

CORPUS RUBENIANUM

LUDWIG BURCHARD

NC-90/18

PART III

THE OLD TESTAMENT

BY R.-A. D'HULST & M. VANDENVEN

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
VAN DE XVI^{de} EN DE XVII^{de} EEUW'

R.-A. D'HULST, *President* · F. BAUDOIN, *Secretary* · R. PANDELAERS, *Treasurer*
N. DE POORTER · A. STUBBE · A. BALIS · J. K. STEPPE · C. VAN DE VELDE · H. Vlieghe

RESEARCH ASSISTANTS: H. DEVISSCHER · P. HUVENNE · M. VANDENVEN

RUBENS

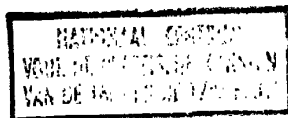
THE OLD TESTAMENT

BY R.-A. D'HULST
AND M. VANDENVEN

TRANSLATED FROM THE DUTCH
BY P. S. FALLA



HARVEY MILLER PUBLISHERS



Originating Publisher HARVEY MILLER LTD · 20 Marryat Road · London SW19 5BD

Published in the United States

by OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS · New York

© 1989 Nationaal Centrum voor de Plastische Kunsten van de 16^{de} en de 17^{de} Eeuw

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Hulst, R.A.d (Roger – Adolf d')

Rubens: the Old Testament. – (Corps Rubenianum Ludwig
Burchard: pt. 3).

I. Flemish religious paintings. Rubens, Peter Paul –
Catalogues

I. Title II. Vandenven, M. III. Rubens, Peter Paul,
1577 – 1640 IV. Series

759.9493

ISBN 0-905203-64-X

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by
any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or
otherwise, without the prior permission of Harvey Miller Ltd.

Printed and bound by
Offizin Andersen Nexö · Leipzig · DDR

CONTENTS

Author's Preface	page 7
Abbreviations	10
Introduction	19
Catalogue Raisonné	33
Sources of Photographs	228
Illustrations	229
Indexes:	369
I· Collections	370
II· Subjects	377
III· Other Works by Rubens mentioned in the Text	387
IV· Names and Places	391

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THIS BOOK is based on the material collected and analysed by Ludwig Burchard and systematically supplemented by the research staff of the Nationaal Centrum voor de Plastische Kunsten van de XVIe en XVIIe Eeuw. Like the other parts of the *Corpus Rubenianum*, it includes all the works that Burchard regarded as authentic. In the few cases where I have found myself at variance with him, I have tried to set forth as clearly as possible both his arguments and my reasons for disagreeing with them.

The iconographical order in which Burchard classified his documentation has served as a starting-point for the division of the material of the *Corpus Rubenianum* Ludwig Burchard into Parts, some of which are subdivided into separate volumes. The structure of each Part is largely determined by the nature of its contents: some subjects are best treated as monographs, others in the form of a *catalogue raisonné*, as is the case here. However, the co-existence of these two methods has the effect that a *catalogue raisonné* may not always contain all the works that one would logically expect to find in it. This applies to the present case: some Old Testament scenes have been assigned to other volumes because of certain iconographic or formal aspects, while others belong to particular groups, the basis of which is neither formal nor iconographic.

Works that are not dealt with in the present volume are, in the first place, those which belong to a larger iconographic whole, in which the subdivisions are typologically related. Thus Part I, *The Ceiling Paintings for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp*, dealt with *The Fall of the Rebel Angels*, *The Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise*, *The Sacrifice of Noah*, *Abraham and Melchizedek*, *The Sacrifice of Isaac*, *The Triumph of Joseph in Egypt*, *Moses in Prayer between Amon and Hur*, *David and Goliath*, *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*, *The Translation of Elijah*, and *Esther before Ahasuerus*. Part II, *The Eucharist Series*, which describes a similar large-scale undertaking in which the iconographic connection is of a typological kind, also includes Old Testament scenes, namely *Abraham and Melchizedek*, *The Gathering of the Manna*, *Elijah and the Angel*, *King David Playing the Harp*, and *The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant*. In the same way, some Old Testament scenes depicted in altarpieces belong more logically to a larger iconographic whole, and most of these will be found in Parts IV, V and VI when the books are published. Two subjects that have already been published, in *Saints, I* (Part VIII), are a *Moses* and an

Aaron which together formed the predella of the altarpiece of the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament in the Dominican church at Antwerp.

Old Testament works that have been assigned to other Parts for formal reasons will be found in *Book Illustrations and Title-Pages* (Part XXI)—*David Poenitens: Illustration for the Breviarium Romanum* and *Title-Page for M. Barberini, Poemata (Samson, the Lion and the Bees)*—and also in the as yet unpublished volume on works executed by Rubens in collaboration with other masters, subjects such as *Adam Receiving the Forbidden Fruit*, The Hague, in which the figures are by him and the landscape and animals by Jan I Brueghel.

The Old Testament scenes classified in groups for other than iconographic or formal reasons will be found, when published, in *Copies and Adaptations from Renaissance and Later Artists* (Part XXV) and *Drawings not Related to the Other Subjects. Addenda and Corrigenda. Indexes* (Part XXVI).

The subjects in the present volume follow as closely as possible their original Old Testament sequence. From the surviving works and from those known to have existed from documents, it can be seen that Rubens drew on three books of the Pentateuch—*Genesis* (Nos. 1–17), *Exodus* (Nos. 18–21), and *Numbers* (Nos. 22–24)—and also *Judges* (Nos. 25–33), *I Samuel* (Nos. 34–42), *II Samuel* (Nos. 43, 44), *I Kings* (Nos. 45–46), *II Kings* (Nos. 47, 48), *Tobit* (No. 49), *Judith* (Nos. 50–52), *Esther* (No. 53), *Job* (Nos. 54–56), *Daniel* (Nos. 57–66), and *II Macabees* (No. 67). The fact that some subjects occur more frequently than others demonstrates Rubens's own preference for particular scenes, or that of his patrons; reasons for this preference are discussed in the Introduction.

It remains for me to record my debt to all those who in one way or another have helped in the preparation of this volume. My thanks are due in the first place to the many museum keepers, archivists, librarians and private individuals who have allowed me access to their collections and have frequently helped me with information and suggestions. I also owe thanks to the research staff of the Nationaal Centrum voor de Plastische Kunsten van de XVIe en XVIIe Eeuw and the Rubenianum: Arnout Balis, Frans Baudouin, Nora De Poorter, Hans Devischer, Paul Huvenne, Carl Van de Velde, Marc Vandenven and Hans Vlieghe. The present volume, which is entirely written by me and for which I bear full responsibility, could not, in view of my age and state of health, have been completed without the special and devoted assistance of Marc Vandenven, who relieved me of numerous tasks of both a material and an intellectual kind: he traced and procured many documents, books and photographs, in some cases requiring intensive correspondence, and drew my attention to passages in the text that needed to be supplemented or elucidated. For all this I tender him my

special thanks. I am also grateful to Els van der Elst, who, in past years and under my direction, laid the basis for the presentation of technical data concerning several of the entries in this volume; to P.S. Falla for the care he has bestowed on the translation; to Elly Miller and Clare Reynolds for their expert help in preparing the manuscript for print; and to the clerical staff of the Rubenianum: Viviane De Meuter-Verbraeken and Vincent Rutten provided valuable assistance on various occasions, while Nelly De Vleeschouwer-Verreydt typed the manuscript with exemplary care.

Last but not least, my thanks go to my wife Paula, who has helped in many ways with the preparation of this work.

ABBREVIATIONS

Literature:

- Alpers, Torre* S. Alpers, *The Decoration of the Torre de la Parada* (*Corpus Rubenianum* Ludwig Burchard, IX), Brussels-London-New York, 1971.
- Balis, Hunting Scenes* A. Balis, *Rubens. Hunting Scenes* (*Corpus Rubenianum* Ludwig Burchard, XVIII, 2), London, 1986.
- Bartsch* A. Bartsch, *Le Peintre-Graveur*, I-XXI, Vienna, 1803-1821.
- Basan* F. Basan, *Catalogue des estampes gravées d'après P.P. Rubens, avec une méthode pour blanchir les estampes les plus rousses, & en ôter les tâches d'huile. Nouvelle édition, corrigée, considérablement augmentée, & précédée de la vie de Rubens. Troisième partie faisant suite au dictionnaire des graveurs anciens & modernes*, Paris, 1767.
- Bellori, Vite* G. P. Bellori, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti moderni*, Rome, 1672.
- Bernhard* M. Bernhard, *Rubens. Handzeichnungen*, Munich, 1977.
- Bernhard, Verlorene Werke* M. Bernhard, *Verlorene Werke der Malerei in Deutschland in der Zeit von 1939 bis 1945; zerstörte und verschollene Gemälde aus Museen und Galerien*, Munich, 1965.
- Blanc, Trésor* C. Blanc, *Le trésor de la curiosité tiré des catalogues de vente de tableaux, dessins, estampes, livres, marbres, bronzes, ivoires, terres cuites, vitreaux, médailles, armes, porcelaines, meubles, émaux, laques et autres objets d'art, avec diverses notes & notices historiques & biographiques*, I-II, Paris, 1857-1858.
- Bock-Rosenberg* E. Bock and J. Rosenberg, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Die niederländischen Meister. Beschreibendes Verzeichnis sämtlicher Zeichnungen* (*Die Zeichnungen alter Meister im Kupferstichkabinett*, ed. by M. J. Friedländer), I-II, Berlin, 1930.
- Bodart* D. Bodart, [Cat. Exh.] *Rubens e l'incisione nelle collezioni del Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe*, Rome, 1977.
- Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert* H. F. Bouchery and F. Van den Wijngaert, *P.P. Rubens en het Plantijnsche huis. Petrus Paulus Rubens en Balthasar I Moretus. Rubens als boekverluchter voor de Plantijnsche drukkerij* (*Maerlantbibliotheek*, IV), Antwerp-Utrecht, 1941.
- Burchard, 1950* L. Burchard, *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Works by Peter Paul Rubens*, Kt., Wildenstein and Co., London, 1950.
- Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings* L. Burchard and R.-A. d'Hulst, *Rubens Drawings*, I-II, Brussels, 1963.
- Burchard-d'Hulst, Tekeningen* L. Burchard and R.-A. d'Hulst, [Cat. Exh.] *Tekeningen van P.P. Rubens*, Rubenshuis, Antwerp, 1956.

- Cruzada Villaamil* G. Cruzada Villaamil, *Rubens, diplomático español, sus viajes a España y noticia de sus cuadros, según los inventarios de las casas reales de Austria y de Borbon*, Madrid, [1872].
- Delen* A. J. J. Delen, *Cabinet des estampes de la ville d'Anvers (Musée Plantin-Moretus). Catalogue des dessins anciens. Ecole flamande et hollandaise*, I-II, Brussels, 1938.
- della Pergola* P. della Pergola, 'P. P. Rubens e il tema della Susanna al bagno', *Bulletin Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, Brussel*, XVI, 1967, pp. 7-22.
- Denucé, Kunsttuitvoer* J. Denucé, *Kunsttuitvoer in de 17de eeuw te Antwerpen. De firma Forchoudt (Bronnen voor de geschiedenis van de Vlaamsche Kunst, D)*, Antwerp, 1931.
- Denucé, Konstkamers* J. Denucé, *De Antwerpse 'Konstkamers'. Inventarissen van kunstverzamelingen te Antwerpen in de 16de en 17de eeuwen (Bronnen voor de geschiedenis van de Vlaamsche Kunst, II)*, Antwerp, 1932.
- Denucé, Art-Tapestry* J. Denucé, *Antwerp Art-Tapestry and Trade. (Historical Sources for the Study of Flemish Art, IV)*, Antwerp-The Hague, 1936.
- Denucé, Na Rubens* J. Denucé, *Na Peter Pauwel Rubens. Documenten uit den kunsthandel te Antwerpen in de XVIIe eeuw van Matthijs Musson (Bronnen voor de geschiedenis van de Vlaamsche kunst, V)*, Antwerp-The Hague, 1949.
- De Poorter, Eucharist* N. De Poorter, *The Eucharist Series (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, II)*, I-II, Brussels-London-New York, 1978.
- Descamps, Vie* J. B. Descamps, *La vie des peintres flamands, allemands et hollandais*, I-IV, Paris, 1753-1763.
- Descamps, Voyage* J. B. Descamps, *Voyage pittoresque de la Flandre et du Brabant, Avec des Réflexions relativement aux Arts & quelques Gravures*, Paris, 1769.
- de Tervarent, Attributs* G. de Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane, 1450-1600. Dictionnaire d'un langage perdu*, I-III, Geneva, 1958-1964.
- d'Hulst, Olieverfschetsen* R.-A. d'Hulst, *Olieverfschetsen van Rubens uit Nederlands en Belgisch openbaar bezit, Nederlandse Stichting Openbaar Kunstbezit en Openbaar Kunstbezit in Vlaanderen*, 1968.
- Díaz Padrón, Cat. Prado* M. Díaz Padrón, *Museo del Prado. Catálogo de pinturas, I. Escuela flamenca, siglo XVII*, I-II, Madrid, 1975.
- Dillon* E. Dillon, *Rubens*, London, 1909.
- Dutuit* E. Dutuit, *Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes*, VI, *Écoles flamande et hollandaise*, III, Paris-London, 1885.
- Duverger, Antwerpse kunstinventarissen* E. Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen*, I, Brussels, 1984-1987.
- Evers, Neue Forschungen* H. G. Evers, *Rubens und sein Werk, neue Forschungen*, Brussels, 1943.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Evers, Rubens H.G. Evers, *Peter Paul Rubens*, Munich, 1942.
- Freedberg, *Life of Christ after the Passion* D. Freedberg, *The Life of Christ after the Passion (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, VII)*, London, 1984.
- Fubini-Held G. Fubini and J. S. Held, 'Padre Resta's Rubens Drawings after Ancient Sculpture', *Master Drawings*, 2, 1964, pp. 123-141.
- Gerson-ter Kuile H. Gerson and E. H. ter Kuile, *Art and Architecture in Belgium, 1600-1800 (The Pelican History of Art)*, Harmondsworth, 1960.
- Glück-Haberdtztl G. Glück and F. M. Haberdtztl, *Die Handzeichnungen von Peter Paul Rubens*, Berlin, 1928.
- Glück, Rubens, Van Dyck G. Glück, *Rubens, Van Dyck und ihr Kreis (G. Glück, Gesammelte Aufsätze, ed. by L. Burchard and R. Eigenberger, I)*, Vienna, 1933.
- Goris-Held J.-A. Goris and J. S. Held, *Rubens in America*, Antwerp, 1947.
- Haverkamp Begemann, *Olieverfschetsen* E. Haverkamp Begemann, *Cat. Exh. Olieverfschetsen van Rubens (Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, 1953-1954)*, Rotterdam, 1953.
- Held, Drawings J. S. Held, *Rubens, Selected Drawings, with an Introduction and a Critical Catalogue, I-II*, London, 1959.
- Held, Drawings, 1986 J. S. Held, *Rubens, Selected Drawings*, Oxford, 1986.
- Held, Oil Sketches J. S. Held, *The Oil Sketches of Peter Paul Rubens. A Critical Catalogue, I-II*, Princeton, N. J., 1980.
- Henkel-Schöne A. Henkel and A. Schöne, *Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts, I-II*, Stuttgart [1967-76].
- Hind, Rubens A. M. Hind, *Catalogue of Drawings by Dutch and Flemish Artists preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, I-V*, London, 1915-1932.
- Hoet-Terwesten G. Hoet, *Catalogus of Naamlijst van Schilderijen, met dergelver prijzen, sedert den 22 Augusti 1752 tot den 21 November 1768, I-III*, publ. by G. Hoet and P. Terwesten, The Hague, 1752-1770.
- Hollstein F. W. H. Hollstein et al., *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, ca. 1450-1700*, Amsterdam, 1949-1984 (in progress).
- Hymans, Gravure H. Hymans, *Histoire de la gravure dans l'école de Rubens*, Brussels, 1879.
- Hymans, Vorsterman H. Hymans, *Lucas Vorsterman. Catalogue raisonné de son œuvre, précédé d'une notice sur la vie et les ouvrages du maître*, Brussels, 1893.
- Jaffé, Amsterdam, 1955 M. Jaffé, 'Rubens en de leeuwenkuil', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, III, 1955, pp. 59-67.
- Jaffé, Rubens and Italy M. Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, Oxford, 1977.
- Jaffé, Washington, 1970 M. Jaffé, 'Some Recent Acquisitions of Seventeenth-Century Flemish Painting', *Report and Studies in the History of Art*, National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1970, pp. 6-33.

- Judson-Van de Velde* J.R.Judson and C.Van de Velde, *Book Illustrations and Title-Pages (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, XXI)*, I-II, Brussels-London-Philadelphia, 1978.
- K.d.K.* P.P.Rubens. *Des Meisters Gemälde*, ed. by R.Oldenbourg (*Klassiker der Kunst*, V), 4th edn., Stuttgart-Berlin, 1921.
- K.d.K., edn. Rosenberg* P.P.Rubens. *Des Meisters Gemälde*, ed. by A.Rosenberg (*Klassiker der Kunst*, V), 1st edn., Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1906.
- K.d.K., Michelangelo, 1907* Michelangelo. *Des Meisters Werke*, ed. by F.Knapp (*Klassiker der Kunst*, VII), 2nd edn., Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1907.
- K.d.K., Raffael, 1919* Raffael. *Des Meisters Gemälde*, ed. by G.Gronau (*Klassiker der Kunst*, I), 4th edn., Stuttgart-Berlin, 1919.
- K.d.K., Raffael, 1922* Raffael. *Des Meisters Gemälde*, ed. by G.Gronau (*Klassiker der Kunst*, I), 5th edn., Stuttgart-Berlin, 1922.
- K.d.K., Tizian, 1911* Tizian. *Des Meisters Gemälde*, ed. by O.Fischel (*Klassiker der Kunst*, III), 4th edn., Stuttgart-Berlin, 1911.
- K.d.K., Tizian, 1924* Tizian. *Des Meisters Gemälde*, ed. by O.Fischel (*Klassiker der Kunst*, III), 5th edn., Stuttgart-Berlin-Leipzig, 1924.
- K.d.K., Van Dyck, 1909* Van Dyck. *Des Meisters Gemälde*, ed. by E.Schaeffer (*Klassiker der Kunst*, XIII), Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1909.
- K.d.K., Van Dyck, 1931* Van Dyck. *Des Meisters Gemälde*, ed. by G.Glück (*Klassiker der Kunst*, XIII), 2nd edn., Stuttgart-Berlin-London, 1931.
- Kieser* E.Kieser, 'Antikes im Werke des Rubens', *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, N.F., X, 1933, pp.110-137.
- Knipping, Iconography* J.B.Knipping, *Iconography of the Counter Reformation in the Netherlands*, I-II, Leiden, 1974.
- L.* F.Lugt, *Les marques de collections de dessins & d'estampes. Marques estampillées et écrites de collections particulières et publiques. Marques de marchands, de monteurs et d'imprimeurs. Cachets de vente d'artistes décédés. Marques de graveurs apposées après le tirage des planches. Timbres d'édition. Etc. Avec des notices historiques sur les collectionneurs, les collections, les ventes, les marchands et éditeurs, etc.*, Amsterdam, 1921.
- L., Suppl.* F.Lugt, *Les marques de collections de dessins & d'estampes. Marques estampillées et écrites de collections particulières et publiques. Marques de marchands, de monteurs et d'imprimeurs. Cachets de vente d'artistes décédés. Marques de graveurs apposées après le tirage des planches. Timbres d'édition. Etc. Avec des notices historiques sur les collectionneurs, les collections, les ventes, les marchands et éditeurs, etc., Supplément*, The Hague, 1950.
- Larsen, Rubens* E.Larsen, P.P.Rubens. *With a Complete Catalogue of his Works in America*, Antwerp, 1952.
- Le Blanc, Manuel* C.Le Blanc, *Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes, contenant le dictionnaire des graveurs de toutes les nations. Dans lequel sont décrites les estampes rares, précieuses et intéressantes avec l'indication de leur différents états et des prix auxquels ces estampes ont été portées dans les ventes publiques, en France et à l'étranger, depuis un siècle*, I-IV, Paris, 1854-1889.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* E. Kirschbaum S.J. et al, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, I-VIII, Rome-Freiburg-Basle-Vienna, 1968-1976.
- Liess R. Liess, *Die Kunst des Rubens*, Braunschweig, 1977.
- Lugt, *Cat. Louvre, École flamande* F. Lugt, *École flamande (Musée du Louvre, Inventaire général des dessins des écoles du Nord)*, I-II, Paris, 1949.
- Lugt, *Répertoire* F. Lugt, *Répertoire des catalogues de ventes publiques intéressant l'art ou la curiosité (Publications du Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische en Ikonografische Documentatie—La Haye)*, I-III, The Hague, 1938-1964.
- Lugt, *Rubens and Stimmer* F. Lugt, 'Rubens and Stimmer', *Art Quarterly*, VI, 1943, pp.99-114.
- Maas S. Maas, *Das Bildthema der 'Susanna' bei Rubens. Seine Bedingungen in der italienischen und niederländischen Malerei und seine unmittelbaren Auswirkungen* (Diss. Kiel, 1974), MS, p.217ff.
- Magurn, *Letters* R.S. Magurn, *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, Cambridge, Mass., 1955.
- Mâle, *Après le Concile de Trente* E. Mâle, *l'Art religieux après le Concile de Trente*, Paris, 1932.
- Mariette, *Abécédario* *Abécédario de P.J. Mariette et autres notes inédites de cet amateur sur les arts et les artistes*, ed. by P. de Chennevières and A. De Montaiglon, I-VI, Paris, 1851-1860.
- Martin, *Cat. National Gallery* G. Martin, *National Gallery Catalogues, The Flemish School, circa 1600-circa 1900*, London, 1970.
- Martin, *Ceiling Paintings* J.R. Martin, *The Ceiling Paintings for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, I)*, Brussels-London-New York, 1968.
- Martin, *Pompa* J.R. Martin, *The Decorations for the Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, XVI)*, Brussels-London-New York, 1972.
- Mensaert, *Peintre* G.P. Mensaert, *Le Peintre Amateur et Curieux, Ou Description Générale des Tableaux des plus habiles Maîtres, qui font l'ornement des Eglises, Couvents, Abbayes, Prieurés & Cabinets particuliers dans l'étendue des Pays-Bas Autrichiens*, I-II, Brussels, 1763.
- Michel, *Histoire* J.F.M. Michel, *Histoire de la vie de P.P. Rubens, Chevalier & Seigneur de Steen, illustrée d'Anecdotes qui n'ont jamais paru en Public, & de ses tableaux étalés dans les Palais, Eglises & Places publiques de l'Europe, & par la Démonstration des Estampes existantes & relatives à ses Ouvrages*, Brussels, 1771.
- Michel, *Rubens* E. Michel, *Rubens, sa vie, son œuvre et son temps*, Paris, 1900.
- Mielke-Winner H. Mielke and M. Winner, *Peter Paul Rubens. Kritischer Katalog der Zeichnungen. Originale—Umkreis—Kopien (Die Zeichnungen alter Meister im Berliner Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen preussischer Kulturbesitz)*, Berlin, 1977.
- Mitsch, *Rubenszeichnungen* E. Mitsch, *Cat. Exh. Die Rubenszeichnungen der Albertina. Zum 400. Geburtstag (Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, 1977)*, Vienna, 1977.

- Mols F.J.J.Mols (born Antwerp, 22 January 1722), *Annotations manuscrites sur Rubens*, MS in the Royal Library, Brussels (a copy at the Rubenianum, Antwerp)
- Muchall-Viebrook T.W.Muchall-Viebrook, *Flemish Drawings of the Seventeenth Century (Drawings of the Great Masters*, ed. by A.E.Popham and K.T.Parker), London, 1926.
- Oldenbourg, Flämische Malerei R.Oldenbourg, *Die flämische Malerei des XVII. Jahrhunderts (Handbücher der königlichen Museen zu Berlin)*, Berlin, 1918.
- Oldenbourg, Rubens [R.Oldenbourg], *Peter Paul Rubens. Sammlung der von Rudolf Oldenbourg veröffentlichten oder zur Veröffentlichung vorbereiteten Abhandlungen über den Meister*, ed. by W.von Bode, Munich-Berlin, 1922.
- Parthey, Bildersaal G.Parthey, *Deutscher Bildersaal. Verzeichnis der in Deutschland vorhandenen Oelbilder verstorbener Maler aller Schulen in alphabetischer Folge zusammengestellt*, I-II, Berlin, 1863-1864.
- Pigler, Barockthemen, 1974 A.Pigler, *Barockthemen. Eine Auswahl von Verzeichnissen zur Ikonographie des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, 2nd edn., I-III, Budapest, 1974.
- Piot, Rapport C.Piot, *Rapport à Mr le Ministre de l'Intérieur sur les tableaux enlevés à la Belgique en 1794 et restitués en 1815*, Brussels, 1883.
- Reallexikon *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, ed. by O.Schmitt et al., Stuttgart-Munich, 1937 (in progress)
- Réau, Iconographie L.Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, I, II (1-2), III (1-3), Paris, 1955-1959.
- Renger K.Renger, *Cat. Exh. Rubens in der Graphik*, Göttingen-Hanover-Nuremberg, 1977.
- Renger, Rubens Dedt K.Renger, 'Rubens Dedit Dedicavitque Rubens' Beschäftigung mit der Reproduktionsgrafik, I. Teil: Der Kupferstich', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, XVI, 1974, pp.122-175; 'II. Teil: Radierungen und Holzschnitt - Die Widmungen', *ibid.*, XVII, 1975, pp.166-213.
- Rombouts-Van Leries P.Rombouts and T.Van Leries, *De liggeren en andere historische archieven der Antwerpsche Sint Lucasgilde - Les liggeren et autres archives de la gilde Anversoise de Saint Luc*, I-II, Antwerp-The Hague, s.d. [1872].
- Rooses M.Rooses, *L'Œuvre de P.P. Rubens. Histoire et description de ses tableaux et dessins*, I-V, Antwerp, 1886-1892.
- Rooses, Life M.Rooses, *Rubens*, I-II, London, 1904.
- Rooses-Ruelens *Correspondance de Rubens et documents épistolaires concernant sa vie et ses œuvres, publiés, traduits, annotés par Ch. Ruelens*, (I), par Max Rooses et feu Ch. Ruelens, (II-VI), I-VI, Antwerp, 1887-1909.
- Rubens-Bulletijn *Rubens-Bulletijn. Jaarboeken der ambtelijke commissie ingesteld door den gemeenteraad der Stad Antwerpen voor het uitgeven der bescheiden betrekkelijk het leven en de werken van Rubens.*-Bulle-

ABBREVIATIONS

- tin-Rubens. *Annales de la commission officielle instituée par le conseil communal de la Ville d'Anvers pour la publication des documents relatifs à la vie et aux œuvres de Rubens*, I-V, Antwerp-Brussels, 1882-1910.
- S.A.A. Stedelijk Archief, Antwerp.
- Sainsbury, *Papers* N.W.Sainsbury, *Original Unpublished Papers illustrative of the life of Sir Peter Paul Rubens, as an artist and a diplomatist, preserved in H.M. State Paper Office. With an appendix of documents respecting the Arundelian collection; the Earl of Somerset's collection; the Great Mantuan collection; the Duke of Buckingham, Gentileschi, Gerbier, Honthorst, Le Sueur, Myttens, Torrentius, Vandervoort, etc, etc, etc.*, London, 1859.
- Sandart, edn. Peltzer *Joachim von Sandrarts Academie der Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste von 1675. Leben der berühmten Maler, Bildhauer und Baumeister*, ed. by A.R.Peltzer, Munich, 1925.
- Seilern, *Addenda* [A.Seilern], *Flemish Paintings and Drawings at 56 Princes Gate, London SW7, Addenda, IV*, London, 1969.
- Seilern, *Corrigenda and Addenda* [A.Seilern], *Corrigenda and Addenda to the Catalogue of Paintings and Drawings at 56 Princes Gate, London SW7*, London, 1971.
- Seilern, *Flemish Paintings* [A.Seilern], *Flemish Paintings and Drawings at 56 Princes Gate, London SW7, I*, London, 1955.
- Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné* J.Smith, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French Painters. In which is included a short Biographical Notice of the Artists with a Copious Description of their principal Pictures...*, I-IX, London, 1829-1842.
- Strumwasser, *Old Testament* G.Strumwasser, *Heroes, Heroines and Heroic Tales from the Old Testament: An Iconographic Analysis of the Most Frequently Represented Old Testament Subjects in Netherlandish Painting, ca. 1430-1570*, Diss. University of California, Los Angeles, 1979.
- Thieme-Becker *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. by U.Thieme and F.Becker et al., I-XXXVII, Leipzig, 1907-1950.
- Valentiner, *Rubens in America* W.R.Valentiner, 'Rubens' Paintings in America', *Art Quarterly*, IX, 1946, pp.153-168.
- Van den Branden, *Schilderschool* F.J.Van den Branden, *Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche Schilderschool*, I-III, Antwerp, 1883.
- Van den Wijngaert, *Prentkunst* F.Van den Wijngaert, *Inventaris der Rubeniaansche prentkunst*, Antwerp, 1940.
- Van Hasselt, *Rubens* A.Van Hasselt, *Histoire de P.P.Rubens, suivie du catalogue général et raisonné de ses tableaux, esquisses, dessins et vignettes, avec l'indication des lieux où ils se trouvent et les artistes qui les ont gravés*, Brussels, 1840.
- Van Puyvelde, *Esquisses* L.Van Puyvelde, *Les esquisses de Rubens*, Basle, 1940.
- Van Puyvelde, *Rubens* L.Van Puyvelde, *Rubens (Les peintres flamands du XVIIe siècle*, ed. by L.Van Puyvelde, II), Paris-Brussels, 1952.

<i>Varshavskaya, Rubens</i>	M. Varshavskaya, <i>Rubens's Paintings in the Hermitage Museum</i> [in Russian], Leningrad, 1975.
<i>Vlieghe, Saints</i>	H. Vlieghe, <i>Saints (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, VIII)</i> , I-II, Brussels-London-New York, 1972-1973.
V.S.	C.G. Voorhelm Schneevooft, <i>Catalogue des estampes gravées d'après P.P. Rubens, avec l'indication des collections où se trouvent les tableaux et les gravures</i> , Haarlem, 1873.
<i>Waagen, Kunstwerke</i>	G.F. Waagen, <i>Kunstwerke und Künstler in England und Paris</i> , I-III, Berlin, 1837-1839.
<i>Waagen, Treasures</i>	G.F. Waagen, <i>Treasures of Art in Great Britain. Being an Account of the Chief Collections of Paintings, Drawings, Sculptures, Illuminated Mss., etc, etc.</i> , I-III, London, 1854.
<i>Wurzbach</i>	A. von Wurzbach, <i>Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon</i> , 1906-1911 (edn. B.M. Israël N.V., I-II, Amsterdam, 1963).

Exhibitions:

<i>Amsterdam, 1933</i>	<i>Rubens-tentoonstelling</i> , Gallery J. Goudstikker, Amsterdam, 1933.
<i>Antwerp, 1930</i>	<i>Tentoonstelling van Oud-Vlaamsche Kunst</i> , World Exhibition, Antwerp, 1930.
<i>Antwerp, 1956</i>	<i>Tekeningen van P.P. Rubens</i> , Rubenshuis, Antwerp, 1956.
<i>Antwerp, 1977</i>	<i>P.P. Rubens, Paintings, Oilsketches, Drawings</i> , Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, 1977.
<i>Berlin, 1977</i>	<i>Peter Paul Rubens, Kritischer Katalog der Werke</i> , Staatliche Museen preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, 1977.
<i>Brussels, 1910</i>	<i>L'art belge au XVIIe siècle</i> , Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, 1910.
<i>Brussels, 1937</i>	<i>Esquisses de Rubens</i> , Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, 1937.
<i>Brussels, 1938-39</i>	<i>Dessins de Pierre-Paul Rubens</i> , Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, 1938-1939.
<i>Brussels, 1952-53</i>	<i>P. P. Rubens, esquisses, dessins, gravures</i> , Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, 1952-1953.
<i>Brussels, 1965</i>	<i>Le siècle de Rubens</i> , Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, 1965.
<i>Cambridge-New York, 1956</i>	<i>Drawings and Oil Sketches by P.P. Rubens from American Collections</i> , Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass.—The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 1956.
<i>Cologne, 1977</i>	<i>Peter Paul Rubens, 1577-1640</i> , Kunsthalle, Cologne, 1977.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Detroit, 1936* *Sixty Paintings and Some Drawings by Peter Paul Rubens*, The Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, 1936.
- Florence, 1977* *Rubens e la pittura fiamminga del Seicento nelle collezioni pubbliche fiorentine*, Palazzo Pitti, Florence, 1977.
- Helsinki, 1952-53* *P.P. Rubens, esquisses, dessins, gravures*, Ateneum, Helsinki, 1952-1953.
- London, 1950* *A Loan Exhibition of Works by Peter Paul Rubens, Kt.*, Wildenstein and Co., London, 1950.
- London, 1977* *Rubens, Drawings and Sketches*, British Museum, London, 1977.
- New York, 1951* *A Loan Exhibition of Rubens*, Wildenstein, New York, 1951.
- Paris, 1936* *Rubens et son temps*, Musée de l'Orangerie, Paris, 1936.
- Paris, 1974* *Dessins flamands et hollandais du dix-septième siècle*, Institut Néerlandais, Paris, 1974.
- Paris, 1977-78* *Le siècle de Rubens dans les collections publiques françaises*, Grand Palais, Paris, 1977-1978.
- Paris-Antwerp-London-New York, 1979-80* *Le siècle de Rubens et de Rembrandt. Dessins flamands et hollandais du XVIIe siècle de la Pierpont Morgan Library de New York*, Institut Néerlandais, Paris; Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp; British Museum, London; Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 1979-1980.
- Rotterdam, 1953-54* *Olieverfschetsen van Rubens*, Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, 1953-1954.
- Vienna, Albertina, 1977* *Die Rubenszeichnungen der Albertina zum 400. Geburtstag*, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, 1977.

INTRODUCTION

‘To the Jews Europe owes the Old Testament, which, being translated into Greek and becoming an accepted part of the Christian canon, has entered more deeply perhaps than any other book into the lives of the Western peoples. From this great body of sacred literature, some of it rising to heights of sublime moral beauty, while other parts reflect the morals of a barbarous age, generation after generation of European men have drawn their ideas, not only of an historical order governed by divine providence, but of extreme antiquity and of the lineaments of oriental society in distant times.’

H. A. L. Fisher¹

ONE CANNOT OVERESTIMATE the significance of the Old Testament in the development of western civilization, and inevitably the Scriptures also became an important source of inspiration for the fine arts. At an early stage, Christian artists chose as their subjects a number of celebrated passages of the Old Testament which were interpreted by commentators as a prefiguration (typology) of the New Law. Such subjects are already found depicted in the catacombs and the oldest basilicas. Later, Charlemagne caused twelve Old Testament scenes to be painted in the chapel of his palace at Ingelheim, opposite twelve corresponding scenes from the New.² Medieval artists, who could thus look back on a long tradition, also took pleasure in juxtaposing Old and New Testament themes. In so doing they were in accord with theologians who, to prove the truth of the Christian faith, often used great ingenuity in their efforts to establish the unity of inspiration, or at least the parallelism, of the two Testaments. The key to Christian exegesis, and hence to the religious art based upon it, was the *Concordia Veteris et Novi Testamenti*: both Testaments proclaimed the same divine message, but what was veiled in the Old Testament was revealed in the New. From the fifteenth century onwards the first printers, by publishing the *Biblia Pauperum*³ and the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*,⁴ endeavoured as far as possible to expound the mysteries of the Old Testament to the unlettered and to the poorer clergy, who could not afford to own a Bible but needed material for their sermons. The two works, with their illustrations reinforcing the typological theme, enjoyed enormous success and were

1. *A History of Europe*, I, London, 1976, p.17.

2. Ermoldus Nigellus, *In honor. Ludovic.*, lib. IV, v.191–242.

3. H. Cornell, *Biblia Pauperum*, Stockholm, 1925.

4. J. Lutz and P. Perdrizet, eds. *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, 2 vols., Mülhausen, 1907–1909.

to influence many generations to come, although in decreasing measure. Medieval artists, like those of earlier centuries, were less susceptible to the narrative and picturesque aspects of the Old Testament than to its dogmatic significance: their interpretation of the Bible was primarily concerned with symbolism.⁵

In the Netherlands, from the third decade of the sixteenth century onwards, the medieval concern for sacred and spiritual matters, expressed in symbols, was gradually replaced by attention to earthly and ethical matters. The Reformation in Northern Europe stimulated an unprecedented interest in the Bible: Protestant artists and their patrons became highly familiar with Old Testament themes. Although Catholics did not regard the Bible as the exclusive authority for their faith, they too showed increased interest in the inspired writings, the more so because of their significance in religious controversy.⁶ The Old Testament, which had previously been mainly an adjunct to devotion on typological lines, was now more often seen as a continuous historical narrative running through many generations, with emphasis on the drama of individual characters and societies. From this point of view it was more attractive to artists than the New Testament. The Old Testament was easy to understand in plain, non-symbolic terms; it lent itself well to illustration and contained a rich variety of incidents and characters. It is in fact a much more abundant source than the New Testament as regards the treatment of individual lives and emotions—from birth to death, from love to hate—as well as social and political events.⁷ As religious sentiment weakened and, under the influence of humanism, the emphasis in art shifted partly from devotion to moralizing, artists often had recourse to appropriate Old Testament themes: for instance, Old Testament heroines like Delilah were used to exemplify ‘the fatal influence of women’.⁸

During the sixteenth century, Netherlands artists also increasingly used the Old Testament as a source of sensual and erotic themes, choosing appropriate moments from this or that narrative, such as the tales of Judith and Susanna. In the Middle Ages these heroines had been interpreted as symbols of the Virgin Mary; they now lost much of their religious character and were portrayed as ideals of physical beauty, like antique goddesses. Contacts with the ancient world, both directly and through the Italian Renaissance, fostered the

5. E. Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIII^e siècle en France*, Paris, 1902, pp.171–209.

6. *Knipping, Iconography*, I, p.180.

7. *Strumwasser, Old Testament*, pp.140–141.

8. *Knipping, Iconography*, I, p.47; M. Kahr, ‘Delilah’, *Art Bulletin*, LIV, 1972, pp.282–299; *Strumwasser, Old Testament*, p.142.

new attitude and the new choice of forms, in which it is difficult to discern a devotional element. Indeed, such works were not intended for churches but generally for private houses, where they earned a place due to their biblical and moral associations but were no doubt also esteemed for their sensual and erotic character.⁹

In the Southern Netherlands the seventeenth century was in many respects a continuation of the sixteenth as far as Old Testament iconography was concerned. The Old Testament remained a source of inspiration for scenes that were wholly or partly dominated by devotional and symbolic aspects, as well as for others where the emphasis was on moral, sensual or erotic themes. Typological thinking was still alive, and was much used by the Counter-Reformation to defend Catholic dogmas against Protestant attacks.¹⁰ In Rubens's work this is most clearly seen in the ceiling paintings for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp (Part I of the present series), where both type and anti-type are depicted. The *Eucharist Series* of tapestries (Part II) also illustrates both types and antitypes; here, however, they are not arranged opposite one another as in the Jesuit Church and do not form a genuine typological series. They belong to a complex whole comprising other subjects, mostly of an allegorical kind. Some individual Old Testament paintings by Rubens and his contemporaries, whether or not intended for churches, certainly have a typological significance, at all events in Catholic iconography. Examples in Rubens's work are *Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac* (No.12) and *Abraham and Melchizedek* (No.17), both of which prefigure the Eucharist.¹¹

Religious controversy had its effect upon art, which became an important factor in the Counter-Reformation's attack on Protestantism. All the doctrines and practices that the Protestants opposed—the cult of the Virgin, the primacy of the Pope, the seven sacraments, prayers for the dead, the efficacy of good works, the intercession of the saints, the veneration of images and relics—were upheld by the Council of Trent and defended by Catholic artists, acting as the Church's major ally. A good example is *The Finding of the Pagan Treasures and Judas Maccabaeus's Prayer for the Dead* (No.67), which, together with an *Ascent of Souls from Purgatory*,¹² was commissioned from Rubens by Maximilien Vilain de Gand, Bishop of Tournai, to decorate the Altar of the Departed which was

9. Strunwasser, *Old Testament*, pp.136, 144–145.

10. See Mâle, *Après le Concile de Trente*, p.335ff.; A. Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy, 1540–1600*, Oxford, 1956, pp.103–136; Knipping, *Iconography*, I, p.180ff.; *Miscellanea Mediaevalia* (Veröffentlichungen des Thomas-Instituts der Universität zu Köln), VI, Berlin, 1969; F. Ohly, *Synagoge und Ecclesia, Typologisches in mittelalterlicher Dichtung*, p.368, and P. Bloch, *Typologische Kunst*, pp.139–140; *De Poorter, Eucharist*, I, p.193.

11. *De Poorter, Eucharist*, I, pp.191, 195–196.

12. *Freedberg, Life of Christ after the Passion*, No.54, fig.173.

erected in the choir of Tournai Cathedral. The subject had an important bearing on the doctrine of Purgatory:¹³ Judas Maccabaeus's prayers for the dead were one of the chief arguments used to justify such prayers as a means to the consolation and liberation of departed souls. This doctrine was attacked by Protestants, who also regarded the Books of the Maccabees as apocryphal, but was however widely defended by Counter-Reformation writers.

Yet not all Old Testament scenes in churches were affected by controversy. In *The Triptych of Job in Distress* (Nos. 54, 55) formerly in St Nicholas's Church in Brussels, Job appeared as patron of the brotherhood of musicians¹⁴—thus continuing the tradition of numerous saints to whom guilds and confraternities consecrated their individual altars in churches in the Southern Netherlands. The presence of *Job Tormented by Demons and Abused by his Wife* (No. 56) in the church at Wezemaal is explained by the fact that 'S. Job Propheta'¹⁵ was the church's patron.

Among the works discussed in this volume there are only a few of which we know for certain who commissioned them or for what purpose they were intended. Among these there are only three—*The Finding of the Pagan Treasures and Judas Maccabaeus's Prayer for the Dead*, *The Triptych of Job in Distress* and *Job Tormented by Demons and Abused by his Wife*—for which there is documentary proof that they were painted for church purposes. Some others are known to have been intended for a royal palace, a nobleman's collection, a town hall or a bourgeois mansion. The evidence for this consists of documents that have chanced to survive, but clearly in other cases there must have been such destinations as guildhalls, monasteries and the headquarters of confraternities, among others.

Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion (No. 26) and *David Strangling a Bear* (No. 35) were commissioned by Philip IV of Spain, through his aunt the Archduchess Isabella, as a pair of paintings to decorate the royal palace in Madrid. Each one represents a subject that was endowed with Christological significance in early times, and especially in the Middle Ages: Samson and David, according

13. This doctrine was reaffirmed by the Council of Trent (*Sessio XXIV*, 3 December 1564, *Decretum de Purgatorio*) and was widely propagated by Counter-Reformation writers. See *Mâle, Après le Concile de Trente*, pp. 58–65; *Knipping, Iconography*, II, pp. 337–343; *Freedberg, Life of Christ after the Passion*, p. 242, No. 64.

14. Job, who was included in the Greek Martyrology, was venerated as a saint in the Middle Ages. A church in Venice, connected with a hospital, is dedicated to *San Giobbe*, which may be explained by the close relations between Venetian merchants and Byzantium. In the Southern Netherlands Job became the patron of musicians owing, it has been suggested, to the text 'My harp also is turned to mourning, and my organ into the voice of them that weep' (Job 30: 31). See *Réau, Iconographie*, II, 1, p. 312; R. Buddé in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, col. 413.

15. Job is thus named in the title of the anonymous engraving after the painting (see No. 56).

to the theologians, were both types of Christ overcoming the devil, and in the seventeenth century this symbolism was certainly not forgotten. But they must also be seen in the light of the veneration of the Nine Worthies (David being one), the idealized heroes of ancient times with whom rulers in the late Middle Ages liked to identify themselves. In Madrid the two paintings were admirably suited to form part of the decoration glorifying the Hapsburg princes, their virtues and ideals, and to epitomize the conflict between virtuous heroes on the one hand and villains or beasts on the other.

The Expulsion of Hagar (No.10) and *Daniel in the Lions' Den* (No.57) have been identified as part of the consignment of paintings and tapestries delivered by Rubens to Sir Dudley Carleton, the English ambassador at The Hague, in exchange for Carleton's collection of antique marble sculptures. Concerning the former, Rubens wrote in a letter to Carleton:¹⁶ '...i suggietto ne sacro ne profano per dir cosi benche cavato della sacra scrittura cioe Sara in atto di gridare ad Agar che gravida si parte di casa in un atto donnesco assai galante con intervento anco del Patriarca Abraham' (The subject is neither sacred nor profane, so to speak, although drawn from Holy Scripture. It represents Sarah in the act of reproaching Hagar who, pregnant, is leaving the house with an air of womanly dignity, in the presence of the patriarch Abraham). It can be seen from this description that Rubens did not intend to emphasize the religious aspect of the Bible story but rather the stoic dignity of Hagar's behaviour, thus giving the episode an ethical flavour. As to *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, Rubens described it, in another letter¹⁷ to the English envoy, as 'Daniel fra molti Leoni, cavato dal naturale' (Daniel among many lions, taken from life). The last words indicate the importance that he, and probably also Carleton, attached to the animals being depicted in a realistic and natural fashion—an aesthetic and scientific consideration which clearly diluted the religious character of the scene.

The Judgement of Solomon (No.46) adorned the courtroom of the City Hall in Brussels, along with a *Last Judgement* and a *Justice of Cambyses*. Paintings of such themes were generally commissioned by the city aldermen and were intended to edify those who administered justice: to keep them on the right path, remind them of their weaknesses, and protect them against themselves and against temptation by litigants. However, not only the judges had to be reminded of their duty and responsibility: defendants and witnesses had to be warned of the consequences of perjury, false accusation or even slander.¹⁸

16. *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, pp.170–174, No.CLXXIV; *Magurn, Letters*, pp.64–66, No.31.

17. *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p.136, No.CLXVI; *Magurn, Letters*, pp.59–61, 441, No.26.

18. J.H.A.De Ridder, *Gerechtigheidsstafereelen voor Schepenhuiizen in Vlaanderen in de 14de, 15de en 16de eeuw*, Dissertation, University of Ghent, MS I (pp.82, 114, 117), III (p.9).

The last work whose destination is known—*Samson Asleep in Delilah's Lap* (No.31)—is the only one that was certainly intended for a bourgeois dwelling, namely that of Nicolaas Rockox, Mayor of Antwerp; it hung above the mantel in the main living-room. Rubens undoubtedly painted other Old Testament scenes for bourgeois mansions. Among those discussed in this volume one may think first of smaller pieces such as *Susanna and the Elders* (No.58; 94 × 67 cm.), now in the Museo e Galleria Borghese in Rome; but not only of these, since *Samson Asleep in Delilah's Lap* measures 185 × 205 cm. It may be asked why the bourgeoisie chose such scenes to decorate their homes. Rubens's subject, the events of Samson's life, were regarded from the Middle Ages onwards as pre-figuring the Life of Christ, his love for Delilah symbolizing Christ's love of the Church. In the seventeenth century the history of Samson and Delilah was very popular as the story of man overcome by the fatal influence of a woman, as well as the theme of temptation by money;¹⁹ it was regarded as a moral *exemplum* or warning against being tempted by earthly goods and carnal pleasures. It is thus not strange to find such a scene in the home of Rockox, a pious man with a strong sense of civic responsibility. But we may also suppose that he admired, in purely human terms, Rubens's depiction of the ruin of a man by physical desire, and that he was perhaps not insensible to Delilah's feminine beauty.²⁰

These few examples indicate the different functions and varying significance that might attach to Old Testament scenes in seventeenth-century painting in the Southern Netherlands.²¹

Rubens painted Old Testament scenes at all stages of his career, from his pre-Italian period (*The Temptation of Man*, No.3) to the glorious 1630s (*Bathsheba Receiving David's Letter*, No.44; *The Finding of the Pagan Treasures and Judas Maccabaeus's Prayer for the Dead*, No.67; *Susanna and the Elders*, No.65). Thus

19. Réau, *Iconographie*, II, 1, pp.245–246.

20. Customers at this time generally showed lively interest in the portrayal of feminine beauty, in Old Testament scenes as well as elsewhere. This is apparent from Sir Dudley Carleton's letter to Rubens of 22 May 1618, expressing the hope that the *Susanna* which Rubens was offering for sale would prove 'beautiful enough to enamour the Elders' (see No.62).

21. It is difficult to form an idea as to how many paintings of Old Testament scenes were executed in the Southern Netherlands in the 17th century, and still more difficult to estimate what proportion they represented of religious paintings in general. W.Brulez (*Cultuur en getal. Aspecten van de relatie economie-maatschappij-cultuur in Europa tussen 1400 en 1800*, Amsterdam, 1986, pp.64, 65) presents a table compiled from samples of extant documents from which it can be deduced, with the necessary reserve, that 13.6 per cent of the religious paintings handled by the Antwerp art trade in the 17th century were on Old Testament subjects. This attempt at quantification deserves credit, but the figure is difficult to interpret, especially as regards the existence or otherwise of a preference for Old Testament scenes on the part of Rubens or his clients. At first sight it would not appear that there was such a preference: rather the contrary, to judge from the religious works that have survived.

the works illustrate every period of his style. This is not the place to trace its evolution in detail, but it is interesting to recall how Rubens, as the heir of Romanism, continued and in a sense completed the task that his Flemish predecessors had begun nearly a hundred years earlier: namely to assimilate the work of the Italian masters and the artists of the ancient world and combine it with their own artistic tradition. Rubens certainly shared their admiration for antique and Italian art, which he had come to know so thoroughly in its own country, and he was also to be inspired by the achievements of his own fellow-countrymen and others, such as the Germans. It is noteworthy how many of his Old Testament scenes are based on models from Tobias Stimmer's *Neue Künstliche Figuren Biblischer Historien*, published in Basle in 1576, the woodcuts of which he had copied with admiration in his youth.²² Sometimes he adopted a compositional scheme of Stimmer's, as in *The Expulsion of Hagar* (No.9), *Abraham and Melchizedek* (No.17) or *Daniel in the Lions' Den* (No.57); at other times one or more motifs, as in *The Creation of Animals* (No.1), *The Expulsion of Hagar* (No.9), or *Job Seated on a Dunghill between his Wife and three Friends* (No.54). These examples, dating from the period after Rubens's return from Italy until about 1620, show what a strong impression Stimmer's woodcuts made on him. Throughout his career he remained faithful to his youthful memory of these fruits of a rich imagination, with their terse composition and strong, expressive figures. Even his admiration for the great Italian masters never completely outweighed his attachment to the robustness and truth to nature of Stimmer's compositions.

