



CORPUS RUBENIANUM
LUDWIG BURCHARD

PART I

THE CEILING PAINTINGS
FOR THE JESUIT CHURCH
IN ANTWERP

JOHN RUPERT MARTIN

CORPUS RUBENIANUM
LUDWIG BURCHARD

AN ILLUSTRATED CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ
OF THE WORK OF PETER PAUL RUBENS
BASED ON THE MATERIAL ASSEMBLED
BY THE LATE DR. LUDWIG BURCHARD
IN TWENTY-SIX PARTS

SPONSORED BY THE CITY OF ANTWERP
AND EDITED BY THE "NATIONAAL CENTRUM
VOOR DE PLASTISCHE KUNSTEN
IN DE XVIde EN XVIIde EEUW"
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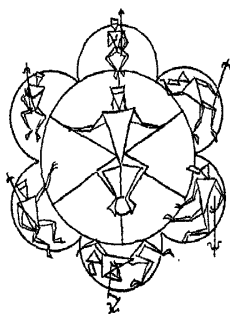
THE CEILING PAINTINGS
FOR THE JESUIT CHURCH
IN ANTWERP

JOHN RUPERT MARTIN

PHAIDON
LONDON · NEW YORK



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PUBLISHED IN THE UNITED KINGDOM BY PHAIDON PRESS LTD.
5 CROMWELL PLACE, LONDON SW 7. SBN 7148 1342 7
PUBLISHED IN THE U.S.A. BY FREDERICK A. PRAEGER, INC.
111 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003
LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOG CARD NUMBER : 68-21258



PUBLISHED WITH THE AID OF A SUBVENTION
FROM THE BARR FERREE FOUNDATION
DEPARTMENT OF ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY,
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

PRINTED IN BELGIUM - LEGAL DEPOSIT D/1967/0721/5

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FOREWORD

On the 7th of September 1960, Dr. Ludwig Burchard died in London; he had devoted his entire life to the history of art. No branch of this discipline remained unknown to him. His solid classical training and his great knowledge made it possible for him to penetrate into the most remote fields. Nevertheless, his attention was drawn mainly to the art of Northern Europe and especially to Rubens. For years he collected and studied documentary material concerning the artist, worked at the reconstruction of his life and his works, and analysed his immense production. This gained him universal recognition and esteem as the preeminent specialist on the great Flemish painter.

Ludwig Burchard was born in Mainz on the 31st of May, 1886. He studied at the universities of Munich, Heidelberg and Halle-Wittenberg, graduating in 1917 with a thesis on "Die holländischen Radierer vor Rembrandt". It was precisely through this specialized study that he came to be interested in Rubens: indeed, many of the Dutch engravers whom he studied in connection with his thesis had made engravings after compositions of the great master, sometimes even under his immediate direction. In the 1920's, when he was editor of Thieme-Becker's *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, he wrote his first articles in periodicals, bringing to light several unknown paintings and drawings by Rubens. These immediately aroused great interest. At the same time, he completed the volume of the *Klassiker der Kunst* which had been left unfinished owing to the premature death of Rudolf Oldenbourg. It was at this moment that he conceived the plan of compiling a new critical catalogue of the works of Rubens. The preparation of this Magnum Opus was to occupy him fully until his death. He did not live to see it published.

It is true that at one point he decided to publish the results of his studies; in 1939 a prospectus was even issued, announcing "The Work of Peter Paul Rubens", an illustrated catalogue of the paintings, drawings and engravings, in six volumes; but the war broke out, forcing him to interrupt his activities. His material was deposited in a safe place outside London, where he had settled in 1937 after leaving Germany.

After the war, new impediments arose to prevent Dr. Burchard from starting the editing of his work.

Many paintings which until then had not come to the notice of art historians now appeared on the art-market. Others, removed from their bomb-proof shelters, were cleaned and had to be re-examined. Meanwhile, a great many of them had changed hands, and their new whereabouts had to be traced. Others still remained inaccessible for a long time in store-rooms. Dr. Burchard's state of health, moreover, did not allow him to work with the same intense activity as before. The sufferings he had to endure in his last years in Germany and the hardships of the war had affected him deeply. But the main reason why he did not publish his Magnum Opus lies deeper, in his own personality : in his extreme scrupulousness, his never satisfied quest for more detailed and more solid information, his critical attitude towards brilliant, but often superficial interpretations. Up to the last days of his life, he was making excerpts from the literature on art, ordering photographs and keeping up a vast correspondence with colleagues, museums and collectors. Nearly every Monday morning one would meet him in the "Tube", on his way from Hampstead to London in order to visit exhibitions or to see paintings in the sale-rooms or at the premises of the art-dealers. Visitors came to him every day at 23, Cannon Place, to submit art objects to him and to ask for his opinions.

Dr. Burchard published some of his important discoveries in thoroughly documented articles; others were embodied in the exhibition catalogues that he compiled, mostly at the end of his life. The major part of the results of his research, however, has remained hidden in his papers. It is understandable that after his death it was the main concern of his widow to publish the Rubens material as a posthumous work of her late husband. Mrs. Burchard who, in her own unrecognized way, contributed so much to its creation, donated the documentation to the City of Antwerp, which consented to undertake this publication in collaboration with the "Nationaal Centrum voor de Plastische Kunsten in de 16de en de 17de eeuw". She also took into account that her husband considered the City of Antwerp, where Rubens created the greatest part of his work, as the most logical resting place for his material. The contracts concerned were signed in London on July 4th 1962, but only went into full effect after the authorizations required by the Belgian Government. These authorizations were granted by Royal Decree on June 14th 1963.

In November of the same year the Rubens material was shipped to Antwerp, where it was stored in the Museum Ridder Smidt van Gelder. It forms the nucleus and the most important part of the "Rubenianum", the centre for documentation on Rubens and Flemish art of his time, which the City Authorities of Antwerp have created. This institution is located only temporarily at the Museum, and will be transferred to the Kolveniershuis (House of the Arquebusiers), a historical building which is adjacent to the garden of the Rubens House and which will be restored in a not too distant future.

Once the documentation had been accommodated in the Museum Ridder Smidt van Gelder, a start was made on the preparatory work which had to precede the publication of the critical catalogue. Thousands of unclassified notes and excerpts from books and catalogues were arranged according to subject. The data published after Dr. Burchard's death were added to the documentation and the voluminous specialized library was listed on filing-cards, to make its use easier. Only then did it become possible to think about the plans for publication.

It goes without saying that for publication an effort has been made to adhere, as far as possible, to the original intentions of the eminent art historian who brought together the immense amount of material without which the critical catalogue would have been inconceivable. The views of Dr. Burchard are known to us through the prospectus issued in 1939. As this text contains in a certain sense the justification of the work we have undertaken, and as it has also served as a guiding principle for its organization, we prefer to reprint it here in extenso :

"The first attempt to describe the artistic heritage of Rubens was that made by John Smith in 1830, published without illustrations and cataloguing the artist's paintings according to the collections in which they then were.

"Fifty years later Max Rooses issued his monumental "Œuvre de Rubens" (Antwerp 1886-1892), arranging the material according to subject; beginning with the religious scenes and ending in the fourth volume with the landscapes. The drawings were treated by him separately in a fifth volume and, in all, 430 plates were given to the 1591 items.

“Since then another half century has passed, and with the coming tercentenary of the master’s death the time is ripe to attempt the task once more.

“Where Rooses needed five volumes, the present publication might have needed many more, to include the vast amount of new material that has come to light in the last fifty years; but in the modern form of an illustrated catalogue, in which so much detailed description can be replaced by illustration, it has been found possible to restrict the number of volumes to six.

“In so far as they are known to the author and available in photographs, all paintings, sketches and drawings by Rubens will be reproduced in the new catalogue; this applies also to such woodcuts and prints as were executed for and supervised by Rubens.

“In cases where the original is lost, the best of the available copies will be reproduced, and where even copies are lacking and only a documentary record exists, this will be given. Copies will have small illustrations, originals large ones; works by the master’s own hand will be further distinguished by reproductions in detail. The arrangement according to subject as introduced by Rooses will be continued, though the drawings, instead of being treated separately, will be considered together with the paintings and prints to which they belong.

“Though the number of paintings that reappear from complete oblivion is of course growing less as time goes on, Rubens’ paintings and drawings have certainly changed hands as often in the fifty years which have passed since Rooses’ catalogue as in the period between the catalogues of Rooses and Smith; and what is more important, great progress has been made in critical distinction between what is actually by the master and what is not, and what should belong to his early, middle or later periods.

“The catalogue raisonné here announced is intended as the complete embodiment of our improved knowledge of Rubens’ work.

“The master’s important commissions, such as those for his more elaborate altarpieces, have frequently a long history; few are in their original positions, many have been divided up and their parts scattered. In so far as they are known, the catalogue will bring these together with the drawings and sketches made in preparation for

them by the artist, combining these with other relevant data, such as, for example, the terms of the original contract. The reader will in this way be enabled to follow the progress of the commission from the first negotiations and sketches to the completed work, and, from then on, its later history. Each subject-section will be preceded by an introduction or general discussion of its salient characteristics; for example, an appreciation of Rubens as a portrait-painter will precede the section of the catalogue devoted to his portraits. Each volume will be complete with its own indices, a general index being given in the last volume.

"This catalogue of Rubens' work has been in preparation for many years; and the author has in the meantime deliberately refrained from publishing the fruits of his researches in scattered periodicals, in order that as much new material as possible may be contained within the compass of this book, in the most easily accessible form."

The catalogues of exhibitions which Dr. Burchard wrote after the war have also been considered as models to which the present publication should conform. In particular, the book on "Rubens Drawings", written in collaboration with R.-A. d'Hulst and published in 1963, has served as an example.

The documentation left by Dr. Burchard contains practically no directly publishable texts, only a vast amount of notes that must be classified and critically examined before they can be transformed into a coherent manuscript. Moreover, there are numerous notes referring to additional research that Dr. Burchard had in mind but found no opportunity to carry out. The treatment of this material thus requires a familiarity with the intentions and the method of the scholar that could only be achieved by those who were associated with him over a period of many years.

When the parties concerned concluded the agreements regarding the publication in 1962, it was intended that the undersigned should assume the total editorship, with the collaboration of a few young art historians belonging to the "Nationaal Centrum voor de Plastische Kunsten in de 16de en de 17de eeuw". In that way the young collaborators would have been trained in this specific branch of art history and in a short time

we should have had at our disposal a small but efficient team. Unfortunately, the financial means to realize this plan were lacking. Consequently, another formula had to be found in order that the catalogue might be published within a reasonable time.

Other collaborators, not belonging to the Centrum, therefore had to be brought into the project; scholars whose own thorough research had made them familiar with certain parts of the material were asked to collaborate by adding their results to the corresponding data that Dr. Burchard had collected. It is hoped not only that this form of collaboration will make it possible to publish much more quickly the results of Dr. Burchard's lifelong research, but also that this research will be continued and completed with new information published after his death, according to the views and the method set forth by him.

Since the collaborators, therefore, may be expected to make their own scholarly contributions, it no longer seemed justified to publish the critical catalogue merely as a posthumous work of the late Dr. Burchard. It is for this reason that we have introduced the general title "Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard" and added a subtitle stating that the publication is based upon his documentation. In addition each volume bears the name of the compiler. Each collaborator will also explain clearly in his preface and in his text what he owes to the research of Dr. Burchard and what is his own contribution.

Although the publication no longer completely corresponds to the original views of the heirs of the late Dr. Burchard, they have shown a complete understanding of the circumstances which have caused this change and have kindly given their permission for publication in the form described. Our intention, from the beginning, has been to have Dr. Burchard's work made public in a way that truly does justice to his achievements. No effort will be spared in the attainment of this aim. The publication of the "Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard" may be considered as the continuation of his unfinished lifework by a younger generation of investigators. Their collaboration will help to ensure that the series, which inevitably will be completed only many years after his death, will still remain true to the idea that Dr. Burchard expressed when he wrote that the critical catalogue "is intended as the complete embodiment of our improved knowledge of Rubens".

Since John Smith first tried, in 1830, to describe the artistic inheritance of Rubens, a vast amount of new material has come to light. Max Rooses' "Œuvre de Rubens" (1886-1892) already required five volumes. In the pre-war prospectus of Dr. Burchard's "The Work of Peter Paul Rubens" six volumes were planned. Since then the documentation on Rubens' work has increased substantially, not least through Dr. Burchard's own investigations. Today, one must expect an even larger number of volumes. We have decided to divide the publication into no less than twenty-six parts, mainly because of the new formula that will lead to an even more detailed study of the material. Moreover, it has been our intention to divide the material according to clearly defined subjects, because this should enable us to publish the different volumes with more speed than if they were more comprehensive. As a result, however, the volumes may vary in size.

The iconographical order in which Dr. Burchard classified his documentation has served as a starting-point for our division of the material into parts (see list on p. xv). According to their subject, some of these will need to be treated as monographs, whereas others may take the form of a "catalogue raisonné".

The monograph form is obviously appropriate for Rubens' series of paintings, where the internal coherence requires such an approach. But even in these cases, for which in general separate volumes have been reserved, the text will contain a catalogue section. "The Ceiling Paintings for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp" by Prof. John Rupert Martin of Princeton University is the first example of this procedure. The numbering of the critical catalogue has not been conceived as a whole but separately for each part. References can be made by quoting the number of the painting, sketch or drawing, preceded by the number of the part in which it is discussed.

At the moment when this first part of the "Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard" is published, our memories are not only of Dr. Burchard. We also remember with gratitude the late Mrs. Lina Burchard, who handed over the documentation of her husband to the City of Antwerp and thus made it possible for the results of his investigations to be given to the public. We owe sincere thanks to Mr. Wolfgang Burchard for his assistance and understanding.

By accepting the sponsorship of this publication, the Authorities of the City of Antwerp have resumed a glorious tradition : in 1877 they already provided the means of creating a collection of Rubens engravings, which formed a basis for the critical catalogue published by Max Rooses in the years 1886-1892. Indeed, the eminent scholar compiled this work at the request of the City of Antwerp, which gave him the financial means and the necessary facilities. The preparation of the publication of Rubens' correspondence, by Charles Ruelens and Max Rooses, was also financed by the City of Antwerp. Therefore we esteem it a privilege to thank the Board of Burgomaester and Aldermen and the City Council of Antwerp for the trust they have put in the members of the "Nationaal Centrum voor de Plaestische Kunsten in de 16de en de 17de eeuw" by charging them with the publication of this new critical catalogue.

For his valuable advice and useful indications we are indebted especially to Prof. K.C. Peeters, Town clerk, who was appointed by the Board to follow the progress of the work.

1977 is the four hundredth anniversary of Rubens' birth. It would be a great satisfaction to us if on that anniversary this vast publication could be complete, or at least approach completion. No more suitable homage could be paid to the great Antwerp artist. It is our hope that all those who have given us their confidence will continue to support us in the realization of this enormous enterprise and help us to bring it to a successful conclusion.

F. Baudouin

*Keeper of the Art History Museums
of the City of Antwerp*

R.-A. d'Hulst

*President of the "Nationaal Centrum
voor de Plaestische Kunsten
in de 16de en de 17de eeuw"*

The Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard
will be divided into the following twenty-six Parts :

- I. THE CEILING PAINTINGS FOR THE JESUIT CHURCH
IN ANTWERP
- II. THE EUCHARIST SERIES
- III. THE OLD TESTAMENT
- IV. THE HOLY TRINITY, THE LIFE OF THE VIRGIN,
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- V. THE LIFE OF CHRIST BEFORE THE PASSION
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IN ANTWERP

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ABBREVIATIONS

LITERATURE :

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

It has been my privilege, during the writing of this book, to have access to the documentary material on Rubens assembled by the late Ludwig Burchard. From this rich mine, which now forms part of the "Rubenianum" in Antwerp, I have unearthed – to take one example – almost all of my information concerning the history of the oil sketches for the Jesuit ceiling, including those that are no longer extant. In consulting these files I have also profited from Burchard's observations on style, iconography, figure-motifs and the like; I have tried, wherever such observations are incorporated in my text, to make due acknowledgment of the fact: the mention of Burchard's name, without further citation, means that the statement or opinion in question has been taken from his notes.

There is another feature of the text that may seem to call for explanation. This is the fact that Chapter III ("Description of the Cycle"), which makes up by far the largest part of the book, has been given the form of a catalogue with a systematic listing of preparatory oil sketches and copies after the lost paintings. Only in this way, it seemed to me, could the multifarious materials on which our knowledge of the cycle depends be reduced to anything like manageable order.

It might be added, too, that the biblical quotations which appear in Chapter IV have been taken from the King James Version, as being the most accessible English text.

I owe a very great debt of gratitude to Professor R.-A. d'Hulst, President of the "Nationaal Centrum voor de Plastische Kunsten van de XVIde en XVIIde Eeuw", whose friendly guidance, encouragement and criticism have been of immeasurable benefit to me at every stage of the work. Frans Baudouin, Keeper of the Kunsthistorische Musea, Antwerp, generously placed his time and expert knowledge at my disposal and made my task easier in many ways. At the Rubenianum Dr. Carl Van de Velde was unfailingly helpful with advice and information of every sort. I am especially grateful to Count Antoine Seilern for allowing me to examine works in his possession and for kindly providing me with photographs both of his Rubens sketches and his drawings by Jacob de Wit. For valuable assistance and wise counsel I am indebted, as are all

students of Rubens in America, to Professor Julius S. Held, who first proposed to me that I should investigate this subject.

I have to thank the staffs of the Rubenianum, the Stadsbibliotheek, and the Stedelijk Prentencabinet in Antwerp; the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels; the Rijksprentenkabinet in Amsterdam; the Rijksbureau voor kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague; the Print Room of the British Museum; the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; the Cabinet des Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris; the Prints Division of the New York Public Library, the Pierpont Morgan Library, the Frick Art Reference Library, and the Department of Prints of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

I wish also to thank the following persons individually : Mr. Curtis O. Baer, Professor Jan Bialostocki, Mr. Edward Croft-Murray, M. Jacques Foucart, Professor J. G. van Gelder, Professor E. Haverkamp Bege-
mann, Professor W. S. Heckscher, Mr. James Humphry III, Mr. Harold Joachim, Mr. G. De Landtsheer, Mme Zofia Maslinska-Nowakowa, Professor Thomas J. McCormick, Dott. Michelangelo Muraro, Miss Mary L. Myers, Professor Erwin Panofsky, Mr. R. Pandelaers, Dr. L. De Pauw-De Veen, Mr. V. Rutten, Mr. Abris Silberman, Miss Felice Stampfle, Professor Wolfgang Stechow, Mr. G. L. Taylor, Dr. Leon Voet.

In Princeton my work was facilitated by the thoughtful assistance of Miss Frederica Oldach and Miss Kazuko Higuchi. The manuscript was typed, impeccably, by Mrs. Estelle Brown. The drawings are the work of Mr. Theodore G. Jones, and the photographic reconstruction of the gallery of the Jesuit Church is due to the skill of Mr. Leonard Kane. To all these persons go my warmest thanks.

My studies both in America and in Europe were made possible by a McCosh Faculty Fellowship awarded to me by Princeton University in 1964-1965 and by a fellowship from the American Council of Learned Societies in 1966. I have also received grants for travel and photography from the Spears Fund and the Research Fund of Princeton University. The publication of this book has been aided by a subvention from the Barr Ferree Foundation of the Department of Art and Archaeology of Princeton University. For all of these pecuniary aids I should like to express my gratitude.

John Rupert Martin

INTRODUCTION

Of all the misfortunes that fate has inflicted on the works of Rubens, the loss of the Jesuit ceiling must be considered the most serious. Nothing that the artist had previously undertaken had been on such a monumental scale, and there can be no doubt that his success in executing this huge project paved the way for the commissions that came to him shortly thereafter to decorate the royal galleries in Paris. Above all, the Jesuit ceiling was the precursor of the only one of Rubens's ceilings that survives today – the Whitehall ceiling in London. Indeed it is not too much to say that no study of the latter can be adequate that does not take into account the solutions initially worked out for the Jesuits' church in Antwerp.

Rubens was close to forty years of age when the Jesuit fathers proposed to him that he should decorate the ceiling of the "marble temple" then under construction. Although he had completed many important commissions both in Italy and Antwerp, he had had little experience in carrying out large-scale schemes of interior decoration. The first opportunity to design a monumental cycle came to him only about 1617. That was the tapestry series of subjects from the history of the Roman Consul Decius Mus, the cartoons for which were in the hands of the weavers, as we know from Rubens himself, in May 1618. But even that project was dwarfed by the plan for the Jesuit ceiling, the scope and complexity of which called into play all of the artist's remarkable powers. Here he demonstrated the efficiency of the system which enabled him to entrust to assistants the realization of his designs for an extensive cycle of pictures. And here too he first put into practice the lessons learned from the great Venetian ceiling-painters of the sixteenth century.

But the larger significance of the Jesuit ceiling, over and above the matter of monumental decoration, resides in the light that it throws on the artist's work as a whole. For all the inexhaustible variety of his imagination, it is one of the paradoxes of Rubens that his inventions were not effortlessly tossed off by the sheer fecundity of his genius, but were carefully thought out so as to convey precise meanings. There was thus built up over a period of years a repertory of motifs which might be repeated as occasion required. Gerson puts this very aptly when he

writes : "To Rubens the single painting, destined by the nature of the commission for a certain place, was not an independent work. Its composition was generally bound up with earlier and later creations relating to the same subject, or with works whose stylistic forms dealt with the same pictorial problems."* It is this continuity of motif that gives to Rubens's *œuvre* an organic unity transcending shifts and changes of style. The Jesuit cycle, with its thirty-nine canvases, contained a rich store of figure-motifs, some repeated from earlier works, and others newly invented but destined to appear again in other contexts. We cannot hope to recapture the original splendour of the lost ceiling paintings. But it is possible, with the materials at our disposal, to gain an exact knowledge of their compositional structure, and thereby to assess more clearly the place of the Jesuit cycle in the grand fabric of Rubens's art.

* H. GERSON and E.H. TER KUILE, *Art and Architecture in Belgium 1600 to 1800*, Baltimore, 1960, p. 85.

I. THE BUILDING OF THE "MARBLE TEMPLE" AND THE "BRAVE PICTURES OF RUBENS MAKEING"

The Jesuit College of Antwerp was established in 1562 but remained for some years without a fixed dwelling. In 1574 the fathers acquired a house in the Korte Nieuwstraat and within a year had built a small church in the garden. It was not a propitious moment. The political and religious troubles in the Netherlands were already coming to a head, and in 1578 the Jesuits were expelled from Antwerp by the Protestants. They were able to return only in 1585, following the capture of the city by Alessandro Farnese. It was not until the early years of the seventeenth century, under the reign of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella, that the Jesuit community of Antwerp reached its apogee to become one of the leading centres of intellectual and artistic life in the Southern Netherlands.¹

In 1598 there was appointed as rector of the college Carolus Scribani (1561-1629), later to become successively Provincial and rector at Brussels; in addition to being an able administrator he was a prolific and versatile writer, whose published works ranged over a wide field, from a history of Antwerp to volumes on polemical and devotional subjects.² Scribani was succeeded as rector in 1613 by the distinguished mathematician and physicist François Aguilon (Franciscus Aguilonius, 1567-1617), author of a treatise on optics published in 1613, with engravings after designs by Rubens. There were other, no less brilliant, minds. Among those active in the college at this time were the mathematician Grégoire de Saint-Vincent (1584-1667), the humanist Andreas Schott (1552-1629), and the hagiographer Heribertus Rosweyde (1569-1629), compiler of the *Vitæ patrum* (1615), who conceived the idea of the monumental *Acta Sanctorum*. In 1616 the college was formally changed to Professed House, and Jacobus Tirinus (1580-1636) was appointed *praepositus*, or superior, at the age of thirty-six. Tirinus (Le Thiry), who had already served as vice-rector of the college, was to play an influential part in making the

¹ On all matters relating to the Jesuits of Antwerp see the important study by ALFRED PONCELET, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus dans les anciens Pays-Bas*, Brussels, 1927-1928.

² L. BROUWERS, *Carolus Scribani S.J., 1561-1629*, Antwerp, 1961.

new Jesuit Church, then under construction, the most splendid ecclesiastical edifice in Belgium.

The decision to erect a new and larger church adjoining the Jesuits' house had been taken some years before, under the rectorship of Scribani. The first plans were drawn up by his successor, the mathematician Aguilon, whose efforts to find an acceptable design were not at once crowned with success. It was perhaps at this point, after several of Aguilon's projects had failed to meet with approval in Rome, that it was found expedient to send for the architect Pieter Huyssens (1577-1637), a member of the Society, who had already built a church for the Jesuits at Maastricht. The work of construction began in 1615, after a public subscription to raise funds, and continued for six years. On the death of Aguilon in 1617, Huyssens assumed sole direction of the work, and it seems clear that he was the real architect of the church.³

Reports of its magnificence were being spread even while construction was still going on. In England, the surveyor-general of the royal buildings, Inigo Jones, was kept informed of its progress. When the Countess of Arundel paid a visit to Antwerp in the summer of 1620, she sent word to Jones through her husband that she had seen the church and found it a "marvellous thing".⁴ The Jesuits themselves understandably took pride in the fact that their new church marked a decisive break with the Gothic

³ The chief books and articles are the following : J. BRAUN, *Die belgischen Jesuitenkirchen*, Freiburg, 1907, pp. 151-171; F. DONNET, *Bulletin des Commissions royales d'art et d'archéologie*, XLIX, 1910, pp. 25-72 (credits Rubens with a large share in the design); J.H. PLANTENGA, *L'architecture religieuse dans l'ancien duché de Brabant (1598-1713)*, The Hague, 1926, pp. 83-117 (argues that Huyssens was the chief architect); P. PARENT, *L'architecture des Pays-Bas méridionaux aux XVI^e, XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, Paris-Brussels, 1926, pp. 143-151; S. BRIGODE, *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, XIV, 1934, pp. 157-173; ABBÉ THIBAUT DE MAISIÈRES, *L'architecture religieuse à l'époque de Rubens*, Brussels, 1943, pp. 30-32 (defends the role of Aguilon); IDEM, *Annales de la Fédération archéologique et historique de Belgique*, Antwerp, 1952, pp. 75-84; J. VALLERY-RADOT, *Le recueil de plans d'édifices de la Compagnie de Jésus conservé à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*, Rome, 1960, pp. 287-291; G. MÖRSCH, *Der Wechsel in den Plänen zur Antwerpener Jesuitenkirche, Schülerfestgabe für Herbert von Einem*, Bonn, 1965, pp. 184-196 (finds a prototype in S. Agnese Fuori Le Mura in Rome).

⁴ MARY F.S. HERVEY, *The Life, Correspondence and Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel*, Cambridge, 1921, pp. 172 ff.: "Piacchia vra ecc^{ta} far saper al s^r Server [Mr. Surveyor, i.e. Inigo Jones] che Madama ha vedutta la Chiesa delli Gesuitti, et la trova cosa maravigliosa."

style that still dragged on a lingering existence in the Netherlands. The Bollandist Henschenius no doubt reflected the general opinion when he wrote in 1668 :

“The Society of Jesus has at Antwerp... a magnificent temple in the ancient style constructed of Ligurian marble. The form of this temple was designed according to the rules of Vitruvius (in contrast to what is commonly done in this country where Gothic structures are preferred), and the foundations laid in the year 1615 by Franciscus Aguilonius, the last rector of the college which had existed until that time.”⁵

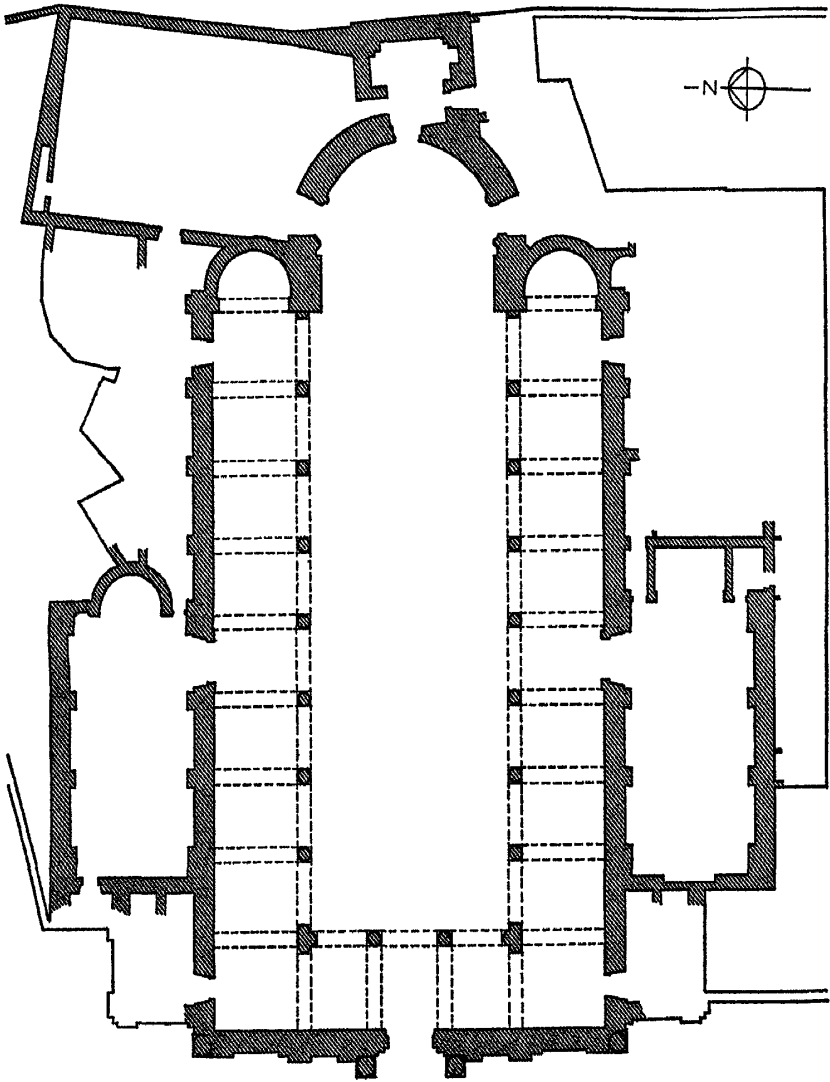
A remarkably similar observation had been made many years earlier by Rubens, in the preface to his *Palazzi di Genova*, published in 1622 shortly after the completion of the Jesuit Church :

“We see that the style of architecture called barbaric or Gothic is gradually waning and disappearing in these parts; and that a few admirable minds are introducing the true symmetry of that other style which follows the rules of the ancient Greeks and Romans, to the great splendour and beautification of our country; as may be seen in the famous temples recently erected by the venerable Society of Jesus in the cities of Brussels and Antwerp.”⁶

The broad façade of the Jesuit Church (Fig. 1), with its coupled pilasters, scroll-shaped buttresses, and niches for statuary, was surely inspired, in the main, by that of the first church of the Order, the Gesù in Rome. Huysens' design is admittedly richer and more ornate, and the derivation is further obscured by the insertion of an intermediate storey,

⁵ *Acta Sanctorum Martii*, 1, p. 24 : “Habet Antverpiae Societas JESU... templum vetusti operis magnificum, Ligustico marmore aedificatum. Cujus templi & speciem secundum Vitruvianas praeceptiones (secus atque vulgo fit in his regionibus, ubi Gothicae substructiones praehaberi solent) delineavit, & fundamenta anno MDCXV. jecit Franciscus Aguillonius, Rector postremus collegii, quod hic eatenus steterat.”. The statement (found in many of the older sources), that the construction of the Jesuit Church began in 1614, is incorrect. The first stone was laid on 15 April 1615 (documents cited by BRAUN, *op. cit.*, p. 153, note 2).

⁶ P.P. RUBENS, *Palazzi di Genova*, Antwerp, 1622 : “Vediamo che in queste parti, si v'è poco à poco invecchiando & abolendo la maniera d'Architettura, che si chiama Barbara, ò Gothica; & che alcuni bellissimi ingegni introducono la vera simmetria di quella, conforme le regole de gli antichi, Graeci e Romani, con grandissimo splendore & ornamento della Patria; come appare nelli Tempij famosi fatti di fresco dalla venerabil Società di IESV, nelle città di Brusselles & Anversa.”



A. Antwerp, St. Charles Borromeo. Plan

necessitated by the presence of the gallery within. The plan (Fig. A), which shows a simple basilica with side aisles and three apses, is conventional enough. The interior elevation, on the other hand, presents several notable innovations (Fig. 2) : the nave, instead of being roofed with the traditional Gothic rib-vaulting, was covered with a wooden tunnel vault

all' antica, decorated with gilt coffering and rosettes; the aisles were in two storeys and were divided from the nave by a double arcade, the marble columns above being of the Ionic and those below of the Tuscan order; both the aisles and the galleries, or tribunes, had flat ceilings. There is a significant resemblance (as G. Mörsch has pointed out) to an Early Christian basilica such as S. Agnese fuori le mura, which also has aisles in two storeys. The half-dome of the choir, which was lighted by a lantern, was decorated with an elaborate interlace pattern having as its central motif the royal arms of Spain, surmounted by a crown and enclosed within the chain of the Golden Fleece. The choir and its decoration survived the fire of 1718, but it is noteworthy that the Spanish coat of arms has since been covered by a cartouche bearing the monogram IHS (Fig. 3).

The construction and decoration of the "marble temple" proved to be enormously costly. The ground had first to be cleared and drained, the old church and other structures razed, and a firm foundation prepared: for this purpose it was even necessary to build stone vaults over two of the canals that intersected the area. The church itself, the first to be dedicated to Ignatius of Loyola (canonized only in 1622), was constructed of the most expensive materials. Of the interior one observer wrote that he was uncertain whether the eye was more ravished by the splendour of the gold or the beauty of the polished marble.⁷ The Jesuits, who had hoped by this means to bring glory to the Society, instead found themselves severely censured. The opulence of the church was held to be out of keeping with the spirit of religious poverty; and Brother Huysens was for a time even forbidden by the General to continue the practice of architecture. But the real problem, it appears, was the matter of finances. Despite generous gifts from the city of Antwerp and from the Archdukes Albert and Isabella, not to mention the contributions of private citizens, there remained a heavy burden of debt. It cannot be doubted that these lavish expenditures were enthusiastically authorized by the superior, Jacobus Tirinus, whose ambition was such that he was not inclined to let mere monetary considerations stand in his way. Even after the completion of the church proper he continued to spend sizable sums on buildings, adding the lateral

⁷ MICHAEL GRISIUS, *Honor S. Ignatio de Loiola Societatis IESV fundatori et S. Francisco Xaverio ... habitus à patribus domus professae & collegij Soc. Iesu Antverpiae 24 Julij, 1622*, Antwerp, 1622, p. 13.

chapels of St. Ignatius and the Virgin Mary, erecting a new structure opposite the church to house the sodalities, and greatly enlarging the Professed House. At last, in 1625, the debt having by this time risen to 500,000 guilders, Tirinus was dismissed as superior by the General of the Order.⁸

Rubens, who had lived in Antwerp since his return from Italy in 1608, undoubtedly followed from the very outset the planning and construction of the new church of the Jesuits.⁹ He was well known to the rector of the college, Father Aguilon, for whose book, the *Opticorum libri sex*, published in 1613, he designed a title-page and six vignettes.¹⁰ It was just at this time that Aguilon was at work on the earliest plans for the new church, and we may picture him discussing with the artist the difficulties that he was experiencing with these projects. With Brother Huysens, Aguilon's successor as architect, Rubens maintained an equally close association. It is therefore not to be wondered at that the part played by Rubens in the design of the Jesuit Church should have become the subject of much debate.¹¹ In the preface to his *Palazzi di Genova*, which we have cited above, Rubens speaks with approval of the architecture of the church: but his remarks do not in any way suggest that he was responsible for it. Yet, though he probably had little to do with the architectural design, it is surely unreasonable to conclude that the most famous artist of his day was not called upon from time to time for advice. He is known to have co-operated with Huysens in designing the decorative elements of the façade, for which he made a number of drawings. These include two studies in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, each representing *An Angel blowing a Trumpet*, which served as models for the angels carved in relief on the spandrels of the main portal (*Held*, Nos. 144 and

⁸ PONCELET, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 451-484. The debt was liquidated, by means of stringent economies, in less than ten years.

⁹ Rubens's association with the Antwerp Jesuits continued for many years. The register of the Latin Sodality of the Professed House shows that the artist was appointed council member of that body in 1623 and secretary in 1629 (Antwerp, O.-L.-Vrouwcollege, *Magistratus sodalitatis Latinae maioris Antverpiae in domo professa Societatis Jesu*; cited by F. PEETERS, *Les Etudes Classiques*, XIII, 1945, p. 172). The latter appointment can only have been honorary, because in 1629 Rubens, then very active in diplomatic affairs, spent no more than a few days in Antwerp.

¹⁰ C. PARKHURST, *Aguilonius' Optics and Rubens' Color*, *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, XII, 1961, pp. 35-49.

¹¹ See in particular PLANTENGA, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-110.

145), and a drawing in the British Museum representing *A Cartouche supported by Cherubs*, which is a design for the relief decoration above the entrance (*Held*, No. 172; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, No. 117). Rubens also made drawings for the frame of the high altar and for the decorated ceiling of the Chapel of the Virgin (*Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1956, Nos. 69 and 70).¹²

But these and other designs for the church are overshadowed by two monumental projects undertaken by the artist for the decoration of the interior. These were, first, the two great canvases for the high altar representing *The Miracles of St. Ignatius of Loyola* (Fig. 4) and *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier* (Fig. 5), which were exhibited alternately and are now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; and secondly, the cycle of thirty-nine ceiling paintings which adorned the aisles and galleries.

In the first altarpiece (Fig. 4) St. Ignatius appears within an imposing church, exorcizing demons and healing the sick. The saint, robed as a priest in alb and chasuble and standing before the altar, is accompanied by a phalanx of Jesuit fathers severely dressed in black. Crowding in turmoil and confusion against the balustrade in the foreground are the afflicted ones who implore his aid. Mothers have brought their children to be restored to health, and two possessed persons, a man and a woman, are writhing in contorted attitudes while their friends seek to restrain them. Above this scene of pain and misery rises the calm and imper-turbable figure of the saint. Infant angels holding the emblems of saint-hood hover in the air above Ignatius, and two evil spirits flee at his command.¹³

The second painting (Fig. 5) celebrates the missionary achievements of St. Francis Xavier, "the Apostle of the Indies". The composition is very like that of *The Miracles of St. Ignatius of Loyola*. The scene takes place before a pagan temple. Xavier, who is attended by a member of the order, stands upon a high socle, his arms raised and his black-clad form silhouetted against the blue sky. Directly beneath him are three unfortunates: a blind man, a cripple with a crutch, and a possessed man supported

¹² Over the altar in the Chapel of the Virgin was Rubens's *Assumption*, now in Vienna (*K.d.K.*, p. 206).

¹³ On the source of Rubens's composition see M.J. LEWINE, in *Art Bulletin*, LXV, 1963, pp. 143-147.

by a kneeling youth and a woman. On the left side are two dead men whom the saint has miraculously resuscitated at the very moment that graves are being dug for them, and an agonized woman carrying a dead or dying infant. These wonders are watched with fear and astonishment by a crowd of bystanders, including a European in armour and Orientals in exotic headgear. In the sky above Xavier is seen the Catholic Faith, personified by a woman with the chalice and host and the orb, and heralded by a company of angels with the Cross. Rays of light from this apparition have struck and shattered a monstrous idol at the entrance to the temple, and the worshippers have turned to run away in terror.

The altarpieces, each nearly five and a half metres in height, were certainly painted before the completion of the church; indeed the subjects were probably under discussion even before the start of construction in 1615. It was agreed that for these two works the artist was to be paid 3,000 guilders. In the account book of the Jesuit Church now in the Rubenshuis, Antwerp (see Appendix II, No. 1), this sum is entered as owing to Rubens as early as 13 April 1617, from which we may infer that the altarpieces were completed, or were very near completion, by that date. It is probable that engravings were made of the paintings no later than 1619, because in January of that year Rubens named both titles in the list of prints for which he sought to obtain copyright privileges in Holland.¹⁴ Works of this size were carried out with the aid of assistants. For both *The Miracles of St. Ignatius of Loyola* and *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier* Rubens first painted a small oil sketch, or modello, on panel (*Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, Nos. 41-42). It seems to have been part of the agreement that the precious autograph sketches should be turned over to the Jesuit fathers to form part of the decoration of the church: there are some seventeenth-century paintings of the interior that show them hanging on the piers at either side of the entrance to the choir.¹⁵ Like the altarpieces themselves, the sketches escaped destruction in the fire of 1718;

¹⁴ C. RUELENS and M. ROOSES, *Correspondance de Rubens*, Antwerp, 1887-1909, II, pp. 199-200. The engraver was Marinus van der Goes (see F. VAN DEN WIJNGAERT, *Inventaris der Rubeniaansche Prentkunst*, Antwerp, 1940, p. 59).

¹⁵ See, for example, those by A. GHERING in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Cat. 1010) and W.S. VON EHRENBURG in the Kunsthistorisch Instituut der Rijksuniversiteit, Utrecht (on loan from the Dienst voor 's Rijks verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen, The Hague).

half a century later, following the suppression of the Jesuit Order in 1773, all four works – the large paintings and the modelli – were acquired by Maria Theresa for the imperial collection at Vienna.¹⁶

The second project – the cycle of thirty-nine ceiling paintings – was of necessity executed later than the altarpieces. Yet this project too must have been conceived at an early date. Since the flat ceilings of the aisles and galleries were obviously intended to receive paintings, it is impossible to believe that Huysdens would have made them in this way without consulting Rubens and obtaining his approval. For his part, the painter probably began to make trial sketches before construction was far advanced. This is almost certainly the explanation of the sketch in the Vienna Academy showing *Esther before Ahasuerus* (Fig. 94): the curious twelve-sided frame is without parallel among the extant oil sketches for this cycle and can only have been done at an incipient stage when the shapes and proportions of the ceiling pictures had not yet been decided upon. We may imagine this primitive modello being offered for the consideration of the Jesuit fathers even before the drafting of the contract.¹⁷

As the fabric of the church grew near to completion, it was judged necessary to draw up a formal agreement concerning the ceiling paintings so that the artist might begin work in earnest. On 29 March 1620 the contract between the superior, Father Jacobus Tirinus, and Peter Paul Rubens was signed by the former in the presence of Carolus Scribani, now rector of the Jesuit College at Brussels. The contract contains seven articles (see Appendix I). Rubens undertakes to finish the thirty-nine paintings in less than a year – before the end of 1620 or by the beginning of 1621 – despite the fact that the list of subjects to be given to him is not yet final and that some changes may have to be made (as in fact they were). For each of the thirty-nine paintings the artist must make with his own hand

¹⁶ P. BONENFANT, *La Suppression de la Compagnie de Jésus dans les Pays-Bas autrichiens (1773)*, Brussels, 1925, pp. 233-4 ("Liste des tableaux des Jésuites transportés à Vienne").

¹⁷ There are two pen drawings by Rubens in Count Seilern's possession which have been tentatively connected with the decoration of the Jesuit Church (*Seilern*, No. 5) verso, pl. cviii). Each shows a row of variously framed spaces intended (as the inscriptions in them prove) to contain subjects from the life of Christ. It is possible that we have to do here with a preliminary lay-out of the plafonds of the galleries, before the introduction of Old Testament as well as New Testament subjects. Or it may be, on the other hand, that these are designs for an illustrated book.

a small sketch or model (*teekeninge in't cleyne*). It is understood that the full-size ceiling paintings may be carried out by his assistants (amongst whom Van Dyck is specifically named) working from the master's sketches; but Rubens himself is to add such final touches to the canvases as may be necessary. As to the sketches, the artist may either turn them over to the superior, or he may keep them for himself, in which case he agrees to execute another painting for one of the four side altars. (Rubens chose the latter alternative.) On completion of the work the artist is to be paid the sum of 10,000 guilders, of which 7,000 are for the ceiling paintings and 3,000 for the altarpieces of *Ignatius* and *Xavier* previously executed.¹⁸ If the amount is not paid promptly Rubens is to receive interest at the rate of 6 1/4 per cent. per annum. (The account book of the Jesuit Church shows that payment had still not been made as late as 31 December 1623 : see Appendix II, No. 5.)

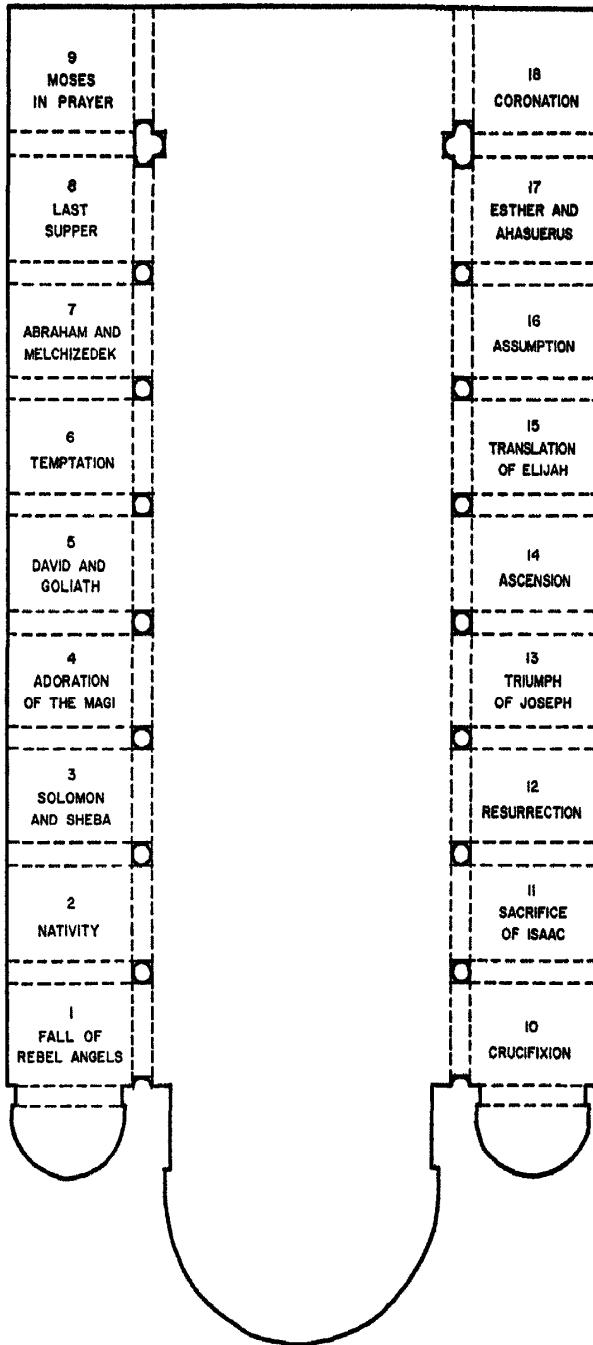
Attached to the contract was the list of titles mentioned in the first article. Although it includes most of those subjects eventually carried out as ceiling paintings, this catalogue (see Appendix I, p. 215) has a distinctly tentative appearance, as if it had been hastily put together for the occasion. The list begins in orderly fashion, the odd numbers serving to designate the biblical subjects of the upper level and the even numbers (indented) being used for the saints in the aisles below. But this admirable system of alternation breaks down after the ninth title, though the scribe seems to have made several attempts thereafter to revive it. Another sign of the purely provisional state of the catalogue is the fact that it contains only thirty-four numbers, despite the explicit mention in the contract of thirty-nine paintings. It is even possible by comparison with the work finally executed to discover which parts of the cycle have already been confirmed and which ones still remain unsettled. The selection of subjects for the aisles is virtually complete (cf. Fig. C). Of the sixteen saints who were represented on the ceilings of the lower level all are named here, though not in their final order; the only subjects missing from this section are the Names of Jesus and Mary. It is evident, on the other hand, that

¹⁸ I find quite unconvincing the attempt by L. Van Puyvelde to prove that the sum of 3,000 guilders mentioned in the contract does not refer to the large altarpieces of *Ignatius* and *Xavier* but to two smaller paintings of those saints at Sibiu in Rumania (*Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, April 1959, pp. 225-236). There is, in any event, no evidence that the latter pictures were ever in the Antwerp Jesuit Church.

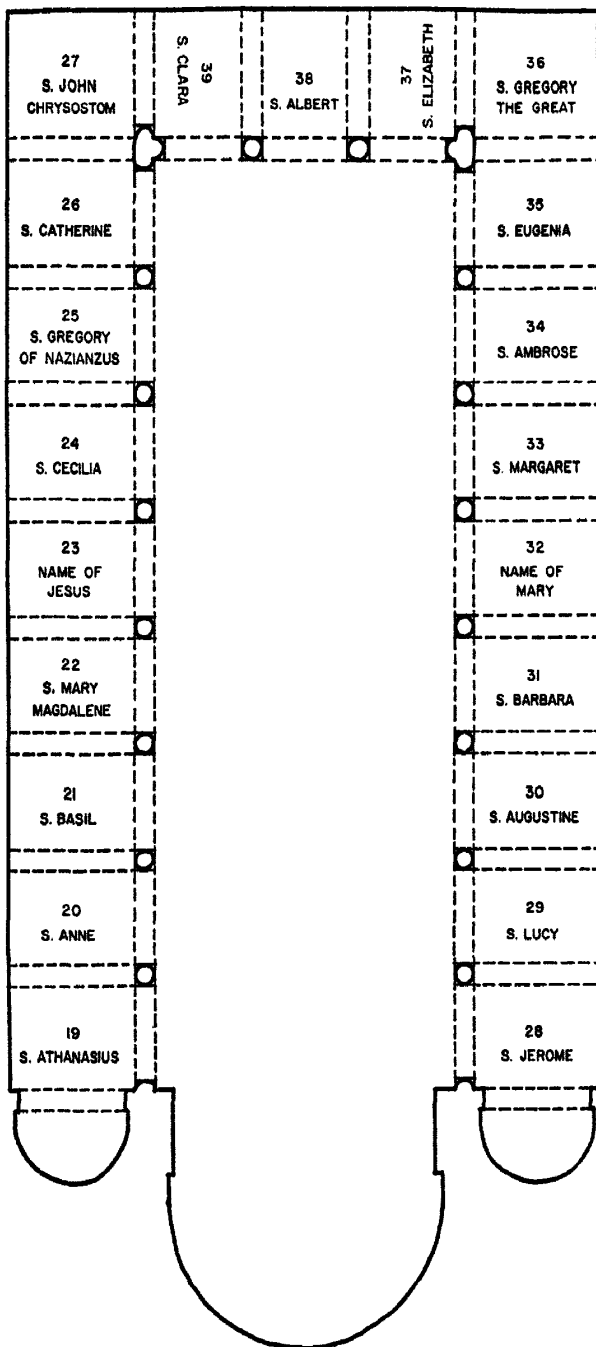
the cycle of eighteen biblical subjects for the upper level (cf. Fig. B) is not yet fixed. The subjects are not arranged in the proper sequence : it can be seen, for example, that *The Resurrection* (No. 16) precedes *The Crucifixion* (No. 28). Three of the titles specified in the list were later to be discarded : *The Expulsion of Adam and Eve* (No. 1) ; *The Annunciation* (No. 10) ; and *The Descent of the Holy Spirit* (No. 31). Even more puzzling are certain omissions. *The Temptation of Christ* and *The Last Supper*, both required by the nature of the programme as antitypes corresponding respectively to *David and Goliath* and *Abraham and Melchizedek*, are not mentioned. There is no word of *The Coronation of the Virgin*, although this scene was to mark the climax of the entire cycle ; and *The Assumption of the Virgin*, which together with the *Coronation* represents the counterpart to *Esther and Ahasuerus*, has plainly been added only as an afterthought following *The Adoration of the Magi* (No. 12). Of the three paintings at the entrance (cf. Fig. C) it has been decided that one shall represent *St. Elizabeth of Hungary* (No. 33), the patron saint of the Infanta Isabella ; her other names, Clara and Eugenia, have simply been inserted without explanation under No. 34. All these inconsistencies and anomalies point to one conclusion, namely, that this is a catalogue drawn up prematurely while the iconographical plan was still in the process of being formulated. No doubt both parties understood that a definitive programme would soon be forthcoming.

Even so, there was much that could be done without delay. The roll of saints for the ceilings of the aisles was now final, and the scheme as a whole sufficiently developed that Rubens could begin to put the great plan into effect by working up the first composition sketches.

No one who surveys the considerable body of preparatory material for the Jesuit cycle can fail to be struck by the scarcity of drawings. At the present time only two sheets are known. Some drawings have unquestionably been lost : twelve such studies, in black chalk heightened with white, were listed in the sale of the collection of Pierre Wouters (Brussels, spring 1797 [postponed until 18 November 1801], Dessins, lot 70). Yet it may be safely assumed, I believe, that the number of preparatory drawings for this project was never very large. One might speculate whether Rubens did not make most of his formal chalk studies at the beginning, before his working procedure was fully established. In this connection it is perhaps



B. Diagram showing the ceilings of the galleries as they appeared from below. The north gallery is on the left and the south is on the right



C. Diagram showing the ceilings of the aisles as they appeared from below. The north aisle is on the left and the south is on the right

significant that the two chalk drawings that have been preserved (Figs. 108 and 133) are both studies of saints for the ceilings of the aisles, that is to say for that part of the programme that was the first to be cast in its definitive form. But this is not to maintain, as some have done, that for most of the subjects of this cycle Rubens made no preliminary drawings whatever. Some of these drawings may have been nothing more than rough pen sketches. It is possible too that in certain instances he drew his designs directly on the prepared panels on which he intended later to paint sketches in oil. Indeed the oil sketch is so essential to the whole working process that we shall do well to consider it at some length.

It was one of the stipulations of the contract that Rubens should execute with his own hand a complete set of "small designs" (*kleyne afteekeningen*). These were in fact coloured oil sketches, or modelli, which were meant to serve a double purpose: they would first be submitted to the Jesuit fathers for approval; and once that was obtained they would be given to the master's assistants to be used as models for the large canvases. We know, however, that Rubens made it a practice to paint not one but two oil sketches, the relatively finished modello being preceded by a more summary bozzetto.

The bozzetto, or grisaille sketch, as we may call it, was executed in brown tones with highlights in white. The panel in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford showing *The Flight of St. Barbara* (Fig. 163) may serve as an example. It is evident, to begin with, that the sketch was not preceded by an elaborate composition drawing on paper: if there were any such preliminary draft it can only have been a rough scribble (or *crabbellinge*, to use a term popular at this period). By looking closely at this bozzetto we can distinguish the successive stages by which the design took shape. A light-brown colour was first brushed thinly over the entire panel to form a ground. On this prepared surface Rubens may then have made an outline drawing of the composition in black chalk, thus eliminating the necessity of transferring his design from a separate sheet of paper to the panel.¹⁹ The figures were now brushed in with brown paint of a darker shade than that of the ground. The final step was the addition of white for the lighted areas.

¹⁹ *Held* (I, p. 19, fig. 1) has drawn attention to an oil sketch in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge on which the preliminary chalk lines can still be distinguished.

