [cinerary urn] with one handle, and with a lid, which is rarely found, and is about to break.	Cinerary urns	Terracotta		1811	At pastor Koning's auction	f 0-11-0		
271		1	An alabaster statue of Vertumnus, dressed in a toga, with a bearded head encircled with fruits, holding a truss in his right hand and leaning on the horn of abundance [cornucopia] with his left. At his feet is a mask, an allusion in various forms of which the ancient sources say this deity was accustomed to, also reported by Ovidius in his 14th work of his Metamorphoses, and Propertius' 2nd elegy of his fourth work.	Statues	Alabaster	15	Unko wn	At Haringman's auction	f 12	Bayes	
272	342/503	1	Another marble [statue] of Hercules, holding a mask in his right hand and in his left, the appels of the Hesperides, and the skin of the lion from the Nemean forest.	Statues	Marble		1834	From Vescovali in Rome			
273	1078/498	1	Small alabaster or marble bust of emperor Julius Caesar, his head with laurels, carried out very carefully with an admirable expression.	Busts	Marble	2,5	1831	From Immerreil	f 26		
274	344/505	1	A red antique buste (Rosso antico) of the young emperor Augustus, and the head made with extreme precision for the material and execution.	Busts	Marble		1834	From Vescovali in Rome			
275	339/509	1	A bust of empress Livia, in the image of Pietà, bigger than normal size. - the head of carrare marble and the clothing of veined white marble; but a modern work.	Busts	Marble		1821	As a gift from Meerman's widow		Van der Wulp	
276	1077/495	1	Small head of yellow marble, representing emperor Vespasian.	Busts	Marble		1834	From Vescovali in Rome			
277	347/494	1	A marble bust with a flattened behind, representing Iupiter.	Busts	Marble		1834	From Vescovali in Rome			
278	346/486	1	Another similar [buste] representing a Bacchante [priestess of Bacchus].	Busts	Marble	6	1834	From Vescovali in Rome			
279	355/493	1	A marble head of an elderly man wearing a cap.	Busts	Marble	4	1834	From Vescovali in Rome			
280	338/508	1	A bas-relief of white marble depicting a Roman reader, holding a averment of his office, and wearing on his chest a clamp with an eagle in relief. 22 pouce high and 13 wide, but reduced to 20,5 pouce by the inequalities of the lower part.	Bas-reliefs	Marble	20,5	13	1822	At Meerman's auction		Carthage's ruins
281	349/491	1	Fragment of a marble bas-relief, depicting a sitting woman until the knee. Found in the Villa Hadriani near Tivoli.	Bas-reliefs	Marble	8	5,5	1834	In Tivoli		Villa Hadriani
282	350/492	1	Another representing a winged genie, holding a cup in his right hand. Found in the same location.	Bas-reliefs	Marble			1834	In Tivoli		Villa Hadriani
283	312/454	1	Another representing an arabesque with two horse heads. Found in the same location and probably is part of a frieze of the ruins of the emperor [Hadrian].	Bas-reliefs	Marble			1834	In Tivoli		Villa Hadriani
284	694/430	1	A beautiful alabaster sacrificial vase, with two handles, of a singular and rarely used form.	Ritual objects	Alabaster	5,5	10,5	1821	At Meerman's auction	f 16	
285	693/429	1	A very beautiful sacrificial cup on a pivot, and has a very elegant shape.	Ritual objects	Alabaster	6	11	1821	At Meerman's auction	f 8-10	
286	695/4049	1	A gorgeous type of greenish soapstone, interspersed with dendrites, with its cover once damaged a little.	Ornaments	Stone	9	8,5	1821	At Meerman's auction	f 16	
287	314/456	1	A marble pine cone similar in shape to the large and bronze one that once adorned Hadrian's Mausoleum (now Castle Sant'Angelo), and now still remains in the Vatican.	Sculptures	Marble	4,5		1834	From Vescovali in Rome		