As regards his debt to the earlier Netherlands tradition of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, we may point, in this volume, to *Bathsheba Receiving David's Letter* (No.44), where the theme of Bathsheba bathing is already to be found in Hans Memling's *Bathsheba at the Fountain*, now in Stuttgart. As in Jan Massijs's *Bathsheba Receiving David's Letter* of 1562 in the Louvre, and in Cornelisz. van Haarlem's *Bathsheba at the Fountain* of 1594 in Amsterdam, the beauty of the fair Bathsheba is enhanced in Rubens's painting by the presence of a dark-skinned figure. However, Rubens preferred to follow the lead of Flemish masters of the end of the sixteenth century: *The Temptation of Man* (No.3) is based on a composition by Raphael, but the protagonists exhibit features borrowed from Rubens's master Otto van Veen; and again, *Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac* (No.12) and *Abraham and Melchizedek* (No.17) are in some ways particularly close to works by Maarten de Vos. Another sign of Rubens's indebtedness to the

22. Sandrart, edn. Peltzer, p.106; Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, pp.95–96; Lugt, *Cat. Louvre, Ecole flamande*, II, p.34, under No.1116; K.L.Belkin, in *Cat. Exh. Rubens und Stimmer*, Kunstmuseum, Basle, 1984, pp.201–220.

Netherlands tradition²³ may be seen in the fact that up to the second decade of the century he continued to use the triptych format, as in *Job in Distress* (Nos.54–56), at a time when it had otherwise been discarded in favour of a single altarpiece in an architectural framework.

Like all his work, Rubens's Old Testament scenes bear abundant witness to his admiration of antique sculpture and of the painting and sculpture of the sixteenth and early seventeenth-century Italian masters which he had encountered on his travels south of the Alps. In many of these works, including some that he had only known in a debased version in his own country, he saw ideal models with which to create a monumental world of forms; and he borrowed from them compositions, motifs and colour schemes which he then transfigured in his own manner.

Rubens, whose knowledge of literary tradition was certainly part of the reason for his interest in antique sculpture, had made many drawings of statuary while in Italy. These not only provided models of physical power and beauty, but also of direct expression, and it is not surprising that traces of them are to be seen in many of his works. In *Lot and his Daughters* (No.8) the figure of Lot is based on a *Drunken Hercules*, the principal figure in a sculptural group, now lost, which he saw in Italy. The motif of a man kneeling on a wild animal as a sign of triumph, which occurs no less than three times in the sarcophagus frieze *The Labours of Hercules* at the Villa Borghese in Rome, appears in Rubens's *Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion* (No.26), while the *Venus Felix* (a statuette of Venus and Cupid) in the Belvedere at the Vatican may be seen in *Samson Asleep in Delilah's Lap* (No.31). In *Samson Taken by the Philistines* (No.32) Samson is based on the chief figure in *Laocoon and his Sons* in the Vatican, while one of the Philistines resembles the so-called *Borghese Warrior*, now in the Louvre in Paris. For the hero in *David Slaying Goliath* (No.37) Rubens must have had before him, in one form or another, the *Belvedere Torso* and the *Laocoon* group; and the latter is recalled by Holofernes in *Judith Beheading Holofernes* (No.50). In his various versions of *Susanna and the Elders* he also drew inspiration from antique models for the figure of the heroine. The Galleria Borghese version (No.58) is based on the *Spinario* in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome; that in Madrid (No.59) on the *Laocoon* in the group of that name. The *Susanna* in the lost version of 1618 or earlier (No.62) is based on the *Spinario* as regards her general pose, and on a *Venus Pudica* for her arms crossed over her breast. Finally, in the version in Munich (No.65) the *Susanna* figure is inspired by the so-called

23. C. Eisler, 'Rubens' Uses of the Northern Past. The Michiels Triptych and its Sources', *Bulletin, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België*, 1967, p.44; Freedberg, *Life of Christ after the Passion*, p.25.

Venus of Doidalses in the Vatican. All these examples point to the inseparable union of Christian and classical tradition that is characteristic of Rubens.²⁴

From Raphael Rubens borrowed *inter alia* the composition, reproduced in a print by Marcantonio Raimondi, of *The Temptation of Man* (No.3). Figures from Raphael's *Finding of Moses*, in a loggia of the Vatican, appear in Rubens's work of the same title (No.18); and figures from the former's *Battle of Constantine*, also in the Vatican, are seen in Rubens's *Defeat of Sennacherib* (No.47). From Michelangelo, whose monumental style he admired both in painting and in sculpture, Rubens borrowed the composition of *The Brazen Serpent* on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel for his own painting of the same subject (No.23); and he used a free-standing sculpture, now only known from a clay model, for the composition of his drawing *Samson Slaying a Philistine* (No.29). He also drew inspiration from several other figures or motifs by Michelangelo, such as the *Tityus* for *Cain Slaying his Brother Abel* (No.4), or *Leda* (from *Leda and the Swan*, now lost) for *Samson Asleep in Delilah's Lap* (No.31). Various frescoes by Giulio Romano in the Palazzo del Te at Mantua, where Rubens saw them, left traces in some of his works, especially those executed soon after his return to Antwerp. Thus Giulio's *David Strangling a Bear* influenced the composition of Rubens's painting of the same subject (No.34), while his *David and the Lion* supplied the poses of David and the bear in that work. Echoes of Giulio's fresco *David Slaying Goliath* can be seen in two drawings by Rubens of the same subject (Nos.36, 37), while his frescoes of *The Toilet of Bathsheba* and *David Spying upon Bathsheba* are reflected in the drawing *Bathsheba Receiving David's Letter* (No.43).

Several of Rubens's Old Testament scenes show the influence of the great Venetians. Of Titian, whose work Rubens admired so much, we find motifs from *The Martyrdom of St Lawrence* (Jesuit Church, Venice) in *Job Tormented by Demons and Abused by his Wife* (No.55); from *David Slaying Goliath* (now in Santa Maria della Salute, Venice) in *The Brazen Serpent* (No.23); and from *Diana and Actaeon* (National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh) in *Bathsheba Receiving David's Letter* (No.44)—a painting, moreover, which is suffused by the golden glow characteristic of Titian in his later years. To Veronese Rubens was attracted not only by the 'this'-worldly, unmythical spirit of his art but also by his balanced compositions, by which he was inspired more than once. Thus he used *The Finding of Moses* in the Prado for his painting of the same subject (No.18); *Judith and her Maid-Servant with the Head of Holofernes* for his *Judith with the Head of Holofernes*

24. See W. Stechow, *Rubens and the Classical Tradition*, Cambridge, Mass., 1968.

(No.51); *Esther before Ahasuerus*, a *soffitto* in San Sebastiano in Venice, for his painting of the same subject (No.53); and *The Family of Darius before Alexander the Great*, in the National Gallery in London, for his *Meeting of David and Abigail* (No.41). Tintoretto's *Samson Asleep in Delilah's Lap*, in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire, provided the composition for Rubens's painting of the subject in the National Gallery in London (No.31); and from the same artist's *Susanna and the Elders* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna Rubens took motifs for his own version of the subject (No.62).

Rubens's interest in Caravaggio, with whose work he became acquainted in Rome, deserves special attention. This is seen particularly during the first years after his return to Antwerp, in such works as *Susanna and the Elders* (No.59) or *Judith Beheading Holofernes* (No.50). Here we recognize Caravaggio's concern for realistic detail and above all the *chiaroscuro* which throws the figures into sharp relief and heightens the sense of drama. Rubens was also deeply influenced by another artist working in Rome, the German Adam Elsheimer, with whom he was on friendly terms. From Elsheimer he learnt the use of one or more sources of artificial light in an interior, as can be seen in *Judith with the Head of Holofernes* (No.51) and *Samson Asleep in Delilah's Lap* (No.31); while the composition of Elsheimer's *Judith*, which Rubens once owned, is reflected in his own picture of that name (No.50). Finally, Rubens's contacts with Italian art may be seen in a number of specific borrowings from other painters: thus the composition of Andrea del Sarto's *Beheading of St John the Baptist*, a fresco in the Chiostrò dello Scalzo in Florence, played an important part in Rubens's *Judgement of Solomon* (No.45), and Daniele da Volterra's *Deposition in Santa Trinità dei Monti* in Rome supplied a motif for *Tobit Burying a Slain Jew* (No.49).

Rubens's borrowings from Flemish, German, antique or Italian predecessors, which he clearly assimilated without effort, do not in any way detract from the exceptional originality of his art. In his paintings of Old Testament themes, and indeed throughout his *œuvre*, his humanism and stoicism²⁵ are convinc-

25. On the portico of his house in Antwerp Rubens had two texts inscribed, in cartouches, from the *Satires* of the Roman poet Juvenal (d.138 A.D.). They run: 'Permites ipsis expendere numinibus, quid / Conveniat nobis, rebusque sit utile nostris, / Carior est illis homo quam sibi' (Leave it to the gods to provide what is good for us; man is dearer to them than he is to himself), and 'Orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano / Fortem posce animum et mortis terrore carentem / Nesciat irasci, Cupiat nihil' (One should pray for a sound mind in a sound body, for a stout heart that has no fear of death, that knows neither wrath nor desire). (*Satires* 10: 346–362; see G.G.Ramsay, *Juvenal and Persius. With an English Translation*, Cambridge, Mass. – London, 1979, pp.218–221). A bust of Seneca, the most eminent of the Roman Stoics, is above the door leading to Rubens's studio.

ingly and impressively combined with Christian faith. These works, moreover, provide brilliant examples of his gift as a narrator; they bear witness to the fertility of his imagination, the accuracy of his drawing, and the inspired skill of his brushwork. All these attributes enabled Rubens to elevate his subject-matter to an extraordinary aesthetic and ethical level.

CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ

CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ

1. The Creation of Animals: Drawing (Fig. 1)

Pen and brown ink and brown wash over black chalk; 273 × 108 mm.; inscribed in the centre with the pen in Rubens's hand: *qui si fara la Creazione dell huomo*; below on the left, the mark of the collection of Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445).—*Verso*: Three framed spaces intended to contain subjects from the Life of Christ. London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Princes Gate Collection.

PROVENANCE: William Young Ottley (London, 1771–1836), sales London (T. Philipe), 10 July 1807, lot 512, and London (T. Philipe), 17 June 1814, lot 1173; Sir Thomas Lawrence (London, 1786–1830); Woodburn Brothers; Samuel Woodburn (London, 1786–1853); Sir Thomas Lawrence – Samuel Woodburn, sale, London (Christie's), 4–8 June 1860, lot 809, purchased by Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792–1872); Thomas Fitzroy Fenwick, Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham (1856–1938; grandson of Sir Thomas Phillipps); purchased in 1946 by Count A. Seilern (London, 1901–1978), who bequeathed the drawing to the Courtauld Institute of Art.

LITERATURE: A.E. Popham, *Catalogue of Drawings in the Collection formed by Sir Thomas Phillipps, now in the possession of his grandson T. Fitzroy Fenwick of Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham*, 1935, pp. 194–195, No. 5, pl. LXXXVII; Seilern, *Flemish Paintings*, pp. 87–89, No. 55, pls. CVII, CVIII; Held, *Drawings*, p. 45; Martin, *Ceiling Paintings*, p. 31 n. 17; Judson–Van de Velde, I, pp. 95, 96 n. 1.

After creating the sun, moon and stars (seen in the upper part of the drawing), God the Father peopled the earth with animals. He is seen poised in the air, surrounded by birds; below him two lions, a horse and an elephant represent the newly created animal kingdom (Genesis 1: 20–25). An inscription in Italian indicates the place where the creation of man is to be depicted, probably on a very small scale. The story of the creation, an ancient theme of Christian art, was revived in Renaissance literature, especially in the works of Du Bartas and Tasso.¹ Pictorial artists, for their part, showed a predilection for the creation of animals, a theme which gave them ample scope to depict the splendour and luxuriance of the visible world.

It is noticeable that some elements of this scene are derived from Tobias Stimmer's *Neue künstliche Figuren Biblischer Historien* (1576), from which Rubens made some copies in his youth.² As in Stimmer's illustration No. 1, two lions are seen in the right foreground, with a horse close by; the latter's pose is inspired, in reverse, by the rearing horse in Stimmer's illustration No. 2.

This drawing was mounted together with *The Temptation of Man* (No. 2; Fig. 3). They may originally have been part of a single sheet, but were separate when they belonged to Sir Thomas Lawrence's collection, as they both bear his mark. Their respective subjects and style indicate that they belong together, but the reason for their execution is unknown. A.E. Popham (loc. cit.) believed that they were sketches for the wings of a large altar-piece, and

they might also be taken as sketches for the doors of an organ. Nothing is known of any such panels, however, and it seems unlikely that they were ever executed, as the style of the drawings rather suggests illustrations for books. These quick and luminous sketches, utilizing the pen to reinforce the structure of the forms created by the wash, are similar in technique to Rubens's drawings dating around 1610.³ The Italian inscriptions might suggest that they date from his stay in Italy, but this is not necessarily so: Rubens inscribed drawings in Italian long after his return to Antwerp.⁴

The verso (Fig.2) shows three different types of frame for scenes of the Life of Christ, as indicated by the inscriptions *Annunciatio B virginis*, *Nativitas Christi* and *Baptismus Christi* (here also, in a different ink, *la predica di S.Giovanni da longe*). These were tentatively connected by Count Seilern with the ceiling decorations in the Jesuit Church in Antwerp, and it is not excluded that we are here dealing with a preliminary layout of those decorations, before the introduction of Old Testament in addition to New Testament subjects. In that case they would be later in date (c.1620) than the drawing on the *recto*. This would present no difficulties, as a difference in date between *recto* and *verso* is not uncommon in Rubens's drawings. However, as the correspondence is only approximate, both between the frames drawn here and the frames of the actual ceilings, and between the titles noted by Rubens and the pictures as executed, the connection is not beyond dispute. It may be, on the other hand, that these drawings are designs for an illustrated book, as Martin suggested. See also the *verso* of No.2; Fig.4.

1. Maury Thibaut de Maisières, *Les poèmes inspirés du début de la Genèse à l'époque de la Renaissance*, Louvain, 1931, pp.7-12, 47-99.
2. Lugt, *Cat. Louvre. École flamande*, II, pp.34-35, Nos. 1116-1121, pls. LV-LVI; Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, pp.19-20, No.6; K.L.Belkin, *Rubens und Stimmer*, in *Cat. Exh. Tobias Stimmer*, Kunstmuseum, Basle, 1984, pp.201-220.
3. Cf. e.g., *Six Scenes from the New Testament*, in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Inv. No.III, 183 (*Judson-Van de Velde*, I, pp.93-96, No.7a, fig.50).
4. Held, *Drawings*, p.45.

2. The Temptation of Man: Drawing (Fig. 3)

Pen and brown ink and brown wash over black chalk; 273 × 102 mm.; inscribed in pen to the right above Adam in Rubens's hand: *qui si fara il peccato d'Adamo di lontano et inanzi il cacciām(ento) loro del'paradiso*; below on the left, the mark of the collection of Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445). – *Verso*: Three framed spaces intended to contain religious subjects. *London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Princes Gate Collection.*

PROVENANCE: William Young Ottley (London, 1771-1836), sales London (T. Philipe), 10 July 1807, lot 512, and London (T. Philipe), 17 June 1814, lot 1173; Sir Thomas Lawrence (London, 1769-1830); Woodburn Brothers; Samuel Woodburn (London, 1786-1853); Sir Thomas Lawrence-Samuel Woodburn, sale, London (Christie's), 4-8 June 1860, lot 809, purchased by Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792-1872); Thomas Fitzroy Fenwick, Thirstaine House, Cheltenham (1856-1938; grandson of Sir Thomas Phillipps); purchased in 1946 by Count A. Seilern (London, 1901-1978), who bequeathed the drawing to the Courtauld Institute of Art.

LITERATURE: A.E.Popham, *Catalogue of Drawings in the Collection formed by Sir*

Thomas Phillipps, now in the possession of his grandson T. Fitzroy Fenwick of Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham, 1935, pp.194-195, No.5, pl.LXXXVII; Seilern, Flemish Paintings, pp.87-89, No.55, pls.CVII, CVIII; Held, Drawings, p.45; Martin, Ceiling Paintings, p.31 n.17; Judson-Van de Velde, I, pp.95, 96 n.1.

The Garden of Eden is represented with the Tree of Knowledge in the centre. Eve takes an apple from the snake with her right hand, and in her left hand offers an apple to Adam, who refuses it (Genesis 3: 6, where, however, Adam eats the apple). Below on the left is a bear. An inscription in Italian indicates the place where Adam's sin and the Expulsion from Paradise were to be shown, in the distance and on a very small scale; see under No.1.

A painting of the same subject by Rubens is in the Rubenshuis at Antwerp (No.3; Fig.6).

The verso (Fig.4) shows three different types of frame for religious scenes, as the inscriptions indicate: *Missio Spiritus Sancti*, *Ascensio Christi* and *Resurrectio Christi*. These scenes, like those whose titles appear on the verso of *The Creation of Animals* (No.1; Fig.2), have been tentatively connected with the ceiling decorations in the Jesuit Church in Antwerp, and it is possible that here is at preliminary layout of those decorations, before the introduction of Old Testament in addition to New Testament subjects. It may be, on the other hand, that these drawings are designs for an illustrated book.

3. The Temptation of Man (Fig.6)

Oil on panel (the top few centimetres of the panel, where the serpent's head

would have been fully displayed, are lost); 182.5 × 158 cm. – Verso: red wax seal of the Earl Cowper.

Antwerp, Rubenshuis. Inv. No.S164.

PROVENANCE: Earl Cowper (London, d.1723); Lieut.-Col. W. Forbes de Callendar, Falkirk, sale, London (Christie's), 29 November 1963 (as by Karel van Mander), lot 48; purchased by the Rubenshuis from Duits and Co., London, in 1967.

EXHIBITED: *Bilder nach Bildern*, Westfälisches Landesmuseum, Münster, 1975; *Cologne*, 1977, No.2.

LITERATURE: M. Jaffé, 'Rubens and Raphael', *Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Art presented to Anthony Blunt*, London, 1967, p.98, fig.1 (as *Rubens, 1597-1600*); Id., 'Rubens in Italy. Part II: some rediscovered works of the first phase', *Burlington Magazine*, CX, 1968, p.176 (as *Rubens, c.1599*); J.P. Ballegeer, 'Twee werken van Rubens voor de Belgische Musea', *Pantheon*, XXVI, 1968, p.141; F. Baudouin, 'Een jeugdwerk van Rubens, "Adam en Eva" en de relatie Van Veen en Rubens', *Antwerpen*, 2, 1968, pp.45-61, figs.1, 4-7; Id., 'P.P. Rubens, Adam en Eva in het paradijs', *Openbaar Kunstbezit in Vlaanderen*, VII, 1969, No.9 (repr.); Id., *Rubens en zijn eeuw*, Antwerp, 1972, pp.33-43, pl.5, figs.6-9 (as *Rubens, before May 1600*); I.Q. van Regteren Altena, 'Het vroegste werk van Rubens', *Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Schone Kunsten*, XXXIV, Brussels, 1972, No.2, p.5, fig.7 (as *early Rubens*); F. Baudouin, *P.P. Rubens*, Antwerp, 1977, pp.47-63, pl.11, figs.21-25 (as *Rubens, before May 1600*); Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, pp.17, 18, 22, 28, 63, pl.6 (as *Rubens, 1597-1600*); Cat. Exh. [J. Müller Hofstede], *Cologne*, 1977, pp.44-46, 136 (No.2), pl.K2 (p.333), figs.E 18, E19 (as '*Frühwerk von Rubens*'); J. Mül-

ler Hofstede, "'Ut Pictura Poesis'"; Rubens und die humanistische Kunsttheorie', *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, XXIV, 1976-1978, p.180 (as Rubens); H. Vlieghe, *De schilder Rubens*, Utrecht-Antwerp, 1977, pp.47-48, 62, pl.1 (as Rubens); Held, *Oil Sketches*, pp.326, under No.238, 328, under No.240 (as Rubens).

An episode from the Fall of Man (Genesis 3:6). Eve leans against the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, from which, tempted by the serpent, she has plucked an apple despite the Lord's interdiction. As the snake entwines the tree, so she curves her arm around it, holding the forbidden fruit close to her mouth. As if ashamed, she listens with downcast eyes to the reproachful words of Adam, who, leaning against the Tree of Life, reminds her of the divine ordinance with an eloquent gesture of the hand. Both figures are naked; only their private parts are concealed, as if accidentally, by the foliage of plants growing close by. Adam is brown-skinned and bearded, with dark curly hair; Eve's skin is white and her hair blond. They are in the foreground of a fresh paradisaical landscape populated by various animals: a rabbit at Eve's feet, a light green parrot high in the branches behind Adam, a monkey asleep in the reeds beside a pond, and in the distance, a stork, two herons and a duck. Two more ducks, with outstretched wings, are flying above the trees.

As Jaffé has observed,¹ the scene is based on a composition by Raphael, reproduced in a print by Marcantonio Raimondi,² (Fig. 5). The life-size figures, while basically faithful to Raphael's invention, are interpreted by Rubens in a more expressive and personal way: they are fuller, more sensual and also more monumen-

tal. Adam's brown torso is more powerful, while the cool classical beauty of Eve's white flesh is accentuated. Her classical profile and the idealized bearded head of Adam correspond to the ideas of sixteenth-century classicism favoured by Raphael and, under his influence, by Rubens's principal teacher, Otto van Veen (1556-1629).

Rubens has not only given his own interpretation of the physical appearance of our first parents as depicted by Raphael, but has modified their psychological attitude to each other. Raphael presents a dialogue: in the engraving, Eve looks at her husband and is spoken to by him. She begins to eat the apple and with a glance invites Adam, who is holding some fruit in his hand, to do the same, while he warns her of the seriousness of what she is doing. Rubens does away with this dialogue: he distinguishes the two roles sharply and, in a manner characteristic of Netherlandish humanism, introduces a moralizing, didactic and rhetorical element. Adam, who is not yet directly involved in eating the forbidden fruit, reminds Eve of the Lord's command and warns her with an eloquent gesture of the left hand, pointing to the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. Eve does not reply, but stands with downcast eyes as if caught in wrong-doing. The simple change in the direction of her glance, as compared with Raphael's version, enables Eve to play the specific role assigned to her by Adam's behaviour.³

The background of Marcantonio's engraving is occupied by a village, indicating the nature of human life after the Fall. Rubens, however, places Adam and Eve in a wooded landscape, as Dürer did in his *Fall of Man*, an engraving of 1504. This, in contrast to his Italianate figures, is fully in line with the Netherlands tra-

dition and recalls the landscapes of Van Coninxloo and the young Jan Brueghel I.⁴ It is the first known Rubens landscape, or at any rate one of the first. Among the animals which appear in it as a sign of their friendly intercourse with man in the earthly paradise, some have a particular symbolic significance. This cannot always be identified, but some specific inferences can be drawn from the context. The wise and benevolent parrot, which, like the rabbit, already occurs in Dürer's engraving of 1504, forms a contrast with the devilish snake, similar to the contrast between the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, on which they are seen respectively.⁵ The rabbit at Eve's feet, a symbol of carnal love and procreation,⁶ refers to the primal sin and its consequences; so does the monkey, representing man's lower instincts and sinfulness.⁷ In the background, the herons and stork perhaps perform a similar function: the former are said to symbolize conjugal fidelity,⁸ while the stork represents the piety of children born in wedlock.⁹

As to the date of the painting, we have pointed out that Adam and Eve show features that can also be found in some figures by Rubens's master Otto van Veen: Eve's classical profile, and the idealized head of Adam. From a letter addressed by Philips Rubens to Roger de Piles¹⁰ we learn that before Rubens's departure for Italy in May 1600 his work showed a resemblance to that of his master, whose studio he joined in 1594 or at the latest 1595, remaining as a pupil until at least September 1598. Although some of his works executed in Italy also show Van Veen's influence to some extent, it is unlikely that the present work originated south of the Alps, if only because it is painted on a large oak panel. In addition,

the treatment of Adam's half-open left hand, with its round fleshy fingertips, is remarkably similar to that seen in the so-called *Portrait of a Geographer* (Metropolitan Museum, New York),¹¹ a small painting signed by Rubens and dated 1597. All these facts point to the conclusion that *The Temptation of Man* was painted between 1597 and 1600.

A *Temptation of Man* painted by Rubens after Titian in 1628-29 is in the Prado in Madrid. A drawing by Rubens of the same subject is in the Courtauld Institute of Art, Princes Gate Collection, London (No.2; Fig.3).

1. *Rubens and Raphael*, loc. cit.
2. Bartsch, XIV, p.3, No.1.
3. E.M.Vetter, 'Necessarium Adae Peccatum', in *Ruperto-Carola, Zeitschrift der Vereinigung der Freunde der Studentenschaft der Universität Heidelberg e.V.*, XVIII, Vol.39, 1966, p.144ff.; J.Müller Hofstede, loc. cit.
4. F.Grossmann stated in a letter of 1969 to F.Baudouin that similar transformations of Marcantonio's *Fall of Man*, with a different landscape substituted for the village scene are already found in the Netherlands in the first half of the 16th century, and that Rubens may have seen such a work. He mentioned as examples: (1) a painting attributed to Jan van Scorel in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; (2) a weaker version, sold at Sotheby's from the collection of Miss D.Dawkins on 1 May 1946, lot 124, and now in the Leeds City Art Gallery as "Anonymous Flemish, 16th century"; (3) a painting in the Viscount Rochdale collection, shown in the exhibition *Works of Art from Private Collections in Lancashire, Cheshire, Cumberland, Westmorland, parts of Shropshire, Staffordshire and Derbyshire, North Wales and Anglesey*, City Art Gallery, Manchester, 1960, No.23 (repr.).
5. E.Panofsky, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer*, Princeton University Press, 1955, p.85.
6. *de Tervarent, Attributs*, II, cols.231, 241, 242, 436.
7. H.W.Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, London, 1952, pp.107-144; *de Tervarent, Attributs*, II, cols.352-355, 439-440.
8. *Henkel-Schöne*, cols.826-827; J.Müller Hofstede, loc. cit.
9. *de Tervarent, Attributs*, I, cols.97, 98; *Henkel-Schöne*, cols.827-832.
10. C.Ruelens, 'La vie de Rubens par Roger de Piles', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, II, 1883, p.106.
11. Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, p.17, fig.2.

4. Cain Slaying his Brother Abel (Fig. 8)

Oil on panel; 131 × 94 cm. (oak wood with a strip of c.2 cm. of soft wood added on the left side).

London, Courtauld Institute of Art,
Princes Gate Collection.

PROVENANCE: M. Huard; Mme Huard, sale, Paris, 6 April 1820 et seq., lot 169; Besnard, Laneuville and others, sale, Paris, 19, 20 (altered to 20, 21) March 1827, lot 11 (purchased by Jules Didot); Count A. Seilern (London, 1901–1978), who bequeathed the painting to the Courtauld Institute of Art.

COPIES: (1) Anonymous painting, Blois, Musée d'Art Ancien, Château de Blois, No. 159; canvas, 139 × 116 cm. LIT. J. S. Held, 'Comments on Rubens' Beginnings', *Miscellanea Prof. Dr D. Roggen*, Antwerp, 1957, pp. 130–135, repr. (as *Rubens before 1602*); *Seilern, Addenda*, pp. 8–10; *Held, Drawings*, pp. 97–98 (under No. 10), 99 (under No. 15) (as *a replica*); (2) Etching attributed to W. Buytewech, 1612–1613, (in the same direction) (Fig. 7); signature: *P. Paul. Rubens. in: Davit de Meijne excudit.;* captioned: *Door afgunstige nijt, met Jaluzzy gevoet. / heeft deerst gebooren mensch sijn broer met smaet en schande / vermoort: wanneer hij sach de zoete offerhande / meer gelden voor deheer, als 't offer tgeen hij doet.* LIT. V. S., p. 2, No. 7; *Rooses*, I, p. 118, No. 98; L. Burchard, *Die holländischen Radierer vor Rembrandt*, [Dissertation], Halle a. d. Saale, 1912, p. 55; *Oldenbourg, Rubens*, pp. 78–79, fig. 38 (as *Rubens, c. 1610*); J. G. van Gelder, 'De etsen van Willem Buytewech', *Oud Holland*, XLVIII, 1931, p. 62, No. 2, repr. on p. 52, fig. 2; E. Haverkamp Begemann, *Willem Buytewech*, Amsterdam, 1959, pp. 162–163, No. vG2, fig. 5; *Seilern, Addenda*, p. 8; *Cat. Exh. Willem*

Buytewech, (1591–1624), Rotterdam–Paris, 1975, pp. 88–89, No. 110, pl. 5.

EXHIBITED: *The Princes Gate Collection*, Courtauld Institute Galleries, London, 1981, No. 60.

LITERATURE: E. Haverkamp Begemann, *Willem Buytewech*, Amsterdam, 1959, pp. 7, 163 (as *Rubens*); *Held, Drawings*, pp. 97–98, under No. 10, 99, under No. 15 (as *Rubens, in his youth*); J. Müller Hofstede, in *Kunstchronik*, XV, 1962, p. 132, No. 8 (as *Rubens, c. 1610*); *Burchard–d'Hulst, Drawings*, p. 82, under No. 48 (as *Rubens*); J. Müller Hofstede, 'Beiträge zum zeichnerischen Werk von Rubens', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXVII, 1965, p. 304, n. 115 (as *Rubens*); Id., Review of *Burchard–d'Hulst, Drawings*, in *Master Drawings*, 1966, 4, p. 443, No. 48 (as *Rubens*); *Seilern, Addenda*, pp. 8–10, No. 298, pls. IV–VIII (as *Rubens, 1608–1609*); A. Chastel, Review of *Seilern, Addenda*, in *Revue de l'Art*, 9, 1970, p. 104 (as *Rubens, 1608–1609*); G. Martin, Review of *Seilern, Addenda*, in *Burlington Magazine*, CXIV, 1972, pp. 563–564 (as *Rubens, at the time of The Erection of the Cross*); M. Jaffé, Review of *Seilern, Addenda*, in *Art Bulletin*, LV, 1973, p. 463 (as *Rubens*); *Cat. Exh. Willem Buytewech (1591–1624)*, Rotterdam–Paris, 1975, pp. 88–89, No. 110, pl. 5 (as *Rubens, 1608–1610*); B. Heisner, 'A Note on Rubens' "Slain Abel" in the Bob Jones University Museum, Greenville', *Southeastern College Art Conference Review*, IX, 5, 1980, pp. 211–215.

Cain, distinguished by his beard, holds Abel, who is lying on the ground, by the throat and is about to strike him dead with an animal's jawbone.' According to the biblical story (Genesis 4: 2–12), the elder son of Adam and Eve killed his brother out of jealousy: God had accepted

the generous sacrifice of Abel the herdsman (who is wearing an animal's skin) and rejected the meaner sacrifice of Cain, tiller of the soil (as his loincloth denotes). By analogy with Elijah's offering on Mount Carmel (*I Kings* 18: 38), when the fire of the Lord came down from heaven and consumed the sacrifice, so here the divine favour is shown tangibly, as the smoke of Abel's sacrifice rises to heaven while Cain's is driven downwards.² The scene takes place in front of a landscape, with a tree-lined river disappearing in the distance to the left.

Oldenbourg³ was the first to comment on this work in 1918, although he knew it only from a print attributed to W. Buytewech (see below); he pointed out how strongly it is influenced by Michelangelo. Not only is this true of the violent attitudes of the fleshy, muscular figures, but that of Abel is ultimately based on Michelangelo's *Tityus*,⁴ a source that Rubens also used for *The Death of Argus* in Cologne.⁵

However, as Count Seilern made clear, this was not the sole Italian source of Rubens's inspiration. The composition as a whole resembles Titian's ceiling painting of the same subject in the Salute in Venice.⁶ As regards the figure of Cain, Shearman⁷ drew attention to its close similarity to a figure in a *Study of Nudes*,⁸ a drawing in the Uffizi by Baccio Bandinelli, executed between 1520 and 1525, which, as Marcucci⁹ pointed out, was used in *The Massacre of the Innocents*, an engraving after Bandinelli by Marco Dente da Ravenna.¹⁰ Although the figure of Cain indeed closely resembles that drawing, Seilern thought it more likely to be derived from a prototype such as Andrea Schiavone's *Samson Killing a Philistine* in the Pitti Gallery,¹¹ or, as Wilde suggested,¹² Veronese's *Temptation of St An-*

thony of 1552/53 in Caen.¹³ Both suppositions are possible; it may also be that the relevant figure in the Venetian paintings is itself based on Bandinelli's drawing or Marco Dente's engraving. The landscape on the left is remarkable: it is reminiscent of late works by Elsheimer, however the sophisticated rendering of tonality and atmosphere also point to a more pronounced 'Venetianism'.

A print (Fig.7) ascribed with some reservation to Willem Buytewech, engraved in 1612-13 and published at Amsterdam by David de Meijne, reproduces the painting with the same figures and in the same direction, probably to avoid Cain dealing the death-blow with his left hand; the landscape, however, is different. It is of course possible that the engraver did not work from the painting itself but from a preparatory drawing or oil sketch by Rubens.¹⁴ In any case this print provides a *terminus ante quem* for the painting. Considering the numerous Italian ingredients in its composition, it must date from after Rubens's departure for Italy in 1600. After comparison with other works executed before and after his return to Antwerp at the end of 1608, and taking account of the fact that it is painted on an oak panel, we believe that it originated in 1608-1609.

A small panel, sold at Amsterdam on 21 June 1797 by Philippus van der Schley and Cornelis Sebille Roos as lot 176,¹⁵ may have been a preparatory oil sketch for this painting.

The inventory, drawn up on 14 April 1614, of the estate of the collector Philips van Valckenisse, who died in the Minderbroedersstraat in Antwerp on 3 March 1614, included a work described as 'Abel ende Cain op doec na Rubbens oic op doeck' (Abel and Cain on canvas after Rubens also on canvas).¹⁶

1. See Meyer Schapiro, 'Cain's Jaw-Bone that Did the First Murder', *Art Bulletin*, XXIV, 1942, pp.205-212, figs.1-6.
2. The two altars are already seen in a print after Michiel Coxcie (1499-1592), engraved by Jan Sadeler I and published by Cl.J. Visscher (Hollstein, XXI, p.91, No.47; XXII, p.102, fig.47): fire rises to heaven from Abel's altar, on which he has sacrificed a lamb; from Cain's, on which only fruits are seen, the fire strikes downward.
3. 'Die Nachwirkung Italiens auf Rubens und die Gründung seiner Werkstatt', *Wiener Jahrbuch*, XXIV, 5, 1918, pp.179-180, fig.13.
4. A.E. Popham and J. Wilde, *The Italian Drawings ... at Windsor Castle*, London, [1949], No.429, pl.21.
5. Inv. No.1040; K.d.K., p.33.
6. H.E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian*, I, London, 1969, pp.120-121, fig.157. Rubens's drawing after Titian's *Sacrifice of Isaac* (Albertina, Inv. No.8.203; Glück-Haberdtztl, No.2; Mitsch, *Rubenszeichnungen*, p.132, No.56 (repr.) shows how carefully he had studied the ceiling of the Salute.
7. *Seilern, Addenda*, p.9.
8. Inv. No.6911F; *Mostra di disegni dei Fondatori dell'Accademia delle Arti del Disegno*, Florence, 1963, No.6, fig.4.
9. L. Marcucci, 'Disegni del Bandinelli per la "Strage degli innocenti"', *Rivista d'Arte*, XXIX, 1954 (1955), pp.97ff.
10. *Bartsch*, XIV, p.14, No.21.
11. A.M. Francini Ciaranfi, *The Pitti Gallery* (English edition), Florence, 1957, p.25, No.152.
12. *Seilern, Addenda*, p.9.
13. T. Pignatti, *Veronese*, Venice, 1976, p.107, No.22, fig.31. J. Wilde had already suggested (in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, VII, 1938, p.143) that Veronese's *The Temptation of St Anthony* was related to Tintoretto's *Cain Slaying his Brother Abel* in the *Accademia in Venice* (S. Moschini Marconi, *Gallerie dell'Accademia di Venezia: opere d'arte del secolo XVI*, Rome, 1962, No.398, repr.).
14. E. Haverkamp Begemann, loc. cit.
15. *Lugt, Répertoire*, 5624. The sale catalogue reads: '176. Rubens (P.P.), hoog 12, breed 9 duim [Amsterdam measure of 11 duim to the foot: 30.9 × 23.2 cm.]. Paneel. Dit uitmuntend Cabinetstuk verbeeld de Broedermoord van Caïn en Abel, men ziet den eerstgemelden in een woedende Actie; houdende zijn Broeder Abel bij't hoofd, en gereed om hem met geweld den doodslag toe te brengen; deeze aandoenlijke Ordonnantie, is zeer breed, kräftig en fix behandeld; en doet de groote Meester kennen, die met weinig moeite, zo veel weet uit te drukken' (Panel. This fine cabinet piece represents the murder of Abel by his brother Cain. The latter is seen in a furious attitude, holding Abel by the head and about to strike him a mortal blow. This impressive composition is executed in a broad, powerful style and with great skill. It shows the hand of a great master, who can

express so much with little effort.) It was bought by Yver for 201 fl.

16. F.J. Van den Branden, 'Verzamelingen van schilderijen te Antwerpen', *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, 21, p.307; *Denucé, Konstkamers*, pp.21, 22; *Duverger, Antwerpse kunstinventarissen*, I, 1984, p.307.

5. The Flight of Lot and his Family from Sodom (Fig. 9)

Oil on canvas; 203 × 229 cm.

Sarasota, John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art. Inv. No. SN18.

PROVENANCE: ?Pieter Stevens (1590-1668), merchant, almoner of the City of Antwerp, sale, Antwerp, 13 August 1668 et seq., lot 1; could be identical with 'eenen Rubens, Lot met syn familie', which the dealer Jean Picart (Paris), in a letter to his colleague Matthijs Musson (Antwerp), dated 2 July 1674, speaks of having heard about from Brussels (J. Denucé, loc. cit.); according to F. Mols (manuscript 1771, Royal Library, Brussels, No.5734, p.137), purchased in 1706 by the City of Antwerp from the painter Jacob de Wit, and presented the same year by the City to John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, Blenheim Palace; the Duke of Marlborough, Blenheim Palace, sale, London (Christie's), 24 July 1886, lot 65, bought by Murray for Charles Butler (1,850 gns); Charles Butler sale, London (Christie's), 25 and 26 May 1911, lot 209 (repr.), purchased by Agnew (6,500 gns); James Ross (Montreal, Canada), sale, London (Christie's), 8 July 1927, lot 23, repr., bought by Richter for John Ringling (2,100 gns).

COPIES: (1) Anonymous painting, Miami Beach, Florida, The John and Johanna Bass Collection (Fig.10); canvas, 180 × 234 cm. PROV. Del Monte Collection, Brussels. EXH. *Exhibition of Belgian Art*, Budapest, 1927, No.10 (as Rubens); Kunst-

zaal Kleykamp, The Hague, 1932, No.6 (as *Rubens*); Amsterdam, 1933, No.1 (as *Rubens*, c.1618); City of Perth Art Gallery, Australia, from 1940 to 1950; Principal Municipal Gallery of the North of England, July 1950 to October 1951. LIT. G. Glück, *Catalogue de la Collection del Monte*, Vienna, 1928, No.6, pl.VI (as *Rubens*); A.L.Mayer, 'Die Sammlung Del Monte in Brüssel', *Pantheon*, IV, 1929, p.422 (as *Rubens*); C.Norris, 'The Rubens Exhibition at Amsterdam', *Burlington Magazine*, LXIII, 1933, p.229 n.4 (as *not Rubens*); Goris-Held, p.31, under No.36 (as *inferior to the picture in the Ringling Museum*); Cat. *The John and Johanna Bass Collection at Miami Beach*, Florida, [1964], p.8, No.8; R.-A.d'Hulst, 'Drie vroege schilderijen van Jacob Jordaens', *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis en de Oudheidkunde*, XX, 1967, pp.71-74 (as *a copy*); (2) Painting by Jacob Jordaens, Tokyo, The National Museum of Western Art, Inv. No.P.1978 (Fig.12); canvas, 169.5 × 198.5 cm. PROV. Lewis and Son, London, 1931; sale, London (Christie's), 29 July 1937, lot 80; Würzburg, Martin von Wagner-Museum der Universität (on loan); bought by the museum of Tokyo in 1978. EXH. *Brussels*, 1965, pp.168-169, No.181, repr. (as *Rubens*); *Weltkunst aus Privatbesitz*, Cologne, Kunsthalle, 1968, No.F29, fig.16 (as 'die Wiederholung [bei *Rubens*] eines Gemälde im Ringling Museum'). LIT. G. Glück, *Catalogue de la Collection del Monte*, Vienna, 1928, under No.6 (as *Rubens*); Cat. *Amsterdam*, 1933, under No.1 (as *Rubens*); G. Glück, in *Thieme-Becker*, XXIV, p.142 (as *Rubens*); Goris-Held, p.31, under No.36; H.Gerson, 'Das Jahrhundert von Rubens', *Kunstchronik*, 19, 1966, pp.58, 61 (as *Rubens*); R.-A.d'Hulst, 'Drie vroege schilderijen van Jacob Jordaens', *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis en de Oudheidkunde*,

XX, 1967, pp.71-74, fig.1 (as *Jordaens after Rubens*); *The National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, Catalogue of Paintings*, 1979, p.195, No.252, fig.252; (3) Engraving by Lucas Vorsterman (in reverse) (Fig.11); signature: *P.P.Rubens pinxit—Cum privilegij, Regis Christianissimi, Principum Belgarum, et ordinum Bataviae—Lucas Vorsterman sculp. et exud. Anº 1620*; captioned: *Eruditione et probitate Cl^{mo} V.D.Joanni Brantio LC^{io} urbi Antverpiensi ab actis, socero amantissimo, Petrus Paulus Rubens gener, observantiae ergo. D.D.* LIT. V.S., p.2, No.9; *Hymans, Gravure* pp.171-172, 179-180; *Rooses*, I, p.123, under No.102, pl.28; *Renger, Rubens Dedit*, II, p.205.

EXHIBITED: *The Old Masters. Winter Exhibition*, London, Burlington House, 1855, p.33, No.148 (as *Rubens*).

LITERATURE: T.Martyn, *The English Connoisseur*, I, London, 1766, p.19, No.3; A.Ponz, *Viage fuera de España*, 2nd edn., I, Madrid, 1791, p.290; W.F.Mavor, *Nouvelle description de Blenheim*, London, 1791; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp.241-242, No.826; J.D.Passavant, *Kunstreise durch England und Belgien*, Frankfurt am Main, 1833, p.176, No.11; *Waagen Treasures*, III, p.124; G.Scharf, *Catalogue Raisonné; or, A List of Pictures in Blenheim Palace*, London, 1861, p.58; *Rooses*, I, pp.122-123, No.102 (as *Rubens and Van Dyck in collaboration*); V, p.311, No.102; G.Redford, *Art Sales*, I, London, 1888, p.415; K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg, pp.136, 471; *Dillon*, p.132, pl.CXVI; K.d.K., p.105 (as c.1615-1616); G. Glück, *Catalogue de la Collection del Monte*, Vienna, 1928, under No.6; *Lugt, Répertoire*, I, No.4; Cat. *Exh. Amsterdam*, 1933, under No.1; *Valentiner, Rubens in America*, No.57; *Evers, Rubens*, pp.306-307, 498 (n.303); Goris-Held, p.31, No.36, pls.37, 38 (as *Rubens*, c.1613-1615); *Denucé, Na Rubens*, pp.396-397; W.F.Suida, *Catalogue of Paintings, The*

*John & Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Florida, 1949, p.191, No.218, figs.218, 218a (as principally painted by Rubens, c.1615–1616); Larsen, Rubens, p.216 (as Rubens and the studio, c.1615); Magurn, Letters, p.69; Cat. Brussels, 1965, pp.168–169, under No.181 (as follower of Rubens); R.-A.d'Hulst, 'Drie vroege schilderijen van Jacob Jordaens', *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis en de Oudheidkunde*, XX, 1967, pp.71–74 (as Rubens, 1613–1615); E.Hubala, in *Rubens. Kunstgeschichtliche Beiträge*, ed. E.Hubala, Constance, 1979, pp.176–179, fig.69; J.Briels, 'De Antwerpse kunstverzamelaar Peeter Stevens (1590–1668) en zijn Constkamer', *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum Antwerpen*, 1980, p.223, No.1; *The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Florida. Catalogue of the Flemish and Dutch Paintings, 1400–1900*, 1980, No.41, fig.41 (as Rubens and Studio, c.1613–1615); D.Freedberg, 'Fame, Convention and Insight: on the Relevance of Fornenbergh and Gerbier', *Ringling Museum of Art Journal*, Sarasota, Florida, 1983, p.238, fig.3 (as copy of Rubens).*

Lot, his wife and his two daughters leave the City of Sodom, which is to be destroyed by God as a punishment for the immorality of its inhabitants. They are accompanied by two angels. The patriarch leaves his city reluctantly, looking back as one of the angels takes him by the arm and leads him on; the second angel looks into his face and evidently attempts to reassure him. Lot's wife gazes mournfully ahead, wiping tears from her eyes. One of the daughters carries vessels in a basket, while the other carries on her head some objects wrapped in a cloth. A dog runs forward at the head of the group. A pillar indicates the gate by which the family have left the city. Dark clouds,

lit up by flames, show that the city is on fire, although, according to the Bible, God did not rain fire upon Sodom until Lot and his family had reached the little town of Zoar (Genesis 19: 12–24).

The flight of Lot and his family from Sodom was regarded as a symbol of renouncing carnal pleasures and preserving one's soul to everlasting life.

The composition resembles a bas-relief: the figures, in the foreground, form a line parallel to the picture-plane. Their imposing forms, some of which partly conceal or overlap with others, fill almost the entire compositional field, so that practically nothing is seen of the background. The *contrapposto* pose of the angel on the left may have been inspired by the female figure on the left of Titian's *Bacchus and Ariadne* in the National Gallery, London.¹ The figure-group of the angel and Lot resembles the *Triton and Nereid* on the lid of a sarcophagus at Grottaferrata, Badia.²

Three versions of this composition are known: the other two are in the National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, and the John and Johanna Bass Collection, Miami Beach. The Tokyo painting presents some details that are not found in the other versions or in Vorsterman's print, such as the transparent material partly revealing the leg of Lot's fair-haired daughter, the lightning bolts in the dark sky, and the clump of grass in the lower left corner. There has been strong disagreement as to the authorship of the different versions. Burchard considered that the one in the Ringling Museum was the best and was painted in about 1613–1615 (by an assistant in the first instance, then retouched by Rubens, especially the flesh parts); the other two he believed to be copies. I agree with this opinion, and

consider the Tokyo version to be a copy by Jacob Jordaens;³ the one at Miami Beach seems to me the weakest of the three. We may suppose that Rubens made a preparatory oil sketch of this composition, or at least a drawing.

A print of the composition by Lucas Vorsterman (Fig.11) was dedicated by Rubens to his father-in-law Jan Brant, who was a well-known Antwerp humanist and also the brother-in-law of Rubens's brother Philips. The dedication praises his virtues, mentions his official position as an advocate and his family relationship to Rubens. This was one of nine large prints by Vorsterman after Rubens, published in 1620. It is referred to in a letter of 19 June 1622 from Rubens to Pieter van Veen,⁴ in which the painter says that it was 'made when the engraver first came to work with me', i.e. in 1617 or perhaps even earlier.⁵ Its publication was delayed until 1620 because Rubens had first to obtain the necessary privileges.⁶ The preparatory drawing, by Anthony van Dyck, is in the Louvre in Paris;⁷ it does not differ in any way from Rubens's composition. Vorsterman's print served as a model for: (1) an anonymous print published by J.C. Visscher⁸ (in reverse as compared with Vorsterman, and with the landscape extended); (2) an engraving by Langot, published by P. Mariette⁹ (also in reverse as compared with Vorsterman, and with the landscape extended). It was also copied in pictorial form: (1) Painting by Jan-Baptist Lambrechts (signed), whereabouts unknown; copper, 62 × 79 cm.; PROV. Sale, New York (Sotheby Parke-Bernet), 12 January 1979, lot 55; (2) Anonymous painting, Berlin, Bode-Museum; panel, 37 × 47.5 cm.; LIT. Cat. *Holländische und flämische Gemälde des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts im Bode-Museum*, Berlin, 1976,

p.72, No.1504A, repr.; (3) Anonymous painting, Humberto J. Lopez, Coral Gables, Florida; copper, 38 × 45 cm.

Rembrandt was not unaffected by Rubens's dramatic interpretation of Lot's flight. One of his drawings of the subject, of which there is now a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris,¹⁰ shows that he was acquainted with Vorsterman's print, as he depicts the movement of the group in the same direction. He also made use of the figures of the backward-looking Lot, the daughter with the basket of vessels, the dog leading the group, and part of the background architecture. Another drawing of Lot's flight, which was generally accepted as by Rembrandt until Benesch listed it under 'Attributions',¹¹ is in the British Museum, London.¹² In this version the group is moving in the opposite direction to that of Vorsterman's print; we may suppose that the drawing is based on another print, a copy of Vorsterman's—probably the one executed by an anonymous engraver and published by J.C. Visscher.¹³ Another *Flight of Lot and his Family from Sodom* painted by Rubens and dated 1625 is in the Louvre in Paris (No.6; Fig.13).

In the collection of M.de Clerck de Prinsdæle at Ghent there was, in about 1789-1791, a work of the same title, painted after Rubens by 'Henri van Limbourg' (The Hague, 1680-1759).¹⁴

On 7 May 1824, at Phillips's in London (lot 41), was sold a *Flight of Lot and his Family from Sodom—engraved*, as by Rubens (45 guineas).