Unluckily, only a few of these spirited bozzetti have survived. But so many more are known to have existed as to make it quite certain that Rubens painted grisaille sketches for most, if not all, of the subjects of the Jesuit cycle. No fewer than fifteen such sketches were sold at Brussels on 10 June 1782 for 34 florins during the auction of the collection of Maximilien de Hase. The entire group presumably passed at this time to Comte de Cuypers de Reymenam, whose collection of paintings, sold at Brussels on 27 April 1802, included seventeen grisaille sketches for the Jesuit ceilings. They were purchased at this time for 98 florins by the painter Charles Spruyt of Ghent (1769-1851), who in turn disposed of them at auction in July 1806 and in October 1815. Of the seventeen grisaille sketches described in the Spruyt sale catalogues fully twelve have disappeared. It is to be hoped that some of these will one day be rediscovered.

The grisaille sketch being finished, Rubens now proceeded to consolidate his design in the final oil sketch, or modello. Working on a somewhat larger panel, he revised and adjusted his first pictorial idea and at the same time translated the whole conception from monochrome into colour. It reveals something of the speed at which the artist worked that he produced some of these modelli even before the programme – or at least that part of it relating to the galleries – was fully resolved. For we know of oil sketches of four biblical subjects which found no place in the cycle as it was eventually carried out: three of these subjects are named in the original list attached to the contract, i.e. *The Expulsion*, *The Annunciation* and *The Descent of the Holy Spirit*; the fourth is *The Sacrifice of Noah*, an episode that appears neither in the preliminary catalogue nor in the final redaction.

The fact that the modelli were intended to be definitive did not mean that further alterations were ruled out. Changes even at this late stage were by no means uncommon. If, for example, the modello of *St. Barbara* (Fig. 164) is compared with a copy after the corresponding ceiling painting (Fig. 165) it will be seen that the flight of steps in the former was replaced in the large canvas by an uneven patch of ground. In some cases the design of the modello was modified even more extensively in the final execution. One might have thought that changes of this kind, made *after* the oil sketch, would first have been worked out in detailed chalk studies (like those drawings for the altarpieces of *Ignatius* and *Xavier* which may

be placed between the modelli and the paintings).²⁰ If such drawings were made they have been lost. What is more likely is that they never existed; Held has remarked on the virtual absence of studies from the life by the artist at this period.²¹

Far from being regarded simply as routine working materials, the modelli were especially prized, as indeed they still are, for their spontaneity and verve – for what Bellori calls “la gran prontezza, e la furia del pennello”.²² Unlike the grisaille sketches, most of which have been lost, the modelli for the Jesuit cycle have always been sought after by collectors, and no fewer than twenty-five are known to be extant today. We learn from the contract that Tirinus, who had already taken possession of the sketches of *Ignatius* and *Xavier*, was likewise eager to acquire those for the ceiling paintings. It appears, notwithstanding, that Rubens kept them for himself, as he was entitled to do by agreeing to provide another painting for one of the side altars.²³ The artist’s motives were of course professional ones: the modelli were valuable studio properties which would be useful both to the master and his pupils. Christoffel Jegher, working under Rubens’s supervision, made woodcuts (Figs. 42 and 103) from some of these very sketches, and they also proved to be an abundant source of ideas for Rubens himself when he received the commission to decorate the ceiling of the Banqueting House of the Palace of Whitehall.

After Rubens’s death, when the contents of his studio were dispersed, the original set of modelli could no longer be kept intact. There are very few sources that permit us to document their history during the seventeenth century. In Antwerp, in the period immediately following Rubens’s death, groups of six or seven panels were owned by the art-dealer Herman de Neyt (died 1642) and by the painter Victor Wolfvoet, or Wolfvoet (died 1652), as appears from the inventories made of their collections.²⁴ A little later we find indisputable evidence of a similar group of eight

²⁰ E.g., Held, Nos. 100 and 165; Burchard-d’Hulst, 1963, Nos. 114 and 115.

²¹ I, pp. 74-76.

²² GIOVANNI PIETRO BELLORI, *Le vite de pittori, scultori et architetti moderni*, Rome, 1672, p. 247.

²³ Rubens furnished a *Return of the Holy Family from Egypt* for the altar of St. Joseph in the south aisle. The composition exists in several versions, one of which is in the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford (*Goris-Held*, No. 51, pl. 32).

²⁴ *Denucé, Konstkamers*, pp. 94-112, 136-152.

modelli, because they are represented in a painting of a *Picture Gallery* executed at Antwerp in 1666 (Figs. 202, 203).²⁵ The painting, which is now in Schloss Schleissheim, is a collaborative work by Karel Emmanuel Biset, W. S. von Ehrenberg, Jacob Jordaens and others, and seems to have been made for presentation to the Antwerp corporation of painters because the coat of arms of the Guild of St. Luke of that city appears over the mantelpiece on the rear wall. The eight sketches are shown as if they were mounted in wooden compartments to form a set of miniature ceiling paintings, their arrangement in two groups on either side of a central barrel vault having clearly been suggested by the interior of the Jesuit Church itself. Needless to say, this is only an artist's conceit, for the actual modelli, being diminutive panels of unequal sizes, could not have been displayed in this fashion. At the same time, the Schleissheim canvas unquestionably reproduces a group of authentic sketches for the Jesuit cycle. It is moreover of considerable documentary value because three of the sketches represented there are no longer extant.

Having seen and approved the modelli, the superior now provided Rubens (as had been agreed) with the canvases on which the assistants were to execute the full-sized ceiling paintings. Of this final phase of the project little is known, except that Van Dyck was to be the chief of those entrusted with the task of realizing the master's designs on a large scale. The importance of Van Dyck's collaboration must not be underestimated. It is doubtful that Rubens would have embarked upon the enterprise with such confidence if he had not had at his side so capable and understanding a lieutenant. The close association of the two artists, the one forty-three years of age and the other twenty-one, was now at its most productive stage. The secretary of the Earl of Arundel, writing to England from Antwerp in July 1620, reported that Van Dyck was then living in Rubens's house and added that the young man's works were almost as highly thought of as those of the master.²⁶ Van Dyck's participation in the Jesuit cycle was, it appears, not forgotten: the Bollandist Papebroch, at the end of the seventeenth century, specifically mentions his share in

²⁵ NICOLAS DE PIGAGE, *La Galerie électroale de Dusseldorff, ou catalogue raisonné de ses tableaux* (2nd ed.), Brussels, 1781, pp. 7-11; *Speth-Holterhoff*, pp. 183-190, pls. 71-73.

²⁶ HERVEY, *op. cit.*, pp. 172 ff.

the work;²⁷ and as late as 1735 the title-page accompanying the engravings made by Johann Justin Preissler after the ceiling pictures refers to the "admirable and widely known paintings by the famous artists Rubens and Anton van Dyck". Nevertheless Van Dyck cannot have seen the project carried through to completion, for he was in England before the end of November 1620 and did not return to Antwerp until March of the following year.²⁸

The contract had specified that Rubens would be entitled to receive the full payment of 10,000 guilders upon delivery of the completed canvases, the date of which was set at about the beginning of 1621. The work was in fact finished not long after that: the account book of the Jesuit Church shows the sum of 10,000 guilders to be owing to "Petro Paulo Rubbens schilder" on 13 February 1621, which may be taken as proof that the paintings had been delivered to the superior by that date (see Appendix II, No. 2). The work of installing the pictures in the ceiling compartments probably required considerable time. In any event it was not until 12 September 1621 that the Jesuit Church was consecrated in an impressive ceremony by the Bishop of Antwerp, Johannes Malderus. Two illustrious persons were missing on this occasion: the Archduke Albert had died two months before, and his widow, the Infanta Isabella, was represented by the governor of Antwerp.

In October 1621, about six weeks after the consecration, the church was visited by Sir George Chaworth, who had been sent by King James I of England to express his condolence with the Infanta upon the death of the Archduke. Chaworth's account of the church in his journal is perhaps the earliest mention that we have of the completed cycle of ceiling paintings:

"The Jesuits church, w^{ch} yet ys not finished, ys a rich one, all standing on whyte marble pillers, and lyled wth y^e lyke stone; and y^e galleries both above and below wholly roofed wth brave pictures of Rubens makeing, who at this tyme ys held y^e master workeman of y^e world."²⁹

²⁷ DANIEL PAPEBROCH, *Annales Antverpienses*, IV, p. 429.

²⁸ RUELENS and ROOSES, *op. cit.*, II, p. 272; W.H. CARPENTER, *Pictorial Notices, consisting of a Memoir of Sir Anthony Van Dyck...*, London, 1844, p. 10.

²⁹ A.J. KEMPE (ed), *The Loseley Manuscripts*, London, 1836, p. 457 (cited by O. MILLAR, *Rubens: The Whitehall Ceiling*, London, 1958, p. 5).

A fuller description of the church and its decoration is contained in the commemorative volume published at Antwerp in 1622 on the occasion of the canonization of Sts. Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier. Although the author, Father Michael Grisius, shows himself to be familiar with the subject-matter of the ceiling paintings, his account is chiefly remarkable for his failure to identify the artist ("the master workman of the world") by name :

"The flat ceilings of the porticos [i.e. the aisles and galleries] ... are adorned with noble pictures which either represent the mysteries of our salvation in parallel fashion from the Old and New Testament, or show various personages, both male and female, who are distinguished for their sanctity. All were designed and executed by a most celebrated painter who, on account of the difficulty of the situation and of the perspective, is thought in this work to have surpassed himself." ³⁰

It is obviously impossible to arrive at anything but an approximate estimate of the dimensions of the canvases. By measuring the bays in the reconstructed church (see Fig. A), and by making allowance for the necessary framing within each compartment, we may conclude that the paintings in the aisles and galleries must have been close to 3 by 4.2 metres in size; the three plafonds in the somewhat smaller bays at the entrance were probably in the neighbourhood of 2.7 by 3.8 metres.

In the galleries the light comes mainly from the windows along the sides of the church (Fig. 6), whereas the aisles, having no windows, receive their light from the nave (Fig. 3). One might have expected to find that in the ceiling paintings Rubens represented the flow of light in accordance with the actual conditions prevailing at each level. It appears however that the artist, confronted with such diversity, chose to ignore the problem altogether. For the plafonds reveal no consistency in their rendering of the direction of light : within one and the same gallery, for instance, the illumination may variously come from the left, from the right, or from a source directly overhead.

³⁰ GRISIUS, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14 : "Laquearia porticum ... nobilissimis vestita sunt imaginibus, quae aut mysteria salutis nostrae, ex veteri novoque Testamento παραλληλως exhibent, aut varios sexus utriusque, sanctitate eximios. Omnes delineatae & conformatae sunt a pictore celeberrimo; qui propter situs ac perspektivae difficultatem, in hoc opere seipsum creditur superasse."

The interior of the church of the Jesuits was a popular subject with specialists in architectural painting such as Anton Ghering and Wilhelm Schubert von Ehrenberg, one of whose works is reproduced here (Fig. 2). Faithful as these pictures are in rendering the main body of the church, they convey nothing whatever of the overpowering impression made by Rubens's paintings upon the spectator standing beneath them in the aisles and galleries. (I have attempted, in Figure 6, to suggest the imposing scale of the great canvases ranged in close sequence over these narrow passages : the view is taken in the north gallery of the rebuilt church, with drawings of the lost paintings superimposed upon the appropriate spaces.) The system of decoration, in which the canvases are set within wooden compartments, is Venetian, and so too is the method of foreshortening, which assumes an angle of sight of about forty-five degrees. There are unmistakable reminiscences of Titian's ceiling paintings for Santo Spirito in Isola, now in S. Maria della Salute, of Tintoretto's decorations in San Rocco and the Ducal Palace, and above all of Veronese's paintings on the ceiling of San Sebastiano. It is probable, too, that Rubens retained a vivid memory of the octagons on Giulio Romano's ceiling of the Sala di Psiche at Mantua.³¹ But it will also be evident – if we can succeed in evoking the atmosphere of the Jesuit Church – that Rubens produced a more concentrated effect than the Italian masters who were his inspiration. For these pictures, overflowing with movement and colour, so dominated the field of vision of the observer that he seemed to be caught up in their swirling rhythms and to be sharing in their heady exaltation.

Having triumphantly brought to fulfilment an undertaking of such complexity, Rubens was eager to try his hand at other monumental commissions of this kind. Already there were tentative overtures from England concerning the decoration of the ceiling of the Banqueting House of the Palace of Whitehall, which was being rebuilt by Inigo Jones. On the day following the dedication of the Jesuit church Rubens wrote to William Trumbull, an agent of James I, to express his readiness to take on the huge task :

“As regards the hall in the new palace I confess that I am by natural instinct better fitted to execute very large works than small curiosities.

³¹ As was pointed out by F. HARTT (*Art Bulletin*, XXVI, 1944, p. 67, note 6).

Everyone according to his gifts; my talent is such that no enterprise, however vast in number and diversity of subjects, has surpassed my courage.”³²

³² RUELENS and ROOSES, *op cit.*, II, pp. 286-7. The earlier Banqueting House was destroyed by fire in 1619. Although the new building by Inigo Jones was completed by 1621, Rubens did not commence work on the ceiling paintings before 1629, and the canvases themselves were not installed until 1635. See O. MILLAR, *op. cit.*

II. THE CATASTROPHE OF 1718 AND THE WORK OF THE COPYISTS

After its consecration in 1621 the Jesuit Church stood intact for almost a century, "the delight of Belgium and the admiration of all observers".³³ Then came disaster. Towards noon on 18 July 1718 the church was struck by lightning, and, as may be seen in a contemporary etching (Fig. 7), the roof caught fire. The marble columns of the interior, calcined by the heat, soon collapsed, bringing down with them the entire structure of the nave and side aisles. Within the space of a few hours the main body of the church was reduced to ashes. Some parts of the edifice, miraculously, remained undamaged. The façade was spared, as were also the lateral chapels of St. Ignatius and the Virgin Mary. The east end with its beautiful tower likewise stood firm. And, what was even more remarkable, the choir and all its contents – including the great altarpieces of *Ignatius* and *Xavier* – were untouched by the flames. But the real glory of the Jesuit Church, the cycle of thirty-nine ceiling paintings by Rubens, was irreparably lost.³⁴

Since so much of the fabric was still sound the Jesuit fathers decided at once to rebuild the church according to the original plans. The work of reconstruction, which was carried out under the direction of the architect Jan Pieter van Bourscheit (1669-1728), was completed late in the year 1719.³⁵ The interior, as we see it today (Fig. 3), follows the style and proportions of the original but is executed for the most part in inferior materials. No attempt was made, for example, to duplicate the elegant coffers of the nave vault, the ceilings of the aisles and galleries are conspicuously blank, and the columns are of a particularly coarse stone. Only in the choir and in the Chapel of the Virgin, which were left unharmed by the fire, is it possible to see the authentic decoration of the time of Rubens.

³³ *Acta Sanctorum Julii*, VII, p. 846: "non minus Belgii delictum... quam omnium spectantium admiratio".

³⁴ J.C. DIERCKSENS, *Antverpia Christo nascens et crescens*, Antwerp, 1773, VII, p. 145.

³⁵ A. JANSEN and C. VAN HERCK, in *Antwerpen's Oudheidkundige Kring*, XVIII, 1942, p. 56.

The vicissitudes of the edifice were not yet at an end. In 1773 Pope Clement XIV decreed the suppression of the Society of Jesus. The fathers decamped, the contents of the church and the Professed House were sold, and several years later the Church of St. Ignatius became what it is today, the parish church of St. Charles Borromeo.

Amid the general confusion and dismay occasioned by the fire of 1718 several persons had the presence of mind to set down in writing descriptions of the church and its works of art while they still retained a clear recollection of them. Two such accounts, both anonymous, were published in Antwerp shortly after the event : the better of the two, which is in Flemish, is a long poem of lamentation, or *Klaegende-Dicht*;³⁶ the other, which is likewise in verse, is written in French.³⁷ Their descriptions of the lost ceiling paintings leave much to be desired, chiefly for the reason that accuracy and completeness have had to be sacrificed to the demands of metre and rhyme. A much fuller and more satisfactory account is the prose description of the ceiling paintings alone which was discovered by Rooses in the archives of St. Charles Borromeo and published by him in the *Rubens Bulletijn*.³⁸ This *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen* was written within a few months of the fire, probably by one of the fathers living in the Professed House. There are, understandably, occasional blunders and lapses of memory : St. Barbara, for instance, is wrongly identified as St. Dymphna, and St. Margaret is taken to be St. Agnes; but in most cases the anonymous author supplies a useful and dependable word-picture of the subject. One device adopted by him deserves particular mention. Instead of specifying that a figure stands, let us say, at the left side of a painting, he attempts to fix its position *on the ceiling* with greater precision by relating it to the points of the compass. Thus he says of *The Temptation of Christ* (cf. Fig. 37) : "At the south side of the plafond our Saviour sat under an old tree facing north."³⁹ Or, again, he observes that Elijah (cf. Fig. 82) "was carried in his chariot towards the north-east".⁴⁰

³⁶ *Klaegende-Dicht*.

³⁷ *Description de l'ineestimable perte*.

³⁸ *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 279.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 288.

But no verbal description, however scrupulously detailed, would enable us to conceive anything but the vaguest notion of the appearance of the ceiling paintings. (If an analogy is to be looked for, we might think of the problem of visualizing the paintings by Polygnotus in the hall of the Cnidians at Delphi from the description of Pausanias.) For the Jesuit ceilings, fortunately, there exists a quantity of pictorial evidence which, if properly interpreted, will permit us to "reconstruct" the lost cycle in visible form and (at least as regards the compositions) to do so with a high degree of accuracy.

The most useful and most authentic part of this evidence consists of the oil sketches painted by Rubens for the guidance of his assistants. If we possessed the complete set of thirty-nine modelli, the problem of reconstruction would, it goes without saying, be vastly simplified. As it is, thirty-three oil sketches have been identified for the Jesuit cycle. It must be remembered, however, that this total includes grisailles and other panels of a preliminary nature, as well as several sketches of subjects eventually discarded. Of the thirty-nine finished modelli which alone could give us an adequate idea of the large canvases, only twenty-two are extant. Some further details can be gleaned from the few engravings of these subjects made during Rubens's lifetime (and even, in some instances, under his direction).

In addition to these sources there remain several sets of copies after the ceiling paintings which, though of negligible artistic worth in themselves, are nevertheless indispensable to any attempt at reconstruction. We owe these copies to two eighteenth-century painters who, impelled by motives that can only be described as providential, took it upon themselves quite independently to make drawings of the Rubens ceilings not long before the conflagration that destroyed them. With such copies before us we have a means not only of assessing the relationship of the surviving oil sketches to the canvases finally executed, but, more important, of recovering something of the appearance of those subjects of which no preparatory sketches have survived.

The first and by far the better known of the two copyists was the Dutch artist Jacob de Wit (1695-1754), a modest Rococo talent who, though hardly deserving the epithet of "the Rubens of his century" applied to him by an admirer, enjoyed a considerable reputation as a

painter of decorative ceilings and sculptural grisailles.⁴¹ De Wit, who was a native of Amsterdam, came as a youth to Antwerp, where he lived with his uncle while studying drawing and painting. From the very start he showed an interest in the problems of ceiling decoration, and it was doubtless for this reason that in 1711-1712, when he was no more than seventeen years of age, he set about making drawings of the ceilings by Rubens in the Jesuit Church. These drawings, which were thirty-six in number, included all the subjects of the aisles and galleries, but omitted the three paintings at the entrance. When the fire of 1718 consumed the original paintings, De Wit, who had in the meantime returned to Holland, realized the documentary importance of his copies and made from them a fresh set of thirty-six drawings in red chalk on a larger scale.⁴²

This was only the beginning of the many repetitions which De Wit continued to produce throughout his life and which are described in such bewildering variety in auction catalogues and other sources of the later eighteenth century. Two complete sets of drawings, one in red and black chalk and the other in colours, still remained in De Wit's studio at the time of his death, as we learn from the catalogue of the sale of his effects at Amsterdam on 10 March 1755. But to attempt to disentangle all of these multifarious copies would not be worth the effort, even if it were feasible : for, as will shortly appear, there is no one master set that can properly be called authoritative. Instead, then, we shall briefly describe the existing series of drawings and engravings which are either by the hand of De Wit or are directly dependent on him.

1. In the British Museum there is a set of thirty-six signed drawings in red chalk by De Wit, with a title-page showing the portrait of Rubens and the Jesuit Church in flames (*Hind*, IV, p. 178, 5 [1-37]). They are large sheets, measuring about 315 x 375 mm. (cf. Figs. 10, 19, 24 etc.). All that is definitely known of their history is that they formed part of the Warwick sale of 1896 and were acquired for the Museum in 1921.

⁴¹ For a full account of this artist see STARING. The flattering comparison with Rubens occurs in the preface to the edition of Jan Punt's engravings after De Wit (see note 48 below).

⁴² JOHAN VAN GOOL, *De nieuwe schouburg der Nederlantsche kunstschilders en schilderesen*, The Hague, 1751, II, p. 219. See also the manuscript notes by FRANÇOIS-JEAN-JOSEPH MOLS on De Wit's *Beschryvinge van alle de Kerken van Antwerpen* (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS. 13643, fol. 18 recto).

Although they were certainly not copied directly from the original paintings, it is possible that these are the red chalk drawings made by De Wit from his first sketches when he learned of the fire of 1718. Van Gool reports (1751) that this set was sold "for a substantial price to the Jongk-vrouwe van Anckeveen", Maria Elizabeth de Waal;⁴³ the album is described in the sale of her collection (Amsterdam, 14 August 1755) as containing thirty-seven drawings in red chalk, "being the ceilings of the Jesuit Church at Antwerp with a title showing the portrait of the renowned artist P. P. Rubens"; it is further noted that these are "the first and authentic drawings, extra fine". This description might very well fit the drawings now in the British Museum, which moreover can be shown to stand in a somewhat closer relationship to the lost originals than any other of the surviving copies by De Wit.

2. A second set of drawings by this artist, consisting of thirty-six little watercolours, is in the Antwerp Print Room (*Delen*, Nos. 200-236 [1-36]). They vary in size from about 120 x 150 mm. to about 160 x 180 mm. Perhaps they are to be connected with Mols's description of a series of drawings in colour ("met hunne Coleuren") made by De Wit about 1730.⁴⁴ In any event the date should not be taken too literally, for, as Staring has noted,⁴⁵ these drawings appear to have been worked on over a period of many years. They are probably to be identified with the set of thirty-six aquarelles that appeared in an anonymous sale at Amsterdam on 5 December 1785 (lot 212) and subsequently passed through the hands of Ploos van Amstel (sale, Amsterdam, 3 March 1800, lot 21), Hendrick Reydon (sale, Amsterdam, 6 April 1827) and De Visser (sale, The Hague, 1879) before being acquired for the Plantin-Moretus Museum in Antwerp. In general these watercolours are less reliable as copies than the red chalk drawings in the British Museum. The colours are more or less arbitrary, and in some sheets the composition is so cramped as to give only a very distorted idea of the original (cf. Figs. 60 and 70).

3. The third set, an album comprising thirty-five watercolour drawings and a title-page with a bust portrait of Rubens, is in the possession of Count Antoine Seilern in London. The album formerly belonged to

⁴³ VAN GOOL, *loc. cit.*; MOLS, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁴ MOLS, *Notes on De Wit*, fol. 18 recto.

⁴⁵ *Staring*, pp. 58-59.

Count Adam Gottlob Moltke (1710-1792) and was in the collection of Lord Rendlesham⁴⁶ before its acquisition by the present owner. Each sheet measures about 185 x 225 mm.; one subject (*St. Eugenia*) is lacking. As Staring has rightly observed,⁴⁷ the fact that these drawings have a distinctly eighteenth-century flavour indicates that they were made at a time when De Wit's memory of Rubens's originals was growing dim and his own pictorial idiom was consequently more in evidence (cf. Figs. 12, 21, 25, etc.).

4. It was also De Wit's intention to make a complete set of etchings of the ceilings, but he found himself for some reason unable to finish the project. De Wit did, however, etch eleven of the eighteen biblical subjects from the galleries of the church (V.S., p. 211, 9; cf. Figs. 13, 40, 71, etc.). The resemblance to the red chalk drawings in the British Museum is sufficiently close to suggest that the latter were used as models.

5. When his plan of making a complete edition of his own etchings proved to be beyond his powers, De Wit found in the actor and artist Jan Punt (1711-1779) a collaborator willing to reproduce his drawings in the form of copper engravings (V.S., pp. 212-13, 10, 1-36).⁴⁸ De Wit did not, unfortunately, live to see the series brought to completion. The privilege for the edition was granted by the States of Holland and West-Friesland in 1747, and the letterpress was printed, in both a Dutch and a French version, in 1751. From the dates that appear on some of Punt's engravings it is evident that the project was more than half finished at the time of De Wit's death in 1754; the earliest date is 1747, two plates are dated as late as 1759, and the frontispiece was not executed until 1763. The series consists of thirty-six subjects (cf. Figs. 14, 30, 34, etc.) and a frontispiece similar to the title-drawing of the Seilern-Moltke album. The models used by Punt for his engravings have not been identified. Some are related to the watercolours in the Antwerp Print Room and others

⁴⁶ *Hind*, II, p. 158.

⁴⁷ *Staring*, p. 60.

⁴⁸ *De Plafons, of Gallerystukken uit de Kerk der Eerw. P.P. Jesuiten te Antwerpen, geschilderd door P.P. Rubens; naer deszelfs echte schilderyen geteekent door Jacob de Wit, en in't koper gebragt door Jan Punt*, Amsterdam, 1751. Also published in French: *Les Plat-Fonds, ou les Tableaux des Galeries de l'Eglise des R.P.P. Jésuites d'Anvers*, etc.

resemble the red chalk drawings in the British Museum. *Hind* (iv, p. 178, 5) believed that Punt simply copied the latter. But this is disproved by the innumerable differences in detail between the two series. Mols is probably correct in saying that Punt worked from counterproofs furnished by De Wit,⁴⁹ but it must be emphasized that these were not made from any set of drawings now known to us. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of Punt's engravings is that they reflect De Wit's conceptions as faithfully as if that artist himself had made them. This was acknowledged by John Smith when he wrote in 1830 :

"That these prints are sadly deficient in the characteristics of the prototypes is entirely owing to the imperfections of the drawings, which partake of the style and manner of the Dutch painter rather than that of Rubens."⁵⁰

Thanks to his untiring industry in repeatedly issuing fresh sets of drawings, and thanks also to the widespread circulation of Punt's engravings after his designs, Jacob de Wit has come to be regarded as the man solely responsible for rescuing Rubens's ceiling paintings from total oblivion, and his copies are accordingly looked on as unique and essential sources for the reconstruction of the lost cycle. Yet, praiseworthy though his efforts undeniably were, careful consideration of his versions discloses two major defects which must raise serious doubts about their documentary value. The first is that, having neglected to copy the three paintings at the entrance, De Wit possessed only an incomplete record of the cycle. (The preface to the edition of Punt's engravings, published in 1751, explains that De Wit had "merely sketched" the three missing subjects and promises that they will be engraved in due course; but this statement must be dismissed as groundless, for among all the other accounts of De Wit's drawings there is not the slightest evidence that any such sketches were made).⁵¹ The second defect is that all the extant drawings by De Wit are merely copies of copies : the original drawings made in 1711-12 no longer exist, having been in all probability destroyed by the artist himself. It is not

⁴⁹ MOLS, *Notes on De Wit*, fol. 18 recto.

⁵⁰ *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp. 17-18.

⁵¹ Mols says explicitly that De Wit did not copy these paintings (*Notes on De Wit*, fol. 18 recto).

difficult to imagine that the young De Wit, in his study of Rubens's ceiling paintings, was not so much concerned to make an exact iconographical record as to master certain technical problems of foreshortening and the like, and therefore thought it sufficient to set down rather cursory sketches of them. He himself, it is clear, was ashamed of these first drawings and was "unwilling to show them to anyone on account of their slightness".⁵² His first act on learning of the loss of the originals in the fire was to recopy the whole set in more presentable form, a procedure which must have involved a good deal of guesswork (not to say invention) on his part. Later, as more and more copies came into being, the embarrassing original sketches were – as it seems – quietly disposed of. Since they thus descend from an archetype of dubious fidelity, all the drawings by De Wit, as well as the engravings by Punt, must be received with caution.

The second copyist, Christian Benjamin Müller (1690-1758), is a much more shadowy figure, concerning whom we possess remarkably little information of value.⁵³ A native of Dresden, Müller was chiefly known in his day as a portraitist, and in 1737 was appointed painter to the Saxon-Polish court in that city. He was also praised for his drawings of landscape subjects, of which there are over 120 in the Print Room of the University of Warsaw.⁵⁴ But the work that concerns us belongs to a previous phase of his career. It was early in 1718, just six months before the fire, that Müller made a complete set of drawings after the ceiling paintings of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp.⁵⁵

We know too little about Müller to explain why he copied the ceilings. Perhaps he was making a tour and was in the habit of setting down sketches of those works that appealed to him. But whatever his reasons we must be grateful that he carried out the task. For Müller's drawings, together with certain other drawings and engravings copied from them, constitute the most complete and the most accurate record of the cycle

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ The notice on Christian Benjamin Müller in NAGLER's *Künstlerlexikon* confuses him with the theatre-painter Johann Benjamin Müller (1719-before 1789).

⁵⁴ Z. BATOWSKI, *Zbiór graficzny w Uniwersytecie Warszawskim*, Warsaw, 1928, p. 22.

⁵⁵ KARL WILHELM DASSDORF, *Beschreibung der vorzüglichsten Merkwürdigkeiten der Churfürstlichen Residenzstadt Dresden und einiger umliegenden Genden*, Dresden, 1782, p. 637.

that we possess. The materials making up this body of evidence are the following :

1. In the Antwerp Print Room are thirty-seven drawings in red chalk and grey wash by Müller, measuring on the average about 190 x 300 mm. (*Delen*, Nos. 237-274 [1-37]).⁵⁶ The set is imperfect, two sheets having been lost; but of these there exist copies. As specimens of draughtsmanship Müller's drawings lack the graceful facility and assurance that characterize those by De Wit; the contours are more hesitant, and the placing of lights and shades more abrupt. Yet it is precisely this lack of aesthetic quality that ensures their value as documents. The real significance of Müller's drawings lies in the fact that they are not "improved" copies after an earlier set of rough sketches, but that they are themselves the original, unpolished transcriptions made by the artist in front of Rubens's ceiling paintings. A glance at one of these sheets (Fig. 44) will show how he went about recording the design. The outlines were first tentatively indicated in pencil, after which the contours were carefully readjusted until the spacing of the forms and the intervals between them corresponded as closely as possible to the original. How scrupulously this was done may be seen by comparing the composition of Müller's copy with that of Rubens's modello of the same subject (Fig. 43); De Wit's conception of the scene, on the other hand (Figs. 46, 47), stands much further removed from the oil sketch. Having verified the design, Müller now redrew the contours in red chalk and added shadows in wash following the system of lighting seen in the original.

Not having found the opportunity to work up his copies in some more permanent form, Müller eventually gave his drawings to the Nuremberg painter and engraver Johann Justin Preissler, or Preisler (1698-1771), so that he might make prints from them.⁵⁷ Thereafter we hear nothing more of the drawings until 1887, when they were purchased by Max Rooses and deposited in the Plantin-Moretus Museum in Antwerp.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Wrongly attributed by Delen to Johann Benjamin Müller.

⁵⁷ In the preface to his engravings of the plafonds, published in 1735 (see note 59 below), Preisler says that he acquired the drawings, which he calls "flüchtige Entwürffe", from "Herr Müller von Dressden".

⁵⁸ *Rooses*, v, Appendice, p. 307.

2. Preissler's engravings were published at Nuremberg in 1735 (V.S., p. 213, 11).⁵⁹ The wording of the preface leaves no doubt that the artist intended to illustrate the entire cycle of thirty-nine subjects, but the project was evidently abandoned when it was hardly more than half complete. There are only nineteen engravings, comprising the subjects from the north gallery and the north aisle as well as one from the entrance (*St. Clara*). Preissler was conscientious in copying his models, as may be seen by comparing his engraving of *Abraham and Melchizedek* (Fig. 45) with Müller's drawing of this scene (Fig. 44). Prosaic though they are, these prints nevertheless give a more faithful idea of the content of the ceiling paintings than do the more accomplished plates by Jan Punt.

3. Preissler also left a few other works which should not be overlooked. With Müller's drawings before him, he first made a series of preparatory designs to guide him in the execution of his engravings. One of these, representing *St. Clara*, is in the Antwerp Print Room (Fig. 194) and may be compared with the resulting print (Fig. 195). His designs for the remaining engravings of the series have been lost; perhaps they were simply discarded when they had served their purpose.

Still in existence, however, are several other preparatory drawings by Preissler for engravings which were never carried out: two such designs are in the Antwerp Print Room and three more belong to the Jesuit College in Cracow. Not only do they afford additional proof of Preissler's intention to engrave the whole cycle, but three of them are uniquely valuable because the drawings by Müller from which they were copied have disappeared.

In the following chapter it will be our object to describe the cycle of ceiling paintings, making use both of the copies by Müller, De Wit and others and of the oil sketches by Rubens himself.

⁵⁹ *Der berühmten Künstler Rubens and Anton, van Dyck fürtreffliche und weitbekannte Mahleryen die sich vorhin in dem prächtigen Tempel R.R.P.P. Soc. Iesu zu Antwerpen befunden haben; nun aber durch desselben Einäscherung verlobren gegangen sind werden aus der Asche gleichsam herfürgezogen und im Kupffer an das Licht gebracht von Johann Justin Preissler, Mabler. Mit allergnädigsten Kayserlichen Privilegio. Nürnberg, verlegt Georg Martin Preissler, Anno 1735.*

III. DESCRIPTION OF THE CYCLE

In each of the four major sections of the cycle (the galleries and the aisles) the progression was from the east end towards the west front of the church. The order of subjects is indicated in Figures B and C. (In order to avoid confusion, it is necessary to remember that these drawings are not plans, but are diagrams of the ceilings as they were seen from below. The reader can best bring them into relation with the plan of the church [cf. Fig. A] by holding the book over his head and looking up as if at a ceiling.)

It must also be emphasized that the series did not begin (as one might perhaps expect) at the entrance and terminate at the east end. Standing in one of the aisles or galleries and looking always in the direction of the altar, the observer saw the sequence of pictures unfolding from the east towards the façade (cf. Fig. 6). He did not turn his back on the altar : otherwise the paintings appeared upside down. For this system there was one important precedent, Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling, where, starting at the altar, nine scenes from Genesis are laid out along the vault in an exactly analogous manner.

There is, fortunately, no uncertainty regarding the disposition of the thirty-nine paintings. The situation of each subject is explicitly stated in the *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, which was written not long after the fire : we read of the first plafond, for instance, that it was to be seen "on the ceiling over the gallery on the north side beginning at the altar", and the positions of all the other pictures are no less clearly indicated. The lay-out of the cycle was also described (though with two subjects misplaced) in the preface to the edition of Jan Punt's engravings after De Wit, published in 1751; this imperfect list was repeated by Voorhelm Schreevogt in his catalogue of the Punt engravings. *Rooses* (I, pp. 19-52) re-established the correct sequence of subjects; and this system of numbering, which was also adopted by Ludwig Burchard for his documentary files on Rubens, has been retained in the description that follows. On the upper tier (Nos. 1-18) the cycle began at the altar of the north gallery and continued towards the façade; resuming once more at the altar of the south gallery, it ended at the west front. The ceiling paintings of the aisles (Nos. 19-36) followed a parallel course at the lower level.

The North Gallery

The nine ceiling paintings of each gallery, or tribune, were of alternately rectangular and octagonal shape. The appearance of the north gallery with Rubens's canvases *in situ* may be judged from the photographic reconstruction illustrated at Figure 6, in which copies after the lost paintings have been inserted in the appropriate compartments. The first scene, nearest the altar, is *The Fall of the Rebel Angels*. Then follow *The Nativity*, *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*, *The Adoration of the Magi* and *David and Goliath*, the last-named visible only as a narrow strip at the top.

1. THE FALL OF THE REBEL ANGELS

Oil on canvas; approximately 3 : 4.2 m.

Formerly in the north gallery of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPIES : Jacob Neeffs, engraving (V.S., p. 2, No. 5); C.B. Müller, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 71, No. 1); J.J. Preissler, engraving (V.S., p. 213, 11); J. de Wit, drawing, London, British Museum (*Hind*, IV, p. 178, 5); J. de Wit, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 69, No. 2); J. de Wit, drawing, London, Coll. Count Antoine Seilern; J. de Wit, etching (V.S., p. 211, 9, No. 1); J. Punt, engraving, 1750 (V.S., p. 212, 10, No. 1).

Follower of P.P. Rubens, painting

LITERATURE : *Klaegende-Dicht*, p. 4; *Description de l'ineestimable perte...*, p. 7; *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, pp. 273-4; *Rooses*, I, pp. 19-20, No. 1, pl. 6, 1 [engraving by Punt]; M.F. Hennis, in *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten*, VI, 1929, pp. 202-3 [illustrations of the etching by De Wit and the engraving by Punt]; *Staring*, p. 57, fig. 11 [drawing by De Wit in the British Museum].

The subject appears as No. 3 ("Michael luceferum deturbans") in the provisional list appended to the contract of 1620. In the final scheme *The Fall of the Rebel Angels* (or *St. Michael overcoming Satan*) became the first scene of the cycle and was situated in the easternmost bay of the north gallery.

The Archangel Michael, holding a shield inscribed in Hebrew with the name of Jehovah and brandishing a thunderbolt in his upraised right arm, rushed forward furiously to attack Satan, who was represented overwhelmed and falling helplessly. Michael was accompanied by three other

angels : two at his side struck at the rebellious demons with their fists, and a third plunged into the fray from above. Satan, his face contorted with rage, had bat-wings and serpentine hair, and a snake was wound about his loins. A second demon, with an animal's face and claws, and with arms and legs flailing the air, was overturned with such violence that he seemed to be falling out of the picture upon the observer's head. At the right side was visible the leg of another falling figure, and a fourth demon could be seen recoiling before the angels' assault at the left. A brilliant light from heaven illumined the upper part of the scene, the sides and lower zone being enveloped in clouds and darkness.

There are ample materials for reconstructing this lost composition, the most important being the drawing by Müller (Fig. 8), the modello by Rubens himself (Fig. 16), and the engraving by Neeffs (Fig. 15). All of these agree in the following points : (a) Michael's right leg is hidden behind his shield, the knee alone being visible; (b) Satan's left hand is turned palm outward; (c) the foot of the uppermost angel can be seen near the top left corner. The copies by De Wit (Figs. 10-13) and the related engraving by Punt (Fig. 14) represent these details incorrectly : Satan's left fist is shown with the back of the hand outward; Michael's right leg is visible from the knee to the ankle; and the foot of the angel at the upper left is not included. Preissler's engraving (Fig. 9) imitates Müller's copy (Fig. 8) in most respects, but misinterprets several passages, notably the left hand of Satan.

It is characteristic of Rubens that certain motifs, because they have precise signification, are recurrent throughout his work. In this composition, accordingly, the artist combines and develops figures and actions which are also to be seen in other paintings of apocalyptic subjects. The attitudes of Michael and of the angel who bends his arm to strike at a demon may be discovered, for example, in *The Great Last Judgment* of 1616-17 (K.d.K., 118) and *The Small Last Judgment* of 1618-20 (K.d.K., 195), both in Munich. The two figures are repeated, with some variations in posture, in *The Fall of the Rebel Angels* of 1622, likewise in Munich (K.d.K., 241), and in the sketch for *The Woman of the Apocalypse* in a private collection in Zürich, datable 1624-25 (*Catalogue, exhibition Rotterdam, 1953-54*, No. 47, pl. 41). But the closest parallel for Michael's belligerent companions is to be found in the *Crucifixion* known as "le

Christ au coup de poing", which was engraved by Pontius in 1631 (*Roses*, II, pp. 87-90, pl. 102); the angel at the left of the Crucified, who is belabouring Death with his clenched fist, is identical with the figure beside Michael; and the group on the right, showing an angel overcoming Sin, exactly duplicates the pair seen at the lower left in the ceiling painting. The angel descending from the upper left in the Jesuit plafond is pre-figured in *The Defeat of Sennacherib* (*K.d.K.*, 156) and in *The Fall of the Damned* (*K.d.K.*, 194), both in Munich. The posture of Satan, on the other hand, probably owes something to the Vatican Laocoön group; it is significant that the same attitude recurs in *The Brazen Serpent* of about 1638-39 in London (*K.d.K.*, 315), where a snake is likewise entwined about the recumbent man in the foreground. Strikingly similar, though not identical, is the figure of Satan in *The Fall of the Rebel Angels* engraved by Lucas Vorsterman in 1621 after Rubens's design (*Roses*, I, pl. 22).

The only seventeenth-century engraving of the subject is that by Jacob Neeffs (Fig. 15), who was born in 1610 and died after 1660. Mention might also be made here of a large drawing of this composition, perhaps made after the Neeffs engraving, which appeared in an anonymous sale at Amsterdam, 23-30 March 1943, lot 1199, as Van Thulden (wash on tinted paper, 400 x 520 mm.). The engraving by Adriaen Melar (*V.S.*, p. 96, 13) is not a copy of *The Fall of the Rebel Angels* from the Jesuit Church, though sometimes described as such. It shows only Michael and Satan, and the pose of the latter is not the same as that of Satan in the ceiling painting.

1a. **THE FALL OF THE REBEL ANGELS : MODELLO** (Fig. 16)

Oil on panel; 47 : 52 cm.

Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique.

PROVENANCE : Earl of Liverpool, sale, London, 25 May 1829, lot 59 ("St. Michael driving down Satan; a bold and spirited sketch"), purchased by the picture-dealer J. Woodin; Dr. Nevinson, sale, London, 3-4 June 1842, lot 247; Andrew Geddes, A.R.A. (1783-1844), sale, London, 8-14 April 1845, lot 631 ("The Archangel Michael drawing down Discord from heaven - a finished sketch for one of the compartments of the

ceiling at Whitehall, painted with the utmost vigour and energy"); Paul Tesse; Philippe George, Ay, sale, Paris, 2 June 1891; Charles Sedelmeyer Gallery, Paris, Cat. 1896, No. 33; Alphonse Willems, sale, Brussels, 12 May 1921 (repr.); General Willems, Brussels.

EXHIBITED: *Brussels*, 1910, No. 392; *Antwerp*, 1927, No. 23; *Antwerp*, 1930, No. 252; *Brussels*, 1953, No. 38; *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No. 26 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Smith*, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 269, No. 907; M. Rooses, in *Rubens Bulletin*, V, 1897-1910, p. 72; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p. 194; Rooses, in *Onze Kunst*, XIX, 1911, p. 5, repr. 4; *Trésor de l'art belge au XVII^e siècle*, 1912, p. 54, pl. XVII; *K.d.K.*, p. 214; *Van Puyvelde*, *Esquisses*, pp. 26, 57, 74, pl. 31.

This modello, one of the most finished and solidly painted of all the oil sketches for the Jesuit ceiling, was followed almost without change by Rubens's assistants in executing the full-scale canvas (see particularly the drawing by Müller, Fig. 8). The composition was made slightly broader, and highlights were added in several places – as on St. Michael's skirt – in order to give greater clarity to the design.

Although I have listed it among the copies after the ceiling painting, the possibility is not to be excluded that the engraving by Neeffs (Fig. 15) was in fact made from the modello. This was the procedure followed by Christoffel Jegher in his woodcuts of subjects from the Jesuit cycle (Figs. 42 and 103).

Van Puyvelde cites, in connection with the Brussels modello, a painting by Rubens of the same subject which appeared in the Schamp d'Aveschoot sale (Ghent, 14 September 1840, lot 63). This work, now in the Thyssen Collection, Lugano, bears no relation to the Jesuit ceiling.

2. THE NATIVITY

Oil on canvas; approximately 3 : 4.2 m. (octagonal).

Formerly in the north gallery of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPIES: C.B. Müller, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 72, No. 8); J.J. Preissler, engraving (V.S., p. 213, 11); J. de Wit, drawing, London, British Museum (*Hind*, IV, p. 178, 5); J. de Wit, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 70, No. 10); J. de Wit, drawing, London, Collection Count Antoine Seilern; J. de Wit, etching (V.S., p. 211, 9, No. 2); J. Punt, engraving, 1749 (V.S., p. 212, 10, No. 2).

LITERATURE : *Klaegende-Dicht*, p. 4; *Description de l'ineffable perte*, p. 7; *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, pp. 274-5; *Rooses*, I, pp. 20-1, No. 2, pl. 6, 11 [the engraving by Punt].

The second plafond of the north gallery represented *The Nativity* (or more properly, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*). The subject figured as No. 11 ("Nativitas Christi") in the original list of 1620.

The observer seemed to be looking up into the stable of Bethlehem, in which the only light was that which shone from the infant Christ. Mary sat at the right, her elbow bent sharply as she drew aside the covers of the sleeping child. Joseph stood on the other side of the bed, extending his hand as if to welcome the shepherds crowding into the stable from the left. The most prominent of these was a bearded man with bare legs, grasping a staff with his left hand and removing his hat with the other as he approached the Christ Child. At the foot of the manger an old woman knelt in prayer, and behind her was seen the head of another shepherd. At the left of the scene a girl carrying a basket on her arm leaned forward eagerly to look over the shoulders of the others. Directly behind Mary appeared the ox, standing near a crib filled with hay. In the centre foreground was a brass milk jug. Beside Joseph was a wooden post with a diagonal beam supporting the roof of the stable; an arched opening at the left gave a glimpse of the night sky.

Perhaps owing to the darkness of the painting, the copyists are not in agreement about the shape of the doorway. Müller's drawing (Fig. 18), followed by Preissler's engraving, shows an arch resting on a column. With one exception, the copies by De Wit (e.g. Figs. 19-20) represent an overhanging roof of planks and what appears to be a rocky cliff outside; these features are also present in Punt's engraving. In the latest of his drawings (Fig. 21), however, De Wit introduced an archway not unlike that in Müller's version. The change was made, it seems virtually certain, because by this time De Wit had seen Preissler's engraving (1735), in which the arch was prominently featured.

Rubens's *Nativity*, with its Bassano-like lighting, recalls the early *Adoration of the Shepherds* in Fermo, painted in 1608 (*Evers*, 1942, p. 38); here too may be seen the toothless old woman kneeling before the Christ Child. The shepherd striding forward with bare legs and removing his hat is derived from Titian's *Adoration of the Shepherds*, a composition

perhaps known to Rubens through an anonymous woodcut (*Tietze, Titian*, fig. 322). *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, have noted (p. 150) that the same figure was used by Jacopo Bassano in his *Adoration of the Shepherds* now in Hampton Court (*E. Arslan, I Bassano*, Milano, 1960, II, pl. 74). The influence of Titian's bare-legged shepherd is also evident in two slightly earlier *Adorations* by Rubens: the painting in Marseille (*K.d.K.*, 166), which originally formed part of the predella of the altarpiece of 1617-19 in the Church of St. John at Mechlin, and the large altarpiece of 1619 in Munich (*K.d.K.*, 198). In both these works, however, the gesture of removing the hat has been transferred to one of the other shepherds.

In the Sodality of Young Men which formed part of the Antwerp Professed House were several small ceiling paintings copied after plafonds by Rubens in the Jesuit Church. One of these represented *The Nativity*, as we know both from the *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen* and from the description of the sodality by Jacob de Wit (*De Kerken van Antwerpen*, ed. J. de Bosschere, Antwerp - The Hague, 1910, p. 72). These pupil's copies are surely to be identified with three pictures, each measuring 47 x 65 pouces (127.3 x 175.95 cm.), which were offered for sale in 1788 at Ghent, where they were bought in at 400 florins (*Catalogue des tableaux ... qui se vendront au refuge de l'Evêché de Gand*, 1788, p. 6, Nos. 42-44). One was described as "une représentation de la Vierge au temple, plafond des Jésuites d'Anvers". Since there was no such subject in the Jesuit cycle, *Rooses* conjectures (I, p. 23) that this must really have been *The Nativity*.

2a. THE NATIVITY : MODELLO (Fig. 17)

Oil on panel; 32 : 47.5 cm.

Vienna, Akademie der bildenden Künste. Inv. No. 638.

PROVENANCE : The panel is probably that listed in the inventory of the painter Victor Wolfvoet (1612-1652), Antwerp, 24-26 October 1652 (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 138 : "Een Kersnachtken, wesende een schetsken van Rubens, op panneel, in lyste"); Joseph Sansot, sale, Brussels, 20 July 1739, lot 125 ("Esquisse de Rubbens, représentant la Nativité du Seigneur"); anonymous sale, Brussels, 18 July 1740, lot 267; Jacques de

Roore, sale, The Hague, 4 September 1747 et seqq., lot 44, bought by De Groot; Anthoni and Stephanus de Groot, sale, The Hague, 20 March 1771, lot 7; Count Anton Lamberg-Sprinzenstein (1740-1822); donated to the Vienna Academy 1821.

EXHIBITED : Zurich, 1946-47; Antwerp, 1954, No. 91.

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, I, p. 21, No. 2 bis; *Frimmel*, p. 161; *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg*, p. 194; *K.d.K.*, p. 212; *Akademie, Wien, Cat. Eigenberger*, p. 339, No. 638; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 27; *Akademie, Wien, Cat. 1961*, pp. 36-37, No. 34.

Unlike the modello for *The Fall of the Rebel Angels*, this oil sketch presents some noticeable differences from the final conception. The composition is here given an oval rather than an octagonal form, and the figures occupy so much of the space that we are shown almost nothing of the architectural setting. The basket and pitchfork in the right foreground were omitted in the ceiling painting. The attitude of the striding shepherd in the sketch is closer to the Titianesque prototype than that in the definitive composition, where the position of the legs was reversed. Directly beneath Joseph's outstretched hand may be seen the right hand of the Virgin lifting the covering from the Child : perhaps finding the gesture somewhat awkward, Rubens suppressed the hand in the final version. The shepherd in the background, whose head and shoulders appear above the kneeling woman, is represented in the sketch carrying a lamb; this detail was likewise eliminated in the ceiling canvas. The most interesting change concerns the toothless old woman crouching before the crib, whose hands were first shown held out palms foremost in a gesture of wonder; Rubens subsequently revised this passage in the modello and, in a plainly visible *pentimento*, repainted her hands as joined in prayer. The original gesture may be traced back to the early *Adoration of the Shepherds* in Fermo, painted in 1608, in which an aged crone extends her hands in precisely the same way (*Evers*, 1942, p. 38). The same figure reappears a year or two later in the almost identical *Adoration* in the Church of St. Paul at Antwerp (L. Van Puyvelde, in *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen*, 1942-47, pp. 83-87, pl. 50).

The colours of the garments worn by the figures in the ceiling painting were doubtless similar to those in the modello. Mary wears a blue mantle over a red dress with violet sleeves. Joseph's cloak is brownish-yellow. The

shepherd raising his hat is clad in moss-green, and the dress of the young woman behind him is slate-blue. The oval frame is painted in grey and grey-brown tones.

3. SOLOMON AND THE QUEEN OF SHEBA

Oil on canvas; approximately 3 : 4.2 m.

Formerly in the north gallery of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPIES : C.B. Müller, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 72, No. 2); J.J. Preissler, engraving (*V.S.*, p. 213, 11); J. de Wit, drawing, London, British Museum (*Hind*, IV, p. 178, 5); J. de Wit, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 69, No. 7); J. de Wit, drawing, London, Collection Count Antoine Seilern; J. Punt, engraving, 1749 (*V.S.*, p. 212, 10, No. 3).

LITERATURE : *Klaegende-Dicht*, p. 4; *Description de l'ineestimable perte*, p. 7; *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, pp. 275-76; *Roozes*, I, p. 22, No. 3, pl. 7 [engraving by Punt]; *Seilern*, p. 52, fig. 25 [engraving by Punt].

In the list attached to the contract of 1620 the subject was described under No. 23 as "Salomon in throno eburneo, cum Regina Saba".

Solomon sat at the left beneath a fringed canopy. His ivory throne, in accordance with the biblical description, was raised on a flight of steps and was flanked by sculptured lions. The king wore a crown and a long mantle; his right hand, grasping the sceptre, rested on the head of the lion, and he held out his left as he leaned forward to greet the Queen of Sheba.

The dusky Eastern queen was shown kneeling before Solomon in an attitude of reverence. She was followed by three female attendants, likewise dark-skinned, one of whom held up the long train of her garment. At the foot of the steps below the queen appeared two of her followers bearing gifts: one was a burly half-naked slave carrying a heavy gold vessel on his shoulders, and the other was a grinning Negro boy in a striped coat who held a parrot on his wrist while a monkey clung to his back. On the opposite side stood two of Solomon's warriors in full armour, the nearer one holding a spear and shield, and the second with hands resting on the hilt of his sword. The precious vessels laid out on

the table behind the two guards suggested the king's wealth. The palatial architecture in the background consisted of two coffered barrel vaults divided by a pier, to the face of which was attached a fluted column.

Comparison with Rubens's modello (Fig. 26) makes it clear that, of the various copies after the lost ceiling painting, the drawing by Müller in the Antwerp Print Room (Fig. 22) is the most trustworthy. The Negro page, for example, was so placed that his right hand was visible: this detail is correctly rendered in Müller's drawing and in the print made after it by Preissler (Fig. 23); in three of De Wit's drawings (cf. Fig. 24) and in the engraving by Punt the body of the boy is cut off at the waist and the hand is unseen. The drawing by De Wit in the Seilern album (Fig. 25), which probably reflects the influence of Preissler's engraving, is more accurate in this respect, though here again the right arm is out of place. Müller's copy also agrees with the modello in showing a heavy arch at either end of the vaults, whereas De Wit pictures the vaulting as a simple half-cylinder. Müller's drawing makes it appear, finally, that the head of the woman carrying Sheba's train overlapped the background column.

In composing this subject Rubens borrowed freely from Tobias Stimmer's woodcut illustration of *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba* (*Neue Künstliche Figuren Biblischer Historien*, Basle, 1576; reprinted by G. Hirth, Munich, 1881, p. 91). In their general disposition the two scenes are strikingly similar; what is more, even Rubens's figures, in their actions and in their placement in the composition, show a manifest dependence on Stimmer's modest little illustration. But what makes the derivation quite certain is the fact that in the woodcut there appears, among Sheba's attendants, a boy with a parrot on his wrist and a monkey on his shoulder. It is amusing to see how Rubens has made this inconspicuous motif into a prominent foreground feature.

But if the artist turned for inspiration to Stimmer for the narrative elements of the scene, it was from the monumental art of Paolo Veronese that he learned how to invest it with pageantry and drama. There can be no question of his indebtedness to Veronese's ceiling painting of *Esther and Abasuerus* in S. Sebastiano, Venice (*Fiocco, Veronese*, pl. xvi). The rounded canopy over the monarch, the attendant figures beneath the throne, not to mention the exhilarating view *di sotto in su*, all these features find their counterpart in Veronese's great canvas.

The striking pose of the slave, whose head is bent beneath the weight which he supports with both hands on his neck and shoulders, derives from the *Farnese Atlas*, now in Naples. A similar figure was earlier used by Rubens in the large *Adoration of the Magi* of 1610 in the Prado, Madrid (*K.d.K.*, 26), and again in the *Abraham and Melchizedek* in Caen (*K.d.K.*, 110). (The figure is repeated, with some modifications, in the cartoon of *Abraham and Melchizedek* now in the Ringling Museum at Sarasota, *K.d.K.*, 295.)