288	311/451	1	A marble slab, 13,5 pouces wide, 8,25 pouces high and one pouces thick, bearing the mortuary inscription: *D*M* AVRELIAE FELICISSIM. VIXIT ANNIS XXIII. ET MENS. VI. IVLIA. IN GENVVA MATER. PIENTISSIMIA. FECIT *	Inscriptions	Marble	8,25	13,5	1813	At the Bakhuyzen bookstore	f 4	
289	310/448	1	Another [slab] with the inscription; T.AEL.IVS.AVC.LIB.SATURNINVS A.DIPLDMATIBVS SARDONYCHI ALVMNO FIDELISSIMO.	Inscriptions	Marble			1813	At the Bakhuyzen bookstore	f 4	
290	308/450	1	Another [slab] with the inscription; FABIA ANTHVSA CARA SVIS HP.SB.M.F	Inscriptions	Marble			1826	At Meerman's auction		
291	324/469	1	A yellowish brick, 5,5 pouces wide and approximately 4 pouces high, and 1,5 pouces thick, with the inscription; L.VOLVSI.PHASIC. Concerning the explanation of the inscribed letters in this piece, see the letters of J.A.N. and C.J.A. in Algemeene Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen from 1797, p. 392 and 470. and 1799, p. 548. Where the summary of the explanations is as follows; Lapis VOLVre sinus PHASIC. or (which seems more likely) L.VOLVusio Vota Solverunt Incola PHASIC.	Inscriptions	Pottery	4,5	5,5	1803	At Naber's auction		

292	328/473	1	Fragment of a red tile, with the inscription EX.GER.INF. (EXercitus GERmania INFERioris), found in the ruins of the castle of Brittenburg. Shown in <i>Pais' Katwijksche en Rhijnsburse Oudheden</i> , p. 85.	Inscriptions	Pottery			1803	At Naber's auction	f 1-8-0	Brittenburg
293	332/477	1	Fragment of a red paved tile, with the inscription. LEG. XXX (LEGio Thirti), found in the same ruins. Shown in <i>Pais</i> : p. 85.	Inscriptions	Pottery			1803	At Naber's auction	f 1-8-0	Brittenburg
294	329/474	1	Another fragment of a red paved tile, with the inscription EX.G.I. (EXercitus GERmania INFERioris.)	Inscriptions	Pottery			1814	At Greve's auction, in Delft	f 0-18-0	
295	335/480	1	Another fragment of a red paved tile, with the inscription G.G.P.F. found at the Arentsburg estate - from Forum Hadriani.	Inscriptions	Pottery			1829	At Van Olden's auction		Forum Hadriani
296	326/471	1	A reddish brick with the inscription EX.GER.IN. (EXercitus GERmania INFERioris), found at the demolition of the village near Nijmegen, by De Betouwe to publish history.	Inscriptions	Pottery			1802	As a gift from De Betouwe, in Nijmegen		Nijmegen
297	323/468	1	Fragment of a paved tile of greyish terracotta, with the inscription semi-circular E R/LLIVS SAR F EGT. Found in Hadrian's villa.	Inscriptions	Terracotta			1834	In Tivoli		Villa Hadriani
298	331/476	1	An antique orange brick shaped according to a type of Roman masonry called <i>Opus Tessalatum</i> . Found in the Villa Hadriani.	Inscriptions	Pottery			1834	In Tivoli		Villa Hadriani
299		1	A fragment of a brick coming from the Brittenburg.	Inscriptions	Pottery			1811	At pastor Koning's auction		Brittenburg
300		1	A fragment of the capital of a column of the Ionic order, which was immured at a short distance of the Roman chapel of the village near Nijmegen.	Sculptures	Stone			1802	In Nijmegen		Nijmegen
301		1	A small part of the tomb of Virgili, on the road between Naples and Puzozole; represented in Rogers art related to Italy t.3, p. 561. and elsewhere.	Tombstones	Stone			1805	At Van Nisper's auction	f 0-10-0	
302		1	A piece of red porphyry of a pavement from the ruins of Villa Ciceronis not far from Mole di Gaeta	Pavements	Porphyry			1834	In Mole di Gaeta		Villa Ciceronis
303	318/460	1	Fragment of an arabesque fresco, with a painted background divided by bands of different colours: parts of the edges of a wall. Found in the ruins of Villa Hadriani.	Ornaments	Plaster	11	6	1819	At Leon de Foumy's auction, in Paris.	f 8	Villa Hadriani
304	320/462	1	Fragment of a mosaic frieze, a very fine work and beautifully conserved, height and width 3,5 pouces. It represents on a black background, with lively colours, a vase, portraying a plant surrounded by two flower stems [...].	Mosaics	Marble	3,5	3,5	1814	From the librarian Gevers	f 3	