The group of Lot's two daughters, as it appears in Van Dyck's preparatory drawing for Vorsterman's print, was copied by an unknown hand in a drawing that belonged to the G. Braamkamp Collection and was sold with it in Amsterdam on 29 February 1768 as lot 186.¹⁵ It was sold

again in Amsterdam on 12 December 1768 as lot 91.¹⁶

1. H.E.Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian*, III, London, 1975, pp.148–151, No.14, figs.48, 50.
2. A.M.Friend, Jr, 'Dürer and the Hercules Borghese-Piccolomini', *Art Bulletin*, XXV, 1, March 1943, p.46, figs.9, 10. There is an echo of the same sculptural group in the motif consisting of the left and central figure in *Lot and his Daughters* (cf. No.7; Fig.17).
3. R.-A.d'Hulst, *Jordaens*, London, 1982, pp.44, 63, 329 (n.7), fig.13.
4. *Roeses-Ruelens*, II, pp.444–451, No.CCLXVI; *Margurn, Letters*, pp.87–88, No.48.
5. *Hymans, Gravure*, p.161.
6. *Hymans, Gravure*, pp.126–128.
7. *Cabinet des Dessins*, Inv. No.20314; PROV. E.Jabach (1607/1610–1695), purchased in 1671 for Louis XIV, King of France; LIT. *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, under No.826; *Roeses*, V, p.146; A.de Hevesy, 'Rubens à Paris', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Sixth Series, XXXIV, 1948, p.99, fig.4; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, pp.36–37, No.1126, pl.LVII (as *Van Dyck*); H.Vey, *Die Zeichnungen Anton van Dycks*, Brussels, 1962, pp.231–232, No.161, fig.209 (as *Van Dyck*).
8. V.S., p.2, No.10.
9. V.S., p.2, No.11.
10. F.Lugt and J.Vallery-Radot, *Bibliothèque Nationale. Inventaire général des dessins des écoles du Nord*, Paris, 1936, pp.64–65, No.246, pl.LXVII (as *Rembrandt*); O.Benesch, *The Drawings of Rembrandt*, VI, London, 1973, p.376, No.C89, fig.1714 (as *copy*); U.Moussalli, 'Rubens et Caravage, communication faite au Congrès international d'histoire de l'art d'Amsterdam', 1952, in *Études d'Art publiées par le Musée d'Alger*, 11–12, 1955–1956, p.103; E.Haverkamp Begemann, *Exh. Cat. Rembrandt: tekeningen*, Rotterdam–Amsterdam, 1956, pp.158–159, No.219 (as *Rembrandt*).
11. Otto Benesch, *op. cit.*, IV, London, 1973, p.229, No.A36, fig.1099.
12. A.M.Hind, *Catalogue of Drawings by Dutch and Flemish Artists in the British Museum*, I, London, 1915, p.57, No.89; F.Lugt and J.Vallery-Radot, *op. cit.*, p.65, under No.246; U.Moussalli, *loc. cit.*, p.103; I.Q.van Regteren Altena, 'The Origin of a Motif in Rembrandt's Work', *Master Drawings*, 5, 1967, pp.375–378, fig.1.
13. See note 8.
14. E.Duverger, 'Filip Spruyt en zijn inventaris van kunstwerken in openbaar en privaat bezit te Gent (ca. 1789–1791)', *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis en de Oudheidkunde*, XIX, 1961–66, p.222.
15. 'Een fraay Studie van twee staande Vrouwe zijnde de dogters van Loth, met zwart Krijt geteekend en een weinig gehoogd, op gekleurd papier door

denzelven [P.P.Rubens], bekend door de Prent daar Loth vertrekt uit Sodom'. (A fine study of two standing women, the daughters of Loth, drawn in black chalk with some heightening, on coloured paper, by the same [P.P.Rubens], known from the engraving of Lot leaving Sodom). *Lugt, Répertoire*, No.1660.

16. 'Een Ordinantie van twee staande Vrouwen, zijnde een Studie uit Loth, met zwart Krijt geteekend, door P.P.Rubbens, bekend door de Prent'. (A composition of two standing women, being a study from Lot, drawn in black chalk, by P.P.Rubens, known from the engraving). *Lugt, Répertoire*, No.1722.

6. The Flight of Lot and his Family from Sodom (Fig. 13)

Oil on panel; 75 × 119 cm.; signed and dated on the column at the left:

Pe.Pa.Rubens Fe, A° 1625.

Paris, Musée du Louvre. Inv. No.1760.

PROVENANCE: ?Cardinal de Richelieu; Victor-Amédée de Savoie, Prince de Carignan, sale 1740 (1,800 livres); Maréchal de Noailles. Acquired by Louis XV, King of France, in 1742. Moved from the Surlintendance at Versailles to the Vieux-Louvre in Paris on 17/18 September 1792.

COPIES: (1) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, '7 palmen, 6 duimen: 1 el, 2 palmen, 3 duimen' (76 × 123 cm.). PROV. Josephus Augustinus Brentano, sale, Amsterdam, 13 May 1822 et seq., No.291 (as *Rubens*); (2) Anonymous painting, formerly in the Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe, Inv. No.1962; destroyed by fire in 1945; canvas, 73 × 110 cm. LIT. K.Koelitz, *Grossherzogliche Kunsthalle zu Karlsruhe, Katalog der Gemälde-Galerie*, Karlsruhe, 1881, p.62, No. 176; *Bernhard, Verlorene Werke*, p.131; (3) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 38 × 58 cm. PROV. 'Sale, Amsterdam (P.Brandt), 30 November–3 December 1976, No.64 (as *Flemish*

School); (4) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 79 × 112 cm. PROV. Sale, London (Christie's), 29 July 1949, No.284; (5) Anonymous painting, Vassilis Allamanis, Brussels (1970); panel, 77 × 119 cm.; (6) Anonymous painting, A.H.De Soucy, São Paulo, Brazil (1979); panel, 29 × 50 cm.; (7) Painting, whereabouts unknown. EXH. *Les Uns par les Autres*, Paris, Galerie Cardo, 1930, repr. (as A.Watteau) LIT. *l'Amour de l'Art*, 11, 1930, p.147, repr. (as A.Watteau); H.Vollmer, in *Thieme-Becker*, XXXV, 1942, p.193 (as A.Watteau); (8) Painting by Eugène Delacroix, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Inv. No.R.F.1942/15 (Fig.15); canvas, 33 × 41 cm. PROV. E.Delacroix (1798-1863), sale, Paris, 17-29 February 1864, lot 167, bought by M.de Groiseilliez; G.Viau Collection; Art dealer Paul Cassirer, Berlin; purchased by the Louvre in 1942. LIT. A.Robaut, *L'Œuvre de Delacroix*, Paris, 1885, p.475, No.1939; B.Ehrlich White, 'Delacroix's Painted Copies after Rubens', *Art Bulletin*, XLIX, 1967, p.43.

EXHIBITED: *Delacroix, ses maîtres, ses amis, ses élèves*, Bordeaux, Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1963, pp.78-79, No.189; *Le XVIIe siècle flamand au Louvre. Histoire des collections*, Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1977-1978, pp.12-13, 53 n.45, No.42, fig.42.

LITERATURE: E.Johnston, 'J.Highmore's Paris Journal, 1734', *The Walpole Society*, XLII, 1968-1970, p.77; *Descamps, Vie*, I, 1753, p.314; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.120, No.403; *Waagen, Kunstwerke*, III, p.557, No.677; *Rooses*, I, pp.120-121, No.101; M.Rooses, 'De Meesterstukken der Vlaamsche School in den Louvre: P.P.Rubens', *Elseviers's geïllustreerd Maandschrift*, September 1895, pp.300-306, 399-406; F.Engerand, *Inventaire des tableaux commandés et achetés par la direction des Bâtiments du Roi (1709-1792)*, Pa-

ris, 1900, p.537; M.Rooses, *De Oude Nederlandsche en Vlaamsche Meesters in den Louvre en in de National Gallery*, Amsterdam, [1902], p.87; H.Hymans, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Third Series, XXIX, 1903, p.261; K.d.K., edn. *Rosenberg*, pp.265, 478 (S.265); H.Knackfuss, *Rubens*, Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1903, p.87; *Archives de l'Art français*, 1909, *La Commission du Muséum et la création du Musée du Louvre, [1792-1793]*, Doc.86, p.159; K.d.K., pp.283, 466 (S.283); *Oldenbourg, Rubens*, p.16; L.Hourticq, *Rubens*, Paris, 1924, pp.86, 90, repr.; E.Michel, *La peinture au Musée du Louvre, École flamande*, Paris, 1930, pp.60-61, figs.66, 67; *Evers, Rubens*, pp.306-308, fig.172; A.de Hevesy, 'Rubens à Paris', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Sixth Series, XXXIV, 1948, pp.99-100, fig.6; *Magurn, Letters*, pp.99, under No.59, 100, under No.60, 454 n.1; *Réau, Iconographie*, II, pp.115-118; *Van Puyvelde, Rubens*, p.146; R.A.Wilenski, *Flemish Painters*, London, 1960, p.285, fig.577; *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, III, cols.107-112; E.Hubala, in *Rubens. Kunstgeschichtliche Beiträge*, ed. E.Hubala, Constance, 1979, pp.176-179, fig.70; *Held, Oil Sketches*, p.427, under No.309.

Lot, his wife and his two daughters leave the City of Sodom, which God intends to destroy because of the immorality of its people. The patriarch evidently leaves his home with reluctance; an angel takes him by the arm and leads him on. His wife too is sorrowful at leaving, and a second angel pushes her by the shoulder, persuading her to move. She turns half round to cast a final look at what she must leave behind her, and it is clear that she will transgress the divine order forbidding the family to look back. The two youthful daughters, in radiant health,

with a lap-dog trotting beside them, show no distress; one of them leads by the bridle an ass laden with rich vessels, while the other has a basket of fruit on her head. Four demons come storming through the air to set fire to the town (in the Bible story this did not happen until Lot and his family had escaped to the little town of Zoar). On the left are the city walls and the gate by which the company have left Sodom; on the right is an open landscape (Genesis 19: 12–24).

The same six figures are seen in Rubens's earlier *Flight of Lot and his Family from Sodom*, c.1613–1615, now in the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota (No.5; Fig.9): there they appear as monumental forms, partly obscuring one another and filling the whole compositional field. In the present painting, however, they are reduced to normal size and spaced out to form a long procession moving across the landscape: this arrangement shows some resemblance to models found in Mantegna, e.g. his *Calumny of Apelles*, a drawing in the British Museum, London (Fig.16).¹ The figures are marked by delicacy of form and refinement of expression, and are arranged for greater clarity in three groups—Lot with the first angel, his wife with the second angel, and the two daughters—without detriment to the overall harmony. It is noteworthy that while in the composition of 1613–1615 Lot is in the centre of the composition and is seen looking back towards his lost home, here it is his wife who occupies the centre of the scene and looks partly backward. Like Lot in the first version, she typifies human reluctance to obey a divine command and to part with what has to be sacrificed. Her attitude foreshadows what is to come (Genesis 19: 26): at the sound of the fire destroying Sodom,

Lot's wife 'looked back from behind him, and she became a pillar of salt'.

On 26 December 1624 Rubens wrote to Valavez² that he had received a letter of 19 December from the Abbé de St Ambroise giving the dimensions 'of a picture which the Cardinal de Richelieu would like to have by my hand; I am only sorry it is not to be larger, for I guard against falling short in his service'. In a further letter to Valavez, dated 10 January 1625,³ he says: 'What bothers me more than anything else is the fact that the picture for the Cardinal cannot, in my opinion, be quite finished [by the 4th of February], and even if it were ready, I could not possibly bring it [to Paris] so freshly painted. Even though I desire to serve His Eminence, especially knowing how important his favour is, I do not believe that it matters a great deal whether I complete this picture in Paris or in Antwerp. In the end I hope that he ... will be satisfied with my diligence, and that I shall find some subject to his taste'. Although it is not certain that this correspondence relates to *The Flight of Lot and his Family from Sodom*, it is very likely that it does, especially as the painting in the Louvre is entirely by Rubens's own hand and is signed in full by him and dated [1625], something he did very rarely.

An oil sketch, according to Burchard a preliminary study for this painting, was sold in 1975 at Reichenau, Constance (No.6a; Fig.14).

A very fine copy dating from the first half of the 19th century was sold under the name of Bonington at Christie's, London, on 29 July 1937, lot 125 (35.5 × 53 cm).

F. Leenhoff made an engraving (in the same direction) for the *Société française de gravure*.⁴

1. A. E. Popham and P. Pouncey, *Catalogue, British Museum, Italian Drawings, The 14th and 15th Centuries*,

London, 1950, pp.97–99, No.158, pl.CXLVI. In this drawing the group of figures is in reverse as compared with the painting in the Louvre. Rubens's interest in Mantegna is clear from the copies he made of his work: cf. Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, pp.40–41, No.21.

2. *Rooses-Ruelens*, III, pp.313–315, No.CCCLXVI (original French text); *Magurn, Letters*, pp.99, 454 n.1, No.59.
3. *Rooses-Ruelens*, III, pp.319–321, No.CCCLXVII (original French text); *Magurn, Letters*, p.101, No.60.
4. Not in V.S.; *Rooses*, I, p.121, under No.101.

6a. The Flight of Lot and his Family from Sodom: Oil Sketch (Fig. 14)

Oil on panel; 37 × 46 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: Lucerne, Fischer Art Gallery; Kurt Meissner Art Gallery (1948); offered for sale to the art dealer Paul Schaar-Micheluzzi, Basle, in 1970; sale, Reichenau (Constance), Internationale Kunst Agentur K. Kühnel, 29 November 1975, lot 6, repr. (withdrawn).

LITERATURE: A. de Hevesy, 'Rubens à Paris', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Sixth Series, XXXIV, 1948, p.100, fig. 5 (as *Rubens*); Held, *Oil Sketches*, p.427, No. 309 (as *a copy*).

Burchard, who saw this sketch in 1948, regarded it as by Rubens's own hand and as a preparatory study for the painting of the same title in the Louvre in Paris, dated 1625 (No.6; Fig.13); he thought it was painted in the same year or shortly before. Held, on the other hand, although he knew it only from a small reproduction, said of it: 'while hardly an original work, may well be the copy of a sketch, now lost, for the painting of the same subject in the Louvre'.¹ We have not seen the actual work, but from good photographs bequeathed by Burchard we have also come to the conclusion that it is not

by Rubens. As Held suggested, we believe that it is indeed a copy of a lost preparatory sketch for the painting in the Louvre.

In this sketch the composition is already formulated in its essentials: a procession consisting of Lot, his wife and two daughters, accompanied by two angels, moves away from the City of Sodom, the wall and gate of which can be seen on the left. In the large painting, however, Rubens split up this group of six figures into three pairs: Lot in front with an angel, then his wife with the second angel, and lastly the two daughters. The new arrangement emphasized the figure of Lot's wife and the theme of her looking back, which forms the main point of the subsequent story. In the sketch, moreover, the angels are distinguished from each other by the fact that one is *pulling* Lot along while the other is *pushing* his wife. This is so in the painting also, but Lot's angel is there seen pointing into the distance instead of up to heaven. A dog, running ahead in the sketch, already appeared in Rubens's *Flight of Lot and his Family from Sodom* of c.1613–1615 (No.5; Fig.9); in the final painting it was eliminated so as to accentuate the role of the angel as leader of the procession. In the sketch there are no aerial figures; in the painting, four demons swoop down to begin their work of destruction.

The figure of Lot's wife in the sketch is derived from that of Lot himself as it appears in Vorsterman's engraving after Rubens's *Flight of Lot and his Family from Sodom* (c.1613–1615), which was published in 1620 (Fig.11).² The daughter with the basket of fruit on her head—who is also found, e.g., in Rubens's *Jesus in the House of Simon the Pharisee*, Hermitage, Leningrad³—is based on models by Ghiberti, Ghirlandaio and Raphael.⁴ The other

daughter closely resembles the figure of the Virgin in Vorsterman's engraving after Rubens's *Return from Egypt*, also published in 1620.⁵

1. Held, *Oil Sketches*, p.427, No.309.
2. V.S., p.2, No.9; see No.5 above.
3. K.d.K., p.179; *Varshavskaya, Rubens*, pp.122-127, No.18, repr. on p.123.
4. See *The Healing of the Lame Man* (L.Dussler, Raphael, London-New York, 1971, p.104, figs.175, 176).
5. V.S., p.26, No.124; *Rooses*, I, p.246, under No.182, pl.64.

7. Lot and his Daughters (Fig. 17)

Oil on canvas; 108 × 146 cm.
Schwerin, Staatliches Museum.

PROVENANCE: According to a letter dated 26 February 1852 from Mr von Rössler (Westerburg in Nassau), who sold the picture to the Schwerin Museum, it was in the collection of Louis XVI, King of France. Later it came into the possession of a Swiss officer in Dutch military service, who died at Delft, and from whose estate von Rössler acquired it.

COPIES: (1) Anonymous painting, M. Seelig, Seattle, Washington (1971); canvas 82 × 112.5 cm.; (2) Engraving by Willem Swanenburg (in the same direction) (Fig.18); signature: *Pet. Paul Rubens pinxit, W.Swanenburg sculp. anº 1612*; captioned: *Quid vetitj pariant Thalamj, quid fraena pudoris / Rumpere, nec castae mentis habere modum: / Turpiter hospitij temeratis quid-que nefandos / Concubitus petere, haec sculpta tabella refert. N. a Wassenaer*; LIT. Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.299, No.1078; V.S., p.2, No.13; *Hymans, Gravure*, pp.59-60; *Rooses*, I, p.124, under No.104; V, p.311, No.104; A.Rosenberg, *Die Rubensstecher*, Vienna, 1893, pp.18-19, repr. on p.27; J.G. van Gelder, 'Rubens in Holland

in de zeventiende eeuw', *Nederlandsch Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 1950-1951, p.119, fig.10; S.Slive, *Frans Hals*, London, 1974, III, p.2; *Bodart*, p.34, No.35, fig.35; *Renger*, pp.88-89, No.62.

LITERATURE: F.Schlie, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Werke älterer Meister in der Grossherzoglichen Gemälde-Galerie zu Schwerin*, Schwerin, 1882, pp.145-146, No.899 (as 'Schulbild'); *Rooses*, I, p.124, No.104; V, p.311, No.104 (as copy); R.Oldenburg, 'Die Nachwirkung Italiens auf Rubens und die Gründung seiner Werkstatt', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, 34, Vienna-Leipzig, 1918, pp.175-176, fig.8 (as Rubens); K.d.K., p.42 (as Rubens, 1610-1611); Oldenburg, *Rubens*, pp.74-75, 81, fig.32 (as Rubens); Held, *Drawings*, pp.64, 99, under No.13, 105-106, under No.29 (as Rubens); A.F.de Mirimonde, 'Loth et ses filles' de Verhagen. Evolution d'un thème', *Revue du Louvre*, 1972, No.4-5, p.376; J.G. van Gelder, 'Rubens in Holland in de zeventiende eeuw', *Nederlandsch Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 1950-1951, pp.119 to 120, fig.10; L.Jürss, *Staatliches Museum Schwerin, 1882-1982. Holländische und Flämische Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts. Bestandskatalog I*, p.125, No.70, fig.119 (as Rubens, c.1610-1611).

Lot, who had fled from the destruction of Sodom to the small town of Zoar, still felt unsafe there and took his two daughters to a cave in the mountains. (His wife, who had left Sodom with them, was turned into a pillar of salt as a punishment for disobeying the divine command and looking back on the doomed city.) The daughters, afraid of being left alone on the earth with no hope of progeny, conspired to make their father drunk and

practise incest with him. The fruits of this 'coitus illicitus' were Moab and Ammon, who were thus both sons and grandsons of Lot (Genesis 19: 30–38).

This erotic subject was infrequently treated in the Middle Ages but was considerably more popular with artists from the Renaissance onwards. It was often paired with Susanna and the Elders, both subjects affording a pretext for the depiction of attractive female nudes.¹

Lot, his torso bared, is seated on the ground between his two daughters, one of whom holds a bowl into which the other is pouring wine. He holds one of them by the left shoulder, pulling the garment off the right, and looks at her amorously. On the right of the picture is a covered table with a platter of bread and cheese and a bowl of grapes. The scene is set in a cave; an opening reveals a distant view of Sodom in flames.

The painting, which Burchard incorrectly regarded as a copy, was executed c.1610–1611, at about the same time as *The Raising of the Cross* in Antwerp Cathedral. In *Lot and his Daughters* Rubens places the sculptural figures in a single plane; by gentle inclinations of the body they combine into a firmly structured decorative group which, as Oldenbourg² writes, 'den Rahmen leicht und doch üppig füllt' (fills the frame in an easy yet luxuriant manner).

The motif formed by the left and central figures recalls a sculptural group on the lid of a sarcophagus at Grottaferrata, Badia.³ As in other works of these years, the elements of local colouring (olive green, bluish-grey and brownish-red in the clothing) are less harmonized than in later periods: their sharp contrasts testify to Caravaggio's influence on the young Rubens.

W. Swanenburg is known to have made

two engravings after Rubens: *Christ and the Disciples at Emmaus* and *Lot and his Daughters*. The former, after the painting in St Eustache in Paris, is dated 1611,⁴ the latter 1612; both are in the same direction as the respective paintings. As there is no indication that Swanenburg was in Antwerp at that time or earlier, it was almost certainly in Holland that he saw and engraved both the Emmaus painting and *Lot and his Daughters*: probably at Leiden, where he died on 15 August 1612.⁵ An anonymous print, *Daret excudit*, was engraved after Swanenburg's *Lot and his Daughters*, which it reproduces in reverse.⁶

It appears from Swanenburg's engraving that the picture was originally somewhat larger on all four sides; it was probably cut down when being remounted. The paint, especially in the flesh parts, has been slightly damaged by earlier cleanings.

Rubens's painting influenced artists until well into the eighteenth century. An example is *Lot and his Daughters* by P.J. Verhaghen in the Valenciennes Museum,⁷ which shows that that artist also knew Rubens's other version, now in a private collection in France (No.8; Fig.19). We may suppose that he had in his studio the engravings after both Rubens's works.

Rosenberg stated in 1893⁸ that Prof. Dr Lohmeyer at Göttingen then owned a painting 'das genau dem Stiche Swanenburgs *Der trunkene Loth mit seinen Töchtern entsprach*' (which corresponded exactly to Swanenburg's engraving of *The Drunken Lot with his Daughters*).

1. Réau, *Iconographie*, II, 1, pp.118–120; C. M. Kauffmann in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, III, cols. 110–112.

2. Oldenbourg, *Rubens*, loc. cit.

3. A. M. Friend, Jr., 'Dürer and the Hercules Borghese-Piccolomini', *Art Bulletin*, XXV, 1943, p.46, figs.9, 10. There is an echo of the same sculptural group in

the motif formed by the angel on the left and Lot in *The Flight of Lot and his Family from Sodom*, Sarasota, John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art (No.5; Fig.9).

4. Freedberg, *Life of Christ after the Passion*, p.44, under No.8, fig.15.
5. J.G. van Gelder, loc. cit.
6. V.S., p.3, No.14; *Hymans, Gravure*, p.60; *Rooses*, I, p.124, under No.104.
7. Signed and dated: *P.J. Verhaghen. Aerschotanus. F. 1770*. See A.F. de Mirimonde, op. cit., fig.9.
8. Op. cit., p.164 n. S.15.

8. Lot and his Daughters (Fig. 19)

Oil on canvas; 188 × 225 cm., including a strip of c.10 cm., later added at the top. *Biarritz, Private Collection*.

PROVENANCE: Gisbert van Ceulen, Antwerp; purchased from him, 17 September 1698, by the Bavarian Elector Max Emanuel (reigned 1679–1726); presented in 1706 by the Holy Roman Emperor to John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, Blenheim Palace; purchased before the Blenheim Collection sale (London, Christie's, 24 July 1886 et seq.) by Sedelmeyer, Paris, for Baron Hirsch de Gereuth; Madame la Baronne Hirsch de Gereuth, sale, Paris (Galerie Georges Petit), 17 June 1904, lot 38; Jules Féral, Paris (1905).

COPIES: (1) Anonymous painting, Amiens, Musée de Picardie, Cat.1878, No.230; canvas, 170 × 236 cm. PROV. Donated by Baron de Fourment in 1878; (2) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown. PROV. G. Kasper-Ansermet, Peymeinade-Grasse, France (1954); (3) Anonymous painting, J. Pinget, Geneva (1968); panel, 78 × 108 cm.; (4) Engraving, in reverse, by Willem de Leeuw (Fig.21). LIT. V.S., p.2, No.12; (5) Reproduced above the mantelpiece in *Interior of Rubens's House*, attributed to Cornelis de Vos, Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, No.407 (Fig.20). LIT. *Rooses*, V, p.311, No.103; *K.d.K., edn. Ro-*

senberg, p.466 (S.54), repr. p.XXV; *K.d.K.*, p.456 (S.40).

LITERATURE: T. Martyn, *The English Connoisseur*, I, London, 1766, p.24; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.247, No.839; p.299, No.1079; J.D. Passavant, *Kunstreise durch England und Belgien*, Frankfurt am Main, 1833, p.176, No.12; *Waagen, Treasures*, III, p.130, No.16; G. Scharf, *Catalogue Raisonné; or, A List of the Pictures in Blenheim Palace*, London, 1861, p.22; *Rooses*, I, pp.123–124, No.103 (as 'première époque de Rubens, fait par un élève, retouché par le maître'); V, 1892, p.311, No.103; *Illustrated Catalogue of 300 Paintings by Old Masters of the Sedelmeyer Gallery*, Paris, 1898, No.158, repr. (as *Rubens*); *K.d.K., edn. Rosenberg*, pp.54, 466 (c.1610–1616); *Dillon*, p.109, pl.XLI; *K.d.K.*, pp.40, 456 (c.1610–1611); *Katalog der Älteren Pinakothek*, Munich, 1936, p.XIV; *Fubini-Held*, p.137 (as *Rubens*); J. Müller Hofstede, 'Aspekte der Entwurfszeichnung bei Rubens', *Akten Kongress Bonn 1964*, Berlin, 1967, III, pp.117–118, pl.18, 3 (as *Rubens*, c.1617–1618); A.F. de Mirimonde, "'Loth et ses filles'" de Verhaghen. Evolution d'un thème', *Revue du Louvre*, XXII, 1972, p.376, fig.8.

After Lot's wife was turned into a pillar of salt, his daughters feared that they would be left alone on earth without hope of progeny. They therefore conspired to make their father drunk and practise incest with him (Genesis 19: 30–38). See under No.7.

Lot is seated on the ground on a fur-lined cloak of grey silk, his back resting against a cushion covered with a white cloth. Bald and bearded, with a ruddy complexion, he rests one hand on the rock to preserve his balance; with the

other he eagerly grasps the beaker offered by one of his daughters, who is kneeling beside him. She wears a low-cut dress of blue silk and is stroking the old man's neck as he looks at her with bleary eyes. Her sister, completely naked and seated on a red silken cloth, pours out the wine and holds in her hand a dish of fruit, bread and cheese. Through an opening in the cave can be seen the flames of Sodom, burning in the distance.

The figure of Lot is probably derived, directly or indirectly, from a *Drunken Hercules*, the principal figure in an antique sculptural group, now lost, which Rubens, during his stay in Italy, copied in a drawing, *Studies of a Reclining Hercules and a River God*, now in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan.¹ Echoes of this Hercules can be found in some of Michelangelo's recumbent figures, such as those of the Medici tombs, especially the *Crepuscolo*,² or Noah in *The Drunkenness of Noah* in the Sistine chapel,³ and also in Raphael's river god in *The Judgement of Paris*, engraved by Marcantonio Raimondi:⁴ all these works were known to Rubens. In addition to the figure of Lot, echoes of the same Hercules can be found in other works by Rubens, e.g. *Satyr Sleeping off a Drinking-Bout* in the Vienna Akademie,⁵ *The Birth of Marie de' Medici* in the Louvre in Paris,⁶ or *A Silenus Surprised by the Water-Nymph Aegle*, a drawing at Windsor Castle.⁷ The figure of Lot's naked daughter is closely similar (in reverse) to that of Venus in *Venus Suckling Cupids*, a lost painting by Rubens, known only from a print by Cornelis Galle.⁸ Thus in all probability the master already possessed a study which he could use for the figure of Lot's daughter. Müller Hofstede identified this study with a drawing in the Stedelijk Prentenkabinet in Antwerp,⁹ which is not impossible, but that work is

so badly rubbed that it is difficult to judge.

On stylistic grounds the present painting may be dated c.1614.

The *Lot and his Daughters* depicted over the fireplace in the so-called *Interior of Rubens's House* in the National Museum in Stockholm, attributed to Cornelis de Vos,¹⁰ differs from this painting in several respects. Lot's daughter holding the winejug is at a greater distance from her father; both her feet are visible, but one of her knees has disappeared; the tree-trunk on the right is replaced by a wide landscape under a lofty sky. Moreover the Stockholm version is wider, so that it may be questioned whether it represents the present painting or some other.

1. *Fubini-Held*, pp.125, 136-138, pl.8. The figure of Hercules is drawn from two slightly different angles.
2. C. de Tolnay, *Michelangelo. III. The Medici Chapel*, Princeton, 1948, pp.66-67, fig.18; F. Hartt, *Michelangelo, The Complete Sculpture*, London, 1969, pp.214-217, No.22, figs.212-217.
3. C. de Tolnay, *Michelangelo. II. The Sistine Ceiling*, Princeton, 1945, pp.24-26, fig.32; *Id.*, *The Paintings of Michelangelo*, Princeton, 1945, pp.29-44, fig.39.
4. A. de Witt, *Marcantonio Raimondi. Incisione*, Florence, 1968, pl.XL.
5. *K.d.K.*, p.41.
6. *K.d.K.*, p.244.
7. Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, pp.87-89, No.51, fig.51.
8. *V.S.*, p.124, No.44; Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, p.153, fig.57; J. Müller Hofstede, *op. cit.*, pp.116-118, fig.1 (in reverse); Bodart, p.141, No.301, fig.301.
9. Inv. No. AXV1; black chalk, heightened with white chalk, 435 × 360 mm.; *Delen*, p.67, No.196 (as *Disciple of Rubens*).
10. *Catalogue descriptif des collections du Musée National [Stockholm], Maîtres étrangers*, Stockholm, 1928, p.149, No.907.

9. The Expulsion of Hagar (Fig. 22)

Oil on panel; 63 × 76 cm. The parqueted panel shows traces of horizontal cracks at

the top and bottom; otherwise the paint is in good condition.

Leningrad, Hermitage. Inv. No.475.

PROVENANCE: Pierre Crozat (Paris, 1665 to 1740); Louis-François Crozat, Marquis du Châtel (Toulouse, 1691–Paris, 1750), nephew of Pierre; Joseph-Antoine Crozat, Baron du Tugny (Toulouse, 1696–Paris, 1751), brother of Louis-François; Louis-Antoine Crozat, Baron de Thiers (Toulouse, 1699–Paris, 1770), brother of Joseph-Antoine, and purchased from his heirs by Catherine II, Empress of Russia, in 1772.

LITERATURE: [Lacurne de Sainte-Palaye], *Catalogue des tableaux du Cabinet de M. Crozat, baron de Thiers*, Paris, 1755, p.65; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, p.316, No.261; Waagen, *Kunstwerke*, III, pp.51–53; Mariette, *Abécédario*, I, p.66; V, p.272; G.F.Waagen. *Die Gemäldesammlung in der Kaiserlichen Ermitage zu St Petersburg*, Munich, 1864, p.136, No.535 (as *Rubens*, c.1625); Rooses, I, p.125, No.105 (as *Rubens*, c.1612); A.Somof, *Ermitage Impérial, Catalogue de la Galerie des tableaux. II. Ecoles Néerlandaises et école Allemande*, St Petersburg, 1895, pp.305–306, No.535 (as *Rubens*, c.1625); K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg, p.64 (as *Rubens*, c.1612); Dillon, p.109, pl.LV (as *Rubens*, c.1612); J.J.Tikkanen, *Die Beinstellungen in der Kunstgeschichte*, Helsinki, 1912, p.40; K.d.K., pp.171, 461 (S.171) (as *Rubens*, 1618); Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, pp.95–96, fig.3 (as *Rubens*); J.G.van Gelder, 'Rubens in Holland in de zeventiende eeuw', *Nederlandsch Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 1950–1951, The Hague–Antwerp, 1951, p.131 n.1 (as *replica*); Musée de l'Ermitage. *Département de l'Art occidental. Catalogue des peintures*, Leningrad–Moscow, 1958, II, p.80, No.475, repr.; A.Stuffmann, 'Les tableaux de la collection de Pierre Crozat', *Gazette des*

Beaux-Arts, Sixth Series, LXXII, 1968, p.102, No.375, repr. (as *Rubens*); *Varshavskaya, Rubens*, pp.96–99, No.11, repr. on p.97 (as *Rubens*, c.1615–1618).

Abram's¹ wife Sarai² was about 75 years old and was childless. Concluding that she was an obstacle to God's promise of numerous progeny to Abram, she persuaded him to take Hagar, her Egyptian handmaid, as a second wife. When Hagar found herself pregnant she despised her mistress and, being ill-treated by her, fled into the wilderness (Genesis 16: 1–6).³

This subject, of rare occurrence,⁴ is here treated as a scene of ordinary life. Rubens, in a letter of 26 May 1618 to Sir Dudley Carleton, called it 'suggietto né sacro né profano per dir cosi benche cavato della sacra scrittura' (neither sacred nor profane, so to speak, although drawn from Holy Scripture).⁵ Hagar, with a bundle under her arm, is just leaving her master's house, and turns round for a last look at the old couple. Her offended mistress Sarai stands at the door with her left hand on her hip and her right hand raised, as if addressing herself forcibly to Hagar. The patriarch stands in the doorway. A dog barks angrily at the unfortunate Hagar. The house is overgrown by a vine, and on the right a landscape stretches into the distance.

Evers⁶ pointed out the analogy between this rendering and the woodcut of the same subject (No.13) in Stimmer's *Neue Künstliche Figuren Biblischer Historien*, a book published in Basle in 1576 and reprinted by G.Hirsch in Munich (1923) as *Tobias Stimmer's Bibel* (Fig.24).⁷ Sandrart relates in his notes on Holbein and Stimmer (the latter's dates were Schaffhausen, 1539–Strasbourg, 1584)⁸ that in 1627, when he was travelling with Rubens on

a barge from Utrecht to Amsterdam, Rubens told him that he held in great esteem the illustrations by Dürer, Holbein, Stimmer and other German [sic] masters, and had made copies from Stimmer's *Bible* in his youth. The evidence collected by F. Lugt⁹ has confirmed Sandrart's statement. Rubens admired Stimmer's gift for finding precise and clearly defined poses for his figures and groups, and studied, with evident delight, the way in which he did this. Stimmer's *Expulsion of Hagar* was clearly in his mind when he painted his own version of the subject. In it, the action takes place in the direction opposite to that in the engraving.¹⁰ He seems to have been especially struck by Hagar's dignified attitude, as he shows her in the same dress, with the same bundle under her arm, with the same gesture of the right hand, and walking away in the same manner. In the case of Sarai he retained the hand planted on her hip but depicted her raising the other hand, thus emphasizing her expression of rage. True to his artistic temperament he gave an active role to the dog, which acts as a link between the two women. He altered completely the position of Abram, who in Stimmer's engraving is seated majestically in front of the house. In the painting he is closer to Sarai, as a kind of bemused echo of her words, and also closer to Hagar, who is being driven into the wilderness along with his own offspring and whom he does not dare to protect. All these changes in detail and in the composition as a whole give the painting greater psychological coherence and enhance its dramatic effect.

On stylistic and other grounds the work may be dated c.1615–1618. In the latter year Rubens made an autograph replica for Sir Dudley Carleton (No.10; Fig.23).

1. After the birth of Hagar's son Ishmael, Abram's name was changed by God into Abraham (Genesis 17: 5).
2. After her husband had received a promise from God that she would bear a son, Sarai's name was changed to Sarah (Genesis 17: 15–16).
3. *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, I, cols.79–80. The subject does not occur in *Reallexikon* or in *Réau, Ikonographie*.
4. It is not mentioned, for instance, by Pigler, *Barockthemen*, 1974.
5. *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, No.CLXXIV, pp.170–171; *Magnus, Letters*, No.31, p.65.
6. *Evers, Neue Forschungen*, loc. cit.
7. *Op. cit.*, No.13.
8. *Sandrart, edn. Peltzer*, pp.102–103, 106.
9. *Lugt, Rubens and Stimmer*, pp.99–114; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, pp.34–35, Nos.1116–1121. Other copies by Rubens after Stimmer, not mentioned by Lugt, were published in *Burchard-d'Hulst, Tekeningen* (p.28, No.1, fig.1); *Held, Drawings* (pp.155–156, No.156, pl.166); and *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings* (pp.19–20, No.6, fig.6). A *Samson Carrying the Gates of Gaza* after Stimmer's *Bible* (No.69) was sold at Sotheby's, London, on 1 July 1965 (lot 162) and 21 March 1973 (lot 11, repr. p.51), and is now in a private collection in Antwerp. See also K.L.Belkin, *Rubens und Stimmer*, in *Cat. Exh. Tobias Stimmer*, Kunstmuseum, Basle, 1984, pp.201–220.
10. P.J.Mariette in *Mariette, Abécédario*, V, p.272, already knew that Hagar in Rubens's picture was Stimmer's Hagar in reverse, a fact also noticed by J.J.Tikkanen (loc. cit.).

10. The Expulsion of Hagar (Fig. 23)

Oil on panel; 71 × 102 cm.

Eaton Hall, Collection of the Duke of Westminster.

PROVENANCE: Sir Dudley Carleton (1575 to 1652); Welbore Ellis Agar, sale, London (Christie's), 3 May 1806, lot 52. (The sale did not take place; the whole collection was bought for 30,000 gns by the Earl of Grosvenor).

LITERATURE: J. Young, *A Catalogue of the Pictures at Grosvenor House, London*, London, [1821], p.35, No.101, ill. with an engraving by the author; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.217, No.773; *Waagen, Kunstwerke*, II, p.116; *Catalogue of the Pictures in*

the *Collection of the Marquess of Westminster, Grosvenor House*, Appendix, p.XLII, No.101, in W.Hazlitt, *Criticisms on Art*, 1843; Mrs Jameson, *Private Galleries of Art in London*, 1844, p.270, No.110; Waagen, *Treasures*, III, p.164; G.F.Waagen, *Die Gemäldesammlung in der Kaiserlichen Ermitage zu St Petersburg*, Munich, 1864, p.136, under No.535; A.Lavice, *Revue des Musées d'Angleterre*, Paris, 1869, pp.310-311; Rooses, I, pp.125-126, No.106 (as *Rubens, 1618; landscape by Jan Wildens*); G.Redford, *Art Sales*, London, 1888, I, p.95; A.Somof, *Ermitage Impérial, Catalogue de la Galerie des tableaux. II. Écoles Néerlandaises et école Allemande*, St Petersburg, 1895, p.306, under No.535 (as a repetition of the painting in the *Hermitage*); Dillon, pp.109, 237 (as *Rubens, c.1615*); K.d.K., p.461 (S.171) (as a repetition by *Rubens's own hand, painted in 1618 for Sir Dudley Carleton*); Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, pp.95-96; J.G.van Gelder, 'Rubens in Holland in de zeventiende eeuw', *Nederlandsch Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek, 1950 to 1951*, The Hague-Antwerp, 1951, pp.130-131, fig.19; *Varshavskaya, Rubens*, pp.96-99, fig. on p.98.

For the iconography, see No.9 above.

In a letter dated 28 April 1618 Rubens offered to Sir Dudley Carleton, the English Minister at The Hague, in exchange for his collection of antique marble sculptures, a number of paintings, either completely his own work or partly that of the studio, to be chosen up to a total of 6,000 florins from a list appended to the letter.¹ On 8 May Carleton replied that he agreed to the exchange provided Rubens would supply tapestries for half the amount, the other half to consist of wholly autograph paintings from the list, namely a *Prometheus*, a *Daniel*, *Leopards*, a *Leda*, a *St Peter* and a *St Sebastian*.²

Rubens answered on 12 May with a counter-proposal: he would supply tapestries to the value of 2,000 florins and pictures to the value of 4,000, including those originals already chosen by Carleton for 3,000. For the remaining 1,000 florins he suggested that Carleton should choose works from the remainder of the list, or else he could supply other originals. But he strongly recommended that Carleton should take the *Hunt* and the *Susanna* which were on the list as re-touched works, and valued at 600 and 300 florins respectively. 'For the last 100 florins I should add some other trifle by my hand, to complete the 4,000 florins'.³

Carleton accepted the counter-proposal, as appears from Rubens's letter to him of 20 May 1618.⁴ This contained the words: 'I shall not fail to get at [...] that little thing for 100 florins; this I shall do more for honour than for profit, since I know how important it is to preserve the favour of a person of Your Excellency's rank'. The agreement, once concluded, was carried out with speed. In a letter of 26 May⁵ Rubens informed Carleton that 'all the pictures [...] will be finished, by divine aid, on the very day of the 28th of this month, according to my promise'. He also mentioned for the first time what 'that little thing for 100 florins' was to consist of: '[it] is painted on a panel about three-and-one-half feet long by two-and-one-half feet high'.⁶ The subject is truly original⁷—neither sacred nor profane, so to speak, although drawn from Holy Scripture. It represents Sarah in the act of reproaching Hagar who, pregnant, is leaving the house with an air of womanly dignity, in the presence of the patriarch Abraham'. He adds: 'It is done on a panel because small things are more successful on wood than on canvas'. As regards the

Hunt and the *Susanna* he says: 'According to my custom, I have employed a man competent in his field to finish the landscape, solely to augment Your Excellency's enjoyment. But as for the rest, you may be sure that I have not permitted a living soul to lay a hand to them'. All the paintings were ready by 28 May as Rubens had promised, for on 1 June he informed Carleton that he had entrusted them to his agent Frans Pietersson de Grebber⁸ for delivery to Carleton at The Hague.

This correspondence provides much important information. In the first place, it shows with a high degree of certainty that the present *Expulsion of Hagar*, which is now owned by the Duke of Westminster but whose pedigree is incomplete, is in fact the one painted by Rubens for Carleton in 1618. Both the nature of the support and the dimensions go to confirm this, and there is nothing in the style to contradict such a date. It also appears from the correspondence that Rubens painted the work himself except for the landscape, for which he employed a 'competent' artist. This can only have been Jan Wildens (Antwerp, 1584/1586–Antwerp, 1653), who worked in Rubens's studio as a landscape specialist after his return from Italy in 1616.⁹

The painting is a replica of a smaller work (panel, 63 × 76 cm.) now in the Hermitage in Leningrad (No.9; Fig.22), from which it differs in details only: e.g. the folds of Sarai's garment (in part), the bundle carried by Hagar, and the brickwork of the house.

The Expulsion of Hagar figures in Carleton's inventory of his picture collection, drawn up in his own hand in 1618, between Rubens's *Susanna* and Tintoretto's *Rape of Proserpina*; but for unknown reasons he immediately crossed it out.¹⁰ The

entry reads: 'Vn Abrao con le sue donne di Rubens'. In September 1618 Carleton handed a copy of the inventory to the plenipotentiary of the King of Denmark.

An inventory of the castle of Rhenen in Holland was drawn up in 1633 after the death of the Elector Palatine Frederick V (1596–1632) (the 'Winter King' of Bohemia), who took refuge in the Netherlands after his defeat in 1620 at the battle of the White Mountain near Prague. Item 114 in this inventory is 'Ein Stück Abraham und Agar von Rubens'.¹¹ As Frederick in 1613 married Elizabeth, daughter of James I of England, it is possible that this refers to Carleton's painting, which might explain why he crossed it out of his inventory of 1618 after including it by mistake. In that case he must have parted with it soon after acquiring it from Rubens. It does not appear in any inventory of Rhenen castle after 1633.

1. *Roses-Ruelens*, II, pp.135–144, No.CLXVI (original Italian text); *Magurn, Letters*, pp.59–61, No.28.
2. *Roses-Ruelens*, II, pp.145–148, No.CLXVII (original Italian text).
3. *Roses-Ruelens*, II, pp.149–160, No.CLXVIII (original Italian text); *Magurn, Letters*, pp.61–63, No.29.
4. *Roses-Ruelens*, II, pp.161–164, No.CLXX (original Italian text); *Magurn, Letters*, pp.63–64, No.30.
5. *Roses-Ruelens*, II, pp.170–174, No.CLXXIV (original Italian text); *Magurn, Letters*, pp.64–66, No.31.
6. Measurements in Antwerp feet, corresponding to 74.3 × 103 cm.
7. The letter is in Italian, and the words 'vero originale' are not interpreted alike by all authors. *Roses* (I, p.126) translated them as 'entièrement de sa main'. *Roses-Ruelens* (II, p.172) substituted 'le sujet est vraiment original'; *Magurn, Letters* (p.65) and *Varshavskaya, Rubens* (p.96) followed this with 'the subject is truly original'; Burchard in his notes preferred *Roses's* interpretation. Either is possible, but in my opinion the phrase relates to the subject of the painting, as Rubens deals with the question of its authenticity a few lines further on.
8. *Roses-Ruelens*, II, pp.181–183, No.CLXXIX; *Magurn, Letters*, pp.67–68, No.34. All the pictures delivered, including *The Expulsion of Hagar*, were listed by Rubens in the margin.
9. W. Adler, *Jan Wildens. Der Landschaftsmitarbeiter des Rubens*, Fridingen, 1980, p.12.

CATALOGUE NO. II

10. MS in London, Public Record Office, *Foreign State Papers, Holland 126; Sainsbury, Papers*, p.45. The entry does not appear in *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, pp.185-188, No.CLXXXI.
11. J.C.Overvoorde, 'Het slot van de Winterkoning te Rhenen', *Bulletin van den Nederlandschen Oudheidkundigen Bond*, IV (1902-1903), 1904, p.79.

II. **Hagar in the Wilderness** (Fig. 26)

Oil on panel; 71.5 × 72.6 cm. Cut at the top, originally about 85 cm. high and also wider.

London, Dulwich College Picture Gallery. No.131.

PROVENANCE: Chevalier Augustin de Steenhault, sale, Brussels, 22 May 1758, lot 1 (already cut down; 440 florins); Humbert Guillaume Laurent Borremans, 'avocat au Conseil de Brabant', sale, Brussels, 5 June 1781, lot 1 (790 florins); Du Bois (art dealer), sale, Paris, 12-16 March 1782 (5,000 frs); La Borde, sale, Paris, 14 June 1784; E. Cox, sale, London, 24 April 1807, lot 54 (£200; bought by Attley); P.F.Bourgeois (1756-1811), who bequeathed it to the Dulwich Gallery.

COPIES: (1) Painting, reasonably attributed to Thomas Gainsborough. Whereabouts unknown; canvas, 50.5 × 60.9 cm.

EXH. *The Marshall Collection*, Sotheby, London, 1973-1974, pp.6-8, No.6, repr. (as Gainsborough, *Helena Fourment*); (2) Anonymous painting, Seena and Arnold Davis, Scarsdale, New York (1981); canvas, 62 × 75.5 cm.; (3) Etching by Frans De Roy, active in Brussels c.1758 (Fig.25).

LIT. V.S., pp.4-5, No.29; H.Hymans, 'Zur neuesten Rubensforschung', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, N.S., IV, 1893, p.14.

EXHIBITED: *Some Pictures from the Dulwich Gallery*, The National Gallery, London, 1947, No.41; *Works by Holbein and Other Masters of the 16th and 17th Centuries*,

Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1950-1951, No.225; *Flemish Art, 1300-1700*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1953-1954, No.193.

LITERATURE: *Beauties of the Dulwich Picture Gallery*, London, 1824, p.83, No.323 (as Rubens, *Portrait of a Venetian Lady*); Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.173, No.604 (as Rubens, *Hagar and Ishmael in the Desert*), 182, No.634 (as Rubens, *Hagar and Ishmael in the Desert*), 253, No.857 (as Rubens, *Magdalen*); Waagen, *Kunstwerke*, II, p.188 (as Rubens, *Mary Magdalen*); A. Jameson, *A Handbook to the Public Galleries of Art in and near London*, London, II, 1842, p.472, No.182 (as Rubens, *Mary Magdalen*); A. Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art*, I, London, 1857, p.371 (as Rubens, *Magdalen Repentant*); Blanc, *Trésor*, II, p.66 (as Rubens, ?Agar); A.Lavice, *Revue des Musées d'Angleterre*, Paris, 1867, p.181 (as Rubens, *Helena Fourment as Magdalen*); J.P.Richter and J.C.L.Sparkes, *A Descriptive and Historical Catalogue with Biographical Notices of the Painters*, London, 1880, pp.141-142, No.182 (as Rubens, *Portrait of Helena Fourment*); *Rooses*, I, pp.126-127 (as not by Rubens, *Hagar in the Desert*); II, p.323, No.471 (as Rubens, c.1635, *Magdalen*); V, p.311 (as *Hagar in the Desert*); *Catalogue of the Pictures in the Gallery of Alleyn's College of God's Gift at Dulwich*, London, 1892, p.33, No.131 (as Rubens, *Portrait of Helena Fourment*); *Rooses*, *Life*, repr. p.499 (as Rubens, *Helena Fourment as Mary Magdalen*); G.Glück, 'Rubens' Liebesgarten', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, XXXV, 1920-1921, p.96 n.2 (as Rubens, *Mary Magdalen*); K.d.K., p.360 (as Rubens, c.1635, *Helena Fourment*), p.470 (S.360); *Oldenbourg*, *Rubens*, pp.145-147, fig.84 (as Rubens, *Helena Fourment*); *A Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Pictures in the Gallery of Alleyn's College of God's Gift*

at Dulwich, London, 1926, pp.73-74, No.131 (as *Rubens, Helena Fourment*); Glück, *Rubens, Van Dyck*, p.150 n.57 (as *Rubens, Magdalen*), p.389 ('Nachtrag von L. Burchard': not *Helena Fourment*); L. Van Puyvelde, 'Les portraits de femmes de Rubens', *La revue de l'art*, 71, 1937, p.23 (as *Rubens, Helena Fourment*); Evers, *Rubens*, pp.412, 506 n.430 (as *Rubens, Portrait of Helena Fourment*); F. Grossmann, 'Rubens et Van Dyck à la Dulwich Gallery', *Les arts plastiques*, 1948, p.54, fig.39 (as *Rubens, Hagar*); *A brief Catalogue of the Pictures in Dulwich College Picture Gallery*, 1953, p.35, No.131 (as *Rubens, Hagar in the Wilderness*); *Paintings from the Dulwich College Picture Gallery*, 1954, pp.20-21, No.131 (as *Rubens, Hagar in the Wilderness*); P. Murray, *Dulwich Picture Gallery. A Catalogue*, London, 1980, p.113, No.131, repr. (as *Rubens, Hagar in the Desert*).