The imposing arches in the background may be compared to the architectural settings in such works as *The Madonna adored by Saints* of 1606-7 in Grenoble (*K.d.K.*, 23) and *The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek* in Caen (*K.d.K.*, 110). Instead of the single opening seen in these pictures, however, Rubens created a more monumental effect in the ceiling canvas by including two arches.

3a. **SOLOMON AND THE QUEEN OF SHEBA : MODELLO** (Fig. 26)

Oil on panel; 40.5 : 46.1 cm. (after removal of additions at top and bottom).

London, Collection of Count Antoine Seilern.

PROVENANCE : Jean de Jullienne (1686-1766), sale, Paris, 30 March - 22 May 1767, lot 100 (wrongly described as "le Repas d'Esther & d'Assuerus"), bought by Donjeux; Le Doux, sale, Paris, 24 April 1775, lot 21; Dubois, sale, Paris, 20 December 1785, lot 10; Charles-Alexandre de Calonne (1734-1802), sale, London, 23 March 1795, lot 61; sale, London (Bryan), 27 April 1795, lot 99; Michael Bryan (1757-1821), sale, London, 17-19 May 1798, lot 17; William Young Ottley (1771-1836), sale, London, 25 May 1811, lot 70; John Webb, sale, London, 30-31 May 1821, lot 139 (sold to Norton); Norton, sale, London, 22 October 1830; anonymous, sale, London, 28-29 April 1837, lot 27; Sir Frederick Cook, Richmond; Sir Herbert Cook, Richmond.

EXHIBITED : London, Dowdeswell Galleries, 1912; London, Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1923-24, No. 19; London, 1927, No. 325; *Antwerp*, 1930, No. 250.

LITERATURE : W. Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting*, London, 1824, I, pp. 238, 287; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 184, No. 642; Rooses, I, p. 22, under No. 3; Sir Herbert Cook, *A Catalogue of the Paintings at Doughty House, Richmond*, 1914, II, No. 333; M.W. Brockwell, *Abridged Catalogue of the Pictures at Doughty House, Rich-*

mond, 1932, p. 48, No. 33; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 27, No. 23; *Seilern*, p. 52, No. 26, pl. LX.

Before 1767, when it was sold as part of Jullienne's collection, the panel was enlarged at the top and bottom to serve as a companion piece to the oil sketch of *Esther and Abasuerus* (No. 17b). These additions have now been removed.

Rubens's uncertainty regarding the shape of the individual paintings is reflected in the fact that he has here devised an octagonal composition, although in the event the plafond was executed as a rectangle (cf. Fig. 22). The artist must have enlarged the triangular sections at the corners after completing the sketch, because parts of the design can be seen to continue into these blank areas: in the lower right corner, for example, one can make out the foot of the man carrying a vessel on his shoulders, and a vestige of the interrupted archway is likewise discernible at the upper right.

Several persons seen in the modello were eliminated in the ceiling canvas, i.e., the two attendants of Sheba who appear beneath her outstretched arm, and the man carrying a large vase at the extreme right below. Another change affected the woman holding up a gold plate directly behind the queen: in the final version she was reduced to a turbaned head. In order to show more of the steps leading to Solomon's throne, Rubens shortened the table in the lower part of the scene and decreased the number of vessels on it. At the extreme left of the panel there are intimations that the artist planned to include a third warrior standing behind the other two; careful scrutiny reveals both a helmet and a spear, the latter passing over the lion of the king's throne. The master also revised the pose of the soldier whose hands rest on his sword, elevating his arms, shifting the angle of the face, and adding a thick beard. Almost all of these changes were made with the intent of simplifying and clarifying a composition that must make its effect at some distance from the observer.

In colour this is one of the most brilliant sketches for the Jesuit ceiling. An atmosphere of magnificence and splendour is established, first of all, by the figure of Solomon himself, who is clad in a gold robe tinged with red; a grey-blue mantle lies over his shoulder. Reds and golds also predominate in the canopy and the curtains enclosing the throne. These regal hues are offset by the Queen of Sheba, who wears a light-brown veil and blouse

and an olive-green skirt with yellow highlights. She kneels on a violet cushion; her train is white, touched with gold, and it is borne by an attendant dressed in pale yellow. The woman at the far right wears a mauve garment. The coat worn by the Negro page has stripes of wine-red and white, and the red, yellow and green plumage of the parrot makes an especially brilliant note. The drapery of the man carrying a vessel on his shoulders is blue-green. The vessels on the table, which is covered with a richly coloured carpet, are gold and silver. Deft touches of bright red and gold enliven the composition at many points, notably in the jewelry worn by the figures and in the highlights that shine on the metal and drapery surfaces.

4. THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI

Oil on canvas; approximately 3 : 4.2 m. (octagonal).

Formerly in the north gallery of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPIES : C.B. Müller, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 72, No. 9); J.J. Preissler, engraving (V.S., p. 213, 11); J. de Wit, drawing, London, British Museum (*Hind*, IV, p. 178, 5); J. de Wit, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 70, No. 11); J. de Wit, drawing, London, Collection Count Antoine Seilern; J. Punt, engraving, 1748 (V.S., p. 212, 10, No. 4).

LITERATURE : *Klaegende-Dicht*, p. 4; *Description de l'ineffimable perte*, p. 7; *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, pp. 276-7; *Rooses*, I, pp. 22-3, N. 4.

The Adoration of the Magi is specified as No. 12 ("Tres Reges") in the original catalogue of subjects for the ceiling.

Mary was represented sitting *de face* and supporting the infant Jesus in her lap. The Child, standing upright with one leg advanced, looked down at the Old King who knelt before him, his royal mantle trailing on the ground. Ascending the steps from the right and drawing near to the Virgin and Child was the second Magus, who held a golden censer by a chain and seemed to be lowering it to the ground; he was closely followed by a page who gathered up the king's voluminous mantle in his arms. Farther back stood the turbaned Ethiopian King, turning his head towards the Child as he opened a golden casket handed to him by a Negro servant. The Virgin sat at the entrance to the stable, the wall of which receded

sharply into the space behind her; overhead a trellis with a grapevine projected from the top of the wall. Joseph stood in the shadows at the left, holding his broad-brimmed hat in front of him. Dimly visible within the stable were the ox and the ass, the latter eating hay from a crib. A large dog, seen in foreshortening, occupied the immediate foreground.

Since Rubens's modello is unfortunately no longer extant, we have no sketch by his hand with which to compare the several copies after the lost ceiling painting. Müller's drawing (Fig. 27) and the print by Preissler (Fig. 28) are no doubt accurate in the prominence that they give to the steps leading up to the Virgin and Child, which serve to link this scene with the preceding one, *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*. The copies by De Wit seem less satisfactory in showing only a kind of low platform. But Müller is surely in error when he omits the crib which, in De Wit's versions of the subject, may be seen above the animals in the stable (cf. Figs. 29-30).

Like many other subjects in this cycle, *The Adoration of the Magi* is permeated with Venetian feeling. The composition, as Ludwig Burchard observed, reveals a general indebtedness to Veronese's ceiling painting, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, formerly in the Chiesa dell'Umiltà alle Zattere and now in SS. Giovanni e Paolo (*Catalogue, Mostra di Paolo Veronese*, Venice, 1939, No. 48): it was surely from this work that Rubens adopted the idea of a group of figures approaching the Madonna and Child by ascending the steps at the right side. The posture of the Old King, who crouches so abjectly before the Christ Child, is probably derived from Pordenone's fresco of *The Adoration of the Magi* in the Cathedral of Treviso (G. Fiocco, *Giovanni Antonio Pordenone*, Udine, 1939, pl. 74). Rubens virtually repeated this figure in his *Adoration of the Magi* painted about 1633 for the convent of the Dames Blanches at Louvain and now in King's College, Cambridge (reproduced in *Burlington Magazine*, January 1957, fig. 1).

Rubens also drew ideas from some of his own earlier paintings of this subject. Thus, for example, the trellis and vine attached to a wall behind the Virgin and Child are found in the great *Adoration of the Kings* painted in 1609-10 for the Town Hall of Antwerp and now in the Prado, Madrid (*K.d.K.*, 26); the same symbolic vine appears in the oil sketch for this work in Groningen (*Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, pl. 6). Even more

closely related to the Jesuit ceiling painting is *The Adoration of the Magi* of 1617-18 in Lyons (*K.d.K.*, 162), in which the kneeling Magus is about to kiss the foot of the Child, who in turn places his hand on the old man's head. Rubens seems to have repeated these very actions in the Jesuit ceiling: they appear most clearly in De Wit's copies (cf. Figs. 29-30). The Lyons painting also includes the figure of Joseph standing at the side with his hat held against his breast. In the Louvre there is a drawing after the Lyons *Adoration* which was made as a design for the engraving of 1621 by Lucas Vorsterman and retouched by Rubens himself (*Lugt, Louvre, Ecole flamande*, II, 1949, No. 1135, pl. LX); Burchard pointed out that in the drawing the original composition has been expanded along the top and on the right side to include a view of the stable with the ox and ass beneath a hay-rack, precisely as in the ceiling painting of the Jesuit church (cf. De Wit's drawing, Fig. 29).

It should be added, finally, that Rubens recalled still another painting of this subject while composing the ceiling canvas. For both the Ethiopian King, whose turbaned head is turned towards the Virgin and Child as he opens the lid of a casket, and the Assyrian King, who holds a censer by a chain and whose mantle is supported by a page, are taken with little alteration from *The Adoration of the Magi* of 1617-19 in the Church of St. John in Mechlin (*K.d.K.*, 164).

The author of the *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen* reports that a small copy of the ceiling painting was installed in the Sodality of Young Men at the Professed House. There were three such copies, measuring each about 127 by 176 cm.; the other subjects were *The Nativity* and *The Assumption of the Virgin*. All three pictures appeared in an auction at Ghent in 1788 (*Catalogue des tableaux ... qui se vendront au refuge de l'Evêché de Gand*, 1788, p. 6, Nos. 42-44). See No. 2 above.

4a. **THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI : MODELLO**

Oil on panel; approximately 41 : 46 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

Though the modello has disappeared there are several early references to it. The first is the mention of "a sketch by Rubens of the Three Kings, on panel, in a little frame" which appears in the inventory of the painter

Victor Wolfvoet, who died at Antwerp in 1652 (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 147 : "Een schetz na Rubens, van de Drye Coninghen, op panneel, in lystken"). In the eighteenth century the panel seems to have belonged to Joseph Sansot, who is known to have owned several oil sketches for the Jesuit cycle. The catalogue of his collection, auctioned at Brussels on 20 July 1739, includes as lot 137 "l'Adoration des trois Rois, par Rubbens" measuring 1 1/2 pieds x 1 1/2 pieds, 2 pouces [41.36 x 46.37 cm.]. This work was bought, according to the annotated copy of the catalogue in the Rijksbureau voor kunsthistorische Documentatie at The Hague, by one "Deroore". This might reasonably be thought to be the painter and art-dealer Jacques de Roore (1686-1747), who about this time acquired a number of sketches for the Jesuit ceiling. But if he did in fact own the modello for *The Adoration of the Magi* he must have disposed of it separately, for it does not appear in the catalogue of the De Roore sale of 4 September 1747.

5. DAVID AND GOLIATH

Oil on canvas; approximately 3 : 4.2 m.

Formerly in the north gallery of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPIES : C.B. Müller, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 72, No. 4); J.J. Preissler, engraving (V.S., p. 213, 11); J. de Wit, drawing, London, British Museum (*Hind*, IV, p. 178, 5); J. de Wit, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 69, No. 3); J. de Wit, drawing, London, Collection Count Antoine Seilern; J. Punt, engraving, 1751 (V.S., p. 212, 10, No. 5).

LITERATURE : *Klaegende-Dicht*, p. 5; *Description de l'ineestimable perte*, p. 7; *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, pp. 277-9; *Rooses*, I, p. 23, No. 5; *Seilern*, p. 51, fig. 21 [engraving by Punt].

The contract mentions "David Goliath caput detruncans" as No. 21 in the list of proposed subjects.

Goliath lay sprawled face downward against a rocky hummock, his head towards the observer and his body twisted to one side with the legs crossed. He wore armour and a fluttering mantle, and his spear and plumed helmet lay on the ground before him. The extended left arm

appeared relaxed and powerless; but the head was raised slightly and the right hand was braced against the rock, as if to suggest that the giant, though momentarily stunned, was about to gather his strength and rise to his feet. David, rushing up the hillock from the right, had planted his right foot on Goliath's shoulder and, with the giant's sword raised in both hands over his head, prepared to behead his opponent. His discarded sling lay in the foreground at the right. It is not clear whether the stone was embedded in Goliath's forehead (as reported by the anonymous *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*) or whether it was to be seen on the ground near the sling, as seems to be indicated in Müller's drawings (Fig. 31). The young hero wore leggings and shorts, and a loose-fitting tunic which left his right arm and shoulder free. In the distance on the left the Philistines fled in disorder, while the Israelites, with banners flying, pursued them from the right. In the sky above Goliath a stork flew over the scene carrying a serpent in its bill.

Although the modello has been lost, there remains sufficient evidence for the reconstruction of the composition. This evidence comprises, in addition to the drawings by Müller and De Wit and the prints dependent on them, Rubens's preparatory oil sketch in grisaille for the figure of David (Fig. 35) and the engraving by Panneels (Fig. 36), which was perhaps made after the modello. The copies after the ceiling painting agree quite closely as regards the general disposition of the figures. In the pen and wash drawing by Müller (Fig. 31) and the corresponding print by Preissler (Fig. 32) David's arms are bent more sharply than in the drawings of De Wit (cf. Fig. 33) and the related engraving by Punt (Fig. 34). Comparison with the grisaille sketch proves that Müller's rendering is the more accurate. The engraving by Panneels also serves to confirm certain other details in Müller's copy: Goliath's spear slopes upward, not downward, from his hand, and the banner of the Israelites at the right side billows up in a large arc. These details are differently represented in the De Wit copies. In addition, De Wit has evidently misunderstood the form of Goliath's helmet: by taking the scroll ornament along the lower brim to be a crest adorning the crown, he has produced an absurd headpiece having plumes at the bottom rather than at the top (cf. Fig. 33). In the watercolour in the Seilern album the same artist has gratuitously inserted a second bird to fill the space on the right.

During his stay in Italy Rubens had studied the interpretations of this subject by the great masters of the Cinquecento. The posture of the fallen giant derives, in the main, from Michelangelo's *David and Goliath* in the Sistine Chapel (*K.d.K., Michelangelo*, 64) and from Raphael's fresco in the Loggie (*K.d.K., Raffael*, 187), the latter reproduced in an engraving by Marcantonio (B. 10); from Raphael too may have come the battle episodes seen in the background, where the Israelites pursue the Philistines. The attitude of David, however, who stands with one foot resting on Goliath's back and with the sword raised above his head to deliver the furious blow, was surely suggested by the figure of Cain in Titian's great ceiling painting of *Cain and Abel*, now in S. Maria della Salute in Venice (*Tietze, Titian*, fig. 151). It is significant that Rubens did not make use of Titian's figure seen from below in dramatic foreshortening until he was confronted with the problem of representing the subject in a ceiling painting. In earlier pen sketches of *David and Goliath*, for example, the hero is pictured kneeling on the giant's back, very much as he appears in works by Raphael and others (drawings in the Boymans Museum, Rotterdam, and the Musée Atger, Montpellier: *Held*, Nos. 25 and 26; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, Nos. 69 and 70). At a later date Rubens repeated the pose of Titian's Cain even more closely in the oval canvas of *Hercules crushing Discord* for the Whitehall Ceiling (*Croft-Murray*, p. 35, pl. 62).

5a. **DAVID AND GOLIATH : GRISAILLE SKETCH** (Fig. 35)

Oil on panel; 25.5 : 19 cm.

London, Collection of Count Antoine Seilern.

PROVENANCE : Perhaps one of the fifteen grisaille sketches for the Jesuit ceiling in the collection of Maximilien de Hase, sold at Brussels on 10 June 1782 (lot 5 : "Quinze esquisses en gris, représentant le plafond des Jésuites d'Anvers, par Rubbens"); presumably also included among the seventeen grisaille sketches from the collection of Comte de Cuyppers de Reyemnam, sold at Brussels, 27 April 1802, to Spruyt (lot 114 : "Dix-sept Esquisses de P.P. Rubens, qui ont servi de modele pour le fameux tableau du plafond de l'Eglise des Jésuites d'Anvers"); Charles Spruyt (1769-1851), sale, Ghent, 28 July 1806 et seqq., lot 167 ("David, lequel abat la tête de Goliath, haut. 24 larg. 18 cent."), bought by Maes; Waltner, Paris, according to Dubaut; Pierre Dubaut, Paris.

EXHIBITED : *Brussels*, 1937, No. 65 (repr.).

LITERATURE : A. Scharf, in *Burlington Magazine*, LXXI, 1937, p. 188; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, pp. 27, 75, pl. 34; *Seilern*, p. 51, No. 25, pl. LIX; *Haverkamp Begemann*, 1957, p. 85; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, p. 117, under No. 70.

This *bozzetto* is to be distinguished from the other grisailles for the Jesuit ceiling that have come down to us. The latter are properly composition sketches. The Seilern sketch, on the other hand, is evidently Rubens's first idea for the principal figures and was perhaps painted over a drawing made on the surface of the panel. It is also unusual in that it contains some indications of colour. The general tonality, as is to be expected of a grisaille sketch, is a yellowish-brown; but David wears drapery of grey-green colour, and touches of blue-grey appear on Goliath's armour. There are in addition four horizontal red strokes to the left of David for which it is difficult to suggest an explanation.

The preliminary nature of the sketch is apparent not only from its free and vigorous handling but also from the fact that the two figures differ appreciably from those in the ceiling painting (cf. Fig. 31). In his final design Rubens straightened David's body in order to give it a more vertical position, altered the angle of the head, and raised the arms a little higher; he also added leggings and eliminated the short sleeve which encumbers David's right arm in the sketch. Changes were likewise made in the placing of Goliath's head and arms.

Whether this sketch was followed by another showing the entire composition in grisaille must remain uncertain. There can be no doubt, however, that Rubens prepared a coloured oil sketch. Unfortunately, no such modello exists today.

5b. DAVID AND GOLIATH : MODELLO

ENGRAVING : Willem Panneels, 1630 (V.S., p. 6, No. 46).

The fact that there is no mention of the modello in sale catalogues and the like would seem to indicate that the work was lost at an early date.

Nevertheless we are perhaps not totally in the dark regarding its appearance. For there is a strong possibility that the engraving of *David*

slaying Goliath made in 1630 by Willem Panneels (Fig. 36) is a copy, not after Rubens's ceiling painting, but after the modello. The oil sketches remained in Rubens's possession, where they were accessible to his pupils, and the artist himself seems to have encouraged his engravers to work from them. When Christoffel Jegher made woodcuts of *The Temptation* and *The Coronation of the Virgin* from this same cycle the oil sketches were used as models (see Nos. 6a and 18c). Panneels's engraving was made, as the inscription reveals, in Cologne, but the preparatory drawing must have been made in Antwerp. The print differs from the final version of the subject in two important respects: Goliath's legs, instead of being crossed, are spread apart, and there is no sign of the stork with the serpent. Since Panneels, who signs himself "pupil of Rubens", is unlikely to have departed from the master's design, it seems reasonable to suppose that his engraving reproduces the essential features of the lost modello.

6. THE TEMPTATION OF CHRIST

Oil on canvas; approximately 3 : 4.2 m. (octagonal).

Formerly in the north gallery of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPIES : C.B. Müller, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 72, No. 10); J.J. Preissler, engraving (V.S., p. 213, 11); J. de Wit, drawing, British Museum (*Hind*, IV, p. 178, 5); J. de Wit, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 70, No. 13); J. de Wit, drawing, London, Coll. Count Antoine Seilern; J. de Wit, etching (V.S., p. 211, 9, No. 3); J. Punt, engraving, 1747 (V.S., p. 212, 10, No. 6).

LITERATURE : *Klaegende-Dicht*, p. 5; *Description de l'Inestimable perte*, p. 7; *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, p. 279; *Rooses*, I, p. 24, No. 6, pl. 6, III [the engraving by Punt]; *Seilern*, p. 54, fig. 22 [the engraving by Punt].

The Temptation of Christ does not appear in the original list of subjects drawn up in 1620.

Christ sat in a majestic pose beneath two trees which grew from a mass of rock at the right side of the picture. Turning his face almost in profile to look at Satan, he made an emphatic gesture of refusal with his right

hand; the left, in which he grasped a fold of drapery, rested on a rocky ledge beside him. His right foot was raised on a stone, the toes being visible beneath the drapery. The tempter, who was pictured as an ugly old man with rough whiskers and snake-like hair, wore a knee-length tunic over short trousers, and a long mantle which hung over his left arm and trailed on the ground behind him. Standing in a half-crouching attitude with one foot protruding over the brow of the hill, Satan leaned forward obsequiously as he proffered two stones and tempted Christ to change them into bread. In the foreground a snake slithered through a clump of weeds.

The composition being a simple one containing only two figures, the copyists show few important differences in their renderings of the lost ceiling painting. In the drawing by Müller (Fig. 37) and the print by Preissler (Fig. 38) there is a single snake in the foreground, whereas De Wit has two both in his etching (Fig. 40) and in his various drawings (Fig. 39). Müller seems to be correct in representing two trees behind Christ, since these also appear in the modello (Fig. 41).

It is interesting that Rubens made no effort to emulate the most famous treatment of this subject in sixteenth-century painting – Tintoretto's *Temptation* in the Scuola di S. Rocco in Venice, in which Satan is of an almost god-like beauty. Perhaps the Jesuit fathers insisted that the Evil One wear a repulsive aspect. The posture of Christ may owe something to Michelangelo's Prophet Isaiah on the Sistine Ceiling, a figure copied by Rubens in an early drawing in the Louvre (*Lugt, Louvre, Ecole flamande*, II, 1949, No. 1047, pl. XXXIX). A very similar pose, though with an even more sweeping gesture, was used for the seated monarch in *The Benefits of the Government of James I* on the Whitehall Ceiling (see the oil sketch in the Vienna Academy, *K.d.K.*, 335).

6a. **THE TEMPTATION OF CHRIST : MODELLO** (Fig. 41)

Oil on panel; 34 : 32 cm.

London, Collection of Count Antoine Seilern.

PROVENANCE : ? Comte de Cuyper de Reymenam; Léopold-Joseph Cocquereau, sale, Brussels, 25 August 1806 et seqq., lot 89 ("Une petite esquisse ... Jésus-Christ dans le

désert tenté par le Diable, sujet représenté dans un plafond de l'Eglise des Jésuites d'Anvers"), sold to Vervier; Schamp d'Aveschoot, sale, Ghent, 14 September 1840 et seqq., lot 136 (said to be from the collection of the Comte de Cuypers); A. Ysabie, Ghent.

ENGRAVING : Christoffel Jegher, woodcut (V.S., p. 28, No. 138).

EXHIBITED : *Brussels*, 1937, No. 69a.

LITERATURE : A. Scharf, in *Burlington Magazine*, LXXI, 1937, p. 188; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, pp. 27, 76, pl. 40; *Seilern*, p. 54, No. 28, pl. LXII; *Staring*, p. 57, fig. 12.

The modello was followed with remarkable fidelity in the full-scale ceiling canvas, in which even the density and compactness of the composition were preserved (cf. Fig. 37). A few minor alterations were introduced in the final design : Christ's face was turned from a three-quarter view into an almost pure profile; Satan's nearer foot was made visible above the foreground rock; and the overhanging foliage was somewhat thickened.

In the Seilern oil sketch the strongest notes of colour are to be seen in the garments of Christ, who wears a red tunic over which is draped a blue mantle. Satan is dressed in brown, and brownish hues likewise predominate in the ground and rocks. The sky is a bluish-white; this tint has also been carried over part of the brown triangular area at the upper left.

The beautiful woodcut by Christoffel Jegher (Fig. 42), which reproduces the subject in reverse, was made from the modello, and not from the finished ceiling painting. Two details may suffice to make this clear. Christ's face appears in three-quarter view, and Satan's foot is hidden behind the hilltop, precisely as in the Seilern sketch. The original composition has been considerably expanded and many details added : Christ's halo has been made more prominent; a squirrel frisks in the oak tree above his head; and tall pine trees rise at the right behind Satan. It is evident that Jegher's woodcut was executed under the supervision of Rubens himself, who must have made a drawing in pen and ink to serve as model. In the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris there is a proofprint of the still unfinished woodcut, on which Rubens has made corrections in body-white and bistre. The completed woodcut was printed for Rubens by Balthasar Moretus on 3 September 1633 (*Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 101-2).

7. ABRAHAM AND MELCHIZEDEK

Oil on canvas; approximately 3 : 4.2 m.

Formerly in the north gallery of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPIES : C.B. Müller, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 72, No. 3); J.J. Preissler, engraving (*V.S.*, p. 213, 11); J. de Wit, drawing, British Museum (*Hind*, IV, p. 178, 5); J. de Wit, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 69, No. 5); J. de Wit, drawing, London, Coll. Count Antoine Seilern; J. Punt, engraving, 1751 (*V.S.*, p. 212, 10, No. 7).

LITERATURE : *Klaegende-Dicht*, p. 5; *Description de l'ineestimable perte*, p. 7; *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, pp. 279-281; *Rooses*, I, p. 24, No. 7, pl. 6, IV [the engraving by Punt].

The subject figured in the original list as No. 7 : "Melchisedechi sacrificium".

The observer seemed to be looking up at a flight of steps leading to a platform before a temple. In the middle of the picture he saw, standing on the top step, the priest-king Melchizedek, who was bending forward as he held out two large loaves of bread in his right hand and extended his left to the side in a gesture of welcome. Over his priestly robes Melchizedek wore a capacious mantle, the folds of which were supported by an acolyte in white, and a laurel wreath encircled the hood which covered his head. Ascending the stairs in front of him was Abraham, who placed one foot on the topmost step as he reached out both hands to accept the loaves from the king. Abraham, whose bearded face was partly concealed by his arm, was dressed in Roman armour and a plumed helmet; his sword hung at his left side, and a mantle was folded across his middle. Behind him stood a warrior in full harness grasping a staff with a banner. Between the legs of this figure could be seen the head of another soldier, who evidently held one of the spears which were silhouetted against the sky. At the right side two half-naked slaves brought forth the offering of bread and wine. One knelt down to deposit a basket of loaves on the step, and the second stood above him, his head bowed beneath an enormous wine-jar which he bore on his shoulders. The architecture, viewed from below in foreshortening, was heavily rusticated, even the massive column

that rose behind Melchizedek having alternately larger and smaller drums. At the lower right the steps were partly obscured by a low balustrade.

Müller's version of the lost canvas (Fig. 44) is more dependable than those by De Wit (Figs. 46-47), as may be verified by comparison with Rubens's modello (Fig. 43). Instead of showing the overhanging cornice above Melchizedek as a vertical, De Wit sets it at a more conventional perspective angle, and the shafts of the column are smooth. He has also misunderstood the action of the man carrying the jar, whose right arm ought to be visible from the hand to the elbow, as it appears in both the Müller copy and the Preissler engraving (Fig. 45).

Rubens had painted *The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek* only a few years before, and this work, now in the Museum of Caen (K.d.K., 110), was still fresh in his mind. The figure of the priest-king, for instance, was taken over virtually without change, the only significant difference being that in the ceiling painting he personally offered the bread to Abraham. The two burly slaves carrying bread and wine were likewise adapted, with some modifications in posture, from the Caen painting. Their burdens, however, were reversed: for in the Jesuit ceiling it was the crouching man who had the basket of loaves, while the great jar with the serpentine handle was borne on the shoulders of the standing slave. These figures occur repeatedly in Rubens's paintings, both singly and as a pair. We have already taken note of the similar attendant carrying a heavy vessel in the scene of *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba* from the Jesuit cycle (cf. Fig. 26); and the two figures are found together in *The Adoration of the Magi* of 1609-10 in Madrid (K.d.K., 26). In the attitude of the standard-bearer at the extreme left there is a recollection of the listening soldiers in the first scene of the Decius Mus cycle in the Liechtenstein Collection at Vaduz (K.d.K., 142).

No less evident is the relationship between the ceiling painting and the scene of *Abraham and Melchizedek* which Rubens designed about 1625-28 for the tapestry series, *The Triumph of the Eucharist*, and of which the cartoon is now in the Ringling Museum at Sarasota (K.d.K., 295). Here the figure of Abraham, mounting the steps to take the loaves in both hands, plainly echoes the pose of the warrior-patriarch in the Jesuit plafond, and here too is repeated the acolyte carrying Melchizedek's mantle.

When it came to finding a suitable architectural setting for this subject, Rubens chose a model that was close at hand – the portico of his own house in Antwerp. For, as Müller's drawing very clearly shows (Fig. 44), the massive edifice behind Melchizedek is nothing more than one of the piers of that portico, with the projecting masonry courses which are also carried around the attached column (De Wit totally obscures this derivation by representing the column as smooth). This was not the first time that Rubens introduced elements from the Antwerp portico into a painting, nor was it to be the last. A year or so earlier he had included part of the central arch in his *St. Ambrose and the Emperor Theodosius* in Vienna (*K.d.K.*, 191); and the same feature reappears in the scene of *Henry IV departing for the War in Germany* in the Medici cycle in Paris (*K.d.K.*, 251). But the daring foreshortening of the architecture, which is so contrived that the projecting cornice is seen as a vertical along the centre line of the picture, reveals how carefully Rubens had studied Veronese's painting of *Esther being led into the Presence of Abasuerus* on the ceiling of San Sebastiano in Venice (*Fiocco, Veronese*, pl. xvii).

7a. **ABRAHAM AND MELCHIZEDEK : GRISAILLE SKETCH**

Oil on panel; approximately 21 : 29 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

In all probability this panel formed part of the group of fifteen grisaille sketches for the Jesuit cycle owned by Maximilien de Hase and sold at auction at Brussels, 10 June 1782 et seqq. (see No. 5a). It was undoubtedly numbered among the seventeen such sketches from the collection of Comte de Cuypers de Reymenam sold at Brussels on 27 April 1802 (lot 114) to the painter Spruyt. The sketch appeared in the catalogue of the first Spruyt sale, held at Ghent 28 July 1806 et seqq., as lot 165 : "Melchisedech offrant du pain et du vin à Abraham. *haut.* 21, *larg.* 29 cent.". It was put up for auction again in the second Spruyt sale (Ghent, 3 October 1815 et seqq., lot 130 : "Melchisedech devant Abraham. Esquisse en grisaille. h. 8 l. 11 p."), the purchaser being one Pailliet. This is the last mention of the work that has come to light.

The size and proportions of the lost grisaille indicate that it must have been a composition study like that for *The Coronation of the Virgin* (No. 18b).

7b. **ABRAHAM AND MELCHIZEDEK : MODELLO** (Fig. 43)

Oil on panel; 48 : 64 cm.

Paris, *Musée du Louvre*. No. 2121.

PROVENANCE : Jacques de Roore (1686-1747), sale, The Hague, 4 September 1747 et seqq., lot 42 (purchased by De Groot); Anthoni and Stephanus de Groot, sale, The Hague, 20 March 1771, lot 5 (purchased by Abelsz); Louis La Caze (1798-1869), who bequeathed the work to the Louvre.

LITERATURE : *Louvre, La Caze*, p. 32, No. 102; *Rooses*, I, p. 25; No. 7 bis; *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg*, p. 195; *K.d.K.*, p. 211; *Louvre, Cat. Demonts*, p. 92, No. 2121; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, pp. 26-7.

The only substantial difference between the composition of the modello and that of the ceiling painting is that in the latter there is considerably more space at the top. The sketch contains a number of subsidiary figures in the background, most of which were eliminated in the large canvas. Two of these figures may be seen through the legs of Abraham; a third emerges from behind Melchizedek to grasp the handle of the vase on the step; and the head of a fourth is visible in the space between the priest-king's billowing drapery and the standing slave. Rubens did, however, retain in the definitive version the soldier whose face appears in the lower left corner. The sketch, on the other hand, gives no hint of the arch in the upper right corner of the ceiling painting.

Against the subdued ochre hue of the architectural setting the brilliantly coloured draperies of the two principal figures stand out with particular sharpness. Abraham wears a crimson mantle over his armour. The vestments of Melchizedek consist of a white undergarment with full sleeves, a pine-green robe with a golden fringe, and a rose mantle lined with gold. The soldier at the left supports a mauve-red banner, and the slaves on the opposite side are clad in brown.

8. THE LAST SUPPER

Oil on canvas; approximately 3 : 4.2 m. (octagonal).

Formerly in the north gallery of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPIES : C.B. Müller, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 72, No. 11); J.J. Preissler, engraving (V.S., p. 213, 11); J. de Wit, drawing, London, British Museum (*Hind*, IV, p. 178, 5); J. de Wit, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 70, No. 12); J. de Wit, drawing, London, Coll. Count Antoine Seilern; J. Punt, engraving, 1752 (V.S., p. 212, 10, No. 8).

LITERATURE : *Klaegende-Dicht*, p. 5; *Description de l'ineffimable perte*, p. 7; *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, pp. 281-2; *Roozes*, I, p. 25, No. 8, pl. 6, v [the engraving by Punt].

The subject is not named in the original contract.

The "upper room" in which the Lord's Supper took place was viewed, appropriately, from below, as if situated at the head of a staircase. A round table with a white cloth occupied the centre of the room, and two benches, each covered with a fringed cloth, stood on a low step or platform at either side. On the stairs at the lower left appeared a large wine-jar and a basket of bread like those in the preceding painting; a napkin and a tray lay on the basket. A circular window in the rear wall of the room was partly overhung by a huge curtain, which was gathered up in large folds and suspended at an angle so as to fill the entire upper section of the painting. The scene was illumined by a chandelier with five oil lamps which hung in front of the curtain. Christ sat on the bench at the right with one foot resting on the step and the other extended beneath the table; there was a radiance around his head, and he leaned forward intently as he took the chalice in his left hand and held out a loaf of bread in his right. Close beside him appeared the youthful, beardless face of St. John. Sitting opposite Christ in a restless and energetic attitude was St. Peter, his head thrust forward and his hands gesturing. Near him was another apostle who had risen to his feet and was pressing his hand to his breast. At the extreme left, finally, were visible the head and shoulders of a fourth disciple. The focus of the painting was the confrontation of Christ and Peter, whose attitudes plainly echoed those of Melchizedek and Abraham in the preceding subject.

The composition bears little resemblance to *The Last Supper* painted for Mechlin and now in the Brera, Milan (K.d.K., 203). It is, however, very closely related to the illustration of *The Last Supper* designed by Rubens for the *Breviarium Romanum* published in 1614 (Evers, 1943, fig. 183). The setting in that illustration is remarkably similar: there is a window at the back of the room, a curtain fills the upper right corner, and two lamps hang from the ceiling. Christ, accompanied by St. John, sits in profile at the right, and one of the disciples is seated on the near side of the table, which is raised on a low step. There can be no doubt about the derivation. But what is really instructive is to see how Rubens has transformed the rather placid design for the *Breviarium* into the intensely emotional scene for the Jesuit cycle. In making this transformation he may have been influenced by Giulio Romano's fresco, *Psyche served by Unseen Hands*, on the ceiling of the Sala di Psiche in the Palazzo del Te at Mantua, which offers a remarkably similar exercise in foreshortening (F. Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, New Haven, 1958, II, fig. 233).

Rooses (I, p. 25) mentions a preparatory drawing by Rubens for this subject which figured in the Jabach sale and subsequently in the Crozat sale. But this may be an error, for no such drawing is known, nor is it referred to in Mariette's catalogue of the Crozat collection. The pen and wash drawing in the British Museum (*Hind*, II, p. 8, No. 8, pl. 1) is not an original design by Rubens but a copy after the modello (see under No. 8a).

The copyists show only minor differences in their transcriptions of the scene, which may in turn be compared with Rubens's modello (Fig. 52). Müller (and after him Preissler) are correct in picturing the chandelier as hanging from the ceiling – although it should have five, not six, lamps (Figs. 48, 49); in the versions by De Wit the chandelier is suspended from a heavy cord passing in an arc across the curtain (Figs. 50, 51). Two further details are similarly misinterpreted by De Wit: the right hand of the apostle standing near Peter is made to clutch a fold of drapery instead of hanging limply at his side; and the circular window has evidently been thought of as an aperture in the ceiling rather than in the wall.

Another drawing of this subject by Jacob de Wit, in ink and red chalk heightened with white on brown paper, was auctioned at the De Wit sale

of 10 March 1755, and thereafter passed through the hands of P. Calkoen (sale, Amsterdam, 10 September 1781), J. Gildemeester (sale, Amsterdam, 24 November 1800) and J. Tersteeg (sale, Amsterdam, 16 May 1808). There is no further record of this drawing.

8a. **THE LAST SUPPER : MODELLO** (Fig. 52)

Oil on panel; 43.8 : 44.1 cm.

Seattle, Washington, Seattle Art Museum, Samuel H. Kress Collection.

PROVENANCE : Victor Wolfvoet (1612-1652), inventory, Antwerp, 24-26 October 1652 (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 141 : "Een Avontmaelken op pannel, in binnenlysten, naer Rubens geschildert"); Jacques de Roore (1686-1747), sale, The Hague, 4 September 1747 et seqq., lot 45 (purchased by De Groot); Anthoni and Stephanus de Groot, sale, The Hague, 20 March 1771, lot 4 (purchased by Abelsz); Jacques Clemens, sale, Ghent, 21 June 1779, lot 232; Barchmann Wuytiers, sale, Amsterdam, 19 September 1798, lot 150; Pauwels, sale, Brussels, 18 July (25 August) 1814, lot 108; Robert de Saint-Victor, sale, Paris, 26 November 1822-7 January 1823, lot 29 (purchased by Roux); Marquise d'Aoust, sale, Paris, 5 June 1924, lot 78 (repr.); Francesco Gentili di Giuseppe, Paris; Newhouse Galleries, Inc., New York; Samuel H. Kress Collection, 1954.

COPY : **Drawing**, London, British Museum (*Hind*, II, p. 8, No. 8).

EXHIBITED : *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No. 34 (repr.); *Cambridge-New York*, 1956, No. 32 (repr.).

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, I, p. 25 & v, p. 305; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 27; M. Jaffé in *Burlington Magazine*, xcvi, 1954, pp. 54 and 57, fig. 26; *European Painting and Sculpture from the Samuel H. Kress Collection*, Seattle Art Museum, 1954, p. 60, pl. 61.

The sketch represents a composition that is almost perfectly square in shape. Rubens altered its proportions in the final design both by eliminating a narrow strip at the top and by changing the shape to an octagon (already foretold by the diagonal strokes at the corners of the panel). In addition he suppressed three of the heads seen on the far side of the table, with the result that of the seven disciples who appear in the modello only four remain in the definitive conception. Except for these minor alterations, which are inevitable in the preparation of a monumental cycle, *The Last Supper* as it appeared on the ceiling of the Jesuit Church was a faithful enlargement of the oil sketch now in Seattle.

Through its angular placing the great red curtain serves to direct the eye to the figure of Christ, who is brilliantly clad in blue tunic and rose-red mantle. Hardly less conspicuous is Peter, similarly dressed in blue, but with a golden-yellow mantle that lends added force to his posture by the way it sweeps in a long arc from the bench to the floor. The apostle standing behind Peter wears a dull-green garment. Other notes of colour are furnished by the crescent of blue sky glimpsed through the window, the pale blue coverings of the benches, and the glitter of the lamp suspended over the table.

On 16 June 1662 the painter Simon de Vos (1603-1676) sold to the Antwerp art-dealer Guiliam I Forchoudt six works in exchange for 246 guilders, as well as a sketch by Rubens of a *Last Supper* – “een schetce van Rubens, een Avontmael” (J. Denucé, *De Firma Forchoudt*, Antwerp, 1930, pp. 62-63). It is tempting to believe that this sketch might have been the modello for the Jesuit ceiling earlier owned by Wolfvoet, which was later acquired by Jacques de Roore and is now in Seattle; but this is pure speculation, which rests on no proof whatever. Nor is there on the other hand any justification for assuming, as does Van Puyvelde, that the work in question was a sketch for the Mechlin *Last Supper* now in Milan (L. Van Puyvelde, *Rubens*, Paris-Brussels, 1952, p. 216, note 3).

Mention has already been made of the pen and wash drawing in the British Museum (*Hind*, II, p. 8, No. 8, pl. 1) which, though once believed to be a preparatory study by Rubens for the ceiling, is in reality a copy after the modello. This would seem to be the drawing listed in the collections of Paignon Dijonval (*Catalogue*, Bénard, Paris, 1810, No. 1324) and of C. Josi (sale, Amsterdam, 20 April 1818). It was bequeathed to the British Museum in 1824 by Richard Payne Knight.

9. MOSES IN PRAYER BETWEEN AARON AND HUR

Oil on canvas; approximately 3 : 4.2 m.

Formerly in the north gallery of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPIES : C.B. Müller, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 73, No. 15); J.J. Preissler, engraving (V.S., p. 213, 11); J. de Wit, drawing, London,

British Museum (*Hind*, iv, p. 178, 5); J. de Wit, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prenten-cabinet (*Delen*, p. 69, No. 4); J. de Wit, drawing, London, Coll. Count Antoine Seilern; J. Punt, engraving, 1751 (*V.S.*, p. 212, 10, No. 9).

LITERATURE : *Klaegende-Dicht*, p. 5; *Description de l'ineestimable perte*, p. 7; *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, pp. 282-3; *Rooses*, I, p. 26, No. 9, pl. 6, VI [engraving by Punt].

This was one of the subjects included in the original programme, where it appears as No. 19, "Moyses in monte orans".

The painting occupied the ceiling of the large bay at the west end of the north gallery adjoining the façade of the church. The three figures were represented in unusually acute foreshortening because, as the anonymous author of the *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen* remarks, this plafond could only be seen from directly below. Moses was shown kneeling at the peak of a rocky hill with his hands joined in prayer. On the steep slope at his right side stood Aaron, whose mantle flapped in the wind as he held up Moses' arm at the elbow, and who seemed to maintain a precarious balance by bracing his foot against a shelf of rock, his toes projecting over its edge. On the other side Hur sat in an equally unstable attitude with one foot resting on a rock and the other dangling in the air while he reached out both hands to support Moses' left arm. In the distance at the lower left the Israelites could be seen smiting the Amalekites, and in the sky a bird of prey attacked a crane. Rays of light from heaven shone through the clouds upon the trio of figures. The barren aspect of the scene was relieved by a bit of shrubbery in the right foreground.

The precipitous angle of sight which must have been characteristic of the original is best preserved in the pen and wash drawing by C.B. Müller (Fig. 54). The versions by Jacob de Wit (Fig. 56) and the related engraving by Jan Punt (Fig. 57) differ from Müller in a few particulars : Aaron's left arm is shown in the narrow space between him and Moses, and the faces of both Moses and Hur are partly obscured by the arms of these figures. In the Müller copy and in the Preissler engraving (Fig. 55) Aaron's left arm is not visible, and the arms of Moses and Hur are posed in such a way that their faces are fully in view. It will also be noticed that Müller and Preissler represent the crane falling helplessly with feet

turned up. Experience shows that whenever Müller and De Wit disagree in their rendering of such details it is generally the former who proves to be correct.

In the Amsterdam Print-Room there is another drawing of this subject in red chalk by Jacob de Wit (Inv. 1942 : 9). It is a rather free copy of the three principal figures only and was evidently not intended as an accurate record of the ceiling painting.

Nothing contributes more to the illusion of steep perspective in this scene than the fact that the faces of Moses and Hur are seen from below through their outstretched arms. This effective device, which Rubens employed elsewhere in the Jesuit cycle, was perhaps suggested to the artist by the figure of David offering a prayer of thanks over the fallen Goliath in Titian's ceiling painting now in S. Maria della Salute (*Tietze, Titian*, Fig. 150). The attitude of Hur also anticipates in certain respects that of the female personification at the extreme left of *The Union of England and Scotland* on the Whitehall ceiling (see also the modello of this subject in the Hermitage, Leningrad, *K.d.K.*, 334).

9a. **MOSES IN PRAYER BETWEEN AARON AND HUR : GRISAILLE SKETCH**

Oil on panel.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPY : **Drawing**, Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Inv. No. 27923.

The grisaille sketch for this subject is known to have been in the possession of the painter Charles Spruyt (1769-1851). Its previous history is a matter of conjecture. Probably it was one of the fifteen grisaille sketches belonging to Maximilien de Hase which were auctioned at Brussels on 10 June 1782. However that may be, it seems virtually certain that the panel was among the seventeen such sketches purchased by Spruyt at the sale of the collection of Comte de Cuypers de Reymenam (Brussels, 27 April 1802, lot 114). The sketch itself is specifically mentioned only once, i.e. in the catalogue of the Spruyt sale held at Ghent beginning 28 July 1806, where it appeared in lot 168 ("Moïse sur la montagne")

with two other grisailles (see Nos. 13a and 37a). There is no further record of the work in sale catalogues.

Even though the sketch is lost we can nevertheless gain some idea of its appearance from a drawing in Munich (Fig. 53), which, as Ludwig Burchard pointed out, is undoubtedly a copy by an anonymous draughtsman after Rubens's grisaille sketch (see *Haverkamp Begemann*, 1957, pp. 85-86, fig. 4). The drawing in question (Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Inv. No. 27923) is executed with the brush in brown and in brown wash, heightened by white, on paper prepared a light brown, so as to approximate the technique of grisaille. Comparison with Müller's drawing of this subject (Fig. 54) makes it clear that the Munich sheet was neither made from the actual ceiling painting nor from one of the copies thereof: the position of Aaron's hands, for example, is quite unlike that in the final conception, and there are pronounced differences in the drapery of Hur. We have here, then, a faithful reflection of an early stage in the development of Rubens's design, a stage which would otherwise be totally lost to us.

9b. **MOSES IN PRAYER BETWEEN AARON AND HUR : MODELLO**

Oil on panel.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

The modello for this subject, like the grisaille sketch, is no longer extant. But we have an indubitable record of its existence in the painting of 1666 by Karel Emmanuel Biset and other artists, now in Schloss Schleissheim, representing *The Interior of a Picture Gallery* (Figs 202-203). Among the eight sketches for the Jesuit cycle affixed to the ceiling of the gallery, the modello of *Moses in Prayer* can be made out at the extreme right of the lower row (wrongly identified by *Speth-Holterhoff*, p. 188, as *The Sacrifice of Abraham*). This diminutive copy is especially interesting for what it tells us of the colours of the missing sketch (and also, probably, of the ceiling painting itself): Moses wears red drapery; Aaron, at the left, has a lavender garment with a pale grey mantle; and Hur is dressed in a yellow-gold tunic and white mantle. The fact that it is set within an octagonal frame does not necessarily mean that the sketch was

of this shape. The modello, like several others in Biset's painting, must have been lost at an early date, for no reference to it has been discovered in sale catalogues or inventories.

The South Gallery

Having reached the west front with the last picture of the north tribune, the observer now crossed the church and proceeded to the east end of the gallery on the south side (cf. Fig. B). Five of the nine ceiling canvases of this section may be seen in Ehrenberg's view of the interior of the Jesuit church in the Brussels Museum (Fig. 2) : beginning at the altar one will recognize *The Raising of the Cross*, *The Sacrifice of Isaac*, *The Resurrection*, *The Triumph of Joseph* and *The Ascension*, the last being particularly clear.

10. THE RAISING OF THE CROSS

Oil on canvas; approximately 3 : 4.2 m.

Formerly in the south gallery of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPIES : C.B. Müller, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 72, No. 12); J. de Wit, drawing, London, British Museum (*Hind*, IV, p. 178, 5); J. de Wit, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 70, No. 14); J. de Wit, drawing, London, Coll. Count Antoine Seilern; J. Punt, engraving, 1747 (V.S., p. 212, 10, No. 10).

LITERATURE : *Klaegende-Dicht*, pp. 3-4; *Description de l'inesçimable perte*, p. 7; *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, pp. 283-4; *Rooses*, I, p. 26, No. 10, pl. 8, 1 [the engraving by Punt].

The subject appeared as No. 28 ("Crucifixio Christi") in the list accompanying the contract of 1620. The ceiling painting occupied the first bay of the south gallery, that is, at the end near the altar.

Looking up, the observer saw above him the hill of Calvary where the cross, with the Crucified already nailed to it, was being erected. The point of view was so contrived that the shaft and the nearer arm of the cross formed a continuous diagonal almost bisecting the canvas. Christ's head was bent back in agony, and the left knee was raised so as to afford a glimpse of the farther leg; the left foot was placed over the right and

the nail was driven through both feet. The right arm could not be seen. At the lower left corner of the picture a bearded, heavily built man wrapped his arms round the shaft of the cross and braced himself with his feet while it was hoisted into place by his companions. The first of these crouched beneath it, supporting its weight with his back and arms. A second man, whose head and shoulders alone were visible, stood on the far side of the hill holding a ladder which he was using as a prop beneath the cross. Lastly there was a soldier in helmet and body armour who strode towards the hilltop from the right side and pushed the cross upward with both arms raised. On the ground lay a shovel, the handle of which was partly concealed by a mound of earth. The dark and cloudy sky was broken by irregular patches of light.

By using Rubens's own modello (Fig. 62) as a control, we at once perceive that Müller's drawing (Fig. 58) gives a more faithful reflection of the lost plafond than those by De Wit (Figs. 59-61). Not only does the spacing of the figures in Müller's version agree more closely with the modello, but there are several details that tell of a meticulous reading of the original. The following may be noted in particular : (a) the man at the base of the cross puts his right arm *over* the shaft, not under it, and his feet are not shown; (b) the shovel is so placed that only the blade is visible; (c) Christ's head is thrown back so that the chin juts up sharply; (d) the soldier at the right side is beardless and his face is seen in foreshortening. Müller has nevertheless made two errors : he has overlooked the sword worn by the soldier at the extreme right (this was correctly observed by De Wit), and he has not understood that the shaft of the cross should actually rest on the topmost rung of the ladder. This last detail, which can be plainly observed in the modello, may not have been clear in the ceiling painting, where it also escaped De Wit's notice.

The decision to represent a Raising of the Cross instead of a conventional Crucifixion may have been forced upon the artist by the oblong shape of the ceiling panel, which made a vertical composition impossible. But it is also to be remembered that Rubens had twice painted the Cross-Raising before this time and obviously enjoyed working out solutions for the formal problems posed by this subject. The man grasping the base of the cross appears, though in different form, in both the early *Raising of the Cross* of 1601-1602, of which there is a copy in Grasse (*K.d.K.*, 2),

and in the great *Raising of the Cross* painted in 1610-1611 for the Church of St. Walburga, and now in the Cathedral of Antwerp (*K.d.K.*, 36). Julius Held has pointed out that one of the drawings for the latter altarpiece presupposes close study of a sarcophagus relief showing *The Raising of a Herm of Dionysus* (*Held*, 1, p. 129, fig. 39). This same sarcophagus, moreover, which Rubens must have seen in Rome and which is now in the Art Museum at Princeton University, seems to have provided the master with the compositional idea for *The Crucifixion* of the Jesuit cycle. The crouching figure at the left whose leg is bent sharply beneath him, the man supporting the cross on his back, and the soldier at the right with arms upraised, all find a close correspondence in the Dionysiac relief. Rubens's genius reveals itself not merely in the skilful adaptation of an antique relief, but in the metamorphosis of a formalized pagan ritual into an heroic episode that is full of drama and passion. A further source of inspiration may have been found in Caravaggio's *Crucifixion of St. Peter* (S. Maria del Popolo, Rome), to which the ceiling composition also presents some similarities.

The man with the ladder is probably to be connected with Rubens's plans for *The Crucifixion* of 1620 known as the "*Coup de Lance*", which is now in the Museum at Antwerp (*K.d.K.*, 216). In addition to the ladder which supports a soldier breaking the legs of the thief on the cross, the artist originally intended to include in that work a man carrying a ladder, as we know from a drawing in the Albertina, Vienna (*Held*, No. 99; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, No. 120). In the final execution of the altarpiece this motif was suppressed, but the appearance of a man holding a ladder in the Jesuit ceiling illustrates the persistence of the idea in Rubens's mind at this time.

10a. **THE RAISING OF THE CROSS : GRISAILLE SKETCH**

Oil on panel; approximately 18 : 23 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

Like the lost grisaille sketches for *Abraham and Melchizedek* (No. 7a) and *Moses in Prayer* (No. 9a), this work probably formed part of the group of fifteen such sketches for the Jesuit cycle owned by Maximilien

de Hase and auctioned at Brussels on 10 June 1782. It was almost certainly one of the seventeen grisaille sketches from the collection of Comte de Cuypers de Reymenam sold at Brussels on 27 April 1802 to Charles Spruyt. The sketch is cited as "le crucifiement" in the catalogue of the Spruyt sale held at Ghent beginning 28 July 1806, where it appeared in lot 169 with two other grisailles (see Nos. 12a and 14a). This is the first and last recorded mention of the work.

10b. **THE RAISING OF THE CROSS : MODELLO** (Fig. 62)

Oil on panel; 33 : 38 cm.

Paris, *Musée du Louvre*, No. 2122.

PROVENANCE : Anonymous, sale, Paris, 30 January 1782 et seqq., lot 11 ("Jésus-Christ, élevé en croix, superbe Esquisse en plafond, touchée & coloriée avec beaucoup de force"), purchased by Duboy; Lady Stuart, sale, London, 15 May 1841, lot 35 ("The lowering the Cross. A *grand sketch*"), sold to Nieuwenhuys; Louis La Caze (1798-1869), who bequeathed the work to the Louvre.

EXHIBITED : Paris, 1936, No. 64; Brussels, 1937, No. 67 (repr.).

LITERATURE : *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, p. 324, No. 290 (the subject wrongly described as "The Lowering of the Cross" and the measurements inaccurately given as "about 1 ft. 3 in. by 1 ft. 6 in."); *Louvre, La Caze*, p. 32, No. 103; *Roses*, I, pp. 26-27, No. 10 bis; *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg*, p. 195; *K.d.K.*, p. 213; *Louvre, Cat. Demonts*, p. 94, No. 2122; E. Michel, *La peinture au Musée du Louvre, Ecole flamande*, Paris, n.d., p. 55, pl. 61; J. Bouchot-Saupique, *La peinture flamande du XVII^e siècle au Musée du Louvre*, Brussels, 1947, pp. 47-8, pl. v; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, pp. 27, 75, pl. 36.

This modello, surely the best known and most frequently reproduced of all the sketches for the Jesuit cycle, represents the final stage in the design of the ceiling painting. Its resemblance to the copies after the completed work, especially that by Müller (Fig. 58), is astonishingly close. At the last moment, before the execution of the full-scale canvas, Rubens made a few modifications : the two nails which fastened Christ's feet to the cross were reduced to one; the head of the man crouching beneath the cross was turned so that his face appeared in profile; and a

helmet was added to the soldier at the right. Although some writers have said that the man in the background is climbing the ladder (a difficult feat in the circumstances), it is plainly evident from the modello that he is manoeuvring it as a support for the cross.