304a	1325/U & 1326/U	2	Two tables with antique mosaic, with tiles of yellow, black and white marble. From the pavement of one of the rooms (the so called bathing) of the Villa Hadriani. Long [blanc] Wide [blanc]. Pieces of the highest rarity and high price.	Mosaics	Marble			1834	In Tivoli		Villa Hadriani
305	315/463	1	A piece of white marble with a mosaic strip of ancient porphyry, red and green. Found in the same place [Villa Hadriani]	Mosaics	Marble and Porphyry			1834	In Tivoli		Villa Hadriani
306	1075/466	1	Fragment of a mosaic pavement of the same black on white background. Found in the proximity of Vescove in Dauphine.	Mosaics	Marble			1834	As a gift from the director of the museum		Vescove
307	1074/466	1	A small fragment of a mosaic providing a design of two white and black stripes. Found in the same place [Vescove].	Mosaics	Marble			1834	As a gift from the director of the museum		Vescove
308	321/464	1	Fragment of an ancient mosaic work, with some stone replacements.	Mosaics	Marble			1811	At pastor Koning's auction		
309		3	Three small stones of a mosaic representing Meleager and Atalante, now in the court of the house of Mîster [blanc] in Lyon, but once was part of the pavement of the Temple in this villa [Hadriani], dedicated to Rome and August.	Mosaics	Marble			1834	In Tivoli		Villa Hadriani
310		3	Three small stones of an antique mosaic work.	Mosaics	Marble			1801	At Schouten's auction		
311		6	Six other [mosaic stones].	Mosaics	Marble			1822	At pastor Van Eik's auction		
312	389/544	1	A bronze statue, dressed a tunic with its head surrounded by laurels, probably representing Apollo, but the arms and legs are damaged. On a pedestal of white marble.	Statues	Bronze	7,25		1822	At pastor Van Eik's auction	f 1-10	
313	838/550	1	Another [bronze statue] of Mars dressed in armor, holding a spear in the right hand and a shield in the left. Caylus: t.3, p. 159. reported that the statues of this deity are commonly found.	Statues	Bronze	5,5		1809	At Van Alphen's auction	f 2-10-0	
314	839/572	1	Another [bronze statue] of Venus, an ancient copy of the freestanding statue of this goddess by Praxiteles from Gnidos, mentioned by Plineus in his <i>Natural History</i> work 36, and presenting some coins of this city.	Statues	Bronze	5,25		1801	At Schouten's auction	f 5-13-0	
315	830/530	1	Another verocious copy [of a bronze statue] similar to the antique Venus emerging from the bath, from the cabinet of the queen Christina of Sweden, engraved in museum Odescuchi's Roman cabinet. Pl. 43 ; but without the mud and other accessories; and has much in common with the figure presented in Eayllur rt. 2. p. 47. #1.	Statues	Bronze			1813	From Hertogh	f 2	
316	473/536	1	Another [bronze statue] representing a winged Cupid.	Statues	Bronze	2,25		1826	From De Lescluze		

317	377/593	1	Another [bronze statue] of Minerva who's head is covered with a helmet, with many references to this representation in Eaylur: d'ant: t.1. pl: 63. #3.	Statues	Bronze	2,5	1822	At De Betouw's auction	
318	380/564	1	Another [bronze statue] broken at the shaft, representing seemingly Bachus, with the hairdo and decoration of [unclear] etc., and holding a bunch of grapes.	Statues	Bronze	3	1820	As a gift from De Schuylenburg de Bommene's widow	
319	1084/535	1	Another [bronze statue] of the god Priapus sitting.	Statues	Bronze	2,5	1820	At De Tersan's auction, in Paris	f 5
320	467/534	1	Another [bronze statue] representing Hercules, wearing the skin of the lion from the Nemean forest on his left arm, the apples of the Hesperides in the same hand, while the right arm is broken.	Statues	Bronze	2	1835	From a traveler to Africa.	