Sarai, being old and childless, persuaded her husband Abram to take her Egyptian handmaid Hagar as his secondary wife so as to ensure his posterity. Hagar, being pregnant and afraid of Sarai, fled to the wilderness (see also No.9), but was commanded by an angel to return, and bore her son Ishmael. After Sarah's own son Isaac was born she would no longer allow Hagar and her child to remain in the house, so Abram gave them bread and water and sent them away. After wandering for some time in the wilderness of Beersheba Hagar had no water left; she laid the weeping Ishmael under a tree and burst into tears. God then sent an angel who showed her a spring and told her that Ishmael would be the ancestor of a great nation (Genesis 21: 9-19). According to Galatians 4: 22-31, Hagar was a symbol of the old covenant and Sarah of the new.¹

As can be seen from Frans De Roy's engraving of c.1750, which gives the original state of the painting in reverse (Fig.25), Rubens depicted the moment when the angel appears to Hagar, who looks up in surprise. However, in the course of time the painting was cut down, transforming it from a vertical to almost a square shape. It was also overpainted, so that neither the angel nor Ishmael can now be seen (the demijohn, below on the left, has escaped overpainting). The measurements in the sale catalogues of 1758 (76 × 78.5 cm.) and 1781 (66 × 68.5 cm.) show that the painting was already cut down by then; however, it was still described as *Hagar in the Wilderness*. The figures of Ishmael and the angel were probably painted out by the art dealer Dubois, for in his sale of 1782 the picture is described as 'Une femme assise, les bras allongés, les mains jointes, posées sur le genou (Agar?)' (A woman seated, with outstretched arms, resting her clasped hands on her knee. Hagar?).

The title *Hagar in the Wilderness* reappeared in the Bourgeois inventory of 1813. Since then successive authors have disagreed as to the subject. Besides *Hagar in the Wilderness* (Smith, Blanc, Rooses, Burchard, Grossmann) it has been identified as *Portrait of a Venetian Lady* (Cat. Dulwich, 1824), *Mary Magdalen* (Smith, Waagen, Jameson, Lavice, Rooses, Glück), or a *Portrait of Hélène Fourment* (Cat. Dulwich, 1880, 1892, 1926, Oldenbourg, Van Puyvelde, Evers). Only since the 1940s, when cleaning brought to light traces of an angel in the sky,² has the correct title been generally accepted, and it now appears in all the Dulwich Gallery catalogues.

Some critics (Lavice, Rooses) saw in Hagar the features of Helena Fourment and believed that Rubens had used his

second wife as a model; others thought it was simply a portrait of Helena. Despite some similarity of age, hair arrangement and certain facial traits, the identification is not wholly convincing. It is more likely that Rubens used a model such as the woman seen in his *Garden of Love* in the Prado in Madrid.³

The work is painted thinly, so that in places the white ground is scarcely covered; it has in the past been extensively cleaned, especially the upper part of the figure. It dates from c.1630–1632, about the same time as *The Garden of Love* in the Prado. Since it was copied by Thomas Gainsborough, who died in 1788,⁴ it must have been in England before that date.

1. Réau, *Iconographie*, II, 1, p.134; *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, I, cols.79–80.
2. [L. Burchard], *Some Pictures from the Dulwich Gallery*, The National Gallery, London, 1947, No.41.
3. *K.d.K.*, p.348.
4. Gainsborough (1727–1788) never travelled on the Continent (J. Hayes, *Gainsborough*, London, 1975).

12. Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac (Fig. 27)

Oil on panel; 141 × 110 cm.
Kansas City, Missouri, William Rockhill
Nelson Gallery and Atkins Museum of Art.
Accession No.66-3.

PROVENANCE: ?Balthazar Flessiers, The Hague, 1614; ?Tyman van Volbergen, The Hague; William II, King of Holland, sale, The Hague, 9 September 1851 et seq., lot 48; Manasse Unger (1802–1868), Cannstatt, near Stuttgart; Julius Unger, nephew of Manasse Unger, Cannstatt, sale, Cologne (J.M. Heberle), 7–8 April 1884, lot 50 (withdrawn); Henriette Unger, widow of Julius Unger, Berlin-Wilmersdorf, sale, Berlin (Paul Cassirer), 21 September 1917, lot 29, bought by J. Garbáty,

Berlin; Eugène L. Garbáty, son of J. Garbáty; Ella and Maurice Garbáty (brother of Eugène L. Garbáty), Scarsdale, New York; purchased by the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery and Atkins Museum of Art in 1966.

COPIES: (1) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 132 × 90 cm.; sale, Brussels (Nackers), 20–21 March 1968, lot 810, pl.VII (as *Van Dyck*); (2) Engraving by Andries Stock (1580–1648); inscribed: *Petro Paulo Rubens, Cum privilegio* (both on the plate) and *Andreas Stock sculp.*; captioned: *Cur quantum o Abrahame paras absumere ferro | Quidve heres patrius te ne retardat amor? | Tardat amor Domini prohibet qui jusserat ante | Cuncta iubente vole nolo retante Deo |*; dedication: *Spectabili ornatissimoque viro D. Timanno Volbergio Quaestoris generalis confederatorum Belgii provinciarum Commissario, Domino et amico suo colendissimo tabulam hanc in perpetui amoris monimentum libens meritoque dicabat atque consecrabat* LIT. V.S., p.4, No.25; *Hymans, Gravure*, pp.65–66.

EXHIBITED: *Gemälde Alter Meister aus Berliner Besitz*, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums-Verein, Akademie der Künste, Berlin, 1925, No.327.

LITERATURE: M. Unger, *Kritische Forschungen im Gebiete der Malerei*, Leipzig, 1865, p.218ff.; *Gemälde-Sammlung des Herrn Julius Unger in Cannstatt*, Cologne, 7–8 April 1884, foreword and p.25, No.50; *Rooses*, I, p.127, No.105 (as 'première époque de Rubens'); V, p.312; W. von Bode, 'Kritik und Chronologie der Gemälde von Peter Paul Rubens', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, XVI, 1905, p.202 (as *Rubens, after his return from Italy or in 1608 in Rome*); *K.d.K.*, edn. Rosenberg, p.46 (as *Rubens, c.1611–1612*); Dillon, p.213; R. Oldenbourg, 'Die

Nachwirkung Italiens auf Rubens und die Gründung seiner Werkstatt', *Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, Vienna, 1918, p.189 n.2 (as *Rubens*); *K.d.K.*, p.46 (as *Rubens*, c.1611-1612); *Oldenbourg, Rubens*, p.92 n.1; *Evers, Neue Forschungen*, p.41; *Goris-Held*, p.31, No.37 (as *Rubens*, c.1608-1610); J.G. van Gelder, 'Rubens in Holland in de zeventiende eeuw', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, III, 1950-1951, p.128; R.T.Coe, 'Rubens in 1614: The Sacrifice of Abraham', *The Nelson Gallery & Atkins Museum Bulletin*, Kansas City, Missouri, IV, No.7, 1966, pp.1-24 (as *Rubens*, 1614); Id., 'The Sacrifice of Abraham by Rubens: more Michelangelo sources', *The Nelson Gallery & Atkins Museum Bulletin*, IV, No.8, 1967, pp.9-16; *Handbook of the Collections in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art and Mary Atkins Museum of Fine Arts*, Kansas City, Missouri, I, Kansas City, 1973, pp.121 to 122, 257; J.G. van Gelder, 'Rubens Marginalia I', *Burlington Magazine*, CXX, 1978, p.457; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.238, under No.160.

One of the most dramatic events related in the Old Testament is in Genesis 22: 1-14, where the Lord puts Abraham to the test by commanding him to sacrifice his only son Isaac. Abraham makes ready to do so, but at the critical moment he is prevented by an angel speaking in God's name: 'Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou anything unto him; for now I know that thou fearest God and hast not withheld thine only son from me'. Lifting up his eyes in thanksgiving, Abraham sees behind him a ram caught in a thicket by his horns; he takes the animal as a victim provided by God, and sacrifices him in place of Isaac.

Rubens shows the moment at which

the angel intervenes, holding back Abraham's hand armed with the knife, and speaking to him. Thus the emphasis is not on the preparation of the sacrifice but on the moment of relief following the supreme trial.

Abraham, patriarchal in his enormous bulk and regal red robe, looks up at the angel with surprise and fear. Beside him, and contrasting with his massive figure, is the youthful Isaac on his knees, his hands tied behind him and his head inclined sideways to expose the throat. Behind Isaac is the stone altar with faggots and a pan from which the sacrificial fire ascends; below on the left is the ram caught in a thicket.

In the seventeenth century *Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac* was regarded as prefiguring *The Raising of the Cross*—a typology which was also recognized in earlier times and can be found, e.g., in the *Biblia Pauperum*.¹ Bible commentators expatiated on the mystical significance of the sacrifice, explaining how Isaac carried the firewood in the same way as Christ carried his cross to Calvary; Abraham represented God the Father, making a gift of his only son, and Isaac was a type of Christ, obeying his father and offering himself up on the altar of the Cross.² In the ceiling decoration of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp, completed in 1621, Rubens emphasized the concordance of the two themes by depicting *The Raising of the Cross* next to *Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac*.³

As far as the group of protagonists is concerned, the painting is related to the work of the same title by Maarten de Vos in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum at Brunswick.⁴ However, it is executed in the heroic-dramatic style that Rubens absorbed above all from the examples of Michelangelo's art that he had seen during his stay in Italy. He may no doubt also

have called to mind Andrea del Sarto's *Sacrifice of Isaac*, now in the Gemäldegalerie at Dresden,⁵ and Titian's ceiling painting of the same subject, formerly in Santa Maria dell'Isola in Venice and now in the Salute in that city,⁶ but his work owes its chief debt to Michelangelo's *terribilità*. By its vivid colouring, its rhythmic composition and the emotional interaction among the figures, Rubens in a typically baroque manner enhances the expressive possibilities of the subject.⁷

We do not know who commissioned the work or what its exact purpose was. As to its date, it must have been completed by 1614, since by the end of that year it was already in Holland. On 29 October the painter Blathazar Flessiers applied to the States-General for a licence to make an engraving after the picture. This was at first refused, but permission was granted on 24 December.⁸ The print was made by the engraver Andreas Stock (1580–1648),⁹ probably still in 1614, with a dedication to Tyman van Volbergen, who was then clerk to the Audit Office of the States-General and later its secretary.¹⁰ It may be that the painting was then in the possession of Flessiers or Van Volbergen, but this is not certain. Since it was not customary to engrave a work painted some years earlier, it seems likely that it was executed in c.1613–1614, which is also the date most appropriate to its style.

No oil sketch for the painting is known; a drawing for the figure of Isaac is in the print room of the Staatliche Museen in Berlin (No.12a; Fig.28). Very probably Rubens also made a preliminary drawing of the angel. In the painting of *The Four Evangelists* (c.1614, Potsdam-Sanssouci)¹¹ there appears an angel which is a variant of the one in *Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac* and for which Rubens made a drawing,

now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.¹²

In two versions of a painting *A Woman Receiving a Man at a Door* (present location unknown; tentatively ascribed by P. C. Sutton to Pieter de Hooch)¹³ the parlour in which the scene takes place is ornamented with an *Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac*, the composition and dimensions of which correspond to those of the present work.

Roses,¹⁴ after describing and criticizing Rubens's *Sacrifice of Isaac* on the basis of Stock's print, added: 'Un tableau de cette composition existe ou a existé au château des rois de Prusse à Potsdam. Il était peint sur toile et mesurait 7 pieds 9 pouces de hauteur, sur 5 pieds de largeur'.¹⁵ (There is or was a painting with this composition in the Palace of the Kings of Prussia at Potsdam. It was on canvas, measuring 7 feet and 9 inches high and 5 feet wide.) The painting in question is now in the Brera in Milan; however, it is not by Rubens but by Jordaens.¹⁶

1. H. Cornell, *Biblia Pauperum*, Stockholm, 1925, p.277, pls.10, 21, 22, 29, among others.
2. Martin, *Ceiling Paintings*, pp.199–200 n.72.
3. Martin, *Ceiling Paintings*, pp.199–200.
4. A. Zweite, *Marten de Vos als Maler*, Berlin, 1980, p.290, No.62, fig.76.
5. J. Shearman, *Andrea del Sarto*, Oxford, 1965, II, pp.280–281, pl.170.
6. H. E. Wethey, *Titian*, London, 1969, I, pp.120–121, pl.158.
7. See R. T. Coe, op. cit., *The Nelson Gallery & Atkins Museum Bulletin*, IV, No.8, 1967, pp.9–16.
8. C. Kramm, *De levens en werken der Hollandsche en Vlaamsche Kunstschilders, Beeldhouwers, Graveurs en Bouwmeesters, van den vroegsten tot op onzen tijd*, II, Amsterdam, 1858, p.491; Thieme–Becker, XII, p.92; R. T. Coe, op. cit., pp.6–7, 22–23; A. Th. van Deuren, *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal*, II, (1613–1616), Den Haag, 1984, p.344, No.905.
9. Thieme–Becker, XXXII, p.70.
10. J. G. van Gelder, op. cit., *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, III, 1950–1951, p.128 n.1.
11. K. d. K., p.68; Vlieghe, *Saints*, I, pp.70–72, No.54, fig.96; Antwerp, 1977, p.91, No.34, repr.
12. Inv. No.D517. Held, *Drawings*, p.136, No.102; J. G.

- van Gelder, *op. cit.*, *Burlington Magazine*, CXX, 1978, p.457.
13. P. C. Sutton, *Pieter de Hooch*, Oxford, 1980, p.122, Nos.B7A, B7B, fig.171.
14. *Roses*, I, p.127, under No.107.
15. *Description des tableaux de la Galerie royale et du cabinet de Sans-Souci*, Potsdam, 1771, No.3.
16. R.-A. d'Hulst, *Jacob Jordaens*, London, 1982, p.132, fig.100.

12a. Study for the Figure of Isaac:

Drawing (Fig. 28)

Buff paper, with watermark (neither in *Briquet*, *Heawood* nor *Churchill*); torn at the top and at the right, and lower right corner torn off; cut unevenly at the left; backed on a piece of paper arched at the top. Black chalk, heightened with white; 469 × 225 mm.

Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett.

Inv. No.4562.

PROVENANCE: Unknown.

LITERATURE: M. Roses, 'Euvres de Rubens, Addenda', in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, pp. 97-98 (as *Rubens*); Glück-Haberdtz, p.37, No.73, repr. (as *Rubens*, c.1611); Bock-Rosenberg, I, p.252, No.4562, fig.179 (as *Rubens*); H. Kauffmann, 'Rubens und Mantegna', in *Köln und der Nordwesten. Beiträge zur Geschichte, Wirtschaft und Kultur des Rhein-, Maas- und Schelde-Raumes*, Cologne, 1941, pp.99-111, republished in H. Kauffmann, *Peter Paul Rubens. Bildgedanke und Künstlerische Form*, Berlin, 1976, p.28; R. T. Coe, 'Rubens in 1614: The Sacrifice of Abraham', *The Nelson Gallery & Atkins Museum Bulletin*, Kansas City, Missouri, IV, No.7, 1966, p.12, fig.8 (as *Rubens*); Id., 'Rubens' Sacrifice of Abraham', *Art News*, December 1966, p.38, fig.5 (as *Rubens*); Bernhard, repr. p.211 (as *Rubens*); H. Mielke, in *Mielke-Winner*, pp.57-58, No.15, fig.15 (as *Rubens*, c.1611);

J. G. van Gelder, 'Rubens Marginalia I', *Burlington Magazine*, CXX, 1978, p.457 (as *Rubens*, c.1613-1614).

A study for the figure of Isaac in the painting *Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac*, now in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery and Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri (No.12; Fig.27).

Mielke has pointed out that this drawing must have been preceded by one or more general compositional sketches. The young man's pose corresponds to that of Isaac in relation to Abraham, as planned by Rubens and as it occurs in the painting, and the drawing also clearly indicates the place of the altar. This means that the study was not one that Rubens had previously on hand, but that it was made for the purpose of the work in Kansas City. The disproportion between the size of the youth's chest and that of his left upper arm is noticeable, as is the smallness of his pelvis and thigh, indicating that the drawing cannot have been made from a live model. The origin of the *contrapposto* pose is probably to be found in some antique model: Kauffmann, perhaps rightly, imagined a lost work which he believed to be also the source of Ghiberti's Isaac in *Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac*, the relief submitted by him in a competition for the Baptistery in Florence.

The Isaac in the painting differs in some respects from the drawing. The proportions of the nude figure were modified; the powerful, elongated torso lost its Michelangelesque features, becoming weaker and almost delicate; the pelvis was made larger and the legs longer. Also, in the painting the right foot almost disappears and the loincloth, the end of which now hangs downward, is wound around the left elbow as if to conceal the

way in which the arm disappears behind the youth's back.

As the painting was executed in c.1613–1614 (see No.12) and the drawing was a study for it, it must date from the same period. Van Gelder observed that the watermark of the paper is the same as that of three drawings of about the same date, viz.: *A Female Nude (Psyche)*, c.1612–1615, Windsor Castle;¹ *Study for the Figure of Christ on the Cross*, c.1614–1615, British Museum, London;² and *Study for a Flying Angel*, c.1614, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.³

Rubens kept the study by him and used it again, with modifications, for a fettered captive on top of the rear face of the triumphal arch of Ferdinand, designed in 1634–1635 for the Joyous Entry of the Cardinal Infante Ferdinand into Antwerp.⁴

1. Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, pp.109–110, No.65, repr.; London, 1977, p.61, No.57, repr.
2. Held, *Drawings*, p.131, No.82, fig.92; London, 1977, p.66, No.64, repr.
3. Glück-Haberdtztl, p.48, No.141 (as c.1622); Held, *Drawings*, p.136, No.102, fig.112 (as c.1622); London, 1977, p.112, No.152, repr.; J.G. van Gelder, loc. cit., (as c.1614).
4. Martin, *Pompa*, pp.153–158, Nos.40, 40a, figs.73, 74.

13. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob: Drawing (Fig. 29)

Laid down. Pen and brown ink and brown wash, heightened with white body-colour on the ram and the grass below on the left; sheet, with the inscriptions: 230 × 150 mm.; drawing, 165 × 118 mm.; several inscriptions with the pen in brown ink in Rubens's hand: above, *Deus Abraham Deus Isaac Deus Jacob*, and below, 1. *Il Patriarca Abraham in atto di sacrificante / per esser piu cognoscibile di quella maniera / 2. Isaac si potrà depinger cieco per che tal / si fece in vecchiaia / 3. Jacob ebbe la visione della*

scala dormendo (the corresponding figures appearing above the heads of the three patriarchs); below on the left, mark of the Louvre (L.1886); below on the right, mark of the collection of P.J.Mariette (L.1852).

Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre. Inv. No.20.222.

PROVENANCE: P.J.Mariette (Paris, 1694–1774), sale, Paris, 15 November 1775–30 January 1776, lot 1004 (together with No.39 below, and 'Quatre petits Sujets de la Vie de saint Ignace'), bought by Joullain.

EXHIBITED: *Rubens, ses maîtres, ses élèves, dessins du musée du Louvre*, Louvre, Paris, 1978, No.7.

LITERATURE: Rooses, V, p.223, No.1420 (as Rubens); Michel, *Rubens*, p.108, repr.; Glück-Haberdtztl, No.40 (as Rubens, early years in Italy); K.Zoege von Manteuffel, 'Kunstchronik', in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 1930, p.129; Evers, 1943, pp.202–203, fig.217 (as Rubens); Goris-Held, p.42, under No.107 (as Rubens); Lugt, *Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, p.11, No.1006, pl.XII (as Rubens, before 1608); Held, *Drawings*, pp.25, 44, 62 (as Rubens, c.1612–1615); A.P. de Mirimonde, 'La musique dans les œuvres flamandes du XVII^e siècle au Louvre', *La Revue du Louvre*, XIII, Nos.4–5, 1963, pp.173–174; Vlieghe, *Saints*, I, p.102, under No.70 (as Rubens); Judson–Van de Velde, I, pp.95–96, under No.7a (as Rubens, c.1610); A.P. de Mirimonde, 'Rubens et la Musique', *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen*, 1977, pp.170–171, fig.64; De Poorter, *Eucharist*, I, p.268, under No.2b (as Rubens); *Cat. Exh. Rubens, ses maîtres, ses élèves, dessins du musée du Louvre*, Louvre, Paris, 1978, p.25, No.7, repr. (as Rubens).

Abraham stands on the left with sword in hand, his head upraised, listening to

the voice from heaven forbidding him to kill his son Isaac. Beside him is the ram caught in a thicket (Genesis 22: 2-13). In the centre of the drawing is the aged Isaac, plunged in thought, with one arm resting on his knee; he points with a finger to his blind eyes (Genesis 27: 1). On the right is Jacob, leaning on a staff and resting his head on his hand; he is asleep and dreaming of the heavenly ladder with angels ascending and descending (Genesis 28: 12). Above, in the clouds, is a choir of angels making music in praise of Yahveh.¹ In the background is a landscape with a low horizon.

In Rubens's description at the bottom, only Abraham is referred to as a patriarch. Although this term is used for all the tribal ancestors of Israel before Moses, it applies more especially to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob: from the early Middle Ages onwards, these three were often portrayed together.

As Manteuffel observed,² Rubens's Isaac was inspired by Michelangelo's *Jeremiah* in the Sistine Chapel, which he copied in a drawing now in the Louvre.³

The present sheet no doubt belongs with another drawing, also in the Louvre (No.39; Fig.87), of *King David Playing the Harp*. Both represent Old Testament themes; both are by Rubens, with Italian inscriptions; and in his note on *King David Playing the Harp* Rubens speaks of 'questi scizzi' (in the plural). Moreover, the two drawings are pendants to each other: they were already so listed in the sale catalogue of the P. J. Mariette collection in 1775-1776, and the orientation of the principal figures (Abraham and David) suggests that the compositions are complementary.

Apart from the inscriptions, there is no documentary evidence concerning the two sheets. The texts together form a

short letter to a patron enclosing two sketches and commenting on their iconography and execution. Rubens writes apologetically as to the latter, and even finds it necessary to emphasize by contrast the care with which he will carry out the final versions if they are commissioned. We do not know to whom the illustrated letter was addressed. Presumably there was no final commission, as no further stages of development of the sketches are known to exist.

From the inscription of *King David Playing the Harp* ('...mà poi si farebbono li disegni come anco la pittura...') it is clear that the two drawings were sketches for paintings and not, for example, for book illustrations or tapestries. The purpose of the paintings is unknown. Evers believes that they were intended as two panels to be placed side by side,⁴ and in view of the many musical instruments he suggested that they might be doors for an organ.⁵ This is probable, though not certain. King David was celebrated as a poet and musician, the reputed author of the Psalms; he was a patron of singers and musicians, and was thus frequently depicted on the panels of organ-lofts.⁶

There is some disagreement as to the date of the two drawings. Mariette placed them in Rubens's Italian period.⁷ His view was later shared by Rooses, who thought them somewhat cursory in execution; by Glück and Haberditzl, who dated them shortly after 1600; and finally by Lugt, who was reluctant to express a precise view but was convinced that in any case they dated from before 1608. Although none of these authors actually says so, the fact that the inscriptions are in Italian was clearly not without influence on their opinion. However, as Rubens generally corresponded in Italian even after his stay in that country, the

drawings may date from after 1608, and they appear on stylistic grounds to do so. Held accordingly placed them between 1612 and 1615. In my opinion they can best be compared with *The Tree of Jesse* in the Louvre,⁸ a sketch for a border decoration engraved by Theodoor Galle, who was paid for it in March 1613; consequently they may be dated c.1612.

1. For the identification of the angels' instruments see A.P.de Mirimonde, 'Rubens et la musique', loc. cit.
2. Op. cit., *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 1930, p.129.
3. Lugt, *Cat. Louvre, Ecole flamande*, II, p.22, No.1043, pl.XXXVIII.
4. Loc.cit. Evers, however, does not exclude the possibility that the two drawings were sketches for a single painting. As he himself points out, however, this would involve the juxtaposition of two heavenly scenes of more or less the same form, which seems to me unlikely. Evers also thinks it possible that, the patron having rejected the sketches with Old Testament figures, Rubens painted two scenes consisting only of large figures of music-making angels. In this connection he refers to a painting in Potsdam and an engraving (*De Poorter, Eucharist*, I, pp.265-268 [No.2b], 270 [No.3b], figs.102, 103).
5. F.Lugt shared this opinion (loc. cit.).
6. Réau, *Iconographie*, II, 1, pp.254-255.
7. The catalogue of the sale of 15 November 1775-30 January 1776, held after Mariette's death, says of the drawings: 'Ils ont été exécutés à Rome'.
8. *Judson-Van de Velde*, pp.91-92, No.6a, fig.48.

14. *The Meeting of Jacob and Joseph(?)*: Oil Sketch (Fig. 44)

Oil on panel (was at some time transferred to canvas and later transferred back to panel); 50 × 63 cm.

Lausanne, Collection of M. Jean Zanchi.

PROVENANCE: Dr Hans Wendland, Berlin (1926); Hildebrand Collection, Berlin (1930; as *The Meeting of Jacob and Esau*); Mrs Anne Wertheimer, Switzerland, who sold it to Edward Speelman Ltd., London, in 1958; T.P.Grange, London (1958); sale, Paris (Palais Galliera), 29-30 November 1968, lot 147, repr. (as 'Ren-

contre de Joseph et de son père Jacob en Egypte'); P.Gambetta, Lugano (Castagnola), Switzerland (1972).

EXHIBITED: *Pierre-Paul Rubens*, Tokyo-Yamaguchi-Tsu-Kyoto, 1985-86, No.40 (French edn.).

LITERATURE: *Held, Oil Sketches*, p.429, under No.310 (as *The Meeting of Jacob and Joseph, not by Rubens*); D.Bodart, *Cat. Exh. Pierre-Paul Rubens* (French edn.), Tokyo-Yamaguchi-Tsu-Kyoto, 1985-86, p.43, No.40, repr.

In a certificate dated 10 June 1958 and addressed to Edward Speelman Ltd, London, Burchard identified the subject of this painting as *The Meeting of Jacob and Joseph*. He stated that when it was shown to him in 1926 by Dr Hans Wendland in Berlin, and again in 1930 when it was in the Hildebrand Collection in the same city, it was called *The Meeting of Jacob and Esau*; but Burchard considered that the great difference in age between the two men embracing each other, and the placing of the action on a river-bank, could hardly be intended to represent that scene. *The Meeting of Jacob and Joseph* appeared to him more consistent with what was depicted here. He based his view on the statement in the Bible that Joseph was a young man of only 30 (Genesis 41: 46) when reunited with Jacob, who was then 130 years old (Genesis 47: 9). As the meeting took place in Goshen in the Nile delta, Burchard thought the recumbent figure on the left of the painting might be an allegory of the river.

But Burchard's identification is not satisfactory either. He seems not to have noticed that the picture not only depicts the meeting of two men of different ages, but that the older man, supported by his

wife, is giving his daughter in marriage to the younger man. This might be an illustration of a different Old Testament scene, for instance that in which Caleb, in fulfilment of a promise, gave his daughter Achsah to his younger brother Othniel as a reward for capturing the Canaanite town of Kirjath-sepher (Joshua 15: 16–19; Judges 1: 11–15).¹ On the other hand, the sketch may depict a mythological scene.

Burchard regarded this work as an important oil sketch by Rubens,² executed with a view to a large painting, and he described how the sketch was built up: first some outlines slightly indicated in pencil, then the brush modelling in brown and white with some touches of bright colour. The clear distinction between principal and secondary figures, the roughly brushed landscape in contrast to the well-defined men and women suggested to Burchard a late date, between 1630 and 1640.

In my opinion the sketch is unlikely to be by Rubens's hand. No painting based on it is known.

15. The Reconciliation of Esau and Jacob: Drawing (Fig. 41)

Watermark: double C with crown. Below Esau's shoulder the paper is partly eaten away by the ink; pen and brown ink, 316 × 205 mm. Above on the left, number 10; below on the left, *P.P. Rubenius* (*us* abbreviated).—*Verso*: sheet used in horizontal format; in the centre, the mark placed around 1831 on the drawings from the collection of Friedrich Wilhelm I, King of Prussia (L.1631); below on the right, Z 3241 in black pencil, cut off by the margin.

Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett. Inv. No.3241.

PROVENANCE: Matthäus Merian the Younger (Frankfurt am Main, 1621–1687); Elector Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg (1620–1688); Friedrich Wilhelm I, King of Prussia (1688–1740); in the eighteenth century in the Royal Library, Berlin; since 1814 in the Akademie der Künste; transferred in 1831 to the Royal Printroom, which was founded in that year.

EXHIBITED: *Berlin*, 1977, No.27; *Ex Bibliotheca Regia Berolinensi*, Berlin, 1982, No.37.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, V, pp.223–224 (No. 1421), 243, under No.1465, 246–247, under No.1473 (as *Rubens*); *Bock-Rosenberg*, p.124, No.3241 (as *Van Dyck*); F.Lugt, 'Beiträge zu dem Katalog der Niederländischen Handzeichnungen in Berlin', *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, LII, 1931, p.144, figs.10, 10a (as *Rubens*); H.Konow, 'Eine Zeichnungssammlung aus dem Besitz Matthäus Merians des Jüngeren', *Berliner Museen*, LXI, 1940, pp.61–62, repr. on cover (as *Rubens*); *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, pp.133–135, figs.80r, 80v (as *Rubens*);

1. The cuirass worn by the young man, and the attendant warriors, may allude to the capture of Kirjath-sepher. The water in the foreground, and the river god seated on the left, could be a reference to the fact that Caleb granted his daughter, at her request, a well-watered area in addition to the land he had already assigned to her (Joshua 15: 19). The donkey on the right may recall the fact that she was riding on an ass when she made her request to Caleb, before going off with her husband (Joshua 15: 18).

2. As appears from a certificate of 1925, Wilhelm von Bode also regarded the painting as an autograph oil sketch by Rubens; Jaffé agreed, according to the catalogue of the sale in Paris (Palais Galliera) in 1968. Held (*loc. cit.*), on the other hand, does not believe it to be by Rubens himself; he thinks it might be a copy of a late work, but even that he considers unlikely.

M. Jaffé, 'Rubens as a Draughtsman', *Burlington Magazine*, CVII, 1965, p.379 (as *ricordo* by Van Dyck); J.Müller Hofstede, Review of Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, in *Master Drawings*, 4, 1966, pp.448-449, under No.80 (as *Rubens*, c.1626-1628); M. Jaffé, *Van Dyck's Antwerp Sketchbook*, London, 1966, II, p.239 under 55v, fig.CLVI (as *ricordo* by Van Dyck); Bernhard, repr. p.269; H.Mielke, in *Mielke-Winner*, pp.76 to 77, No.27, figs.27r, 27v (as *Rubens*); Held, *Oil Sketches*, pp.384, under No.286, 428, under No.310 (as *Rubens*, c.1617-1619); M. Jaffé, Review of Held, *Oil Sketches*, in *Apollo*, CXV, 239, 1982, pp.62-64.

The rivalry between Esau and Jacob, the twin sons of Isaac and Rebekah, was the main feature of their history. Having persuaded his brother to sell him his birthright for a mess of pottage, Jacob, with his mother's connivance, sought a blessing from Isaac in Esau's place. Thereafter Esau's anger obliged him to flee to Mesopotamia, where he served his uncle Laban and married the latter's two daughters, Leah and Rachel. After falling out with Laban he took his wives and children with his flocks and herds to Canaan, where he was reconciled with Esau (Genesis 27, 28).

The news of Esau's approach with four hundred men at first put fear into Jacob, so he resolved to offer his brother a large part of his herds and to protect his wives and children as far as he could. But his fear was unfounded: as the drawing shows, Esau, seen here in armour and accompanied by warriors,¹ ran forward to embrace Jacob, who bowed before him, standing at the head of his family and surrounded by his flocks and herds. Rubens situates the meeting in the foreground and places the two main charac-

ters in symmetrical attitudes, with a small group of figures and animals behind each.

Above the figure of Esau appears an outline sketch of a man in a toga: this figure does not belong to the *Reconciliation*, and was sketched by Rubens before he drew the present scene.

The drawing was already listed as *Rubens* in the catalogue, drawn up c.1780, of the collection of Friedrich Wilhelm I, King of Prussia, then in the Königliche Bibliothek. This catalogue was the work of the librarian, Friedrich Wilhelm Stosch, who, according to Helma Konow, generally took over the attributions from Matthäus Merian the Younger, a former owner of the sheet.² Rooses, too, regarded the drawing as by Rubens. Bock and Rosenberg, on the other hand, catalogued it in 1930 on stylistic grounds as an early work by Van Dyck. Jaffé still accepted this in 1965 and 1966, although Lugt in 1931 had already shown good grounds for reassigning it to Rubens. The attribution to Rubens was upheld by Burchard-d'Hulst, Müller Hofstede, Mielke and Held.

Rubens drew the *Reconciliation* on the upper half of the sheet, the lower half being occupied by a rather less careful rendering of *Gaius Mucius Scaevola before Porsenna*. The two drawings are without question by the same hand, and the style shows them to be of the same date, c.1616-1618. However, they are not studies but *ricordi*: this is shown by the style of drawing and the very unusual fact that two drawings of compositions appear on a single sheet. The *Reconciliation* drawing, which differs in composition in many respects from the sketch in the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh (No.16a; Fig.43), as well as from the large canvas in the Staatsgalerie, Schleissheim

(No.16; Fig.42), both painted c.1625-1628, shows that Rubens was also occupied with this theme towards the end of the second decade of the century. It is noteworthy that a *Reconciliation* (the canvas now in Schleissheim) and a *Gaius Mucius Scaevola before Porsenna*, according to Cruzada Villaamil,³ were in 1636 in the same hall of the Alcázar, Madrid, and were among the eight paintings that Rubens took to Madrid in 1628.

On the reverse of the sheet is a drawing of *Meleager Presenting the Head of the Calydonian Boar to Atalanta* (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 8: 260-546).

1. A similar group of a personage in armour with a horse behind him and accompanied by warriors occurs in *Abraham and Melchizedek*, c.1615, in the Caen Museum (No.17; Fig.31).

2. H.Mielke, loc. cit.

3. *Cruzada Villaamil*, pp.306-307, 380.

16. The Reconciliation of Esau and Jacob (Fig. 42)

Oil on canvas; 331 × 282 cm.
Schleissheim, Staatsgalerie.

PROVENANCE: Royal Palace, *salón nuevo*, Madrid, since 1628; Johann-Wilhelm of Neuburg (Düsseldorf Gallery), since 1694; from there to Munich in 1806. Alte Pinakothek, Munich (Inv. No.1302).

COPIES: (1) Anonymous painting, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (on loan to the Rijksmuseum Muiderslot, Muiden, since 1922); panel, 32 × 33 cm. LIT. *Rooses*, I, p.137, under No.109bis; P.J.J. Van Thiel a.o., *Alle schilderijen van het Rijksmuseum te Amsterdam*, Amsterdam, 1976, p.486, No.A346, repr.; C.Wright, *Paintings in Dutch Museums*, London, 1980, p.396; (2) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 64 × 49 cm. PROV. ?Julius Singer (1957), sale, London

(Sotheby), 25 July 1973, lot 109; (3) Anonymous drawing, Vienna, Albertina; 381 × 295 mm.; (4) Anonymous drawing, Kunstsammlungen Veste Coburg, Inv. No.Z4456; 401 × 401 mm.; (5) Anonymous painting (the group of the woman with the two children only), Rinaldo Schreiber, Brescia (1963); panel, 42 × 32 cm.; (6) Anonymous drawing (the group of the woman with the two children only), Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerp, Inv.No.A.XVI.4; 260 × 197 mm. PROV. Van Marle and De Sille, sale, Rotterdam, 1891 (130 florins); Max Rooses, Antwerp. LIT. *Rooses*, V, p.224, No.1422, pl.405; *Delen*, pp.68-69, No.199; (7) Anonymous drawing (the group of the woman with the two children only), whereabouts unknown; 282 × 200 mm. PROV. sale, London (Christie's), 30 March 1971, lot 142; (8) Anonymous drawing (the armour of Esau only), Copenhagen, Printroom ('Rubens Cantoor', No.VI69); (9) Anonymous drawing (the two oxen, at the right of the picture), Copenhagen, Printroom ('Rubens Cantoor', No.VI86); (10) Anonymous drawing (the head of the horse), Copenhagen, Printroom ('Rubens Cantoor', No.VI83).

LITERATURE: F.Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura* (1638), ed. F.J.Sanchez Cantón, Madrid, 1956, I, p.153; G.J.Karsch, *Désignation exacte des peintures dans la Galerie Electorale de la résidence à Dusseldorf*, Düsseldorf, 1719, No.171; J.van Gool, *De nieuwe Schouburg der Nederlandsche Kunstschilders en Schilderessen*, The Hague, II, 1751, p.543; *Catalogue des tableaux qui se trouvent dans les Galeries du Palais de S.A.S.E. Palatine à Dusseldorf*, Mannheim, 1760, p.20, No.37; Michel, *Histoire*, p.302, No.37; N.de Pigage, *La Galerie Electorale de Dusseldorf ou Catalogue raisonné et figuré de ses tableaux*, Basle, 1781, pp.268-269, No.254; Smith, *Catalogue*

Raisonné, II, p.68, No.201; *Cruzada Villamil*, pp.306–307, 380; F. von Reber, *Katalog der Gemäldesammlung der K. älterer Pinakothek zu München*, Munich, 1888, p.153, No.751; *Rooses*, I, pp.128–136 (No. 108), 136–137 (No.109) (as ‘*par un élève et retouché par le maître, les animaux sont de Wildens*’; 1615–1620); V, p.312, No.109 (as ‘*les retouches du maître sont importantes*’); H. Knackfuss, *Rubens*, Bielefeld–Leipzig, 1898, pp.86–87, fig.88 (as *Rubens*); K.d.K., edn. Rosenberg, pp.119, 470 (as ‘*eine von Rubens retouschierte Schülerarbeit*’, 1615–1618); T. Levin, ‘Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kunstbestrebungen in dem Hause Pfalz–Neuburg’, *Jahrbuch des Düsseldorfer Geschichtsverein*, XX, 1906, p.236 (as *Rubens*); K.d.K., p.290 (as *Rubens*, 1625 to 1627); Cat. *Ältere Pinakothek München*, Munich, 1936, p.211, No.1302 (as ‘*Schülerarbeit*’); *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p.70, under No.21; Y. Bottineau, ‘l’Alcázar de Madrid et l’inventaire de 1686 (suite)’, *Bulletin Hispanique*, LIX, 1957, p.41; *Burchard–d’Hulst, Drawings*, p.134, under No.80 (as *Rubens*, 1625–1628); J.M. Brown, ‘On the Origins of “Las Lanzas” by Velasquez’, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 27, Heft 3–4, 1964, p.243, fig.3 (as *Rubens*); J. Müller Hofstede, Review of *Burchard–d’Hulst, Drawings*, in *Master Drawings*, 4, 1966, p.448 (as *Rubens*, c.1626–1628); S.N. Orso, *In the Presence of the “Planet King”*: *Studies in Art and Decoration at the Court of Philip IV of Spain*, Princeton (Diss. Ph.D.), 1978, pp.62, 79, 257; M. Crawford Volk, ‘Rubens in Madrid and the Decoration of the Salon Nuevo in the Palace’, *Burlington Magazine*, CXXII, 1980, p.176, fig.27; *Held, Oil Sketches*, p.428, under No.510 (as *Rubens*, in or shortly after the mid 1620s).

For a description of the subject and its origin, see No.15.

This painting, with seven others, was commissioned from Rubens by Philip IV of Spain through his aunt, the Archduchess Isabella, for the royal palace in Madrid.¹ Rubens brought the eight works with him, or had them forwarded, when he went to Spain in 1628,² and they were hung in the ‘salón nuevo’ of the palace. *The Reconciliation of Esau and Jacob* figures in the palace inventory of 1636³ and again in that of 1686,⁴ but not subsequently. In 1694 Charles II of Spain sent it as a gift to his brother-in-law Prince Johann Wilhelm of Neuburg,⁵ who reigned from 1690 to 1716 and created the Düsseldorf Gallery. The painting was removed from that Gallery to Munich in 1806.⁶

A preliminary oil sketch by Rubens is in the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh (No.16a; Fig.43). This bears a close resemblance, as far as essentials are concerned, with the *ricordo* drawing of 1616–1618 in the Printroom of the Museum at Berlin–Dahlem (No.15; Fig.41). However, the painting (in which the studio may have had some hand) and the oil sketch are of later date, c.1625–1628.

In converting the work from an oil sketch to a large painting, Rubens made only minor changes. Their chief purpose was to compress the group formed by Jacob and his companions into a triangle with Jacob at the apex: this was achieved mainly by adding a third camel and placing the kneeling woman closer to Jacob. Rubens also moved the two brothers closer together, to stress the theme of their reconciliation.⁷ In addition he placed some birds in the rather empty sky, and enriched the dress of the kneeling woman with a piece of drapery hanging over her back and touching the ground.

The Reconciliation of Esau and Jacob is reminiscent of other works by Rubens in which two personages with their suites

are shown as meeting with greater or less solemnity, but always with warmth and tenderness. Important examples are: *The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek*, tapestry, c.1626–1628, Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales;⁸ *The Meeting of David and Abigail*, c.1630–1632, Malibu, California, J. Paul Getty Museum (No.41; Fig.90);⁹ and *The Meeting of Ferdinand, King of Hungary, and the Cardinal Infante Ferdinand*, c.1634–1635, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.¹⁰

The kneeling woman as she appears in the painting (not in the oil sketch) is literally repeated in *Latona Turning the Peasants into Frogs*, a work of the School of Rubens (?Jan Boeckhorst and Jan Wildens), now in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich.¹¹

A painting of *The Reconciliation of Esau and Jacob* in the Groeninge Museum in Bruges,¹² and the preparatory oil sketch for it in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna,¹³ were regarded by Burchard, rightly in my opinion, as School of Rubens. Vlieghe,¹⁴ who attributes the painting to Erasmus Quellinus, believes that Rubens retouched it somewhat (the heads of the five soldiers), and that the oil sketch in Vienna is a copy of a lost elaborate oil sketch by Rubens.

In the *Catalogue Raisonné des diverses curiosités du Cabinet de feu M. Quentin de Lorengère ... par E.F. Gersaint, Paris, M.DCCXLIV [1744]*; note: *les Curiosités seront vendues le Lundi deuxième Mars 1744 et jours suivants*, we find on p.16, lot 63: *Un Tableau de l'Ecole de Rubens, représentant Jacob et Esau, de 26 pouces trois quarts de large, sur 20 pouces trois quarts de haut [56.17 × 72.41 cm.]*.

A 'Reconciliation of Esau and Jacob—on panel—15³/₄ in. by 19¹/₂ in.' was sold as by Sir P.P. Rubens at Christie's, London, 1 February 1957, lot 31 (bought by D.

Reder for 100 gns). Burchard noted that it was a copy.

1. *Balis, Hunting Scenes*, p.180.
2. F. Pacheco, loc. cit.; *Cruzada Villaamil*, p.380; C. Justi, *Diego Velázquez*, I, Bonn, 1922, pp.255–256, p.257 n.1.
3. *Cruzada Villaamil*, pp.306–307; S.N. Orso, op. cit., p.257.
4. *Cruzada Villaamil*, p.307; Y. Bottineau, loc. cit., p.41, No.66.
5. Y. Bottineau, loc. cit., p.41, under No.66; Id., 'A propos du séjour espagnol de Luca Giordano', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Sixth Series, LVI, 1960, pp.252–253.
6. Cat. *Ältere Pinakothek München*, Munich, 1936, p.XX.
7. Held, *Oil Sketches*, loc. cit.
8. *De Poorter, Eucharist*, pp.282–285, No.7, fig.119.
9. J.S. Held, *Flemish and German Paintings of the 17th Century. The Collections of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, Detroit, 1982, pp.87–90.
10. *K.d.K.*, p.363; *Martin, Pompa*, pp.57–63, fig.13.
11. Inv. No.307; canvas, 120 × 228 cm.
12. Inv. No.237 (attributed to Jan van den Hoecke); canvas, 237 × 378 cm.
13. Inv. No.762 (attributed to 'Jan van Boeckhorst'); panel, 58.4 × 87 cm. Engraved by A.J. von Preuner (V.S., p.5, No.31); the engraving served as an illustration for the 1728 catalogue of the Imperial collections in Vienna. See H. Vlieghe, 'Erasmus Quellinus and Rubens's Studio Practice', *Burlington Magazine*, CXIX, 1977, p.643, fig.57.
14. H. Vlieghe, op. cit., pp.640, 643, figs.51–53.

16a. The Reconciliation of Esau and Jacob: Oil Sketch (Fig. 43)

A piece of wood, c.6 cm. wide, has been added at the top; at the lower left is a fine horizontal crack; panel, 48.8 × 40.3 cm.—*Verso*: an oval red seal, 2.5 cm. long and unidentified, is applied to the panel.

Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland.
Inv. No.2397.

PROVENANCE: ?Charles-Antoine Coypel (1694–1752), sale, Paris, 1753, lot 23; J.D. Lempereur (Paris, 1701–1779), sale, Paris (dir. Boileau and Joullain), 24 May 1773 et seq., lot 29 (purchased by Boileau,

one of the auctioneers; 3,600 fr.); Prince de Conti, sale, Paris, 8 April 1777, lot 242 (purchased by Remy); M. de Beaujon, sale, Paris, 25 April 1787, lot 23; Robert de Saint-Victor, sale, Paris, 26 November 1822, lot 27 (purchased by Nieuwenhuijs; 810fr.); John Smith, owned it between 1822 and 1831 (see *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.183, under No.639); R.F.Reinagle, sale, London (E.Forster), 6 May 1831, lot 55 (70 gs); Robert Hamilton, Bloomfield House, Norwood, Surrey, sale, London (E.Forster), 16 March 1832, lot 193; H.A.J.Munro of Novar, sale, London (Christie's), 1 June 1878, lot 87 (purchased by A.Levy; £325 16s); Albert Levy, sale, London (Christie's), 3 May 1884, lot 44 (purchased by Lesser; £299 5s); Mrs Sanders, mentioned under No.16 as a former owner in the catalogue of *A Loan Exhibition of Flemish Old Masters*, Milton Galleries, London, December 1944; Anonymous sale, London (Christie's), 1 June 1934, lot 82; Sir Felix Cassel, Bart., K.C., Luton, Bedfordshire, sold by him December 1944 to Baron Paul Hátvany, London; acquired by The National Gallery of Scotland in 1980.

COPIES: (1) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 46.5 × 40.5 cm. PROV. Sternberg sale, London (Christie's), 25 February 1928, lot 61 (bought by Saville Gallery, London; £1,312 10s); Mark Farquhar Oliver, Richmond; Gallery Durlacher, New York; Academy of Fine Arts, Honolulu; auctioned in New York. LIT. *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p.70, under No.21 (he thought the Durlacher picture to be different from the one in the Oliver Collection); *Goris-Held*, Appendix, p.49, No. A38; *Held, Oil Sketches*, p.429, under No.310; (2) Anonymous painting, Dunkirk, Musée des Beaux-Arts; panel, 73.5 × 56 cm. PROV. Bergues, Abbaye

Saint-Winoc. LIT. *Catalogue des peintures du Musée de Dunkerque*, Dunkirk, 1976, p.59, No.447; (3) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 48.5 × 39.5 cm. PROV. J.J.M.Chabot, sale, The Hague (Van Marle and Bignell), 1 September 1942, lot 25; probably identical with a painting at Goudstikker, Amsterdam, c.1943, No.6265. LIT. *Held, Oil Sketches*, p.429; (4) Anonymous painting, Prince Colonna, Rome. LIT. H.Hymans, 'Zur neuesten Rubensforschung', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, N.S., IV, 1893, p.14; E.A. Safarik, *Galleria Colonna in Roma. Dipinti*, Rome, 1981, pp.119-120, repr. (5) Engraving, in reverse, by Peter de Balliu, with a dedication, dated 24 February 1652, by the painter Johannes de Heem to the collector Maerten Kretser (Amsterdam, 1598-1669).¹ LIT. V.S., p.5, No.30; *Rooses*, I, p.136, under No.109 (erroneously as *after the painting in Munich*).

EXHIBITED: *Exhibition of Works by the Old Masters. Winter Exhibition*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1908, No.73; *Brussels*, 1937, No.1; *A Loan Exhibition of Pictures by Flemish Old Masters*, Milton Galleries, London, 1944, No.16.

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.183, No.639; IX, p.311, No.241; *Waa-gen, Treasures*, II, p.136; *Blanc, Trésor*, I, p.377; W.Frost and H.Reeve, *Catalogue of the Paintings ... in the collection of the late Hugh Andrew Johnstone Munro, Esq., of Novar*, London, 1865, p.44, No.169; *Rooses*, I, p.137, No.109bis (as *Rubens*, c.1615-1620); V, p.312, No.109bis; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p.70, No.21 (as *Rubens*, c.1618); J.Müller Hofstede, *Review of Burchard-Hulst, Drawings*, in *Master Drawings*, 4, 1966, p.448, under No.80 (as *Rubens*, 1626-1628); *Held, Oil Sketches*, pp.427-429, No.310, fig.312 (as *Rubens*, c.1624-1626); J.S.Held, 'Rubens' Oelskizzen. Ein

Arbeitsbericht', in *Peter Paul Rubens. Werk und Nachruhm*, Munich, 1981, p.55.