The Louvre sketch of *The Raising of the Cross* is one of those represented on the ceiling of *The Picture Gallery* by Biset and other artists in Schloss Schleissheim (Fig. 203); it may be seen second from the right in the lower zone, next to the sketch of *Moses in Prayer*. The copyist has unaccountably added what appears to be a second ladder at the right side of the picture.

11. THE SACRIFICE OF ISAAC

Oil on canvas; approximately 3 : 4.2 m. (octagonal).

Formerly in the south gallery of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPIES : C.B. Müller, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 72, No. 7); J. de Wit, drawing, London, British Museum (*Hind*, iv, p. 178, 5); J. de Wit, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 69, No. 6); J. de Wit, drawing, London, Coll. Count Antoine Seilern; J. de Wit, etching; J. Punt, engraving, 1747 (V.S., p. 212, 10, No. 11) .

LITERATURE : *Klaegende-Dicht*, p. 4; *Description de l'ineestimable perte*, p. 7; *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, pp. 284-5; *Rooses*, I, p. 27, No. 11, pl. 8, II [the engraving by Punt].

The subject appears as No. 5 in the provisional list appended to the contract of 1620 : "Abraham immolans filium".

At the right side of the scene was an altar consisting of a huge block of stone on which firewood had been heaped. Isaac, blindfold and wearing only a loincloth, lay upon it in a half-reclining attitude with his arms bound behind him and his head turned back to expose the throat. His right leg was drawn up, and the other was extended so that the foot projected beyond the altar. Smoke and flames rose from a metal bowl beside him containing the fire for the sacrifice. Abraham, whose swirling garments conveyed his inward as well as his outward agitation, stood beside the altar with one hand placed on his son's forehead and the other

raised above his head to deliver the fatal blow. Owing to the oblique angle of sight the sword which he clasped in his hand could not be seen, and his left foot was similarly concealed beyond the rim of the hill. His bearded face was turned abruptly upward as he looked with astonishment at the angel flying towards him, his draperies fluttering and his wing spread out in a graceful arc. Reaching down with his left hand, the heavenly interceptor suddenly arrested Abraham's sword-arm and at the same time touched the old man's hand as it rested on Isaac's head. The scene was closed at the left by a low tree, in front of which could be seen the head of the ram caught in a thicket. On the opposite side Isaac's mantle lay upon the rocks near the altar.

Although the several copies after the lost plafond show relatively few differences amongst themselves, it is worth remarking that the drawing by C.B. Müller (Fig. 64) is demonstrably the most reliable. Confrontation with Rubens's oil sketch for this subject (Fig. 63) serves once again to confirm the literal accuracy of this copyist in the rendering of such things as silhouettes and the arrangements of drapery folds, which in the copies by De Wit (Figs. 65-67) are treated much more arbitrarily. Thus, to cite one example, Müller has correctly perceived the vertical position of the angel's left leg, whereas the less observant De Wit shows the same leg at an angle. It might be mentioned here that in addition to his drawings of this scene De Wit also made an etching which escaped the notice of Voorhelm Schneevogt (but see *Rooses*, I, p. 27).

An early interpretation by Rubens of *The Sacrifice of Isaac* is to be seen in the panel now in the Nelson Gallery, Kansas City, Missouri (*K.d.K.*, 46). But this work bears little resemblance to the Jesuit ceiling painting, for which the artist invented a new and more dramatic presentation of the Old Testament episode. The gesture of Abraham, whose upraised arm holds the sword behind his head, is derived from Tobias Stimmer's woodcut of this subject in his illustrated Bible (*Neue Künstliche Figuren Biblischer Historien*, Basle, 1576; reprinted by G. Hirth as *Tobias Stimmers Bibel*, Munich, 1881, p. 17). But it is above all the influence of Titian that makes itself felt in Rubens's ceiling. The naked victim awaiting death on the altar recalls the figure of St. Lawrence being roasted on a gridiron in Titian's *Martyrdom* of that saint in the church of the Gesuiti in Venice, a work reproduced in an engraving of 1571 by

Cornelis Cort (E. Rothschild, in *Belvedere*, 1931, p. 202). An even more important prototype is Titian's ceiling painting of *Abraham's Sacrifice* now in S. Maria della Salute (*Tietze, Titian*, p. 149), which Rubens had seen in Santo Spirito in Isola and of which he had made a copy (*Glück-Haberditzl*, No. 2). From this source came the idea for the powerful stance of Abraham, who is seen from below with legs placed wide apart, the right foot just visible and the left concealed behind the hill. The athletic angel, flying horizontally with his legs thrashing the air, was likewise suggested by the angel in Titian's canvas. But Rubens's use of bold illusionism lends a heightened sense of urgency to this sacrificial scene. For in contrast to Titian's figures, which are confined essentially to one plane, those of the Jesuit ceiling seem to move freely and provocatively through space. Isaac appears almost to thrust his foot through the picture-plane, and the diagonal direction of the angel's flight similarly tends to demolish the barrier between the observer and the event represented.

11a. **THE SACRIFICE OF ISAAC : MODELLO** (Fig. 63)

Oil on panel; 50 : 65 cm.

Paris, *Musée du Louvre*, No. 2120.

PROVENANCE : The panel is probably that listed in the inventory of the Antwerp art-dealer Herman de Neyt, drawn up 15-21 October 1642 (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 94 : "Een schets van [Rubens] wesende dofferande van Abraham ende Ysaack"); it appears again in the inventory of the painter Victor Wolfvoet (1612-1652), Antwerp, 24-26 October 1652 (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 150 : "Een schetse van Rubens, van Sacrificie van Abraham, op pannel, in lyste"); Suasso, sale, The Hague, 24 April 1800, lot 8 ("Een Plafond-stuk, verbeeldende de Offerhande Isaacs zeer meesterlyk geschilderd, zynde een schets door P.P. Rubbens, op Paneel", purchased by A. Teixeira; David Teixeira Jr., sale, The Hague, 23-24 July 1832, lot 59 ("Abrahams offerande, eene luchtige schets"); Louis La Caze (1798-1869), who bequeathed the work to the Louvre.

EXHIBITED : Paris, 1936, No. 63.

LITERATURE : *Louvre, La Caze*, p. 31, No. 101; *Rooses*, I, pp. 27-28, No. 11 bis; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 196; *K.d.K.*, p. 211; *Louvre, Cat. Demonts*, pp. 92-93, No. 2120; *Evers*, 1942, pp. 318-20, fig. 179; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 26; R.T. Coe, *Nelson Gallery & Atkins Museum Bulletin*, IV, No. 7, Dec. 1966, p. 15, fig. 2.

One of the most striking features of this modello is the tree which with its twisting motion almost resembles a spiral column. In the process of adapting the design to the octagonal shape of the ceiling painting, the tree had unfortunately to be drastically reduced in size (cf. Fig. 64). At the same time the composition was cut down correspondingly on the right side. In all other respects the design of the modello was preserved intact in the final version.

Abraham, dressed in red, makes a particularly brilliant figure against the brownish tones of the natural setting. Isaac's loincloth and the bandage over his eyes are white; on the rocks below him lies a blue mantle with tan highlights. The angel's drapery and the veil encircling his head are yellow-gold in colour; his undergarment and the shadow along his wing are grey-blue. The flesh of the three figures is enlivened here and there by touches of pure red. The pale blue of the sky merges at the right side with the smoke and the haze of the fire.

12. THE RESURRECTION OF CHRIST

Oil on canvas; approximately 3 : 4.2 m.

Formerly in the south gallery of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPIES : C.B. Müller, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 72, No. 13); J. de Wit, drawing, London, British Museum (*Hind*, iv, p. 178, 5); J. de Wit, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 70, No. 15); J. de Wit, drawing, London, Coll. Count Antoine Seilern; J. de Wit, etching (*V.S.*, p. 211, 9, No. 4); J. Punt, engraving, 1747 (*V.S.*, p. 212, 10, No. 12).

LITERATURE : *Klaegende-Dicht*, p. 4; *Description de l'ineffable perte*, p. 7; *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, p. 285; *Roses*, I, p. 28, No. 12.

The subject appears in the original list of 1620 as No. 16, "Resurrectio Christi".

Christ was seen soaring from a dark and rocky cavern which filled the right side of the picture. His left foot was still hidden by the lower edge of the grave, but the right was lifted high in the air as if he were vaulting upward. In his left hand he held aloft a staff with a swallow-tailed pennant, while with his right he clutched a fold of the white shroud

which fluttered round his body. His head, from which shone a brilliant light, was turned so that he seemed to look over his shoulder at the sky in the upper right quarter of the scene. At the mouth of the tomb below him lay two soldiers in full armour : one was asleep against a stone with his arms crossed before his face, and the other, lying on his back with one foot resting on his shield, was suddenly awakened by the miraculous appearance of the Saviour. A third soldier, seen from the back, had risen to his feet and was running away in terror, his head lowered and his arm held before his eyes to shut out the blinding light. Dark clouds at the left of the picture matched the heavy shadows of the cavern at the right.

Although no sketch by Rubens survives for this scene, we need feel no hesitation about taking Müller's copy (Fig. 68), as authoritative, especially in such matters as the spacing and distribution of the figures. It is virtually certain, for example, that in the original ceiling Christ's foot was shown almost touching the back of the running soldier, as recorded by Müller. De Wit, on the other hand, widens the interval between the two (cf. Figs. 69-71) and is equally uncertain about other details of this sort. Yet it appears that De Wit had a special fondness for this scene and made repeated copies of it; three such drawings were put up for auction at the sale of the artist's work held at Amsterdam beginning 10 March 1755 (*Teekeningen*. 'T Boek, Letter F, No. 10; *ibid.*, 'T Omslag, Letter D, Nos. 12 and 13).

Several elements in this composition have their roots in earlier representations of the Resurrection by Rubens. The figure of the Saviour, grasping a staff in his left hand and springing up from the grave, virtually repeats the risen Christ in *The Resurrection* of 1610-1612 in the Cathedral of Antwerp (*K.d.K.*, 49). Although the provocative foreshortening of the ceiling painting creates a very different impression, the attitudes of the two figures are in fact remarkably similar. The same is true of the fleeing soldier at the left of the scene who, despite the seeming novelty of the pose, can also be traced to an earlier work : he appears in Rubens's illustration of *The Resurrection* in the *Breviarium Romanum* of 1614, the original drawing for which is in the British Museum (*Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, figs. 37-38). In adapting this motif for the Jesuit ceiling the artist reversed the direction of the figure, so that the soldier runs away from the observer rather than towards him.

12a. **THE RESURRECTION OF CHRIST : GRISAILLE SKETCH**

Oil on panel; approximately 18 : 23 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

Like several other grisaille sketches now lost to us, this work probably formed part of the group of fifteen sketches for the Jesuit cycle owned by Maximilien de Hase and auctioned at Brussels on 10 June 1782. It was almost certainly one of the seventeen grisailles from the collection of Comte de Cuypers de Reymenam sold at Brussels on 27 April 1802 to the painter Charles Spruyt. The sketch is described as "la résurrection" in the catalogue of the Spruyt sale held at Ghent beginning on 28 July 1806, where it appeared with two other grisailles for the Jesuit ceiling (see Nos. 10a and 14a) in lot 169. The three panels were purchased by Maes. There is no other recorded mention of the work.

Another grisaille sketch of this subject, on a round panel about 26 cm. in diameter, appeared in the sale of works belonging to the Duc de Tallard (Paris, 22 March 1756, lot 144). It was purchased by Jacques-Augustin de Silvestre and is described in the catalogue of his collection as a first idea for *The Resurrection* of the Jesuit ceiling (F. L. Regnault-De-lalande, *Catalogue raisonné d'objets d'arts du Cabinet de feu M. De Silvestre, ... maître à dessiner les Enfants de France*, Paris, 1810, Tableaux, No. 67 : "RUBENS. La Résurrection de Jésus-Christ. Sujet peint en grisaille et composé dans une forme ronde... Cette première pensée d'un des sujets peints dans une des galeries de l'église des jésuites d'Anvers, est touchée avec une grande facilité"). Since the work is lost, no estimate can be formed of its authenticity; but it is conceivable that this was a very early idea for the ceiling – even earlier than the Spruyt sketch – corresponding to the preliminary modello of *Esther and Abasuerus* in Vienna (No. 17a), which is roughly circular in shape.

THE RESURRECTION OF CHRIST : MODELLO

No unequivocal documentary reference to the modello for this subject has come to light. A hint of its existence in the seventeenth century is perhaps contained in one or the other of the two following items.

(1) At Ghent in the year 1668, in an evaluation of paintings belonging to one Jacques Stoop, deceased, there was listed "a little Resurrection" by Rubens, valued at 15 florins (*Messenger des sciences historiques*, Ghent, 1890, p. 481: "Gheestimeert den iii^{en} 10^{bris} 1668 ten sterfhuyze van dheer Jacques Stoop de maervolgende schilderyen: ...Rubens: *Een cleyn verryseniken...ff 15*").

(2) In the inventory of the collection of the painter Erasmus Quellinus (1607-1678), made in Antwerp after his death, there is cited a sketch representing a little Resurrection by Rubens (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 275: "Scheytse, Verryseniken van Rubbens").

Whether either or both of these works bore any relation to the Jesuit ceiling must of course remain uncertain.

13. THE TRIUMPH OF JOSEPH IN EGYPT

Oil on canvas, approximately 3 : 4.2 m. (octagonal).

Formerly in the south gallery of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPIES: C.B. Müller, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 73, No. 20); J. de Wit, drawing, London, British Museum (*Hind*, IV, p. 178, 5); J. de Wit, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 69, No. 1); J. de Wit, drawing, London, Coll. Count Antoine Seilern; J. de Wit, etching (*V.S.*, p. 211, 9, No. 5); J. Punt, engraving, 1747 (*V.S.*, p. 212, 10, No. 13).

LITERATURE: *Klaegende-Dicht*, p. 4; *Description de l'ineestimable perte*, p. 8; *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, p. 286; *Rooses*, I, p. 28, No. 13, pl. 8, III [engraving by Punt].

This subject – an unusual one, it might be noted – appeared in the original list of 1620 as No. 9, "Joseph dominus Ægypti triumphans."

Joseph rode in an ornate chariot drawn by four spirited horses harnessed abreast, tossing their heads and pawing the air with their forelegs as they advanced over the hilly ground. The farthest horse was guided by a groom who held the animal's bridle and whose head and arm could be seen beyond the brow of the hill. Joseph, dressed in a purple robe and wearing a golden chain about his neck, sat majestically, his right hand

grasping the reins and the left resting on his knee. His triumphal appearance was heralded by a fanfare from two trumpeters who were partly visible at the lower right, one blowing a straight tuba and the other a spiral horn. An obelisk topped by a sphere served to indicate an Egyptian setting, and behind Joseph rose the columned façade of Pharaoh's palace. At the foot of the hill in the foreground grew a leafy plant.

In the drawing by Müller (Fig. 72), which unquestionably gives the best idea of the design of the lost ceiling, the columns of the palace stand upon a high basement at about the level of Joseph's knees, and the perspective defines the observer's point of view as being directly beneath the overhanging cornice (a similar effect has been noted in the scene of *Abraham and Melchizedek*, No. 7). Both details have been incorrectly read by De Wit (cf. Figs. 73, 74) : the bases of the columns are not shown, and the perspective angle of the cornice has been altered. How the team was harnessed to the chariot is not clear; Rubens, not wishing to diminish the effect of fiery energy, represented the horses wearing only a bridle. In De Wit's drawing in the Antwerp Print Room (Fig. 73) and in Punt's engraving (Fig. 75) the nearest horse is fitted with a girth. But this feature, probably invented by De Wit himself, does not appear in his etching of this subject (Fig. 74) nor in his drawing in the British Museum and in the Seilern album. The upraised hoof of the same animal was turned so that the underside was visible (cf. Fig. 72); although this detail was correctly recorded by De Wit in some versions (e.g. Fig. 73), it was unaccountably altered both in his etching and in Punt's engraving (Figs. 74, 75).

Two influences – one classical and the other Renaissance – have determined the shape of the composition. The fundamental theme is that of the Roman emperor riding in triumph in his quadriga, as represented on antique coins and reliefs : no doubt Rubens had in mind the famous relief of *The Triumph of Titus* on the arch of that emperor in Rome, where an attendant similarly holds the bridle of one of the four horses drawing the car. At a later date, when he designed *The Triumph of the Church over Ignorance and Blindness* for the tapestry series of the Eucharist, Rubens again made use of this antique type (see the modello in the Prado, Madrid, *K.d.K.*, 293). But in addition there are present here certain unmistakable echoes of Paolo Veronese. The prancing horses seen

di sotto in su with flaring nostrils and hoofs lifted, and the glimpse of palatial architecture consisting of columns resting on a high basement and a heavy cornice jutting out over the scene, reveal how closely the artist has studied Veronese's ceiling painting, *The Triumph of Mordecai*, in S. Sebastiano in Venice (*Fiocco, Veronese*, pl. XVIII).

An inscription by a later hand in the margin of Müller's drawing (Fig. 72) credits Van Dyck with the invention of this subject. There is of course no justification for this attribution.

13a. **THE TRIUMPH OF JOSEPH IN EGYPT : MODELLO**

Oil on panel.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

The modello is lost, but thanks to Ludwig Burchard's exhaustive analysis of early sale catalogues we are not left entirely without clues. In an anonymous sale at Brussels, on 18 July 1740, there appeared as lot 269 a sketch by Rubens representing "the Triumph of the chaste Joseph" ("den Zegen-prael van den kuyschen Joseph"); it measured about 47.63 x 55.15 cm. (hoog eenen voet 8 d., breed 2 v.).

There is one more, equally tantalizing, reference. At an auction of paintings belonging to Anna Catharina Putman (Amsterdam, 17 August 1803) lot 70 was described as a finished modello for a ceiling of the Jesuit Church representing "The Triumph of the Church" ("een uitvoerig Model van een der verbrande Schilderstukken uit de Jesuiten Kerk te Antwerpen, voorstellende de Triumph der Kerk"). This would appear to be an error for *The Triumph of Joseph*. It is true that the measurements given for this panel (hoog 19, breed 27 duim = 48.90 x 69.49 cm.) do not agree with those of the work auctioned at Brussels in 1740. It is difficult, nevertheless, to resist the conclusion that the two sketches were one and the same. However that may be, nothing has since been heard of the modello.

14. **THE ASCENSION OF CHRIST**

Oil on canvas; approximately 3 : 4.2 m.

Formerly in the south gallery of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPIES : C.B. Müller, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 72, No. 14); J. de Wit, drawing, London, British Museum (*Hind*, IV, p. 178, 5); J. de Wit, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 70, No. 16); J. de Wit, drawing, London, Coll. Count Antoine Seilern; J. de Wit, etching (*V.S.*, p. 211, 9, No. 6); J. Punt, engraving, 1748 (*V.S.*, p. 212, 10, No. 14).

LITERATURE : *Klaegende-Dicht*, p. 4; *Description de l'ineestimable perte*, p. 7; *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, pp. 286-7; *Rooses*, I, p. 28, No. 14.

The subject appears in the original list as No. 29, "Ascensio Christi in cælum". In the view of the interior of the Jesuit Church by W. S. von Ehrenberg *The Ascension* can be seen very plainly on one of the plafonds of the south Gallery (Fig. 2).

Because the subject lent itself admirably to a ceiling decoration, Rubens took full advantage of the effects of foreshortening. Christ, his mantle billowing out like a sail, appeared to rise at an angle through an opening in the clouds, from which streamed rays of light. "His legs," writes the author of the anonymous *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, "seemed to hang out of the picture." One hand, thrust upwards, had already disappeared behind the edge of the cloud in the top left corner; the other, owing to the oblique angle of vision, was seen near the centre of the canvas. Below Christ were two angels who looked down at the spectator and gestured as if to draw attention to the miracle; their light-coloured garments showed them to be the "two men in white apparel" who appeared to the apostles at the moment of the Ascension (Acts II, 10). The mantles of both angels were lifted up by their wings and fluttered above their shoulders. The apostles were not shown, the inference being that they, like the observer, were watching the event from below.

The composition being a simple one, without architecture or complicated figure relationships, the copies made after it present no important variations. In the versions by Jacob de Wit (Figs. 77-79) Christ's feet are gracefully arched; but a glance at Rubens's modello (Fig. 80) proves that Müller is more correct in showing them in a normal position, i.e. as forming a right angle with the leg (Fig. 76). De Wit has also neglected, in several of his drawings (e.g. Fig. 78), to conceal Christ's left hand behind the cloud.

Another *Ascension* by Rubens is known to us only through an engraving by Schelte a Bolswert (*Rooses*, II, No. 352, pl. 120); Dutuit is in error when he says that this print reproduces the design of the Jesuit ceiling painting (E. Dutuit, *Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes*, tome III, vol. VI, Paris-London, 1885, p. 80, No. 118).

The attitude of Christ, soaring heavenwards with one arm raised and the other extended to the side and with one knee bent, may have been suggested by Correggio's fresco of *The Ascension* in the dome of S. Giovanni Evangelista in Parma, in which moreover there is a similar opening in the clouds (*K.d.K.*, *Correggio*, 59). Rubens, while retaining the essential attitude, has turned the figure of Christ at a different angle to suit the oblique line of sight. The pose must have pleased him, for he repeated it almost without change for the figure of Mercury in the ceiling painting illustrating *The Apotheosis of the Duke of Buckingham*, the modello for which is in the National Gallery, London (*K.d.K.*, 413). The angel at the right side, who reaches out as if to form a circle with his arms, likewise reappears in a sketch for a ceiling painting: he is to be seen as an angel holding a wreath at the upper right of the panel representing *England and Scotland crowning the Infant Charles I*, in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, which is one of the sketches connected with the Whitehall ceiling (*Van Puyvelde*, *Esquisses*, pl. 71). In the final conception, however, both this figure and the companion angel were replaced by putti carrying a coat of arms.

14a. **THE ASCENSION OF CHRIST : GRISAILLE SKETCH**

Oil on panel; approximately 18 : 23 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

In the auction of works belonging to Charles Spruyt (Ghent, 28 July 1806 et seqq.) lot 169 consisted of three grisailles for the Jesuit cycle: *The Crucifixion* (i.e. *The Raising of the Cross*, No. 10a), *The Resurrection* (No. 12a), and a third sketch described as "l'assomption". This last title was almost certainly an error for *The Ascension of Christ*, because a grisaille sketch representing *The Assumption of the Virgin* formed part of lot 170 in the same sale (see No. 16a).

No other references to this panel have come to light. We may suppose that, like the other grisailles in Spruyt's possession, it had earlier passed through the collections of Maximilien de Hase (sale, Brussels, 10 June 1782) and Comte de Cuyppers de Reymenam (sale, Brussels, 27 April 1802).

14b. **THE ASCENSION OF CHRIST : MODELLO** (Fig. 80)

Oil on panel; 33 : 32 cm.

Vienna, Akademie der bildenden Künste. Inv. No. 634.

PROVENANCE : Joseph Sansot, sale, Brussel, 20 July 1739 et seqq., lot 223 ("L'Ascension de Notre Seigneur, plafond par Rubbens"); Jacques de Roore (1686-1747), sale, The Hague, 4 September 1747 et seqq., lot 40, purchased by De Groot; Anthoni and Stephanus de Groot, sale, The Hague, 20 March 1771, lot 2; purchased in Brussels by Count Anton Lamberg-Sprinzenstein (1740-1822) and donated by him to the Vienna Academy in 1821.

EXHIBITED : *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No. 31 (repr.).

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, I, p. 29, No. 14 bis; *Frimmel*, pp. 34, 161; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 196; *K.d.K.*, p. 214; *Akademie, Wien, Cat. Eigenberger*, p. 337, No. 634, pl. 82; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 27; *Akademie, Wien, Cat. 1961*, p. 37, No. 37.

The modello is almost square in shape, whereas the completed ceiling painting was oblong. It may be, as suggested in the catalogue of the Akademie, that the panel has been cut down, but this is not necessarily the case. For if we compare the sketch with Müller's copy after the final version (Fig. 76) we can see how Rubens adjusted his design to the larger field of the ceiling painting by altering the placement of the figures. The arm of the right-hand angel was shifted so that it no longer overlapped Christ's foot, which in turn was lowered somewhat, and the left knee of the lower angel was brought into view. Rubens also found it possible to represent both angels almost entire, although in the sketch they are partly cut off by the edges of the panel.

Christ, silhouetted against the golden light of the sky, wears garments of bright red. The angels are dressed in white and pale mauve. Ehren-

berg's view of the interior of the Jesuit Church (Fig. 2) shows that the same colours were employed in the completed ceiling painting.

15. THE TRANSLATION OF ELIJAH

Oil on canvas; approximately 3 : 4.2 m. (octagonal).

Formerly in the south gallery of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPIES : C.B. Müller, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 72, No. 6); J. de Wit, drawing, London, British Museum (*Hind*, iv, p. 178, 5); J. de Wit, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 70, No. 9); J. de Wit, drawing, London, Coll. Count Antoine Seilern; J. de Wit, etching (*V.S.*, p. 212, 9, No. 7); J. Punt, engraving, 1750 (*V.S.*, p. 212, 10, No. 15).

LITERATURE : *Klaegende-Dicht*, p. 4; *Description de l'ineestimable perte*, p. 7; *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, pp. 287-8; *Rooses*, I, p. 29, No. 15, pl. 8, iv [the engraving by Punt].

In the original list of subjects the Translation of Elijah figures as No. 25 : "Elias curru igneo in cælum [raptus]".

This scene, full of fire and movement, was one of the most imaginative of the entire cycle. Elijah sat in a golden chariot drawn by two galloping white horses. Twisting round in his seat and looking down at the spectator, the prophet had divested himself of his mantle and was about to drop it to the unseen Elisha from his upraised left arm. The body of the car, which was closed at the back and open at the front, was decorated with a kind of shell-ornament, and the wheels were turning at such a speed that the spokes could only be seen as a blur. The sky was filled with flames, and the same flamelike motion transmitted itself to Elijah's hair and beard and to the mane and tail of the nearer horse, which even expelled fire from its nostrils. In the lower part of the scene a zone of dark clouds marked the path of the heavenly chariot. As Van Puyvelde has noted, Rubens's mastery of foreshortening was such that Elijah and his team of horses, though drawn as a descending diagonal, seemed actually to be rising into the sky.

The reconstitution of the lost plafond is made easier by the fact that, in addition to the copies by C. B. Müller and Jacob de Wit, we still possess Rubens's modello (Fig. 81). From this it can be seen that although the horses were unharnessed the pole of the chariot passed between them. Müller's drawing in the Antwerp Print Room renders this detail correctly (Fig. 82), but De Wit has mistakenly turned the pole into a mere knob at the front of the chariot (Figs. 83, 84), to which, in one instance, he has even attached a heavy rope fitted to the horse's harness (Fig. 85). Both hind legs of the nearer horse were visible; De Wit's copies show only one. It is not true – though it is often repeated as a fact – that Punt eliminated one of the pair of horses in his engraving of this subject.

The Translation of Elijah is among the subjects represented by Tintoretto on the ceiling of the upper hall in the Scuola di San Rocco in Venice (F. P. Osmaston, *The Art and Genius of Tintoret*, London, 1915, I, pl. xcii). There is a superficial resemblance to the Jesuit ceiling: the prophet is seated in a fiery car drawn toward the left by two horses and holds his mantle in both hands while Elisha waits below to receive it. But it is unlikely that Rubens was inspired by this work, which is not one of the Venetian master's most memorable inventions. Another source has been proposed by Leo Steinberg (*Art News*, LXVI, April 1967, p. 45), who observes that Rubens may have derived his wildly plunging horses from a sixteenth-century woodcut of *The Rape of Proserpina* by Giuseppe Scolari.

15a. **THE TRANSLATION OF ELIJAH : MODELLO** (Fig. 81)

Oil on panel; 32.5 : 44 cm.

New York, Collection of George Baer.

PROVENANCE: Herman de Neyt, inventory, Antwerp, 15-21 October 1642 (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 99 : "Een schets van den propheet Elias opgevoert, van Rubbens"); Burtin, Brussels; purchased from him in 1801 four other sketches for the Jesuit ceilings by Duke Ernst II of Gotha-Altenburg; Herzogliches Museum, Gotha; E. & A. Silberman Galleries, New York; Curtis O. Baer, New York.

EXHIBITED: *Brussels*, 1910, No. 365; *Brussels*, 1937, No. 66 (repr.); *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No. 30; *Cambridge-New York*, 1956, No. 30 (repr.); *E. & A. Silberman*

Galleries, New York, 1957, No. 11 (repr.); Brussels, 1965, No. 220 (repr.); Knoedler & Co., New York, 1967, No. 48 (repr.).

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, I, p. 29, No. 15 bis; *Gotha, Cat. Aldenboven*, p. 9, No. 38; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 197; *K.d.K.*, p. 210; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, pp. 27, 44-5, 75, pl. 35; L. Van Puyvelde, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, xxxv, 1949, p. 126, fig. 7; M. Jaffé, in *Art News*, LI, May 1953, pp. 34, 64 (repr.); *Bernhard, Verlorene Werke*, p. 128, pl. 135.

In transferring the design from the rectangular panel to the octagonal ceiling canvas Rubens made several minor changes (see the Müller copy, Fig. 82). The space between the horses and the chariot had to be somewhat reduced with the result that almost nothing could be seen of the second horse; the ornamental scroll visible at the front of the chariot was almost entirely concealed by the wheel, but an acanthus-like ornament was added to the rim of the car at the rear; and Elijah's head was turned a little further to the left.

This modello stands out as one of the most vivid of all of Rubens's oil sketches. Everywhere the touch of the brush imparts fresh energy and verve – in the swift contours of the horses, in the serpentine flicker of the flames, in the gleaming eyes and tossing hair of Elijah. The prophet wears a rose tunic and holds out a grey-white mantle. The chariot is of reddish gold and silver and the horses are white. Lurid flames sweep over most of the sky, but there are patches of blue near the upper left and in the bottom left corner; the clouds form a dark blue mass beneath the car. Doubtless these colours were faithfully followed in the large canvas. But what can hardly have been transferred to the ceiling painting is the matchless spontaneity and nervous intensity of the oil sketch.

A painting of this subject by Rubens is celebrated in a book of epigrams published at Rome in 1673. The painting in question, representing “Elias in cælum raptus curru igneo”, is described as being in the Cesi collection (Joannes Michael Silos, *Pinacotheca sive Romana pictura et sculptura*, Rome, 1673, I, p. 147).

16. THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN

Oil on canvas; approximately 3 : 4.2 m.

Formerly in the south gallery of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPIES : C.B. Müller, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 73, No. 16); J. de Wit, drawing, London, British Museum (*Hind*, IV, p. 178, 5); J. de Wit, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 70, No. 17); J. de Wit, drawing, London, Coll. Count Antoine Seilern; J. de Wit, etching (*V.S.*, p. 212, 9, No. 8); J. Punt, engraving, 1750 (*V.S.*, p. 212, 10, No. 16).

LITERATURE : *Klaegende-Dicht*, p. 4; *Description de l'ineffable perte*, p. 7; *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, pp. 288-90; *Rooses*, I, p. 30, No. 16.

In the original list of subjects the Assumption appears, incomprehensibly, with the Three Kings under No. 12.

The ceiling painting differed from the usual *Assumption* in that it represented only the upper half of the composition : there was no sign of the apostles gathered around the Virgin's tomb. As in several other paintings of this series Rubens simply left the terrestrial part of the subject to the imagination of the observer (cf. *The Ascension*, No. 14). Looking up, as if he himself were standing near the sarcophagus, the spectator saw Mary sitting on a platform of clouds which was being carried heavenwards by three large angels. Holding out her hands in a gesture of wonderment, the Virgin raised her eyes to gaze at the divine light streaming upon her from above. Her blue mantle was swept out to the side in a broad mass, and a shadow was cast over her brow by a light veil which fluttered about her head and shoulders. The left knee was drawn up somewhat, and the right foot was visible beneath her long tunic. The trio of athletic angels was so distributed that each assumed a different pose. The angel at the left, who wore a loose drapery fastened at the waist, thrust out one leg and raised his arm above his head as he guided Mary's ascent. Directly beneath the Virgin a second angel floated in the air face upward, his head towards the observer and his wings outspread; he wore a garment that passed under his wings and was knotted at the right shoulder. The third angel, who was nude above the waist, like the first, approached obliquely from the right side and seemed to fly directly into the cloud on which the Virgin sat. His wings lay folded along his back, and his ample draperies formed a picturesque silhouette matching that of Mary's mantle. A bank of clouds filled the upper left corner of the scene.

As in the case of other subjects from his cycle, the copy made by C. B.

Müller (Fig. 86) differs in several respects from those by De Wit or depending on him (Figs. 87-89) : the wing of the leftmost angel rises above the level of his right arm (the wing is more flattened in De Wit); there is considerable space between the extended foot of the central angel and the tip of the drapery belonging to his neighbour at the right (in De Wit the two are almost touching); and the head of this last figure is so placed that one can see his hair above the line of the shoulder (in De Wit only the face is visible). In these and a few other details of this kind Müller's version is undoubtedly preferable. But there is another point of disagreement; and here it is perhaps less easy to decide which copyist is correct. In Müller's drawing the right-hand angel lowers *both* arms, the farther one being supported by the right arm of the middle angel. The versions by De Wit show only one arm, that is, the one belonging to the lowermost angel; the right arm of the upper figure does not appear. On reflection one will probably conclude that Müller's reading of this passage is right and that De Wit's omission of the arm is a typical solecism by this artist. As it happens, Müller's version finds support in the anonymous *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, which says of the angel at the right that he appeared "with his hands in the clouds", thus implying that both arms were visible.

Still another drawing of this subject by De Wit, executed in red chalk, formed part of the collection of Hendrik de Wacker van Zoon (sale, Amsterdam, 26 October 1761, Teekeningen, Konstboek, Letter A, lot 33). The *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen* mentions a painted copy of the ceiling in the Young Men's Sodality at Antwerp, in which the right-hand angel was omitted. It was one of three such copies offered for sale at Ghent in 1788 (*Catalogue des tableaux ... qui se vendront au refuge de l'Evêché de Gand*, 1788, Nos. 42-44). Nothing is known of their whereabouts today. See No. 2 above.

Abbreviated though it is, *The Assumption of the Virgin* for the Jesuit Church can be seen to reflect some of the ideas which Rubens had been working out in other paintings of this subject during the previous five or six years. The posture of the Virgin is analogous both to that in *The Assumption* of 1614-15 (expanded in 1620), now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (K.d.K., 206), and to that in *The Assumption* of 1615-16 in the Museum of Brussels (K.d.K., 120). But for the flutter-

ing veil and the position of the hands with the palms turned uppermost the closest parallel is undoubtedly to be found in the drawing of the Virgin surrounded by angels in the Albertina in Vienna (*Held*, No. 35; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, No. 73). In order to adapt the composition to an oblong form Rubens altered Mary's standing posture into a seated one and spread out her mantle in a wide expanse at the side. He also found it expedient to substitute three adult angels for the more usual host of winged infants, who would have been ineffective in a ceiling painting. But Rubens did not entirely forget these little beings. For the supine attitude of the central angel of the ceiling painting was surely suggested by the infant angel who appears at the same place, directly below the Virgin, in the Brussels *Assumption* of 1615-16 (*K.d.K.*, 120).

The lively angel at the right side closely resembles the form of the intervening angel in *The Sacrifice of Isaac* (cf. Fig. 63), but with the position of the legs reversed. The same pose reappears, this time without change, in a sketch for a ceiling representing *Jupiter receiving Psyche into Olympus*, in the Liechtenstein Gallery, Vaduz (*Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, pl. 53).

But the work that stands in the closest relationship to the lost ceiling is *The Assumption of the Virgin* in the Church of the Holy Cross in Augsburg (*K.d.K.*, 300), painted only a little later than the Jesuit cycle. In the upper half of this altarpiece, largely executed by pupils, Rubens made use of the entire group of the Virgin Mary and angels from the Jesuit ceiling, only adding a fourth angel at the lower right and changing the shape of the wings of the lowermost figure.

A drawing by Rubens, evidently a study for a ceiling painting of the Assumption ("L'Assomption de la Vierge, en blaffon"), formed part of the collection of the Antwerp painter Peeter Snyers (1681-1752), auctioned at Antwerp on 22 August 1752. No trace remains of this drawing, which (if it was genuine) was perhaps an original study for the Jesuit ceiling, preceding the grisaille sketch.

16a. **THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN : GRISAILLE SKETCH**

Oil on panel; approximately 17 : 29 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

Like a number of other grisaille sketches now lost to us, this work probably formed part of the group of fifteen sketches for the Jesuit cycle owned by Maximilien de Hase and auctioned at Brussels on 10 June 1782. It was almost certainly one of the seventeen grisailles from the collection of Comte de Cuypers de Reymenam sold at Brussels on 27 April 1802 to the painter Charles Spruyt. The sketch is described as "l'assomption de la vierge", measuring 17 x 29 cm., in the catalogue of the Spruyt sale held at Ghent beginning on 28 July 1806, where it appeared in lot 170 with two other grisailles for the Jesuit ceiling – *The Descent of the Holy Spirit* (No. 40 (I) a) and *The Coronation of the Virgin* (No. 18b).

16b. **THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN : MODELLO**

Oil on panel; approximately 39 : 49 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

In the inventory of the art-dealer Herman de Neyt, drawn up at Antwerp 15-21 October 1642, there is listed "een schets van Onse L. Vrouwen Hemelvaert, naer Rubbens" (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 99). It is no doubt this same sketch that we find mentioned in the inventory of Victor Wolfvoet (Antwerp, 24-26 October 1652) : "Een stuccken, wesende een schetse van Rubens, van Onse Lieve Vrouwen Hemelvaert" (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 142). We next hear of the sketch in the sale of paintings belonging to the Flemish artist Jacques de Roore (1686-1747), held at The Hague beginning on 4 September 1747 (lot 41). It was then purchased by Anthoni de Groot. The work drops out of sight after the De Groot sale at The Hague, 20 March 1771, in which it appeared as lot 3.

17. **ESTHER BEFORE AHASUERUS**

Oil on canvas; approximately 3 : 4.2 m. (octagonal).

Formerly in the south gallery of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPIES : C.B. Müller, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 72, No. 5) ; J. de Wit, drawing, London, British Museum (*Hind*, IV, p. 178, 5) ; J. de Wit, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 69, No. 8) ; J. de Wit, drawing, London,

Collection of Count Antoine Seilern; J. de Wit, etching (V.S., p. 212, 9, No. 9); J. Punt, engraving, 1751 (V.S., p. 212, 10, No. 17); Anonymous, drawing, Utrecht, Collection L.N. van der Heijden.

LITERATURE : *Klaegende-Dicht*, p. 4; *Description de l'ineffable perte*, p. 7; *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, pp. 290-291; *Rooses*, I, p. 30, No. 17, pl. 8, v [engraving by Punt]; *Seilern*, p. 53, fig. 24 [engraving by Punt].

This subject appeared as No. 27 ("Esther adorans Assuerum") in the provisional list appended to the contract of 1620.

King Ahasuerus, wearing a turban and a long robe that reached to his feet, sat upon an elevated throne at the right side. Raising his left hand in a gesture of sympathy, he leaned forward to touch Esther with the sceptre held in his right as a sign of grace. The queen, who had sunk to her knees on the steps leading to the throne, turned her face upward to Ahasuerus and spread out her arms in supplication. Her dress was trimmed with a border of ermine and a heavy mantle hung from her shoulders. She was attended by two of her ladies-in-waiting, who anxiously supported the fainting queen. The nearer attendant – a beautiful figure standing on the edge of the steps at the left – held out her arm so that Esther might rest her hand on it and at the same time gathered up a fold of the queen's dress; on the other side a second woman placed her arm across Esther's body to prevent her from falling forward. In the background, beyond the steps of the throne, appeared two courtiers, one wearing a kind of shovel hat. Two soldiers in armour were posted at the left side of the throne. The first, a bare-headed figure seen in startling foreshortening, stood with his hand on his hip and his foot protruding over the moulding of the socle. The second warrior, who wore a helmet and grasped a spear, was shown from the back in a half-crouching posture. At his feet sat a dog, turning its head round to look at Esther. The event was represented as taking place on a complex grouping of pedestals and staircases set at changing angles, with a balustrade marking the ascent to the throne. The dais was covered with a carpet, on which a cushion had conveniently been placed for Esther to kneel on. The canopy over the king was square, with hangings at the sides; the nearer curtain was gathered up so as not to hide Ahasuerus from view. The architectural setting consisted of a curving colonnade which receded into

the distance at the centre of the picture. It was surmounted by a balustrade, and above this appeared the open sky. Columns framed the scene on either side, the one at the right being a spiral, or Solomonic, column.

The superiority of Müller's copy (Fig. 90) is established at once by comparing it to the modello (Fig. 95). De Wit's copies, on the other hand (Fig. 91-93), contain a number of small inaccuracies. The following details, all correctly recorded by Müller, may be particularly noted: the front edge of the king's canopy forms a vertical, and the side curtain is looped up over its roof; two heads, not one, are visible in the background between the women and the king; the capitals of the columns are of the Corinthian, not the Ionic, order; and the socle in the foreground is decorated with an egg-and-dart moulding. It is characteristic of De Wit that his copies put the canopy in the wrong perspective, that the architecture is not carried high enough at the left, and that the two columns that stand at the end of the curving colonnade are set too far apart.

In this composition Rubens has made no secret of his indebtedness to the festive ceiling paintings of Paolo Veronese, such as *Venice enthroned between Justice and Peace* in the Sala del Collegio of the Ducal Palace (Fiocco, Veronese, pl. LXXV), where the figure of Peace almost certainly suggested the pose of the crouching soldier below the throne in the Antwerp ceiling. But the chief source of inspiration for *Esther before Ahasuerus*, as was already observed by Rooses, was Veronese's *soffitto* of the same subject in S. Sebastiano in Venice (Fiocco, pl. XVI), a work which also influenced Rubens's *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba* (cf. Fig. 26). In the *Esther* composition, not surprisingly, the analogies to Veronese's canvas are even more striking: *Esther*, approaching from the left and kneeling on the steps before the king, is attended by two women; the raised throne of Ahasuerus is decorated with a scroll ornament and covered by a curtained baldachin; and the right foreground is occupied by two men, one standing with his hand on his hip, and a dog. Yet, though the guard with arm akimbo surely owes his position below the throne to the soldier in Veronese's painting, it is nevertheless evident, as Burchard and d'Hulst have shown, that the immediate model for this figure is a drawing in the Louvre of a nude man by Rubens himself,

perhaps taken from Correggio (*Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, No. 165). The authors suggest further that Rubens may have used a counterproof of this drawing both for the warrior in the *Esther* ceiling and for the similar figure in *The Union of England and Scotland* on the Whitehall Ceiling. It may be observed, finally, that the attitude of Ahasuerus, who raises his left hand while extending the sceptre in his right, exactly resembles that of the same personage in Tintoretto's *Esther and Ahasuerus*, one of a set of six overdoor pictures by that artist now in the Prado, Madrid (H. Tietze, *Tintoretto, the Paintings and Drawings*, New York, 1948, fig. 106).

A pencilled note on Müller's drawing attributes the invention of *Esther and Ahasuerus* to Van Dyck.

17a. **ESTHER BEFORE AHASUERUS : PRELIMINARY MODELLO** (Fig. 94)

Oil on panel; 49 : 56.5 cm.

Vienna, *Akademie der bildenden Künste*. Inv. No. 652.

PROVENANCE : Anonymous sale, Brussels, 22 July 1779, lot 1 ("Projet de Plafond représentant le Roi Assuerus. Esquisse"); Count Anton Lamberg-Sprinzenstein (1740-1822), who bequeathed the work to the Vienna Academy in 1821.

EXHIBITED : *Zurich*, 1946-47, No. 365; *London*, 1949, No. 129.

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, I, pp. 30-31, No. 17 bis; *Frimmel*, p. 165; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 197; *K.d.K.*, p. 271; *Akademie, Wien, Cat. Eigenberger*, pp. 343-4, No. 652, pl. 83; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 27; *Akademie, Wien, Cat. 1961*, pp. 87-8, No. 133.

This sketch must have been made before the shape of the ceiling paintings had been decided upon. It seems moreover to have been painted, not to serve as a guide for an assistant working on a full-scale canvas, but as a demonstration piece for the Jesuit fathers, probably even before the contract was drawn up.

The subject is enclosed within a twelve-sided frame painted on the panel; a segment at the right side has been thinly painted over so as to give the picture a more symmetrical shape. Ahasuerus, his left hand resting on the head of the sphinx that forms part of his throne, bends

forward to touch Esther's shoulder with his sceptre. He wears a turban surmounted by a crown and a red garment with a fur collar over a golden-brown robe. The canopy and the sphinx are gold, the latter showing touches of red. The group of the kneeling queen with her two attendants is very like that in the final conception (cf. Fig. 90), the main differences being that here Esther's glance is downward and that the nearer woman places her hand beneath her mistress's arm. The dress worn by the queen is of shimmering white satin with a gold pattern and a border of ermine; her sleeves are wine-red, and her mantle gold with a pearl-grey lining. The attendant at the left has a pale yellow skirt and sleeves of grey-green; the second woman is clad in blue-green. The scene takes place beneath a coffered dome picked out with gold, through a circular opening in which can be seen the blue sky. In the space between the women and the king appear two men stationed on the farther side of the throne. A large dog, his head turned to look at Esther, stands in the foreground at the foot of the steps. An oriental carpet is spread over the dais and the steps on which Esther kneels.

It was remarked by Ludwig Burchard that the attitude of the monarch, leaning forward with the right hand thrust out and the left placed on the head of a sphinx, goes back to the early painting by Rubens of *The Banquet of Abasuerus* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (*Glück*, 1933, p. 205, fig. 114); this work, wrongly attributed in the 1938 catalogue of the Museum to Frans Francken the Younger, may even date from the master's pre-Italian years. We may add that the same figure, complete with sphinx-throne, recurs in one of the illustrations designed by Rubens for Aguilonius' book on optics (*Francisci Aguilonii Opticorum Libri sex*, Antwerp, Plantin, 1613, p. 151; repr. in M. Rooses, *Rubens* [transl. by Harold Child], Philadelphia, 1904, 1, p. 205). We meet this seated figure once more in the Leningrad modello for the Whitehall ceiling painting, *The Union of England and Scotland* (K.d.K., 334), where King James I, enthroned beneath a canopy, is represented in the same attitude as Ahasuerus in the Vienna sketch. Furthermore, it will be observed that the female attendant seen just to the right of Esther in the Vienna panel is likewise repeated in the Leningrad modello as the allegorical figure kneeling in a corresponding position beside the infant Charles.

The dog may be compared to the drawing of a similarly foreshortened lioness in the British Museum (*Held*, No. 83), one of the studies for Rubens's *Daniel in the Lions' Den*. Because of its position beside the steps the animal prefigures the two dogs seen near the altar in *The Coronation of Marie* from the Medici cycle (*K.d.K.*, 252).

17b. ESTHER BEFORE AHASUERUS : MODELLO (Fig. 95)

Oil on panel; 48.8 : 47 cm.

London, Collection of Count Antoine Seilern.

PROVENANCE : Jean de Jullienne (1686-1766), sale, Paris, 30 March-22 May 1767, lot 100, bought by Donjeux; Le Doux, sale, Paris, 24 April 1775, lot 21; Dubois, sale, Paris, 20 December 1785, lot 10; Charles-Alexandre de Calonne (1734-1802), sale, London, 23 March 1795, lot 61; sale, London (Bryan), 27 April 1795, lot 99; Michael Bryan (1757-1821), sale, London, 17-19 May 1798, lot 17; William Young Ottley (1771-1836), sale, London, 25 May 1811, lot 71; John Webb, sale, London, 30-31 May 1821, lot 140; Norton, sale, London, 22 October 1830; anonymous, sale, London, 28-29 April 1837, lot 26; Sir Frederick Cook, Richmond; Sir Herbert Cook, Richmond.

EXHIBITED : London, Dowdeswell Galleries, 1912; London, Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1923-24, No. 19; London, 1927, No. 325; Antwerp, 1930, No. 249.

LITERATURE : W. Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting*, London, 1824, I, pp. 238, 287; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 184, No. 643 & Supplement, p. 311, No. 242; Rooses, I, p. 22, under No. 3, p. 31, under No. 17 bis & v, Appendice, pp. 305-6; Sir Herbert Cook, *A Catalogue of the Paintings at Doughty House, Richmond*, 1914, II, No. 334; Akademie, Wien, *Cat. Eigenberger*, p. 344; M. W. Brockwell, *Abridged Catalogue of the Pictures at Doughty House, Richmond*, 1932, p. 48, No. 334; Van Puyvelde, *Esquisses*, p. 27, No. 27; Seilern, p. 53, No. 27, pl. LXI; Akademie, Wien, *Cat.* 1961, p. 87, under No. 17; Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, pp. 254-5.

This modello replaced the earlier one now in Vienna (No. 17a). In revising that design Rubens's first step was to make the picture octagonal and to reduce the size of the figures. The architectural setting was then considerably amplified. The interlocking platforms and stairs have been made more complex. The dome with its oculus has been shifted to the middle; a semicircular colonnade has been placed along the wall beneath

the dome and a spiral column added at the right. The resemblance to the interior of the Pantheon only heightens the illusion of a vast space. Subtle changes have likewise been made in the placement and gestures of the figures. Ahasuerus plays a more active role in the scene by raising his left hand. Esther turns her face up to the king. The lady-in-waiting on her right side holds out her arm at shoulder-height, and the woman on the far side now looks at the queen rather than at Ahasuerus. The two armed guards who take their place beside the throne are accompanied by a smaller and less conspicuous dog.

In the large ceiling canvas, as we know from the various copies, Rubens made only one significant change. He eliminated the dome, allowing the colonnade beneath it to stand as an independent architectural feature against the sky. The fact that a crowning balustrade appears above the colonnade in the modello suggests that even at this stage the artist foresaw the suppression of the cupola.

It is impossible to convey in words either the sparkling luminosity or the vivacity of touch of this splendid oil sketch. The distribution of colours generally follows that of the Vienna panel. The throne and baldachin are gold, and the ornamentation of the cupola is likewise defined in that colour. Ahasuerus wears a red garment with a fur collar, and a crown is visible above his golden-brown turban. Esther is clad in a gold mantle over a white dress bordered with ermine; her sleeves are light red, and a delicate golden coronet is visible on her head. She kneels on a bright blue cushion, which in turn lies on a dark blue carpet with a yellow fringe. The attendant at the left wears a light peach-coloured dress which is turned up to reveal a pale-grey skirt with a patterned hem. The darker dress of her companion, on Esther's left, shows touches of brown, olive-green and light blue. Suddenly paler in hue are the two men who appear in the background beneath Ahasuerus' outstretched hand. The one at the left wears a light red cap; his neighbour has a fur mantle and a mauve tunic crossed by a slender gold chain; the visor of his hat is edged with strokes of gold. The soldier at the right side wears a violet mantle over his shining black armour.

At a later period, when Rubens was preparing the ceiling painting of *The Union of England and Scotland* for the Banqueting House of Whitehall Palace, he incorporated in it elements taken both from the Seilern

modello of *Esther and Abasuerus* and the Vienna sketch of the same subject. The Whitehall painting, best studied from the modello in Lenin-grad (*K.d.K.*, 334), is so obviously dependent on the former sketch as to require little comment: the general disposition of the figures, the throne on a high dais beneath a rectangular canopy, the dome with a circular aperture and the curving colonnade below, all are nearly identical. Furthermore, the female personification with arm extended at the extreme left and the soldier at the right with his hand on his hip are closely related to the corresponding figures in the Seilern sketch. On the other hand, as has already been pointed out, the enthroned figure of James I and the allegorical figure at his feet who turns to look at him are derived from the early modello in the Vienna Academy.

18. THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN

Oil on canvas; approximately 3 : 4.2 m.

Formerly in the south gallery of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPIES: C.B. Müller, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 73, No. 17); J. de Wit, drawing, London, British Museum (*Hind*, iv, p. 178, 5); J. de Wit, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 70, No. 18); J. de Wit, drawing, London, Coll. Count Antoine Seilern; J. de Wit, etching (*V.S.*, p. 211, 9, No. 10); J. Punt, engraving, 1751 (*V.S.*, p. 212, 10, No. 18).

LITERATURE: *Klaegende-Dicht*, p. 4; *Description de l'ineestimable perte*, p. 7; *Beschryving van de Schilderyen*, pp. 291-293; *Rooses*, I, p. 31, No. 18.

Strangely enough, the Coronation of the Virgin is not included in the provisional list of subjects accompanying the contract of 1620.

The painting occupied the ceiling of the large bay at the west end of the south gallery, adjoining the façade of the church. Like the corresponding plafond in the north gallery representing *Moses in Prayer* (see Fig. 54), it could not be viewed at an angle but could only be seen from directly below. Mary sat on the clouds in the middle of the scene, her right knee drawn up higher than the left and her sandaled right foot protruding over the edge of the cloud which served as her footstool. She

held her right hand to her breast and extended her left to the side in a gesture of surprise as, with her head turned toward her Son, she saw herself about to be crowned. Her garments, blown by the wind of heaven, created a broad pyramidal form. Christ stood at her right, one leg raised on the cloud bank as if on a step, and held the crown with both hands at an angle over her head. His fluttering mantle was swept into a bold vertical shape behind him. Somewhat further back and a little higher on the right side sat God the Father, his left hand clasping a sceptre and resting on a large orb and the right stretched forth to support the crown as it was lowered upon the Virgin's head. Above her, the dove of the Holy Ghost appeared within a radiant burst of light. The dove was represented head downward, the illusion being, as the observer saw it from below, that the bird was flying directly over him.

Müller's copy (Fig. 96) and Rubens's modello (Fig. 102) together constitute the best evidence for the reconstruction of the lost ceiling painting. In the copies by De Wit (Figs. 97, 98) Christ's left leg is wrongly shown in a diagonal rather than in a vertical position. The same error is repeated in the engraving by Punt (Fig. 99), who in addition misconstrues the sceptre held by God as a mere ornament attached to the globe.

The Coronation of the Virgin by the Holy Trinity, in which Mary is represented *de face* between God the Father and the Son, appears in Flemish art as early as the fifteenth century (see F. Baudouin, in *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts*, 1959, No. 4, pp. 179-228). When he conceived this work Rubens may also have remembered Veronese's *Coronation of the Virgin* in the sacristy of S. Sebastiano in Venice, a symmetrical composition in which the personages are likewise seen from below (*Fiocco, Veronese*, pl. XIII). The attitude of Christ holding the crown in both hands and looking down at Mary through his outstretched arms derives from Raphael; the motif was used both for one of the Hours strewing flowers in *The Wedding Feast of Cupid and Psyche*, in the Villa Farnesina (*K.d.K., Raffael*, 156), and for the angel in *The Holy Family of Francis I* in the Louvre (*ibid.*, 157).

Rubens made use of the compositional scheme of the Jesuit Church plafond in two later paintings of the Coronation. One is the altarpiece now in the Museum of Brussels (*K.d.K.*, 270), which was painted about

1625 for the Church of the Recollects in Antwerp; the other is the somewhat later *Coronation of the Virgin* formerly in Berlin (*K.d.K.*, 341), for which there is an oil sketch in the Worcester Art Museum (*Goris-Held*, p. 34, No. 54, pl. 53). It has been suggested, finally, that another, more distant echo of the Jesuit Church *Coronation* may be found in *The Apotheosis of James I* on the Whitehall ceiling (*Croft-Murray*, p. 35).