321	376/543	1	Another [bronze statue] of a standing Satyr, who seems to perform a dance.	Statues	Bronze	1,2	1829	At Van Olden's auction	
322	468/576	1	Another [bronze statue] of a sitting Helen, with a bird perched in her left hand.	Statues	Bronze	1,75	1830	From a pastor at Van Kleef.	f 2-50
323	384/566	1	Another very small [bronze statue] of the god Crepitus, a very beautiful work. In the catalogue of M. De Tersan's collections, we find on p. 20 #121 concerning the same figurine, the following note: "the ancient god had everything, even an impalpable body, on which the author of Mercurius gallantly wrote an ingenious enigma, which begins with the following: I am an invisible body, who's being is in the place below."	Statues	Bronze	3,5	1830	At De Tersan's auction, in Paris	f 5
324	470/588	1	Another very small [bronze statue] of the goddess Angerona, with her head adorned with the lotus flower and holding in her right hand over her mouth, and in her left part of a diametrically opposed ram which, attached like this, serves as an amulet. [...]	Statues	Bronze	5,25	1814	From the librarian Gevers	f 5
325	382/542	1	Another [bronze statue] of the goddess of Victory after having lost the branch she held in her right hand.	Statues	Bronze	3	1830	From a pastor at Van Kleef.	f 5
326	391/568	1	Another [bronze statue] of the figure of Vergil, entirely naked.	Statues	Bronze	4,25	1832	From Marguier, in Paris	
327	1093/595	1	Another [bronze statue] of a sitting child.	Statues	Bronze	1,25	1826	From De Lescluze	
328	478/578	1	A small sword in its sheath, probably belonging to a statuette.	Statues	Bronze	3	1835	From a traveler to Africa.	
329	478/578	1	A small buste of Mercurius, covered by a winged [unclear].	Bustes	Bronze	3	1827	In Paris	
330	1086/582	1	A small bronze buste of Flora, her head decorated with flowers.	Bustes	Bronze	3,25	1805	At Van Nisper's auction	f 0-10-0
331	474/586	1	Another [bronze buste] of King Midas.	Bustes	Bronze	1,5	1819	At prof. Bomm's auction, in Amsterdam	f 5-10
332	480/581	1	Another [bronze buste], with plenty reports on these by emperor Othon.	Bustes	Bronze		1830	From a pastor at Van Kleef.	f 0-15
333	479/579	1	Another [bronze buste] of a female, flat-shaped from behind, [...] it seems to have been attached to somewhere.	Bustes	Bronze	5	1801	At Schouten's auction	f 1-5-0
334	475/587	1	Another [bronze buste] of a young child, with a stick on the backside, for the purpose of attaching it somewhere.	Bustes	Bronze	1,75	1819	At prof. Bomm's auction, in Amsterdam	
335 & 336	145 K 65	2	Two small bronze bustes of Sicambre, approximately 1 pouce large, also seems to have been meant to be attached to somewhere; similar to those represented in Smetius's publication, p. 70 and those found at Wénuling near Nijmegen.	Bustes	Bronze	1	1822	At De Betouw's auction	f 2
337	493/667	1	A bronze simpulum [small Roman vessel] (a sort of spoon, which served in sacrifice for libations), decorated with a small pig's head at the end of the handle, about 6,25 pouce long. One can see a similar, but with another decoration on the handle stated by Caylus: t.1. pls. 102. #1.	Ritual objects	Bronze	6,25	1819	At De Tersan's auction, in Paris	f 2
338	483/600	1	Bronze head of a ram, which was probably used as a handle of a priestly instrument.	Sculptures	Bronze	3	1809	At Van Alphen's auction	f 3-10
339		1	Head of a horse, with intertwined bristles, a very beautiful work, which probably had the same purpose [priestly instrument].	Sculptures	Bronze	4,5	1822	At Meerman's auction	f 4-5