This oil sketch, painted by Rubens c.1625–1628 in preparation for the large canvas now in the Staatsgalerie, Schleissheim (No.16; Fig.42), shows a close resemblance, as far as essentials are concerned, to the *ricordo* drawing of c.1616–1618 in the Printroom of the Museum at Berlin-Dahlem (No.15; Fig.41). While it may be assumed that Rubens used that fairly simple drawing years later as the basis for his oil sketch, the latter differs from it in many respects: reflecting the development of Rubens's style, it is richer and subtler in composition and in psychological expression. The encounter of the two brothers is moved further towards the background: this is achieved by placing the kneeling woman who was originally behind Jacob in the foreground, as well as a goat, a sheep and a ram—in the drawing, these animals were suggested in the background.² In addition Rubens replaced the horizontal movement of the composition by a diagonal one from upper left to lower right, via the figures of Esau (red and black), Jacob (blue and green), and the kneeling woman (gold and yellow), contrasting with the neutral colours of the elements around them. Jacob is thus seen kneeling submissively before his brother, to whom Rubens has in addition given a stronger and more martial aspect than in the drawing. Two figures and a cow, added to Jacob's suite, compensate for the imbalance caused by the greater importance given to Esau in terms of dimensions and colour.

1. 'Domino Martino Kretser, Artis Pictoriae admiratori ac patrono uno unico, hanc cultūs et observantiae suae indicem tabulam Joannes de Heem Dicat Consecratque Antverpiae, 24 Febr. 1652'. For

Maerten Kretser see Lugt, 'Italiaansche kunstwerken in Nederlandsche verzamelingen van vroeger tijden', *Oud Holland*, 1936, p.120.
2. *Held, Oil Sketches*, pp.428–429.

17. Abraham and Melchizedek (Fig. 31)

Oil on panel (transferred to canvas);
204 × 250 cm.

Caen, *Musée des Beaux-Arts*. Inv. No.172.

PROVENANCE: Purchased for 6000 fl. from the Du Bois family by the dealer Gerard Hoet for Landgraf Wilhelm VIII of Hesse-Kassel in 1749, and came to Kassel on 1 June 1750; Gemäldegalerie, Kassel; in 1806 removed as war booty to France by Denon, Director of the Musée Napoléon; transferred to the Musée de Caen in 1811.

COPIES: (1) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 56 × 70.5 cm. PROV. Sale, London (Sotheby's), 28 July 1976, lot 129, bought by J.M.B. Guttman Galleries, Los Angeles; (2) Anonymous painting, after Witdoeck's engraving, whereabouts unknown; panel, 81 × 63 cm. PROV. Alphonse Kann (Paris) sale, New York, 7 January 1927, lot 74; in 1952 in a private collection, Zürich; (3) Anonymous painting (fragment: the crouching man), whereabouts unknown; canvas, 81 × 62 cm. PROV. Dutartre sale, Paris, 19 March 1804 et seq., lot 46; Prince Auguste d'Arenberg, LIT. C. Spruyt, *Lithographies d'après les principaux tableaux de la collection de S.A.S. Monseigneur le Prince Auguste d'Arenberg, avec le catalogue descriptif*, Brussels, 1829, p.13, No.70; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.265, No.897 (as a study); W. Burger, *Galerie d'Arenberg*, Brussels, 1859, p.77; *Rooses*, IV, p.87, No.857 (as 'une étude'); (4) Anonymous drawing, after Witdoeck's engraving,

whereabouts unknown; pen and brown ink and brown wash, heightened with white body-colour, 290 × 460 mm. PROV. Sale, Amsterdam (De Vries), 26–27 June 1928, lot 247, pl.XIII; (5) Engraving by Hans Witdoeck (in reverse), dated 1638; inscribed: *P. P. Rubens pinxit / H. Witdouc sculp. A° 1638* (left); *Cum privilegijs Regis Christianissimi / Principum Belgarum, et Ord. Bataviae* (right); letter: *Melchisedech Rex salem proferens panem et vinum: erat enim sacerdos Dei altissimi, benedixit ei / Et dixit benedictus Abraam Deo excelso qui creavit Coelum et Terram.* LIT. V.S., p.4, No.22; *Rooses*, I, p.120, under No.100; V, p.146, under No.1339; *Bodart*, p.143, No.305, repr.; *Renger*, p.116, No.80. A model drawing for this engraving in the Albertina, Vienna (No.17b; Fig.33), was retouched by Rubens, as were proofs now in the Hermitage, Leningrad (No.17c; Fig.34), and in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam (No.17d; Fig.35).

EXHIBITED: Brussels, 1910, No.353; Paris, 1977–78, No.120.

LITERATURE: S.Causid, *Verzeichnis der hochfürstlich-Hessischen Gemälde-Sammlung in Cassel*, Kassel, 1783, p.29, No.97; *Smith*, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.110, No.376; G.Mancel, *Notice des tableaux composant le musée de Caen*, Caen, [1851], pp.30, 31, No.84; L.Clément de Ris, *Les Musées de Province*, Paris, I, 1859, pp.157–158; II, 1864, p.112; C.A.von Drach, 'Nachtrag zur Geschichte der Casseler Gemäldegalerie', in O.Eisenmann, *Katalog der königlichen Gemälde-Galerie zu Cassel*, Kassel, 1888, p.LII; C.A.von Drach, 'Briefe des Kunstsammlers Antoine Rutgers an den Landgrafen Wilhelm VIII. von Hessen', *Oud Holland*, VIII, 1890, p.189; *Rooses*, I, pp.119–120, No.100, pl.27 (as *Rubens*, c.1625); III, p.203; IV, p.87, under No.857; V, pp.145–146, 313 (No.120bis); L.Gonse,

Les chefs-d'œuvre des musées de France. La Peinture, I, Paris, 1900, p.92, repr.; R.A.Peltzer, 'Reisebriefe aus französischen Provinzgalerien', *Blätter für Gemäldekunde*, 1912, p.107; G.Menegoz, *Catalogue des tableaux, sculptures, dessins, gravures et aquarelles ... du Musée de Caen*, Caen, 1913, pp.32–33, No.109; K.d.K., p.110 (as *Rubens*, c.1615); L.Burchard, in *Old Master Drawings*, II, 1927, p.39 (as *Rubens*, 1615); *Lugt*, Cat. Louvre, École flamande, II, p.19, under No.1030 (as *Rubens*, c.1615); *Burchard*, 1950, p.59, under No.53 (as *Rubens*, c.1618); *Burchard-Hulst*, *Tekeningen*, pp.62, 63, under Nos.59, 60 (as *Rubens*, c.1615); H.Vogel, *Katalog der Staatlichen Gemäldegalerie zu Kassel*, Kassel, 1958, p.12; *Held*, *Drawings*, pp.109, under No.36, 128, under No.75 (as *Rubens*, c.1615); *Burchard-Hulst*, *Drawings*, pp.151–153, under No.91, 161, under No.96 (as *Rubens*, 1618); *Martin*, *Ceiling Paintings*, pp.64, under No.3, 77, under No.7 (as *Rubens*); E.Herzog, *Die Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Kassel*, Hanau, 1969, pp.21–22 (as *Rubens*); K.Renger, 'Planänderungen in Rubensstichen', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XXXVII, 1974, pp.9–13, fig.5; *De Poorter*, *Eucharist*, pp.284, under No.7, 286, under No.7a (as *Rubens*); *Held*, *Oil Sketches*, pp.30 (under No.4), 40 (under No.8), 145 (under No.92), 315 (under No.228); O.Millar, Cat. Exh. *Van Dyck in England*, London, National Portrait Gallery, 1982–1983, p.43, under No.3.

The scene depicts the meeting of Abraham and the royal high priest Melchizedek, after Abraham's return 'from the slaughter of Chedorlaomer and the kings that were with him, at the valley of Shaveh'. This meeting is described in Genesis 14: 18–20 as follows: 'And Melchizedek, King of Salem, brought forth bread

and wine: and he was the priest of the most high God. And he blessed him, and said, Blessed be Abram of the most high God, possessor of heaven and earth. And blessed be the most high God, which hath delivered thine enemies into thy hand. And [Abraham] gave him tithes of all'.

In the Middle Ages Melchizedek's offering of bread and wine was regarded by theologians as a prefiguration of the Last Supper and the institution of the Eucharist. Typological thinking was still very much alive in the seventeenth century. Typology was used by the Counter-Reformation to defend Catholic views against Protestant attacks. In painting, Melchizedek's offering became one of the most frequent 'types' of the Last Supper. Melchizedek himself prefigures Christ, the royal high priest of the New Covenant.¹ Abraham giving the tithes to Melchizedek prefigures the offerings of the Magi to the infant Christ.²

Melchizedek advances towards Abraham from the right and welcomes him with outstretched arms. He wears a priestly robe with a richly embroidered chasuble over it; on his head is the papal *camauero*, a fur-trimmed red cap, with a laurel wreath around it. Behind him are three dignitaries, one wearing a turban, and beside him are two youths distributing loaves to Abraham's followers. A half-naked man brings forward a basket full of loaves, and another, almost naked, puts a huge wine-jar down on the floor; beside him is a dark-skinned servant holding up Melchizedek's train. Abraham is in armour, with a general's short cloak over it; he is accompanied by two warriors and two youths, one holding his horse. The scene takes place in an architectural setting with Melchizedek emerging from a city gate, temple or palace.

The composition strongly resembles that of the woodcut of the same subject in Tobias Stimmer's *Neue Künstliche Figuren Biblischer Historien*, published at Basle in 1576 (Fig.30).³ Rubens was well acquainted with this Bible picture-book: in his youth he had drawn copies of several figures or groups of figures from it, including the two protagonists of Stimmer's *Abraham and Melchizedek*.⁴ It is thus not surprising that the composition of the painting at Caen broadly reproduces that of Stimmer's model, though in reverse direction. The figure of the laden servant behind Melchizedek also recalls Stimmer. On the other hand, the painting has features in common—as regards the figures, for instance the servant carrying the basket of loaves—with Maarten de Vos's picture of the same subject of 1602, now in the collection of Dr E. Schapiro in London;⁵ it is not impossible that the latter work is also based on Stimmer's woodcut. Naturally, under the influence of models later seen in Italy, Rubens gave the picture an air of its own, distinguished by monumental splendour of forms and colouring.

There is no documentary evidence as to the date or purpose of the painting. In view of the subject, it may well have been intended for a Chapel of the Holy Sacrament in one of the many churches in and around Antwerp. As to the date, Burchard in 1927 placed it around 1615;⁶ later, in 1950⁷ and 1963,⁸ he amended this to c.1618. His reason for so doing was the publication by J. Sthyr in 1936 of a drawing in the Printroom in Copenhagen (No.17a; Fig.32)⁹ which comprised two studies for a St Andrew and also one for the figure of Melchizedek in the Caen painting. Since Sthyr connected the St Andrew studies with the fishmongers' triptych (*The Miraculous Draught of Fishes*)

in the Church of Our-Lady-across-the-Dyle at Malines,¹⁰ and since the latter work was commissioned in February 1618, Burchard concluded that *Abraham and Melchizedek* must have been painted at about the same time. It is, however, possible that the St Andrew studies and the one of Melchizedek were not contemporaneous, especially as the latter, sketched in outline with summarily indicated shadows, is considerably less finished, while the former studies are partly drawn over it. It could in that case be supposed that *Abraham and Melchizedek* was painted before *The Miraculous Draught of Fishes*, i.e. before 1618.¹¹

No compositional sketches for *Abraham and Melchizedek* are known. Burchard¹² believed that in addition to the above-mentioned study for the figure of Melchizedek in the Printroom at Copenhagen, Rubens drew two studies from life for the naked kneeling serving-man on the right of the picture: viz. *A Kneeling Nude Man, seen from behind, setting down a Heavy Chest* in the Louvre, Paris (Fig.36), and *A Kneeling Nude Man, seen partly from behind, setting down a Heavy Load* in the Boymans-van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam (Fig.37).¹³ However, critics no longer believe that these studies were made specially for the Caen painting. It is now agreed¹⁴ that they were drawn in c.1609 for Rubens's *Adoration of the Magi*, now in the Prado in Madrid (Fig.39), in which there is also a similar kneeling servant, and that he re-used the drawing in the Louvre for his *Abraham and Melchizedek*.

Other motifs in *Abraham and Melchizedek* are also based on studies for *The Adoration of the Magi*: for instance, the man with the basket of loaves and the dark-skinned youth behind Melchizedek, who also occurs in the painting in the Prado,

though in a different pose. But Rubens may also have made variants of drawings already to hand, adapting them to the new painting. A copy drawing in the Printroom at Copenhagen (Fig.40),¹⁵ representing the crouching man with the heavy pitcher, may give an idea of such variants. As Müller Hofstede remarked, it cannot be a copy after the painting at Caen: the man's right foot, visible in the painting, is missing, and in its place the man's loincloth trails to the ground. Another drawing in the Copenhagen Printroom (Fig.38),¹⁶ also a copy but by a different hand from the first, is probably also based on a Rubens drawing.

Rubens again treated the theme of the meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek in a ceiling piece for the Jesuit Church at Antwerp in 1620-1621,¹⁷ and also, c.1626-1628, a tapestry of the *Eucharist Series*, a cycle commissioned by the Archduchess Isabella for the Poor Clares' convent of the Descalzas Reales in Madrid.¹⁸ Although the scene was previously often depicted in a landscape, in his three versions Rubens used an architectural setting, with Melchizedek emerging from a city gate, temple or palace.

1. De Poorter, *Eucharist*, pp.191-193, 283.

2. Réau, *Iconographie*, II, 1, pp.128-129.

3. Reprinted by G.Hirth, Munich, 1923; woodcut No.11.

4. K.L.Belkin, in *Cat. Exh. Rubens und Stimmer*, Kunstmuseum, Basle, 1984, p.124, No.102, fig.143.

5. A.Zweite, *Marten de Vos als Maler*, Berlin, 1980, p.320, No.106, fig.135.

6. L.Burchard, in *Old Master Drawings*, II, 1927, p.39.

7. Burchard, 1950, p.59, under No.53.

8. Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, p.161, under No.96.

9. 'Nyerhvervede Rubenstegninger', *Kunstmuseets Aarsskrift*, XXIII, Copenhagen, 1936, pp.54-56, fig. p.55; Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, pp.160-161, No.96, repr. (as c.1614-1618).

10. K.d.K., p.174.

11. Oldenbourg (*K.d.K.*, p.110), later followed by Lugt and Held, believed that *Abraham and Melchizedek* was painted c.1615.

12. Burchard, 1950, loc. cit. Burchard's opinion was

- shared by me in Burchard-d'Hulst, *Tekeningen*, loc. cit. and Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, loc. cit.
13. Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, pp.151-153 (No.91, repr.), 153-155 (No.92, repr.).
14. See *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, p.19, under No.1030; Held, *Drawings*, p.128, under No.75; Held, *Oil Sketches*, p.453, under No.325; J.Müller Hofstede, 'Beiträge zum zeichnerischen Werk von Rubens', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXVII, 1965, p.299; A.-M.Logan, Review of J.Kuznetsov, *Rubens Drawings* (in Russian), in *Master Drawings*, 14, 1976, p.301.
15. Statens Museum for Kunst, Inv. 'Rubens Cantoor', No.I, 9; red chalk, the outlines defined with the pen and brown ink, 220 × 198 mm. Lit. J.Müller Hofstede, op. cit., p.300 n.105.
16. Statens Museum for Kunst, Inv. 'Rubens Cantoor', No.I, 4; black chalk, 101 × 115 mm. Lit. J.Müller Hofstede, op. cit., p.300 n.105.
17. Martin, *Ceiling Paintings*, pp.76-79, No.7, fig.43.
18. De Poorter, *Eucharist*, pp.282-285, No.7, fig.119.

17a. Two Studies for St Andrew and a Study for an Ancient Priest (Melchizedek): Drawing (Fig. 32)

Fully mounted. Buff paper. Black chalk, heightened with white body-colour; 281 × 314 mm.—*Verso*: 'Etude de Rubens pour le tableau d'Eucharistie. Coll. Car^{al} Fesch' inscribed in a modern hand.

Copenhagen, Printroom of the Statens Museum for Kunst. Inv. No.13.235.

PROVENANCE: Purchased at Pierre Dubaut's, Paris, in 1934. Presented by the Ny Carlsberg Foundation.

LITERATURE: J.Sthyr, 'Nyerhvervede Rubenstegninger', *Kunstmuseets Aarskrift*, XIII, Copenhagen, 1936, pp.54-56, repr. p.51; E.Fischer and J.Sthyr, *Seks aarhundreders europæisk tegnekunst, Kobberstiksamlingen*, Copenhagen, 1953, pl.70; Burchard-d'Hulst, *Tekeningen*, p.66, under No.65; Held, *Drawings*, p.109, No.36, pl.37 (as Rubens, c.1614-1617); Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, pp.160, 161, No.96, repr. (as Rubens, 1614-1618).

The drawing was once the right part of a larger sheet; the left part, also in the Printroom, Copenhagen, represents *St John the Evangelist and St Simon*.¹

St Andrew with his X-shaped cross is sketched twice, but in different attitudes and from different angles. In the centre of the sheet is a study for an ancient priest, used for the Melchizedek figure in the painting *Abraham and Melchizedek* in the Museum at Caen (No.17; Fig.31); the figure, sketched in outline with summarily indicated shadows, is considerably less finished than the studies of St Andrew.

A variant of the right-hand sketch, done from life, is in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich.² A third version was formerly in the collection of Mrs G.W. Wrangham.³ As was pointed out by Dobroklonsky,⁴ the ex-Wrangham drawing is a study for the outside of the right wing of *The Miraculous Draught of Fishes* triptych in the Church of Our-Lady-across-the-Dyle at Malines,⁵ commissioned in 1618. The Munich sheet is the earliest; it is followed first by the one in Copenhagen and then by the ex-Wrangham sheet.

Burchard believed these three drawings of St Andrew to be studies for the painting at Malines, and, as the drawings on the present sheet, including the study of Melchizedek, were in his opinion all done at the same time, he concluded that the *Abraham and Melchizedek* at Caen was also painted c.1618. On stylistic grounds we now consider this date somewhat too late. It is possible, however, that the study of Melchizedek was already on this sheet when the two studies of St Andrew were added at a later date (see No.17). In that case we may suppose that the *Abraham and Melchizedek* in Caen was painted earlier than the work at Malines, that is to say before 1618.

The figure of St Andrew occurs—in a pose closest to that on the right of the Copenhagen sheet—as St Paul in the group hovering in the clouds in *The Miracles of St Benedict* in the Brussels Museum,⁶ which was painted at a later date.

1. Inv. No.13.234; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, pp.159–160, No.95, repr.
2. Inv. No.2871; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Tekeningen*, p.66, No.65, pl.XXVII.
3. See K.T.Parker, 'Some Drawings by Rubens and his School in the Collection of Mrs G.W.Wrangham', *Old Master Drawings*, III, 1928, p.2, pl.2.
4. M.Dobroklonsky, 'Einige Rubenszeichnungen in der Ermitage', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, LXIV, 1930–1931, p.32.
5. *K.d.K.*, p.174.
6. *K.d.K.*, p.302; *Vlieghe, Saints*, I, pp.110–115, No.73, fig.125.

17b. Abraham and Melchizedek: Retouched Drawing (Fig. 33)

Black chalk, pen and brown ink and brown wash, heightened with white; 363 × 412 mm. Traced for transfer. Mark of the Albertina (L.174); below on the right, in pen and ink: 63.

Vienna, Albertina. Inv. No.15.015.

PROVENANCE: E.Jabach (Paris, 1610–1695); P.Crozat (Paris, 1665–1740); sale P.Crozat, Paris, 10 April–13 May 1741, lot 816; J.Tonneman (Amsterdam, 1688–1750); sale Tonneman, Amsterdam (dir. Hendrik de Leth), 21 October 1754 et seq., bought by Oudaan for 182 florins.

COPY: Reproduced in facsimile by J.Pilozotti, lithographer in Vienna at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

EXHIBITED: Vienna, Albertina, 1977, No.78.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, I, p.120, under No.100; V, pp.145–146, No.1339, pl.381; H.Knackfuss, *Rubens*, Bielefeld–Leipzig, 1907, p.18, fig.8; L.Hourticq, *Rubens*, Paris, 1924, p.43, repr.; *Muchall–Viebrook*,

p.29, No.11, repr.; K.Renger, 'Planänderungen in Rubensstichen', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XXXVII, 1974, pp.9–13, fig.6; Renger, *Rubens Dedit*, pp.153–156, fig.15; Mitsch, *Rubenszeichnungen*, pp.184–187, No.78, repr. p.187; Bodart, p.143, under No.305; Renger, p.116, under No.80.

This drawing is the model for the engraving after Rubens's painting in Caen (No.17; Fig.31) made by Jan Witdoeck, who worked for Rubens at the end of the 1630s. The print was made in 1638, as shown by the inscription, which reads: *P.P.Rubens pinxit. | H.Witdouc sculp. A° 1638; Melchisedech Rex salem proferens panem et vinum: erat enim sacerdos Dei altissimi, benedixit ei | Et dixit benedictus Abraam Deo excelso qui creavit Coelum et Terram.; Cum privilegiis Regis Christianissimi Principum Belgarum et Ord. Bataviae.*

The composition of the *modelletto*, as compared to the painting, is extended by a narrow strip at the right and at the top. The cut-off figure behind the servants bringing bread and wine is completed, and two new spectators are added; the architecture, which in the painting extends only to where the capitals begin, is surmounted by an attic. These additions were certainly made at Rubens's direction: in keeping with his later style he wished to provide a more spacious setting rather than fill the scene with sculptural forms as in the pictorial version.

The stages of development of this drawing have been well described by Renger. It was first roughed out in black chalk, probably by Witdoeck or someone else in the studio, the new portions being drawn more loosely and tentatively than the rest. In particular the addition to the architecture is weaker, probably because the draughtsman had no model. Then

Rubens retouched, with pen and brown ink, faces and other parts of the figures here and there in the main portion and the right-hand strip; he did not trouble with the upper part of the architecture. He also made small changes in the pose of the man carrying a load, whose left leg he brought closer to the edge of the compositional field, and in the hind legs of the dog, which he brought nearer the centre. The essential differences between the final state of the print and the painting were made on a proof that is now in the Hermitage at Leningrad (No.17c; Fig.34).

**17c. Abraham and Melchizedek:
Retouched Engraving (Fig. 34)**

Black chalk and tip of the brush in brown over a proof of the engraving; 410 × 460 mm. Below on the right, a mark of the Engravings Department of the Hermitage (L.Suppl.2681^a).

Leningrad, Hermitage. Inv. No.135289.

PROVENANCE: A.S.Vlassoff (Moscow, d.1825); acquired from the Prince Galitzin Collection in 1886.

EXHIBITED: *Rubens Drawings in the Museums of the U.S.S.R.* (in Russian), Leningrad-Moscow, [1965], No.39; *Rubens and Flemish Baroque* (in Russian), Leningrad, 1978, No.129.

LITERATURE: M.Dobroklonsky, 'Einige Rubenszeichnungen in der Eremitage', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 1930-1931, 2, p.37; Id., *Rubens Drawings [in the Hermitage]* (in Russian), Moscow-Leningrad, 1940, pp.23-24, No.30, pl.XXVIII; Id., *Drawings of the Flemish School, 17th and 18th centuries [in the Hermitage]* (in Russian), Moscow, 1955, pp.138-139, No.662; J.Kuznetsov, *Rubens Drawings* (in Rus-

sian), Moscow, 1974, No.144, repr.; K.Renger, 'Planänderungen in Rubensstichen', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XXXVII, 1974, pp.9-13, fig.7; Renger, *Rubens Dedit*, pp.153-156, fig.16; A.-M.Logan, Review of J.Kuznetsov, *Rubens Drawings* (in Russian), in *Master Drawings*, 14, 1976, p.301; Renger, p.116, under No.80.

A proof of Jan Witdoeck's engraving after the *modelletto* in the Albertina, Vienna (No.17b; Fig.33). The main figures are already engraved as they appear in Rubens's painting at Caen (No.17; Fig.31); the architecture, the heads of the two spectators directly behind Melchizedek, and the head of the horse behind Abraham, are only sketchily outlined. The two spectators' heads which, in the Vienna drawing, were added at the edge of the scene are here again omitted.

Rubens made substantial changes in two respects. In the first place, he designed a new architectural setting in black chalk: he moved the arch over to the right so as to span the group of Abraham and his followers, while placing beside it on the left a new architecture of massive elements including two columns and a pilaster, projecting and with broad bands of rustication.' The architectural setting thus becomes much more plastic and spacious, and plays a more important part than in the painting. The shifting of the arch to the right practically creates a new composition. The strictly symmetrical layout of the painting, where the spectator's eye is led directly to the offering of the bread and thence, between the groups of figures, to the vista under the arch, is dispensed with. Attention is now directed first and foremost to Abraham, spanned by the arch, who becomes the principal figure in the scene.

Rubens's second basic change, executed with black chalk and the tip of the brush, relates to the figure of the boy with the horse, which he separated slightly from Abraham and his followers so as to create more space at the edge of the sheet and give the group more importance.² At the same time he sketched in the low-lying landscape that extends behind the group. He made some further corrections in a second proof, now in the Rijksprentenkabinet in Amsterdam (No.17d; Fig.35).

1. For this new architectural setting Rubens chose a model that was close at hand—the portico of his own house in Antwerp.
2. A.-M. Logan (*loc. cit.*) considers that the architectural background and the boy with the horse are too much worked up and show no *pentimenti*, and cannot therefore be by Rubens's hand.

**17d. Abraham and Melchizedek:
Retouched Engraving (Fig. 35)**

Pen and brown ink and brown wash, heightened with white body-colour and a little white oil-paint over a proof of the engraving; 410 × 450 mm.—*Verso*: mark of the Royal Library, The Hague (L.240).

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

PROVENANCE: Library of the Prince of Orange, abandoned by him, and renamed in 1799 the National Library, later the Royal Library under Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland, 1806–1810.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, I, p.120, under No.100; *K. Renger*, 'Planänderungen in Rubensstichen', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XXXVII, 1974, pp.9–13, fig.8; *Renger*, *Rubens Dedit*, pp.153–156, fig.17; *Renger*, p.116, under No.80; *Bodart*, p.143, under No.305; *I. Pohlen*, *Untersuchungen*

für Reproduktionsgraphik der Rubenswerkstatt, Munich, 1985, pp.294–296, No.55, repr.

A proof of Jan Witdoeck's engraving after Rubens's painting at Caen (No.17; Fig.31), executed from a *modelletto* in the Albertina, Vienna (No.17b; Fig.33), followed by a proof in the Hermitage in Leningrad (No.17c; Fig.34).

The Amsterdam proof shows the final state of the engraving in its essential features. Compared with the previous corrected proof it varies in one main respect: the spectator behind the man with the basket of loaves has disappeared, and in his place only cross-hatchings are to be seen. Rubens must have given oral instructions for this change, unless he did so in an earlier, lost proof.

Apart from this he made only a few small corrections to the proof: he enlarged the laurel wreath around Melchizedek's head, added a decorative element to the helmet of one of Abraham's followers, and clarified the outline between Abraham's cloak and the horse's head. He also touched up some faces, hands and other bodily parts with pen and brown ink: Abraham's beard, arms and legs, the beard of the warrior next to him, Melchizedek's hands and the faces of his attendants, the muscles of the crouching servant, and the foot of the page-boy leading the horse. He used the brush and brown ink especially for shaded parts, such as the page's face, the dog, the ornaments of Melchizedek's cloak, and the ceremonial vase, adding white body colour here and there and sometimes also a little white oil paint. He used body colour alone to retouch certain garments, the nude bodies, the loaves in the basket on the ground, the pilaster behind the man with the

load, and the rusticated bands, all for the purpose of accentuating the chiaroscuro and the sculptural effect.

All these changes in the *modelletto* and the two proofs testify to the extreme care that Rubens bestowed on the preparation of this print.

18. The Finding of Moses: Drawing (Fig. 45)

Pen and brown ink and brown wash; 168 × 290 mm.—*Verso*: above on the right, mark of the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main (L.2356).

Frankfurt am Main, Städelsches Kunstinstitut. Inv. No.2991.

PROVENANCE: Probably in the estate of Arnoud de Lange, sold at Amsterdam, 12 December 1803 et seq. (*Lugt, Répertoire*, 6718), *Kunstboek G*, No.16: 'De Vinding van Moses, meesterlyk met de pen en roet gewasschen, door P.P. Rubbens | f.3.15 Gruiter' (De Gruyter). In the Städelsches Kunstinstitut as early as 1862.

LITERATURE: *Stift und Feder*, 1927, No.21 (as Cornelis Schut); *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, pp.76–78, No.44v, repr. (as Rubens); M. Jaffé, 'Unpublished Drawings by Rubens in French Museums', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Sixth Series, LXVI, 1965, pp.178, 180 (as Rubens); *Bernhard*, p.236, repr.

On the banks of the Nile, Pharaoh's daughter and her attendants find the infant Moses, who has been abandoned by his Hebrew mother Jochebed in a basket by the riverside (Exodus 2: 1–10). See also No.19.

The rescue of Moses from the water was regarded as typology for the escape

of the child Jesus from the Massacre of the Innocents.¹

The pyramidal composition shows Pharaoh's daughter standing in the centre surrounded by six of her attendants, two of whom present the infant Moses to her. Pharaoh's daughter and the attendant immediately to her right are repeated in variant attitudes on the right of the sheet.

The composition is related to that of Veronese's picture of the same subject in the Prado, Madrid,² while some of the figures recall attitudes in Raphael's *Finding of Moses*, a painting which decorates one of the loggias in the Vatican.³ As in that work, Pharaoh's daughter holds her right arm over her breast, while the pose of her head, torso and left arm correspond to those of the woman standing on the extreme left of Raphael's composition; in the drawing as in the fresco, one of the women rests her arm on her companion's flank.

On the *verso* of the sheet is a drawing of St Christopher,⁴ a study for *St Christopher and the Hermit*,⁵ the painting on the outside of *The Descent from the Cross* in Antwerp Cathedral. This drawing was very probably executed c.1613–1614, and from the point of view of style there is no reason to suppose that *The Finding of Moses* is not of the same date.

No painting based on this drawing is known. The inventory, dated 16 October 1686, of acquisitions by Alexander Voet since 17 November 1685 mentions 'een stuccken van Rubbens, Moises Vindinghe'.⁶

1. Réau, *Iconographie*, II, 1, p.181.

2. T. Pignatti, *Veronese*, Venice, 1977, p.146, No.240, fig.560.

3. K.d.K., *Raffaël*, 1919, p.181; L. Dussler, *Raphael*, London–New York, 1971, p.89, fig.151.

4. Pen and brown ink and brown wash; 200 × 168 mm. See *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, pp.76–77, No.44r, repr.

5. F. Baudouin, *P.P. Rubens*, Antwerp, 1977, pp.80–87, Fig.56.
6. Denucé, *Konstkamers*, p.319.

19. Moses Adopted by Pharaoh's Daughter (Fig. 46)

Oil on canvas, 119 × 157.5 cm.
Geneva, Collection of M. Jean P. François.

PROVENANCE: ?S. Woodburn (London, 1786–1853), sale, London (Christie's), 17 May 1854, lot 210 (as *Rubens School*); William Angerstein (1857); Anderson Collection; Sir Frederick Cook, Doughty House, Richmond, Surrey; Sir Herbert Cook, Doughty House, Richmond, Surrey; Sir Francis Cook; W. Hallsborough Gallery, London (1959).

COPIES: (1) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 108 × 175 cm. PROV. Starnberg am See (near Munich), Dr R. Paulus, 1936; (2) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; copper, 43 × 59 cm. PROV. Ooms sale, Antwerp, 1922, lot 126; J. De Winter sale, Brussels (Giroux), 12 March 1928, lot 144, repr.; Lenzburg (Switzerland), E. Eich (1938); (3) Anonymous painting, Stockholm, University Collection; panel, 41 × 32 cm. LIT. *Catalogue of the Stockholm University Collection of Paintings*, Uppsala, 1978, No.131 (as *Artus Wolfaerts*).

EXHIBITED: *Art Treasures of the United Kingdom*, Manchester, 1857, definitive catalogue, No.576; *P.P. Rubens*, Tokyo–Yamaguchi–Tsu–Kyoto, 1985–1986, No.56.

LITERATURE: G.F. Waagen noted in his copy of the provisional catalogue of the exhibition *Art Treasures of the United Kingdom*, Manchester, 1857 (Library of the Berlin Museum): 'zu schwach. Schule'; A. Lavice, *Revue des Musées d'Angleterre*,

Paris, 1867, p.130 (as *Rubens*); W. Bürger, *Trésors d'Art en Angleterre*, Paris, 1869, p.194 (as *Rubens*); Rooses, IV, p.173; *Abridged Catalogue of the Pictures at Doughty House, Richmond*, London, 1903, p.38, No.220 (as *Rubens*); J.O. Kronig, *A Catalogue of the Paintings at Doughty House, Richmond and elsewhere in the Collection of Sir Frederick Cook*, II, London, 1914, No.336 (as *School Work*); *Abridged Catalogue of the Pictures at Doughty House, Richmond, Surrey, in the Collection of Sir Herbert Cook*, London, 1932, p.48, No.336 (as *School of Rubens*); Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, pp.77–78, under No.44, 164, under No.99 (as *Rubens*); Mitsch, *Rubenszeichnungen*, p.62, under No.26; [D. Bodart], *Cat. Exh. P.P. Rubens*, Tokyo–Yamaguchi–Tsu–Kyoto, 1985–1986, p.52, No.56, repr.

The infant Moses lies asleep in an osier cradle. At the foot of the cradle, on the left, kneels the daughter of Pharaoh, in a rich dress; beside her stands the child's sister Miriam, slightly bent forward. At the head of the cradle, supporting one arm on the hood, stands Jochebed, with one breast bared, whom Pharaoh's daughter—not knowing that she is the child's mother—has just appointed to act as a wet-nurse to the foundling. The scene is set in the foreground of a landscape with big trees on the left in the near distance; a row of tall trees in the middle ground gives way to glimpses of open space in the far distance. On the right, part of a house (Pharaoh's palace) with an arched gate. The painting illustrates Exodus 2: 9, 'And Pharaoh's daughter said unto her, Take this child away, and nurse it for me, and I will give thee thy wages. And the woman took the child, and nursed it'.

According to Pharaoh's edict (Exodus

1: 22), all new-born male Hebrew children were to be cast into the Nile. Therefore when Moses was born, his mother Jochebed, the wife of Amram, hid the child for three months in her house. When she could not hide him any longer, she put him in a basket and placed it among the reeds on the river-bank, telling her daughter Miriam to stay and see what happened. When Pharaoh's daughter came to the river to bathe, she found the child and took pity on it. Miriam then stepped forward and asked: 'Shall I go and call thee a nurse of the Hebrew women, that she may nurse the child for thee?' The princess bade her go, and the child's mother was called (Exodus 2).

This painting includes various motifs that occur in compositions and studies by Rubens. The following should be mentioned: (1) The wicker cradle and the lower part of the infant Moses are based on the cradle with the child Jesus in *The Holy Family* of c.1618–1619, Palazzo Pitti, Florence.¹ The figure of the child harks back to Michelangelo's *Sleeping Cupid*, a sculpture that was in Mantua during Rubens's stay in Italy.² (2) The kneeling figure of Pharaoh's daughter is based on a study drawing now in the Albertina, Vienna,³ of a kneeling woman, who is already found in *Achilles among the Daughters of Lycomedes* (c.1615–1617) in the Prado, Madrid.⁴ There, with a female companion, she forms a group very similar to that of Pharaoh's daughter and Miriam. (3) The figure of Miriam itself is, broadly speaking, a repetition in reverse of St Margaret in *The Mystic Marriage of St Catherine* (1633) in the Toledo museum.⁵ (4) Moses' mother, at the head of the cradle, is related to the lady standing in the middle of *The Garden of Love* (c.1630–1635) in the James A. de Rothschild Collection, Waddesdon Manor.⁶ (5) The land-

scape is conceived in Rubens's late style, comparable with the landscapes of the Torre de la Parada series (1636–1638)⁷ or *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (c.1636) in the Prado, Madrid.⁸ The trees in the near distance are depicted only with their twisted, heavy trunks without showing the upper leafy crown, and only in the middle and far distance are whole trees to be seen; light, tall and thin, they contrast with the few heavy dark tree-trunks in the foreground.

The introduction of details from paintings dating from the last years of Rubens's career suggests a similar date for the present painting. For many years it was not to be seen, and it escaped the attention of art historians until, in 1958, Burchard had an opportunity of inspecting it in London. He decided that it was by Rubens's own hand, partly on account of several *pentimenti*. To mention only two: the painter at first apparently intended the dress of the kneeling princess to be a long caftan, which he then altered into a jacket; the edge of the caftan can still be seen below the jacket, passing across the thighs. Secondly, Miriam was at first conceived further left and running towards the centre, on return from her mission to find the nurse; a foot of this earlier Miriam is still visible near the left lower edge of the painting.

By the kindness of its present owner, I was able to see the painting for the first time in 1986. It makes a somewhat unfavourable impression. The squat figures are unconvincing anatomically and lack the nobility that distinguishes even Rubens's most intimate scenes; the colouring is unpleasant, and both the landscape and the architecture are executed with an uncertain hand. In addition the canvas shows a good deal of wear, and has been rather clumsily restored in places. All this

makes it difficult to accept as a work by Rubens's own hand.

In the T. Loridon de Ghellinck Collection in Ghent there was, c.1790, a 'Moïse tiré du Nil' (painted on a single board, 43.5 × 59.5 cm.), the subject and composition of which, according to the description, agreed completely with those of the present painting.⁹ Being of outstanding quality it was listed in the catalogue as by Rubens, and it may perhaps have been the original *modello*.

Mention should be made of a painting by Cornelis de Vos which was in the Charles Dufour collection at Herentals in 1944 and was published by Edith Greindl as 'La Découverte de Moïse'.¹⁰ This is in fact a *Moses Adopted by Pharaoh's Daughter*, the composition of which is unthinkable without previous knowledge of a work by Rubens of the same title, now lost. Moreover the princess's palace is in typical Rubensian style.

1. K.d.K., p.99.
2. C. de Tolnay, *The Youth of Michelangelo*, I, Princeton, 1943, pp.201-203, figs.167, 168.
3. Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, p.164, No.99, repr.; Mitsch, *Rubenszeichnungen*, p.62, No.26, repr.
4. K.d.K., p.130; Díaz Padrón, *Cat. Prado*, pp.317-320, No.1661, fig.201.
5. K.d.K., p.343.
6. K.d.K., p.349.
7. Alpers, *Torre*, figs.71, 81, 141, 190.
8. K.d.K., p.345; Díaz Padrón, *Cat. Prado*, p.231, No.1640, fig.164.
9. *Catalogue d'une très belle et riche collection de tableaux ... qui composent le cabinet de Monsieur T. Loridon de Ghellinck demeurant dans le Quaetdam à Gand. A Gand [c.1790], chez la veuve S.Somers, au Salamandre...* '471. Pierre Paul Rubens: Moïse tiré du Nil. Peint sur bois d'une seule planche, haut 16, large 22 pouces [pouces de Gand]. La scène représente un charmant paysage, où à la droite [droite liturgique] on voit quelques arbres, à la gauche un bâtiment; et au milieu est une perspective avec des arbres; tout sur le devant, on voit la fille de Pharaon habillée d'un casaquin blanc, et d'une jupe glacée de pourpre, qui se baisse, et regarde avec un grand ravissement le petit Moïse, qui est couché dans un berceau et dort tranquillement, il tient les deux mains élevées au-dessus de sa tête,

et il est couché sur une draperie rouge; près d'elle est la mère de Moïse, qui se présente pour être la nourrice de cet enfant; à la tête du berceau est une compagne de la Princesse, qui regarde avec pitié le triste sort de cet infortuné qu'on vient d'arracher à la mort: le groupe de ces quatre figures est admirable, il est composé avec tout l'art possible, la carnation est belle et agréable, et le tout ensemble est délicieux, il mérite de l'admiration, et les plus grands éloges' (471. *Peter Paul Rubens, The Finding of Moses*. Painted on a single board, height 16 inches, width 22 inches [Ghent measure]. The scene represents a charming landscape: to the right [the spectator's left] are some trees, to the left a building; in the centre, a vista of trees. In the foreground Pharaoh's daughter, in a white upper garment and a glossy purple skirt, leans over and looks delightedly at the infant Moses, lying in a cradle and sleeping soundly; the child's two hands are raised above his head, and underneath him is a red drapery. Next to the princess is Moses' mother, offering her services as nurse to the child; at the head of the cradle, one of the princess's attendants contemplates with pity the sad fate of the infant rescued from death. This group of four figures is admirable, composed with the greatest skill; the flesh tints are pleasant and beautiful and the whole work is delightful, deserving admiration and the highest praise.) A copy of this catalogue is in the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague.

10. E. Greindl, *Cornelis de Vos*, Brussels, 1944, pp.38, 118-119, pl.82.

20. Moses, Aaron and Miriam with other Women Celebrate the Crossing of the Red Sea (Figs. 47, 48)

In the course of time this panel painting was divided in two. The left half measures 54.5 × 40.5 cm.; the right half, cut down on all four sides, is 47.5 × 37 cm.

Left half: Geneva, Collection of M. Jean P. François (Fig.47); *right half:* Graz, *Alte Galerie am Landesmuseum Joanneum*. Inv. No.86 (Fig.48).

PROVENANCE: (1) Left half: Col. T. Hudson, London; sale, London (Christie's), 12 February 1954, lot 141; W.Hallsborough Ltd, London (1955); (2) Right half: bequeathed to the Joanneum by Mrs Julie von Benedek in 1895.

COPIES: (1) Anonymous painting, Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle, Inv. No.1886 (Fig.49); panel, 57.5 × 79 cm. PROV. Acquired from the collection of Conte Lucchesi by the Gallery in Schloss Mannheim, in 1803 (Cat. 1914, No.229, as 'Kopie nach Rubens'), and taken over by Karlsruhe in 1937. EXH. Graz, Alte Galerie am Landesmuseum Joanneum, *Original und Kopie*, 1967–1968, No.9a, fig.8 (as 'zeitgenössische Kopie'). LIT. Parthey, *Bildersaal*, II, p.416, No.5 (as *Rubens*); J.Lauts, *Katalog Alte Meister, Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe*, Karlsruhe, 1966, p.261, No.1886, repr. (as 'Kopie nach Rubens'); M.Jaffé, 'Rediscovered Oil Sketches by Rubens', *Burlington Magazine*, CXI, 1969, p.534, fig.9 (as *Rubens*); J.-P.De Bruyn, 'Werk van Erasmus II Quellinus, verkeerdelijk toegeschreven aan P.P.Rubens', *Jaarboek Museum Antwerpen*, 1977, pp.312–315, fig.16 (as *Erasmus II Quellinus*); Held, *Oil Sketches*, p.634, No.A19, fig.489 (as *not executed and designed by Rubens*); (2) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 38 × 57 cm. PROV. Sale, London (Sotheby's), 8 November 1978, lot 32 (as *Willem van Herp*).

EXHIBITED: Right half: *Original und Kopie*, Graz, Alte Galerie am Landesmuseum Joanneum, 1967–1968, No.9.

LITERATURE: W.Suida, *Die Landesbildergalerie und Skulpturensammlung in Graz*, Vienna, 1923, p.56, No.135; J.Lauts, *Katalog der Alten Meister, Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe*, Karlsruhe, 1966, p.261, No.1886, repr. (as 'Kopie nach Rubens'); M.Jaffé, 'Rediscovered Oil Sketches by Rubens', *Burlington Magazine*, CXI, 1969, p.534 n.62; J.-P.De Bruyn, 'Werk van Erasmus II Quellinus, verkeerdelijk toegeschreven aan P.P.Rubens', *Jaarboek Museum Antwerpen*, 1977, pp.311–312; Held, *Oil Sketches*, p.634, under No.A19; M.Jaffé,

Review of Held, *Oil Sketches*, in *Apollo*, CXV, 239, 1982, p.62 (as *Rubens*).

At dawn, when the waters of the Red Sea closed and swallowed up Pharaoh's army, Moses and the children of Israel sang songs of praise to the Lord (Exodus 15: 1–19). Miriam, the sister of Moses and Aaron, took a timbrel, and all the women followed her with timbrels and with dances, joining in the song of triumph (Exodus 15: 20–21).

The painting, originally consisting of the two parts now separated, shows Moses on the left, with his arms raised to heaven and a rod in his right hand, accompanied by his elder brother Aaron. In the centre, Miriam and two other women are dancing with timbrels and castanets; on the right, three women make music for the dancers. In the background, Pharaoh's army drowns in the Red Sea. Pharaoh, in a chariot drawn by two horses, raises his right hand in a desperate, helpless gesture; beside him, one of his generals attempts to flee. The threatening, stormy sky is pierced by lurid rays and rent by flashes of lightning.

As Jaffé observed, the composition is largely based on a work in the style of Raphael, *Moses Instructing the Israelites in the Gathering of Manna*. According to Lugt, the young Rubens during his stay in Italy made a careful copy drawing of this work, which is now in the Louvre in Paris.¹

Burchard, who knew only the left half of the painting, believed it to be by Rubens's own hand—perhaps a *modello* for a life-size tapestry—and dated it c.1616.² Since Lauts identified the fragment at Graz (there attributed to Erasmus Quellinus, and published by Suida) as the other half, Burchard's attribution can no longer be maintained. The fragment at Graz is

of manifestly inferior quality, which also places the left half in a different light.

Contrary to Burchard and Lauts, Jaffé is of the opinion that the painting at Karlsruhe (Fig.49) is not a copy but is the original *modello* by Rubens. Although it is harshly overcleaned, he considers that 'the best preserved passages are firm marks of his [Rubens's] distinctive touch: the lute itself, and the silks of the lutanist in their *changeant* colours; the hands of the flautist; the head of Moses; the figure of Aaron; and the right hand of the woman whose back is towards us'. However, I cannot perceive this Rubensian quality either in the work at Karlsruhe or in *David with the Head of Goliath Met by the Women of Israel*, The Kimbell Foundation, Fort Worth, Texas,³ a painting which Jaffé associates with it and ascribes to Rubens likewise.

With the present painting—which appears to me of better quality than the Karlsruhe version—and with that at Fort Worth may be grouped a *David Playing the Harp to Cure Saul's Melancholy*, Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest,⁴ which I consider to be by the same hand: not Rubens but some other, as yet unidentified, Flemish painter (see also No.38). It may be noted that the dimensions of these three paintings are almost identical. See also No.21.

1. Inv. No.20.292. Pen in brown and brown wash, heightened with oil; 235 × 401 mm.; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, p.22, No.1038, pl.XLV.

2. This appears from a letter by Burchard to William Hallsborough Ltd, London, on 19 July 1955.

3. Panel, 57.5 × 78.9 cm. See M.Jaffé, 1969, op. cit., pp.534–537, fig.10; J.-P. De Bruyn, op. cit., p.13, fig.17 (as *Erasmus II Quellinus*); M.Jaffé, Review of *Held, Oil Sketches*, in *Apollo*, CXV, 239, 1982, p.62 (as *Rubens*).

4. Panel, 58 × 79.5 cm. See J.-P. De Bruyn, op. cit., pp.314–315, fig.19 (as *Erasmus II Quellinus*).

21. Moses: Drawing (Fig.50)

Made up at the upper left. Red chalk, slightly heightened with white, on buff paper; 330 × 200 mm.; below on the right, marks of the collection of J. Richardson Senior (L.2184) and W. Mayor (L.2799).

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: J. Richardson Senior (London, 1665–1745); W. Mayor (London, d.1874); sale, Amsterdam (F. Müller), 27–28 May 1913, lot 187; Bellingham–Smith sale, Amsterdam (A.W.M. Mensing), 5–6 July 1927, lot 290 (repr.), described as 'Étude d'une figure d'Apôtre', and bought by Rhodius, Amsterdam; sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby's), 2 November 1987, lot 47 (repr.).

EXHIBITED: London, Dowdeswell Galleries, 1912, No.76.

LITERATURE: M.Jaffé, 'Rediscovered Oil Sketches by Rubens—II', *Burlington Magazine*, CXI, 1969, p.534 n.62, fig.11 (as *Rubens*); *Held, Oil Sketches*, p.634, No.A19, fig.489 (as *Rubens*); M.Jaffé, Review of *Held, Oil Sketches*, in *Apollo*, CXV, 239, 1982, p.62 (as *Rubens*).

A study of a venerable bearded and draped man, holding a rod in his right hand; presumably for a Moses.

This figure does not appear literally in any work by Rubens. It might be expected in a scene such as *Moses Striking Water out of the Rock*, but Rubens is not known to have painted such a work. In his two versions of the Brazen Serpent theme, one in the Courtauld Institute of Art Galleries (No.23; Fig.53) and the other in the National Gallery, London (No.24; Fig.55), Moses' attitude is quite different.

The closest resemblance to this drawing is in *The Gathering of the Manna*, a tapestry in the Eucharist series in the Convent of the Descalzas Reales in Madrid,¹ though the pose of the arms is not the same. The figure of Elijah in the tapestry *Elijah and the Angel*² in the same series also bears some resemblance to this drawing.

Jaffé believes that this study is connected with the figure of Moses in *Moses, Aaron and Miriam with other Women Celebrate the Crossing of the Red Sea* at Karlsruhe (see under No.20; Fig.49), although it shows a different position of the left arm and a different tilt of the head. He considers that the drawing may be a revision of the Moses figure projected in that painting. But it is hard to see a direct connection between the resilient, three-dimensional figure in the drawing and the stiff, heavy portrayal of Moses in the painting.

1. *De Poorter, Eucharist*, pp.294-296, fig.132.

2. *Ibid.*, pp.300-303, fig.137.

22. Men and Women Attacked by Serpents: Drawing (Fig.52)

Black chalk with pen and brown, and brown and grey wash, heightened with white body-colour; part of the drawing is on a mosaic of pieces of paper that have been pasted on to the main sheet; 385 × 596 mm.

London, British Museum.

Inv. No.1895-9-15-1055.