18a. **THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN : PRELIMINARY MODELLO** (Fig. 100)

Oil on panel; 46 : 62 cm.

London, Collection of Count Antoine Seilern.

PROVENANCE : Herbert M. Gutmann, sale, Berlin, 12-14 April 1934, lot 43; Richard von Schnitzler, Cologne; C. von Schröder, Hamburg.

EXHIBITED : Cologne, *Kunstverein*, 1934; Brussels, 1937, No. 36; Helsinki, 1952-53, No. 7.

LITERATURE : *Pantbeon*, XIII, 1934, p. 124 (repr.); *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 27; *Haverkamp Begemann*, 1957, pp. 89-90, fig. 7.

In the opinion of Ludwig Burchard, this sketch, like the preliminary modello of *Esther and Abasuerus* in the Vienna Academy (Fig. 94), is to be regarded as one of the first ideas for the Jesuit cycle.

The corners of the panel have been painted in imitation of framing so as to form an octagonal picture. As compared to the version finally executed, the composition is surprisingly informal. The Virgin, her eyes modestly lowered, is seen in three-quarter view kneeling on a cloud and turning towards her Son; her right hand lies across her breast, and the left arm, abruptly foreshortened, is thrust out to the side. She wears a pine-green mantle over a white tunic, and folds of grey-brown drapery encircle her left arm. Christ, standing at the left with one foot raised on a mass of cloud, holds the crown over her head in his right hand. His body is nude except for a white loin-cloth and a brilliant red mantle which lies over the left knee and shoulder and describes an extravagant shape behind him. God the Father, holding orb and sceptre and wearing

a gold cope over a white garment, is seated at some distance behind and above the Virgin. A golden sky fills the upper part of the picture, and against this appears the dove, from which rays of light descend upon Mary. Infant angels emerge from the clouds which enclose the scene on either side.

There can be little doubt that we have to do here with a preliminary modello, painted before the disposition of subjects had been finally determined. The fact that the sketch is octagonal rather than rectangular is of no significance, for we have seen that several of the modelli for the Jesuit cycle are not of the same shape as the completed plafonds. The differences between this trial sketch and the ceiling painting are not, after all, fundamental: the postures of Christ and the Virgin are similar to those ultimately adopted, and it would obviously have been a simple matter to give the subject a symmetrical shape. E. Haverkamp Begemann has suggested (*loc. cit.*) that Rubens may have revised his first idea for both formal and iconographic reasons. Once the decision was taken to place the *Coronation* in the first bay of the south gallery, the artist no doubt felt it necessary to employ a symmetrical composition which would be in harmony with the corresponding subject in the north gallery representing *Moses in Prayer* (cf. Fig. 54). Its situation contiguous to the front wall of the church also explains why the foreshortening of the final version is so much more pronounced than that of the sketch. It is possible, moreover, that the Jesuit fathers, seeing Rubens's first idea, objected to the placing of God the Father in the background and directed the artist to give equal emphasis to Father and Son.

The Seilern sketch was also used by Rubens, as Ludwig Burchard observed, for an easel painting of *The Coronation of the Virgin*, now lost (see Burchard's remarks quoted in the *Catalogue, Sammlung Herbert M. Gutmann, Potsdam; Versteigerung, Berlin (Graupe), 12-14 April 1934*, p. 13, under No. 43). It appears in David Teniers' *Interior of the Artist's Studio*, of which there is a version in the collection of the Earl of Normanton, Somerley, Ringwood (*Speth-Holterhoff*, pp. 131-132, pl. 54). The picture in question hangs on the wall at the right side of the studio: it takes the form of a narrow, upright rectangle and shows only the three principal figures, who however are grouped exactly as in the sketch.

18b. **THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN : GRISAILLE SKETCH** (Fig. 101)

Oil on panel; 17.8 : 28.6 cm.

Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen. No. 2416.

PROVENANCE : ? Maximilien de Hase, sale, Brussels, 10 June 1782 et seqq., lot. 5; ? Comte de Cuypers de Reymenam, sale, Brussels, 27 April 1802, lot 114; Charles Spruyt (1769-1851), sale, Ghent, 28 July 1806 et seqq., lot 170 (one of three sketches : "La descente du St. Esprit; l'assomption de la Vierge et son couronnement"); Jean-Antoine Stichelbaut, sale, Ghent, 27 December 1814 et seqq., lot 20 ("P. P. Rubens. - Le couronnement de la Vierge. Esquisse en grisaille pour le plafond des Jésuites d'Anvers"); J. O. Leegenhoek, Paris; presented to the Boymans Museum by the Bank voor Handel en Scheepvaart.

LITERATURE : *Haverkamp Begemann, 1957, pp. 83-90, fig. 2; Catalogue, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Schilderijen tot 1800, 1962, p. 115, No. 2416.*

This is one of the few grisaille sketches belonging to the painter Charles Spruyt that have subsequently come to light.

If we are right in believing the Seilern sketch of *The Coronation* (Fig. 100) to be Rubens's first idea for the plafond, this work must represent his revision of the composition. The Virgin now adopts a frontal, seated attitude, but the position of her head and arms is almost unchanged. Christ is seen in profile, raising the right instead of the left leg and supporting the crown in both hands. God the Father, moved into the first plane, holds the sceptre and orb in his left hand so that he may place his right under the crown.

For all its appearance of hasty execution, this slight monochrome sketch establishes the composition in its definitive form. When Rubens proceeded to paint the coloured modello (No. 18c) he made astonishingly few alterations in the design.

18c. **THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN : MODELLO** (Fig. 102)

Oil on panel; 38 : 48 cm.

Paris, Musée du Louvre, No. 2123.

PROVENANCE : Victor Wolfvoet (1612-1652), inventory, Antwerp, 24-26 October 1652 (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 137 : "Een schetse van Rubens, wesende een Crooninge van Onse Lieve Vrouwe, op panneel in lyste"). At the time of the French Revolution the sketch belonged to the architect Bélisard (or Bellisard), and was recorded among the works confiscated from émigrés in the year 1797 (*Archives de l'art français, nouvelle période*, vi, 1912, p. 256 : "*Le Couronnement de la Vierge, esquisse du plafond des Jésuites d'Anvers, brûlé, sur bois, de Rubens, dans sa bordure dorée. H. 14 p.; L. 18 p.*"); Louis La Caze (1798-1869), who bequeathed the work to the Louvre.

ENGRAVING : Christoffel Jegher, woodcut (*V.S.*, p. 17, No. 40).

LITERATURE : *Louvre, La Caze*, p. 32, No. 104; *Rooses*, I, p. 31, No. 18 bis; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 198; *K.d.K.*, p. 213; *Louvre, Cat. Demonts*, p. 96, No. 2123; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 27; *Haverkamp Begemann*, 1957, pp. 87-89, fig. 6.

In this modello Rubens did little more than translate the design of the grisaille sketch (No. 18b) into full colour. The composition has been expanded at the left side, in order to include all of the billowing mantle of Christ, and at the bottom, where the head and wings of two infant angels have been inserted amidst the clouds (an echo, perhaps, of those seen in the preliminary modello in the Seilern collection). Christ's left leg has been shifted from a slanting to a more vertical position, and the angle of his head slightly raised. The right knee of God the Father, which in the grisaille sketch appears as a patch of white behind the Virgin's hand, has been lowered and made less conspicuous. Mary is dressed in a white tunic and blue mantle. The drapery of Christ is red, and God the Father wears a gold vestment.

A few further modifications were made in the full-scale ceiling canvas (cf. Fig. 96) : the little angels in the clouds were omitted; Mary's crown, which in the preparatory sketches was held horizontally, was in the end tilted so as to match the inclination of her head; and the position of the dove was reversed so that it appeared with the head pointing downward (i.e. as if flying away from the spectator instead of towards him).

These last two details prove beyond doubt that the woodcut of *The Coronation of the Virgin* by Christoffel Jegher (Fig. 103) was copied from the modello and not from the finished ceiling painting. For both the crown and the dove are represented as they appear in the Louvre oil sketch. But Rubens, who must first have prepared a pen and ink drawing to serve as model, and who surely directed the making of the print,

saw fit to delete the angelic heads from the clouds beneath the feet of Mary. From documents in the Plantin archives we learn that both Jegher's *Temptation of Christ* (Fig. 42) and *Coronation of the Virgin* (Fig. 103) were printed in 1633 (*Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 101-2). A black chalk drawing of octagonal shape (40.64 x 50.8 cm.), showing the composition in reverse, appeared in the Johannes Noll sale at Frankfurt am Main (2 October 1912, lot 182, repr.) and in the Alphonse Kann sale at New York (7 January 1927, lot 22, repr.), where it was described as a study by Rubens for the Whitehall ceiling. It would seem, in fact, to be a pupil's copy after Jegher's woodcut.

The modello of *The Coronation of Mary* is among the eight sketches for the Jesuit cycle represented on the ceiling of Biset's *Picture Gallery* (Fig. 203); it is to be seen second from the left in the upper row.

The North Aisle

Pictures of the interior of the Jesuit Church such as that by Ehrenberg (Fig. 2) do not give a satisfactory view of the paintings in the side aisles, the angle of sight from the nave being too low to include more than a few tantalizing glimpses of the canvases.

The nine paintings of each aisle were of alternately octagonal and oval shape, the former serving for the church fathers and for the Names of Jesus and Mary, and the latter for the female saints. As in the galleries, the progression was from east to west (cf. Fig. C). In the north aisle the sequence began at the altar of St. Francis Xavier.

19. ST. ATHANASIUS OVERCOMING ARIUS

Oil on canvas; approximately 3 : 4.2 m. (octagonal).

Formerly in the north aisle of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPIES : C.B. Müller, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 73, No. 27); J.J. Preissler, engraving (V.S., p. 213, 11); J. de Wit, drawing, London, British Museum (*Hind*, IV, p. 178, 5); J. de Wit, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 70, No. 21); J. de Wit, drawing, London, Collection Count Antoine Seilern; J. Punt, engraving, 1753 (V.S., p. 212, 10, No. 19).

LITERATURE : *Klaegende-Dicht*, p. 6; *Description de l'ineffable perte*, p. 8; *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, pp. 293-294; *Rooses*, I, p. 32, No. 19, pl. 8, VI [engraving by Punt].

"Sanctus Athanasius" appears as No. 2 in the original list of subjects. As the programme of decoration was actually carried out, *St. Athanasius* became the first scene in the lower zone of the cycle; its place was in the easternmost bay of the north aisle, directly beneath *The Fall of the Rebel Angels* in the north gallery (No. 1).

St. Athanasius stood in the clouds with one foot planted on the fallen form of Arius. In his left hand he held a book which he supported against his thigh, while with his right he struck at his victim with the point of his crosier. The saint's costume, described by the anonymous author of the *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen* as "a priestly yet strange habit", was, to be sure, a little unusual. Over a dark tunic he wore a white alb and a broad purple mantle, and over that again the patriarchal pallium. His bearded face was partly overshadowed by a large, broad-brimmed hat, from which lappets hung down upon his shoulders. The heretic Arius, lying helplessly across a cloud bank with legs spread and sandaled feet towards the observer, threw up his arms as if pleading for mercy. He was dressed in a long coat over a white tunic and had on his head a cap with lappets like those of Athanasius. A little winged angel flew over the saint's left shoulder waving a scroll in his hands.

The appearance of the lost plafond may best be judged from the copy by C. B. Müller (Fig. 104) and the modello by Rubens himself (Fig. 109). Müller has been careful to show that the book casts a shadow on the saint's vestment – a detail confirmed by the modello – and also that the crosier is aimed at Arius's chest and not at his belly as in the copies by De Wit (Figs. 106, 107) and Punt. The intricacies of the costumes are likewise more intelligibly rendered by Müller. The lappets of Athanasius's hat have simply been omitted by De Wit and Punt, and Arius is pictured wearing a hood instead of a cap; in the engraving by Punt the single band of the saint's pallium has been turned into the two ends of a stole. Preissler's rather graceless print (Fig. 105) copies Müller's drawing, but is chiefly remarkable for the misplaced ear on Athanasius's right cheek.

The theme of Good triumphing over Evil is a recurrent one in the art of Rubens. The oil sketch of *St. Norbert overcoming Tanchelm*, in the collection of Curtis O. Baer, New York, offers a placid example of the type (*Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, pl. 50); much closer in spirit to *St. Athanasius* is the sketch for the Whitehall Ceiling representing *Wisdom destroying Envy*, in the Museum of Antwerp (*Catalogue, exhibition Rotterdam, 1953-1954*, No. 90, pl. 79). The motif of the book held against the thigh, which is reminiscent of the philosopher Aristotle in Raphael's *School of Athens*, had earlier been used by Rubens for the figure of St. Gregory in the altarpiece of 1607 for S. Maria in Vallicella, now in the Museum of Grenoble (*K.d.K.*, 23). Even closer to our figure is the preparatory drawing for that altarpiece in the collection of the late Ludwig Burchard, in which St. Gregory is seen from the front and from below (*Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963*, No. 26 recto).

19a. **ST. ATHANASIUS OVERCOMING ARIUS : DRAWING** (Fig. 108)

Black chalk; 455 : 339 mm. Inscribed at the lower left, by a later hand, *Rubens*; at the lower right the mark of the *Hermitage* (*Lugt 2061*).

Leningrad, Hermitage. Inv. No. 5513 verso.

PROVENANCE : Count Karl Cobenzl (1712-1770), from whom it was purchased by Catherine II in 1768.

EXHIBITED : Leningrad, Hermitage, 1832, *Drawings and Prints from the Flemish School*; Leningrad, Hermitage, 1940, *Rubens and his School in Drawing and Portrait in the Hermitage*, No. 18; Antwerp, Rubenshuis, 1956, *Tekeningen van P. P. Rubens*, No. 101b; Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, 1963, *Måsterteckningar från Eremitaget*, No. 52.

LITERATURE : M. V. Dobroklonsky, "Einige Rubenszeichnungen in der Eremitage", *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 1930-1931, No. 2, pp. 35, 36, pl. 34; *Idem, Drawings by Rubens* (Russian), Moscow and Leningrad, 1940, Nos. 16, 21, pls. xv, xx; *Idem, Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Drawings of the Flemish School in the Hermitage* (Russian), Moscow, 1955, p. 129, No. 635; *Burchard-d'Hulst, 1956*, pp. 121-122, No. 101b; *Held*, p. 113, under No. 47, & p. 122, under No. 61; *Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963*, pp. 222-223, No. 142 verso; J. Kuznetsov, *Drawings by Rubens from the Museums of the U.S.S.R.* (Russian), Leningrad-Moscow, 1965, pp. 22-23, No. 20.

This drawing, one of the few surviving evidences of Rubens's graphic preparation for the Jesuit cycle, appears on the reverse of a sheet of studies of women and children having no relation to our subject. St. Athanasius, with one foot placed on Arius's knee and with crosier lifted high in the air, is about to stab the heretic with its point. The saint holds a leather-bound volume against his body, and his costume, which includes pallium, cloak and wide-brimmed hat with lappets, is very like that in the large canvas (cf. Fig. 104). Arius lies beneath him in a tumbling attitude, grasping a partly unfurled scroll in his left hand. Two infant angels may also be seen, though only faintly. One emerges from behind the saint's left shoulder holding a narrow curving scroll in his upraised hands. The other, of whom only the head and one arm are visible, appears at the left, just above Arius's right foot, supporting the saint's mantle.

The second angel, only tentatively indicated in the drawing, was later suppressed altogether (cf. Fig. 104). But Rubens reinstated this figure, as was observed by Burchard and d'Hulst, by introducing it into the ceiling painting of *St. Gregory of Nazianzus* (see especially the modello, Fig. 134). The diagonal stroke in the upper left corner of the sheet suggests that Rubens had already begun to think of the octagonal shape of the ceiling which was to necessitate, among other things, lowering the position of the crosier.

The Leningrad drawing of *St. Athanasius* is not a work of the highest quality; as an example of draughtsmanship, for example, it is manifestly inferior to the drawing of *St. Gregory of Nazianzus* in the Hay Collection (Fig. 133). It was largely for this reason, no doubt, that Burchard and d'Hulst, in the catalogue of the Antwerp exhibition of 1956, were inclined to consider the drawing a *ricordo*, perhaps made by Rubens himself several years after the painting; in their monograph of 1963, however, the authors accepted the drawing as an original study. Whatever one thinks of its quality, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that this is indeed an authentic preparatory drawing by the master. It unmistakably registers a stage in the evolution of the design preceding the modello (Fig. 109); at the same time there are certain tentative features, such as the placing of the two angels, or the contours of the saint's mantle, which indicate that it cannot be merely a record of a design already fixed.

The next stage must have been the preparation of a grisaille sketch. This, however, seems to have been lost.

19b. ST. ATHANASIUS OVERCOMING ARIUS : MODELLO (Fig. 109)

Oil on panel; 49.6 : 64.4 cm.

Gotha, Schlossmuseum. Inv. No. 755/709.

PROVENANCE : Burtin, Brussels; purchased from him in 1801 with four other sketches for the Jesuit ceilings by Duke Ernst II of Gotha-Altenburg; Herzogliches Museum, Gotha.

EXHIBITED : *Brussels*, 1910, No. 362.

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, I, p. 32, No. 19 bis; *Gotha, Cat. Aldenhoven*, p. 9, No. 35; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p. 199; *K.d.K.*, p. 208; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 26; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, pp. 222-223, under No. 142 (wrongly described as in Chicago).

In this modello Rubens has carried further the ideas set out in the preliminary drawing in Leningrad. The composition, formerly upright, has now been given an oblong shape, and the foreshortening is made more pronounced. Arius assumes a more horizontal position, his feet are more widely spread apart, and the left hand holding the scroll has been eliminated. A *pentimento* in the lower left corner of the panel tells of a correction in the placing of Arius's foot. Owing to the increased foreshortening, the book held by Athanasius is brought much closer to Arius's right arm; and the saint's crosier has been lowered so that it strikes the heretic's body. Athanasius's hat and mantle are brown, and a yellow pallium lies over his white gown. Arius wears a grey mantle and black cap. The banderole carried by the little angel bears the legend ATHANAS. At the top of the panel appears an inscription in Rubens's hand : S. Athanasius. The second angel who in the drawing holds up the saint's cloak has been omitted.

In the final conception of this subject (cf. Fig. 104) Rubens made no other change than to include the left hand of Arius.

20. ST. ANNE AND THE VIRGIN

Oil on canvas; approximately 3 : 4.2 m. (oval).

Formerly in the north aisle of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPIES : C.B. Müller, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 74, No. 34); J.J. Preissler, engraving (V.S., p. 213, 11); J. de Wit, drawing, London, British Museum (*Hind*, IV, p. 178, 5); J. de Wit, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 71, No. 33); J. de Wit, drawing, London, Coll. Count Antoine Seilern; J. Punt, engraving (V.S., p. 212, 10, No. 20).

LITERATURE : *Klaegende-Dicht*, p. 6; *Description de l'Inestimable perte*, p. 8; *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, p. 294; *Roses*, I, p. 32, No. 20.

The subject appears as No. 14 ("Sancta Anna") in the original list of titles.

St. Anne was seated on the clouds in a *contrapposto* attitude; the child Mary stood beside her with eyes modestly lowered. Turning her wrinkled face up to the sky, Anne placed her left hand on the Virgin's shoulder and reached out with her right to take her daughter's hand; her right arm rested on the left knee, which was raised higher than the other. A veil covered her head, and her draperies flowed out in heavy folds to the side. Mary wore a mantle over her tunic that left her arms and shoulders free.

Müller's drawing (Fig. 110) and the engraving made after it by Preissler (Fig. 111) clearly show that Anne looked upward and that the Virgin was bare-headed. In the De Wit drawings (Figs. 112, 113) and in Punt's engraving the mother's eyes are turned down, and Mary has been given a veil. De Wit is also in error in picturing the Virgin's knee as bending towards the observer : in the original painting her leg appeared in side view.

This subject, commonly described as *The Education of the Virgin*, was painted by Rubens several times, the best-known example being the altarpiece from the Carmelite Church in Antwerp, now in the Royal Museum of that city (*K.d.K.*, 338), in which the child Mary is represented at her mother's knee reading from a book. In the Jesuit ceiling picture,

however, no book was shown (the writer of the *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen* is mistaken when he says that there was a book on Anne's knee). The same iconography is to be found in Cauckerken's engraving of *The Education of the Virgin* (Fig. 114); see under No. 20b.

20a. **ST. ANNE AND THE VIRGIN : GRISAILLE SKETCH**

Oil on panel; approximately 14 : 25 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

Like a number of other grisaille sketches now lost to us, this work probably formed part of the group of fifteen sketches for the Jesuit cycle owned by Maximilien de Hase and auctioned at Brussels on 10 June 1782 and the following days. It was almost certainly one of the seventeen grisailles from the collection of Comte de Cuypers de Reymenam sold at Brussels on 27 April 1802 to Charles Spruyt. The first mention of the sketch is in the catalogue of the Spruyt sale held at Ghent beginning on 28 July 1806, where it appeared in lot 171 as "Ste. Anne et la vierge", together with two other grisailles for the Jesuit ceiling – *St. Barbara* (Fig. 163) and *The Annunciation* (Fig. 199), both now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. The work was again put up for auction in the second Spruyt sale (Ghent, 3 October 1815 et seqq.), in which it was listed as lot 129, "Ste. Anne instruisant la Vierge". It was purchased, according to the annotated catalogue in the Frick Art Reference Library, by one Prutinal for 9 francs 50 centimes. The sketch has disappeared, leaving no further traces.

20b. **ST. ANNE AND THE VIRGIN : MODELLO.**

Oil on panel.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

The modello has vanished, but at least one copy remains from the seventeenth century. Of the eight modelli for the Jesuit cycle which are represented in Biset's *Interior of a Picture Gallery* (Fig. 203), the second

from the left in the lower row can be identified as the oil sketch for *St. Anne and the Virgin*. The composition agrees very closely with the copies after the completed ceiling (see especially Fig. 110). The colours seen in this little copy are also of interest because they give some idea of the appearance not only of the lost modello, but of the lost plafond as well. St. Anne has a red dress and a golden-brown mantle, and the Virgin wears a pale-blue tunic and brown mantle.

Essentially the same composition of St. Anne and the child Mary is to be seen in an engraving of *The Education of the Virgin* by Cornelis van Cauckerken (V.S., p. 112, 15), which bears the legend "Pet. Paul. Rubbens inventor" (Fig. 114). The attitudes are strikingly similar to those in the Jesuit ceiling: Anne looks upward while resting her hand on the Virgin's shoulder, and the book is pointedly omitted. *Rooses* conjectured (I, pp. 182-3, No. 141) that the engraving might reproduce the altarpiece painted by Rubens for the church of the Carmelites in Brussels, which was destroyed in the bombardment of 1695. But, as Ludwig Burchard has noted, this is by no means certain, because the engraving does not contain the little angels who are described as being present in the Carmelite altar (see A. Sanderus, *Chorographia Sacra Brabantiae*, 2nd ed., The Hague, 1726-27, II, p. 293). The possibility is therefore worth considering that Cauckerken's print is a free adaptation after Rubens's modello, in which the foreshortening of the figures has been discarded in favour of a conventional point of view.

21. ST. BASIL

Oil on canvas; approximately 3 : 4.2 m. (octagonal).

Formerly in the north aisle of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPIES: C.B. Müller, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 73, No. 22); J.J. Preissler, engraving (V.S., p. 213, 11); J. de Wit, drawing, London, British Museum (*Hind*, IV, p. 178, 5); J. de Wit, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 71, No. 26); J. de Wit, drawing, London, Coll. Count Antoine Seilern; J. Punt, engraving, 1754 (V.S., p. 212, 10, No. 21).

LITERATURE: *Klaegende-Dicht*, p. 6; *Description de l'ineffable perte*, p. 8; *Beschryving van de Schilderyen*, p. 294; *Rooses*, I, p. 33, No. 21.

"Sanctus Basilius" is listed as No. 4 in the original catalogue of subjects.

The saint was seen facing the observer, his left knee resting on the clouds and both hands held out to the sides in prayer. His bearded face was turned upward and slightly to the left, and his hair seemed to be streaming in the wind. He was dressed in a tunic belted at the waist and a long coat with full sleeves. Two books, one open and the other closed, lay upon the clouds before him. A little winged angel with fluttering drapery appeared over St. Basil's left shoulder and pointed to a golden column at the left side of the picture. The column, which stood upon a socle and was capped by a section of entablature, was of spiral form, the lowest third of the shaft being striated.

The drawing by C. B. Müller (Fig. 116) and the related engraving by Preissler (Fig. 117) are in close agreement with Rubens's final oil sketch for this subject (Fig. 115) : St. Basil's coat, for instance, is rightly shown as having a collar and as being worn open. In the drawings by Jacob de Wit, on the other hand (Figs. 118, 119), the coat is without a collar and is fastened at the neck by a clasp; the position of the saint's right knee has also been altered, and the system of drapery folds is quite different. The drawing in the British Museum and the engraving by Jan Punt depart even further from the original by making the saint barefoot. But the most glaring of De Wit's errors is the insertion of a smoking altar amidst the clouds at the right side : this gratuitous feature is especially prominent in the drawing in the Seilern album (Fig. 119). No such altar appeared in the ceiling painting; it is not mentioned in the anonymous *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, nor is there any sign of it in Rubens's modello.

The deeply emotional attitude of Basil, whose arms are thrust to the sides and whose face is lifted heavenwards with a rapt expression, may be compared to the figure of St. Ignatius praying for the sick in the great altarpiece in S. Ambrogio in Genoa which Rubens had completed only a few months earlier (*K.d.K.*, 202).

21a. **ST. BASIL : MODELLO** (Fig. 115)

Oil on panel; 50 : 64.8 cm.

Gotha, Schlossmuseum. Inv. No. 756/710.

PROVENANCE : Burtin, Brussels; purchased from him in 1801 with four other sketches for the Jesuit ceilings by Duke Ernst II of Gotha-Altenburg; Herzogliches Museum, Gotha.

EXHIBITED : *Brussels*, 1910, No. 361.

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, I, p. 33, No. 21 bis; *Gotha, Cat. Aldenboven*, p. 9, No. 34; *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg*, p. 199; *K.d.K.*, p. 208; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 26.

Except that it is rectangular rather than octagonal in form, the modello does not differ greatly from the final version of this subject as we know it through the copy by Müller (Fig. 116). The twisted column is without striations on the lower part of the shaft and resembles a pillar of fire rather than an architectural member. Instead of looking at Basil the little angel turns his eyes upon the spectator, and the saint's face is more foreshortened than in the final state. St. Basil is clad in a brown tunic and a black coat with grey highlights. At the top of the panel is an identifying inscription in Rubens's hand : *S. Basilus*.

22. ST. MARY MAGDALENE

Oil on canvas; approximately 3 : 4.2 m. (oval).

Formerly in the north aisle of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPIES : C.B. Müller, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 74, No. 36); J.J. Preissler, engraving (V.S., p. 213, 11); J. de Wit, drawing, London, British Museum (*Hind*, IV, p. 178, 5); J. de Wit, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 71, No. 32); J. de Wit, drawing, London, Coll. Count Antoine Seilern; J. Punt, engraving (V.S., p. 212, 10, No. 22) .

LITERATURE : *Klaegende-Dicht*, p. 6; *Description de l'inestimable perte*, p. 8; *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, p. 295; *Rooses*, I, p. 33, No. 22.

The title proposed for this ceiling painting in the original list (No. 13) is "Sancta Magdalena rapta ad angelorum harmoniam".

The saint was seen reclining on the ground beneath a tree, her hair flowing and her eyes lifted heavenward. Supporting her head on her right hand she extended the left in a gesture of sorrow towards the cross and

ointment jar which stood on a rock at the right. In contrast to the usual representations of this saint, Mary Magdalene was here pictured (in the words of the *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*) "fully and chastely clothed from the neck to the feet"; her garments consisted of a long tunic and a capacious mantle, part of which was spread over the ground so that St. Magdalene might lie upon it. Her left knee was raised, the bare foot alone being visible; the right leg lay beneath the drapery. A little bush grew in the left foreground, and the overhanging branches of the tree filled the upper centre of the picture.

The various copies exhibit only minor differences. Müller's drawing (Fig. 120), having been made directly from the ceiling painting, retains something of the rhythmic nervousness and agitation of the original, whereas in the drawings by De Wit (see Fig. 122), and especially in the engraving by Punt (Fig. 123), these qualities have been neutralized by the process of repeated copying. Preissler, evidently misunderstanding the sketchy indication of shrubbery in Müller's drawing, has introduced into his engraving a large vegetable resembling a turnip (Fig. 121).

The dejected attitude of the saint, reclining with the feet crossed and the head resting on one hand, reveals a distant affinity to the so-called *Ariadne* of the Vatican. The motif of the head supported by the hand, which may remind us of Dürer's engraving *Melencolia I*, is a familiar sign of grief or dejection. Rubens also made use of this gesture for the sorrowing woman at the extreme right of *The Brazen Serpent* in London (*K.d.K.*, 315). The oil sketch in Leningrad of *Charles de Longueval, Comte de Bucquoy* (*K.d.K.*, 152), contains at the lower right a personification of a defeated province whose seated pose shows some analogy to that of Mary Magdalene, especially as regards the placing of the legs.

Nothing is known either of the grisaille sketch or of the modello which must have preceded the execution of the large canvas.

23. THE NAME OF JESUS

Oil on canvas; approximately 3 : 4.2 m. (octagonal).

Formerly in the north aisle of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPIES : C.B. Müller, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 73, No. 19); J. de Wit, drawing, London, British Museum (*Hind*, IV, p. 178, 5); J. de

Wit, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 71, No. 35); J. de Wit, drawing, London, Coll. Count Antoine Seilern; J. Punt, engraving (*V.S.*, p. 213, 10, No. 32).

LITERATURE : *Klaegende-Dicht*, p. 6; *Description de l'ineestimable perte*, p. 8; *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, pp. 295-6; *Roses*, 1, p. 34, No. 23.

The subject was not specified in the list attached to the contract of 1620.

The Name of Jesus was situated in the middle bay of the north aisle over the entrance to the chapel of St. Ignatius, as is clearly stated in the *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*. (In the list of subjects enumerated in the preface to Jan Punt's engravings after De Wit, *The Name of Jesus* and *The Name of Mary* are interchanged, the former being wrongly assigned to the south aisle and the latter to the north. The error was repeated by Voorhelm Schneevogt in his catalogue of the Punt engravings. Curiously enough, a similar mistake was made by J. J. Preissler, who in his engravings of the ceilings of the north aisle substituted *The Name of Mary* for that of Jesus.)

In the centre of the octagon the clouds opened to disclose the Holy Name shining within a radiant sunburst. Four plump little cherubim, each with a length of fluttering drapery, flew in a circle round it making gestures of adoration. The Name of Jesus took the customary form of the letters IHS; a cross stood on the horizontal bar of the H, and below appeared the three nails of the Crucifixion.

The drawing by Müller (Fig. 124), whose dependability as a copyist has been repeatedly demonstrated, differs from the versions by De Wit in several respects : the left leg of the uppermost angel, instead of being extended almost horizontally, is bent upward more sharply; a large fold of drapery is carried over the wrist of the cherub at the right; and the hands of his companion on the opposite side are spread wide apart, the left arm hanging almost straight down. The representation of the monogram with the letters tapered as if in foreshortening is a conceit gratuitously introduced by De Wit, who perhaps derived it from Gaulli's famous ceiling of Il Gesù in Rome (R. Enggass, *The Painting of Bacciccio*, 1964, fig. 68); this erroneous feature appears in De Wit's drawings in the British Museum and in the Seilern collection (Figs. 125, 126), and in the

print by Jan Punt (Fig. 127); on the other hand the same artist rendered the monogram correctly in his drawing in the Antwerp Print Room.

For the sculptural decoration of the façade of the Jesuit Church Rubens had already designed a cartouche supported by a group of cherubs (drawing in the British Museum: *Held*, No. Add. 172; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, No. 117). As actually carried out in relief, the cartouche contains the same emblematic monogram with cross and nails as that in the lost plafond. Because Rubens never tired of inventing new attitudes for putti, it might seem superfluous to look for related figures in other paintings by him. Yet it is interesting to see that the "sitting" posture of the lowermost angel in the Jesuit ceiling can be traced as far back as the altarpiece of 1606-7 for S. Maria in Vallicella, now in the Museum of Grenoble (*K.d.K.*, 23), where an almost precisely similar figure is to be seen at the upper left. Rubens repeated several of the cherubs from *The Name of Jesus* when he designed *The Benefits of the Government of James I* for the Whitehall Ceiling. In the sketch for this subject, now in the Vienna Academy (*K.d.K.*, 335), three celestial figures hold a wreath over the head of the monarch: the Cupid at the left is identical to the cherub who appears at nine o'clock in the Jesuit ceiling (the lowered position of the left arm incidentally confirming the accuracy of Müller's copy), and his companion at the right virtually duplicates, though in reverse, the little figure at six o'clock.

No records have come to light concerning oil sketches for this ceiling painting.

24. ST. CECILIA

Oil on canvas; approximately 3 : 4.2 m. (oval).

Formerly in the north aisle of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPIES: C.B. Müller, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 74, No. 31); J.J. Preissler, engraving (*V.S.*, p. 213, 11); J. de Wit, drawing, London, British Museum (*Hind*, IV, p. 178, 5); J. de Wit, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 71, No. 34); J. Punt, engraving, 1759 (*V.S.*, p. 212, 10, No. 24).

LITERATURE: *Klaegende-Dicht*, p. 6; *Description de l'ineffable perte*, p. 8; *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, p. 296; *Roses*, I, p. 34, No. 24.

The subject figures in the original list attached to the contract as No. 17 : "Sancta Caecilia".

St. Cecilia was seated on a cloud bank, her fingers resting on the keyboard of a small organ, the bellows of which were being energetically pumped by an infant angel at the left. The saint sat with her right leg advanced and the left foot drawn back, looking up as if in meditation, while an adult angel, with agitated draperies and wing raised, approached from the right side holding a wreath of flowers above her head. Cecilia wore a short-sleeved blouse and a long full skirt; a veil or scarf was loosely wound about her shoulders, and her mantle was folded round her waist and fell behind her in a sweeping curve. The instrument on which she played was a positive organ, the rank of pipes standing upon a wooden pedestal; the keyboard was supported by a scroll-shaped corbel, and the bellows rested on a shelf projecting to the rear.

The task of determining the traits of the lost composition from the several copies is made easier by the fact that Rubens's modello is still extant (Fig. 132). The following points, all correctly rendered in Müller's drawing (Fig. 128) and confirmed by the modello, may be particularly noted. The angel at the right was represented in a running posture so that both legs were visible, and his wing rose high above his shoulder. The flue pipes of the organ were shown as simple cylinders without holes. De Wit's reading of these passages is less accurate, as may be seen from his drawings in the British Museum and the Antwerp Print Room (Figs. 129, 130) as well as from the engraving after his design by Punt : in these copies the angel's right leg is omitted and his wing is set too low. De Wit has also sought to improve the organ pipes by adding the necessary holes but has unaccountably placed them at the top rather than at the bottom of the pipes.

This being so, it is at first puzzling to discover that the late drawing by De Wit in Count Seilern's album (Fig. 131) represents these same details quite accurately. The explanation is that while making this drawing the artist had before his eyes Rubens's modello (Fig. 132), which he had in the meantime acquired for his own collection.

Though his copies are unquestionably superior, Müller is not infallible; and in this scene there is one detail in which he is plainly in error. The little angel working the bellows ought to be shown (as in the versions

by De Wit) standing in a hollow in the clouds so that the left leg is concealed below the knee. Müller, on the other hand, mistakenly makes him kneel on the left knee, a posture which would only be acceptable if the left foot were also visible beneath him, which it is not. The same error is repeated in Preissler's undistinguished engraving.

In the Museum of Braunschweig there is a counterproof of a red chalk drawing of this subject by De Wit, not made however from that in the British Museum. The composition has been given an octagonal instead of an oval shape.

In the tilted, upturned face of the saint in the Jesuit ceiling there is perhaps a reminiscence of Raphael's *St. Cecilia* (K.d.K., *Raffael*, 109). But an even more explicit borrowing from this master may be seen in the angel who leans forward with hands held out to place a wreath on Cecilia's head. The motif occurs twice in Raphael's art: in one of the Hours dropping flowers in the Farnesina fresco of *The Wedding Feast of Cupid and Psyche* (*ibid.*, 156), and in the angel (likewise holding a bunch of flowers) in *The Holy Family of Francis I* in the Louvre (*ibid.*, 157). Rubens also had recourse to this Raphaelesque pose for the figure of Christ crowning the Virgin in another painting of the Jesuit cycle (see No. 18).

Rubens returned to the subject of this ceiling near the close of his life, when he painted the beautiful *St. Cecilia* in Berlin (K.d.K., 435). The meaning is the same: the music that Cecilia hears is not of this world but of the next.

24a. ST. CECILIA : GRISAILLE SKETCH

The grisaille sketch of this subject has been lost, but the following documentary notices may perhaps throw some light on its history.

(1) In the inventory of the art-dealer Herman de Neyt, drawn up in Antwerp in 1642, there is mentioned "Een schets oick van Rubens van Sint Cecilia gedootverft" (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 94). Although this cryptic description might refer to the modello (No. 24b), or to some other work altogether, the word "gedootverft" suggests a preliminary sketch without colour.

(2) In 1660 Hendrik van Halmale (1596-1679), burgomaster of Antwerp, drew up a declaration of works of art belonging to him which had

been destroyed in the uprising of 1659, when the burgomaster's house was pillaged by the mob. Among the works lost was listed a "St. Cecilia by Rubens in white and black" (A. Pinchart, *Archives des arts, sciences et lettres. Documents inédits*, 1ère série, II, Ghent, 1863, p. 187: "Sint Cecilie, van Rubbens, wit en swert"). If, as seems possible, this was the grisaille sketch for the Jesuit ceiling, then we must regard the piece as irretrievably lost.

24b. **ST. CECILIA : MODELLO** (Fig. 132)

Oil on panel; 27.7 : 42.7 cm.

Vienna, *Akademie der bildende Künste*. Inv. No. 635.

PROVENANCE : Jacob de Wit (1695-1754), sale, Amsterdam, 10 March 1755 et seqq., Schilderyen, lot 15 ("Cecilia op den Orgel spelende : een model van een blaffon uit de Jesuiten Kerk te Antwerpen"), purchased by De Groot; Anthoni and Stephanus de Groot, sale, The Hague, 20 March 1771, lot 9, purchased by Abelsz; Count Anton Lamberg-Sprinzenstein (1740-1822); donated by him to the Vienna Academy, 1821.

COPY : J. de Wit, drawing, London, Coll. Count Antoine Seilern.

LITERATURE : Rooses, I, p. 34, No. 24 bis; C. von Lützow, *Katalog der Gemäldegalerie der K.K. Akademie der bildenden Künste*, Vienna, 1889, pp. 235-6, No. 635; Frimmel, p. 161; K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg, p. 200; K.d.K., p. 207; *Akademie, Wien, Cat. Eigenberger*, pp. 337-8, pl. 81; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 26; *Akademie, Wien, Cat. 1961*, p. 37, No. 35.

Although painted as a rectangle, this charming sketch represents the final design for the *St. Cecilia* plafond; the adaptation to an oval frame is already indicated by the curved strokes at the corners. As always, Rubens made a few final adjustments in the composition before the execution of the large canvas (cf. Fig. 128). These changes mainly had to do with the organ, the foreshortening of which was made less abrupt than in the modello; at the same time the support beneath the keyboard was altered from a pair of lion-legs to a solid console of scroll-like form.

In keeping with the virginal purity of the martyr saint, the colouring of the modello is exceptionally light and delicate, the darkest tones being the brownish ochre of the organ and the shadows cast by it at the left.

Cecilia's pale yellow skirt and rose mantle are touched with gold highlights that match those in her blond hair, and a veil of gauze lies over her lilac blouse. A blue-grey tint fills the sky, and the silvery pipes of the organ are balanced by the grey-white drapery of the angel at the right.

Little is known of the early history of the panel. The mention of "een schets van Sint Cecilia gedootverft" in the inventory of Herman de Neyt (Antwerp 1642) seems to refer to a grisaille rather than a coloured sketch (see No. 24a), but this is of course by no means certain, and the possibility should not be excluded that De Neyt's sketch was in fact the modello now in the Vienna Academy. We do however possess one authentic record of the modello in the seventeenth century. Biset's painting of 1666, representing the picture gallery of an unknown collector, includes the Vienna panel among the eight sketches for the Jesuit cycle set in the ceiling (Fig. 203). The *St. Cecilia* sketch, which is mounted like the others in an octagonal frame, is seen at the extreme left in the upper row.

In the eighteenth century the panel came into the possession of the painter Jacob de Wit, who copied it faithfully in the watercolour drawing now in the collection of Count Seilern (Fig. 131). It will be observed that the console of the organ is exactly similar to that in the modello; in his earlier drawings of this subjects (see Figs. 129, 130) De Wit reproduced the scroll-shaped form seen in the large ceiling painting.

25. ST. GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS

Oil on canvas; approximately 3 : 4.2 m. (octagonal).

Formerly in the north aisle of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPIES : C.B. Müller, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 73, No. 26); J.J. Preissler, engraving (V.S., p. 213, 11); J. de Wit, drawing, London, British Museum (*Hind*, IV, p. 178, 5); J. de Wit, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 70, No. 20); J. de Wit, drawing, London, Collection Count Antoine Seilern; J. Punt, engraving (V.S., p. 212, 10, No. 25).

LITERATURE : *Klaegende-Dicht*, p. 6; *Description de l'ineestimable perte*, p. 8; *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, pp. 296-7; *Rooses*, I, pp. 34-5, No. 25.

The original list of titles shows this subject as No. 6 : "Sanctus Gregorius Nasiansenus".

St. Gregory, an impressive bearded figure in episcopal vestments, appeared striding vigorously over the clouds. Stretching out his left hand to maintain his balance and raising his crosier in his right, he thrust it into the snarling face of a demon who, recoiling before his attack, toppled backwards and seemed about to fall out of the picture. The saint was clad in alb and chasuble over which hung a pallium decorated with crosses, and he wore on his head a mitre with lappets. Gregory's garments swelled out to imposing dimensions as he lunged ahead, his right foot projecting over a hummock of cloud. The winged, fire-breathing demon was of monstrous shape, having a human torso and arms, but with the tail and legs of a lion, long claws, and a bestial, catlike face. Reeling back with his body twisted and his legs spread far apart, he threw up one arm to protect himself against St. Gregory's onslaught. A little angel flew over the bishop's right shoulder, triumphantly holding a long banderole.

The copyists show a number of differences in their recording of the lost painting. The drawing by C. B. Müller (Fig. 135), though perhaps not entirely without faults, is nevertheless remarkably accurate, as may be verified by comparing it to Rubens's modello (Fig. 134). Müller's close observation of the lights and shades of the original is particularly helpful in this subject. He makes it clear, for example, that Gregory's right arm is twisted *beneath* the staff, which accordingly casts its shadow on his sleeve. Another such shadow falls across the demon's shoulder. Similarly, the end of the scroll carried by the angel throws a patch of shade on his right shoulder as it trails in the air behind him; and the saint's mitre is almost wholly overshadowed by the body of the angel. Another detail correctly perceived by Müller is that the demon holds his clenched right fist with the palm turned towards him. The name of J. J. Preissler is written in pencil in the lower right corner of the sheet.

Preissler attempted to reproduce Müller's drawing in his engraving (Fig. 136), but misunderstood certain details. The angel's scroll passes behind his head instead of in front of it; the demon has been given a dog's head with twisted horns, and his left thumb with its sharp talon has been omitted.

The drawings by Jacob de Wit (cf. Fig. 137) and the engraving by

Jan Punt contain several noticeable errors. Gregory's right arm is placed in a conventional position which drains the figure of all its force and tension; the demon has a human face, and his right hand is turned the wrong way, with the palm out; the angel is even made to grasp the crook of the saint's crosier. De Wit corrected this last blunder in the Seilern watercolour but introduced another error by showing the angel's left leg as hanging vertically beside the saint (Fig. 138).

The theme of the *St. Gregory Nazianzenus* plafond is fundamentally the same as that of *St. Athanasius* (No. 19) : a bishop attacks an evil figure with his crosier while an angel displays a scroll in token of his victory. But since for Rubens certain poses carried quite specific meanings, we shall not be surprised to discover that the motif of the vanquished demon occurs in other works by the master. A close parallel may be found in the opening scene of the Jesuit cycle, showing *St. Michael overcoming Satan* (No. 1), where the fallen angel in the lower left corner appears in an identical attitude, except that his right arm is not raised. The demon is also to be seen in the Munich *Fall of the Rebel Angels* (K.d.K., 241) and as the personification of Sin in *The Crucifixion* showing Christ victorious over Sin and Death, which was engraved by Pontius (V.S., p. 44, No. 295; repr. in *Rooses*, II, pl. 102). In both of these examples the demon's right arm is lifted in a defensive gesture like that in the ceiling painting of *Gregory of Nazianzus*.

25a. **ST. GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS : DRAWING** (Fig. 133)

Black chalk, with traces of white; 411 : 476 mm.

New York, Collection of Clarence L. Hay.

PROVENANCE : Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769-1830); Samuel Woodburn (1786-1853), sale, London, 7 June 1860, lot 804 ("St. Dunstan repulsing Satan - black chalk. Very spirited"); Robert P. Roupell (1798-1886), sale, London, 12 July 1887 et seqq., lot 1119 ("The Legend of St. Dunstan. From Sir T. Lawrence's Collection"); John Hay (1838-1905).

EXHIBITED : *Cambridge-New York*, 1956, No. 20; *New York, Knoedler & Co.*, 1959, *Great Masters of Seven Centuries*, No. 43.

LITERATURE : *Held*, p. 113, No. 47, pl. 49; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, p. 223.

This splendid drawing, once believed to represent the tenth-century English archbishop, St. Dunstan, was identified by Held as a preliminary study for *St. Gregory of Nazianzus*. It is one of two surviving chalk drawings for the Jesuit ceilings, the other being the sheet with *St. Athanasius* in Leningrad (Fig. 108).

After some revisions, Rubens has brought the figure of St. Gregory almost to the final stage. His initial indecision regarding the stance is reflected in the densely worked area covering the feet and legs. The left foot, here shown firmly planted on a horizontal surface, will later be concealed behind the clouds. The long curving strokes which sweep over the figure were not intended simply to create an impression of swirling movement, but in fact represent the definitive contours of the saint's vestments.

The demon into whose mouth St. Gregory plunges his staff is not the one seen in the completed work, but a muscular athlete whose animal's tail and Satanic features alone identify him as an evil spirit. The saint is aided in his struggle by a vigorous angel who descends from the upper left to seize the devil by the hair. Grasping a snake in one hand and clutching at St. Gregory's chasuble with the other, the luckless demon twists his body sharply and endeavours to regain his balance by digging his toes into the clouds. For the little angel holding a scroll over the bishop's head Rubens has provided two bodies, one lying to the right and the other to the left, the head and arms remaining unchanged. Lurking inconspicuously at the lower left is a second demon who in the ultimate conception of the scene will replace the first as the object of Gregory's attack. Faint indications of an architectural setting suggest that the action takes place on a platform before a columned building with a fountain at the right side and a balustrade extending to the left.

It is not clear why Rubens later rejected the first demon and replaced him by the second figure seen below. Perhaps, as Held has suggested, he did so because he had already included a similar demon with his tail between his legs in the great altarpiece of *The Miracles of St. Ignatius of Loyola*, now in Vienna but then in the Jesuit Church (Fig. 4). The figure is, in any event, a recurrent one in subjects of an apocalyptic nature: Rubens had already made use of it in *The Great Last Judgment* in Munich (K.d.K., 118), where the demon appears in an inverted position, and in

The Fall of the Damned, likewise in Munich (K.d.K., 194). A variant of the pose may be seen in the oil sketch for the Whitehall ceiling representing *Wisdom expelling War and Discord from the Throne of James I* (Brussels, Museum; K.d.K., 337), in which the prostrate form of Discord, though viewed from a different angle, adopts the same gestures as the demon in the Hay drawing and even clutches a serpent in his right hand.

The angel who flies down to grasp the devil's hair is a familiar type of heavenly intervention (see Held, p. 136, under No. 102). It may suffice here to point to the Archangel Michael in *The Fall of the Rebel Angels* for the Jesuit cycle (No. 1), whose pose is strikingly similar. Eventually, as the composition approached its definitive form, the angel was deleted. His removal, in turn, made it possible to reverse the position of the putto flying overhead, whose body and legs, if allowed to remain on the right side, would have been obscured by the crook of Gregory's staff; the drawing shows that provision has already been made for the new position on the left. For the head and arm of this cherub Rubens availed himself of the little angel who holds up the mantle of St. Athanasius in the drawing for that ceiling painting (Fig. 108).

25b. **ST. GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS : MODELLO** (Fig. 134)

Oil on panel; 50 : 65 cm.

Buffalo, Albright-Knox Art Gallery.

PROVENANCE : Burtin, Brussels; purchased from him in 1801 with four other sketches for the Jesuit ceiling by Duke Ernst II of Gotha-Altenburg; Herzogliches Museum, Gotha; E. & A. Silberman Galleries, New York.

EXHIBITED : Brussels, 1910, No. 363; Brussels, 1937, No. 68; Rotterdam, 1953-54, No. 27 (repr.); New York, E. & A. Silberman Galleries, 1955, No. 18 (repr.); Cambridge-New York, 1956, No. 31 (repr.); Brussels, 1965, No. 221 (repr.).

LITERATURE : Rooses, I, p. 35, No. 25 bis; Gotha, *Cat. Aldenhoven*, p. 9, No. 36; K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg, p. 200; *Trésor de l'art belge au XVIII^e siècle*, Brussels, 1912, p. 51, pl. 15; K.d.K., p. 207; Van Puyvelde, *Esquisses*, p. 26; M. Jaffé, in *Gallery Notes, Albright Art Gallery*, xvii, Nos. 2-3, 1953, pp. 2-6; Idem, in *Art News*, May 1953, pp. 34, 36, 64; Held, I, p. 113, under No. 47, fig. 52; Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, p. 223, under No. 142.

One would hardly suspect, from the spontaneity and *brio* of this sketch, that it was not dashed off in a sudden burst of inspiration. Yet we know that it was preceded by a preliminary chalk drawing and that the uncertainties still apparent in that drawing have here been rationally analysed and resolved. The grisaille sketch, which may have illustrated an intermediate stage in the evolution of the design, is unfortunately not extant, nor do we find references to it in sale catalogues or inventories.

The demon clutching at the saint's garment has been eliminated, and his place taken by a fire-breathing monster whose feline head is crowned by a cock's comb. Another important change, already predicted in the drawing, is the suppression of the large angel and the shifting of the body and legs of the putto to the left of the bishop's head. The fountain and the hints of an architectural setting have likewise been done away with, and the scene translated to a celestial environment. A *pentimento* beside Gregory's left hand indicates that Rubens has lengthened the outstretched arm even more than in the drawing.

In order to adapt the rectangular composition to an octagonal form Rubens found it necessary in the large ceiling canvas to contract the devil's left arm and leg (cf. Fig. 135); his wings, which are only sketchily indicated in the modello, were changed into feathered pinions. In every other respect the full-scale painting faithfully reproduced the features of the oil sketch in Buffalo.

The modello is for the most part thinly painted in brownish tones, only the central area being worked up in colour. The saint wears a white chasuble tinged with blue-grey and bordered with gold; blue tints are also visible on the right sleeve and on the skirt of the alb, as well as on the rim of the clouds. The mitre and crosier are gold. The hazy blue of the sky, which may conceal some revisions, is limited to the part immediately surrounding St. Gregory. The scroll carried by the putto bears the inscription *S. Gregorius Nazianzenus*. In the upper left corner appears the numeral 13.

It has been pointed out by Haverkamp Begemann (1953, p. 56, under No. 27) that the sketch sold at Amsterdam on 9 December 1930 (lot 21) is not another version of this modello, as was assumed by *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses* (p. 26), but the modello for *St. Gregory the Great* now in the Seilern Collection (Fig. 184).

26. ST. CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA

Oil on canvas; approximately 3 : 4.2 m. (oval).

Formerly in the north aisle of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPIES : C.B. Müller drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 74, No. 32); J.J. Preissler, engraving; J. de Wit, London, British Museum (*Hind*, IV, p. 178, 5); J. de Wit, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 71, No. 29); J. de Wit, drawing, London, Collection Count Antoine Seilern; J. Punt, engraving (*V.S.*, p. 212, 10, No. 26).

LITERATURE : *Klaegende-Dicht*, p. 6; *Description de l'ineestimable perte*, p. 8; *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, p. 297; *Rooses*, I, pp. 35-6, No. 26.

"Sancta Catharina" is listed as No. 32 in the original catalogue of subjects.

The anonymous author of the *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen* mistakenly identifies the martyr as St. Barbara, believing the prostrate male figure to be the wicked father of that saint. The versified account contained in the *Description de l'ineestimable perte* correctly names her as Catherine, but says that she was pictured "confondant les payens par sa haute Doctrine". The only accurate description of the subject is that in the so-called *Klaegende-Dicht*, where we read that St. Catherina appeared as "victor over the tyrant, wheel and sword".

The saint stood in the centre of the oval picture with her sandaled right foot placed upon the body of her oppressor, the Emperor Maximin. Her right hand lightly grasped the hilt of a long sword, the point of which appeared to rest on the tyrant's armour, and in the other she held close to her a slender palm-branch, the decorative curve of which was matched by the rippling veil that encircled her head. Turning her face somewhat to one side, she looked down abstractedly, as if lost in meditation. The voluminous mantle that hung over her left arm was gathered round her waist in large, sweeping folds and held in place by the fingers of the hand carrying the palm. Maximin, who wore Roman armour, lay upon his back on the ground, his mantle rumpled beneath him and his bearded face looking up at the triumphant martyr. The tyrant appeared

to be struggling to rise to his feet. One knee was bent and the other leg lay across a broken segment of the toothed wheel on which he had tried to put her to death; his right fist was tightly clenched, and he pushed against the saint's leg with his left hand as if to dislodge her foot from his body.

The copies after the painting (Figs. 139-142) agree with one another in all important respects. To these may be added Rubens's etching of *St. Catherine* (Fig. 143), which not only affords further evidence for the appearance of the principal figure, but also serves to show that the intricate pattern of the martyr's drapery is reproduced with surprising accuracy in Müller's drawing (Fig. 139). The engraving by Preissler (Fig. 140), omitted through an oversight from the catalogue by Voorhelm Schneevogt, gives a tolerable rendering of the Müller drawing. In the copies by Jacob de Wit (e.g. Figs. 141, 142) the tyrant's foot does not extend over the broken wheel, which moreover has five teeth instead of the four shown by Müller.