340	488/602	1	Knife handle or some kind of bronze instrument, in the shape of an ordinary greyhound; approximately 2,25 pouces long.	Tools	Bronze	2,25	1822	At De Betouw's auction	f 6
341		1	Another beautiful work representing two genies leaning against a column. 2 pouce long. Found at Huneberg near Nijmegen.	Statues	Bronze	2	Blanc	At an auction in Nijmegen	Nijmegen
342		1	Another [bronze] representing a soldier's helmet.	Statues	Bronze	3	Blanc	At an auction in Nijmegen	Nijmegen
343	1089/590	1	A votive leg, to sacrifice for healing, in bronze. Approximately 2 pouces long.	Ritual objects	Bronze	2	1822	At De Betouw's auction	f 1-15
344	489/592	1	A votive hand, holding a bird, in bronze. Found in Xanten.	Ritual objects	Bronze	2,25	1826	At Amet's auction	Xanten

345	1092/594	1	A small votive bronze phallus with a ram.	Ritual objects	Bronze	1,5	1819	At prof. Bonn's auction, in Amsterdam	
346	476/585	1	A grotesque bronze; representing, to all appearances, the oracle personified in the image of Sybille; a report of a similar [bronze] can be found in Caylus t.4. pl. 50. #3.	Statues	Bronze	1,5	1822	At De Betouw's auction	f 5
347	1094/598	1	A bronze dolphin, which perhaps served as an ornament.	Sculptures	Bronze	3	1835	From a traveler to Africa.	
348	490/681	1	A bronze measure, in the form of a vessel's nave, supported by two rams and bearing the inscription; IMP. CAESARE L. SEPTIMIO SEVERO COS. MENSURAE EXACTAE IN CAPITOLIO. Chevalier published a similar one in his Recherches, pl. 9.	Inscriptions	Bronze	5,5	1808	At Van Damme's auction	f 18-10
349		1	A scale, with links, globules and hooks etc. More complete than the one in Chevalier pl. 26. - Extremely curious for knowledge of the Roman foot, and a great rarity. Found in the Scheldt.	Tools	Bronze		1808	At Van Damme's auction	f 3-10
350	520/734	1	A bronze lamp, found in the excavations of the gatehouse.	Lamps	Bronze	5,25	1819	At De Tersan's auction, in Paris	f 4-10
351	519/733	1	Another [bronze lamp], decorated with a crescent and perhaps devoted to Diana, found in the same excavations [of the gatehouse].	Lamps	Bronze	6,5	1819	At De Tersan's auction, in Paris	f 4-10
352	521/735	1	Another [bronze lamp] in the form of a child's head, with two candles. Long.	Lamps	Bronze		1813	From Hertogh	f 2
353	412/611	1	A bronze container, in which there are three sorts of metal [stylis], for tracing the writing on tablets coated with wax.	Containers	Bronze	6,5	0,5	At De Tersan's auction, in Paris	f 6
354	455/659	1	A bunch of 4 ancient iron keys, of different shapes, rarely found together like this.	Keys	Iron		1818	in Paris	f 7
355	1106/660	1	An ancient bronze key.	Keys	Bronze	3,75	1819	At prof. Bonn's auction, in Amsterdam	
356	450/663	1	Another [bronze key], unearthed at Xanten.	Keys	Bronze	3	1826	At an auction in Amsterdam	Xanten
357	448/653	1	A small bronze key ring, to be worn on the finger, found near Calcar.	Keys	Bronze		1830	From a pastor at Van Kleef.	f 0-15
358-9	1113/695	2	Two small bronze stamps or seals, each bearing, in recess, a laureate bust.	Stamps	Bronze	1	1819	At prof. Bonn's auction, in Amsterdam	
360	429/718	1	A bronze fibula, found in Xanten.	Fibulae	Bronze		1826	At an auction in Amsterdam	Xanten
361		1	Another [fibula] without needle, found in the same place [Xanten].	Fibulae	Bronze		1833	In Xanten	Xanten