PROVENANCE: W.Young Ottley (London, 1771-1836); T.Lawrence (London, 1769-1830); Willem II, King of Holland; G.Leembruggen (Hillegom, Holland, 1801-1865), sale, Amsterdam, 5 March 1866 et seq.; J.Malcolm (Poltalloch, Argyllshire, Scotland, and London, 1805-

1893), whose collection was purchased by the British Museum in 1895.

COPY: Anonymous drawing, Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana; black, yellow and white chalk, bistre wash, 423 × 630 mm. PROV. Padre Sebastiano Resta (Rome, seventeenth century). LIT. *Fubini-Held*, pp.125-127, fig.2.

EXHIBITED: The Grosvenor Gallery, London, Winter 1877-1878, No.927; London, 1977, No.16.

LITERATURE: J.C.Robinson, *Descriptive Catalogue of Drawings by the Old Masters, forming the Collection of John Malcolm of Poltalloch*, London, 1869, p.203, No.585 (as *Rubens*); *Rooses*, V, p.225, No.1424 (as *Rubens*); *Hind, Rubens*, p.7, No.4 (as *Rubens*); M.Delacre, *Le dessin dans l'œuvre de Van Dyck*, Brussels, 1934, pp.39-40, fig.16 (as *Rubens*); U.Hoff, *Old Master Drawings*, XIII, 1938, pp.14-16, pl.14 (as *Rubens*); A.E.Popham, *A Handbook to the Drawings of the British Museum*, London, 1939, p.63 n.1 (as *Rubens*); C.de Tolnay, *The Sistine Ceiling*, Princeton, 1945, p.183 (as *Rubens*); *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, p.313, under No.195 (as *Rubens*); *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p.21, fig.25 (as *Rubens*); [J.Rowlands], *Cat. Exh. London, 1977*, p.31, No.16, fig.16 (as *Rubens, shortly after his return from Italy*).

A group of eight men and women are attacked by serpents. In front, four men are lying on the ground and another, standing on the left, is still struggling with a serpent. In the background, an old man and two women with terrified expressions.

The drawing is made up of figures derived from the right-hand side of Michelangelo's *Brazen Serpent* (cf. Numbers 21: 4-9), which decorates a corner spandrel

of the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican, Rome (Fig. 51).¹ The man striding towards the spectator, and another falling backwards, with a snake hissing into his face, are easily identified therein. The foreshortened figure in the foreground is more extended and is turned more to the left than in Michelangelo's work. The head of the man in the centre of the sheet corresponds to that of the man climbing in the foreground of the fresco. The woman with raised arms, and the two heads to the right of her, are in the background of the fresco; the man with his head in the serpent's jaws is in the fresco on the extreme right. Rubens took over the poses of these figures, but rearranged them to a great extent. He resolved Michelangelo's tangle of limbs, isolating the figures by leaving more distance between them and by modelling them with more pronounced chiaroscuro.

Men and Women Attacked by Serpents furnishes an example of Rubens's technique of cutting a drawing—in this case a copy, apparently by another hand, of Michelangelo's fresco—into fragments which he could rearrange and retouch. Later he proceeded in the same way with *The Beheading of St Paul*, a sheet also in the British Museum.²

Michelangelo was clearly inspired by the figures wrestling with snakes in the *Laocoon*, a Hellenistic sculptural group which was excavated in Rome in 1506³ and placed in the Vatican by Michelangelo's patron, Julius II. Rubens's admiration for Michelangelo's figures in *The Brazen Serpent* is not surprising, as he himself was interested by the *Laocoon*. This appears from drawings made in Rome, in which he copied the whole group or parts of it,⁴ and from the way in which he afterwards used these for his paintings.

Two paintings of *The Brazen Serpent* by Rubens are known. The first, in the Courtauld Institute of Art Galleries, Princess Gate Collection, London (No. 23; Fig. 53), was executed in Antwerp, c. 1609–1610, shortly after his return from Italy; the other, in the National Gallery, London (No. 24; Fig. 55), dates from the 1630s. The drawing has nothing in common with the latter as regards composition and motifs, and its style does not admit of so late a date. In the painting in the Courtauld Institute, on the other hand, the man striding towards the spectator on the left appears in the same place, though in reverse. (In some other respects that painting is more directly connected with Michelangelo's fresco than with the drawing). Thus Rubens seems to have had the drawing in mind when he painted that early version of *The Brazen Serpent*.

The head and torso of the man falling backwards in the right foreground may be compared with those of the executioner supporting the cross, below right, in *The Raising of the Cross*, painted in 1610–1611 for St Walburga's Church in Antwerp and now in the cathedral there,⁵ and also with the nude seen from behind in the *Tiger, Lion and Leopard Hunt*, 1616–1617, bought from Rubens by Duke Maximilian I of Bavaria and now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts at Rennes.⁶

1. C. de Tolnay, op. cit., pp. 182–183, fig. 132.
2. Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, No. 195, repr.
3. M. Bieber, *Laocoon, The Influence of the Group since its Rediscovery*, New York, 1942, p. 1, fig. 1.
4. The following drawings by Rubens after the *Laocoon* are known: *Torso of Laocoon*, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen (Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, pp. 31–33, No. 15, repr.); *Laocoon and his Sons, Laocoon, from the Back, The Younger Son of Laocoon, The Younger Son of Laocoon, from the Back*, Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana (Fubini-Held, pp. 125–134, pls. 1–4).
5. K. d. K., p. 36.
6. Balis, *Hunting Scenes*, pp. 133–146, No. 7, fig. 57.

23. The Brazen Serpent (Fig. 53)

Oil on panel; 159 × 144 cm.

London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Princes Gate Collection.

PROVENANCE: Rotterdam, art dealer Quirijn van Biesum, where it was seen by Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach in 1710; Jaques Meyers (Rotterdam, d.1721), sale, Rotterdam, 9 September 1722, lot 74; General Crewe, sale, London, 14–16 July 1810, lot 122, purchased by Lord Yarborough; Sir Herbert Cook, Bart., Richmond; Count Antoine Seilern (London, 1901–1978), who bequeathed the painting to the Courtauld Institute.

COPY: The inventory, dated 17 February 1617, of the estate of Frans Francken the Elder, who died at Antwerp in 1616, included 'een Serpentbijtinge, ghemaect naer Rubens' (S.A.A., *Protocollen notaris H. van Cantelbeeck, 1617*, under the date 17 February 1617, not paginated); *Van den Branden, Schilderschool*, pp.349–351; *Duverger, Antwerpse kunstinventarissen*, 1, 1, p.390).

EXHIBITED: *Van Dyck Tentoonstelling*, Antwerp, 1899, No.1; *Seventeenth Century Art in Europe*, Royal Academy, London, 1938, No.76; *The Princes Gate Collection*, Courtauld Institute Galleries, London, 1981, No.61.

LITERATURE: Z. C. von Uffenbach, *Merkwürdige Reisen*, Ulm, 1754, p.331 (as Rubens); C. Phillips, 'The Van Dyck Exhibition at Antwerp', *The Nineteenth Century*, November 1899, p.742 (as Van Dyck, with a share by one of his pupils); A. Bredius, *De Nederlandsche Spectator*, 1899, p.299; K.d.K., *Van Dyck*, 1909, p.23 (as Van Dyck); Sir Herbert Cook, *A Catalogue of the Paintings at Doughty House*, Richmond, II, 1914, p.30,

No.246, repr. (as Van Dyck); Oldenbourg, *Rubens*, p.63 (as Van Dyck); M.W. Brockwell, *Abridged Catalogue of the pictures at Doughty House*, London, 1932, p.35, No.246; Glück, *Rubens, Van Dyck*, pp.24, 26, 74, 75, 376, fig.19 (as Rubens); M. Delacre, *Le Dessin dans l'Œuvre de Van Dyck*, Brussels, 1934, p.21ff., repr. (as 'École de Rubens'); G. Glück, in *Thieme-Becker*, XXIX, 1935, p.141 (as Rubens, 1608–1614); U. Hoff, *Old Master Drawings*, XIII, 1938, pp.15–16, fig.3 (as Rubens); Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, p.212 n.48 (as Rubens); Seilern, *Flemish Paintings*, p.27, No.15, pls.XXXIV–XXXVIII (as Rubens, c.1609–1610); C. Norris, 'Count Seilern's Flemish Paintings and Drawings, The Paintings', *Burlington Magazine*, XCVII, 1955, p.397 (as Rubens, c.1610); H. Vey, 'De tekeningen van Anthonie van Dyck in het Museum Boymans', I, *Bulletin Museum Boymans*, Rotterdam, VII, 2, 1956, p.45 (as Rubens); Id., *Van Dyck Studien*, Inaugural Dissertation, Cologne, [1958], pp.154, 172 n.1 (as Rubens); M. Jaffé, 'Rubens in Italy: Rediscovered Works', *Burlington Magazine*, C, 1958, p.419 (as Rubens, c.1609–1610); Held, *Drawings*, pp.94, under No.4, 119, under No.56 (as Rubens); Gerson-ter Kuile, p.80 (as Rubens); H. Vey, *Die Zeichnungen Anton Van Dycks*, Brussels, 1962, pp.82, under No.10, 112, under No.42, 115, under No.44 (as Rubens, c.1610); C. Norris, 'Rubens' Adoration of the Kings of 1609', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, XIV, 1963, p.136 n.22 (as Rubens); J. Müller Hofstede, 'Beiträge zum zeichnerischen Werk von Rubens', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXVII, 1965, p.298 (as Rubens, c.1609–1610); Seilern, *Corrigenda and Addenda*, p.23, No.15; Martin, *Cat. National Gallery*, p.134; J. G. van Gelder, 'Het Kabinet van de heer Jaques Meyers', *Rotterdams Jaarboekje*, 1974, p.175 (as Rubens); *Cat. Exh. The Princes Gate Collection*, Courtauld Institute

Galleries, London, 1981, pp.40–42, No.61, repr.

The panel was rectangular from the outset (the joins of the vertical planks can be clearly seen), but the picture was originally planned with a semicircular upper part (Fig.54). Rubens changed it subsequently into a rectangle and added two strips at either side. Differences in the texture of the paint between the original and the added pieces make these alterations easily discernible. The decision to alter the format must have been a hasty, last-minute one, as the composition was clearly designed to fit the original panel: the effect now is not entirely satisfactory. The sky, and a strip alongside the pole on which the serpent is raised are largely overpainted by an unknown hand.

The episode of the Brazen Serpent relates to one of the frequent rebellions of the discontented Israelites against the authority of Moses and Aaron. To subdue them and as a punishment for their blasphemous murmuring, Yahveh sent poisonous snakes among them. When they acknowledged their sin, Moses interceded for them and was commanded by Yahveh to erect a brazen serpent which would cure all those who looked upon it (Numbers 21: 4–9). In and after the Middle Ages, the Brazen Serpent was regarded as doubly symbolic. It was identified with Christ triumphing over the original serpent which led mankind into original sin, and the brazen serpent raised on a pole prefigured Christ uplifted on the cross (cf. John 3:14).¹

The composition consists of two groups of figures separated by the Brazen Serpent. Moses occupies nearly the whole of the right half; behind him are two aged men, one of whom is probably Aaron.

On the left are four men and five women, two of whom are each clasping a child. Moses, standing for true faith and for liberation, points with his staff at the Brazen Serpent. The characters on the other side are in a variety of conditions and attitudes: death, wrestling with the poisonous snakes, adoration, miraculous cure. The form of the pole and crosspiece to which the serpent is attached, and the gesture of Moses touching it with his staff, are an allusion to the Crucifixion, recalling the soldier Longinus who pierced Christ's side with his spear (John 19: 34). The heads of the standing figures are all on the same level: this isocephaly is typical of altarpieces with a rounded upper part.²

This composition is based on Michelangelo's *Brazen Serpent*, which decorates a corner spandrel of the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican, Rome,³ and in which two groups, divided by the Serpent, stand opposite each other: on the one side Israelites wrestling with the poisonous snakes, on the other those already cured. Rubens took over this arrangement but opposed Moses and his attendants to the whole group of Israelites. Moses does not appear in Michelangelo's version, but Rubens makes him, by size and position, the most important figure in the scene. Some of the other figures are borrowed from Michelangelo, either directly or via *Men and Women Attacked by Serpents*—a drawing in the British Museum, London, composed by Rubens with figures from the fresco (No.22; Fig.52). The foreshortened recumbent male figure in the foreground is closer to the corresponding figure in the fresco than to that in the drawing: the pose of the legs is certainly different, but the chin projecting above the chest, and the arm resting on the ground, leave no doubt as to the

direct relationship. The woman lifting her child with arms outstretched towards the Brazen Serpent does not match any figure in the fresco, but in the upper left of that work there is a child in a similar position which may be the basis of Rubens's motif. Closer to Rubens's drawing is the man striding forward, who appears in the same position, though in reverse, on the left of the painting. The pose of his arms is modified, however, and the motif of the serpent biting his head is borrowed from another figure in the same drawing.⁴

The painting also contains reminiscences of Titian, such as his ceiling piece of *David Slaying Goliath*,⁵ which Rubens may have seen in Venice in the refectory of Santo Spirito, where it was until 1656 (now in Santa Maria della Salute in Venice). From that work he may have borrowed David's hands, uplifted in prayer, for the figure of a naked man next to the Brazen Serpent; and Titian's placing of Goliath's hand close to the lower edge may have inspired him to do the same with one of his own figures. In both paintings, moreover, the figures stand out as silhouettes against a dramatically cloudy sky.

The old woman with sharp features and jutting chin, bending over the mother who lies on the ground, occurs in paintings by Rubens dating from the last years of his stay in Italy (e.g. *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, 1608, Fermo, Museo Civico)⁶ or from shortly after his return to Antwerp (e.g. *The Raising of the Cross*, 1610–1611, Antwerp, Cathedral).⁷ She was evidently one of his favourite models at that time, and her presence is an additional reason, apart from stylistic indications, to date *The Brazen Serpent* c.1609–1610.⁸

Where the work was intended to be placed is not known. Burchard wondered if it was not originally intended as a *mo-*

dello for a painting on the reverse side, in the centre, of Rubens's triptych *The Raising of the Cross*, originally placed in St Walburga's Church in Antwerp and now in the cathedral there.⁹ He based this suggestion on two arguments: (1) the Brazen Serpent is a type or prefiguration of Christ on the Cross; (2) In 1733 the churchwardens of St Walburga's stated in a petition to the city fathers that the high altar was falling into decay and that Rubens's painting was in danger of being damaged. They wished to have a new altar erected, and therefore sought permission to sell, *inter alia*, three small paintings from the predella: *Christ on the Cross*, *The Miracle of St Walburga*, and *The Abduction of St Catherine*. Permission was granted by an apostil of 9 February 1734. From a contract of 22 June 1734 it appears that the sculptor G. I. Kerricx was commissioned to make the new high altar and that the predella was to be decorated with a bas-relief of *The Brazen Serpent* (which still exists).¹⁰ Burchard's suggestion is interesting, but no large painting after the *modello* of that title is known or mentioned in documents.

A painting of the same subject by Rubens, with a different composition and dating from the second half of the 1630s, is in the National Gallery, London (No. 24; Fig. 55). See also No. 22.

In the Prado in Madrid there is a *Brazen Serpent* painted by Van Dyck¹¹ in his first Antwerp period and based, as appears from his preliminary drawings,¹² on the present work by Rubens. His composition similarly consists of two groups separated by the Brazen Serpent; one side is dominated by the figure of Moses, while on the other a number of Israelites are worshipping the Serpent. However, in Van Dyck's version Moses is on the left instead of the right.

A catalogue of 'a superb collection of *Choice Pictures* now exhibiting at Mr. Hickman's Gallery, 29 St James's Street, for the purpose of Sale by private contract' (no date, but between 1812 and 1837) mentioned as lot 50: 'P.P. Rubens, *Moses Elevating the Brazen Serpent*; a sketch'.

1. Réau, *Iconographie*, II, 1, pp.208-210.
2. See, for example: Titian, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, Verona, Cathedral (K.d.K., Tizian, 1924, p.97; H.E.Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian*, I, London, 1969, p.76, No.15, figs.43-45).
3. C. de Tolnay, *The Sistine Ceiling*, Princeton, 1945, pp.97-98, fig.132.
4. U.Hoff, loc. cit.
5. K.d.K., Tizian, 1924, p.136; H.E.Wethey, op. cit., I, pp.120-121, No.84, fig.159.
6. Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, fig.340.
7. K.d.K., p.36.
8. Seilern, *Flemish Paintings*, p.27, under No.15.
9. K.d.K., pp.36, 37.
10. Gilberte Gepts-Buysaert, 'Guilielmus Ignatius Kerricx, Antwerps beeldhouwer (1682-1745)', *Genève Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, XIV, 1953, pp.293-294.
11. Diaz Padrón, *Cat. Prado*, pp.118-119, No.1637, fig.81.
12. H. Vey, *Die Zeichnungen Anton Van Dycks*, Brussels, 1962, pp.112, under No.42, 113, under No.43, 115, under No.44.

24. The Brazen Serpent (Figs.55, 59)

Oil on canvas; 186 × 264.5 cm.

London, National Gallery. Inv. No.59.

PROVENANCE: Lorenzo Marana (Genoa, 1735-1809), purchased from him by Andrew Wilson on 27 March 1805; Andrew Wilson, sale, London (P.Coxe), 6 May 1807, lot 36; with Buchanan, 1808 (see the letter from Sir Thomas Lawrence to Mr Penrice, 5 July 1808, in W.T.Whitley, *Art in England, 1800-1820*, 1928, p.132); William Champion, sale, London (Phillips), 23 March 1810, lot 47; with J.Graves, when exhibited at the British Institution, London, 1815; T.B.H.Owen by 1824 (see W. Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting*, II, 1824,

p.201); exhibited for sale by J.B.Bulkeley Owen, at George Yates' Gallery, London, 1837, where acquired by the National Gallery.

COPIES: (1) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 61 × 85 cm. PROV. Bought by James Stanley, 10th Earl of Derby, from Mr Castilles (?Peter Casteels) in 1722. LIT. George Scharf, *A ... Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures at Knowsley Hall*, London, 1875, pp.70 (No.127), 231, 232; (2) Anonymous painting, formerly in the Bildergalerie of Sanssouci, Potsdam, Inv. No.G.K.I.7591, lost since 1945; canvas, 183 × 222 cm. (originally 151 × 222 cm., enlarged later at the top by a strip of 32 cm.). PROV. ?Inheritance of J.Siebrecht, Antwerp, sale, 11 June 1754; purchased by the Bildergalerie in 1755. LIT. M.Oesterreich, *Beschreibung der Königlichen Bildergalerie und des Kabinetts im Sans-Souci*, Potsdam, 1764, No.19; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.107, No.353; Rooses, I, p.140, No.112; E.Henschel-Simon, *Die Gemälde und Skulpturen in der Bildergalerie von Sanssouci*, Berlin, 1930, p.34, No.112; Bernhard, *Verlorene Werke*, p.56; G.Eckardt, *Die Bildergalerie in Sanssouci*, 1975, p.284, No.247; (3) Anonymous painting, Gateshead, Shipley Art Gallery; canvas, 118 × 91.5 cm. LIT. *The Shipley Art Gallery, Catalogue of the Paintings etc.*, 1951, p.27, No.362; (4) Anonymous painting, Sacramento, California, E.B.Crocker Art Gallery; (5) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown. PROV. Collection Madame Xavier de Pret, Antwerp, c.1888. LIT. Rooses, I, p.140, under No.112; (6) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 161 × 235 cm. PROV. Collection L.Birtschansky, Paris, 1946; since 1947 in Switzerland; in 1957, with F.Schindbeck, Zurich; in 1972, with P.Gambetta, Lugano; anonymous sale,

Luzern (Fischer), 18–19 June 1971, lot 547; (7) Anonymous painting, collection Baron Thure-Gabriel Rudbeck, Stockholm, 1947; panel, 57 × 71 cm. PROV. Purchased in London before 1939; (8) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 53 × 75 cm. PROV. L. Van der Cruyssen, Clos St François, Dijon; (9) Anonymous painting, collection Panducci, Florence, 1950; (10) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; copper, 44 × 59 cm. PROV. Anonymous sale, Brussels (Giroux), 4–5 May 1956, lot 108, pl. XXXIV (as *T. Van Thulden*); (11) Anonymous painting, collection Govers, Eindhoven, 1963; copper, 43 × 59 cm. Photograph in Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague; perhaps identical with the previous painting; (12) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 62 × 81 cm. PROV. Anonymous sale, London (Sotheby's), 16 May 1962, lot 65; (13) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; copper, 68.5 × 84.5 cm. PROV. Anonymous sale, London (Christie's), 8 February 1963, lot 81 (ascribed to *T. Van Thulden*); (14) Anonymous painting, Vienna, Akademie; canvas, 52 × 47 cm. LIT. *Rooses*, I, p. 140, under No. 112; (15) Anonymous painting, Vienna, Schottenstift; (16) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 61 × 71 cm. PROV. Anonymous sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), 16–19 March 1976, No. 116; (17) Anonymous painting (in reverse), whereabouts unknown; canvas, 86 × 115 cm. PROV. Lord Doverdale sale, London (Sotheby's), 8 November 1950, lot 106; (18) Anonymous painting (in reverse), in 1951 with Mrs de Kerchove d'Oesselgem, Vosselare (near Ghent); on copper; (19) A reduced copy or version appears on the wall in *A Lady Teaching a Child to Read* by C. Netscher, National Gallery, London, No. 844 (see N. MacLaren, *The National Gallery Cata-*

logues. The Dutch School, 1960, p. 269); (20) Engraving, in reverse, by Schelte a Bolswert (Fig. 58); inscribed: *Pet. Paul Rubbens pinxit., S.a. Bolswert sculpsit, Gillis Hendricx excudit, Antverpiae*; title: *FECIT ERGO MOYSES SERPENTEM AENEVM, ET POSUIT EVM PRO SIGNO: QVEM CVM PERCVSSI ASPICERENT SANABANTVR*. *Numeri* 21; dedicated: *NOBILI AC GENEROSO DOMINO DÑO FRANCISCO GOVBAV, TOPARCHÆ DE TRIEST, MESPelaER, ETC. D.C.Q. ÆGIDIVS HENRICI*. LIT. *V.S.*, p. 5, No. 33; *Rooses*, I, p. 140, under No. 112, pl. 31; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, p. 37, under No. 1128; *Martin, Cat. National Gallery*, pp. 135, 136 n. 29; (21) Engravings, all of them in the same direction as the painting, by A. Gobert (*V.S.*, p. 5, No. 33bis), F. Ragot (*V.S.*, p. 5, No. 34), C. Galle (*V.S.*, p. 5, No. 35), M. Aubert (*V.S.*, p. 5, No. 36), and by two anonymous engravers (*V.S.*, p. 5, Nos. 37, 38). LIT. *Rooses*, I, p. 140, under No. 112; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, p. 37, under No. 1128; *Martin, Cat. National Gallery*, pp. 135, 136 nn. 30–34.

EXHIBITED: *Catalogue of Pictures by Rubens, Rembrandt, Vandyke, and other artists of the Flemish and Dutch schools*, British Institution, London, 1815, No. 7; *An Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures*, National Gallery, London, 1947–1948, No. 57.

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp. 215–216, No. 769 (as *Rubens*); IX (Supplement), p. 316, No. 260 (as *Rubens*); *Waagen, Treasures*, I, p. 349 (as *Rubens, entirely executed by himself*); *Rooses*, I, pp. 139–140, No. 112 (as *Rubens, c. 1637*); *K.d.K., edn. Rosenberg*, p. 390 (as *Rubens, 1635–1638*); *K.d.K.*, p. 315 (as *Rubens, c. 1630*); *Oldenbourg, Flämische Malerei*, p. 51 (as *Rubens, 1630–1640*); *P. Hendy, An Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures*. National Gallery, Lon-

don, 1947, pp.62–63, No.57 (as *Studio of Rubens*); Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, p.33, under No.15 (as *Rubens, c.1630*); Martin, *Cat. National Gallery*, pp.133–137, No.59 (as *worked up by Rubens, second half of the 1630s*); G.Martin, 'The Founding of the National Gallery in London', *Connoisseur*, December 1974, pp.280–281, fig.4 (as *Rubens*).

The Brazen Serpent recalls the episode related in Numbers 21: 4–9 (see No.23).

This life-sized picture features anguish and bewilderment, pleas for mercy and a ray of hope. The high priest stands on the extreme left and displays to the Israelites, assailed by poisonous snakes, the Serpent which is to heal them. Beside him, addressing the people, is Moses with a staff in his hand; rays project from his head and surround it with a fierce light. In the foreground lies a naked man, wrestling painfully with a huge snake; another naked man, already dead, lies beside him and is lamented by a young woman, her head resting on her hand. Behind these three figures is a kneeling woman with her two children in her arms, gazing imploringly towards the Serpent. A young woman, naked to the loins, with her arms linked above her head and a serpent coiled round them, is carried by her aged mother; both of them beg the Serpent for help. Further right, another woman lifts up her child for the Serpent to see, and a man in armour struggles to escape the cluster of reptiles; an aged man next to him, with tortured features, tries to do the same. A third, lightly sketched, bearded man gestures towards the Serpent. Towards the background another group of Israelites can be seen struggling with the snakes, which are raining down from a heavily clouded sky.

The composition of this painting, which contains numerous *pentimenti*,¹ can in some ways be compared with that of Rubens's work with the same title in The Courtauld Institute, Princes Gate Collection, London, of c.1609–1610 (see No.23; Fig.53), in which Moses and his attendants are likewise seen facing a group of tormented Israelites, though here they are in reverse and not separated by the Brazen Serpent. However, the format is now horizontal instead of vertical, the scene is more spaced out and all its elements are treated more pictorially.

Martin has pointed out² that the composition might be a development of an idea expressed in the foreground of Rubens's oil sketch in Berlin of *Henry IV Subjugating the City of Paris*,³ executed c.1628–1630 as a *modello* for one of the series to decorate the Henry IV Gallery in the Palais du Luxembourg in Paris, and that it may also owe something to Agostino Veneziano's print after Raphael's *Gathering of Manna*.⁴ As regards certain individual figures he also suggested links with other artists. Moses might be derived from the apostle Peter in Raphael's cartoon of *The Death of Ananias*;⁵ the Israelite in the background, bending forwards, who was already seen in Rubens's *Brazen Serpent* of 1609–1610 (No.23; Fig.53), is based, as Hoff pointed out,⁶ on a motif of Michelangelo's; the naked Israelite lying in the centre foreground, a figure which also occurs, below left, in Rubens's *Conquest of Tunis*,⁷ may be derived from Michelangelo's *Tityus*,⁸ but more probably from *Two Fettered Captives*, a drawing in the Musée Pincé at Angers,⁹ in which Rubens copied a composition by Salviati; the man in armour is based on the figure of Laocoon in the group of that name, which Rubens copied several times in whole or in part.¹⁰ Some motifs are connected with

ideas elaborated by Rubens himself. The woman holding up a child already occurred, in reverse, in his earlier *Brazen Serpent* (No.23; Fig.53); the pose of the woman struggling with a serpent can be compared with the *Andromeda*, c.1638, in Berlin,¹¹ and with the studies for a seated Dejanira on the *recto* and *verso* of a sketch-sheet in the Louvre;¹² the woman mourning for the dead Israelite on the ground recalls the woman second from the left in *The Garden of Love*, c.1631, in the Prado in Madrid.¹³

According to Martin the model for the woman in black in the centre may have been Rubens's second wife, Hélène, and the child in front of her could be her eldest son, Frans, who was born in 1633. His presence would thus be an indication as to the date of the painting; but the two identifications are not convincing. The head of the old woman occurs frequently in Rubens's work and is painted from a living model; this is probably also the case with the head of the old man on the extreme right, who already appears in Rubens's earlier *Christ with the Penitent Sinners*, c.1648, in Munich.¹⁴

Although the painting, the original purpose of which is not known, was certainly designed by Rubens and his hand can be easily recognized in various places, it is not wholly satisfactory. The two nudes in the foreground are not well integrated with the other figures, and neither the facture nor the colouring are of the same quality throughout. Probably a studio assistant transferred it to large format after a *modello* by the master, who then reworked it himself to a large extent. As to its date opinions vary, though all critics regard it as a late work. Rooses¹⁵ placed it c.1639, Rosenberg¹⁶ c.1635–1638. The date c.1630, proposed by Oldenbourg,¹⁷ is probably too early; although it was ac-

cepted in *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*,¹⁸ both authors came to the conclusion, shortly before Burchard's death, that the painting dated from the end of the 1630s. Martin¹⁹ considers a date in the second half of the 1630s to be most probable, but suggests that the execution may have been spread over a number of years.

No sketch for this painting can be pointed to, though some sketches of the same subject are mentioned in the literature: (1) Anonymous sale, Amsterdam, 13 April 1695, lot 7. *LIT. Hoet, Catalogus*, I, p.25; *Rooses*, I, p.140, under No.112bis; *Martin, Cat. National Gallery*, pp.135–136 n.26; (2) Anonymous sale, The Hague, 15 July 1749, lot 1; copper, 16 × 22 inches (40.6 × 55.9 cm.); described in the sale catalogue as 'Een extra schoon stuk' etc., i.e. not specifically as a sketch. *LIT. Hoet-Terwesten*, p.53; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.216, under No.769; *Rooses*, I, p.140, under No.112bis; *Martin, Cat. National Gallery*, pp.135–136 n.27; (3) Queen of Spain and anonymous sale, London (Stewart's), 15 April 1813, lot 86. *LIT. Martin, Cat. National Gallery*, pp.135–136 n.28.

A drawing in the Louvre (Inv. No.20.313; 345 × 481 mm., black chalk, stumped, some heightening with white body-colour. *LIT. Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.216, under No.769 [as *Rubens*]; *Rooses*, V, pp.146–147 [as *by a Rubens pupil or the engraver*]; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, p.37, No.1128, pl.LVII [as *probably S.a. Bolswert*]; *Martin, Cat. National Gallery*, p.136 n.29; *Renger, Rubens Dedit*, I, p.153 n.98 [as *not Rubens*]), follows the painting more or less exactly, and was probably made by Schelte a Bolswert in preparation for his engraving.

Charles-Jean-Gommaire Nelis (Antwerp, 1804–1875), canon of Tournai Cathedral and vicar-general to the bishop, possessed an ivory vase made by Lucas

Faidherbe (Malines, 1617–1697) on which the episode of the Brazen Serpent was represented in bas-relief ‘after a Rubens drawing engraved by Schelte a Bolswert’.²⁰ The vase, the lid of which was decorated with a figure of Samson slaying the lion, has not been traced.

1. Several *pentimenti*, some visible to the naked eye, are described in Martin, *Cat. National Gallery*: the thumb of the female Israelite in black was longer; the child to the left first looked out of the picture and rested its chin on its right hand, while its left arm lay along the thigh of the woman in front of it; the outline of the old woman's hand was higher; the face of an old man has been painted out just beneath the baby held aloft by the woman, who was first depicted in white head-dress.
2. Martin, *Cat. National Gallery*, p.134. By courtesy of the heirs of the late Ludwig Burchard and of the City of Antwerp, Martin was permitted to study the Burchard papers on pictures by Rubens (stated by Martin in the foreword to his catalogue).
3. K. d. K., p.318. For the discussion of the commission for the Henri IV Gallery, see I. Jost, ‘Bemerkungen zur Heinrichsgalerie des P.P. Rubens’, *Niederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, XV, 1964, pp.175–219, fig.4, and J. Kelch, *Peter Paul Rubens. Kritischer Katalog der Gemälde im Besitz der Gemäldegalerie Berlin*, Berlin-Dahlem, 1978, pp.71–73, fig.55.
4. Bartsch, XIV.10.8; *The Illustrated Bartsch*, 26, New York, 1978, fig.17.
5. London, Victoria and Albert Museum. See L. Dussler, *Raphael*, London–New York, 1971, p.102, fig.177.
6. U. Hoff, *Old Master Drawings*, XIII, 1938, p.14.
7. K. d. K., p.401.
8. A.E. Popham and J. Wilde, *The Italian Drawings of the XV and XVI Centuries ... at Windsor Castle*, London, [1949], pp.252–253, No.429, pl.21.
9. Burchard–d’Hulst, *Drawings*, pp.155–156, No.93, repr.
10. Burchard–d’Hulst, *Drawings*, pp.31–33, No.15, repr.; *Fubini–Held*, pp.125–134, pls.1–4.
11. K. d. K., p.430; J. Kelch, op. cit., pp.29–36, fig.23, pl.1.
12. Burchard–d’Hulst, *Drawings*, pp.293–295, No.189, figs.189r, 189v.
13. K. d. K., p.348; Díaz Padrón, *Cat. Prado*, pp.280–282, fig.184.
14. K. d. K., p.176; *Cat. Alte Pinakothek München*, 1983, pp.445–446, No.329, repr.
15. Rooses, V, p.312, No.112.
16. K. d. K., edn. Rosenbergh, p.390.
17. K. d. K., p.315.
18. Burchard–d’Hulst, *Drawings*, p.33, under No.15.
19. Martin, *Cat. National Gallery*, p.134, under No.59.
20. *Archives générales du Royaume*, Brussels, Manu-

script Baert, No.15765–70 (Friar Libertus, *Lucas Faidherbe, beeldhouwer en bouwmeester*. Antwerp, 1938, p.153). See also: E. Gachet, *Lettres inédites de P.P. Rubens, publiées d’après ses autographes*, Brussels, 1840, p.281; C. Kramm, *Levens en Werken...*, Amsterdam, II, 1858, p.479.

25. Gideon Overcoming the Midianites (Fig.56)

Oil on panel, cut along the bottom edge and probably also along the other sides; 59.5 × 73.5 cm. Inscribed at the bottom on the left, *IVDICVM—CAP VII*. Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art. Inv. No.52.9.207.

PROVENANCE: ?Petrus Johannes Snyers (Antwerp, 1696–1757), sale, Antwerp, 23 May 1758, lot 4 (as *Een schets, zijnde de Battaille van Josua tegens de Philisteinen, op paneel, door P.P. Rubbens, hoog 23, breed 28 duimen*); A. De Heuvel Gallery, Brussels (1950); Hal M. O’Nians, fine art dealer, London (1954); D.M. Koetser Gallery, London (1954).

COPY: Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 62 × 78 cm. PROV. F. Kleinberger, Paris (1936).

LITERATURE: P. Terwesten, *Catalogus of Naamlijst van Schilderijen...*, The Hague, 1770, p.200, No.4 (as ‘Jozua tegen de Philisteinen’); Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.173, No.607 (as *Joshua Overcoming the Amalekites*); W.R. Valentiner, *Catalogue of Paintings Including Three Sets of Tapestries*. North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh, North Carolina, 1956, pp.20, 66, No.134 (as *Rubens, c.1616–1618*); M.D. Hill, ‘Representations from the Old Testament in the Museum’s Collections of Paintings’, *North Carolina Museum of Art Bulletin*, I, 2 (Summer, 1957), pp.9–15, repr.; Burchard–d’Hulst, *Drawings*, p.92, under No.53 (as *Rubens, c.1616*); J. Müller Hofstede, Re-

view of Burchard-d'Hulst. *Drawings*, in *Master Drawings*, 4, 1966, p.445, under No.53 (as Rubens); C.W.Stanford, *Masterpieces in the North Carolina Museum of Art*, Raleigh, 1966, pp.36-37, repr. (as Rubens, c.1616); Held, *Oil Sketches*, pp.634-635, No.A20, pl.48 (as not Rubens).

To punish the Israelites for their evil-doing, Yahveh abandoned them for seven years to the plundering Midianites, after which he appointed Gideon to deliver them (Judges 6: 14). The painting depicts Gideon's victory over the Midianites, who were allied with the Amalekites and other peoples of the East. At God's command he reduced his army to three hundred men and divided it into three companies; each man was then given a trumpet and a pitcher with a torch inside. In the middle watch of the night, when Gideon gave the signal, the men broke their pitchers and rushed upon the enemy from three directions. Confused by the lights and the blast of trumpets shattering the stillness of the night, the enemy troops attacked one another and then turned to flight. In the pursuit two Midianite princes, Oreb and Zeeb, were taken prisoner and slain (Judges 7: 16-25).

Gideon and some of his men stand on a hillock on the right, blowing trumpets and horns. One of them, contrary to the biblical text (Judges 7: 20) holds the trumpet in his left hand and the pitcher in his right. On the ground are fragments of broken pitchers. On the left, opposite the static group of Israelites, are their confused and panic-stricken enemies. Three horses, one of which has thrown his rider, run in terror in different directions; two naked men, and one in armour, have been cast to the ground; a standard-bearer and a man in a jerkin beside him

try desperately to escape. In the middle of a blaze with flashes of lightning, an object resembling a cake of barley-bread comes flying out of the dark sky; it falls in the Midianite camp, where it overturns a tent. This motif recalls a dream related by a Midianite watchman to his companion and overheard by Gideon just before the attack: God had told him to go down to the enemy's camp, where he would be strengthened by what he heard (Judges 7: 9-15). Two figures in front of the entrance to a tent, one wearing a crown and the other a turban, gaze anxiously at the light from heaven and the 'cake' that seems to be aimed at them; perhaps these are Oreb and Zeeb, who were later taken prisoner.

At the bottom of the picture is a dark parapet which was originally decorated with a white stone cartouche in relief, consisting of a head (of which only the hair is now visible) and two wings of which only the upper edges have survived. These fragments (?a cherub) may have formed part of a painted frame for the whole composition.

In 1954, after a thorough cleaning, the painting was attributed to Rubens by Burchard,¹ who pointed out 'the vigour of the design, the brilliance of the vivid colours, the concentration of movement comparable in several details to the painter's *Defeat of Sennacherib*, c.1612-1614, in Munich (No.47; Fig.103), and again to his *Decius Mus Relating his Dream*, c.1617, (Fig.57) in the Prince of Liechtenstein Collection, Vaduz'.² Burchard also identified the painting with an oil sketch sold in Antwerp on 23 May 1758, as Rubens, from the collection of Petrus Johannes Snyers.³ He proposed to date the work c.1616.

Held does not accept this attribution of the painting to Rubens, even if it should be identical with that owned by Snyers.

As a first argument to the contrary he mentions the less than faithful rendering of the subject: 'it is certainly odd that the tumbling loaf of bread, seen in a dream before the battle, should be included here as an actual missile accompanied by lightning'. He also argues that the left half of the painting largely agrees with the left half of Rubens's *Defeat of Sennacherib* (Fig.103), and that the warrior seen from behind, wrapped in an animal's skin, more or less reproduces one of the listening officers in *Decius Mus Relating his Dream* (Fig.57). Whereas Burchard regarded these correspondences as evidence of the painting's authenticity, Held considers them 'too far-reaching' and maintains that there is no original composition by Rubens that repeats his earlier work to such an extent. He also thinks that the author of the painting has not achieved an organic link between its two halves. These arguments seem plausible, as does Held's adverse opinion of the execution; he describes the work as 'coarsely painted, conspicuously lacking the subtle and vibrant brushwork characteristic of Rubens's authentic sketches'. The conclusion must be that the painting is a compilation by an unknown hand.⁴

1. This attribution can be found in a certificate of 28 May 1954 addressed to the David Koetser Gallery, London.
2. *K.d.K.*, p.142; [R.Baumstark], Cat. Exh. *Liechtenstein. The Princely Collections*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1985-1986, pp.341-343, No.210, repr.
3. P.Terwesten, *Catalogus of Naamlijst van Schilderijen ...*, The Hague, 1772, p.200: *Schilderyen, nage-laten door wylen d'Heer P.J.Snyers, in zyn leven Lief-hebber dergelven Kunst. Verkogt ... den 23 Mey 1758, Antwerpen, lot 4; Een Schets, zijnde De Battaille van Josua tegens de Philisteinen, op paneel, door denzelven [P.P.Rubbens]; hoog 23, breed 28 duimen [59.96 × 73 cm.]*.
4. In a letter of 28 March 1950 to F.Baudouin, who had asked for advice when the painting was offered to him for sale by the De Heuvel Gallery in Brussels, Burchard wrote (in German): 'The Rubens-

like painting was once shown to me. I missed the transparency of shadows, which one would expect at least in places. The picture seemed to me a compilation by a contemporary of Rubens'.

26. Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion (Fig.60)

Oil on canvas; 226 × 265 cm.
Madrid, Duque de Hernani (1977).

PROVENANCE: Royal Palace, *salón nuevo*, Madrid; Marqués de Leganés (Madrid, c.1584-1655); Infante don Sebastián de Borbón y Braganza; Infanta Maria Cristina de Borbón, sale, Madrid, 1902, lot 21, repr.

COPIES: (1) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 145 × 215 cm. PROV. ?Plach sale, Vienna (Wawra), 9 December 1885, lot 177 (canvas, 145 × 210 cm.); ? Dr Herrmann Krauspe (Berlin) sale, Berlin, 28-29 October 1895, lot 78 (canvas, 144 × 200 cm.); O.Stoesser, Lahr (Baden); Dr Alfred Wolff, Munich (1924); (2) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas laid down on panel, 31.5 × 37.5 cm. PROV. Vermeer Gallery, London-New York, 1946; Los Angeles, County Museum (Cat. 1954, p.19, No.14), sale, Los Angeles (Sotheby, Parke-Bernet) 21-23 June 1982, lot 11. LIT. *Valentiner, Rubens in America*, p.167, No.122 (as *Rubens*); Los Angeles County Museum, *Catalogue of Flemish, German, Dutch and English Paintings, XVth-XVIIIth Century*, 1954, p.19, No.14, repr. (as *Rubens*); *Alpers, Torre*, p.277 (as *by a hand other than Rubens*); *Held, Oil Sketches*, p.430 (as *a copy of a lost oil-sketch, probably of later date*); (3) Anonymous drawing, London, British Museum; black and red chalk, and brown wash, 299 × 413 mm. LIT. *Hind, Rubens*, p.7, No.5 (as *Rubens*); J.Müller Hofstede, 'Beiträge zum zeichnerischen Werk von Ru-

bens', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXVII, 1965, pp.352-353, fig.251 (as Rubens); Held, *Oil Sketches*, p.430 (as a copy); (4) Anonymous drawing (Samson's Figure), Copenhagen, Printroom of the Statens Museum for Kunst, 'Rubens Cantoor', No.176; black chalk, heightened with white, reinforced with point of the brush in brown ink, fragment, 285 × 283 mm. LIT. Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, p.82, under No.48; J.Müller Hofstede, op. cit., p.353 n.212 (as copy); (5) Anonymous drawing (Samson's Head), Copenhagen, Printroom of the Statens Museum for Kunst, 'Rubens Cantoor', No.177; black and brown chalk, 205 × 174 mm. LIT. J.Müller Hofstede, op. cit., p.353 n.212 (as copy); (6) Anonymous drawing (Lion), Copenhagen, Printroom of the Statens Museum for Kunst, 'Rubens Cantoor', No.178; red, black and brown chalk, 249 × 355 mm. LIT. J.Müller Hofstede, op. cit., p.353 n.212 (as copy); (7) Lithograph by Johann Wilhelm Nahl (Kassel, 1803-1880); 305 × 375 mm., signed 'J.W.Nahl f. Juli 1850'.

EXHIBITED: *Pedro Pablo Rubens: Exposición Homenaje*, Palacio de Velázquez, Madrid, 1977-1978, No.79; *Luister van Spanje en der Belgische steden, 1500-1700*, Europalia, Brussels, 1985, No.C86.

LITERATURE: F.Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura* (1638), ed. F.J.Sánchez Cantón, Madrid, 1956, I, p.153; *Cruzada Villaamil*, pp.306, 380; *Rooses*, I, p.143, No.114; Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, p.82, under No.48; J.Müller Hofstede, 'Beiträge zum zeichnerischen Werk von Rubens', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXVII, 1965, pp.353 to 354, fig.252 (as Rubens, c.1615-1617); Id., Review of Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, in *Master Drawings*, 4, 1966, p.443, under No.48 (as Rubens); [C.van Hasselt], Cat. Exh. *Flemish Drawings of the Seventeenth*

Century from the Collection of Frits Lugt, London-Paris-Bern-Brussels, 1972, pp.108 to 110, under No.82; E.Harris, 'Cassiano dal Pozzo on Diego Velázquez', *Burlington Magazine*, CXII, 1970, p.372 nn.36, 37; [Díaz Padrón], Cat. Exh. *Pedro Pablo Rubens: Exposición Homenaje*, Palacio de Velázquez, Madrid, 1977-1978, pp.92-93, No.79, repr. on the cover (as Rubens, c.1615-1617); S.N.Orso, *In the Presence of the "Planet King". Studies in Art and Decoration at the Court of Philip IV of Spain*, (Diss. Ph.D.), Princeton, 1978, pp.57, 62, 127, 260 (as Rubens); M.Crawford Volk, 'Rubens in Madrid and the Decoration of the Salón Nuevo in the Palace', *Burlington Magazine*, CXXII, 1980, p.176, fig.28 (as Rubens); W.Adler, *Jan Wildens, Der Landschaftsmitarbeiter des Rubens*, Fridingen, 1980, pp.101-102, No.G.36, fig.53 (as Rubens, with landscape by Wildens); Held, *Oil Sketches*, pp.429-430, under No.331 (as Rubens, c.1618-1620); [M.Díaz Padrón], Cat. Exh. *Luister van Spanje en de Belgische steden, 1500-1700*, Europalia, Brussels, 1985, pp.595-596, No.C86, repr. (as Rubens, c.1615-1617).

The unarmed Samson encounters a roaring young lion in the countryside, and kills him by breaking his jaws. This dramatic scene illustrates the first of the twelve exploits of the legendary Israelite hero, the personification of his people's struggle against the Philistines (Judges 14: 5-6). There is a classical parallel in the story of Hercules and the Nemean lion, which Rubens painted several times and with which the present theme is sometimes confused.

The frequency of the subject is due to its significance in Christian symbolism. Medieval theologians constantly represented Samson slaying a lion as a prefigu-

ration of Christ in Limbo, conquering the devil: 'Samson significat Christum. Samson leonem occidit et Christus diabolum vincit'.¹ The theme occurs repeatedly in Romanesque sculpture and enamel painting of the twelfth century, especially in France and Germany, but becomes rarer thereafter. Although the Christological symbolism of the fight was certainly not forgotten in the seventeenth century, it was by then also regarded as a model of heroic courage and virtue.

The present painting, with seven others, was commissioned by Philip IV of Spain, through his aunt the Archduchess Isabella, to decorate the Royal Palace in Madrid, where they were placed in the *Salón Nuevo*.² Rubens brought the paintings with him, or had them forwarded, when he went to Spain in 1628.³ It was some time before they were paid for. On 22 December 1629 the Financial Council of the Netherlands asked Isabella whether Rubens's bill of £7,500 should be paid. The document spoke of paintings that Rubens 'at *faict et faict faire* par ordre de Vostre Altèze pour le service de Sa Majesté' (has made or caused to be made at Your Highness's command for His Majesty's service), which seems to indicate that Rubens did not paint them all himself but had assistance from the studio.⁴ The Archduchess replied, by an apostil in her own hand, that the price mentioned had been agreed with Rubens beforehand, that the paintings were in Spain and that the King was very pleased with them. The apostil is of importance for the dating of the pictures, as it says: 'Estas pynturas se concertaron con Rubens por este precyo *antes que las ycyese...*' (The price of these works was agreed with Rubens before he painted them...), which shows that at least some of them were painted to order and were not already in

the studio. Rubens was eventually paid in the course of 1630.⁵

As appears from the palace inventory of 1636,⁶ *Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion* was hung in the *Salón Nuevo* as a pendant to a *David Strangling a Bear* (No.35), another of the eight paintings delivered to Madrid in 1628. The compositions seem to form a pair, inasmuch as Samson with the lion faces left, and David right. The works were admirably suited to a décor devoted to the Hapsburg rulers, their virtues and ideals, and to the interest taken in contests between heroes and villains or beasts. The paintings do not appear in later inventories of the palace. They are in the Marqués de Leganés's inventory of 1655, and as they are not in his earlier inventory of 1642 he must have acquired them between those dates, most probably as a gift from the King.⁷ Subsequently *Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion* was in the possession of the Infante Don Sebastián de Borbón y Braganza, and later in that of the Infanta Maria Cristina de Borbón, whose collection was sold in Madrid in 1902. *David Strangling a Bear* was afterwards owned by Conde Altamira; it was sold from his collection in London in 1827, and has since disappeared.

Müller Hofstede⁸ dates *Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion* c.1615–1617, while Held⁹ assigns a date of 1618–1620 to Rubens's oil sketch for it, now lost. This means that in these authors' opinion both the Samson painting, and by implication *David Strangling a Bear*, were in Rubens's studio for many years before being taken or sent to Spain. I believe, on the contrary, that both works were painted shortly before 1628.¹⁰ In the first place the *Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion* bears the marks of Rubens's style of the 1620s, and secondly it cannot be accidental that it forms a compositional ensemble with

David Strangling a Bear; that the two works are iconographically related, and that their symbolic significance makes them appropriate for the decoration of a room intended to glorify the Hapsburg rulers.

A preparatory oil sketch for the painting is known only from copies (see No.26a).

Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné* (II, p.168, No.580) mentions a *David Slaying a Lion* (panel, 68.6 × 78.7 cm.), sold at Amsterdam in 1732 from an anonymous collection for 300 florins.

1. Réau, *Iconographie*, II, 1, pp.230–237, 240.
2. Balis, *Hunting Scenes*, p.180.
3. F.Pacheco, loc. cit.; *Cruzada Villamil*, p.380; C.Justi, *Diego Velázquez*, I, Bonn, 1922, pp.255–256, p.257 n.1; E.Harris, loc. cit.
4. Balis, *Hunting Scenes*, p.183 n.8. W.Adler, loc. cit., attributes the landscape of *Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion* to Jan Wildens; but he knows the painting only from a photograph (see also Balis, *Hunting Scenes*, pp.42–43 n.34).
5. L.P.Gachard, *Histoire politique et diplomatique de Pierre-Paul Rubens*, Brussels, 1877, pp.183–184; Rooses, I, pp.129–130, under No.108; Rooses, *Lifé*, II, p.454; Balis, *Hunting Scenes*, p.180.
6. S.Orso, op. cit., pp.57, 260.
7. J.Lopez-Navio, 'La gran colección de pinturas del Marqués de Leganés', *Analecta Calasanciana*, 1962, p.60, Nos.1198, 1199; A.Balis, *Flemish Art in the Collection of the Marqués de Leganés* (not published).
8. J.Müller Hofstede, *Beiträge...*, 1965, p.353 n.212.
9. Held, *Oil Sketches*, pp.429–430.
10. Balis, *Hunting Scenes* (p.42 n.34) also dates the painting shortly before 1628.