Some ten years earlier, in 1610-11, Rubens had painted a *St. Catherine* with sword and palm on the outside of the right wing of the altarpiece of *The Raising of the Cross*, now in the Cathedral of Antwerp (*Glück*, 1933, p. 72, fig. 43). It was to this conception that he reverted for the *Catherine* of the Jesuit ceiling, retaining the original pose and attributes, but altering the point of view and whirling the draperies into excited movement. The oil sketch for the wing with *St. Catherine and St. Eligius* is in the Dulwich Gallery (*Catalogue, exhibition Rotterdam, 1953-54*, No. 9, pl. 10); no doubt it was kept in Rubens's studio to be available for just such purposes as this. Another adaptation of the same figure is to be seen in the engraving of *St. Catherine* by Schelte à Bolswert (*Rooses*, II, No. 402, pl. 140).

The motif of a victorious figure standing with his foot on a vanquished opponent is a traditional one adopted by Rubens for both sacred and profane subjects; *St. Norbert overcoming Tanchelm*, in the collection of Curtis Baer, New York (*Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, No. 50), and the *Hero crowned by Virtue* in Munich (*K.d.K.*, 56) are among the examples that come to mind. In choosing to represent *St. Catherine* in this way Rubens may also have been following an iconographic type established in early Flemish art: *Catherine* may be seen standing in triumph over

the prostrate Maximin in a painting by the Master of the St. Lucy Legend in the Johnson Collection, Philadelphia (M. J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, Berlin, VI, No. 157, pl. LXVI).

26a. **ST. CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA : GRISAILLE SKETCH**

Oil on panel; approximately 15 : 21 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

In the second sale of works belonging to the painter Charles Spruyt (Ghent, 3 October 1815 et seqq.), lot 126 was described as "Le martyre de Ste Barbe et celui de Ste Cathérine. Esquisses en grisaille. h. 8, l. 5 1/2 p. [21.65 x 14.88 cm.]" (The measurements of height and width are plainly reversed.) The *St. Barbara* grisaille panel is now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford (Fig. 163), but there has been no further word concerning the *St. Catherine*.

Like the other grisaille sketches owned by Spruyt these two panels probably came from the collections of Maximilien de Hase (sale, Brussels, 10 June 1782 et seqq.) and of Comte de Cuyper de Reymenam (sale, Brussels, 27 April 1802).

26b. **ST. CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA : MODELLO**

ENGRAVING : Rubens, etching (V.S., p. 114, No. 35).

In the inventory of the effects of the Antwerp art-dealer Herman de Neyt, deceased (15-21 October 1642), there is listed "Een schets van Sint Catlyn die onthalt wort, naer Rubbens" (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 99). Since De Neyt's collection included a number of sketches for the Jesuit cycle (see Nos. 11a, 15a, 16b, 24a, 28a, 39b and 40 [I] a), there is every reason to suppose that the sketch in question was the modello for the ceiling painting of *St. Catherine of Alexandria*.

Although the modello is lost, some idea of its appearance may be formed from the famous etching of *St. Catherine* signed "P. Paul. Rubens fecit", in which the composition is reversed. In order to show the figure

in the original sense, we reproduce here the counterproof, with corrections in sepia by the artist, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Fig. 143). In spite of its striking resemblance to the saint in the ceiling painting (cf. Fig. 139) the etching must have been made, not from the large canvas installed in the church, but from the modello which Rubens kept in his studio and which, two years after his death, was listed in the De Neyt inventory. This, it will be remembered, was the procedure followed in the case of Jegher's woodcuts of *The Temptation* (No. 6) and *The Coronation of the Virgin* (No. 18). Critical opinion is not unanimous concerning the authorship of the print; but whether Rubens personally executed the etching, or whether it was carried out by a disciple under his guidance, is for our present purpose immaterial.

In adapting the oblong composition of the modello to the upright rectangle of the etching, Rubens suppressed the body of Maximin and caused Catherine's foot to rest instead on the broken wheel, the shape of which nicely matches that of the tyrant's rounded armour; thickened drapery folds along the saint's right ankle mark the spot which in the oil sketch (as in the ceiling) was filled by the emperor's hand. Banks of clouds complete the transition from solid ground to heaven. Everything is in movement, the animated draperies carrying the eye upward in a swiftly ascending spiral. Despite its small scale, the etching succeeds in conveying something of the Baroque sweep and emotional energy of the large canvas.

27. ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM

Oil on canvas; approximately 3 : 4.2 m. (octagonal).

Formerly in the north aisle of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPIES : C.B. Müller, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 74, No. 29); J.J. Preissler, engraving (V.S., p. 213, 11); J. de Wit, drawing, London, British Museum (*Hind*, IV, p. 178, 5); J. de Wit, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 70, No. 23); J. de Wit, drawing, London, Collection Count Antoine Seilern; J. Punt, engraving (V.S., p. 212, 10, No. 27).

LITERATURE : *Klaegende-Dicht* p. 6; *Description de l'ineſtimable perte*, p. 8; *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, pp. 298-9; *Rooses*, I, p. 36, No. 27.

"Sanctus Chrysosthymus" [*sic*] is listed as No. 8 in the original catalogue of subjects.

The painting occupied the westernmost bay of the north aisle. Owing to its position directly against the front wall of the church it could only have been viewed from directly below. The author of the *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen* says that for this reason the foreshortening was especially pronounced; but in fact the copies do not suggest an unusually steep angle of sight. The tilted position of the statue may have given the impression that the entire scene was equally foreshortened.

Beneath a canopy at the left side could be seen the bishop's throne, which had been set up at the head of a broad flight of steps intended to represent the entrance to the church of Hagia Sophia. Rising angrily from his chair St. John Chrysostom strode forward, his right hand upraised in a gesture of denunciation and his vestments sweeping round him; his head was tilted back sharply so that the mitre was almost horizontal, and he grasped the crosier firmly in his left hand. The saint was attended by a tonsured deacon, who stood so close to him upon the steps that he was partly covered by the bishop's mantle; this figure wore a white surplice over a long tunic, and on his back appeared a Greek cross within a medallion. At the right side five burly workmen, obedient to St. Chrysostom's command, were busy toppling the silver statue of the Empress Eudocia from its base. Three men in the foreground had prized crowbars beneath the sculptured effigy, while on the far side two others were pulling at the ropes which had been fastened to it. The empress's statue was crowned by a diadem and the arms were already broken; on the pedestal beneath it could be made out several letters of the name Eudocia.

In view of the complexity of the subject it is only to be expected that the copies should reveal a number of minor discrepancies. Taking the drawing by Müller (Fig. 144) as authoritative, we may point out the following details, all of which are differently represented by De Wit (Figs. 146, 147) : St. Chrysostom's mantle was of a solid colour, without an embroidered pattern; the deacon turned his head to look at the statue,

not at the workmen; the receding edge of the moulding of the pedestal was rendered as a vertical, not as a diagonal; and the half-nude man in the foreground took hold of the rod in such a way that the backs of both hands were uppermost. Preissler's engraving (Fig. 145), having been copied from Müller, reproduces most of these details adequately, but reverses the left hand of the last-named figure. De Wit's drawings introduce several arbitrary changes, notably in the shape of the saint's mitre, the ornamentation of his vestment, and in the attitude of the deacon. The Dutch artist seems to have been particularly uncertain about the second of the two men tugging at the ropes in the background: in the British Museum drawing (Fig. 146) and in Punt's engraving the fellow in question is not even present; rather surprisingly, however, he does make an appearance in the considerably later watercolours in the Antwerp Print Cabinet (Fig. 147) and in the Seilern album. This can only mean, I think, that De Wit corrected his earlier renderings of the subject after seeing Preissler's engraving (Fig. 145).

A counterproof of a red chalk drawing of this subject by De Wit, from the collection of René della Faille, was purchased at Amsterdam on 6 July 1927 (lot 343) by the late Ludwig Burchard. Another such counterproof was acquired by the Antwerp Print Room from the collection of Joseph Linnig (*Rooses*, I, p. 51).

For the militant figure of Chrysostom, who springs forward with one arm raised so as to create a continuous diagonal leading from the right foot to the right hand, Rubens employed a pose derived from the so-called *Borghese Warrior*, now in the Louvre in Paris. Another example of this attitude is to be seen in the personification of Horror in *The Conclusion of Peace* from the Medici Cycle in Paris (*K.d.K.*, 261), where the derivation from the antique statue is not obscured, as it is in the *St. Chrysostom*, by heavy drapery enveloping the figure. This is not the only classical reference in the ceiling painting. The writer of the *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen* observed that the statue of Eudocia resembled "een antieck romeyns beeld". And indeed it seems clear that the image of the empress, her head adorned with a diadem and a veil and the arms broken, was based on an antique marble statue, probably of Juno. Unfortunately it is not possible to determine from the copies after the painting whether Rubens had a particular statue in mind. We may take

note, finally, of the relationship between the powerful torso of the man in the foreground and the slave carrying gifts in *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba* (No. 3).

There are no records either of the grisaille sketch or of the modello for this subject.

The South Aisle

The nine paintings of the south aisle, like those of the north, were alternately octagonal and oval in shape. The sequence began at the east end, at the altar of St. Joseph (cf. Fig. C).

28. ST. JEROME

Oil on canvas; approximately 3 : 4.2 m. (octagonal).

Formerly in the south aisle of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPIES : C.B. Müller, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 73, No. 25); J. de Wit, drawing, London, British Museum (*Hind*, IV, p. 178, 5); J. de Wit, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 70, No. 24); J. de Wit, drawing, London, Coll. Count Antoine Seilern; J. Punt, engraving (*V.S.*, p. 212, 10, No. 28).

LITERATURE : *Klaegende-Dicht*, p. 5; *Description de l'ineestimable perte*, p. 8; *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, pp. 299-300; *Rooses*, I, p. 36, No. 28.

The subject is included in the original catalogue of 1620 as No. 22 : "Sanctus Hieronymus". In the actual scheme of decoration it was assigned to the easternmost bay of the south aisle.

St. Jerome, who was nude to the waist, sat among the clouds and twisted his head round to behold the heavenly light that shone down upon him from the upper right. The saint's ascetic poverty was indicated not only by his nakedness but by his unkempt white hair and beard. His lower limbs were wrapped in a red mantle, one end of which was folded beneath him and emerged near his left shoulder. His left hand lay upon an open book supported by a little pillar of cloud; the right was held out em-

phatically on the opposite side, where an infant angel threw back his head to blow a trumpet to which was fastened a fluttering banner. Jerome sat with his left foot propped against a mound; the other foot rested upon the head of a lion, who lay across the clouds with his eyes closed as if asleep and on whose back the little angel seemed also to be seated.

The dependability of Müller's copy after the lost plafond (Fig. 148), especially with respect to the spacing of the figures and the delineation of drapery folds, is established beyond question by Rubens's modello for this subject (Fig. 152). De Wit's copies, on the other hand, though iconographically correct, alter the compositional structure of the scene (Figs. 149-151). The most conspicuous fault in the versions by De Wit, amongst which we must include the print by Jan Punt, is that the lion is shown with his eyes open. (That they were closed is corroborated by the writer of the *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, who says that the lion lay "als slaepende".)

The attitude of St. Jerome, who sits with his knees spread wide apart and his head turned towards the upper right, is prefigured in *The Triumph of the Victor* of about 1614 in the Gallery at Cassel (K.d.K., 57). Many years later Rubens used a more foreshortened version of the same pose for the seated monarch in *The Apotheosis of James I* on the Whitehall ceiling, the modello for which is in the Hermitage, Leningrad (K.d.K., 332). Jerome's casual way of placing his foot on the lion's head may also make us think of the scene in the Medici Cycle representing *The Marriage of Henry IV and Marie* (K.d.K., 249), in which Henry, playing the part of Jupiter in the heavens, rests his leg on the wing of the eagle. As to the lion, he resembles the beast lying with eyes closed near the feet of Daniel in the painting of *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, now in the National Gallery at Washington (Rooses, I, No. 130). No doubt Rubens made use of the same drawing from the life that had served him in that canvas.

28a ST. JEROME : MODELLO (Fig. 152)

Oil on panel; 30 : 45.5 cm.

Vienna, Akademie der bildenden Künste. Inv. No. 636.

PROVENANCE : The art-dealer Herman de Neyt, inventory, Antwerp, 15-21 October 1642 (*Demucé, Konstkamers*, p. 99 : "Eenen Sint Jeronimus, wesende een schets naer Rubbens"); Joseph Sansot, sale, Brussels, 20 July 1739, lot 26 ("un esquisse bien coloré de Rubbens, representant Saint Jérôme enlevé au Ciel avec 2 Anges"); Jacques de Roore (1686-1747), sale, The Hague, 4 September 1747 et seqq., lot 39; Anthoni and Stephanus de Groot, sale, The Hague, 20 March 1771, lot 1, sold to Abelsz; Count Anton Lamberg-Sprinzenstein (1740-1822), who in 1821 presented the work to the Vienna Academy.

EXHIBITED : *Zurich*, 1946-47, No. 364.

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, I, p. 37, No. 28 bis; *Frimmel*, p. 161; *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg*, p. 201; *K.d.K.*, p. 209; *Akademie, Wien, Cat. Eigenberger*, pp. 338-9, pl. 80; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 27; *Akademie, Wien, Cat.* 1961, p. 37, No. 36.

Although the resemblance to the definitive composition is undeniably very close, it will be observed that the modello differs in two respects from the large ceiling canvas (cf. Fig. 148). The first has to do with the portrayal of the saint, and the second with the way the book is supported. St. Jerome appears in the sketch as a man of emaciated physique, his face wizened and his mouth gaping in astonishment. Perhaps this interpretation was objected to by the Jesuit fathers, for in the final conception the saint was given a more robust build and his facial expression was made more composed. It was also Rubens's first idea, as we learn from the modello, that Jerome's book should be held up by a little wingless angel, whose pose, it might be noted in passing, has some analogy to that of the angel in *The Sacrifice of Isaac* (No. 11). But this putto had to be sacrificed in order that the composition might be adapted to an octagonal shape, and in the completed canvas the book was shown resting on the clouds.

The vermilion hue of Jerome's mantle strikes a brilliant note amid the generally subdued colours of this panel, where browns and tawny yellows predominate. No less effective is the contrast between the slack, leathery skin of the old man and the pink freshness of the angel trumpeter, whose fluttering banner is a pale lemon hue.

As a rule, little is known about the early history of the sketches for the Jesuit cycle. It is therefore the more remarkable that we are twice

given a glimpse of the *St. Jerome* modello in the seventeenth century. In 1642 we find it listed among the effects of the art-dealer Herman de Neyt. Some twenty-four years later it appears with seven other sketches in Biset's *Picture Gallery* of 1666 (Fig. 203), where it may be identified as the second from the right in the upper row of pictures on the ceiling.

29. THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. LUCY

Oil on canvas; approximately 3 : 4.2 m. (oval).

Formerly in the south aisle of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPIES: C.B. Müller, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 74, No. 35); J. de Wit, drawing, London, British Museum (*Hind*, IV, p. 178, 5); J. de Wit, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 71, No. 28); J. de Wit, drawing, London, Collection Count Antoine Seilern; J. Punt, engraving (*V.S.*, p. 213, 10, No. 29).

LITERATURE: *Klaegende-Dicht*, p. 5; *Description de l'ineestimable perte*, p. 8; *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, pp. 300-301; *Roses*, I, p. 37, No. 29.

The subject is specified in the original list (No. 30) as: "Sancta Lucia cum Sancta Agatha illi apparente".

St. Lucy was represented falling backwards as the assassin delivered the death-blow. The martyr was tied to a tree, and smoke and flames rose up from the burning branches piled at her feet. Her hands were bound behind her and her dress had been pulled down to expose her neck and shoulders. The ropes which fastened her to the tree could be seen wound about the trunk just above her head. The executioner, clutching the empty scabbard in his left hand and advancing towards the observer, twisted his body to the side and drove his sword with a furious lunge into her throat. He wore a loose sleeveless shirt fastened at the shoulder, and a cloth was tied round his head. Out of the smoke at the left side appeared the ghostlike form of St. Agatha, bearing a palm-branch in her right hand and holding the other over the dying face of Lucy. Rays of light shone down upon the martyr from the upper left. The *Beschryvinge*

van de Schilderyen says that "some armed men" were visible through the smoke behind the executioner, but this is an error.

The drawing by Müller (Fig. 154) and the modello by Rubens himself (Fig. 153) together offer the best evidence for the appearance of the lost plafond. Among the details scrupulously copied by Müller are the following: the executioner's face is turned away so that his features are hidden, and his sword appears in its broadest aspect, the guard being exactly perpendicular to the blade; Lucy's face is tilted back so as to be almost horizontal, and her foot can be seen beneath her long skirt. De Wit, who had a much hazier idea of the painting, introduced several features of his own invention (cf. Fig. 155), duly imitated in the engraving by Punt (Fig. 157): the guard of the sword is turned nearly parallel to the ground, the saint's head is not forced back so sharply, her dress is rolled down to uncover her breast, and her foot is not visible. But the most serious error concerns St. Agatha, whom the Dutch copyist interpreted as an angel because he assumed that the cloud of smoke near her shoulder represented a feathered wing. De Wit subsequently became aware of his mistake, for the wing does not appear in the latest of his copies, the Seilern watercolour (Fig. 156), although even here St. Agatha has been made too large and the arrangement of her drapery misunderstood.

The effect of the full-scale painting must have been overwhelming. For all their violence, the actions of the figures have been studied with great care. The executioner does not lunge directly at St. Lucy, but makes his thrust from the side in order to avoid the searing heat of the flames which have left her untouched. Figures of this sort, filled with tense energy, are frequent in works painted by Rubens during the first years after his return to Antwerp: indeed the essentials of the pose are already apparent in the oil sketch of *The Capture of Samson*, datable about 1609-10, in the Art Institute in Chicago (*Goris-Held*, p. 31, No. 38, pl. 43). The pathetic posture of the saint, her hands tied behind her and her body bent backwards by the force of the assassin's blow, is taken from a pen and ink drawing by Rubens in the Boymans Museum, Rotterdam, representing the stoning of a martyr (*Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, No. 88). The victim in the drawing, whose hands are similarly bound, is pulled back by the hair in an attitude that the artist found readily adaptable to the stabbing of St. Lucy.

29a. THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. LUCY : GRISAILLE SKETCH

Oil on panel; approximately 15 : 20 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

In the sale of the collection of the picture-dealer Thomas Loridon de Ghellinck (Ghent, 3 September 1821 et seqq., lot 215), there appeared, among other grisaille sketches by Rubens for the Jesuit ceiling, a panel said to represent the Martyrdom of St. Agnes ("Martyre de Ste. Agnès; esquisse peinte en grisaille, pour plafond. Bois, haut. 5 1/2, larg. 7 1/2 pouces [14.88 x 20.30 cm.]). St. Agnes was not represented in the Jesuit cycle, nor does her name occur in the preliminary list of subjects. We may be quite certain that the identification is wrong and that the sketch really represented *The Martyrdom of St. Lucy*.

The mistake can easily be understood. For the legend of St. Agnes relates that she was thrown into a fire but was unharmed by the flames, whereupon a soldier drew his sword and struck off her head. The similarity to the death of St. Lucy is such that the two saints are often confused : as a case in point we may cite a copy in Bergamo of the modello of *St. Lucy* (No. 29b), which has likewise been wrongly identified as a St. Agnes.

Unfortunately the grisaille sketch of *The Martyrdom of St. Lucy* can no longer be traced. For the other sketches belonging to Loridon de Ghellinck, see Nos. 31a, 35a and 40 (II) a.

29b. THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. LUCY : MODELLO (Fig. 153)

Oil on panel; 30.5 : 46 cm.

Quimper, Musée des Beaux-Arts.

PROVENANCE : Collection Comte de Silgay, who bequeathed the work to the Museum of Quimper in 1862.

EXHIBITED : *Brussels*, 1937, No. 69; *Helsinki*, 1952-53, No. 11 (repr.); *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No. 32; *Brussels*, 1965, No. 222 (repr.).

LITERATURE : *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, pp. 27, 75-6, No. 37; F. Baudouin, in *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts*, II, 1953, p. 50.

St. Lucy is dressed in white and pale blue, these delicate colours being intended, as in the modello of *St. Cecilia* (Fig. 132), to symbolize the chaste purity of the martyr. A soft rose tint flickers over St. Agatha's garment. The dark brown paint which covers the four corners of the panel is a later addition.

When he had finished the modello, Rubens must have felt that there was little he could do to improve upon it. In the large ceiling canvas (cf. Fig. 154) he shifted the composition somewhat to the left, thereby avoiding the static effect of a purely symmetrical balance and bringing the executioner entirely within the field of the picture. The drama of the scene was also heightened by the addition of flames along the right edge of the saint's garment.

The modello is one of the eight oil sketches for the Jesuit cycle represented in Biset's painting of a *Picture Gallery* (Fig. 203). In the *St. Lucy* panel, which may be seen on the ceiling at the extreme left in the lower row, the copyist has made the mistake of inserting a cherub between St. Agatha and the martyr, a gratuitous addition comparable to the second ladder that appears in his rendering of *The Raising of the Cross*.

There is a good early copy of Rubens's modello in the Accademia Carrara at Bergamo; it measures 29 x 43 cm. and is described in the catalogue of 1930 (No. 484) as "The Martyrdom of St. Agnes".

30. ST. AUGUSTINE

Oil on canvas; approximately 3 : 4.2 m. (octagonal).

Formerly in the south aisle of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPIES : C.B. Müller, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 73, No. 24); J. de Wit, drawing, London, British Museum (*Hind*, IV, p. 178, 5); J. de Wit, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 70, No. 19); J. de Wit, drawing, London, Collection Count Antoine Seilern; J. Punt, engraving (*V.S.*, p. 213, 10, No. 30).

LITERATURE : *Klaegende-Dicht*, p. 5; *Description de l'ineestimable perte*, p. 8; *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, p. 301; *Rooses*, I, p. 37, No. 30.

"Sanctus Augustinus" is No. 24 in the preliminary list of subjects for the Jesuit cycle.

The Bishop of Hippo was shown kneeling on the clouds, his body seen in three-quarter view from the back and his face and eyes directed towards the upper right. In his outstretched right hand he held up to heaven a heart pierced by an arrow; the other hand was raised with the palm open near the left shoulder. Over his white surplice St. Augustine wore a cope with a floral pattern worked in brocade on its surface and a tasselled hood decorated with a likeness of Christ or one of the saints. The bishop's hair and beard were black. Flying on either side of him were two cherubs whose task it was to support the heavy folds of his vestment. A third little angel sat upon the clouds in the lower right corner, mischievously trying on the saint's mitre and putting one leg over the staff of the crosier. A long curling scroll and a leather-bound book lay in the foreground.

In order to visualize the original it will be necessary, since the copyists do not agree on every point, to refer also to Rubens's modello for this subject (Fig. 162), which luckily has been preserved. Considered merely as a transcription of the design, Müller's drawing (Fig. 158), with its close attention to the spacing of solids and voids and to the disposition of light and shadow, is obviously superior. Müller has observed, for example, that the soles of the saint's shoes are not set at an obtuse angle (as in the versions by De Wit) but lie roughly parallel, the toes of both feet pointing towards the lower right. He is nevertheless guilty of two omissions: for he has overlooked both the embroidered figure on the saint's hood and the book lying near the scroll in the foreground. These details are rightly included in the drawing, by De Wit (cf. Figs. 159, 160), who in other respects however proves to be decidedly less trustworthy. Not only are the saint's feet misplaced, but in some drawings the angel with the mitre has been given a kind of loin-cloth; the same mistakes are reproduced in Punt's engraving (Fig. 161). The least satisfactory of De Wit's copies is the drawing in the Seilern album (Fig. 160), where Augustine does not even kneel on the clouds but appears to be lifted into the air by the angels holding his cope.

The plafond of *St. Augustine* was clearly intended as a complement to that of *St. Basil* (No. 21), which occupied the corresponding bay in

the north aisle. Although they face in different directions, both saints are shown kneeling in ecstasy, with arms outspread and eyes turned heavenwards. The infant angels supporting the bishop's vestment may be seen performing a similar office for *St. Ambrose* (No. 34). The cherub whose head and arm come into view near Augustine's left shoulder is very like the little fellow holding up the mantle of *St. Athanasius* in the preliminary drawing for that subject (Fig. 108).

30a. **ST. AUGUSTINE : MODELLO** (Fig. 162)

Oil on panel; 48 : 62 cm.

Zurich, Collection E. G. Bübrle.

PROVENANCE : Burtin, Brussels; purchased from him in 1801 with four other sketches for the Jesuit cycle by Duke Ernst II of Gotha-Altenburg; Herzogliches Museum, Gotha; E. & A. Silberman Galleries, New York.

EXHIBITED : *Brussels*, 1910, No. 364; *Brussels*, 1937, No. 63; *Schloss Jegenstorf*, 1955, *Alte Meister aus der Sammlung E. Bübrle*, No. 19; *Schaffhausen*, Museum zu Allerheiligen, 1955, *Meisterwerke flämischer Malerei*, No. 94; *Zurich*, Kunsthaus, 1958, *Sammlung Emil G. Bübrle*, No. 64.

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, I, p. 37, No. 30 bis; *Gotha*, *Cat. Aldenboven*, p. 9, No. 37; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p. 201; *Trésor de l'art belge au XVII^e siècle*, Brussels, 1912, p. 52, pl. 15; *K.d.K.*, p. 209; *Van Puyvelde*, *Esquisses*, p. 27; *Bernhard*, *Verlorene Werke*, p. 128.

St. Augustine, who holds a crimson heart in his hand, wears a gold cope with a red lining, the hood and border of which are ornamented with embroidered figures. A narrow band of rose drapery flutters beside the angel holding up the cope at the right. The inscription *S. Augustinus* which appears above the head of the saint was written by Rubens himself.

The most obvious difference between the modello and the ceiling painting (cf. Fig. 158) is that in the latter the saint's cope was decorated with a floral brocade pattern. The arrow in the heart was made more prominent and its position altered so that it continued the diagonal of Augustine's arm.

31. THE FLIGHT OF ST. BARBARA

Oil on canvas; approximately 3 : 4.2 m. (oval).

Formerly in the south aisle of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPIES : C.B. Müller, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 74, No. 37); J. de Wit, drawing, London, British Museum (*Hind*, IV, p. 178, 5); J. de Wit, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 71, No. 31); J. de Wit, drawing, London, Collection Count Antoine Seilern; J. Punt, engraving (V.S. p. 213, 10, No. 31).

LITERATURE : *Klaegende-Dicht*, p. 6; *Description de l'ineffable perte*, p. 8; *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, pp. 301-2; *Rooses*, I, p. 38, No. 31.

"Sancta Barbara" is named under No. 15 in the proposed list of subjects.

The saint was pictured running to the left across uneven ground (Rooses is mistaken when he says that she rested on one knee) and looking back in despair as she saw her pursuer drawing near. She seemed to be pointing towards her tower with her right hand, while in the other she held out a palm-branch as if seeking to placate her father's anger. She was clad in a long dress, over which she wore a knee-length tunic belted at the waist; a diaphanous veil encircled her head and shoulders. The swirling folds of these garments suggested her fearful state of mind as well as the exertion of her flight. Her father Dioscorus, running up the slope at the right side, was now within reach of his victim. Throwing out his left arm as if to seize her (or perhaps to block her escape) he advanced upon St. Barbara, his drawn sword visible through his legs and the empty scabbard hanging at his left side. Though his head was partly obscured by his outstretched arm, it could be seen that he wore a beard and a turban; he was dressed in trousers rolled below the knees and a short tunic tied with a sash. At the left of the picture stood Barbara's tower, a cylindrical structure with a single round window and a crenelated parapet.

The fluttering veil which describes an irregular oval round St. Barbara's head frequently occurs in Rubens's paintings of *The Assumption*

of *the Virgin*, where it suggests the swift soaring movement of the Madonna : it may be seen, for example, in *The Assumption* of the Jesuit cycle (No. 16).

The foregoing description of the lost ceiling painting is based on the copy by C. B. Müller (Fig. 165), the accuracy of which is attested by the modello of this subject (Fig. 164). The drawings by De Wit (cf. Figs. 166, 167), neither of which was made directly from the original, contain several misunderstandings which are also repeated in Punt's engraving (Fig. 168). The round window of the tower is incorrectly shown as having iron bars; the father's trousers have been changed into boots and his knees left bare; and the scabbard at his hip has been omitted. On the other hand, the De Wit versions agree with Müller in representing the sword as a curved scimitar, whereas in the modello the sword-blade is straight.

A drawing in the Amsterdam Print Room, attributed to Jacob de Wit (Inv. 51 : 306), presents an abbreviated copy of the composition in reverse : it shows the fleeing figure of Barbara but includes only the upper part of the father and omits the tower altogether. The drawing, which is executed in black and red chalk and grey and brown wash, is perhaps a reworked counterproof.

In his description of the ceiling painting of *St. Barbara* the writer of the *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen* mistakenly identified the martyr as *St. Dymphna*. The error is understandable, since *Dymphna*, the centre of whose cult was at Geel, not far from Antwerp, was there likewise slain by her pagan father; but one might have thought that Barbara's tower was sufficient to establish the saint's identity.

31a. THE FLIGHT OF ST. BARBARA : GRISAILLE SKETCH (Fig. 163)

Oil on panel; 15.5 : 20.9 cm.

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. No. 382.

PROVENANCE : ? Maximilien de Hase, sale, Brussels, 10 June 1782 et seqq.; ? Comte de Cuypers de Reymenam, sale, Brussels, 27 April 1802 (probably one of the 17 grisaille sketches for the Jesuit ceiling comprising lot 114, sold to Spruyt); Charles Spruyt (1769-1851), sale, Ghent, 28 July 1806 et seqq., lot 171 ("le martyre de Ste. Barbe");

one of three pieces); idem, sale, Ghent, 3 October 1815 et seqq., lot 126 ("le martyre de Ste Barbe"; one of two pieces); Thomas Loridon de Ghellinck, sale, Ghent, 3 September 1821, lot 214 ("Ste Barbe poursuivie, esquisse peinte en grisaille, pour plafond"); Chambers Hall (1786-1855), who bequeathed the work to Oxford University.

EXHIBITED : *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No. 28 (repr.).

LITERATURE : *Buschmann*, pp. 17-18 (repr.); *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, pp. 26, 74-75, No. 33 (repr.); *Catalogue of Paintings, Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford, 1951, No. 382.

In this grisaille sketch, which represents Rubens's first attempt to realize *The Flight of St. Barbara*, the resemblance to the ultimate conception (cf. Fig. 165) is already very close. The saint, pursued by Dioscorus, is seen fleeing across a stepped terrace towards her tower at the left. An eight-sided frame is roughly indicated by the diagonal strokes at the corners of the panel; but in the end the ceiling picture was given an oval shape.

In the course of executing the sketch the artist made two changes in the principal figure. He altered the position of the saint's right arm, which in a preliminary notation (plainly visible on the light ground of the panel) is appreciably higher than in the revised state. The conspicuous smudge of paint above Barbara's shoulder tells of a second *pentimento*, this one having to do with the placing of the left arm. It would appear that the arm was originally elevated, the fingers grazing the upper edge of the panel, as if the martyr were appealing to heaven for aid : this motif may have been suggested by the attitude of St. Ursula in the oil sketch of *The Martyrdom of St. Ursula and her Companions*, datable about 1614 or earlier, in the Brussels Museum (*K.d.K.*, 234). Rubens must have subsequently decided that the pose was unsuited to the proportions of the picture; accordingly he painted the arm out and redrew it, with the palm-branch held in the hand, in the definitive position.

31b. **THE FLIGHT OF ST. BARBARA : MODELLO** (Fig. 164)

Oil on panel; 32 : 45.7 cm.

Dulwich, Dulwich College Picture Gallery. No. 125.

PROVENANCE : Joseph Sansot, sale, Brussels, 20 July 1739, lot 222 ("Un des plafonds des Jesuites à Anvers, par Rubbens, représentant le Martyre de Ste Barbe"); Anthoni and Stephanus de Groot, sale, The Hague, 20 March 1771, lot 8, purchased by Schuller; the picture-dealer Noel Joseph Desenfans (1745-1807), sale of pictures purchased for King Stanislaus of Poland, London, 16-18 March 1802, lot 126; bequeathed by Desenfans to his friend, the painter Sir Francis Bourgeois, R.A. (1756-1811), by whom it was bequeathed in 1811 to Dulwich College.

EXHIBITED : London, National Gallery, *Some Pictures from the Dulwich Gallery*, 1947, No. 43; *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No. 29 (repr.).

LITERATURE : [Peter George Patmore], *British Galleries of Art*, London, 1824, p. 195; [William Hazlitt], in *New Monthly Magazine*, VII, VIII, 1823; *idem*, *Sketches of the Principal Picture-Galleries in England*, London, 1824, p. 35; *idem*, *Criticisms on Art*, London, 1843, p. 28; *Rooses*, I, p. 38, No. 31 bis; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 202; *K.d.K.*, p. 210; L. Burchard, *Catalogue of the exhibition*, London, 1947, under No. 43; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, pp. 26, 74; *Catalogue of Paintings, Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford, 1951, under No. 382; *A brief Catalogue of the Pictures in Dulwich College Picture Gallery*, 1953, No. 125.

The composition of the modello does not differ fundamentally from that set down in the grisaille sketch (Fig. 163). The broad steps are still present, but the tower has been increased in height so as to appear less toylike, and a circular window has been inserted in the lower storey. Dioscorus assumes a more energetic pose by leaning further forward; his hand now overlaps Barbara's palm-branch and his sword and scabbard are plainly visible. The posture of the martyr having been resolved in the grisaille sketch after some experimentation, Rubens made almost no change in that figure.

Using this sketch as their model, the artist's assistants carried out the design on the large-scale ceiling canvas (cf. Fig. 165). There were only a few alterations, and these were doubtless prescribed by the master himself. The steps were replaced by hilly ground of irregular contour, perhaps in order to obviate too marked a resemblance to *St. Elizabeth of Hungary* (No. 37); Barbara's veil was enlarged and given a more lively shape; the father's position was lowered and his straight sword made into a curved scimitar.

Burchard has noted that Rubens, following his usual practice, first painted the composition as a rectangle filling the entire panel. There was

still no plan for an oval format, for he next added four strokes at the corners – as in the grisaille sketch – to mark out an octagonal field. The triangular corners have since been overcleaned by someone who assumed them to be later additions to the painting. St. Barbara wears a white satin dress with a violet tunic and a white veil. Dioscorus has a red coat, a white sash and white turban, and dark-green trousers. The sky, which is a light-blue above the saint, changes to a deeper ultramarine shade over her father.

32. THE NAME OF MARY

Oil on canvas; approximately 3 : 4.2 m. (octagonal).

Formerly in the south aisle of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPIES : C.B. Müller, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 73, No. 18); J.J. Preissler, engraving (V.S., p. 213, 11); J. de Wit, drawing, London, British Museum (*Hind*, IV, p. 178, 5); J. de Wit, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 71, No. 36); J. de Wit, drawing, London, Collection Count Antoine Seilern; J. Punt, engraving, 1759 (V.S. p. 212, 10, No. 23).

LITERATURE : *Klaegende-Dicht*, p. 6; *Description de l'ineffable perte*, p. 8; *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, p. 302; *Roses*, I, p. 38, No. 32.

The Name of Mary, like *The Name of Jesus*, was not included in the original list of subjects.

In the catalogue of subjects which appeared in the preface to Jan Punt's engravings of the Jesuit ceiling paintings, this plafond was mistakenly placed in the north aisle. Voorhelm Schneevogt, whose information about the cycle came solely from this source, perpetuated the error in his list of the Punt engravings. The early descriptions of the paintings make it quite clear, however, that *The Name of Mary* was situated in the middle bay of the south aisle, over the entrance to the Chapel of the Virgin.

Rubens followed here the same scheme that he used for *The Name of Jesus* (No. 23), of which this picture was the pendant. In the centre appeared the radiant monogram MAR surmounted by a crown. Circling round it were four adoring cherubs, whose fluttering draperies not only

made their contortions seem still more animated but also lent some bright colours to the subject. Clouds lined the perimeter of the octagon.

The drawing by Müller (Fig. 169) may be taken as giving the most faithful reflection of the prototype; it was followed by Preissler's somewhat prosaic engraving. The different treatment of pose and drapery that is to be seen in the drawings by De Wit (cf. Fig. 170) and in the print after his design by Punt may be attributed to guesswork on the part of the Dutch artist, whose original copies after the ceiling paintings cannot have been sufficiently detailed.

The motif of four infant angels adoring the Name of Mary was repeated by Rubens, though with variations, in his design for the decorated ceiling of the Lady Chapel of the Jesuit Church, the drawing for which is in the Albertina, Vienna (*Glück-Haberditzl*, No. 129; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1956, No. 70).

Although the lateral chapels of the Virgin and of St. Ignatius were not erected until after the consecration of the church, the placing of *The Name of Mary* and *The Name of Jesus* proves that plans for their construction had been made in advance.

33. ST. MARGARET

Oil on canvas; approximately 3 : 4.2 m. (oval).

Formerly in the south aisle of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPIES : C.B. Müller, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 74, No. 33); J. de Wit, drawing, London, British Museum (*Hind*, IV, p. 178, 5); J. de Wit, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 71, No. 30); J. de Wit, drawing, London, Collection Count Antoine Seilern; J. Punt, engraving (*V.S.*, p. 213, 10, No. 33).

LITERATURE : *Klaegende-Dicht*, p. 6; *Description de l'ineestimable perte*, p. 8; *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, pp. 302-3; *Rooses*, I, p. 39, No. 33.

The original intention, as we learn from the list of subjects appended to the contract, was that St. Margaret should be pictured holding a cross and trampling upon a dragon (No. 18 : "Margareta cum cruce in manu calcans draconem"). In the event, however, a somewhat different conception of the saint was substituted for the normal iconographical type,

and Margaret was shown with a lamb as well as a dragon. The result proved to be confusing for the writer of the *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen* (who cannot have looked very closely at the ceiling canvas). For though he remarks that the saint was accompanied by a lamb, he fails even to mention the dragon and therefore concludes that the martyr represented must have been St. Agnes.

St. Margaret stood at the summit of a hill, her left leg advanced and her head turned sharply towards the right. The martyr's palm was lightly grasped in her right hand. In her left she held a cord which was fastened about the neck of the dragon crouching at her side, its coiled tail twisting in the air so that the monster filled almost the entire left part of the picture. On the other side of the saint was a lamb, daintily raising its foreleg as it ascended towards the hilltop and glancing apprehensively at the dragon. Margaret wore a low bodice which left her shoulders bare, a long skirt, and a mantle wrapped round her waist; on her head was a diadem adorned with pearls (*margaritae*), and to this was fastened a veil which the wind blew into a triangular shape behind her. A heavenly light shone down upon the martyr from the upper right.

Since none of Rubens's sketches for this subject are extant, we must turn to Müller's copy (Fig. 171) as the most dependable source, especially for the pose and costume of the saint. Not only has Müller observed the rhythmic relationship between the cord tied to the dragon's neck and the palm-branch held by the martyr, but he has also perceived that the sinuous curve of the palm forms a parallel to the graceful contour of the saint herself. These and other compositional subtleties have been entirely overlooked by De Wit, whose drawings also reveal that he was unable to interpret Margaret's costume (cf. Figs. 172, 173); what is more, her diadem is without pearls, and the dragon has been given a protruding tongue. In the watercolour in the Antwerp Print Room, De Wit has neglected to show the lifted foreleg of the lamb; and this error has been repeated in Punt's engraving (Fig. 174).

In spite of the fact that our knowledge of the ceiling painting rests entirely on copies, it is possible to perceive its relationship to certain other works by Rubens. The queenly dress and bearing of St. Margaret are strikingly reminiscent of St. Domitilla in the picture of *Sts. Domitilla, Nereus and Achilleus* which the artist painted in 1608 for the church

of S. Maria in Vallicella in Rome (*K.d.K.*, 25). The motif of the timorous lamb shrinking at the sight of the dragon goes back to another picture of the Italian period – the *St. George and the Dragon* in the Prado (*K.d.K.*, 22), in which a lamb is comforted by the princess as they watch the furious encounter between the hero and the monster.

The *St. Margaret* is one of the ceiling pictures that can be distinguished in several seventeenth-century paintings of the interior of the Jesuit Church : one of these belongs to the Museum Wielkopolskie in Poznan (*Seilern*, fig. 20); another such painting, now lost, was in the Martin von Wagner Museum of the University of Würzburg (T. von Frimmel, in *Studien und Skizzen zur Gemäldekunde*, II, pp. 25-27, pl. VIII). But it must be emphasized that these views are misleading, for they do not show St. Margaret in her proper station in the south aisle, but arbitrarily place her in the left-hand compartment of the three beneath the organ loft at the entrance.

There are no records that shed any light on the oil sketches for this subject. It might be added, finally, that the engraving of *St. Margaret* by Petrus de Bailliu, which Voorhelm Schneevogt describes as being after Rubens (*V.S.*, p. 117, No. 63), bears no resemblance to the *St. Margaret* of the Jesuit ceiling.

34. ST. AMBROSE

Oil on canvas; approximately 3 : 4.2 m. (octagonal).

Formerly in the south aisle of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPIES : C.B. Müller, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 74, No. 28); J. de Wit, drawing, London, British Museum (*Hind*, IV, p. 178, 5); J. de Wit, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 70, No. 22); J. de Wit, drawing, London, Collection Count Antoine Seilern; J. Punt, engraving (*V.S.*, p. 213, 10, No. 34).

LITERATURE : *Klaegende-Dicht*, p. 6; *Description de l'ineestimable perte*, p. 8; *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, p. 303; *Rooses*, I, p. 39, No. 34.

“Sanctus Ambrosius” was included as No. 20 in the original list of subjects.

Like St. Gregory of Nazianzus in the corresponding bay of the north aisle (No. 25), St. Ambrose was clad in episcopal vestments and stood upon the clouds facing the observer. He was reading from a book which he held open before him in his right hand, and the crosier was gripped in his left. His left leg was raised upon a little mound of cloud, over which the tip of his shoe protruded. His garments consisted of the mitre, a stole worn over the alb, and an ample cope which the wind puffed out like a tent. The venerable bishop was attended by two infant angels who flew on either side : one had unfurled a kind of banner or scroll over his head, and the other, on the saint's left, extended both arms as if he were spreading out the heavy cope flapping in the air beside him. On the clouds beneath this cherub appeared St. Ambrose's attribute, a beehive.

Since Rubens's modello is no longer extant, the primary evidence for the appearance of the lost plafond must be looked for in the copies by Müller and De Wit. There is in addition a drawing of *St. Ambrose* in Moscow (Fig. 179); but as this is related to the modello rather than to the ceiling painting it will be considered below (see under No. 34a). Müller, with his unfailing attentiveness, has recorded in his drawing (Fig. 175) a number of details that escaped De Wit's less searching eye : he has observed, for instance, that the tip of Ambrose's cope is carried past the cherub who, with arms extended, seems almost to be sheltered beneath its folds; he has also taken care to show that one end of the scroll held by the second angel is curled against the saint's shoulder and that the other end trails over the angel's wing.

The versions by De Wit (Figs. 176, 177) show that he has totally misunderstood the action of the right-hand angel, whom he imagines to be clutching the end of the saint's cope, and whose right arm (only dimly visible in the shadow of the cope) he has simply omitted. The angel with the scroll has been similarly bungled and has even lost his wings (an error corrected, it might be noted, in the Seilern watercolour). In one of De Wit's drawings (Fig. 177) the saint wears an embroidered cope, and this ornamentation, which was certainly not present in the prototype, appears also in the engraving by Punt (Fig. 178).

There exists also a counterproof of a red chalk drawing of this subject by De Wit. It was purchased at the René della Faille sale (Amsterdam, 6 July 1927, lot 343) by the late Ludwig Burchard.

We have already seen that for the *St. Catherine* of the Jesuit cycle (No. 26) Rubens had recourse to the image of that saint on one of the wings of the triptych, *The Raising of the Cross* of 1610-11, now in the Cathedral of Antwerp (*Glück*, 1933, p. 72, fig. 43). Another of the saints on that altarpiece is St. Amandus, who, robed as a bishop and reading from a book which he holds in his hands, will be recognized as the source for *St. Ambrose* as he appeared in the ceiling painting. In adapting the figure to its new setting Rubens probably had before him the oil sketch of *Sts. Amandus and Walburga*, now in Dulwich, in which the bishop (who is bare-headed in the finished work) is shown wearing a mitre (*Catalogue exhibition Rotterdam, 1953-54*, No. 8, pl. 10).

34a. ST. AMBROSE : MODELLO

COPY : *Drawing*, Moscow, State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. 7096.

The modello may be assumed to have disappeared at an early date, for no references to it have been discovered in inventories or sale catalogues. Recently, however, there has come to light a drawing from the studio of Rubens which may help us to visualize the lost panel of *St. Ambrose*.

The drawing (Fig. 179), now in the State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow, is executed in pen and bistre (J. Kuznetsov, *Drawings by Rubens from the Museums of the U.S.S.R.* (Russian), Leningrad-Moscow, 1965, pp. 23-4, No. 21, pl. 11). Certain passages, such as the angels and the head of Ambrose, are not without authority. Yet closer examination leads to the conclusion that this is not an autograph drawing by Rubens himself. There are conspicuous weaknesses in draughtsmanship, notably in the saint's right hand and in the rendering of the drapery in the lower part of the sheet, that betray the hand of a good copyist, in all probability a pupil, working from a design by the master. What was the purpose of the lost original drawing? It cannot have been a preparatory study for the ceiling painting, for such drawings were invariably done in black chalk (cf. Figs. 108 and 133). The pen-and-ink medium, the painstaking delineation of detail and the methodical system of hatching lines point unmistakably to a design intended as a model for a woodcut by Christoffel Jegher. Precisely the same graphic charac-

teristics may be seen in other drawings made by Rubens for woodcuts by this artist, namely *The March of Silenus* in the Louvre (Held, No. 155), *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt* in Poznan (Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, No. 179) and *The Garden of Love* in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (Held, No. 152; Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, No. 180). Otto Benesch (*Alte und Neue Kunst*, III, 1954, pp. 15-17, pl. 8) has also called attention to a pen drawing of the *Madonna and Child* in the Albertina, Vienna, which was plainly meant as a model for Jegher; but this design, like the *St. Ambrose*, was not cut by him.

In 1633 Christoffel Jegher is known to have executed, under Rubens's guidance, two woodcuts from the Jesuit cycle representing *The Temptation* (Fig. 42) and *The Coronation of the Virgin* (Fig. 103). Perhaps Rubens intended to have the whole cycle reproduced in this manner. If so, he must soon have given up the idea, because no further woodcuts were carried out. But the drawing of *St. Ambrose* shows that at least a third woodcut was planned, even though it was not realized. We have already seen that it was Rubens's practice, in making the designs for these prints, not to work from the ceiling paintings but from the modelli which he kept on hand in his studio. In spite of the fact that it is only a copy, the Moscow drawing may be assumed to stand in the same close relationship to the lost oil sketch of *St. Ambrose* as Jegher's woodcuts of *The Temptation* and *The Coronation* do to the corresponding modelli in the Seilern collection (Fig. 41) and the Louvre (Fig. 102).

Confrontation of the pen drawing of *St. Ambrose* (Fig. 179) and Müller's copy after the ceiling painting (Fig. 175) is sufficient to demonstrate that the missing modello cannot have differed greatly from the definitive version: the attitudes of the saint and of the two angels hovering on either side were identical, except for some minor variations in the posture and drapery of the cherub at the right who is partly covered by Ambrose's cloak. But it will not do to regard the Moscow drawing simply as a literal imitation of the lost oil sketch, for there are unquestionably some features in which it departs from that work. The composition, first of all, has been altered from an octagon to a rectangle (the loss of three corners must be ascribed to accident, not design). Moreover, finding it necessary to fill out the lower left corner, Rubens lengthened the saint's cope in that quarter and added a third cherub, whose hand alone

now remains visible near the cut edge of the sheet. The bees buzzing near the hive may be considered to be another enrichment of the design, like the squirrel that appears in Jegher's woodcut of *The Temptation* (Fig. 42).

35. THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. EUGENIA

Oil on canvas; approximately 3 : 4.2 m. (oval).

Formerly in the south aisle of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPIES : J.J. Preissler, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 74, No. 3 [as St. Elizabeth]); J.J. Preissler, drawing, Cracow, Jesuit College; J. de Wit, drawing, London, British Museum (*Hind*, IV, p. 178, 5); J. de Wit, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 71, No. 27); J. Punt, engraving (*V.S.*, p. 213, 10, No. 35).

LITERATURE : *Klaegende-Dicht*, p. 6; *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, pp. 303-4; *Roses*, I, p. 39, No. 35; *Maslinska-Nowakowa*, p. 114, fig. 3 [drawing by Preissler in Cracow].

The name of St. Eugenia appears with that of Clara under No. 34 in the provisional list of subjects.

St. Eugenia was represented kneeling, her hands tied behind her back and her dress ripped from her shoulders to uncover her neck and breast; her head was sunk forward and her unloosed hair fell along the right side of her face. Her mantle lay crumpled on the ground behind her. The executioner, bending over as he grasped the saint by the hair, raised the axe in his right hand to deliver the fatal blow on her neck. In order not to be impeded in his grisly work, the headsman had partly thrown off his shirt, which hung in folds around his waist but still covered his left shoulder. At the right side of the picture a pagan temple could be seen collapsing; its roof was tilted at a crazy angle, and a shattered Ionic column came crashing to the ground. The broken torso of a male statue lay across a pedestal which stood before the temple. Through the executioner's legs two onlookers were visible in the distance, one of whom raised his arm in horror at the sight.

Unluckily, Müller's copy of this subject is lost. In its place there remain two drawings by J. J. Preissler, the Nuremberg engraver who is known to have acquired Müller's sketches and to have made prints after some

of them. The first drawing, which is in red chalk, is in the Antwerp Print Cabinet (Fig. 180). The second is in the Jesuit College at Cracow (Fig. 181); it is executed in pen and brown ink and, except for a few passages such as the executioner's shoulder, is without shading. The composition is identical to that of the preceding example, with one obvious difference : the fact that the scene is represented in the reverse sense plainly indicates that it was meant to serve as a model for an engraving. The Cracow drawing thus offers further proof that Preissler planned to reproduce all the scenes of the Jesuit cycle in copperplate. (On this question see also *Maslinska-Nowakowa*, p. 115.) That project was for some reason interrupted in mid course. Not only was *The Martyrdom of Eugenia* never engraved, but the almost total absence of shading in the Cracow drawing suggests that even this preparatory design was left incomplete.

We may now turn our attention once again to the finished red chalk drawing by Preissler in the Antwerp Prentencabinet (Fig. 180). There are several signs that point to its being a faithful imitation of the lost drawing by Müller, notably the explicit delineation of drapery folds and the painstaking placing of lights and shades, such as those on the executioner's face and left arm. No doubt this drawing preceded the one in Cracow which, being in reverse, was to be the immediate model for an engraving. It may be assumed, I think, that Preissler has given us an accurate reflection of the physiognomy of the original painting. Our confidence in him is likely to be strengthened when we compare his drawing to De Wit's version of this subject, as recorded in his drawings (cf. Fig. 182) and in the engraving by Punt (Fig. 183). Certain differences are at once apparent : in De Wit's copies the headsman's left leg is cropped by the frame of the picture and the drapery over his left arm has been omitted; the position of Eugenia's hands is reversed, and the heavy fold of drapery at her waist has been misread as a rope tied about her middle; the block-like pedestal of the statue has been wrongly interpreted as a flat slab of stone, and so on. A counterproof of a red chalk drawing by De Wit (formerly in the collection of René della Faille) belonged to the late Ludwig Burchard.

In the album of De Wit drawings owned by Count Seilern the sheet with *St. Eugenia* is missing. Its absence is particularly regrettable because

in this late drawing we might have seen a copy after Rubens's modello of this subject, which is known to have come into De Wit's possession; for we have already noted that when he acquired the oil sketch of *St. Cecilia* (Fig. 132) he utilized it as a model in the Seilern watercolour (Fig. 131). But for *St. Eugenia*, unluckily, neither Rubens's modello nor the drawing that De Wit presumably made after it have come down to us.

The foreshortened figure of the executioner, who stands with the right leg advanced and raised higher than the left, and who bends forward with arms extended, is a variant of the pose employed in this same cycle for the person of Christ in *The Coronation of the Virgin* (No. 18) and for Abraham in the scene of *Abraham and Melchizedek* (No. 7). It is necessary to look elsewhere to find analogies to *St. Eugenia's* attitude. Rubens had already represented this saint kneeling in prayer, her garment lowered from her shoulders and her dishevelled hair falling over her face, in his design for the title-page of Rosweyde's *'t Vaders Boeck*, published at Antwerp in 1617 (Evers, 1943, fig. 84). In the Jesuit ceiling this conception of the saint was combined with the type of captive soldier who appears kneeling dejectedly with hands bound behind him in subjects celebrating military victories: an example may be seen in the title-page designed by Rubens for Jacobus Biaeus' *Numismata imperatorum Romanorum* (Antwerp, 1617), the drawing for which shows at the lower right a kneeling prisoner, his hair drooping over his brow, in an attitude very like that of *St. Eugenia* (Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, No. 94). The fall of the pagan idol at the entrance to the temple recalls the similar episode in *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier*, one of the altarpieces painted by Rubens for the Jesuit Church and now in Vienna (Fig. 5).

In certain seventeenth-century paintings of the interior of the Jesuit Church *The Martyrdom of St. Eugenia* is incorrectly shown as being the right-hand canvas of the three beneath the organ loft at the entrance; these works include the picture in the Museum Wielkopolskie, Poznan (Seilern, fig. 20), and the painting formerly in the Martin von Wagner Museum, Würzburg (T. von Frimmel, in *Studien und Skizzen zur Gemäldekunde*, II, pl. VIII). In fact *St. Eugenia* was to be found in the south aisle, on the ceiling of the second bay from the front (see Fig. C on p. 35).

35a. THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. EUGENIA : GRISAILLE SKETCH

Oil on panel; approximately 14 : 25 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

The grisaille sketch has been lost, though not without leaving some traces in auction catalogues. Eugenia is not, however, one of the most popular and easily recognizable saints; and the fact that the sketch of her martyrdom is not correctly identified in the catalogue entries introduces an added element of uncertainty.

In the second sale of works belonging to Charles Spruyt (Ghent, 3 October 1815 et seqq.) lot 128, comprising two items, was described as "L'annonciation et la décollation d'une Sainte. Esquisse en grisaille. h. 5. l. 9 p. [13.53 x 24.36 cm.]" Both sketches were purchased, according to the annotated catalogue in the Frick Art Reference Library, by Loridon de Ghellinck. Of these two works, *The Annunciation* is the panel now in Oxford (Fig. 199). Since the only female saint in the Jesuit cycle who is shown being beheaded is Eugenia, it is virtually certain that she was the subject of the second sketch.