362	416/627	1	Another [fibula] of silver, with its needle (which is rarely found). Found in Calcar.	Fibulae	Silver		1830	From a pastor at Van Kleef.	Calcar
363	1130/725	1	A small circle shaped in the form of a branched crown, with a crossbar in the middle, which perhaps has served for fastening.	Tools	Unknown	2,25	1819	At prof. Bonn's auction, in Amsterdam	
364	438/846	1	A silver ring, bearing a small engraved stone. Found in Xanten.	Rings	Silver		1830	In Xanten	Xanten
365	440/647	1	A bronze ring, found at Arensburg on the floors of Forum Hadriani; described and depicted in Van Wijn's Avondstonden part 2. of the place, but wrongly announced as being gold.	Rings	Bronze		1829	At Van Olden's auction	f 3
366	497/702 & 498/703 & 499/704	3	Three small bronze statements of various shapes, with their lids and two enamelled colours; that were worn by children as amulets, according to Caylus t. 4. pl. 90 #1, 2 and 3.	Ornaments	Bronze		1822	At De Betouw's auction	f 1
367	1128/722	1	A pair of bronze castanets, having been part of an ancient musical instrument, known as the rattlesnake, presented in his set aut. 7. pl. 62. #1 in Caylus' publication.	Tools	Bronze		1822	At De Betouw's auction	f 1
368	508/674	1	The tip of a bronze spear, similar to the one mentioned in Caylus' publication t.1 pl. 96 #3.	Weaponry	Bronze		1822	At De Betouw's auction	f 0-14-0
369	509/675	1	Another damaged [tip] of an arrow, with many reports in the aforementioned collection [Caylus] t. 1. pl. 93 #6.	Weaponry	Bronze	1,75	1822	At De Betouw's auction	f 0-14-0
370	510/676	1	Another [tip] of a very small iron arrow.	Weaponry	Iron		1833	In Xanten	
371	505/665	1	A bronze sword, whose guard is decorated with the head of an eagle.	Weaponry	Bronze	16,5	1833	In Heidelberg	
372		1	A bronze fastening, which probably served as the sheath of a sword.	Weaponry	Bronze	2	1827	As a gift from Vicomte du Folet	
373	403/605	1	A bronze mirror with a round form, and in the round bearing engravings, destroyed to a large extent, by the Nile.	Mirrors	Bronze		1834	From Vescovalli in Rome	

374	404/605	1	A fragment of a bronze mirror [373 (403/605)].	Mirrors	Bronze		1826	From De Lescluze		
375	1096/606	1	Another [fragment of a bronze mirror], found in Xanten.	Mirrors	Bronze		1830	In Xanten		Xanten
376	1097/607	1	Another [fragment of a bronze mirror], found in the same place [Xanten].	Mirrors	Bronze		1833	In Xanten		
377	406/603	1	An antique copper comb.	Tools	Bronze	2.5	1822	At De Betouw's auction	f 0-4-0	
378	1112/694	1	A small bronze casserole, used perhaps for the burning of incense, with an elegant form and approximately 1 pouce long.	Kitchenware	Bronze	1	1822	At De Betouw's auction	f 2-15	
379	414/617 & 414/618	5	Five bronze tweezers of different shapes, and the largest about 2.5 pouce in length, resembling the one mentioned by Caylus t.7. pl:55. #4 & 5.	Tools	Bronze		1822	At De Betouw's auction	f 0-8-0	
380	495/724	1	A bronze pendant, 7 pouce long, with a ring and a hook.	Ornaments	Bronze	7		Blanc		
381	494/699	1	A small bronze pedestal, with a round form and mounted on a small ornament made of the same material. Found in the ruins of the ancient village of Polentia near Turin.	Sculptures	Bronze		1834	As a gift from C. de Robilant.		Polentia
382	1279/U	1	The letters D.F.I.M.I.N.T. in bronze [blanc] pounces high, mentioning an ancient inscription in marble, clinging to a wall.	Inscriptions	Bronze		1834	Blanc		
383		1	Various antique nails.	Tools	Iron		1826	From De Lescluze		