26a. Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion: Oil Sketch

Oil on panel or canvas.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) Anonymous painting, Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, No.606 (Fig.61); panel, 35 × 46 cm. PROV. Gustavus III, King of Sweden. LIT. Rooses, I, pp.142–143, No.113 (as *Rubens*); K.d.K., edn. Rosenberg, p.268 (as *Rubens*, c.1625); O.Gran-

berg, *Inventaire général des Trésors d'Art ... principalement de maîtres étrangers en Suède*, III, 1913, p.76, No.264; Oldenbourg, *Rubens*, p.202 n.1 (as copy); Cat. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum. *Äldere Utländska Malningar och Skulpturer*, 1958, p.175, No.606 (as copy); M.Jaffé, 'Rubens and Giulio Romano at Mantua', *Art Bulletin*, XL, 1958, p.327 n.20 (as not *Rubens*); J.Müller Hofstede, 'Beiträge zum zeichnerischen Werk von Rubens', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXVII, 1965, pp.353 n.212 (as *Rubens*); M.Jaffé, 'Rubens as a Draughtsman', *Burlington Magazine*, CVII, 1965, p.380 (as *Rubens*); J.Müller Hofstede, *Review of Burchard-Hulst, Drawings*, in *Master Drawings*, 4, 1966, p.443 under No.48 (as *Rubens*); Cat. Exh. *Rubens i Sverige*, Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, 1977–78, p.2, No.7 (as *Rubens's workshop*); G.Cavalli-Björkman, 'Målningar av Rubens i Nationalmuseum', *Rubens i Sverige*, Stockholm, 1977, pp.39–40, fig.25 (as *follower of the eighteenth century*); Held, *Oil Sketches*, pp.429–430, under No.311, fig.458 (as copy); (2) Anonymous painting, Munich, Wittelsbacher Ausgleichsfonds; panel, 33.5 × 42 cm. PROV. English aristocratic family, sale, London (Christie's), 22 February 1935, lot 80; Prince Paul of Yugoslavia; Kronprinz Rupprecht von Bayern (acquired from Böhler, Munich, in 1937). LIT. Held, *Oil Sketches*, pp.429–430, under No.311, fig.459 (as copy); (3) Anonymous painting, Besançon, Musée d'Art et d'Archéologie, Inv. No.896.1.126; panel, 23.4 × 22.8 cm. (only a fragment, containing essentially the figure of Samson and the hind part of the lion). LIT. Cat. Musée de Besançon, Besançon, 1929, p.48, No.231; J.Müller Hofstede, 'Beiträge zum zeichnerischen Werk von Rubens', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXVII, 1965, p.353 n.212 (as copy); Held, *Oil Sketches*, pp.429–430, under No.311 (as copy); (4) Anonymous painting, Amster-

dam, D.Hoogendijk (1947); panel, 23.8 × 27.5 cm. PROV. London, F.A.Drey (1939). LIT. J.Müller Hofstede, loc. cit. (as copy); *Held, Oil Sketches*, p.430, under No.311 (as copy); (5) Drawing by G.Hoet (1648–1733), Leiden, Kunsthistorisch Instituut der Rijksuniversiteit; black and white chalk on blue paper, 322 × 418 mm.; (6) Etching by Franciscus van den Wijngaerde, in reverse (Fig.62); inscribed: *Pet. Paul. Rubenius pinxit., Fransiscus vanden Wyngaerde fecit et excudit.* The action is depicted similarly but the print is higher than wide. LIT. V.S., p.6, No.39; *Rooses*, I, p.142, under No.113; IV, repr. p.110; *Held, Oil Sketches*, p.430, under No.311.

It is practically certain that Rubens's painting of this subject, which in 1977 was in the possession of the Duque de Hernani in Madrid (No.26; Fig.60), was preceded by an oil sketch, as various copies of it have survived. The original oil sketch, however, has never come to light and is probably lost.¹

All these copies differ in the same way from the painting in Madrid: (1) Samson's back is seen from the side, whereas in the finished painting his shoulder on the far side is partly visible, thus accentuating the three-dimensional effect of the torso; (2) his head is seen more frontally than in the painting, and his hair is curly rather than smooth.²

The characteristics of the Samson figure as they appear in the copies of the oil sketch are also found in a medal struck by Adriaen Waterloos³ in 1631 or shortly afterwards. This medal to which Evers first drew attention, commemorated a naval battle off the coast of Brazil in that year, in which the Spaniards were victorious and blew up the flagship with the Dutch Admiral Pater on board. On

one side is the portrait of Philip IV in armour, and on the other Samson and the lion with the inscription *DVLCIA SIC MERVIT*—an allusion to Judges 14:8, which relates how Samson found a swarm of bees and honey in the lion's carcass (Fig.63). The King of Spain is thus portrayed as a second Samson, seizing the honeycomb of Brazil, rich in sugar, out of the jaws of the Dutch lion.⁴ A preparatory drawing for Philip IV is in the Rijksprentenkabinet in Amsterdam.⁵ Two tondo drawings, neither by Rubens, may be connected with the depiction of Samson; both are in the Fondation Custodia (Frits Lugt Collection), Paris. The first (Fig.64)⁶ shows the Samson type as it appeared in the oil sketch, and was probably copied from it for the purpose of the medal. Later it was indented for transfer for the print by F.van den Wijngaerde. The other (Fig.65), inscribed, like the medal, *DVLCIA SIC MERVIT*, reflects an earlier conception of the Samson motif by Rubens, and is probably an alternative design for the medal (see No.27). The drawings, as a pair, were formerly in the collection of Sir Thomas Lawrence and later in that of C.S.Bale.

The theme of Samson finding a honeycomb in the lion's carcase was again portrayed by Rubens in a title-page for Maffeo Barberini's *Poemata*, published by Moretus in Antwerp in 1634. A drawing in the Plantin Moretus Museum in Antwerp (Inv. No.390), was believed by Burckhard (followed by all other authors) to be Rubens's authentic design for that work, until Logan⁷ expressed doubts as to whether it was by his own hand. Her doubts are shared by *Judson-Van de Velde*: these authors rightly regard the drawing as a copy after Rubens's original design, now lost, which was executed by the engraver Cornelis Galle or an assistant of his.⁸

As to the dating of the lost oil sketch, see No.26.

Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné* (II, p.168, No.579) mentions a 'Samson slaying a Lion. He is represented tearing the animal's jaws asunder. A finished study'. This small panel (33 × 40.6 cm.) was sold from an anonymous collection in 1732 for 300 florins, probably in Amsterdam, and later became part of Thomas Emerson's collection, whence it was sold at auction in 1829, probably in London, for 27½ guineas. Its dimensions are closest to those of the copy in Munich.

1. Rooses, who only knew the example in Stockholm, listed it as an original, and it was accepted as such by Müller Hofstede and Jaffé. Oldenbourg, however, attributed it to a weak imitator, an opinion which was repeated in the 1958 catalogue of the Stockholm museum, and with which Held agreed.
2. It is clear, on account of these features, that the copy formerly in the County Museum, Los Angeles (see No.26) was not made after the lost oil sketch but after the finished painting, or possibly after another study for it.
3. V.Tourneur, 'Recherches sur les Waterloos, médailles Bruxellois', *Revue belge de numismatique*, 1922, pp.59-74. A gold example of the medal is in the Cabinet of Coins and Medals in the Royal Library, Brussels.
4. G.van Loon, *Beschrijvinge der Nederlandsche Historiepenningen*, 2, The Hague, 1726, pp.195-196; Neuville, *Historie van Holland*, 1, p.359; H.G.Evers, 'Rubens und der Löwe', *Festschrift Dr.h.c. Eduard Trauttscholdt*, Hamburg, 1965, pp.127-131, fig.72; [C.van Hasselt], *Cat. Exh. Flemish Drawings of the Seventeenth Century from the Collection of Frits Lugt*, London-Paris-Bern-Brussels, 1972, p.109, under No.82.
5. Inv. No.A.1386; red chalk, reinforced with pen in brown ink and heightened with white; diameter 106 mm. PROV. P.J.Mariette, sale, Paris, 1775-1776, No.1018; Jacob de Vos Jb^{en}, sale, Amsterdam, 22-24 May 1883, lot 453.
6. Inv. No.1977-T59. Sheet, cut out in a round shape (diameter 120 mm.) and stuck on a rectangular support; black chalk reinforced with pen in brown ink, 119 × 120 mm.; indented for transfer; mark of the collection of Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); verso: mark of the collection of C.S.Bale (L.640). PROV. Sir Thomas Lawrence (London, 1769-1830); C.S.Bale (London, 1791-1880), sale, London (Christie's), 9-14 June 1881, from lot 2448; J.W.Zwicky, Arlesheim by Basel (1933); bought from A.Stein,

London, in 1977. LIT. Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.168, under No.580.

7. Review of Mitsch, *Rubenszeichnungen*, in *Master Drawings*, 15, 1977, p.415.
8. See *Judson-Van de Velde*, pp.283-287, Nos.68, 68a, 68b, fig.228.

27. Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion: Painting, Oil Sketch or Drawing

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) Anonymous drawing, Fondation Custodia (Frits Lugt Collection), Paris, Inv. No.1017 (Fig.65); pen and brown ink over a sketch in black chalk, the circle described in pen and brown ink, indented for transfer, 130 × 128 mm.; in black chalk within the circle is inscribed: *DVLCIA SIC MERVIT* (Thus he obtained sweetness); mark of the collection of Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); verso: mark of the collection of C.S.Bale (L.640). PROV. Sir Thomas Lawrence (London, 1769-1830); C.S.Bale (London, 1791-1880), sale, London (Christie's), 9-14 June 1881, lot 2448; Earl of Mayo (1914); P. and D.Colinaghi, London; acquired by F.Lugt in 1923. LIT. Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.168, under No.580; A.J.J.Delen, 'Unpublished Drawings by Rubens...', *Old Master Drawings*, VII, 1932, p.32 (as probably by Theodoor van Thulden); Held, *Drawings*, I, p.155, under No.154 (as Rubens); W.Laureyssens, *Theodoor van Thulden, zijn leven en zijn werk* (thesis for the University of Ghent), 1960, p.97, No.19 (as Theodoor van Thulden); J.Müller Hofstede, 'Beiträge zum zeichnerischen Werk von Rubens', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXVII, 1965, pp.349-356, fig.248 (as Rubens, c.1635); H.G.Evers, 'Rubens und der Löwe', *Festschrift Dr.h.c. Eduard Trauttscholdt*, Hamburg, 1965, p.128, fig.71 (as Rubens); D.Rosand, 'Ru-

bens's Munich Lion Hunt: Its Sources and Significance', *Art Bulletin*, LI, 1969, p.30, fig.10 (as *Rubens*); [C. van Hasselt], *Cat. Exh. Flemish Drawings of the Seventeenth Century from the Collection of Frits Lugt*, London-Paris-Bern-Brussels, 1972, pp. 108-110, pl.48 (as *Rubens*); R.-A. d'Hulst, 'Flemish Drawings from the Age of Rubens', *Apollo*, CIV, November 1976, pp.375, 378 (as *has been doubted*); H. Vlieghe, 'Erasmus Quellinus and Rubens's Studio Practice', *Burlington Magazine*, CXIX, 1977, p.639 (as *Rubens, after 1631*); *Balis, Hunting Scenes*, pp.141, 145 n.42, fig.62 (as *not universally accepted as Rubens*); (2) Etching by Erasmus Quellinus (Fig.66). Samson and the lion are in reverse, compared to the preceding drawing, and are placed in a landscape. Inscribed: *Rubens inventor, E. Quellinus fecit in aqua forti, R. v. d. Velde exc. LIT. Rooses*, I, p.143, under No.114; *Wurzbach*, II, p.371, No.1; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p.85, No.558bis; J. Müller Hofstede, *op. cit.*, p.353 n.212; [C. van Hasselt], *op. cit.*, p.109, under No.82; H. Vlieghe, *loc. cit.*; J.-P. De Bruyn, 'Werk van Erasmus II Quellinus verkeerdelijk toegeschreven aan P.P. Rubens', *Jaarboek Museum Antwerpen*, 1977, p.310, fig.12; (3) Tapestry, whereabouts unknown; 338 x 264 cm. *PROV.* Major E.H.T. Boileau, Ketteringham Park, Wymondham, Norfolk, sale, London (Sotheby's), 10 October 1947, lot 120. Samson and the lion are turned to the left, against a background of trees and mountains. Corresponds broadly with Quellinus's etching.

The drawing in the Fondation Custodia in Paris has hitherto been attributed to Rubens, though not always with much conviction; Delen and Laureyssens, exceptionally, ascribed it to Theodoor van

Thulden. We believe it to be by an unknown hand, probably an alternative design for a medal struck in 1631 by Adriaen Waterloos (see No.26a). Subsequently it was indented for transfer and used for the etching by E. Quellinus.

Müller Hofstede¹ rightly pointed out that the motif of Samson overcoming the lion, as it appears in the drawing, recurs almost identically, below left, in the *Tiger, Lion and Leopard Hunt* now in the Museum at Rennes (Fig.67).² one of four hunting scenes painted by Rubens c.1616-1617 for Maximilian of Bavaria.³ It may thus be inferred that the author of the drawing in Paris made use of a motif that Rubens had designed some fifteen years earlier. We may suppose that this motif was intended by Rubens from the beginning for a representation of Samson and the lion, and was only used afterwards for the *Tiger, Lion and Leopard Hunt*, for which the biblical Samson, for iconographical reasons, was naturally unsuitable. Whether Rubens first formulated the motif as a painting, an oil sketch or a drawing is unknown.

1. *Op. cit.*, pp.350-351, fig.249.

2. D. Rosand, *op. cit.*, p.29, fig.7; *Balis, Hunting Scenes*, pp.133-146, No.7, fig.57.

3. These four paintings were in Schloss Schleissheim near Munich until 1800, when they were removed to Paris by Napoleon's agents (see *Balis, Hunting Scenes*, pp.111-112). Only one, *Hippopotamus and Crocodile Hunt*, was recovered in 1815 (see D. Rosand, *op. cit.*, p.29, fig.3; *Balis, Hunting Scenes*, pp.118-123, No.5, fig.46). The other three found their way to the museums at (1) Marseilles (*Boar Hunt*; see D. Rosand, *op. cit.*, p.29, fig.2; *Balis, Hunting Scenes*, pp.112-118, No.4, fig.40); (2) Bordeaux (*Lion Hunt*, destroyed by fire in 1870; see *Balis, Hunting Scenes*, pp.123-130, No.6); and (3) Rennes.

28. Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion: Drawing (Fig.69)

Black chalk, heightened with white; 257 × 348 mm.—*Verso*: a retreating lioness, seen from the rear (Fig.149).

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet. Inv. No. A.1388.

PROVENANCE: Jacob de Vos Jb^{zn} (Amsterdam, 1803–1882), sale, Amsterdam, 22–24 May 1883.

EXHIBITED: Amsterdam, 1933, No.66; *Het beste bewaard. Een Amsterdamse verzameling en het ontstaan van de Vereniging Rembrandt*, Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, 1983, No.83.

LITERATURE: E.W.Moes, *Teekeningen in het Rijksprentenkabinet*, Amsterdam, No. 68; Oldenbourg, *Rubens*, p.202, fig.123 (as 'späteren Zeit des Meisters'); Glück-Haberdtztl, p.48, No.144 (as *Rubens*, c.1620–1625); A.Scharf, 'The Rubens Exhibition in Amsterdam', *Apollo*, XVIII, 1933, pp. 232–237; M.Jaffé, 'Rubens en de leeuwenkuil', *Bulletin, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam*, 1955, pp.59–63, 67, fig.1 (as *Rubens*, c.1615); J.Müller Hofstede, 'Beiträge zum zeichnerischen Werk von Rubens', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXVII, 1965, p.352 (as *Rubens*, c.1615); H.G.Evers, 'Rubens und der Löwe', *Festschrift Dr h.c. E.Traut-scholdt*, Hamburg, 1965, pp.127–131, figs. 68, 69 (as *Rubens*, c.1631); [C.van Hasselt], *Cat. Exh. Flemish Drawings of the Seventeenth Century from the Collection of Frits Lugt*, London–Paris–Bern–Brussels, 1972, pp.109–110, under No.82 (as *Rubens*).

The sheet represents, in right and in left profile, *Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion*. Samson, with his weight on his left leg, presses his right knee into the lion's neck and so forces it to the ground. Below on

the right, the head and withers of a bull are drawn in simple outline.

The motif of kneeling on a subjugated animal is frequently found in antiquity: it occurs no fewer than three times, for example, on the sarcophagus of *The Labours of Hercules* in the Villa Borghese in Rome,¹ which Rubens must have seen. In the Renaissance it is chiefly encountered in bronze groups of Hercules breaking the lion's jaw. However, as Jaffé suggested,² the immediate inspiration of Rubens's drawing at Amsterdam may have been a small Roman bronze such as *Victoria Sacrificing a Bull*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London; some support is given to this by the presence of a bull in the drawing in addition to Samson and the lion.

Neither the date nor the purpose of this drawing are known for certain. Oldenbourg thought it to be a design, 'from the master's later period', for a sculpture. Glück-Haberdtztl also thought it to be a design for a sculpture, but dated it 1620–1625; Evers regarded it as a study for a medal bearing the date 1631 (see No.26a), while Jaffé saw it as a design for a painting and dated it 1615 or somewhat earlier (his dating was also accepted by Müller Hofstede). Jaffé's opinion as to the date was based on the drawing of a lioness on the *verso*, which he believed could not be later than 1615.³ Evers, however, rightly pointed out that the lioness's head is partly cut off, indicating that it was drawn before the scene of Samson and the lion. In view of its style, the latter very probably belongs to the 1620s.

In his monograph on the Malines sculptor Lucas Faydherbe (1617–1697), who worked in Rubens's studio from 1636 to 1640, Friar Libertus⁴ mentions a work, now lost, of which he found the following description in the *Manuscript Baert*:⁵

'Monsieur l'Abbé de Nelis, chanoine de la Cathédrale de Tournay, grand vicaire de M.l'Évêque, député ordinaire et président ... possède un ouvrage admirable exécuté par Faydherbe: c'est un vase d'ivoire autour duquel est représenté l'histoire du serpent d'airain, dont les figures sont de demi-bosse: cette composition a été sculptée d'après le dessin de Rubens et a été gravée par L.A. [S.a] Bolswert; le couvercle du vase est surmonté d'une figure de Samson, déchirant un lion' (M.l'Abbé de Nelis, canon of Tournai Cathedral, vicar-general of the lord Bishop, ... possesses an admirable work by Faydherbe, an ivory vase around which the history of the Brazen Serpent is depicted in medium relief. This composition was carved to Rubens's design and engraved by L. A. [S.a] Bolswert; the lid of the vase is surmounted by a figure of Samson tearing a lion to pieces). See No.24. Although no direct connection can be established between this finial and the present drawing, it suggests that the latter may possibly have been a design for a sculpture.

On 13 December 1973 there was sold at Sotheby's, London (lot 90, as *Sir Peter Paul Rubens*) a drawing of '*Samson and the Lion*' which had belonged successively to P. J. Mariette (Paris, 1694-1774; *L.1852*) and Sir Robert Ludwig Mond (London, 1867-1938; *L.2813a*; T. Borenius and R. Wittkower, *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings by the Old Masters formed by Sir Robert Mond*, London, No.370, p.97, pl.LXVII). The drawing is in pen and wash and brown ink over black chalk (135 x 95 mm.), inscribed in black ink: *Rubens*, and on the old mount, in brown ink: *Rubens, 1597*. It shows Samson and the lion more or less from behind, and is, so far as is known, the only drawing by Rubens, other than the present one,

which shows Samson pressing his knee (the left one, not the right as here) into the lion's body as he breaks its jaw (Fig.68). It is not known who added the inscription *Rubens, 1597* or on what evidence it is based. It is unlikely that Rubens would have designed such a composition before his departure for Italy: stylistically it is more likely to date from the 1620s. The attribution to Rubens himself is also unconvincing; it appears rather to be a copy by an unknown hand.

1. C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs* (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut), III, Berlin, 1897, No.127, pp.147-148, pl.XXXVIII. See J. Müller Hofstede, loc. cit.; H. G. Evers, op. cit., p.128, fig.74.
2. M. Jaffé, op. cit., p.62, fig.3.
3. Jaffé's view that the lioness could not be later than 1615 was based on the fact that a lioness occurs in the same pose in Jan Brueghel's *The Animals Entering Noah's Ark* in the Wellington Museum, London, a painting which bears the date 1615. However, another version of the painting has since come to light (cf. K. Ertz, *Jan Brueghel*, Cologne, 1977, p.603, No. 273) which includes the same lioness and is dated 1613, which is thus now to be taken as the *terminus ante quem* for Rubens's drawing.
4. Lucas Faydherbe, *beeldhouwer en bouwmeester*, Antwerp, 1938, pp.153-154. Friar Libertus points out that this lost work by Faydherbe is also mentioned by E. Gachet (*Lettres inédites de P.P. Rubens, publiées d'après ses autographes*, Brussels, 1840, p.281), and C. Kramm (*Levens en Werken...*, Amsterdam, II, 1858, p.479).
5. *Manuscript Baert*, Rijksarchief, Brussels, No.15765-70, Varia, fol.48.

29. Samson Slaying a Philistine: Drawing (Fig.70)

Pen and brush and brown ink over preliminary work in black and red chalk; 267 x 184 mm. Below on the left, mark of the collection of T. Hudson (*L.2432*); below on the right, mark of the collection of J. Richardson Senior (*L.2184*).—*Verso*: below on the right, *P.P.R.* inscribed in chalk by an unknown hand.

Amsterdam, Gemeente-Musea, Fodor Collection.

PROVENANCE: J. Richardson Senior (London, 1665-1745); Thomas Hudson (London, 1701-1779); Henry Oppenheimer (London, 1859-1932), sale, London (Christie's), 10-14 July 1936, lot 238B (as *Van Dyck, Cain Slaying Abel*), purchased by I. Q. van Regteren Altena on behalf of the Fodor Museum.

EXHIBITED: *Crteži Majstora iz kolekcije Fodor u Amsterdam*, Narodni Muzej, Belgrade, 1960, No.75; *Master Drawings from the Fodor Collection, Amsterdam*, Bezalel National Museum, Jerusalem, 1960, No.75; *Antwerp, 1977*, No.126; *Dessins de maîtres des Pays-Bas méridionaux et septentrionaux nés avant 1600*, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon, 1980, No.57.

LITERATURE: J.S.Held, 'Comments on Rubens' Beginnings', in *Miscellanea Dr D.Roggen*, Antwerp, 1957, p.134, fig.5 (as *Rubens, c.1603-1604*); *Held, Drawings*, pp.97-98, under No.10 (as *Rubens, c.1603-1605*); *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, pp.81-83, No.48, fig.48r (as *Rubens*); J.Müller Hofstede, Review of *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, in *Master Drawings*, 4, 1966, p.443, No.48 (as *Rubens*); *Seilern, Addenda*, pp.8-10, under No.298 (as *Rubens, c.1608-1609*); M.Schapelhouman, *Tekeningen van Noord- en Zuidnederlandse kunstenaars geboren voor 1600 (i.d. Gemeentemusea van Amsterdam)*, Amsterdam, 1979, pp.99-100, No.62, repr. (as *Rubens, Cain Slaying Abel, c.1610*); *Held, Oil Sketches*, p.427, under No.427 (as *Rubens, several years later than c.1603-1605*); B.Heisner, 'A Note on Rubens' "Slain Abel" in the Bob Jones University Museum, Greenville', *Southeastern College Art Conference Review*, IX, 5, 1980, pp.211-215; M.Jaffé, Review of *Held, Oil Sketches* in *Apollo*, CXV, 239, 1982, p.62;

Held, Drawings, 1986, pp.84-85, Nos.45, 46, repr. (as *Rubens, 1608-1609*).

A rough sketch of Samson slaying a Philistine with the jawbone of an ass. Samson's exploit in slaying a thousand Philistines (Judges 15: 15) ranks with that of the young David felling Goliath with a stone from his sling. The *Bibles moralisées* represent Samson's feat as prefiguring the Resurrection of Christ, rising from the grave in triumph and putting Jews and the devil to flight by the power of the Cross.¹

Rubens's figures are inspired by Italian sculpture; the composition of the group recalls *Hercules and Cacus*, a free-standing pyramidal work by Michelangelo, known only from a clay model in the Casa Buonarroti in Florence.² On his first visit to Spain in 1603 Rubens very probably saw Giovanni Bologna's *Samson Slaying a Philistine*³ in Valladolid, a marble group which is also pyramidal in structure, and from which some motifs can be recognized in Rubens's two figures.

No painting based on this sketch is known. In 1636 a *Samson Killing the Philistines with a Jawbone* was in the Alcázar, Salón de los Espejos, Madrid, and Cruzada Villamil⁴ supposed that it was one of the eight paintings brought by Rubens to Madrid in 1628. But since no artist is named in the brief description of it in the 1636 inventory, it is by no means certain that it was a work by Rubens.⁵

The subject of this drawing of c.1609-1610 is not certain: it has also been interpreted as *Cain Slaying his Brother Abel*.⁶ I hold the view, however, that *Samson Slaying a Philistine* is the correct title; the sketch on the verso (No.30; Fig.71) also appears to me to show Samson's battle with the Philistines. Moreover, there is

not the least indication, either on the *recto* or the *verso*, of Abel's sacrificial altar.

The head and lower part of Samson's body were used by Rubens for the large painting of *Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion*, in the collection of the Duque de Hernani, Madrid (No.26; Fig.60).⁷ The body of the Philistine, so far as the trunk and raised arm are concerned, is in many respects similar to the figure of Abel in the painting *Cain Slaying his Brother Abel*, Courtauld Institute of Art, Princes Gate Collection, London (No.4; Fig.8).

In this drawing, as well as in *Judith Beheading Holofernes*, a drawing at the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main (No.50a; Fig.110), the victim is held by the hair; in the painting of *Cain Slaying his Brother Abel*, on the other hand, and also in the painted version of *Judith Beheading Holofernes*, a lost composition best known through a copy formerly in a private collection, Brussels (see No.50), the victim is held by the neck and by the jaw respectively.

An oil-sketch (panel, 31.8 × 22.9 cm.) formerly in the Duval Collection, Geneva, was sold at Phillips's, London, 12–13 May 1846 (lot 31), under the title *Samson Slaying a Philistine*. An oil-sketch, lightly coloured and a copy (possibly the same as the preceding) was formerly in the collection of Louis Jay, Frankfurt am Main, and was exhibited in the *Ausstellung von Meisterwerken alter Malerei aus Privatbesitz*, Frankfurt am Main, 1925, as *Cain and Abel*.⁸

Verso: a sketch for *Samson Overcoming two Philistines* (see No.30; Fig.71).

1. Réau, *Iconographie*, II, 1, p.243.
2. J.Wilde, 'Zwei Modelle Michelangelos für das Julius-Grabmal', *Wiener Jahrbuch*, N.F., II, Vienna, 1928, pp.119–205, figs.269, 271, pls.XI, XII.
3. J.Pope-Hennessy, *Samson and a Philistine by Giovanni Bologna*, London, 1954, pp.1–18, figs.9, 10, pls.1–14.
4. *Cruzada Villaamil*, pp.306–380.

5. S.N.Orso, *In the Presence of the 'Planet King'*. *Studies in Art and Decoration at the Court of Philip IV of Spain*, (Diss. Ph.D.), Princeton, 1978, p.50, No.16.
6. By J.S.Held (*Held, Drawings*, pp.97–98, No.10; *Held, Oil Sketches*, p.427, under No.308) and by J.Müller Hofstede (Review of *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, in *Master Drawings*, 4, 1966, p.443, No.48), who moreover considers it possible that this drawing represents a preliminary stage for the painting in the Courtauld Institute of Art, Princes Gate Collection, London (No.4; Fig.8).
7. Copies after Rubens's Samson-figure are in the Printroom of the Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen: 'Rubens Cantoor', Nos.I.75, I.76 and I.77.
8. Panel, 31.5 × 23.8 cm. See O.Götz, G.Swarzenski, A.Wolters, *Cat. of the exhibition, 1926*, p.63, No.180, fig.LXX; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, p.83, under No.48; J.Müller Hofstede, Review of *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, in *Master Drawings*, 4, 1966, p.443, No.48 (he considers it possible that the Fodor drawing, and the oil sketch formerly in the L.Jay Collection, represent preliminary stages for the painting *Cain Slaying his Brother Abel*, Courtauld Institute, London); *Held, Oil Sketches*, p.427, No.308, fig.308.

30. Samson Overcoming two Philistines: Drawing (Fig.71) (*Verso* of No.29)

Pen and brush and brown ink over preliminary work in black chalk; 267 × 184 mm. A small strip of paper added at the bottom; on it on the right, *P.P.R.* inscribed in chalk by an unknown hand. *Amsterdam, Gemeente-Musea, Fodor Collection*.

PROVENANCE: See No.29.

EXHIBITED: See No.29.

LITERATURE: J.S.Held, 'Comments on Rubens' Beginnings', *Miscellanea Dr. D. Roggen*, Antwerp, 1957, p.134 n.15 (as *Rubens; may refer to the murder of Abel by Cain, but equally well to Samson slaying the Philistines*); *Held, Drawings*, pp.97–98, No.10, pl.15 (as *Rubens, ?Cain Slaying Abel, c.1603–1605*); *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, pp.81–83, No.48, fig.48v (as *Rubens, Samson Overcoming Two Philistines*); M.Scha-

pelhouman, *Tekeningen van Noord- en Zuidnederlandse kunstenaars geboren voor 1600* (i.d. Gemeentemusea van Amsterdam), Amsterdam, 1979, pp.99–100, No.62, repr. (as Rubens, *Cain Slaying Abel*, 1610); B.Heisner, 'A Note on Rubens' "Slain Abel" in the Bob Jones University Museum, Greenville', *Southeastern College Art Conference Review*, IX, 5, 1980, pp.211–215; Held, *Drawings*, 1986, pp.84–85, Nos.45, 46, repr. (as Rubens, 1608–1609).

A rough sketch, c.1609–1610, for *Samson Slaying a Philistine* in two different poses, or (as I believe) for *Samson Overcoming two Philistines* (Judges 15: 15). The hero has forced one enemy to his knees and is about to strike him down with the ass's jawbone; a second Philistine already lies prostrate at his feet. A head is visible to the right of Samson. No painting based on this sketch is known.

An early example of the theme of Samson slaying two Philistines is found in the work of Michelangelo. Vasari mentions that Michelangelo at a certain moment (c.1528–1529) chose *Samson with two Philistines at his Feet* as the subject for a statue to be erected before the entrance to the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence as a pendant to his statue of *David*. War conditions prevented its execution. A group which is undoubtedly Michelangelesque in origin and which corresponds to Vasari's description is known through a number of bronze copies and drawings which directly or indirectly derive from the lost original.¹ The group was renowned as an atelier model, as can be seen in *Alexander the Great Visiting the Studio of Apelles*, a painting by Willem van Haecht (Antwerp, 1593–1637) in the Mauritshuis, The Hague.² A bronze of the same group is in the Frick Collection, New York,³ the Louvre, Paris, the Gemäldegalerie, Ber-

lin, the Boymans–van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam, and elsewhere.⁴

See also the drawing *Samson Slaying a Philistine* (No.29; Fig.70).

1. J.Wilde, 'Zwei Modelle Michelangelos für das Julius-Grab'. *Wiener Jahrbuch*, N.F. II, Vienna, 1928, pp.202–203 n.7.
2. Cat. Mauritshuis, *The Royal Cabinet of Paintings, The Hague*, 1977, p.101, No.206, repr. See C.de Tolnay, *Michelangelo*, Princeton, 1975, pp.224–225, No.14.
3. J.Pope-Hennessy, *Sculpture in the Frick Collection, Sculpture, Italian*, New York, 1970, pp.180–195, repr. (as *Samson and two Philistines*). See C.de Tolnay, op. cit., fig.308.
4. A list of these small bronzes is to be found in H.Thode, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, II, p.297.

31. Samson Asleep in Delilah's Lap (Fig.72)

Oil on panel; 185 × 205 cm. Below on the left, inventory number 18.

London, National Gallery.

PROVENANCE: Nicolaas Rockox (Antwerp, 1560–1640): listed in the inventory of 19–20 December 1640, drawn up after his death; ?Guillelmo Potteau, Antwerp: listed in the inventory of 2 August 1692, drawn up after his death, as 'Item, noch een schoustick, verbeldende Sampson ende Dalida, synde eene cotype naer Rubens' (Item, another chimney piece, representing Samson and Delilah, being a copy after Rubens); '?Raadsheer Segers, wonende op de Meir te Antwerpen' (?Councillor Segers, living on the Meir at Antwerp); Johann Adam Andreas, Prince of Liechtenstein (1657–1712), acquired by him on 30 May 1700 from the Antwerp dealers Forchondt. It had been the subject of correspondence between Marcus Forchondt, in Vienna, acting on instructions of the Prince of Liechtenstein, and Guillermo Forchondt (Marcus' father) in Antwerp, in 1698–1699. It arrived in Vienna before 17 June 1699; after some doubts

which were quickly dispelled, it was shown to the Prince by 5 September, and negotiations for its purchase began. Listed in the catalogues of the Liechtenstein Collection of 1767, 1780 and 1873 as *Jan van den Hoecke*; sold by Johann II, Prince of Liechtenstein, in Paris in 1880; discovered by Ludwig Burchard in Paris in 1929; acquired by August Neuerburg, Hamburg, from Van Diemen and Benedict, 22 January 1930; Mrs Heinz Köser, Hamburg-Hochkamp; sold London (Christie's), 11 July 1980, as 'The Property of a Family', and purchased there by the National Gallery, London.

COPY: Engraving by Jacob Matham (Fig.73); below on the left, *Cum privill Sa. Caes. M.*; below on the right, *Pet. Paulo Rubens pinxit / Ja. Matham sculp. et excud.*; titled: *Qui genus humanum superavit robore Sampson / Femineis tandem vincitur insidijs / Sic et feminea vis Herculis arte doloque / Occidit. O summis sexus inique viris!*; dedication: *Nob. et Ampliss. V.D.Nicolaeo Roxoxio / Equiti, pluries Antwerpiae Consuli, elegantiarum omnium / Apprime studioso, Iconem hanc in aes a se incesa, cultus et ob / servantiae causa, tu quod archetypum tabula artefice Pet. Pauli / Rubenij manu depicta apud ipsu(m) c(um) admiratione spectantur, Matha(m) L.M.D.D. LIT. V.S., p.6, No.41; Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst, p.73, No.437; Bodart, p.16, No.5, repr.*

EXHIBITED: Antwerp, 1977, No.20.

LITERATURE: Rooses, I, pp.143-144, No. 115 (as *Rubens, c.1609-1610*); Oldenbourg, *Rubens*, pp.85-86, 197 (as *Rubens*); Denucé, *Kunstuitvoer*, p.243; Denucé, *Konstkamers*, pp.86, 166, 369 (for the inventories of Rockox, Wildens and Potteau) (as *Rubens*); L.Burchard in Glück, *Rubens, Van Dyck*, p.382, note to p.74 (as *Rubens*); H.G.Evers, "'Frierende Venus" von Rubens', *Pantheon*, XXIX, 1942, p.83ff.; Id., 'La

Galerie d'Art du Bourgmestre Rockox', *Apollo, Chronique des Beaux-Arts*, 15, 1942, pp.11-15; Id., 'Samson et Dalila de Pierre-Paul Rubens', *ibid.*, 17, 1942, pp.5-9, repr. (as *Rubens*); Id., 'Simson und Delila von Rubens in der Sammlung August Neuerburg in Hamburg', *Pantheon*, XXXI, 1943, pp.65-68, repr.; Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, p.151 et seq., figs.54, 64, 65 (as *Rubens*); D.Rosen and J.S.Held, 'A Rubens Discovery in Chicago', *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, XIII-XIV, 1950-1951, pp.89-90, fig.14 (as *Rubens, shortly after his return from Italy*); Haverkamp Begemann, *Olieverfschetsen*, p.38, under No.6 (as *Rubens, c.1609-1610*); Burchard-d'Hulst, *Tekeningen*, pp.46-47, under No.32 (as *Rubens, c.1610*); Held, *Drawings*, p.103, under No.24 (as *Rubens*); Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, pp.79-80, under No.46 (as *Rubens, c.1610*); M.Warnke, *Kommentare zu Rubens*, Berlin, 1965, p.29 (as *Rubens*); J.R.Martin, *The Farnese Gallery*, Princeton, 1965, pp.154-155 (as *Rubens*); M.Kahr, 'Delilah', *Art Bulletin*, LIV, 1972, pp.296-297, fig.20 (as *Rubens, c.1610*); Pigler, *Barockthemen*, 1974, I, p.130 (as *Rubens*); F.Baudouin, *Nicolaas Rockox 'vriendt ende patroon' van Peter Paul Rubens*, Antwerp, 1977, pp.17-19 (as *Rubens, c.1609-1610*); T.Buddensieg, 'Simson und Dalila von Peter Paul Rubens', *Festschrift für Otto von Simson*, Berlin, 1977, pp.328-345, fig.1 (as *Rubens, c.1610*); H.Vlieghe, *De schilder Rubens*, Utrecht-Antwerp, 1977, pp.53, 73-75, fig.38 (as *Rubens, 1609-1610*); G.Martin, 'The Imaginative Vision of Rubens', *Apollo*, CVI, 187, 1977, p.240; *Samson and Delilah by Sir Peter Paul Rubens*, sale catalogue, London (Christie's), 11 July 1980 (as *Rubens, c.1610*); Held, *Oil Sketches*, pp.430-433 (under No.312) (as *Rubens, first half of 1609*); H.Vlieghe, 'Rubens und seine Antwerpener Auftraggeber', in *Peter Paul Rubens. Werk und*

Nachruhm, Munich, 1981, p.144, repr.; C. Brown, *Rubens, Samson and Delilah*, National Gallery, London, 1983 (as *Rubens*, 1609).

The painting illustrates an episode in the life of Samson, the famous hero and judge of Israel who freed his people from the Philistine yoke but was seduced by the beauty of Delilah, a Philistine woman (Judges 13–16). After three times putting her off with false answers when she sought to know the secret of his miraculous strength, during a passage of love he finally confided to her that it lay in his long hair, the symbol of his dedication to God. She betrayed the secret to the Philistine leaders and received a reward for her treachery. Then, while Samson slept with his head in her lap, she ordered a barber to cut off the seven locks of his hair, so that the hero, now powerless, was taken prisoner by the Philistines (Judges 16: 16–19).

In the field of typology from the Middle Ages onwards, the events of Samson's life were generally regarded as prefiguring the Life of Christ; in this context, Samson's love for Delilah represents Christ's love for the church.¹ The history of Samson and Delilah, a tale of the weakness of man enslaved to women, and of treachery for the sake of money, was very popular in the seventeenth century, when it was also treated as a moralistic warning against succumbing to the temptations of the flesh. At the same time, Delilah's betrayal of Samson, to be blinded by the Philistines, was regarded as a prefiguration of the betrayal of Christ by Judas and his crucifixion by the Jews.²

Rubens shows Delilah lying on a low bed, her torso upright and her bosom naked, with a hand resting on Samson's

shoulder. The hero, after revealing the fateful secret, has fallen into a deep sleep, his head in Delilah's lap. A barber, assisted by an old woman, is busy cutting off Samson's hair. Five Philistine soldiers can be seen in a doorway, waiting to burst into the room. A statuette of Venus and Cupid in a niche (the *Venus Felix* in the Vatican)³ shows that Rubens regarded Delilah as a woman of easy virtue, and the old woman as a procuress;⁴ on a shelf, glass jars and a towel, appropriate to a harlot's bedroom, are to be seen. The Bible does not describe her as a prostitute, but she is so referred to in Flavius Josephus's *Antiquities of the Jews*, and presumably Rubens was guided by this statement.

Despite the four sources of light in the picture—the pan of burning coals beside Delilah, the candle in the procuress's hand, the lamp beneath the statue of Venus and Cupid, and the torch illuminating the warriors—the action takes place in semi-darkness, accentuating its dramatic character. Three successive phases are in fact portrayed or suggested simultaneously: (1) the bout of love which has left Samson exhausted and sound asleep; (2) the cutting of his hair; and (3) his capture by the waiting soldiers.

Oldenbourg, who only knew the painting from Matham's print, was the first to point out its resemblance to Tintoretto's *Samson Asleep in Delilah's Lap*, in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire.⁵ The general arrangement of Rubens's composition is indeed close enough to that of the Italian master to suggest that the latter was known to him, which is not surprising, given his familiarity with the Venetian school.⁶ The painting contains other reminiscences of Rubens's stay in Italy. The muscularity of Samson's back and arm bear witness to the artist's study of

antique sculpture such as the *Farnese Hercules* and the *Belvedere Torso*, both of which he copied in drawings during his stay in Rome.⁷ The same type of musculature is found in Michelangelo's heroic figures, which Rubens also studied intensively.⁸ Delilah's pose is also borrowed from Michelangelo: the curve of her body is derived from that of Leda in *Leda and the Swan*, a painting much admired by contemporaries, now known only from copies and engravings.⁹ In reverse, Delilah's pose also resembles that of *Night* in Michelangelo's tomb of Giuliano de' Medici at San Lorenzo in Florence, of which Rubens also made a drawing.¹⁰ Moreover, *Samson Asleep in Delilah's Lap* was clearly influenced by the work of Elsheimer, the German artist who settled in Rome, where he met Rubens and was admired by him.¹¹ This is shown, for instance, by Rubens's use of several sources of light, which, as with Elsheimer, throw a strong emphasis on the protagonists in a dark room and thus create a dramatic atmosphere.

Although it is not difficult to point out Rubens's debt to all these artists, his painting is far from being a mere imitation. Starting from a profound understanding of their work, he interprets features of it in a wholly independent and original way. Composing his picture with rhetorical talent, he accentuates its sensual character by means of sharply contrasting colours and a broad application of paint, adding a specially erotic note with the baring of Delilah's breasts. Still more striking is the psychological expression he gives his characters, in particular Delilah, of whom Brown writes: 'Her face is the key to the whole scene. It is a conventional mask of beauty, and yet Rubens has managed to convey both the triumph of a woman who has humiliated the hero,

and the pity of a woman for her doomed lover'.¹²

Buddensieg¹³ drew attention to certain analogies between the characters and those in *The Adoration of the Magi*, now in the Prado, Madrid (and more especially with the sketch for it, now at Groningen),¹⁴ which Rubens painted in 1609, shortly after his return from Italy, as a commission from Rockox for the municipal council-hall in Antwerp.¹⁵ The faces of Delilah and the Virgin are almost identical; Samson's torso, and his powerful left arm, can be compared with that of one of the bearers, and Delilah's recumbent pose with that of the infant Jesus. These resemblances suggest that *Samson Asleep in Delilah's Lap* was also painted in 1609, especially as it is close to some works executed by Rubens at the end of his stay in Italy, for instance *The Adoration of the Shepherds* at Fermo.¹⁶ The same interest in light effects can be seen in that painting, as well as an old woman's head for which Rubens may have used the same model as for the procuress in *Samson*.¹⁷ There is a further argument for assigning a similar date to *Samson Asleep in Delilah's Lap* and *The Adoration of the Magi* in the Prado. An oil sketch by Rubens in the Art Institute, Chicago (No.32; Fig.77) shows the next stage of Samson's story after his hair is cut off: his capture by the Philistines, who are on the point of putting out his eyes. X-rays of this small panel have revealed that beneath this scene of *Samson Taken by the Philistines* is an early sketch for *The Adoration of the Magi* in Madrid. Rubens had begun to design this *Adoration* but had abandoned it for the time being, and instead had painted on a second panel (the one now in Groningen) the coloured oil sketch which he submitted to the city council for their approval.¹⁸

The present painting was the property of Nicolaas Rockox (1560–1640), an influential man who played an important part in the government of Antwerp, of which he was nine times mayor. After Rubens returned from Italy at the end of 1608, Rockox was one of his first customers. Rubens calls him 'my friend and patron' in a letter of 11 May 1611,¹⁹ and their close relationship continued until the painter's death. Besides *Samson Asleep in Delilah's Lap* and *The Adoration of the Magi*, Rubens owed other commissions to Rockox: for instance, in 1611 Rockox was instrumental in securing for him the commission for the great *Descent from the Cross* triptych for the altar of the Guild of Arquebusiers in Antwerp Cathedral. Before the triptych was completed in 1614 Rockox, on his own account this time, commissioned from Rubens a small triptych of *Doubting Thomas*, to be placed above his tomb and that of his wife Adriana Perez in the Church of the Recollects. In 1620 he commissioned from Rubens two further paintings, the '*Coup de lance*' and *The Return from the Flight into Egypt*, for the same Church of the Recollects, which was a particular object of his generosity.²⁰

In the inventory of Rockox's estate drawn up by the notary David van der Soppen on 19–20 December 1640 *Samson Asleep in Delilah's Lap* is listed as follows: 'In de groote Saleth: Eene schilderije, olieverwe op pannel in syne lyste be-teeckenende Sampson ende Dalida, van dmaecxsel van den heer Rubens' (In the large parlour: a painting, oil on panel and in its frame, of Samson and Delilah, made by Mr Rubens).²¹ An engraving by Jacob Matham (Haarlem, 1571–1631) after the painting (Fig. 73) includes a dedication to Rockox which states expressly that the original can be admired in his home.²²

Finally, in *The Five Senses*—a work by Frans Francken II in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich (Fig. 74),²³ which, with some freedom, represents some of Rockox's artistic possessions—*Samson Asleep in Delilah's Lap* is seen as a show-piece in the place of honour. The large parlour with the fireplace, over which it was hung, can still be seen in the Rockox House in the Keizerstraat. Although there is no strict proof, as no documents are extant, it cannot be doubted that the work was commissioned by Rockox. Its dimensions correspond in every respect to the space available over the fireplace, and Rubens took account of the fact that it would be hung at a height of about 180 cm.: for this reason the bed and the doorway, as well as the shelves and the niches on the far wall, are represented *di sotto in su*.

Two preparatory compositions are known: a drawing in the possession of Mrs I. Q. van Regteren Altena, Amsterdam (No. 31a; Fig. 75), and an oil sketch in the Cincinnati Art Museum, Cincinnati, Ohio (No. 31b; Fig. 76).

Matham's engraving, his only one after Rubens, was not done from the painting but from the oil sketch in Cincinnati or a drawing based on it. As in that sketch, the young Philistine is beardless and there are three soldiers, not five, in the doorway; also the still life on the wall beside the door is arranged in the same way.²⁴ Besides the dedication to Rockox, the engraving bears a legend comparing Samson's fate to that of Hercules. The head of Delilah's bed, in the engraving, is decorated with two heads of animals, a donkey and a panther; in the painting, only the former is visible. Buddensieg²⁵ pointed out that a similar ass's head is to be seen on the couch in Giulio Romano's *Two Lovers Upon a Couch* from the former Gonzaga possessions, now in the Hermitage

in Leningrad,²⁶ and that it may suggest the infatuation that brought Samson to his doom. Rubens would certainly have seen Giulio Romano's picture during his stay in Mantua. Buddensieg also connects the panther, added by Rubens, with *Abstinuit Venere, et Baccho*, a poem in Reusner's *Emblemata* (1581) which relates that, just as the fierce panther submits without resistance when he is drunk with wine, so the once invincible Samson is ruined by his love for a shameless woman.