Even greater confusion surrounds the reappearance of the panel in the sale of the collection of the art-dealer Thomas Loridon de Ghellinck (Ghent, 3 September 1821). Lot 212 in that sale was the above-mentioned panel with *The Annunciation*, now in Oxford. The next item (lot 213) was described as "Le martyre de Ste Barbe; esquisse peinte en grisaille, pour plafond. haut. 5, larg. 10 pouces [13.53 x 27.07 cm.]" Now this cannot have been the grisaille sketch of *St. Barbara* in Oxford, because that piece appeared in the same sale as lot 214 : "Ste Barbe poursuivie" (see No. 31a). Nor can it have been the lost grisaille of *The Martyrdom of St. Lucy*, which, though wrongly identified, also figured in the sale as lot 215 (see No. 29a). Inasmuch as the measurements agree tolerably well, we may safely conclude that *The Beheading of a Female Saint* in the Spruyt sale of 1815 and the so-called *Martyrdom of St. Barbara* in the Loridon de Ghellinck sale of 1821 were in fact the same sketch, and that it represented *The Martyrdom of St. Eugenia*.

Nothing more is heard of the panel after the Loridon sale of 1821. Perhaps it may yet come to light.

35b. **THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. EUGENIA : MODELLO**

Oil on panel; approximately 28 : 42 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

The modello belonged to the painter Jacob de Wit (1695-1754). In the sale of his effects at Amsterdam (10 March 1755 et seqq.) it appeared among the paintings as lot 16 : "De onthoofding van Eugenia : een model als het voorgaande [i.e. for a ceiling of the Jesuit Church]. Door *Denzelven* [Rubens]. Hoog 1 voet. Breed 1 1/2 voet [28.31 x 42.47 cm.]" This and the preceding item (lot 15, "St. Cecilia") were purchased by De Groot for 52 guilders. The modello of *St. Cecilia* is now in the Vienna Academy (Fig. 132). But De Groot must have sold the *St. Eugenia* modello before his death, for it does not appear among the nine sketches for the Jesuit ceiling in the posthumous sale of his collection held on 20 March 1771 at The Hague, nor for that matter has it ever since been recorded.

De Wit probably made a copy of the modello for the set of watercolour drawings now in the possession of Count Seilern, as we know he did of the sketch of *St. Cecilia* (see No. 24b). But the sheet with *St. Eugenia* is unfortunately missing from the Seilern album.

36. **ST. GREGORY THE GREAT ADORING THE MADONNA**

Oil on canvas; approximately 3 : 4.2 m. (octagonal).

Formerly in the south aisle of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPIES : C.B. Müller, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 73, No. 23); J.J. Preissler, drawing, Cracow, Jesuit College; J. de Wit, drawing, London, British Museum (*Hind*, IV, p. 178, 5); J. de Wit, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 70, No. 25); J. de Wit, drawing, London, Collection of Count Antoine Seilern; J. Punt, engraving (*V.S.*, p. 213, 10, No. 36).

LITERATURE : *Klaegende-Dicht*, p. 6; *Description de l'ineffable perte*, p. 8; *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, pp. 304-305; *Roses*, I, p. 40, No. 36, pl. 11 [drawing by

De Wit in Antwerp Print Room]; *Seilern*, p. 55, figs. 26 [engraving by Punt] and 27 [drawing by De Wit in Seilern Coll.]; *Maslinska-Nowakowa*, pp. 113-114, fig. 2 [drawing by Preissler].

"Sanctus Gregorius" appears as No. 26 in the original list of subjects appended to the contract.

The painting occupied the westernmost bay of the south aisle, directly adjoining the front wall of the church. As in many pictures of this cycle, the personages were deployed upon the clouds. St. Gregory sat upon a golden throne at the right, holding in his right hand a triple cross-staff. He was clean-shaven, and wore an alb, a richly worked golden cope beneath which his left hand was concealed, and the papal tiara. The dove of the Holy Ghost hovered over his shoulder while, with eyes uplifted, he gazed upon the Madonna and Child, who appeared before him as if in a vision. The Virgin, who looked down at the saint, stood with her right foot raised so that her knee might serve as a support for the Christ Child in her arms; a flowing mantle covered her long dress and a light veil fluttered in the air behind her head. Rays of heavenly light emanated from the Virgin and Child. There was a rumour in Antwerp, reported as a fact by both the *Klaegende-Dicht* and the *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, that Rubens had painted this work within the space of a few hours.

Only a fragment of Rubens's modello for this plafond has survived (Fig. 184), but that fragment, containing the figure of St. Gregory, is sufficient to demonstrate the trustworthiness of Müller's copy (Fig. 185). Not only has Müller correctly rendered the shape and ornamentation of Gregory's throne, but he has noticed that the saint wears a cap under his papal crown. The fragmentary oil sketch also proves that the copyist is right in placing the Virgin Mary so close to St. Gregory that her mantle is overlapped by his right arm and staff.

Although Preissler did not make an engraving of this subject, there is evidence of his intention to do so. *Maslinska-Nowakowa* (pp. 113-114, fig. 2) has discovered a pen and wash drawing by this artist in the Jesuit College in Cracow (Fig. 186) which, since it shows the composition in reverse, can only have been meant as a model for a copperplate. No doubt this drawing, like that of *St. Eugenia* also in Cracow (Fig. 181), was

preceded by a design copied directly, and in the proper sense, after Müller; but that earlier drawing has not survived. Even in this reversed state, however, the resemblance to Müller's drawing (Fig. 185) is surprisingly close, a fact that may be taken as further testimony of Preissler's accuracy.

Of the several drawings by De Wit the most satisfactory is perhaps that in the Antwerp Print Room (Fig. 188) because it does not put too much space between the figures; the Virgin's head, however, is turned upward instead of being inclined towards St. Gregory, and the saint's throne is absurdly shown as having no rear leg. In the British Museum drawing (Fig. 187) and in Punt's engraving (*Seilern*, fig. 26) the distance between Gregory and the Madonna is widened, and rays of light issue from the dove as well as from Mary and the Child. The figures are even more widely spaced in the *Seilern* drawing (*Seilern*, fig. 27), which is, nevertheless, the only one of De Wit's copies to include the Madonna's veil.

The theme of Gregory the Great adoring the Madonna had earlier been treated by Rubens in the altarpiece of 1606-7 for S. Maria in Vallicella, now in Grenoble (*K.d.K.*, 23); there the saint stands and looks up at a miraculous image of the Virgin and Child, while the dove flies over his head. The ceiling painting of the Jesuit Church presents a very different conception: Mary and the Child appear to the saint in person, as they also do in *The Vision of St. Francis* of 1618 in Dijon (*K.d.K.*, 168); and St. Gregory, in addition to being seated, is represented beardless, in accordance with the more usual iconography.

St. Gregory the Great, together with *St. Margaret* and *St. Eugenia*, may be seen in the view of the Jesuit Church interior in the Museum Wielkopolskie in Poznan (*Seilern*, fig. 20). All three pictures are incorrectly shown as being situated under the organ loft at the entrance to the church. The three subjects were similarly misplaced in the loft painting formerly in the Martin von Wagner Museum at Würzburg (T. von Frimmel, in *Studien und Skizzen zur Gemäldekunde*, II, pl. VIII).

36a. **ST. GREGORY THE GREAT ADORING THE MADONNA : MODELLO** (Fig. 184)

Oil on panel; 43.5 : 33 cm. (after removal of additions at the left and top).

London, Collection of Count Antoine Seilern.

PROVENANCE : Paul Mila (1798-1866), Berlin, who acquired the panel in Italy; Steinrück Collection, Berlin; L. Rosenheim, Berlin and Düsseldorf, sale, Amsterdam, 9 December 1930, lot 21 (repr.).

EXHIBITED : Düsseldorf, *Ausstellung von alten Meistern aus Düsseldorfer Privatbesitz*, 1921, No. 69 (repr.); Berlin, *Gemälde alter Meister aus Berliner Besitz*, 1925, No. 331; Amsterdam, Goudstikker, *Rubens tentoonstelling*, 1933, No. 13 (repr.).

LITERATURE : *K.d.K.*, p. 215; M. Konrad, in *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler* (ed. P. Clemen), Munich, 1923, II, p. 213, note; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 27; *Seilern*, p. 55, No. 29, pl. LXIII.

The sketch represents only a fragment of the modello, the original state of which may be judged from the copies after the completed painting (cf. Fig. 185). At some time unknown a section containing the figure of St. Gregory was barbarously cut out of the panel; the remainder, which included not only the part at the left with the Madonna but a broad strip above, was presumably destroyed. The size of the original panel may be roughly estimated as having been about 50 x 60 cm. Narrow strips were subsequently added at the top and left side of the St. Gregory fragment in order to complete the dove and both ends of the pope's staff, which had been cropped by the mutilation of the panel; these additional pieces, which have now been removed, are clearly visible in the older photographs (cf. *K.d.K.*, 215).

Over a linen alb Gregory wears a gold cope, the border of which is embroidered with figures of saints. Likewise of gold are the papal tiara, the staff and the throne. Touches of red appear on the saint's cheek and in the embroidery of his vestment. The fingers of the left hand emerge from beneath the cope not far from the right hand. Above and below the drapery covering St. Gregory's right arm may be seen portions of the light-blue mantle worn by the Virgin. As the artist first conceived the figure of the saint, he did not wear the tiara, but a close-fitting cap exactly resembling that worn by St. Gregory in the oil sketch in the Oberfinanzdirektion, Munich, which was made in preparation for the altarpiece of S. Maria in Vallicella (*Catalogue*, exhibition *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No. 3, pl. 3). The tiara was later painted in by Rubens himself, but the original head-dress may still be seen through it.

Comparison with Müller's drawing (Fig. 185) reveals that, at least as far as the figure of St. Gregory is concerned, Rubens made no significant revisions in the ceiling painting. The papal staff was tilted back further to the right in order not to interfere with the facial features of the saint, and the dove of the Holy Ghost was correspondingly shifted in the same direction. A brocade pattern was added to the cope, which in the modello is of plain gold cloth with a decorated border.

The Entrance

Directly upon entering the church, the visitor found himself standing beneath an organ loft which was connected with the galleries at the sides. This space, which was separated from the nave by an arcade like that of the aisles, was divided into three bays, each of which had a ceiling painting (cf. Fig. C). De Wit made no drawings of these three subjects, but fortunately they were not overlooked by Müller.

37. ST. ELIZABETH OF HUNGARY

Oil on canvas; approximately 2.7 : 3.8 m. (oval).

Formerly in the entrance of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPIES : C.B. Müller, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 74, No. 30); J.J. Preissler, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 75, No. 2); J.J. Preissler, drawing, Cracow, Jesuit College.

LITERATURE : *Klaegende-Dicht*, p. 7; *Description de l'ineestimable perte*, p. 8; *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, pp. 306-7; M. Rooses, in *Rubens Bulletin*, III, 1888, p. 270, fig. opp. p. 304 [Müller's drawing]; *Rooses*, I, p. 40, No. 37 & v, Appendice, p. 306, No. 37; *Maslinska-Nowakowa*, pp. 111-113, fig. 1 [drawing by Preissler in Cracow].

"Sancta Elisabetha" appears under No. 33 in the original list of subjects. The painting was placed over the right-hand bay of the three at the entrance and was so oriented that the spectator had to turn to the south

in order to see it. This is specifically remarked on by the author of the *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*.

St. Elizabeth was seen ascending a flight of steps leading to a building with a columned front at the left. As she reached the top she leaned over to drop a few coins into a bowl held up by a half-naked beggar who sat with his staff on the steps at the lower left. In her left hand the saint carried a money-bag and a wallet which she supported against her hip. She wore over her dress a mantle that covered her head and shoulders and was wrapped round her waist.

Although De Wit left no copies of this painting, its appearance is satisfactorily preserved in a drawing by C. B. Müller (Fig. 189), whose competence as a copyist has repeatedly been proven. There also exist two drawings of this subject by Preissler. One, which is done in red chalk and has manifestly been copied after that by Müller, is in the Antwerp Print Cabinet (Fig. 190); it is in every way comparable to this artist's drawing of *St. Eugenia* in the same collection (Fig. 180). The second copy, which was discovered by Maslinska-Nowakowa in the Jesuit College at Cracow, is executed in pen and grey wash and bears Preissler's signature (Fig. 191). As it happens, the latter drawing is even more faithful to the exemplar by Müller, in that coins are shown dropping from Elizabeth's hand into the cup and that the beggar's staff extends beyond the corner of the socle behind him. It would seem reasonable to assume that the Cracow drawing of *St. Elizabeth*, like those of *St. Eugenia* (Fig. 181) and *St. Gregory the Great* (Fig. 186), was designed as a model for an engraving (never executed, to be sure). But if so, it is curious that the composition does not appear in reverse.

The figure of Elizabeth shows some resemblance to that of St. Barbara as she appears in the oil sketches (Figs. 163 and 164) with one foot on the top of a flight of steps and her body turned so that her arms are extended to the sides. In the final version of the *St. Barbara* picture Rubens eliminated the steps, no doubt in order to avoid an effect of repetition.

St. Elizabeth of Hungary makes her appearance as the patron saint of the Infanta Isabella in the right wing of the *St. Ildefonso* triptych painted by Rubens in 1630-32 and now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (*K.d.K.*, 325).

37a. **ST. ELIZABETH OF HUNGARY : GRISAILLE SKETCH**

Oil on panel; approximately 15 : 26 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

In the early years of the nineteenth century the grisaille sketch belonged to the painter Charles Spruyt, having in all likelihood previously passed through the collections of Maximilien de Hase and Comte de Cuypers. In the first Spruyt sale (Ghent, 28 July 1806 et seqq.) it was listed with two other sketches for the Jesuit cycle in lot 168 as "Ste. Elisabeth". According to the annotated copy of the catalogue in the Frick Art Reference Library, all three pieces were bought by one Lerberghe.

It was probably this same sketch that appeared a few years later in the sale of the collection of Jean-Antoine Stichelbaut (Ghent, 27 December 1814, lot 19) with the following description : "La Charité. Esquisse en grisaille pour le plafond des Jésuites d'Anvers. B[ois]. h. 15 l. 26". There was of course no such subject in the Jesuit cycle. The most likely explanation is that the compiler of the catalogue, not recognizing the woman bestowing alms as St. Elizabeth, took her to be a personification of Charity.

Unless height and width have been inadvertently transposed, the dimensions given in the Stichelbaut catalogue show that the composition must have been oblong. There is no subsequent record of the piece.

37b. **ST. ELIZABETH OF HUNGARY : MODELLO**

Oil on panel; approximately 40 : 30 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

John Smith, writing in 1830, mentions this oil sketch as belonging to Schamp d'Aveschoot, a collector in Ghent (*Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 262, No. 885). Smith's description of the subject is admittedly inaccurate ("St. Clotilda bestowing Alms upon a poor Boy"), but the

measurements given (15 1/2 by 12 inches) make it quite clear that this was indeed the modello of *St. Elizabeth of Hungary*. The saint was represented carrying a book and a crown.

The panel is correctly and unequivocally identified in the catalogue of the Schamp d'Aveschoot sale (Ghent, 14 September 1840 et seq., lot 66) as follows: "*Elisabeth de Hongrie - Bois; haut., 15 pouc.; larg., 11 [40.61 x 29.78 cm.]. La reine fait l'aumône à un pauvre estropié. Cette esquisse colorée, peinte avec légèreté et relief, est fort remarquable.*" The sketch was purchased by Klauston of London, but nothing is known of it thereafter.

The orientation of the ceiling paintings at the entrance had evidently not yet been decided upon when Rubens made the preparatory oil sketches. The grisaille sketch (No. 37a) seems to have been a horizontal composition. The modello, on the other hand, was (as the above dimensions show) a narrow upright. In the end, however, the artist reverted to a horizontal shape in the large-scale oval canvas (cf. Fig. 189).

38. ST. ALBERT OF LOUVAIN

Oil on canvas; approximately 3.8 : 2.7 m. (octagonal).

Formerly in the entrance of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPY: C.B. Müller, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 73, No. 21 [as St. Eugenius]).

LITERATURE: *Klaegende-Dicht*, p. 7; *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, p. 307; M. Rooses, in *Rubens Bulletin*, III, 1888, p. 270, fig. opp. p. 305 [Müller's drawing]; *Rooses*, I, p. 40, No. 38 & v, Appendice p. 306, No. 38.

The subject is not specified in the original list. The painting occupied the central compartment of the three beneath the gallery at the entrance. Although one might have thought this a prominent position, it appears from early accounts that the painting was in fact not easily visible. The author of the *Klaegende-Dicht* (1718) confesses that he cannot remember the work ("t is uyt mijn heugenis"). In the *Description de l'investi-*

mable perte there is no mention of it whatever. The writer of the *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen* says that the painting was difficult to see and that it represented a martyr saint holding a palm-branch in his right hand. Müller's drawing (Fig. 192) bears the inscription *S. Eugenius S.R.E. Card.*, which shows that he believed the figure to be one of the patron saints of the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia. In the preface to the edition of Punt's engravings (1751), the lost canvas is said to have depicted St. Joseph. This solution was at first adopted by Rooses, who however later revised his opinion and called the saint Albert. (On the problem of identification see Chapter IV.)

The canvas was a narrow upright octagon, and was so placed as to be at right angles to those of *St. Clara* and *St. Elizabeth* on either side. St. Albert, a bearded figure robed as a cardinal, stood upon the clouds facing the observer, with one foot raised so that the toe of his shoe was visible. Though he held an open book in his left hand he did not look at it, but turned his head and eyes to the upper right; in his other hand was the martyr's palm. The saint was attended by three cherubs: one carried the train of his mantle, on the opposite side another putto donned the cardinal's hat, and a third, flying above, was about to place a laurel wreath on St. Albert's head.

The accuracy of Müller's drawing (Fig. 192), the only copy of the ceiling painting, is confirmed by Rubens's modello for this subject (Fig. 193), which, however, having been designed for a horizontal composition does not include the angel with the wreath. The attitude of St. Albert, standing with one leg slightly raised, is analogous to that of several other saints of the Jesuit cycle, particularly *St. Catherine* (No. 26) and *St. Margaret* (No. 33), both of whom carry a palm-branch, and *St. Ambrose* (No. 34), who holds an open book on his hand. The motif of the putto trying on the cardinal's hat finds an echo in the plafond of *St. Augustine* (No. 30), where a cherub wears the bishop's mitre, and the little angel with the wreath repeats the gesture of crowning seen in both *The Coronation of the Virgin* (No. 18) and *St. Cecilia* (No. 24). St. Albert of Louvain appears as the patron saint of the Archduke Albert on the left wing of the *St. Ildefonso* altarpiece of 1630-32, now in Vienna (*K.d.K.*, 325), where he is shown wearing the cardinal's hat and holding a book.

38a. ST. ALBERT OF LOUVAIN : MODELLO (Fig. 193)

Oil on panel; 34.9 : 46 cm.

Chicago, Collection of Dr. John Jay Ireland.

PROVENANCE : Grazioso Enea Lanfranconi, Bratislava, sale, Cologne, 21-23 October 1895, lot 174 (as St. Jerome); Dr. Leo C. Collins, New York; E. & A. Silberman Galleries, New York.

EXHIBITED : New York, Schaeffer & Brandt Inc., *P. P. Rubens Loan Exhibition*, 1942, No. 16; New York, E. & A. Silberman Galleries, 1955, No. 17 (repr.).

LITERATURE : W.R. Valentiner, in *Art Quarterly*, IX, 1946, p. 160, No. 76; *Goris-Held*, p. 35, No. 60, pl. 59; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, pp. 27, 76, pl. 38; L. Van Puyvelde, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XXXV, 1949, p. 126.

The modello provides another illustration of the uncertainty felt by Rubens concerning the placement of the ceiling paintings at the entrance. For it shows that the artist first thought of the composition as a horizontal oval, although in its definitive form it was to become an upright octagon (Fig. 192). This transformation, once decided upon, was easily accomplished by trimming away the empty space at the sides and by adding a third angel above the principal figure so as to enlarge the composition at the top. In all other respects Rubens, or his assistants, followed the modello closely. We have already taken note of a similar change of format in the *St. Elizabeth of Hungary* : in this case, however, the modello (No. 37b) presupposed an upright composition, which was nevertheless later reshaped into horizontal form. It would seem that at this stage Rubens still did not know which figure should fill the central compartment.

St. Albert's rose-red mantle with its yellow scarf or collar at the neck stands out effectively against the blue-grey sky. The composition is enclosed by a painted oval frame like those in the oil sketches of *The Nativity* (Fig. 17) and *The Annunciation* (Fig. 200).

Rubens introduced a similar figure of St. Albert in one of the wings of the *St. Ildefonso* altarpiece of 1630-32 in Vienna (*K.d.K.*, 325). Even closer to our modello, however, is the conception of this same saint in the

preliminary oil sketch for the Ildefonso triptych in the Hermitage, Leningrad (*Evers*, 1942, fig. 192), in which St. Albert's mantle has a light collar and the book in his left hand is open.

39. ST. CLARA OF ASSISI

Oil on canvas; approximately 2.7 : 3.8 m. (oval).

Formerly in the entrance of the Jesuit Church, Antwerp; destroyed by fire 1718.

COPIES : J.J. Preissler, drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentencabinet (*Delen*, p. 75, No. 1); J.J. Preissler, engraving (*V.S.*, p. 213, 11).

LITERATURE : *Klaegende-Dicht*, p. 7; *Description de l'ineestimable perte*, p. 8; *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, pp. 305-6; *Roses*, I, p. 41, No. 39, pl. 12 [Preissler's engraving].

The name of St. Clara appears with that of Eugenia under No. 34 in the provisional list of subjects. The painting was placed in the left-hand compartment of the three at the entrance. The spectator, standing in the middle bay, could see it by turning towards the north.

St. Clara, dressed in a nun's habit, sat in a chair on a hilltop overlooking the camp of the Saracens, whose tents were visible at the left. With her eyes looking heavenwards, the saint raised the pyx with the Sacrament in both hands; she was barefooted, and sat with the right leg extended. She was attended by two of her nuns, also dressed as Poor Clares, who knelt on either side of her : the nearer one, who filled much of the right half of the picture, seemed to be adjusting the saint's chair; on the farther side, the second nun, whose face was turned towards the enemy camp, supported Clara's right arm as if to steady it. The stout wooden chair was decorated with a scroll.

Since De Wit made no copies of this subject and since Müller's drawing has been lost, the sole pictorial record of the ceiling canvas is a red chalk drawing by Preissler (Fig. 194), which the same artist reproduced in the form of an engraving (Fig. 195). Fortunately, however, there are some controls that make it possible to gauge the accuracy of this evidence. In the first place, it may be assumed that Preissler's drawing of *St. Clara*,

like those of *St. Elizabeth of Hungary* (No. 37), is a careful copy of the lost drawing by Müller, and hence may be trusted as giving a faithful reflection of the original painting. Secondly, we have available for comparison Rubens's modello (Fig. 197), which, notwithstanding a difference in the posture of the right-hand figure, establishes beyond question the dependability of the Preissler drawing.

Preissler's engraving of this subject (Fig. 195) is obviously based on his own red chalk drawing, which it follows almost line for line. (Voorhelm Schneevogt is in error when he says that Preissler substituted *St. Clara* for *St. Catherine* : both saints are included in his series of prints of the Jesuit ceilings.)

Although turned at a different angle, the group of three nuns bears some resemblance to the episode of *Moses between Aaron and Hur* (No. 9), in which a seated figure is likewise closely attended by two others on either side.

39a. **ST. CLARA OF ASSISI : GRISAILLE SKETCH** (Fig. 196)

Oil on panel; 14.6 : 22.5 cm.

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. No. 381.

PROVENANCE : Perhaps to be identified with the grisaille sketch for the Jesuit ceiling described as "la religion" in the sale of the collection of Charles Spruyt (1769-1851) held at Ghent, 28 July 1806 et seqq., lot 168; Chambers Hall (1786-1855), who bequeathed the work to Oxford University.

LITERATURE : *Buschmann*, pp. 16-17 (repr.); *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 27; *Catalogue of Paintings, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1951*, No. 381; *Haverkamp Begemann, 1953*, p. 58, under No. 33.

In this little bozzetto the composition is already well developed in a horizontal form that is close to the definitive version. The nun at the right is not yet represented as kneeling, but is standing and bending forward. Above her can be seen a column which may be understood as marking the entrance to the convent. St. Clara's left foot is drawn back somewhat further than in the final conception. The Saracens' tents are sketch-

ily indicated by a few strokes of white at the lower left. Diagonal marks in the two right-hand corners show that Rubens entertained the possibility of an octagonal rather than an oval format.

The unusual posture of the nun seen from behind and bending forward from the waist was altered in the final painting, perhaps because the Jesuit fathers expressed objection to it. But Rubens rarely gave up a good invention, and the original pose was repeated, with only slight variation, for one of the figures in the central compartment of the Whitehall ceiling : see particularly the oil sketch in the collection of Mrs. Humphrey Brand at Glynde Place (*Croft-Murray*, pl. 58).

39b. **ST. CLARA OF ASSISI : MODELLO** (Fig. 197)

Oil on panel; 28 : 36.5 cm.

Paris, Collection of Jean Daridan.

PROVENANCE : The art-dealer Herman de Neyt, inventory, Antwerp, 15-21 October 1642 (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 99 : "Een schets van Sint Clara inden geest, naer Rubens ende van Dyck"); King Charles xv of Sweden (1826-1872); Countess Fränken, Stockholm; Ludwig Burchard, Berlin; F. Rothmann, Berlin; Assher & Welker, London; Dr. A. Scharf, London; O. Wertheimer, Paris.

EXHIBITED : *Brussels*, 1937, No. 64; *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No. 33 (repr.).

LITERATURE : *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 27.

The modello adheres closely to the pictorial scheme set out in the grisaille sketch. The attitude of the nun adjusting the saint's chair is still unchanged. But the architectural elements have been suppressed, and St. Clara's left foot has been advanced to the definitive position. At the left side we are given a hint of one of the conical tents of the Saracens. Above the saint Rubens has written with the brush *S. Clara*.

When Ludwig Burchard acquired the panel in Stockholm, a nimbus had been added above the head of St. Clara. This was subsequently removed.

Several modifications were made in transposing the design to the large canvas (cf. Fig. 194). The space around the figures was expanded, and

the sandal on St. Clara's right foot was omitted. The most conspicuous difference to be seen in the final version was that the nun at the right side was represented kneeling; yet this change was effected without disturbing the beautiful pattern of drapery folds falling from the waist of the figure.

Subjects Planned for the Galleries but never Executed

Before the programme had been fixed in its definitive form, Rubens made a number of oil sketches of biblical subjects which in the event did not find a place in the cycle of ceiling paintings. All but one of these discarded subjects are named in the provisional list attached to the contract of 1620; the exception is *The Sacrifice of Noah*. It is remarkable that the sketches in question were intended only for the galleries. This would seem to indicate that the choice of episodes for the upper level proved more difficult than the selection of saints for the aisles.

10(1). THE EXPULSION OF ADAM AND EVE FROM PARADISE

The subject is the first in the original list appended to the contract of 1620: "Expulsio Adami et Evae e paradiso". Rubens carried the development of the idea as far as the coloured modello. In the end, however, the subject was dropped from the programme.

No record has come to light of the grisaille sketch which must have preceded the modello.

10(1)a. THE EXPULSION OF ADAM AND EVE FROM PARADISE : MODELLO (Fig. 198)

Oil on panel; 49 : 65.6 cm.

Prague, *Narodni Galerie*.

PROVENANCE : Herman de Neyt, inventory, Antwerp, 15-21 October 1642 (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 94 : "Een schets van Rubbens daer Adam ende Eva wtet paradys worden gejaecht"); Victor Wolfvoet, inventory, Antwerp, 24-26 October 1652

(*Denné, Konstkamers*, p. 150: "Een ander schetse vanden selven Rubens, daer Adam ende Eva witten Paradyse geslaghen worden"); Counts of Clam-Gallas; placed on loan, 1802, in the *Gemäldegalerie patriotischer Kunstfreunde*, Prague; Princess Auersberg.

EXHIBITED: *Brussels*, 1937, No. 62 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Verzeichniss der Kunstwerke, welche sich in der Gemälde-Gallerie der Privatgesellschaft patriotischer Kunstfreunde zu Prag befinden*, Prague, 1835, p. 30, No. 55/878; *Katalog der Gemälde-Galerie im Künstlerhause Rudolphinum zu Prag*, Prague, 1889, p. 194, No. 586; *Rooses*, v, pp. 306-7, No. 40a; M. Rooses, in *Rubens Bulletin*, v, 1900, p. 281; O. Kletzl, in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, v, 1936, pp. 306-10 (repr.); *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, pp. 26, 74, pl. 30; L. Van Puyvelde, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, xxxv, 1949, p. 124, fig. 2.

Rubens has visualized the expulsion from the Garden of Eden as a precipitous descent into a world of hardship and death. The gate of paradise, a Roman triumphal arch with a coffered vault, stands upon a hilltop at the left, and before it lies an irregular mound sloping steeply to the lower right corner. The angel, clad in red and gold and grasping a fiery sword in his right hand, issues obliquely from the archway and sweeps towards the spectator, his draperies in agitated motion. With his left arm extended, he pushes Adam bodily to the brink of the hill. The latter, who wears a cloak made of animal skins, throws up his right arm to protect himself and looks back in fear at the angel. At his side and somewhat below him is Eve, also wrapped in an animal skin, who wrings her hands in distress. Death has already laid his hands upon the pair: a grinning, skeletal figure in a flapping shroud, he dances in the air before them, seizing Adam's arm with one bony hand and with the other pulling Eve along by her streaming hair. A tree closes the composition on the right, and a thorny shrub grows on the hillside below. The panel is very lightly painted and the brushwork is exceptionally fluent and mobile, the foliage at the upper right having an almost calligraphic quality.

Burchard noted that several of the ideas in this composition were taken from Tobias Stimmer's woodcut of *The Expulsion*, published in 1576 in his *Neue Künstliche Figuren Biblischer Historien* (reprinted by G. Hirth, *Tobias Stimmers Bibel*, Munich and Leipzig, 1881, p. 4), from which Rubens is known to have made copies (see F. Lugt, in *Art Quarterly*, vi, 1943, p. 109, figs. 19-20). For the angel he used the outstretched left arm

and left leg of Stimmer's figure, combining them with the type of avenging angel exemplified by St. Michael in his own *Fall of the Rebel Angels* (No. 1). The gestures of Adam and Eve, the former raising his arm to shield himself and the latter wringing her hands, seem also to have been suggested by Stimmer's illustration. The prancing attitude of Death, on the other hand, may be derived from Holbein's woodcut of *The Expulsion* in the so-called Dance of Death (*Les Simulachres et historiées faces de la mort*, Lyon, 1538, No. III).

Yet, even though Eve's gesture may have been prompted by Stimmer's illustration, her way of clasping her hands as a sign of remorse is a purely Rubenesque motif that the artist had earlier used for the repentant Magdalene in his painting of *Sts. Mary Magdalene and Martha* in Vienna (*K.d.K.*, 104).

As it turned out, *The Expulsion* was not included in the Jesuit cycle. But Rubens reverted to this composition when he made the designs for the tapestry series glorifying the Eucharist. The upper part of Adam's pose was repeated, in reverse, in the central figure of *The Triumph of the Eucharist over pagan Sacrifice*, the modello for which is in the Prado, Madrid (*K.d.K.*, 292).

0(II). THE ANNUNCIATION

The subject is named under No. 10 in the list attached to the contract: "Annunciatio B.V.¹⁸". Rubens prepared a grisaille sketch and a modello, both of which are still extant.

(II)a. THE ANNUNCIATION : GRISAILLE SKETCH (Fig. 199)

Oil on panel; 14.1 : 26.5 cm.

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. No. 383.

PROVENANCE : ? Maximilien de Hase, sale, Brussels, 10 June 1782 et seqq., lot 5; ? Comte de Cuypers de Reymenam, sale, Brussels, 27 April 1802 (probably one of the 17 grisaille sketches for the Jesuit ceiling comprising lot 114, sold to Spruyt); Charles Spruyt (1769-1851), sale, Ghent, 28 July 1806 et seqq., lot 171 (one of three pieces); idem, sale, Ghent, 3 October 1815 et seqq., lot 128 (one of two pieces); Thomas

Loridon de Ghellinck, sale, Ghent, 3 September 1821 et seqq., lot 212 ("L'annonciation; esquisse peinte en grisaille, pour plafond"); Chambers Hall (1786-1855), who bequeathed the work to Oxford University.

LITERATURE : *Buschmann*, p. 18 (repr.); *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 26; L. Van Puyvelde, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, xxxv, 1949, pp. 118-119, fig. 1; *Catalogue of Paintings, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1951*, No. 383.

Mary kneels at the left beside a *prie-Dieu*, over which she holds out her right hand; lifting the veil from her face with the other, she turns in surprise to look at the angel. A curtain may be seen gathered above her. Gabriel, whose body appears in foreshortening, makes an impetuous entry from the right side with both arms extended. His right foot is cut off by the lower edge of the picture. Rays of light accompany the angelic visitor.

For some reason, Rubens did not repeat this conception in the coloured modello (Fig. 200), in which he adopted a calmer attitude for the Virgin. At a later date, nevertheless, the artist found an opportunity to return to his original idea in another composition of *The Annunciation*, for which there is a modello in Prague, reproduced in an engraving by F. van den Steen (E. Ebenstein, in *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, xxvi, 1906-7, pp. 186-7, figs. 3-4 [wrongly attributed to F. Luycx]); here the Virgin is represented kneeling and moving the veil aside from her face precisely as in the Oxford grisaille sketch.

40(II)b. **THE ANNUNCIATION : MODELLO** (Fig. 200)

Oil on panel; 32 : 44 cm.

Vienna, Akademie der bildenden Künste. Inv. No. 633.

PROVENANCE : Anonymous, sale, Brussels, 18 July 1740 et seqq., lot 268 ("De Boodschap van Maria, eene schetse door den selven [Rubens]"); Jacques de Roore (1686-1747), sale, The Hague, 4 September 1747 et seqq., lot 43 (purchased by De Groot); Anthoni and Stephanus de Groot, sale, The Hague, 20 March 1771, lot 6; Count Anton Lamberg-Sprinzenstein (1740-1822), who donated the work to the Vienna Academy in 1821.

EXHIBITED : *Zurich, 1946-47*, No. 363; *Antwerp, 1954*, No. 92.

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, I, p. 41, No. 40; *Frimmel*, pp. 160-1; *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg*, p. 202; *K.d.K.*, p. 212; *Akademie, Wien, Cat. Eigenberger*, p. 336, pl. 78; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, pp. 26, 74, pl. 32; *Akademie, Wien, Cat. 1961*, p. 36, No. 33.

Departing from what seems to have been his usual practice, Rubens abandoned the composition set down in the grisaille sketch and started afresh. The scene is now given an oval form within a painted frame. The Virgin kneels upon a low platform beside a *prie-Dieu* at the left; she has been reading by the light of a little lamp and looks up, with one hand lying on the book and the other arrested in mid air, as if interrupted by the sudden intrusion of the heavenly messenger. Her garments – a pale-blue mantle with a mauve lining over a white dress – make an effective contrast with the dark-brown background; a curtain of greenish hue is draped above her head. The angel Gabriel, his rose-red draperies tossing excitedly, makes his appearance in a burst of light. Hovering almost horizontally over the dark clouds that fill the lower segment of the picture, he points up to heaven with his raised left hand. The frame, like that in the modello of *The Nativity* (Fig. 17), is painted in grey tones in imitation of stone.

In this modello Rubens has revived an earlier conception of *The Annunciation*, which is to be seen in a canvas of vertical shape (135 x 90 cm.) perhaps painted, according to Ludwig Burchard, in Italy during the period 1605-1608. The work in question, formerly in the possession of Dr. Curt Benedict, Berlin, was sold at auction there in 1935 (see the remarks by L. Burchard in the *Catalogue, Van Diemen & Co.*, sale, Berlin, 25 January 1935, No. 50, pl. 16). In adapting his early composition to the modello the artist has made no other change in the figure of the Virgin Mary than to adjust the foreshortening to a view *di sotto in su*. The broader proportions of the Vienna panel made it possible to give more space to Gabriel, for whom Rubens devised a pose closely resembling that of Christ in *The Ascension* (see especially the modello, Fig. 80).

(iii). THE DESCENT OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

The original catalogue of subjects mentions "Spiritus Sanctus in Pentecoste" as No. 31. Rubens made a grisaille sketch of the subject; if this was followed by a coloured modello we have no record of it.

40(III)a. THE DESCENT OF THE HOLY SPIRIT : GRISAILLE SKETCH

Oil on panel; approximately 17 : 29 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

The sketch belonged to Charles Spruyt (1769-1851). It appeared in the sale of his collection at Ghent, on 28 July 1806 and the following days, with two other sketches in lot 170 : "La descente du St. Esprit. *Haut.* 17, *larg.* 29 c.". We may imagine that, like the other grisaille sketches owned by Spruyt, this one had earlier passed through the hands of Maximilien de Hase (sale, Brussels, 10 June 1782 et seqq., lot 5) and Comte de Cuypers de Reymenam (sale, Brussels, 27 April 1802, lot 114). Nothing is known of its subsequent history after the Spruyt sale of 1806.

Before executing the grisaille sketch, Rubens had twice addressed himself to this subject : for the *Breviarium Romanum* of 1614 he had designed a *Descent of the Holy Spirit* which was engraved by Theodor Galle (see *Evers*, 1943, fig. 171) and in 1619 he had painted for the Count Palatine Wolfgang Wilhelm von Neuburg the huge canvas of *The Descent of the Holy Spirit* which is now in Munich (*K.d.K.*, 199). Both of these compositions, however, are of narrow, vertical shape and thus give no indication of the solution employed by the artist for the oblong format required in the Jesuit church. Since in the end the subject was rejected from the cycle, we may speculate whether this was not the result of Rubens's objection that it was unsuited to a ceiling painting.

40(IV). THE SACRIFICE OF NOAH

The subject does not appear in the provisional list that accompanied the contract of 1620, nor was it carried out as one of the ceiling canvases. Yet Rubens made not only a preliminary sketch in grisaille but also a modello in colour. These oil sketches were probably executed during the period when the original programme was being revised and the final selection had not yet been determined.

0(IV)a. THE SACRIFICE OF NOAH : GRISAILLE SKETCH (Fig. 201)

Oil on panel; 18.7 : 28.7 cm.

Oxford, *Asbmolean Museum*. No. 384.

PROVENANCE : ? Maximilien de Hase, sale, Brussels, 10 June 1782 et seqq., lot 5; ? Comte de Cuypers de Reymenam, sale, Brussels, 27 April 1802, lot 114; Charles Spruyt (1769-1851), sale, Ghent, 28 July 1806 et seqq., lot 166 ("Le sacrifice de Noë. *Haut.* 18, *larg.* 29 c."); idem, sale, Ghent, 3 October 1815 et seqq., lot 131 ("Le sacrifice de Noë. Esquisse en grisaille"), sold to Loridon; Thomas Loridon de Ghellinck, sale, Ghent, 3 September 1821 et seqq., lot 216 ("Sacrifice de Noë; esquisse peinte en grisaille, pour plafond"); Chambers Hall (1786-1855), who bequeathed the work to Oxford University.

LITERATURE : *Buschmann*, pp. 18-20 (repr.); *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 27 (erroneously called "Sacrifice of Melchizedek"); *Catalogue of Paintings, Asbmolean Museum*, Oxford, 1951, No. 384; *Haverkamp Begemann*, 1957, p. 83, note 4.

Noah kneels near the centre of the scene, his arms lifted in prayer before an altar at the right side on which lies a slaughtered animal. Two of his sons are preparing the sacrifice : one arranges faggots on the altar, and the second, kneeling in the lower right corner, is about to slaughter a sheep and holds a plate to catch the blood. Noah's wife is represented as an old woman kneeling in prayer just to the right of the patriarch. Behind him at the left are three other members of his family, one of whom seems to carry a bundle of sticks for the fire. The panel has suffered extensive damage and repair, the area affected being visible as an irregular patch along the bottom. The entire section has been repainted; but the restorer unfortunately misunderstood the kneeling posture of Noah and extended his left leg downward in a way that makes nonsense of this figure.

The composition shows some resemblance both to Michelangelo's *Sacrifice of Noah* on the Sistine Ceiling (*K.d.K., Michelangelo*, 23) and to Raphael's fresco of the same subject in the Vatican Loggia (*K.d.K., Raffael*, 172), especially in the motif of the youth who kneels in the act of slaughtering a sheep.

40(IV)b. THE SACRIFICE OF NOAH : MODELLO

The modello has been lost, leaving no traces in inventories or sale catalogues. Its appearance has nevertheless been preserved owing to the fact that the painter Biset included it among the eight sketches for the Jesuit ceiling in his *Picture Gallery of 1666* now in Schloss Schleissheim (Fig. 203). *The Sacrifice of Noab* (wrongly identified by *Speth-Holterhoff*, p. 188, as "Esther before Ahasuerus") may be recognized as the right-hand subject in the upper row. In spite of its diminutive size, it can be seen at once that the composition is identical to that in the grisaille sketch (Fig. 201). Noah wears a blue tunic and a red mantle which is draped over his left arm and trails on the ground behind him. The woman directly behind him is dressed in yellow, and the garments of the man at the extreme left are mauve-red.

IV. THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE CEILING PAINTINGS

The most concise description of the rationale of the Rubens cycle is that written by the Jesuit father Michael Grisius in 1622. The ceilings of the church, he says, "are adorned with noble pictures which either represent the mysteries of our salvation in parallel fashion from the Old and New Testament, or show various personages, both male and female, who are distinguished for their sanctity".⁶⁰ It is an accurate, if somewhat too abbreviated, statement of the iconographical plan, comprising as it did two principal parts: the biblical subjects, setting forth "the mysteries of salvation", were appropriately assigned to the higher, spiritual plane, while the saints, being more accessible to the faithful, occupied the lower level. This fundamental scheme is already apparent in the tentative list of subjects attached to the contract of 1620 (see Appendix I).

It is clear, moreover, that the ceiling paintings were designed to be seen in relation to the great paintings representing *The Miracles of St. Ignatius of Loyola* and *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier* which were shown alternately at the high altar (Figs. 4 and 5). The two fathers are there represented, significantly, as miracle-workers, able to drive out demons, to heal the sick and to restore the dead to life: in this respect they might be said to be a reincarnation of the saints of the primitive church. The fact that the interior of the Jesuit Church bore a marked resemblance to an Early Christian basilica thus takes on new meaning. It is indicative of the unity of the whole programme of decoration that Ignatius and Xavier are portrayed not only as founder and chief missionary of the Jesuit order, but as apostles endowed with the thaumaturgic powers of Christ himself.

The Mysteries of Christ and the Virgin

The first thing that must strike us about the biblical cycle of the Jesuit Church is its traditional – not to say mediaeval – character. It consists of nine scenes from the life of Christ and of the Virgin, together with

⁶⁰ MICHAEL GRISIUS, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14.

nine subjects from the Old Testament regarded as their prototypes (cf. Fig. B) :

*“Dus beeft 't Ouwde Testament in schaduwen voor dezen
De klaere waerbeydt van het Nieuwe aengewezen.”⁶¹*

In this pairing of type and antitype we may recognize the symbolic method made popular in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by two illustrated books, the *Biblia pauperum* and the *Speculum humanae salvationis*.⁶² This is not to say, of course, that the programme of the Jesuit cycle was simply adapted from one or the other of these late-mediaeval compendia, but only that it exemplifies a similar principle of anagogical imagery.

That a programme of decoration designed for the Society of Jesus should give prominence to the life of Christ will surprise no one. For, as is well known, a substantial part of the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius of Loyola is devoted to meditations on the “Mysteries of the Life of Our Lord”, from the Annunciation to the Ascension. But in fact it is not Christ alone who is glorified here : the upper cycle terminates with the Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin. This exaltation of Mary may be explained, in general terms, as reflecting the teachings of the Counter-Reformation, when Catholic artists were urged to glorify the Mother of God in defiance of the Protestant reformers who (in the words of Emile Mâle) “took away from the Virgin all beauty, all poetry, all greatness.”⁶³ But what is perhaps in this instance more pertinent is that the Jesuits, having in mind the special reverence paid to her by Ignatius, looked upon the Blessed Virgin as patroness and joint author, with Jesus Christ, of their order.⁶⁴ On the façade of the Jesuit Church (Fig. 1) it is the enthroned Virgin, holding the infant Christ in her lap, who occupies the place of honour in the gable.

⁶¹ *Klaegende-Dicht*, p. 5.

⁶² HENRIK CORNELL, *Biblia Pauperum*, Stockholm, 1925; J. LUTZ and P. PERDRIZET, *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, Mulhouse, 1907.

⁶³ ÉMILE MÂLE, *L'Art religieux après le Concile de Trente*, Paris, 1932, p. 30.

⁶⁴ In the volume published at Antwerp in 1640 to commemorate the centenary of the founding of the order, the Virgin Mary is described as “nutrix, patrona, imo altera velut auctor Societatis” (*Imago primi saeculi Societatis Iesu*, Antwerp, 1640, p. 72).

The Fall of the Rebel Angels (No. 1; cf. Fig. 16) rightly takes its place at the beginning of the cycle because, although derived from Revelation (xii, 7-9), it precedes the events of Creation described in Genesis: "And there was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon... And the great dragon was cast out, that old Serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, ... and his angels were cast out with him." It may seem strange that this apocalyptic subject should be paired with *The Nativity* (No. 2; cf. Fig. 17) since the two episodes apparently have nothing in common. To judge from the preliminary list of subjects (see Appendix I, p. 215), the original plan was that the cycle should commence with *The Fall of Lucifer* and *The Expulsion*, followed by *The Annunciation* and *The Nativity*, a sequence opposing the advent of the Saviour to Satan and his evil works. That plan, if it had been put into effect, would have presented certain similarities to the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, which opens with the Fall of Lucifer and continues through the first two chapters with the story of Adam and Eve, before turning to the life of the Virgin and the events leading up to the Birth of Christ. But, although Rubens went so far as to prepare final oil sketches of both *The Expulsion* (Fig. 198) and *The Annunciation* (Fig. 200), these two subjects were in the end dropped from the programme for reasons of space. The introductory scenes were thus contracted to a single pair consisting of *The Fall of the Angels* and *The Nativity*, which, if it was lacking in narrative completeness, at least served to point up more sharply the contrast between the rebellious pride of Satan and the humility of Christ. In a Jesuit church, moreover, no one could have failed to perceive that Michael vanquishing Lucifer and his host symbolized the triumph of the Catholic Church over Luther and the Protestant heresy.

The second pair – *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba* (No. 3; cf. Fig. 26) and *The Adoration of the Magi* (No. 4; cf. Fig. 27) – follows a conventional typology already found in the *Biblia pauperum*⁶⁵ and the *Speculum humanae salvationis*. The text of the *Speculum* explains that the visit of Sheba, who came from the East bearing gifts for King Solomon, prefigures the offerings brought to the Christ Child by the three Kings; the Throne of Solomon, moreover, signifies the Virgin Mary in

⁶⁵ CORNELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 255-6, pls. 2, 15, 29.

whose lap sat Jesus Christ⁶⁶. In *The Adoration of the Magi*, Rubens has been careful to show the Virgin seated at the top of a flight of steps and holding the Child in her lap, in order to make more explicit the symbolic relationship to the Throne of Solomon. The grape-vine growing on the trellis has eucharistic significance because it recalls the words of Christ: "I am the true vine" (John xv, 1). The mystical vine also appears in *The Adoration of the Magi* of 1609-10, now in the Prado (K.d.K., 26).

David beheading Goliath (No. 5; Fig. 31) precedes *The Temptation of Christ* (No. 6; Fig. 41). The concordance between the two is set forth in the *Speculum*, in which we read that Goliath represents the proud Lucifer, whereas David the shepherd is Christ, who in his humility overcame the temptation of the devil⁶⁷. The contrast of *superbia* and *humilitas* we have previously seen to be implied in *The Fall of Lucifer* and *The Birth of Christ*. A curious detail in *David and Goliath* is the stork flying with a serpent in its beak, which is plainly to be connected with the snake crawling on the ground in *The Temptation*. Cesare Ripa, in his famous dictionary of Iconology, explains that the serpent signifies evil desires; its natural enemy is the stork, which because it devours serpents may denote either religion or the soul that despises worldly pleasures.⁶⁸ The motif appears frequently in Rubens, an example being the drawing of *The Holy Family with St. John* in the British Museum (Held, No. 142; Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, No. 113).

That *Melchizedek offering Bread and Wine to Abraham* (No. 7; cf. Fig. 43) prefigures *The Last Supper* (No. 8; cf. Fig. 52) is so familiar an example of typological symbolism as to need no demonstration. Rubens has emphasized the mystical connection between the two subjects in several ways: the wine-jar and the basket seen on the steps in *The Last Supper* resemble those in the Old Testament scene, and there is a covert allusion to the meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek in the attitudes of Peter and the Lord, who are seated facing each other.

The ninth scene, *Moses in Prayer between Aaron and Hur* (cf. Fig. 54), illustrates an episode from the victory of Joshua over the Amalekites

⁶⁶ *Speculum*, cap. ix (LUTZ-PERDRIZET, *op. cit.*, p. 21).

⁶⁷ *Speculum*, cap. xiii (LUTZ-PERDRIZET, *op. cit.*, p. 29).

⁶⁸ CESARE RIPA, *Iconologia* (1st ed. 1593), s.vv. "Disprezzo, et Distruzione de i Piaceri, & cattivi affetti" and "Religione".

that is told in Exodus (xvii, 10-12) : "So Joshua did as Moses had said to him, and fought with Amalek : and Moses, Aaron, and Hur went up to the top of the hill. And it came to pass, when Moses held up his hand, that Israel prevailed : and when he let down his hand, Amalek prevailed. But Moses' hands were heavy ... and Aaron and Hur stayed up his hands, the one on the one side, and the other on the other side; and his hands were steady until the going down of the sun." According to the fathers, Moses' gesture of lifting his hands signifies the Passion of Christ, and the defeat of Amalek foretells Christ's victory over the devil.⁶⁹ This meaning is reinforced in emblematic terms by the hawk which can be seen in the sky overwhelming another bird : that the hawk is a symbol of victory is explained in the *Hieroglyphica* of Valeriano.⁷⁰ Standing as it does at the west end (the sunset end) of the north gallery, *Moses in Prayer* is not followed by a companion scene from the New Testament, but might be said to function as a kind of caesura : on the one hand it looks forward to *The Crucifixion* (No. 10) with which the series resumes on the opposite side; and on the other, because of its allusion to the overthrow of Satan, it recalls *The Fall of the Rebel Angels* (No. 1).

On the south side the order of subjects is reversed : here it is the New Testament scene that comes first, to be followed by its Old Testament prototype.

The Raising of the Cross (No. 10; cf. Fig. 62), though foreshadowed, as we have just noted, by *The Prayer of Moses*, finds its proper concordance in *Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac* (No. 11; cf. Fig. 63) which comes immediately after. The parallel is a venerable one, and may be found for example in the *Biblia pauperum*.⁷¹ The mystical meaning of Abraham's Sacrifice is expounded at length by the biblical commentators, who observe that Isaac carried the wood to the mountain as Christ carried the cross to Mount Calvary, that Abraham signifies God the Father giving

⁶⁹ *Glossa ordinaria* (MIGNE, *Patrolog. Lat.*, cxiii, col. 243; RABANUS MAURUS, *Comment. in Exodum* (*ibid.*, cviii, col. 84); AUGUSTINE, *Sermo ccclii* (*ibid.*, xxxviii-xxxix, col. 1556). POUSSIN, in his painting of this subject in the Hermitage, Leningrad, makes the allusion to the Crucifixion more explicit by showing Moses with arms held out to the sides (repr. in the catalogue of the exhibition *Nicolas Poussin*, Paris, 1960, No. 2).

⁷⁰ PIERIO VALERIANO, *Hieroglyphica*, Basel, 1556, liber xxi, cap. xix.

⁷¹ CORNELL, *op. cit.*, p. 277, pls. 10, 21, 22, 39, etc.

his only son, and that Isaac represents Jesus Christ, obedient to the Father, offering himself upon the altar of the cross.⁷²

The Resurrection of Christ (No. 12; cf. Fig. 68) has as its prototype *The Triumph of Joseph in Egypt* (No. 13; cf. Fig. 72). As a reward for having interpreted Pharaoh's dreams Joseph was released from prison. "And Pharaoh took off his ring from his hand, and put it upon Joseph's hand, and arrayed him in vestures of fine linen, and put a gold chain about his neck; and he made him to ride in the second chariot which he had; and they cried before him, Bow the knee: and he made him ruler over all the land of Egypt" (Gen. LXI, 41-43). Joseph is thus said to prefigure Christ, who "rose from the prison of hell [and] ascended the chariot of the kingdom of heaven".⁷³ The obelisk which appears in *Joseph's Triumph* not only denotes an Egyptian setting but is also to be understood as an emblem of "the glory of princes".⁷⁴ A similar meaning is conveyed by the trumpets blown by the musicians at the lower right.⁷⁵

The Ascension of Christ (No. 14; cf. Fig. 80) is followed by *The Translation of Elijah* (No. 15; cf. Fig. 81), a typological parallel that appears both in the *Biblia pauperum* and the *Speculum*.⁷⁶ A characteristic interpretation is the following: "Elijah represents Christ, for as he was carried aloft in a fiery chariot, even so did Christ take up to heaven the flesh in which he was born, suffered, and rose again".⁷⁷

The paintings of the south gallery come to a conclusion with the Triumph of the Virgin, which takes the form of her *Assumption* (No.

⁷² Cf. AUGUSTINE, *Enarratio in Psalmum XXX* (MIGNE, *Patrolog. Lat.*, xxxvi-xxxvii, cols. 244-45). The patristic interpretations of this subject are cited by the Jesuit writer LOUIS RICHEOME, in his *Tableaux Sacrez des figures mystiques du très-auguste sacrifice et sacrement de l'Eucharistie*, Paris, 1609, pp. 109 ff.

⁷³ RABANUS MAURUS, *De universo*, III, i (MIGNE, *Patrolog. Lat.*, cxi, col. 51).

⁷⁴ Cf. RIPA, *op. cit.*, s.v. "Gloria de' Prencipi".

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, s.v. "Gloria": "Si dipinge con la tromba in mano, perche con essa si publicano a popoli i desiderij de' Prencipi".

⁷⁶ CORNELL, *op. cit.*, p. 291, pls. 12, 18, 43; *Speculum*, cap. xxiii (LUTZ-PERDRIZET, *op. cit.*, p. 69).

⁷⁷ RABANUS MAURUS, *op. cit.*, III, ii (MIGNE, *Patrolog. Lat.*, cxi, col. 66). The possibility should not be overlooked that Rubens's *Translation of Elijah* contains a cryptic allusion to the poverty enjoined on the Jesuits: in the centennial volume of the order published at Antwerp in 1640 an engraving of the prophet in the fiery chariot casting off his mantle is presented as an emblem of "unencumbered poverty" (*Imago primi saeculi*, p. 176).