384	507/678	1	A small iron hammer, found in Xanten.	Tools	Iron	4	1830	In Xanten		Xanten
385	512/669 & 513/670 & 514/671 & 515/672	4	Four bronze fishing hooks, the strongest is about 2 pouce long.	Tools	Bronze		1822	At De Betouw's auction	f 0-6-0	
386		1	A very small terracotta bowl, with some sort of rim, which was a part, according to mister De Betouw, of ancient fishing instruments.	Tools	Terracotta		1801	At Schouten's auction	f 0-5-0	
387		1	Another somewhat similar [fishing bowl], of greyish pottery.	Tools	Pottery		1834	From Vescovalli in Rome		
388	601/731	1	A Roman gaming board of terracotta, 2,25 pouce in diameter found near Monster in 1777, with a small bronze taurus.	Games	Terracotta		2,25	At Van Eik's auction		Monster
389	597/622	1	A fragment of an ivory strigil [scraper], which was used in the baths, to scrape the body.	Tools	Ivory	3,5	1822	At De Betouw's auction	f 2-10	
390	458/691	1	Ancient weights of black marble.	Weights	Marble	1	1,5	At Meerman's auction	f 1	
391	1111/693	2	Two small round stones, one white and the other black, which were used for exiling Romans, known under the name of Ostracism.	Exile stones	Marble		1822	At Meerman's auction	f 1	
392	459/690	2	Two other [exile stones] of the same colours, found in Xanten.	Exile stones	Marble		1830	In Xanten		Xanten
393	459/690	1	Another black [exile stone] with yellow stripes, found in the same place.	Exile stones	Marble		1830	In Xanten		Xanten
394	459/690	6	Six other [exile stones], 3 black and 3 white, found in the same place.	Exile stones	Marble		1833	In Xanten		Xanten
395	464/688 & 465/689	3	Three small Roman dice, such as are often found in Avenches and other places in Switzerland.	Games	Bone		1822	At Meerman's auction		
396	463/687	1	A bigger [dice].	Games	Bone		1834	From Vescovalli in Rome		
397	460/684	3	Three even bigger [dice].	Games	Bone		1834	From Vescovalli in Rome		
398	1110/692	1	A glass bead, of a bluish colour.	Ornaments	Glass		1833	In Xanten		
399		1	An unknown instrument of terracotta.	Tools	Terracotta		1826	From De Lescluze		
400a	Now in the numismatic collection	3	Three monetary molds of ancient Roman denari, made of reddish terracotta, one of Alexander Severus, stating: Victoria aug: and two others of Julia Mamaea: a strange type for a princess.	Monetary Mold	Terracotta		1808	At Van Damme's auction	f 3	
400b	Now in the numismatic collection	3	Three other [monetary mold], found in 1777 near Xanten, one of Julia Domna stating: Fecund Augusta, and two others of Julia Mamaea stating: Hilaritas et Marti propugnatori, a type only for a woman. More about the subject of monetary molds, see Caylus t.1. pl:186.	Monetary Mold	Terracotta		1805	At Visser's auction, in Dordrecht	f 4	
400c	Now in the numismatic collection	1	Another [monetary mold] of Elagabalus, stating: Concordia, a strange type for an Emperor.	Monetary Mold	Terracotta		1834	From Fontaine, in Lyon		Lyon
401	436/640	1	A very beautiful gold antique Roman ring, decorated with a Jasper, engraved with a liege. We know that these gold rings were a the hallmark of the Equestrian order among these people.	Rings	Gold		1808	At Van Damme's auction	f 10	
402	437/642	1	Another silver [ring], in which is driven a red carnelian, with the figure of Minerva.	Rings	Silver		1808	At Van Damme's auction	f 1-8-0	
403	439/631	1	Another iron [ring], with a red carnelian, on which is engraved Bacchus holding a bunch of grapes and the thyrsus [Bachus' staff]	Rings	Iron		1808	At Van Damme's auction	f 0-12-0	