16; cf. Fig. 86) and *Coronation* (No. 18; cf. Fig. 102). Between these two subjects appears *Esther before Ahasuerus* (No. 17; cf. Fig. 95). Learning from her cousin Mordecai that the king had decreed that all Jews should be put to death, the Jewish queen Esther went to Ahasuerus to intercede for her people. "And Esther spake yet again before the king, and fell down at his feet, and besought him with tears to put away the mischief of Haman ... and his device that he had devised against the Jews. Then the king held out the golden sceptre toward Esther" (Esther viii, 3-4). The exaltation of Esther is to be understood as prefiguring both *The Assumption* and *The Coronation of the Virgin*; indeed this dual relationship is specifically affirmed by the Jesuit writer Vincenzo Bruno in his *Meditations on the Seven Principal Feasts of the Virgin*.⁷⁸

As he looked at *The Coronation of the Virgin* (Fig. 96) the visitor could not have failed to observe that its compositional grouping of three figures echoed that of *Moses between Aaron and Hur* (Fig. 54), which occupied a corresponding position at the west end of the other gallery. The analogy may have been more than a merely formal one: the author of the *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen* points out (pp. 282-3) that Rubens probably meant to draw a parallel between Moses' prayer for his people and the Virgin's prayer of intercession for all mankind.

The Saints

The paintings of the aisles, like those of the galleries, were also arranged according to a principle of alternation (cf. Fig. C). Eight male saints were matched by an equal number of female saints, and the Name of Jesus had its counterpart in the Name of Mary. (The three saints at the entrance formed a special group and will be considered separately.)

The saints of this cycle were neither local nor recent: we look here in vain for such personages as Sts. Amandus and Walburga, who were much honoured in Flanders, and who are to be seen on one of the wings of *The Raising of the Cross* in the Cathedral of Antwerp (K.d.K., 37);

⁷⁸ *Meditationes in septem praecipua festa B. Virginis*, Cologne, 1602, pp. 234-5. See also CORNELL, *op. cit.*, p. 292, pls. 18, 44.

nor do we find in this company any of the venerated figures of the Jesuit Order. In keeping with the atmosphere of biblical antiquity that was established by the paintings of the galleries above, the saints of the lower level belonged without exception to the heroic age of the faith; indeed two of them, St. Anne and St. Mary Magdalene, lived in the time of Christ. There were, first, the doctors of the church. The four Greek Fathers – Athanasius, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus and John Chrysostom – were distributed along the north side, and the four Latin Fathers – Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose and Gregory the Great – along the south, each corner of the church being sustained, as it were, by one of the doctors. Interspersed amongst these authors of doctrine and defenders of orthodoxy were the female saints, six of whom were virgin martyrs of the early Christian era. The remaining two – Anne and Mary Magdalene – were included by virtue of their close relationship to Christ and the Virgin Mary, whose names marked the middle point of each aisle.

We are not likely to be misled by the antiquity of the saints represented there into believing that Rubens's ceiling paintings were totally unrelated to the terrible conflicts of religion which had shaken all Europe and split the Netherlands in two. The underlying theme, manifestly, was that in this crisis the Society of Jesus had come to the defence of the Church with all the vigour shown by the heroes of the primitive age of Christianity. This meaning was brought more sharply into focus by the interior of the Jesuit Church itself, to which the architect had given the form of an Early Christian basilica.

The Church Fathers

In the victory of *St. Athanasius* over the arch-heretic Arius (No. 19; cf. Fig. 109) the initiate undoubtedly perceived an allusion to the battle waged by Ignatius against Luther. It was a recurrent theme with Jesuit writers that, whenever heresies sprang up, champions were divinely appointed to combat them, and that this continued to be true in modern times no less than in the past. Thus Suarez explained : "When Arius rose up against the Church, God called up Athanasius against him... And we see that [the Jesuit Order] arose at the very time that Luther stirred

up war against the Church.”⁷⁹ The fact that the painting of *St. Athanasius overcoming Arius* stood directly beneath *The Fall of the Rebel Angels* made its meaning even plainer.

No such connotation seems to have been intended in the plafond with *St. Basil the Great* (No. 21; cf. Fig. 115). A popular legend of this saint, repeated by the sixteenth-century hagiographer Laurentius Surius, tells that Ephrem the hermit saw, in a vision, a column of fire reaching to the sky and heard a voice from heaven saying “Ephrem, Ephrem, the column of fire that you have seen is the great Basil”.⁸⁰ St. Basil was bishop of Caesarea, but, as Ludwig Burchard has observed, he evidently figures here as a representative of the monastic discipline, since he wears a monk’s habit; the books lying near him are perhaps to be taken as his ascetic writings, the *Regulae* and the *Moralia*.

The theme of orthodoxy triumphant over heresy recurs in the image of *St. Gregory of Nazianzus* (No. 25; cf. Fig. 134), the great theologian who took a leading part in the struggle against Arianism. The smoke and flames that issue from the mouth of the vanquished demon are an attribute of Heresy.⁸¹

The fourth of the Greek Fathers, *St. John Chrysoſtom*, the golden-mouthed, is pictured by Rubens in a narrative scene of unusual complexity (No. 27; cf. Fig. 144). A silver statue of the Empress Eudocia had been erected in Constantinople, not far from the church of St. Sophia, and public games were held there in her honour. Chrysoſtom, infuriated by the insult thus offered to the Church, thunderously denounced those responsible for it and thereby incurred the hatred of the Empress.⁸² The ceiling painting represents a group of workmen overturning the effigy of Eudocia on the orders of the saint. Now it is curious that neither in the Greek ecclesiastical histories nor in the various Latin accounts of the episode, such as that in the *Golden Legend*, is it said that the Empress’s statue was torn down. This vivid but erroneous detail may have been

⁷⁹ FRANCISCO SUAREZ, *Opus de religione*, Lyons, 1630-34, IV, p. 397. See also PIERRE COTON, *Institution catholique*, Paris, 1610, pp. 677-679 (with a lengthy comparison of Ignatius and Luther) and *Imago primi saeculi*, p. 19.

⁸⁰ LAURENTIUS SURIUS, *Historiae, seu vitae sanctorum*, Turin, 1875-80, VI, p. 330.

⁸¹ RIPA, *op. cit.*, s.v. “Heresia”.

⁸² SOCRATES, *Historia ecclesiastica*, VI, 18.

suggested by another event in the life of the saint – the destruction of the statues of the Emperor Theodosius and his wife, which occasioned Chrysostom's *Homilies on the Statues*.⁸³

In the south aisle the first of the Latin Church Fathers is *St. Jerome* (No. 28; cf. Fig. 152), accompanied by the lion which is his invariable attribute. In accordance with an iconographical tradition that was especially popular in the seventeenth century, the saint is represented as a hermit listening to the trumpet of the Last Judgment.⁸⁴

St. Augustine (No. 30; cf. Fig. 162), kneeling in an ecstatic attitude, holds a heart transfixed by an arrow. The attribute is explained by a famous passage in his *Confessions* (IX, 2) : "Thou hadst pierced our heart with the arrow of thy love".⁸⁵ Lying neglected beside him are his theological writings (a book and a scroll) and the trappings of episcopal dignity (mitre and crosier), as if to suggest that the love of God outweighs all mere human accomplishments.

No less distinctive is the attribute of *St. Ambrose*, the beehive (No. 34; cf. Fig. 175). It is told of this saint that when as an infant he lay asleep in his crib a swarm of bees descended upon his face and entered his mouth, after which they flew away so high that the eye could hardly follow them. The miracle was interpreted as foretelling the eloquence of the saint.⁸⁶

St. Gregory the Great is identified by the papal tiara and triple cross-staff, and by the dove of the Holy Spirit which flies near his shoulder (No. 36; cf. Fig. 185). The fact that the saint is shown in adoration of the Madonna establishes a link with *The Coronation of the Virgin* (Fig. 96), which stands on the upper level directly above *St. Gregory*.

The Female Saints

The roll of female saints begins with those who lived in the time of Christ. As the observer moved along the north aisle from the altar to-

⁸³ MIGNE, *Patrolog. Graeca*, XLIX, cols. 15-222.

⁸⁴ See C. CAHIER, *Caractéristiques des Saints dans l'art populaire*, Paris, 1867, II, p. 779.

⁸⁵ "Sagittaveras tu cor nostrum caritate tua." Molanus remarks (1594) that the motif of the heart transfixed by an arrow is a recent development in sacred art (*Historia sacrarum imaginum et picturarum*, reprinted in MIGNE, *Theologiae cursus completus*, XXVII, col. 256).

⁸⁶ SURIUS, *op. cit.*, XII, p. 199.

wards the west front he saw, on the second ceiling, *St. Anne and the Virgin Mary* and, on the fourth, *St. Mary Magdalene*.

St. Anne (No. 20; cf. Fig. 110) is pictured with the Virgin Mary at her side. In the original list of titles the name of Anne appears alone; but the Virgin was included in the painting, doubtless for the reason that *St. Anne* could not otherwise have been identified. Although the scene may properly be called *The Education of the Virgin* (cf. the painting of that subject in the Antwerp Museum, *K.d.K.*, 338) it will be observed that the book which is customarily shown on the mother's knee has here been omitted. Rubens's intention, it may be deduced, is to suggest that the education of Mary is not mere book-learning; Anne, whose eyes are raised to heaven, is divinely inspired, and the knowledge thus acquired is transmitted by her to the Virgin. The painting on the upper level that stood over this scene of mother and child was, appropriately, *The Nativity* (Fig. 18).

St. Mary Magdalene (No. 22; cf. Fig. 120), who retired in solitude to a mountain cave, owes her place in the cycle just preceding *The Name of Jesus* not only to her role as penitent sinner but to the love and devotion shown by her to the Lord. The original intention was that this ceiling should represent the saint being carried to heaven by angels, as appears from the thirteenth title in the tentative list of subjects: "Sancta Magdalena rapta ad angelorum harmoniam". Perhaps because Rubens objected that this might be confused with *The Assumption of the Virgin* (No. 16), the subject was changed to *The Penitent Magdalene in the Wilderness*.

The remaining female saints of this series are virgin martyrs. Numbered amongst them are intercessors such as Catherine and Barbara, whose aid had for centuries been invoked in time of sickness and need, and who may be seen waiting serenely upon the Madonna and Child in paintings by Hans Memling and his contemporaries. But it is not merely because they are objects of popular devotion that these saints are included in the Jesuit cycle. The fact that three of them (Lucy, Barbara and Eugenia) are represented suffering martyrdom indicates that they exemplify the steadfastness and self-sacrifice required of Jesuit missionaries who might find themselves facing death or torture. The other three (Cecilia, Catherine and Margaret) may be understood to typify the virtue of chastity

which Ignatius insisted upon as essential, together with poverty and obedience, in the members of the Society. One of the spectacles organized by the Jesuits of Antwerp to celebrate the canonization of Sts. Ignatius and Xavier in 1622 took the form of a *tableau vivant* showing the Virgin conferring the "gift of chastity" upon Ignatius; the meaning of this *spectaculum castitatis* was made clear by the presence of a company of virgin martyrs of the early church, amongst whom were to be seen Sts. Catherine and Cecilia.⁸⁷

St. Cecilia (No. 24; cf. Fig. 132), who at her wedding prayed that her heart and body might remain immaculate, is a familiar type of virginal purity. She is represented sitting at the organ that legend has mistakenly fixed as her attribute, while an angel places a wreath of flowers on her head.⁸⁸

St. Catherine of Alexandria (No. 26; cf. Fig. 139), spouse of Christ, is easily identified by her broken wheel. She holds both the palm and the sword which was the ultimate instrument of her martyrdom, and stands triumphant over her oppressor, the Emperor Maximin.

The martyrdom of *St. Lucy of Syracuse* (No. 29; cf. Fig. 153) is told in the *Golden Legend*. When the fire that had been built around her left the saint unharmed, a soldier plunged his sword into her neck. Rubens includes in his painting the ghostly figure of St. Agatha, because Lucy, worshipping at her shrine, had learned from her in a vision that she was to be martyred for her faith.⁸⁹

Instead of showing *St. Barbara* (No. 31; cf. Fig. 164) alone with her tower, as she appears in hundreds of images, Rubens illustrates the climactic moment in the legend of this popular saint, when her pagan father, enraged by her adoption of Christianity, himself put her to death by the sword.

As Catherine is universally known by her wheel, and Barbara by her tower, so is *St. Margaret* (No. 33; cf. Fig. 171) recognized by her dragon. The legend of this saint relates two versions of her encounter with the devil, who appeared to her in the likeness of a dragon: in the first version

⁸⁷ *Honor S. Ignatio*, pp. 30-31.

⁸⁸ Cf. L. RÉAU, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, Paris, 1955-59, III, I, p. 280.

⁸⁹ JACOBUS A VORAGINE, *Legenda aurea* (ed. T. GRAESSE, Breslau, 1890, pp. 29-32).

Margaret simply made the sign of the Cross, whereupon the monster vanished; according to the second account, dismissed even in the *Golden Legend* as apocryphal, the saint was swallowed whole by the dragon and miraculously escaped by making the sign of the Cross, which caused the creature to burst open.⁹⁰ Although officially frowned on, the second version was the one commonly chosen by artists, as in the canvases by Raphael (Louvre) and Titian (Prado), both of which show Margaret emerging from the belly of the monster. That this same conception, moreover, was the one originally planned for the Jesuit ceiling we know from the wording of the title in the preliminary list: "Margareta cum cruce in manu calcans draconem". It is the more puzzling, therefore, to find that in the definitive painting Margaret not only has no cross in her hand but instead holds a halter which is fastened about the dragon's neck. This detail, which finds no justification in the life of the saint, has been appropriated, through an understandable confusion, from the legend of St. Martha, of whom we are told that she tamed a ferocious dragon by tying her belt about its neck so that it stood at her side like a lamb.⁹¹ This may also explain the inclusion of the lamb in the ceiling painting, although it is true that the *Golden Legend* speaks of Margaret as a shepherdess. One would like to know whether the oil sketches followed the same iconography, but unluckily these have not been preserved. Rubens also represented St. Margaret with a tame dragon on a leash in *The Coronation of St. Catherine* of 1633, formerly in the collection of L. Koppel, Berlin, and now in the Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio (K.d.K., 343).

The last and least familiar of the virgin martyrs of the Jesuit cycle is *St. Eugenia* (No. 35; cf. Fig. 180). The daughter of a patrician of Alexandria, Eugenia disguised herself as a man and entered a monastery as Brother Eugenius. Later, her true sex being revealed, she travelled to Rome, where she was condemned to death as a Christian. Rubens combines the beheading of the saint with another episode from her life. Taken to the temple of Diana in Rome and ordered to worship the goddess, Eugenia began to pray. At once there occurred an earthquake which

⁹⁰ *Legenda aurea* (GRAESSE, *op. cit.*, p. 401).

⁹¹ *Legenda aurea* (GRAESSE, *op. cit.*, p. 444). This was pointed out to me by Erwin Panofsky.

caused the temple and its pagan idol to fall to the ground.⁹² Eugenia, whatever her merits, must seem a little out of place in a company that includes such illustrious stars as Cecilia, Catherine, Lucy, Barbara and Margaret. We may suspect, then, that the unexpected prominence given to this saint was due to two circumstances : first, that her name was one of those borne by the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia; and secondly, that her life appeared in the great *Vitae patrum* published in 1615 by the Jesuit scholar Heribertus Rosweyde.

The place of honour in each aisle is reserved for the Holy Names, that of Jesus on the left (cf. Fig. 124) and that of Mary on the right (cf. Fig. 169). Rubens adheres to the recommendation of Molanus, who in his *Historia sacrarum imaginum et picturarum* (published in 1594) says that the Name of Jesus should be painted amidst the rays of the sun.⁹³ In addition to preserving the balance of male and female that we have seen to be true of the images of the saints, the two ceilings form a link with those of the upper tier, the principal theme of which is the glorification of Christ and the Virgin Mary.

The Patron Saints of the Archdukes

The three saints whose likenesses appeared beneath the organ loft at the doorway (cf. Fig. C) constituted a group independent of those seen on the plafonds of the aisles. Unlike the latter, who belonged to the heroic epoch of early Christianity, these three were of a more recent period – the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. What entitled such newcomers to a position at the very entrance to the church was the fact that they were the tutelary saints of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella.

The patron of the Archduke Albert was St. Albert of Louvain, bishop of Liège, cardinal, and martyr. St. Albert was murdered in 1192 or 1193 by German knights said to have been hired by the Emperor Henry VI, who opposed his appointment to the see of Liège; he was buried in the Cathedral of Reims. In 1612 the Archduke Albert personally requested

⁹² SURIUS, *op. cit.*, XII, pp. 429-449. The life of Eugenia is also to be found in ROSWEYDE'S *Vitae patrum*, Antwerp, 1615, cap. xxviii.

⁹³ MIGNE, *Theologiae cursus completus*, xxvii, col. 183.

that the saint's body be transferred from Reims to Brussels.⁹⁴ Rubens's posthumous portrait of the Archduke, on the left wing of the *St. Ildefonso* altarpiece (*K.d.K.*, 325), shows him accompanied by his patron, St. Albert of Louvain.

For Albert's wife, the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia, there were (as her Christian names indicate) no fewer than three patron saints. The first was St. Elizabeth of Hungary (1207-1231), whose life was devoted to religion and works of charity. When her husband died, Elizabeth was received into the third order of Franciscans – an example that was to be followed by Isabella herself after the death of Albert. Relics of St. Elizabeth of Hungary were presented by the Infanta to the convent of the Carmelite nuns in Brussels.⁹⁵ The second patron was St. Clara of Assisi (1194-1253), the disciple of St. Francis. The third was St. Eugenius, martyr, and first bishop of Toledo, whose body was translated from St. Denis in France to Toledo in the year 1565 at the request of King Philip II of Spain, father of the Infanta.⁹⁶

Of the three personages represented at the portal of the Jesuit Church (to turn once more to Rubens's ceiling paintings), two are beyond question patron saints of the Infanta, namely St. Elizabeth of Hungary on the right side, and St. Clara of Assisi on the left. *St. Elizabeth* (No. 37; cf. Fig. 189) is pictured in a characteristic act of charity, giving alms to a beggar who sits beside the steps of a church or palace. The plafond of *St. Clara* (No. 39; cf. Fig. 194) illustrates a famous miracle from the life of that saint. When the Saracens besieged her convent, Clara, although ill, had herself carried to a place overlooking the enemy's camp and there held up a pyx containing the sacrament of the Eucharist, at the sight of which the Saracens fled.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ *L'Histoire de l'Archiduc Albert Gouverneur Général et puis Prince Souverain de la Belgique*, Cologne, 1693, pp. 338-9. See also E. DE MOREAU, *Albert de Louvain, prince-évêque de Liège*, Brussels, 1946. In fact another body was sent by mistake to Brussels in 1612; the remains of St. Albert were discovered at Reims in 1920 while the cathedral was undergoing repairs.

⁹⁵ AUBERTUS MIRAEUS, *Isabellae Sanctae*, Brussels, n.d. (dedication to the Infanta Isabella dated 1622), cap. ii.

⁹⁶ AUBERTUS MIRAEUS, *Serenissimae Principis Isabellae Clarae Eugeniae Hispaniarum Infantis laudatio funebris*, Antwerp, 1634, p. 4.

⁹⁷ *Legenda aurea* (GRAESSE, *op. cit.*, p. 950).

The central figure of the trio (No. 38; cf. Fig. 192) is a cardinal with a martyr's palm. Who is this saint? The early descriptions of the paintings supply no information about him, nor is there any clue to his identity in the preliminary list of subjects. Müller's drawing designates him "S. Eugenius, s.R.E. Card."; this can only mean Eugenius of Toledo, the third of the tutelary saints of the Infanta. It should be noted that this identification was the one adopted, after some hesitation, by Ludwig Burchard. Yet if we agree that the principal figure was indeed Eugenius, then the question arises how it was possible that the decoration of the Jesuit Church should have honoured the Infanta alone, while pointedly omitting any reference whatever to the Archduke. For it must be remembered that Albert, though he died in July 1621 before the dedication of the church, was still alive not only during the planning of the cycle but throughout the period of its execution. Since it is inconceivable that the sovereign prince should have been thus overlooked, I believe that Rooses is right in saying that the saint in question must be Albert of Louvain, the patron saint of the Archduke.⁹⁸ There are additional reasons for concluding that St. Albert and not St. Eugenius was represented here. In the first place the martyr in Rubens's painting was robed as a cardinal, whereas Eugenius (unlike Albert) did not hold that office.⁹⁹ Moreover, there was already an allusion to the third of the Infanta's names in the painting of *St. Eugenia* in the south aisle near the entrance (No. 35), so that the presence of St. Eugenius at the portal would have been superfluous.¹⁰⁰

Inasmuch as the task of composing the programme of the Jesuit ceiling could have been carried out by any one of a number of fathers living

⁹⁸ *Rubens Bulletin*, III, 1888, pp. 269-70.

⁹⁹ St. Eugenius, accompanied by Clara and Elizabeth, was represented in bishop's garb with mitre and crosier on one of the arches erected for the entry of Albert and Isabella into Antwerp in 1599. The arch commemorated the translation of the body of St. Eugenius to Toledo. See JOANNES BOCHIUS, *Historica narratio profectiois et inaugurationis Serenissimorum Belgii Principum Alberti et Isabellae, Austriae Archiducum...*, Antwerp, 1602, pp. 236-237 (engraving). This was brought to my attention by Carl Van de Velde.

¹⁰⁰ One of the decorations prepared for the entry of Albert and Isabella into Lille in 1600 represented a convent with feigned statues of Sts. Elizabeth, Clara and Eugenia (not Eugenius). See J. HOUBOY, *Joyeuse Entrée d'Albert et d'Isabelle. Lille au XVI^e siècle d'après des documents inédits*, Lille, 1873, pp. 55-6.

in the Professed House in Rubens's day, it may seem pointless to speculate on the identity of the author – or authors. Yet there are indications that two persons may have taken a particular interest in the project.

The first is the superior, Father Jacobus Tirinus, to whose vision and determination is due the magnificence of the Jesuit Church. It is true that in signing the contract with Rubens for the ceiling paintings Tirinus was merely acting in his capacity as *praepositus* and need not therefore have had anything to do with drawing up the programme. At the same time a hint of his direct intervention in the matter may be found in the first article of the contract, which specifies that the superior may make changes in the list of subjects. Perhaps it is not going too far to suggest that Tirinus may have been responsible for selecting the biblical subjects of the galleries. It is worth pointing out, in this connection, that he was the author of a voluminous commentary on the Old and New Testament, which abounds in typological interpretations and which, if not distinguished for its originality, at least proves that he was very well read in exegetical literature.¹⁰¹

It is tempting to believe, further, that Tirinus may also have enlisted the aid of Heribertus Rosweyde, the eminent hagiographer who provided the foundation for the work of the Bollandists – the *Acta Sanctorum*.¹⁰² In 1607 Rosweyde had published his *Faſti Sanctorum*, in which he set forth, as in a prospectus, his plans (never realized by him) for a set of eighteen volumes containing the lives of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the saints. Rosweyde was appointed to the Jesuit College in Antwerp in 1612, and it was there that he brought out his most important work, the *Vitae patrum* (1615), which includes, as we have already noted, the life of St. Eugenia.¹⁰³ Of all the members of the Professed House he was

¹⁰¹ *Commentarius in Vetus et Novum Testamentum*, Antwerp, 1632. In the preface to volume III TIRINUS writes: "Duobus praecedentibus Tomis, quibus vetus Testamentum continetur, typos & figuras vidimus, quae sunt umbra futurorum... Nunc in tertio Tomo, qui novum Testamentum complectitur, videbimus pro umbra solidum corpus, pro typis antitypa, pro figuris veritatem."

¹⁰² H. DELEHAYE, *A travers trois siècles. L'œuvre des Bollandistes 1615-1915*, Brussels, 1920, pp. 8-22.

¹⁰³ It may be recalled, too, that Rubens designed an illustrated title-page for the Dutch version of this book, which appeared in 1617 as *'t Vaders Boeck*. On the likeness of St. Eugenia in that illustration, see Chapter III, No. 35.

undoubtedly the one best qualified to select the saints for the plafonds of the aisles. Another book by Rosweyde in which we may sense some relationship to the Jesuit cycle is *The Lives of the Holy Virgins* (1626). Appended to this work is a "Short Treatise on the Virginal State", in which the author remarks that, according to St. Thomas Aquinas, there are three kinds of saints to whom golden crowns are given as a reward for their victory over the enemies of Christ and the salvation of mankind: the martyr, who triumphs over the world; the virgin, who triumphs over the flesh; and the doctor, who triumphs over the devil.¹⁰⁴

There is nothing abstruse or enigmatic about the Jesuit ceiling. Through its glorification of Christ, the Virgin Mary and the saints, the meaning of the cycle is clear: it stands as "a symbol of triumphant Catholicism in Antwerp of the first half of the seventeenth century".¹⁰⁵ Heresy – in the guise of the reformed religion – may have gained the upper hand in the northern provinces; but in the southern Netherlands, under the watchful eye of the Jesuits, the old orthodox faith is unshaken. There can have been no one better fitted to give pictorial form to this argument than Peter Paul Rubens. In this epic cycle, with its visions both of earthly pageantry and of transcendent glory, its celebration of the heroic virtues no less than of spiritual exaltation, Rubens found an opportunity to express on a grand scale the synthesis that is fundamental to his art – the union of Christian and classical values.

¹⁰⁴ *Het Leven der HH. Maeghden die van Christus tijden tot dese eeuw in den salighen Staet der Suyverbeydt in de Wereldt gheleeft hebben. Met een cort Tractaet van den Maeghdelycken Staet door Heribertus Ros-Weydus Priester der Societeyt Iesu*, Antwerp, 1626, p. 600. The passage by AQUINAS is from the fourth book of the *Commentary on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, dist. 49, qu. 5, art. 5.

¹⁰⁵ M. SABBE, *Het geestesleven in Antwerpen, Rubens en zijne Eeuw*, Brussels, 1927, p. 97.

APPENDIX I

The Contract between Rubens and Father Tirinus for the Ceiling Paintings of the Jesuit Church

The original document is lost. In 1773, at the time of the suppression of the Society of Jesus, the contract still existed in the archives of the Professed House of the Antwerp Jesuits. It was seen there by J. F. van Assche, who made a copy of the document dated 24 November 1773. That copy, now seemingly also lost, was transcribed by François Mols in his manuscript notes on Rubens preserved in the Bibliothèque Royale at Brussels.

The first publication of the contract was that by Baron Frédéric de Reiffenberg (*Nouvelles Recherches sur Pierre-Paul Rubens, Nouveaux Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences et Belles-Lettres de Bruxelles*, x, 1837, pp. 17-19). Reiffenberg did not identify the source from which his text was taken, but it is noteworthy that a passage inadvertently omitted by him exactly corresponds to a single line in Mols's transcription after Van Assche. The contract was next published by Victor C. van Grimbergen in his edition of Johannes Smit's *Historische Levensbeschryving van P. P. Rubens*, Antwerp, 1840, pp. 403-5, where the same passage is omitted. *Rooses* (I, pp. 43-46), also reproduced the contract, again with the same omission. Both these authors, it is clear, simply repeated the text printed by Reiffenberg.

The following text of the contract is taken from the copy of Van Assche's transcription that appears in Mols's *Rubeniana* (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS. 5730, fols. 32-34) :

Den 29^{sten} Meert Anno 1620 is den Eerw. Pater Jacobus Tirinus prae-positus van't huys der Professien der Societeyt Jesu veracordeert met S^r Petro Paulo Rubbens.

Ten Eersten dat den Voorschreven S^r Rubbens soo haest het hem mogelijck sal syn immers voor het uytgaen van desen tegenwoordigen Jaere ofte^{105a} met het beginsel van het toekomende Jaer^{105b} leveren sal de negen

^{105a} to ^{105b} This passage, corresponding to a single line in the MS., is omitted in previous publications of the contract .

en dertigh stucken schilderie de welke tot de Suffijten soo van de bovenste als benedenste galderien in de Nieuwe Kercke van de voorschreve Professoren noodig syn, volgende de Lyste van de selve schilderien hem overgegeven van den voors. Praepositus tot wiens geliefte nochtans sal hy gehouden syn ettelycke van dien te veranderen soo wanneer hy't selfde nuttig bevinden sal.

Ten tweeden dat den voors. S^r Rubbens de teekeninge van alle de voors. 39 stucken sal gehouden sijn met syn eygen handt in't Cleyne te maken, ende door Van Dyck mitsgaders sommige andere syne disipelen soo int groot te doen opwerken, ende volmaken als den heysch van de stucken ende van de plaetsen daer s'ingeset moeten worden wesen sal, ende belooft hier in syne Eere ende Conscientie te quyten, in der Vuegen dat hij met syn Eygen handt in de selve volmaken sal 't gene men bevinden sal daer aen te gebreken.

Ten derden dat den voors. Rubbens sal met syn Eygen handt opmaken een ander Schilderie voor een van de vier zijde autaeren van de voors. Kercke sulcke als den voors. P. Praeposito t' synen tyde gelieven sal, ofte in stede van dese laetste schilderie sal hy aen den voors. P. Praeposito overleveren alle de negen en dertigh kleyne afteekeningen boven genoemt, ende dat ten keuse van den voors. S^r Rubbens.

Ten vierden sal den voors. P. Praepositus ten dage van de volle leveringinge van de voors. 39 stucken aen den voors. Rubbens gehouden wesen toe te schicken de somme van seven duysend guldens, Item op den selven dag nog andere drij duijsend guldens voor de twee groote Schilderien van onse Heylige Vaders Ignatio ende Xaverio, alreede door den selven S^r Rubbens opgemaekt voor de hoochsale¹⁰⁶ van de voors. Nieuwe Kercke ende sal den voors. P. Praepositus van dien voorseyden dage voor de voorseyde f. 10000 – aen den voorseyden S^r Rubbens Jaerlyckx Rentswijs tot 6 1/4 p. c.¹⁰ betalen f. 625 – totter tyd toe hem gelieven sal de voors. somme ten geheelen oft ten deele afteleggen.

Ten vijffden sal P. Praepositus gehouden wesen te leveren het lynwaert

¹⁰⁶ Since the word *hoochsale* (*hoogzaal*, *oxsael*, *doxael*, etc.) cannot have here its customary meaning of *jubé* or rood-screen, I have followed Rooses in translating it as "choir". For a different interpretation see L. VAN PUYVELDE, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, April 1959, pp. 225-236, who argues that it must refer to a small oratory above and behind the high altar.

ofte teycken die noodig sullen syn tot het opmacken van de voorseyde 39 Stucken.

Ten sesden ist by aldien dat voor den hoogen autaeer van de voorseyde Nieuwe Kercke eene nieuwe schilderie sal moeten gemaect worden soo en sal P. Praepositus die selve door niemant anders dan door den voors. Rubbens doen maken, behouden redelycke conditie ende accoort met malkanderen.¹⁰⁷

Ten sevensten sal den voors. P. Praepositus aen den voors. S^r Van Dyck ter bequamer tyde aenbesteden eene schilderye van de voors. vier seyde autaeeren der voors. kercke.

Aldus ter goeder trouwe samen veraccoordeert in de tegenwoordigheyt van den Eerw. P. Carolus Scribani Rector van't Collegie der Societeyt Jesu tot Brussel desen 29 Meert 1620 – leeger stont Ita est was onder-tekent Jacobus Tirinus Praep.

Dese gecollationneert teghens het origineel, beruſt hebbende in de archieven van her professie-huys der gesupprimeerde societyt Jesu, is door my ondergeschreven actuarius van den heere raed ende commissaris van het selve professie-huys Van den Cruyce ¹⁰⁸, daer mede bevonden te accorderen. T'oorconden in Antwerpen, desen 24 november 1773.

J. F. Van Assche, Actuarius.

List of Subjects Appended to the Contract

In transcribing the list from the Mols manuscript, I have preserved the irregular system of indentation, because this was surely a feature of the original text copied by Van Assche and recopied from him by Mols.

¹⁰⁷ Two additional paintings were in fact made for the high altar: one by Gerard Seghers representing *The Raising of the Cross* and the other by Cornelis Schut of *The Coronation of the Virgin*. Both are still to be seen in the church of St. Charles Borromeo. (The painting by Seghers is visible in Fig. 3.)

¹⁰⁸ Van den Cruyce, councillor of Brabant, was appointed commissioner for the liquidation of the Professed House of Antwerp (see P. BONENFANT, *La Suppression de la Compagnie de Jésus dans les Pays-Bas autrichiens* (1773), Brussels, 1925, pp. 55, 58, 201).

1. Expulsio Adami & Evae é Paradiso
 2. Sanctus Athanasius
3. Michaël luceferum deturbans
 4. Sanctus Basilius
5. Abraham immolans filium
 6. Sanctus Gregorius Nasiansenus
7. Melchi[se]dechi sacrificium
 8. Sanctus Chrijsosthijmus
9. Joseph dominus Ægypti Triumphans
 10. Annuncia[ti]o B : V :¹⁸
11. Nativitas x¹⁰⁹
12. Tres Reges Assumptio
13. Sancta Magdalena rapta ad Angelorum harmoniam
 14. Sancta Anna
 15. Sancta Barbara
16. Resurrectio Ch¹
 17. Sancta Caecilia
18. Margareta cum cruce in manu calcans draconem
19. Moijses in monte orans
 20. Sanctus Ambrosius
21. David Goliath caput detruncans
 22. Sanctus Hieronijmus
23. Salomon in throno Eburneo, cum Reg^a Saba
 24. Sanctus Augustinus
25. Elias curru igneo in caelum [raptus]
 25. Sanctus Gregorius
27. Esther adorans Assuerum
 28. Crucifixio Ch¹
29. Ascensio Ch¹ in caelum

¹⁰⁹ Incorrectly read by REIFFENBERG (*op. cit.*, p. 19) as "Nativitas, etc."

30. Sancta Lucia cum S^a Agatha illi apparente
31. Spiritus Sanctus in Pentecoste
 32. Sancta Catharina
 33. Sancta Elisabetha
 34. Clara Eugenia

Translation

On 29 March 1620 the Reverend Father Jacobus Tirinus, Superior of the Professed House of the Society of Jesus, made the following agreement with Sr. Petrus Paulus Rubens :

1. That the aforesaid Sr. Rubens shall furnish as soon as possible, in any event before the end of the present year or at the beginning of the next, the thirty-nine paintings which are needed for the ceilings of both the upper and lower galleries in the New Church of the aforesaid Professed Fathers, according to the list of such paintings delivered to him by the aforesaid Superior, at whose pleasure he shall nevertheless be obliged to change several of these subjects, when the aforesaid Superior shall deem it useful.

2. That the aforesaid Sr. Rubens shall be obliged to make with his own hand the design of all the aforesaid 39 paintings in small size, and to have them executed and completed in large size by Van Dyck as well as some of his other pupils as shall be required by the pictures and the places where they are to be inserted; and he promises to act in this matter in honour and conscience, in such wise that he shall complete with his own hand whatever may be found to be lacking in them.

3. That the aforesaid Sr. Rubens shall execute with his own hand another painting for one of the four side altars of the aforesaid church, such as shall in due time please the aforesaid Father Superior; or instead of this last painting he shall deliver to the aforesaid Father Superior all the thirty-nine small designs mentioned above; and this shall be at the option of the aforesaid Sr. Rubens.

4. On the day of the full delivery of the aforesaid 39 paintings the aforesaid Father Superior shall be obliged to make over to the aforesaid

Rubens the sum of seven thousand guilders, and likewise on the same day another three thousand guilders for the two large paintings of our blessed fathers Ignatius and Xavier, already executed by the same Sr. Rubens for the choir of the aforesaid New Church. And from the aforesaid day the aforesaid Father Superior shall pay to the aforesaid Sr. Rubens 625 guilders, as annual interest at 6 1/4 per cent on the aforesaid 10,000 guilders until such time as it shall please him to pay off the aforesaid sum in whole or in part.

5. The Father Superior shall be obliged to furnish the cloth or canvas which will be needed for the execution of the aforesaid 39 paintings.

6. In the event that a new painting must be executed for the high altar of the aforesaid New Church, the Father Superior shall have this made by none other than the aforesaid Rubens, except under reasonable conditions and mutual agreement.

7. The aforesaid Father Superior shall at a convenient time commission the aforesaid Sr. Van Dyck to make a painting [for one] of the aforesaid four side altars of the aforesaid church.

This agreement has thus been made in good faith, in the presence of the Reverend Father Carolus Scribani, Rector of the College of the Society of Jesus at Brussels, this 9th day of March 1620.

Ita est

Jacobus Tirinus, Praep.

1. The Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise
2. St. Athanasius
3. Michael overcoming Lucifer
4. St. Basil
5. Abraham sacrificing his Son
6. St. Gregory of Nazianzus
7. Melchizedek's Offering
8. St. Chrysostom
9. Joseph triumphant as Lord of Egypt
10. The Annunciation to the Blessed Virgin

11. The Nativity of Christ
12. The Three Kings; the Assumption
13. St. Magdalene carried to the Music of the Angels
 14. St. Anne
 15. St. Barbara
16. The Resurrection of Christ
 17. St. Cecilia
18. St. Margaret with the Cross in her Hand trampling upon the Dragon
19. Moses praying upon the Mountain
 20. St. Ambrose
21. David cutting off the Head of Goliath
 22. St. Jerome
23. Solomon on his Throne of Ivory, with the Queen of Sheba
 24. St. Augustine
25. Elijah carried to Heaven in the fiery Chariot
 26. St. Gregory
27. Esther paying Reverence to Ahasuerus
 28. The Crucifixion of Christ
29. The Ascension of Christ into Heaven
30. St. Lucy with St. Agatha appearing to her
31. The Holy Spirit on the Day of Pentecost
 32. St. Catherine
 33. St. Elizabeth
 34. Clara Eugenia

APPENDIX II

Extracts from the Account Book of the Jesuit Church

The manuscript, which contains the accounts of the building of the Jesuit Church during the period 1614-1628, is now in the Rubenshuis in Antwerp (Inv. D31). The document was known to A. Poncelet, who identifies it as *Bouw der kercke van de professen S. J. Antwerpen* in his *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus dans les anciens Pays-Bas*, Brussels, 1927-1928, I, pp. 451 ff.

The following extracts are not records of payments, but of sums owing to Rubens. Although the entries give no explanation of the services rendered by the artist, there is reason to believe, from the amounts involved, that they relate to the paintings made for the decoration of the interior.

1. Pages 79-80

Schulden bevonden tot laste van de nieu. kerck opheden den 13 April
A° 1617. Aende ondergenoemde personen

(Page 80)

Petro Paulo Rubbens

3000.-

Michael Jaffé kindly informs me that he has discovered a precisely similar entry in the Archives des Bollandistes, *Registre des Comptes*, 13 April 1617: "dûs par la caisse à Pierre Paul Rubens... 3000 Fl."

A sum of this size, entered as payable to Rubens in April 1617, shows that the artist had already completed some substantial work for the Jesuit Church. It may well be true, as Jaffé suggests, that the sum of 3,000 guilders was intended as recompense to Rubens for his contributions to the architecture of the new church. On the other hand, the possibility should not be overlooked that the entry refers to the altarpieces of *Ignatius* and *Francis Xavier*, especially since the amount corresponds to the payment stipulated for these two paintings in the contract of 1620. If so, it follows that the altarpieces were finished by April 1617.

2. Page 187

Schulden bevonden tot laste van de nieuw kercke den 13 febr. A° 1621.
Petro paulo rubbens schilder 10000.-

The increase in the amount owed to the artist, from 3000 to 10,000 guilders, indicates (in accordance with the terms of the contract) that Rubens must have delivered the completed ceiling paintings to Father Tirinus on this date.

3. Pages 203-205

Schulden bevonden tot laste van de Nieu. kerck den 10 Novemb. a° 1621
syn te voldoen aen d'ondergenoemde. gelt op Jaerlyckse Renten.

(Page 205)

625.- pedro paulo rubbens 10000.-

Inasmuch as the sum of 10,000 guilders had not yet been paid to him, Rubens was entitled to receive interest at 6 1/4 per cent. (i.e. 625 guilders), as provided by the contract.

4. Pages 217-219

Schulden voor de kercke bevonden den 15 April A° 1623.

Jaerlyckse Renten.

(Page 219)

Pedro Paulo Rubbens 10000.-

5. Pages 229-231

Schulden voor de kercke bevonden ult° December A° 1623.

In Jaerlyckse Renten.

(Page 231)

Pedro Paulo Rubbens 10000.-

More than two years after the dedication of the Jesuit Church, Rubens had still not been paid in full for the altarpieces and ceiling paintings but continued to receive interest at 6 1/4 per cent.



INDEX I : COLLECTIONS

This index lists all the extant drawings and oil sketches made by Rubens for the Jesuit ceilings, as well as copies by other artists after the lost ceiling paintings. Copies after Rubens's oil sketches have also been included. The works are listed alphabetically according to place.

ANTWERP, STEDELIJK PRENTENCABINET

De Wit, drawings :

- The Fall of the Rebel Angels, Cat. 1, 55-57, fig. 11.
- The Nativity, Cat. 2, 58-60, fig. 20
- Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, Cat. 3, 62-64
- The Adoration of the Magi, Cat. 4, 66-68
- David and Goliath, Cat. 5, 69-71
- The Temptation of Christ, Cat. 6, 73-74
- Abraham and Melchizedek, Cat. 7, 52, 76-78, fig. 47
- The Last Supper, Cat. 8, 80-82, fig. 51
- Moses in Prayer between Aaron and Hur, Cat. 9, 83-85
- The Raising of the Cross, Cat. 10, 48, 87-89, fig. 60
- The Sacrifice of Isaac, Cat. 11, 91-93, fig. 66
- The Resurrection of Christ, Cat. 12, 48, 94-95, fig. 70
- The Triumph of Joseph in Egypt, Cat. 13, 97-99, fig. 73
- The Ascension of Christ, Cat. 14, 99-101
- The Translation of Elijah, Cat. 15, 103-104, fig. 85
- The Assumption of the Virgin, Cat. 16, 105-108
- Esther before Ahasuerus, Cat. 17, 109-112
- The Coronation of the Virgin, Cat. 18, 116-118
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2. W.S. von Ehrenberg, *Interior of the Jesuit Church*, 1667. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts



3. Antwerp, St. Charles Borromeo. Interior



4. Rubens, *The Miracles of St. Ignatius of Loyola*. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



5. Rubens, *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier*. Vienna. Kunsthistorisches Museum



6. Antwerp, St. Charles Borromeo. North gallery (photographic reconstruction)



DESE KERCK BEGONEN 'T IAER DUYSENT
SES-HONDEERT VEERTIEN .
IS OPGE MAECKT IN 'T IAER VAN SESTIEN-
HONDEERT EEN-ENTWINTIGH .
IS 'T HEEL BINNENSTE AFGERANT
DEN ACTIEN DEN IULY VAN DIT IAER .

P. B. Bouttats fecit

7. P.B. Bouttats, *The Jesuit Church in Flames*, 18 July 1718. Etching



8. Müller, *The Fall of the Rebel Angels*, drawing (No. 1). Antwerp, Prentencabinet



9. Preissler, *The Fall of the Rebel Angels*, engraving (No. 1)



10. De Wit, *The Fall of the Rebel Angels*, drawing (No. 1).
London, British Museum



11. De Wit, *The Fall of the Rebel Angels*, drawing (No. 1).
Antwerp, Prentencabinet



12. De Wit, *The Fall of the Rebel Angels*, drawing (No. 1).
London, Coll. Count Seilern



13. De Wit, *The Fall of the Rebel Angels*, etching (No. 1)



14. Punt, *The Fall of the Rebel Angels*, engraving (No. 1)



15. J. Neeffs, *The Fall of the Rebel Angels*,
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16. Rubens, *The Fall of the Rebel Angels*, modello (No. 1a). Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts



17. Rubens, *The Nativity*, modello (No. 2a). Vienna, Akademie der bildenden Künste



18. Müller, *The Nativity*, drawing (No. 2). Antwerp, Prentencabinet



19. De Wit, *The Nativity*, drawing (No. 2). London, British Museum



20. De Wit, *The Nativity*, drawing (No. 2).
Antwerp, Prentencabinet



21. De Wit, *The Nativity*, drawing (No. 2). London, Coll. Count Seilern



22. Müller, *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*, drawing (No. 3).
Antwerp, Prentencabinet



23. Preissler, *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*, engraving (No. 3)



24. De Wit, *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*, drawing (No. 3).
London, British Museum



25. De Wit, *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*, drawing (No. 3).
London, Coll. Count Seilern



26. Rubens, *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*, modello (No. 3a). London, Coll. Count Seilern



27. Müller, *The Adoration of the Magi*, drawing (No. 4). Antwerp, Prentencabinet



28. Preissler, *The Adoration of the Magi*, engraving (No. 4)



29. De Wit, *The Adoration of the Magi*, drawing (No. 4).
London, British Museum



30. Punt, *The Adoration of the Magi*, engraving (No. 4)



31. Müller, *David and Goliath*, drawing (No. 5). Antwerp, Prentencabinet



32. Preissler, *David and Goliath*, engraving (No. 5)



33. De Wit, *David and Goliath*, drawing (No. 5).

London, British Museum



34. Punt, *David and Goliath*, engraving (No. 5)



35. Rubens, *David and Goliath*, grisaille sketch (No. 5a). London, Coll. Count Seilern



36. W. Panneels, *David and Goliath*, engraving



37. Müller, *The Temptation of Christ*, drawing (No. 6). Antwerp, Prentencabinet



38. Preissler, *The Temptation of Christ*, engraving (No. 6)



39. De Wit, *The Temptation of Christ*, drawing (No. 6).
London, British Museum



40. De Wit, *The Temptation of Christ*, etching (No. 6)



41. Rubens, *The Temptation of Christ*, modello (No. 6a). London, Coll. Count Seilern



42. C. Jegher, *The Temptation of Christ*, woodcut. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1917



43. Rubens, *Abraham and Melchizedek*, modello (No. 7b). Paris, Louvre



44. Müller, *Abraham and Melchizedek*, drawing (No. 7). Antwerp, Prentencabinet



45. Preissler, *Abraham and Melchizedek*, engraving (No. 7)



46. De Wit, *Abrabam and Melchizedek*, drawing (No. 7).
London, British Museum



47. De Wit, *Abrabam and Melchizedek*, drawing (No. 7).
Antwerp, Prentencabinet



48. Müller, *The Last Supper*, drawing (No. 8). Antwerp, Prentencabinet



49. Preissler, *The Last Supper*, engraving (No. 8)



50. De Wit, *The Last Supper*, drawing (No. 8). London, British Museum



51. De Wit, *The Last Supper*, drawing (No. 8).
Antwerp, Prentencabinet



52. Rubens, *The Last Supper*, modello (No. 8). Seattle, Wash., Seattle Art Museum, Kress Coll.



53. After Rubens, *Moses in Prayer between Aaron and Hur*, drawing.
Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung



54. Müller, *Moses in Prayer between Aaron and Hur*, drawing (No. 9).

Antwerp, Prentencabinet



55. Preissler, *Moses in Prayer between Aaron and Hur*,
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58. Müller, *The Raising of the Cross*, drawing (No. 10). Antwerp. Prentencabinet



59. De Wit, *The Raising of the Cross*, drawing (No. 10).
London, British Museum



60. De Wit, *The Raising of the Cross*, drawing (No. 10).
Antwerp, Prentencabinet



61. De Wit, *The Raising of the Cross*, drawing (No. 10).
London, Coll. Count Seilern



62. Rubens, *The Raising of the Cross*, modello (No. 1ob). Paris, Louvre



63. Rubens, *The Sacrifice of Isaac*, modello (No. 11a). Paris, Louvre



64. Müller, *The Sacrifice of Isaac*, drawing (No. 11). Antwerp, Prentencabinet



65. De Wit, *The Sacrifice of Isaac*, drawing (No. 11).
London, British Museum



66. De Wit, *The Sacrifice of Isaac*, drawing (No. 11).
Antwerp, Prentencabinet



67. Punt, *The Sacrifice of Isaac*, engraving (No. 11)



68. Müller, *The Resurrection of Christ*, drawing (No. 12). Antwerp, Prentencabinet



69. De Wit, *The Resurrection of Christ*, drawing (No. 12).
London, British Museum



70. De Wit, *The Resurrection of Christ*,
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71. De Wit, *The Resurrection of Christ*, etching (No. 12)



72. Müller, *The Triumph of Joseph in Egypt*, drawing (No. 13). Antwerp, Prentencabinet



73. De Wit, *The Triumph of Joseph in Egypt*, drawing (No. 13).
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76. Müller, *The Ascension of Christ*, drawing (No. 14). Antwerp, Prentencabinet



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London, British Museum



78. De Wit, *The Ascension of Christ*, drawing (No. 14).
London, Coll. Count Seilern



79. De Wit, *The Ascension of Christ*, etching (No. 14)



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81. Rubens, *The Translation of Elijah*, modello (No. 152). New York, Coll. George Baer



82. Müller, *The Translation of Elijah*, drawing (No. 15). Antwerp. Prentencabinet



83. De Wit, *The Translation of Elijah*, drawing (No. 15).
London, British Museum



84. De Wit, *The Translation of Elijah*, etching (No. 15)



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86. Müller, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, drawing (No. 16). Antwerp, Prentencabinet



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91. De Wit, *Esther before Abasuerus*, drawing (No. 17).
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London, Coll. Count Seilern



93. De Wit, *Esther before Ahasuerus*, etching (No. 17)



94. Rubens, *Esther before Ahasuerus*, preliminary modello (No. 17a). Vienna, Akademie der bildenden Künste



95. Rubens, *Esther before Abasuerus*, modello (No. 17b). London, Coll. Count Seilern



96. Müller, *The Coronation of the Virgin*, drawing (No. 18).

Antwerp, Prentencabinet



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102. Rubens, *The Coronation of the Virgin*, modello (No. 18c). Paris, Louvre



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105. Preissler, *St. Athanasius overcoming Arius*, engraving (No. 19)



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London, British Museum



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Antwerp, Prentencabinet



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London, Coll. Count Seilern



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117. Preissler, *St. Basil*, engraving (No. 21)



118. De Wit, *St. Basil*, drawing (No. 21). London, British Museum



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120. Müller, *St. Mary Magdalene*, drawing (No. 22). Antwerp, Prentencabinet



121. Preissler, *St. Mary Magdalene*, engraving (No. 22)



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Antwerp, Prentencabinet



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124. Müller, *The Name of Jesus*, drawing (No. 23). Antwerp, Prentencabinet



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London, Coll. Count Seilern



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128. Müller, *St. Cecilia*, drawing (No. 24). Antwerp, Prentencabinet



129. De Wit, *St. Cecilia*, drawing (No. 24). London, British Museum



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131. De Wit, *St. Cecilia*, drawing (No. 24). London, Coll. Count Seilern



132. Rubens, *St. Cecilia*, modello (No. 24b). Vienna, Akademie der bildenden Künste



133. Rubens, *St. Gregory of Nazianzus*, drawing (No. 25a). New York, Coll. Clarence L. Hay



134. Rubens, *St. Gregory of Nazianzus*, modello (No. 25b). Buffalo, Albright-Knox Art Gallery



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138. De Wit, *St. Gregory of Nazianzus*, drawing (No. 25).
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139. Müller, *St. Catherine of Alexandria*, drawing (No. 26). Antwerp, Prentencabinet



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Antwerp, Prentencabinet



143. Rubens, *St. Catherine of Alexandria*, counterproof of etching touched by the artist.
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Found, 1922



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145. Preissler, *St. John Chrysoſtom*, engraving (No. 27)



146. De Wit, *St. John Chrysoſtom*, drawing (No. 27).

London, British Museum



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Antwerp, Prentencabinet



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150. De Wit, *St. Jerome*, drawing (No. 28).

Antwerp, Prentencabinet



151. De Wit, *St. Jerome*, drawing (No. 28). London, Coll. Count Seilern



152. Rubens, *St. Jerome*, modello (No. 28a). Vienna, Akademie der bildenden Künste



153. Rubens. *The Martyrdom of St. Lucy*, modello (No. 29b). Quimper, Musée des Beaux-Arts



154. Müller, *The Martyrdom of St. Lucy*, drawing (No. 29). Antwerp, Prentencabinet



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London, British Museum



156. De Wit, *The Martyrdom of St. Lucy*, drawing (No. 29).
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157. Punt, *The Martyrdom of St. Lucy*, engraving (No. 29)



158. Müller, *St. Augustine*, drawing (No. 30). Antwerp, Prentencabinet



159. De Wit, *St. Augustine*, drawing (No. 30). London, British Museum



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London, Coll. Count Seilern



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163. Rubens, *The Flight of St. Barbara*, grisaille sketch (No. 31a). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum



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165. Müller, *The Flight of St. Barbara*, drawing (No. 31). Antwerp, Prentencabinet



166. De Wit, *The Flight of St. Barbara*, drawing (No. 31). London, British Museum



167. De Wit, *The Flight of St. Barbara*, drawing (No. 31).

Antwerp, Prentencabinet



168. Punt, *The Flight of St. Barbara*, engraving (No. 31)



169. Müller, *The Name of Mary*, drawing (No. 32). Antwerp, Prentencabinet



170. De Wit, *The Name of Mary*, drawing (No. 32).
London, British Museum



171. Müller, *St. Margaret*, drawing (No. 33). Antwerp, Prentencabinet



172. De Wit, *St. Margaret*, drawing (No. 33). London, British Museum



173. De Wit, *St. Margaret*, drawing (No. 33). London, Coll. Count Seilern



174. Punt, *St. Margaret*, engraving (No. 33)



175. Müller, *St. Ambrose*, drawing (No. 34). Antwerp, Prentencabinet



176. De Wit, *St. Ambrose*, drawing (No. 34). London, British Museum



177. De Wit, *St. Ambrose*, drawing (No. 34).

Antwerp, Prentencabinet



178. Punt, *St. Ambrose*, engraving (No. 34)



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Antwerp, Prentencabinet



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Cracow, Jesuit College.



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London, British Museum



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London, Coll. Count Seilern



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Antwerp, Prentencabinet



186. Preissler, *St. Gregory the Great adoring the Madonna*, drawing (No. 36).

Cracow, Jesuit College



187. De Wit, *St. Gregory the Great adoring the Madonna*,
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188. De Wit, *St. Gregory the Great adoring the Madonna*,
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189. Müller, *St. Elizabeth of Hungary*, drawing (No. 37). Antwerp, Prentencabinet



190. Preissler, *St. Elizabeth of Hungary*, drawing (No. 37).
Antwerp, Prentencabinet



191. Preissler, *St. Elizabeth of Hungary*, drawing (No. 37).
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192. Müller, *St. Albert of Louvain*,
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193. Rubens. *St. Albert of Louvain*, modello (No. 38a). Chicago, Coll. Dr. John Jay Ireland



194. Preissler, *St. Clara of Assisi*, drawing (No. 39). Antwerp, Prentencabinet



195. Preissler, *St. Clara of Assisi*, engraving (No. 39)



196. Rubens, *St. Clara of Assisi*, grisaille sketch (No. 39a). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum



197. Rubens, *St. Clara of Assisi*, modello (No. 39b). Paris, Coll. Jean Daridan



198. Rubens, *The Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise*, modello (No. 40 I a). Prague, Národní Galerie



199. Rubens, *The Annunciation*, grisaille sketch (No. 40 II a). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum



200. Rubens, *The Annunciation*, modello (No. 40 II b). Vienna. Akademie der bildenden Künste



201. Rubens, *The Sacrifice of Noab*, grisaille sketch (No. 40 IV a). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum



202. K.E. Biset and others, *A Picture Gallery*, 1666. Schleißheim, Schloß



203. K.E. Biset and others, *A Picture Gallery*, 1666. Detail. Schleißheim, Schloß