Rubens's treatment of the theme of Samson and Delilah was much imitated by other artists: for instance by Van Dyck in one of his earliest paintings, now at Dulwich.²⁷ Two preparatory drawings for this work²⁸ reflect his attempt gradually to free himself from Rubens's composition. A painting by Pieter Claesz. Soutman in the York Art Gallery, dated 1642,²⁹ combines elements of Rubens's work and also of Van Dyck's. Christiaan van Couwenbergh adapted Rubens's composition at Utrecht in the 1630s, and at about the same time an unknown sculptor modelled the figures of Samson and Delilah in terracotta, now in the Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.³⁰

1. As late as the 17th century J.J. Courvoisier wrote (in *Le Lys divin et le Samson mystique*, published at Brussels in 1638) that Samson's love for Delilah could be compared with Christ's love for His church.
2. Réau, *Iconographie*, II, 1, pp.245-246.
3. H.H. Brummer, *The Statue Court in the Vatican Belvedere*, Stockholm, 1970, p.123ff.
4. A similar old woman is the type of procuress as depicted already in the 16th century in Netherlandish moralistic paintings, symbolizing the abuse of sexual intercourse for gain.
5. Oldenbourg, *Rubens*, p.82ff., figs.43, 119 (however, he states wrongly that Tintoretto's painting is in the possession of the Duke of Westminster). Another *Samson Asleep in Delilah's Lap* by Tintoretto is in the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota (cf. Detlev Baron von Hadeln, 'Tintoret-

- to's "Samson and Delilah"', *Burlington Magazine*, LII, 1928, p.21, figs.A, B; *Held*, *Oil Sketches*, p.431).
6. Rubens's closeness to Tintoretto is disputed by Kahr (op. cit., p.296 n.54) and Buddensieg (op. cit., pp.331-332).
7. For the Farnese Hercules, see a.o.: L. Burchard in *London*, 1950, pp.10-11, No.9; *Seilern*, *Flemish Paintings*, p.85, No.53, pls.CIV, CV; *Held*, *Drawings*, pp.113-114, under No.48; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, *Drawings*, pp.292-293, under No.188; *Fubini-Held*, p.134, fig.5. For the Belvedere Torso, see *Burchard-d'Hulst*, *Tekeningen*, pp.33-34, No.12.
8. *Glück-Haberdtz*, Nos.12-21; *Lugt*, *Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, p.21, No.1035, pl.XXXII; pp.22-23, Nos.1040-1048, pls.XXXV-XXXIX; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, *Tekeningen*, p.45, No.30; *Held*, *Drawings*, pp.52, 156 (No.158, pl.171); *Burchard-d'Hulst*, *Drawings*, pp.36-37 (No.18, repr.), 37-39 (No.19, repr.), 39-40 (No.20, repr.), 211-212 (No.134, repr.); *Jaffé*, *Rubens and Italy*, pp.191-221.
9. C. Brown, op. cit., p.12, fig.6.
10. *Glück-Haberdtz*, No.22; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, *Drawings*, pp.35-36, No.17, repr.; [C. van Hasselt] *Cat. Exh., Flemish Drawings of the Seventeenth Century from the Collection of Frits Lugt*, Institut Néerlandais, Paris, 1972, pp.99-101, pl.38.
11. In a drawing now in the British Museum, London (K. Andrews, *Adam Elsheimer*, Oxford, 1977, p.145, under No.15, fig.118), Rubens copied a group of figures from Elsheimer's *Stoning of St Stephen*, a painting now in the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh (K. Andrews, op. cit., p.145, No.15, fig.46). Rubens himself owned two pictures which are listed as by Elsheimer in the inventory of his estate: *Judith Beheading Holofernes*, now in the Wellington Museum, Apsley House, London, which is indeed Elsheimer's work (K. Andrews, op. cit., p.144, No.12, fig.36), and *The Mocking of Ceres*, now in the Prado, Madrid, which however appears to be only a copy (K. Andrews, op. cit., p.152, No.23, fig.82).
12. C. Brown, op. cit., p.13.
13. Op. cit., pp.333-335.
14. *Haverkamp Begemann*, *Olieverfschetsen*, pp.36-37, No.4, fig.6.
15. *K.d.K.*, p.26. This painting did not remain long in Antwerp. In 1612 it was presented by the City of Antwerp to Rodrigo Calderón, who was in Flanders as an Ambassador Extraordinary from the King of Spain, Philip III. After Calderón's execution nine years later, Philip IV purchased the painting and it was in the royal collection when Rubens was in Madrid in 1628 and 1629. During his stay he enlarged and retouched it, so that it is no longer in its original form.
16. *Jaffé*, *Rubens and Italy*, pp.93r-94r, fig.340.
17. The head of this old woman also occurs in a drawing now in the Fodor Museum in Amsterdam, a study for the painting *The Adoration of the Shepherds*

- in St Paul's, Antwerp (Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, pp.73-74, No.41, repr.).
18. J.S.Held, 'A Rubens Discovery in Chicago', *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, XIII-XV, 1950-1951, pp.77-91; *Held, Oil Sketches*, pp.433-434, No.313, fig.310.
 19. Rooses-Ruelens, pp.35-38, No.CXXVIII; *Magurn, Letters*, p.55, No.22.
 20. F.Baudouin, op. cit., pp.15-20.
 21. *Denucé, Konstkamers*, pp.85-86. A letter of 3 September 1698 from the art dealer Marcus Forchondt in Vienna to his brother Guillelmo in Antwerp reads in part as follows: 'Versoecke eens te informeren oft den Raetsheer Segers die op de Meer gewoont heeft die 2 stucken schilderij te weten: een Samson en Dalida van Rubbens, nacht-stuck op pineel, en een contrafetsel Spaniaert van Van Dyck noch heeft, en oft hij die beide voor guld. 2000 soude willen gheven' (Please enquire whether Councillor Segers, who has lived on the Meir [Antwerp], still has in his possession the painting of Samson and Delilah by Rubens, a night-piece on panel, and a portrait of a Spaniard by Van Dyck, and whether he would sell the two of them for 2,000 guilders) (*Denucé, Kunstuitvoer*, loc. cit.). If, as is probable, the Rubens painting mentioned in this letter is identical with the one owned by Rockox, then the latter might still have been in Antwerp in 1698.
 22. Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.291, No.1009; V.S., p.6, No.41.
 23. Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, fig.62.
 24. *Held, Oil Sketches*, p.432.
 25. T.Buddensieg, op. cit., p.331 n.3, fig.4.
 26. F.Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, I, New Haven, 1958, pp.217-218; II, fig.407.
 27. K.d.K., *Van Dyck*, p.13.
 28. H.Vey, *Die Zeichnungen Anton van Dycks*, Brussels, 1902, pp.73-76, Nos.2, 3, repr.
 29. *York Art Gallery Catalogue*, I, 1961, p.63, and *Catalogue Supplement*, 1974, p.11; J.Hughes, in *City of York Art Gallery Bulletin*, XXXI, May 1977, pp.1027-1031, repr.
 30. C.Brown, op. cit., p.17, fig.14.

31a. Samson Asleep in Delilah's Lap: Drawing (Fig.75)

Pen and brush and brown ink; 164 × 162 mm. Below on the left, inscribed with the pen: V.D.—*Verso*: Indistinct sketches in pen.
Amsterdam, Collection of Mrs I.Q. van Regteren Altena.

PROVENANCE: Unknown.

EXHIBITED: *Amsterdam, 1933*, No.67; *Antwerp, 1956*, No.32; *Kabinet van Tekeningen. 16de en 17de Hollandse en Vlaamse tekeningen uit een Amsterdamse verzameling*, Rotterdam-Paris-Brussels, 1976-1977, No.107; *Antwerp, 1977*, No.129.

LITERATURE: *Cat. Exh. Amsterdam, 1933*, No.67, repr. (as *Rubens, c.1610*); A.Scharf, 'Little-Known Drawings by Rubens', *The Connoisseur*, XCII, 1933, p.249 (as *Rubens, immediately after his return from Italy*); H.G.Evers, "'Frierende Venus" von Rubens', *Pantheon*, XXIX, 1942, pp.83-86, fig.4 (as *Rubens*); Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, pp.151, 162, fig.51 (as *Rubens*); *Burchard-d'Hulst, Tekeningen*, pp.46-47, No.32 (as *Rubens, c.1610*); *Held, Drawings*, p.103, No.24, pl.21 (as *Rubens, c.1610*); *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, pp.79-80, No.46, repr. (as *Rubens, c.1610*); M.Kahr, 'Delilah', *Art Bulletin*, LIV, 1972, p.295, fig.18 (as *Rubens, c.1610*); J.I.Kuznetsov, *Rubens Drawings* (in Russian), Moscow, 1974, No.27, repr. (as *Rubens, c.1610*); *Cat. Exh. Antwerp, 1977*, p.295, No.129, repr. (as *Rubens, c.1610*); T.Buddensieg, 'Simson und Dalila von Peter Paul Rubens', *Festschrift für Otto von Simson*, Berlin, 1977, pp.328-345 (as *Rubens, c.1610*); *Held, Oil Sketches*, pp.431-432, under No.312 (as *Rubens, c.1609*); C.Brown, *Rubens, Samson and Delilah*, National Gallery, London, 1983, p.8, fig.4 (as *Rubens, 1609*); *Held, Drawings, 1986*, pp.89-90, No.51, fig.53.

As far as is known, this drawing represents the first stage of Rubens's preparatory work for the painting in the National Gallery in London (No.31; Fig.72); it is followed by an oil sketch in the Cincinnati Art Museum, Cincinnati, Ohio (No.31b; Fig.76).

In this rapid drawing Rubens was above all concerned with the characters. Apart from the doorway, in which two Philistines are visible, nothing is yet seen of the rich décor that appears in the oil sketch and the final painting.

The drawing and the oil sketch present different psychological aspects of the dramatic event.¹ In the drawing, the faces of the two women show fear and excitement as to the success of the plot. Delilah, leaning on her right hand and touching the floor with her bent right leg, seems about to start backwards; the old procuress wears a cautious and reticent expression. The young Philistine comes no nearer to Samson than is necessary in order to cut off his hair. In the sketch, on the other hand, and in the final painting, these three figures seem to have no doubt of the success of their plan, and therefore appear relaxed: Delilah, with her legs crossed, wears a self-confident air, and the Philistine, eagerly assisted by the old woman, stands fearlessly close to his victim.

1. T. Buddensieg, *op. cit.*, pp. 329-330.

31b. Samson Asleep in Delilah's Lap: Oil Sketch (Fig. 76)

Oil on panel; 51.8 × 50.6 cm. Below on the right, inscribed *P.P.R.*
Cincinnati, Ohio, Cincinnati Art Museum.
Inv. No. 1972-459.

PROVENANCE: ?Johannes Philippus Happart, Antwerp, and listed in the inventory of 1686, drawn up after his death, as 'Item, eene schetse van myn Heer Rubens, van Sampson ende Dalida' (*Denucé*,

Konstkamers, p. 334); anonymous sale, London (Christie's), 25 November 1966, lot 66.

LITERATURE: *Christie's Review of the Year, 1966-1967*, p. 21, repr.; J. Müller Hofstede, 'Vier Modelli von Rubens', *Pantheon*, XXV, 1967, p. 431 (as *Rubens, c. 1610*); M. Kahr, 'Delilah', *Art Bulletin*, LIV, 1972, pp. 295-296, fig. 19 (as *Rubens, c. 1610*); P. R. Adams, 'Peter Paul Rubens, Samson and Delilah', *The Cincinnati Art Museum Bulletin*, X, 1, 1973, pp. 3-7, repr. (as *Rubens, c. 1609*); A.-M. Logan, Review of J. I. Kuznetsov, *Rubens Drawings* (in Russian), in *Master Drawings*, 14, 1976, p. 301 (as *Rubens*); T. Buddensieg, 'Simson und Dalila von Peter Paul Rubens', *Festschrift für Otto von Simson*, Berlin, 1977, pp. 329-330, fig. 3 (as *Rubens, c. 1610*); *Held, Oil Sketches*, pp. 430-433, No. 312, fig. 309 (as *Rubens, first half of 1609*); C. Brown, *Rubens, Samson and Delilah*, National Gallery, London, 1983, pp. 10-11, fig. 5 (as *Rubens, 1609*).

Rubens made this oil sketch for the painting in the National Gallery, London (No. 31; Fig. 72) after he had formulated the general conception of his composition in the drawing now in the collection of Mrs I. Q. van Regteren Altena in Amsterdam (No. 31a; Fig. 75). The oil sketch is much more elaborate than the drawing and differs from it in several respects. Most striking is probably the way in which Rubens, as well as varying the psychology of his characters (see No. 31a), now lays more stress on the two protagonists, above all by reducing the importance of the Philistine cutting off Samson's hair: he is placed closer to Samson, so that less is seen of him. Also, whereas in the drawing this man is linked with

Samson and Delilah by being partially naked like them, in the sketch he is fully dressed, as is the procuress, and is thus reduced to her status, that of a subordinate figure. Samson has become younger, and now wears a luxuriant head of hair; the pose of his head is slightly altered. Delilah too has undergone some change. Her right arm, which was almost completely bare, is now for the most part covered; a narrow linen band above her naked breasts accentuates their sexuality; her right leg, which in the drawing was bent so as to support Samson's shoulder, performs the same function in the sketch, but it is now crossed over her left leg. The procuress is not essentially changed, but she stretches her arm further forward to give the barber a better light for his work.

The detailed surroundings are here seen for the first time. In the background is a niche with a statuette of Venus and Cupid, also jars and a towel. The bed is now covered with a rich carpet on which Samson and Delilah rest, while a bed-curtain hangs over them like a sort of canopy; on the left is an elaborate candleholder. Three soldiers now appear in the doorway, instead of two as in the drawing.

While the final painting is appreciably wider than it is high, the sketch is practically square; it is possible, however, that it was originally wider and was in course of time cut down slightly at the side. It already contains all the essential elements of the picture, and was probably intended as a *modello*. The final painting differs from it only in some details: Rubens gave the Philistine barber a beard and slightly altered the pose of his head; he added an ornate ewer to the jars and towel, and placed five soldiers in the doorway instead of three.

32. Samson Taken by the Philistines: Oil Sketch (Fig.77)

Oil on panel; 50.3 × 65.5 cm.

Chicago, *The Art Institute of Chicago, Robert A. Waller Memorial Collection.*

PROVENANCE: ?Johannes Philippus Happart, Antwerp, and listed in the inventory of 1686, drawn up after his death, as 'Item, eene schetse van mijn Heer Rubens, van Sampson ende Dalida' (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p.334); Albert Besnard, Paris; Frank T. Sabin, London (1914); Robert A. Waller (1924).

EXHIBITED: *Exhibition of Paintings by Anthony Van Dyck*, The Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, 1929, No.10; *A Century of Progress. Exhibition of Painting and Sculpture*, Chicago, 1933, No.77; *Detroit, 1936*, No.37; *Nicolas Poussin (and) Peter Paul Rubens*, Cincinnati, 1948, No.1; *New York, 1951*, No.3; *Rotterdam, 1953-54*, No.6; *Cambridge-New York, 1956*, No.28.

LITERATURE: Arundel Club, London, XI, 1914, No.14, repr.; R.M.F., in *Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago*, XVIII, 1924, pp.35-37 (as *Van Dyck*); L. Burchard, 'Skizzen des jungen Rubens', *Kunstgeschichtliche Gesellschaft*, Berlin, 8 October 1926, pp.3-4, No.20 (as *Rubens*); E. Tietze-Conrat, 'Van Dyck's Samson and Delilah', *Burlington Magazine*, LXI, 1932, p.246, repr. (as *Rubens*); L. Burchard in *Glück, Rubens, Van Dyck*, p.395 (as *Rubens*); H. Tietze, *Meisterwerke Europäischer Malerei in Amerika*, 1935, p.355, pl.154; *Evers, Neue Forschungen*, pp.162-163, fig.66 (as *Rubens*); *Valentiner, Rubens in America*, p.156, No.18 (as *Rubens*, c.1610); *Goris-Held*, p.31, No.38, pls.43, 44 (as *Rubens*, c.1610-1611); D. Rosen and J.S. Held, 'A Rubens Discovery in Chicago', *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, XIII-XIV, 1950-

1951, pp.77–91, repr. (as *Rubens, c.1609–1610*); *Haverkamp Begemann, Olieverfschetsen*, pp.37–39, No.6, fig.5 (as *Rubens, 1609 or 1610*); *Held, Drawings*, I, pp.68, 104, under No.26 (as *Rubens, c.1610*); *Martin, Ceiling Paintings*, p.154 (as *Rubens, c.1609–1610*); M. Kahr, 'Delilah', *Art Bulletin*, LIV, 1972, pp.294–295, fig.16 (as *Rubens, c.1609–1610*); T. Buddensieg, 'Simson und Dalila von Peter Paul Rubens', *Festschrift für Otto von Simson*, Berlin, 1977, pp.332–333, fig.5 (as *Rubens*); *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, pp.433–434, No.313, fig.310 (as *Rubens, c.1609–1610*); J.S. Held, *Flemish and German Paintings of the 17th Century. The Collections of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, Detroit, 1982, p.85.

After Samson had betrayed his secret to Delilah—as depicted in *Samson Asleep in Delilah's Lap*, National Gallery, London (No.31; Fig.72)—the seven locks were cut off his head and he was thus rendered helpless, so that the Philistines were able to capture him unawares (Judges 16: 20). The capture is here depicted as a fierce fight, contrasting sharply with the peacefulness of *Samson Asleep in Delilah's Lap*. Six warriors launch a violent attack on Samson, whom Delilah pushes away with her hand; he has not had time to leave her bed and is thus attacked from behind, but resists furiously. As in the London painting, the action takes place in semi-darkness, which enhances its dramatic character.

For two of the figures Rubens made use of models from antique sculpture that he had seen during his stay in Italy. Samson derives from the figure of Laocoon in the group of *Laocoon and his Sons*, which Rubens studied and copied so assiduously in Rome,¹ while the Philistine on the right recalls the so-called *Borghese*

Warrior, now in the Louvre in Paris.² Delilah, seen in profile with her right leg drawn up, closely resembles the same figure in *Samson Asleep in Delilah's Lap*—not, however, as in the painting or the oil sketch, but as in the drawing (No.31a; Fig.75).

Rubens painted this sketch over another oil sketch after turning the panel upside down. X-ray examination shows that he first began to sketch an *Adoration of the Magi* in preparation for the large painting commissioned by the Antwerp city councillors in 1609 to decorate the council-hall.³ For unknown reasons he left the sketch unfinished after executing the left-hand group with the Virgin, including the eldest of the kings and some background figures; he redesigned the composition *ab initio* and sketched it on another panel, now in the Groningen Museum.⁴ In *Samson Taken by the Philistines* parts of the underlying sketch show through in various places, as if Rubens did not take much trouble to conceal it wholly—or even as if he wished to use it as far as possible for the new sketch that he was painting over it.⁵

Close resemblances as regards the figures, use of light and manner of execution indicate that the present sketch was made at the same time as the one for *The Adoration of the Magi* at Groningen. The latter must have been executed in 1609 or the beginning of 1610, since the final painting to which it related was already in the Antwerp town hall on 21 April 1610.⁶

No painting based on the present sketch is known. Some years later, towards 1620, its composition was repeated in a large painting of the same title, probably the work of Rubens's studio and now in the Pinakothek in Munich.⁷ The figure of Samson, the group of soldiers and the old

woman who appear in it broadly resemble the corresponding figures in the sketch. Only Delilah is basically changed: whereas in the sketch she is in profile, in the painting she faces towards the spectator and away from the turmoil of Samson's capture.

Van Dyck's *Samson Taken by the Philistines* of about 1630 in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna,⁸ while characteristic of his style, is unimaginable without previous knowledge of Rubens's composition as formulated in the Chicago sketch.

1. Fubini-Held, pp.123-141, pls.1-4.
2. M.Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York, 1955, p.162, figs.688, 689.
3. The painting is now in the Prado in Madrid (*K.d.K.*, p.26; *Diaz Padrón, Cat. Prado*, pp.226-229, No.1638, pl.163). In 1628 Rubens enlarged it at the top and on the right, and overpainted it to a great extent.
4. Haverkamp Begemann, *Olieverfschetsen*, pp.36-37, No.4, fig.6; Held, *Oil Sketches*, pp.450-453, No.325, fig.322.
5. D.Rosen and J.S.Held, op. cit., p.83.
6. Rooses, I, p.205 n.2.
7. Inv. No.348; canvas, 118 × 132 cm. (Rooses, I, pp.144-145, pl.33; *K.d.K.*, p.235; L.Burchard, in *Glück, Rubens, Van Dyck*, p.395; Haverkamp Begemann, *Olieverfschetsen*, p.38, under No.6; Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, p.166, fig.70; Held, *Oil Sketches*, p.434). Another version, less good (canvas, 130 × 165 cm.), of the Munich painting was with the firm of Ernst Plagemann in Berlin in 1966. Another, smaller one, was formerly in the Museum Ferdinandeum at Innsbruck (Inv. No.703; panel, 31 × 42 cm.) and was sold in London (Sotheby's) on 2 July 1986 as lot 140. It shows fewer soldiers, is of a sketch-like character and is by a follower of Rubens (*Katalog der Gemäldesammlung, Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck*, 1928, p.82, repr.; Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, pp.165-166).
8. *K.d.K.*, *Van Dyck*, p.262; Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, p.165; H.Vey, *Die Zeichnungen Anton van Dycks*, Brussels, 1972, pp.204-205, under No.137.

33. The Blinding of Samson: Oil Sketch (Fig.78)

Oil on panel; 37 × 58.5 cm.
Lugano, Switzerland, Collection of Baron
Thyssen-Bornemisza.

PROVENANCE: ? Johannes Philippus Hap-
part, Antwerp, and listed in the inven-
tory of 1686, drawn up after his death, as
'Item, eene schetse van mijn Heer Ru-
bens, van Sampson ende Dalida' (*Denucé,
Konstkamers*, p.334); ?Durlacher Brothers,
London; Baron Robert von Hirsch (Frank-
furt am Main, Basle, 1883-1977), sale,
London (Sotheby's), 21 June 1978, lot 125.

COPY: Anonymous drawing, Paris, Cabi-
net des Dessins du Musée du Louvre,
No.19.929 (as after Van Dyck); pen and
brown ink and brown wash, 246 ×
366 mm., inscribed below on the left:
Van Dyck. F., and on the right, 27^c m.d.
LIT. M.Delacre, *Le dessin dans l'œuvre de
Van Dyck*, Brussels, 1934, pp.196-197, fig.95
(as *Van Dyck*); H.G.Evers, 'Simson und
Delila von Rubens in der Sammlung Au-
gust Neuerburg in Hamburg', *Pantheon*,
XXXI, 1943, p.66; Evers, *Neue Forschungen*,
pp.163-165, fig.67 (as *Rubens*); *Lugt, Cat.
Louvre, École flamande*, I, p.56, No.603,
pl.LXI (as after *Van Dyck*); Haverkamp
Begemann, *Olieverfschetsen*, p.38, under
No.6 (as after *Rubens*); O.Benesch, Re-
view of *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*,
in *Kunstchronik*, VII, July 1954, p.200 (as
Rubens); M.Kahr, 'Delilah', *Art Bulletin*,
LIV, 1972, p.292 n.38, fig.14 (as after *Ru-
bens*); Held, *Oil Sketches*, I, pp.434-435, un-
der No.314 (as after *Rubens*).

EXHIBITED: *Meisterwerke alter Malerei aus
Privatbesitz*, Städelsches Kunstinstitut,
Frankfurt am Main, 1925, No.60 (as *Van
Dyck*); *Antwerp*, 1930, p.259.

LITERATURE: O.Götz, G.Swarzenski and
A.Wolters, *Ausstellung von Meisterwerken
alter Malerei aus Privatbesitz ... MCMXXV*,
Frankfurt am Main, 1926, No.60, pl.
LXXII; W.R.Valentiner, in *Cat. Loan Ex-
hibition of Fifty Paintings by Van Dyck*,
Detroit, 1929, under No.10 (as *Van Dyck*);

E. Tietze-Conrat, 'Van Dyck's Samson and Delilah', *Burlington Magazine*, LXI, 1932, p.246, repr. (as Rubens); *Trésor de l'art flamand du moyen-âge au XVIIIe siècle (Mémoires de l'exposition d'art flamand ancien à Anvers, 1930)*, Paris, 1932, I, p.131; *Goris-Held*, p.31, under No.38; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, I, p.56, under No.603 (as Van Dyck); *Haverkamp Begemann, Olieverfschetsen*, p.38, under No.6 (as Rubens); H. Vey, 'Anton van Dycks Ölskizzen', *Bulletin Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts, Bruxelles*, V, 1956, p.202 n.5 (as not Van Dyck); P. Wescher, *La Prima Idea. Die Entwicklung der Ölskizze von Tinoretto bis Picasso*, Munich, 1960, p.36, fig.17 (as Rubens); M. Kahr, 'Delilah', *Art Bulletin*, LIV, 1972, pp.292-294, fig.15 (as Rubens, soon after his return from Italy); T. Buddensieg, 'Simson und Dalila von Peter Paul Rubens', *Festschrift für Otto von Simson*, Berlin, 1977, pp.332-333, fig.6 (as Rubens, c.1610); *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, pp.434-435, No.314, fig.311 (as Rubens, c.1609-1610).

Samson, rendered powerless by the loss of his hair, was captured by the Philistines, who immediately put his eyes out (Judges 16: 21), as shown so dramatically in the present sketch.

Compared to the oil sketch of *Samson Taken by the Philistines* in The Art Institute of Chicago (No.32; Fig.77), the present work can be seen to have been more rapidly executed; moreover it depicts a different stage of Samson's capture. In the Chicago sketch the hero, taken by surprise when asleep, springs up in a rage to defend himself against his attackers; in the Lugano sketch he is already vanquished and lies on his back, while one of the Philistines lifts a dagger to put out his eyes.

In this almost completely monochrome

sketch, in shades of grey and brown heightened with white and some subdued touches of colour, Rubens was almost exclusively concerned with the characters and the dramatic event; little or nothing is seen of the bed, the canopy or the background. Some figures occur in almost the same poses, or with the same gestures, as in the Chicago sketch: for instance three of the soldiers attacking Samson, the hero himself (his legs at any rate), and the old woman trying to shield Delilah. Only Delilah herself is radically different: instead of being in profile, she is seen from the back in a *contrapposto* attitude derived, as Evers pointed out, from the figure of Jupiter in Perino del Vaga's *Jupiter and Callisto*.¹ No painting based on this sketch is known to exist.

Of the three compositions executed by Rubens at about the same time in the form of a drawing or an oil sketch, and representing successive stages of the betrayal of Samson—*Samson Asleep in Delilah's Lap*, *Samson Taken by the Philistines* and *The Blinding of Samson*²—only the first is known to have been developed into a large painting (No.31; Fig.72). This fact has led Kahr³ to the conclusion that not only the drawing owned by Mrs I. Q. van Regteren Altena (No.31a; Fig.75) and the oil sketch at Cincinnati (No.31b; Fig.76), but also the present oil sketch and the one at Chicago (No.32; Fig.77) are part of the genesis of the same painting. She believes that, possibly at the patron's request, Rubens experimented with three different scenes from the story of Samson and Delilah before finally choosing Samson asleep in Delilah's Lap as his subject. This view is rejected on stylistic grounds by Held,⁴ who believes that the painting is of earlier date than the oil sketches at Chicago and Lugano. He considers that the studies for the painting belong to the

first half of 1609, while he dates the Chicago and Lugano sketches c.1609–1610. In his opinion these two sketches relate to the same project, although no painting based on them is known to exist.

At first sight there is something to be said for both these views. However, considering the shortness of the period, 1609 to 1610, in which the large painting, the three oil sketches and the drawing were executed, a chronological arrangement on grounds of style, as proposed by Held, does not seem very convincing. On the other hand it is a fact that the London painting presents a different phase of the story than do the Chicago and Lugano sketches; and it is not quite impossible that the latter should have been made in preparation for another painting which was never executed or has since been lost. In support of this last supposition Held gives the two sketches the same title, *Samson Taken by the Philistines*, although it is clear that the subject of the Lugano sketch is a different one, *The Blinding of Samson*—and Held himself previously gave it this title.² In fact the Chicago and Lugano sketches should each have been the basis of a different painting, but there is no evidence that such paintings ever existed. In these circumstances, Kahr's theory cannot be rejected out of hand.

34. David Strangling a Bear (Fig.79)

Oil on canvas; 100 × 150 cm. Inventory numbers in white paint: below left, 19; below right, 162 and 81 (or 87).

New York, Spencer A. Samuels Gallery.

PROVENANCE: Family estate of the Princes of Reuss, Trebchen Castle, sale, Berlin (Leo Grünpeter), 23–24 April 1928, lot 143 (as *Rubens-workshop*), not sold; sale, Berlin (Leo Grünpeter), 18 March 1929, lot 36; Dr Axel L. Wenner-Gren, Häringe Castle, Sweden, sale, Zürich (Peter Ineichen), 20 March 1981, lot 831, repr. in colour (as *Rubens and Snijders*).

COPIES: (1) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 106 × 156 cm. PROV. Count H. de Meeüs d'Argenteuil, Brussels, sale, Antwerp (Leys), 7–8 May 1979; (2) Anonymous painting, Mrs Y. Dufrasne, Ghent (1979); canvas, 71 × 102 cm.; (3) Anonymous painting, H. Leonard, Jupille, Belgium (1979); canvas (cut off on the left and at the top), 107 × 132 cm.; (4) Anonymous drawing (David), probably after a preparatory drawing by Rubens, Printroom of the Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, 'Rubens Cantoor', No.V.40; black chalk, heightened with white chalk, 465–471 × 261–264 mm.; inscribed with the pen: *De houte grooter ende het schouwerblat al meer wtspaert ende meer grandes van omtreck gelyckt het cleyn dat ick geteekent hebbe naer rubbens* (Fig.81); (5) Anonymous drawing (Head and forepaws of a lion), Printroom of the Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, 'Rubens Cantoor', No.VI.90; black and red chalk, 180–183 × 280 mm. (Fig.82); (6) Engraving, in reverse, by Willem Pannaeels (Fig.80); below in the centre, *P.P. Rubens invent*; below on the right, *G. Pannaeels fecit*. LIT. V.S., p.6. No.45; *Rooses*, I, p.146, under No.118; *Rooses*, *Life*, II,

1. Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, p.103, fig.52. Evers also pointed out (p.151) that Rubens was inspired by the same figure by Perino del Vaga for the Jupiter in his *Jupiter and Callisto* of 1613 at Kassel (K.d.K., p.62).

2. J.S.Held (Held, *Oil Sketches*, pp.434–435, No.314) now entitles this composition *Samson Taken by the Philistines*, but in 1947 (*Goris–Held*, p.31, under No.38) he saw it as *The Blinding of Samson*.

3. Op. cit., pp.292–296.

4. Held, *Oil Sketches*, p.432, under No.312.

p.455; *Oldenbourg, Rubens*, p.41, fig.20; J.Müller Hofstede, 'Beiträge zum zeichnerischen Werk von Rubens', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXVII, 1965, p.353 n.212.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, I, pp.145-146, No. 118; G.Glück, in *Thieme-Becker*, XXIX, p.141 (as *Rubens*); J.Müller Hofstede, op. cit., p.353 n.212 (as a replica); T.Buddensieg, 'Simson und Dalila von Peter Paul Rubens', *Festschrift für Otto von Simson*, Berlin, 1977, pp.336, 344 n.17, fig.10 (as *Rubens*).

David described this heroic deed to King Saul, who treated him as a child when he offered to fight the Philistine giant Goliath: 'Thy servant kept his father's sheep, and there came a lion, and a bear, and took a lamb out of the flock. And I went out after him, and smote him, and delivered it out of his mouth; and when he arose against me I caught him by his beard, and smote him, and slew him' (I Samuel 17: 34-35).

David's fight with the lion and the bear was interpreted by the Church fathers as a symbol of Christ rejecting the temptations of the devil, or of his descent into the nether regions in order to rescue the just from the clutches of Satan.¹ Rubens's Catholic contemporaries were certainly familiar with this symbolism, though no doubt they saw a scene of this kind primarily as an example of courage and virtue.

Rubens depicts the athletic youth with only a cloth about his loins; he is grasping a bear round the neck with both his arms and doing his best to strangle it. Beside him is a bloodstained sheep that he has rescued from the wild animal. The flock is seen on the left, and on the right is a lion already killed by David. We may

suppose that Rubens had in mind the *David Strangling a Bear* painted in 1533-1534 by Luca da Faenza after a sketch by Giulio Romano in a lunette of the Loggia in the Palazzo del Te in Mantua.² As in the Mantua painting, the composition is pyramidal. However, the poses of David and the bear are closer, in reverse, to those of the two figures in *David and the Lion*, a scene depicted in another lunette of the Loggia and also painted by Luca da Faenza after a sketch by Giulio Romano.³

In 1928 Burchard⁴ believed that he recognized the hand of Rubens in the figure of David in the present painting, and that of Snyders in the animals. He then dated the work c.1610-1612. As his notes show, he later changed his mind and regarded it as only a copy of a lost painting. This does not seem tenable, however: the figure of David bears all the marks of Rubens's own hand, though it is clear from the flock of sheep alone that the studio had some part in the work, painted very soon after Rubens's return from Italy.⁵

The engraving by W.Panneels (Fig.80) differs in several respects from the painting. David is shown as younger, his head is represented more frontally and he looks towards the spectator, which is not the case in the painting; the draping of his loincloth is slightly different, and the dead sheep lies between his feet instead of beside him. It is also noticeable that the engraving is incomplete: it shows only David and the animals, not the landscape. Possibly it was not made after the painting itself but after a preparatory drawing or oil sketch, now lost.

See also No.35.

1. Réau, *Iconographie*, II, 1, pp.258-259.

2. F.Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, New Haven, 1958, p.150 n.55, fig.330.

3. Id., p.150 n.55, fig.331.

4. In a certificate addressed to Leo Grünpeter and dated 4 October 1928 Burchard wrote: 'Das mir vorgelegte Gemälde auf Leinwand (115 × 150 cm.), darstellend den jugendlichen David, wie er den Bären würgt (I. Buch Samuelis, cap. 17, vers. 34-37), halte ich für ein Werk von Peter Paul Rubens aus der Zeit um 1610 bis 1612. Seine Entstehung denke ich mich folgendermassen: Rubens hat eine Skizze dieser Komposition (31 × 43 cm.) – sie ist uns durch eine Radierung von Guill. Panneels bekannt – gemalt in der Absicht, das endgiltige grosse Bild in Zusammenarbeit mit einem Tiermaler auszuführen. Diese grosse Ausführung erblickte ich in der vorliegenden Leinwand, bei der meines Erachtens die Figur Davids durch Rubens, die Tiere durch Frans Snijders ausgeführt sind. Das Bild galt bisher als verschollen. Als solches ist es in dem Hauptwerk über Rubens, von Max Rooses, unter n° 118 beschrieben und von Rudolf Oldenbourg in der Sammlung seiner Aufsätze über Rubens (1922, Seite 41) besprochen und auch (Abb. 20, nach dem Stich von Panneels) reproduziert' (The painting on canvas shown to me (115 × 150 cm.), representing the young David strangling a bear (I Samuel 17: 34-37) is in my opinion a work by Peter Paul Rubens from the period 1610-1612. I imagine its origin as follows: Rubens painted a sketch of this composition (31 × 43 cm.; known to us from an etching by Guill. Panneels), intending to execute the final large picture with the assistance of an animal painter. I believe that that picture is in fact the present canvas, in which Rubens painted the figure of David and Frans Snijders the animals. The picture was previously thought to be lost. It is described accordingly in the standard work on Rubens by Max Rooses (as no. 118) and by Oldenbourg in the collection of his essays on Rubens (1922, p. 41), where it is also reproduced as Ill. 20, after Panneels's engraving).

5. Certificates for the painting were also written by Glück (16 February 1933), who thought it to be a work by Rubens's own hand, of 1609-1610, and by Müller Hofstede (19 May 1986), who called it 'a composition by Rubens, very probably of 1626-1627'. In a letter of 18 February 1987 to Mrs Margrit Bernard, Bad Aachen, Germany, Held wrote: 'I am glad to confirm that the painting of David Strangling a Bear which I have seen in Zurich on 20 January 1987, is an original painting by Peter Paul Rubens (canvas, 115 × 150 cm.). It was painted most likely in the years after his return from Italy, but not later than c. 1615.'

PROVENANCE: Royal Palace, *salón nuevo* (later called 'de los espejos'), Madrid; Marqués of Leganés (Madrid, c. 1584-1655); Count Altamira, Madrid, sale, London (Stanley), 1 June 1827, sold for 170 gns.

LITERATURE: F. Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, ed. F. J. Sanchez Cantón, Madrid, 1956, I, p. 153 (as *Rubens*); Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 266, No. 900 (as *Rubens, the landscape by Wildens, the animals by Snijders*); Van Hasselt, *Rubens*, p. 228, No. 20 (as *Rubens*); *Cruzada Villaamil*, pp. 306, 380; Rooses, I, pp. 145-146, No. 118; Rooses, *Life*, II, pp. 454-455 (as *Rubens*); Oldenbourg, *Rubens*, p. 41 (as 'in die Mantuaner Zeit'); J. Müller Hofstede, 'Beiträge zum zeichnerischen Werk von Rubens', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXVII, 1965, p. 353 n. 212 (as *Rubens*); E. Harris, 'Cassiano dal Pozzo on Diego Velásquez', *Burlington Magazine*, CXII, 1970, p. 372 nn. 36, 37; S. N. Orso, *In the Presence of the "Planet King"*. *Studies in Art and Decoration at the Court of Philip IV of Spain*, (Diss. Ph.D.), Princeton, 1978, pp. 57, 62, 127, 260; M. Crawford Volk, 'Rubens in Madrid and the Decoration of the Salón Nuevo in the Palace', *Burlington Magazine*, CXXII, 1980, p. 176.

This painting, an illustration of I Samuel 17: 34-35 (see No. 34), was ordered, together with seven others, by Philip IV of Spain, through his aunt the Archduchess Isabella, to decorate the royal palace in Madrid. Rubens took the eight pictures with him, or forwarded them separately, when he visited Spain in 1628. They were hung in the *Salón Nuevo* of the palace, with *David Strangling a Bear* as a pendant to *Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion* (No. 26; Fig. 60). Later these two works were owned by the Marqués of Leganés,

35. David Strangling a Bear

Oil on canvas; 223.5 × 264 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

as appears from the inventory of his estate in 1655. Later still, at an unknown date, they were separated. *David Strangling a Bear* became the property of Count Altamira, was sold from his collection in London in 1827¹ and has since disappeared; *Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion* entered the collection of Count Hernani in Madrid. We may suppose that the two works were painted at the same period, shortly before 1628 (see No.26).

An earlier painting of the same subject by Rubens is in the Spencer A.Samuels Gallery, New York (No.34; Fig.79).

On 5 September 1821 a sale took place at Oudenarde of paintings from the estate of Albert Fonson, who had been recorder of mortgages in that town. Lot 8 in the catalogue² is thus described: 'P.P.Rubens —Le jeune berger David, après avoir terrassé le lion, vient à étouffer également l'ours. Empâté, ton chaud... H.31, L.43 'pouces de France' (84 × 116 cm.). Bois' (The young shepherd David, having slain the lion, now strangles the bear. Impasto, warm colouring... Height 31, width 43 [French inches]. Panel). Such a painting on panel has so far not been traced.

1. J. Smith (Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.266, No.900), who mentions this sale, describes the painting as follows: 'The composition and drawing of this production are full of energy and characteristic expression, and the colouring is fresh and brilliant. It is not improbable but [sic] that the artist borrowed the idea of the design from an antique gem. The landscape is by the hand of Wildens, and the animals by Snyders; 17ft. 4in. by 8ft. 8in.; C.'
2. *Lugt. Répertoire*, I, No.10107. An excerpt from the catalogue is in the Rubenianum, Antwerp.

36. David Slaying Goliath: Drawing (Fig.83)

Pen and brown ink; 219 × 164 mm.—*Verso*: below on the left, the marks of

the P.Dubaut and F.Koenings Collections (*L. Suppl.*2103b and 1023a).
Rotterdam, *Boymans-van Beuningen Museum*. Inv. No.V.41.

PROVENANCE: Pierre Dubaut, Paris; F.Koenings (Haarlem, 1881–1941), who purchased the sheet in 1927. Presented in 1940 by D.G.van Beuningen to the Museum Boymans Foundation.

EXHIBITED: Amsterdam, 1933, No.68; *Meesterwerken uit vier eeuwen, 1400–1800*, Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, 1938, No.338; Brussels, 1938–39, No.10; *Choix de dessins. Exposition organisée à l'occasion du XVIIe Congrès International d'Histoire de l'Art*, Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, 1952, No.66; Antwerp, 1956, No.39; Paris, 1974, No.94.

LITERATURE: Cat. Exh. Amsterdam, 1933, No.68 (as Rubens); C.Norris, 'The Rubens Exhibition at Amsterdam', *Burlington Magazine*, LXIII, 1933, p.230 (as Rubens, early Antwerp period); Cat. Exh. Brussels, 1938–39, No.10, repr. (as Rubens); Burchard-d'Hulst, *Tekeningen*, p.51, No.39; A.Millier, *The Drawings of Rubens*, Los Angeles-London, 1957, p.32, repr. (as Rubens); Held, *Drawings*, p.103, No.25, pl.27 (as Rubens, c.1610–1612); Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, pp.115–116, No.69, repr. (as Rubens); J.Müller Hofstede, Review of Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings in Master Drawings*, 4, 1966, p.446, Nos.69, 70 (as Rubens); Cat. Exh. Paris, 1974, pp.126–127, No.94, pl.74 (as Rubens, c.1610–1615); J.Kuznetsov, *Rubens Drawings* (in Russian), Moscow, 1974, No.39, repr. (as Rubens, c.1610–1612); Bernhard, p.314, repr. (as Rubens, before 1620).

After the Israelites had prepared to defend themselves against the Philistines, a

giant named Goliath stepped forward out of the enemy ranks, defying them to choose a single champion to fight against him: the outcome of the duel was to decide which side was victorious. David, after seeking permission from King Saul, accepted the challenge. He drew near to Goliath and, with a stone from the sling that was his only weapon, smote the heavily armed giant in the forehead so that he fell to the earth. Then he threw himself on Goliath, drew the other's sword out of its sheath and slew him with it. The Philistines, seeing their champion overcome, turned to flight, pursued by the Israelites (I Samuel 17: 1-52).

Of all the Old Testament heroes, David is the one most celebrated in Christian art. To begin with, he lived in Christian memory as a psalmist and prophet; then, in the late Middle Ages and especially during and after the Renaissance, he was famous above all as a warrior. In typology, from early Christian times his victory over Goliath was seen as prefiguring Christ's triumph over Satan. In the late Middle Ages he was one of the Nine Worthies, revered as a model of heroic chivalry. In more modern times his story gradually lost its moralizing and symbolic character and was treated increasingly just as a theme of Old Testament history.¹

The drawing shows Goliath, with his head towards the spectator, lying prostrate under the pressure of David's knee. Holding him by the hair with his left hand, David cuts off his head with the sword in his right. In the background, rapidly drawn, the Israelites pursue the fleeing Philistines.

This sheet is related to one in the Musée Atger at Montpellier (No.37; Fig.84), depicting David raising his sword to slay Goliath. The two drawings are of about

the same format² and probably date from c.1609-1610. They seem to be the earliest formulations of the David and Goliath theme in Rubens's work (see also No.38).

The drawing in Rotterdam recalls the semicircular fresco in the Loggia of the Palazzo del Te in Mantua, representing the same subject and executed by an assistant, probably Rinaldo Mantovano (1528-c.1564) after a project by Giulio Romano (1499-1546).³ The drawing and the fresco show Goliath lying on the ground with his head towards the spectator and resting on his right hand, while David kneels on his body with one knee. However, in the fresco David's sword is still raised and Goliath is protecting his head, which is not the case in the drawing.

As Held has pointed out,⁴ David's sanguinary action in cutting off Goliath's head is reminiscent of Rubens's painting of c.1609-1610 in which Judith decapitates Holophernes with the sword (No.50; cf. Fig.109).

David's pose is very similar to that of Samson in Rubens's *Samson Taken by the Philistines*, an oil sketch of c.1609-1610 in The Art Institute of Chicago (No.32; Fig.77), except for the head and arms. The pose of his legs was used again by Rubens for the figure of *Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion* in the Printroom, Amsterdam (No.28; Fig.69). The rather strained position of the head in relation to the shoulders occurs later in Rubens's *Entombment*, a drawing of c.1615, also in the Printroom, Amsterdam.⁵ Goliath's head is reproduced, in a foreshortened pose, as that of St Christopher in a sheet of studies of c.1613-1614 in the British Museum, London.⁶

1. *Reallexikon*, III, cols.1083-1119; Réau, *Iconographie*, II, 1, pp.254-262; *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, I, cols.477-490.

2. J. Müller Hofstede (review of *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, in *Master Drawings*, 4, 1966, p.466) is of the opinion that the drawings at Rotterdam and Montpellier were originally part of a single sheet. This is possible, but not proved.
3. F. Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, New Haven, 1958, pp.150-151, fig.329.
4. *Held, Drawings*, p.103, under No.25.
5. *Held, Drawings*, pp.109-110, No.37, pl.35; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, pp.68-70, No.38, repr.
6. *Held, Drawings*, p.106, No.30, pl.26 (as *Rubens, c.1611-1613*); *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, pp.75-76, No.43, repr. (as *Rubens, c.1613-1614*).

37. David Slaying Goliath: Drawing (Fig.84)

Pen and brown ink and brown wash; 216 × 157 mm. Below in the centre, mark of the Atger Museum, Montpellier (*L.38*), and *David et Goliath* inscribed with the pen by a later hand; inscribed in chalk by a later hand $2\frac{1}{2}$, below on the left, and *P.P. Rubens fecit*, below on the right.—*Verso: Susanna and the Elders*; below, mark of the Atger Museum, Montpellier (*L.38*), and, inscribed with the pen by a later hand, *Rubens fecit, Suzanne au bain* and *P.P. Rub...* (Fig.154).

Montpellier, Musée Atger, Faculté de Médecine.

PROVENANCE: Xavier Atger (1758-1833). Bequeathed by him between 1813 and 1829 to the Faculty of Medicine of Montpellier, his native town.

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp*, 1956, No.38.

LITERATURE: Dr Kühnholtz, *Notice des dessins sous verre, tableaux, esquisses, recueils de dessins et estampes réunis à la Bibliothèque de la faculté de médecine de Montpellier*, Montpellier, 1830, p.79, No.247; *Cat. Exh. Amsterdam*, 1933, under No.68 (as *Rubens*); *Burchard-d'Hulst, Tekeningen*, p.50, No.38, pl. XIV; *Held, Drawings*, pp.103-104, No.26, pl.28 (as *Rubens, c.1610-1612*);

Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings, pp.116-117, No.70, repr. (as *Rubens*); J. Müller Hofstede, *Review of Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, in *Master Drawings*, 4, 1966, p.446, Nos.69, 70 (as *Rubens*); J. Kuznetsov, *Rubens Drawings* (in Russian), Moscow, 1974, No.40, repr. (as *Rubens, c.1610-1612*); *Bernhard*, p.315, repr. (as *Rubens, before 1620*).

In the battle between the Israelites and the Philistines, David fought man-to-man against the giant Goliath; he slew him with a stone from his sling, and then cut off his head (I Samuel 17: 48-51; see also No.36).

Goliath, with his head towards the spectator, lies prostrate under the pressure of David's right knee. David lifts his sword with both hands over his right shoulder to strike off the head of his vanquished opponent. Above on the right, the figure of David is repeated with a different attitude for the upper part of the body and with the sword lifted high above the head.

In this drawing, which was first recognized by I.Q. Van Regteren Altena as a work by Rubens,¹ David's pose, except for the arms, is very similar to that of Samson in *Samson Taken by the Philistines* in the Art Institute of Chicago (No.32; Fig.77), an oil sketch executed by Rubens c.1609-1610. The swing of the arms as indicated in the pose on the right was previously used by Rubens in his *Massacre of the Innocents* in the Brussels Museum, a work painted before his departure for Italy.² Much later the same movement is seen in his *Hercules and the Hydra*, an oil sketch for the Torre de la Parada, formerly in the collection of Count Antoine Seilern in London and now in the Courtauld Institute of Art, Princes Gate Collection.³ It is noteworthy that in this *Hercules and the*

Hydra, Hercules' companion resembles David in the drawing *David Slaying Goliath* in the Boymans-van Beuningen Museum in Rotterdam (No.36; Fig.83).

The motif of Goliath lying prone on the ground, vanquished but attempting to raise himself on one hand, recurs later in Rubens's work: see, for instance, *Tanchelm* in the oil sketch *St Norbert Overcoming Tanchelm*, c.1624, in the collection of Dr George Baer, Atlanta, Georgia.⁴

The prototype of the composition is Michelangelo's *David Slaying Goliath* in the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel.⁵ Rubens's drawing, however, echoes the fresco in the Loggia of the Palazzo del Te at Mantua, representing the same subject and executed by an assistant, probably Rinaldo Mantovano, after a project by Giulio Romano.⁶ In that fresco Goliath lies on the ground, his head turned towards the spectator and resting on his right hand, while David kneels on him with one knee and raises his sword—motifs also found in Rubens's drawing. It is also probable that Rubens incorporated in the drawing other elements that he had assimilated during his stay in Italy. For instance, he probably recalled *David Slaying Goliath* by Perino del Vaga, after a project by Raphael, in the Vatican Loggia,⁷ where Goliath is not only in the same pose as in the drawing but also carries a shield in his left hand; or other paintings of this subject, such as that, mentioned by Held,⁸ by Daniele da Volterra in the château of Fontainebleau,⁹ or Pordenone's painting in the Santo Stefano monastery in Venice.¹⁰

Rubens also made use of the knowledge of antique sculpture that he had acquired in Italy. He must have had in mind the *Belvedere Torso*¹¹ and the *Laocoon* group,¹² both of which he had copied in drawings, when designing the figure of

David: the influence of the *Laocoon* is especially noticeable in the drawing on the right of the sheet.

Like the drawing in the Boymans-van Beuningen Museum in Rotterdam (No.36; Fig.83), this one dates from c.1609–1610. They seem to be the earliest formulations of the theme of David and Goliath in Rubens's work. An early painting of the same subject belonged to the collection of the Duke of Leuchtenberg in Munich and is now owned by The Norton Simon Foundation, Pasadena, California (No.38; Fig.86). Rubens treated the subject again in one of the ceiling pieces that he designed in 1620 for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp. These paintings were destroyed by fire in 1718, but the composition of *David Slaying Goliath* has survived in a preparatory oil sketch, formerly in the collection of Count Antoine Seilern in London and now in the Courtauld Institute of Art, Princes Gate Collection,¹³ as well as in several copies.¹⁴ In this ceiling piece David is seen from below in dramatic foreshortening, with one foot on Goliath's back; as in the drawing on the right of the present sheet, he holds the sword uplifted with both hands above his head, about to deal the fatal blow. This pose was probably suggested by the figure of Cain in Titian's great ceiling painting of *Cain and Abel*, executed for San Spirito in Isola, Venice, and now in Santa Maria della Salute there.¹⁵ From the copies of Rubens's ceiling piece it appears that it showed in the background the fleeing Philistines being pursued by the Israelites—a battle episode which may have been inspired by Perino del Vaga's above-mentioned fresco of *David Slaying Goliath*.

1. Cat. Exh. Amsterdam, 1933, under No.68.

2. G. Glück, 'Une composition de Rubens peu connue', *Annuaire des Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de*

- Belgique*, I, 1938, pp.151-156, pl.VI; J.S.Held, 'Comments on Rubens' Beginnings', *Miscellanea Dr D.Roggen*, Antwerp, 1957, pp.129-130, fig.1.
3. Held, *Drawings*, p.104, under No.26; *Seilern, Corrigenda and Addenda*, pp.60-61, No.325, pl.XL; *Alpers, Torre*, p.220. No.30a, fig.120.
 4. This sketch is for one of three statues made for the high altar of St Michael's Abbey, Antwerp. They stood above *The Adoration of the Magi* which Rubens painted in 1624 and which is now in the Antwerp Museum (Cat. Exh. *Cambridge-New York*, 1956, pp.31-32, No.35, pl.XXIV; Held, *Oil Sketches*, pp.577-578, No.420, pl.408).
 5. K.d.K., *Michelangelo*, 1907, p.64; C.Tolnay, *Michelangelo*, Princeton-London, 1975, p.31, fig.79.
 6. F.Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, New Haven, 1958, pp.150-151, fig.329.
 7. K.d.K., *Raffaello*, 1922, p.195; N.Dacos, *Le Logge di Raffaello*, Rome, 1977, pp.195-196, No.XI, 2, pl.XLIIIa and b. The attribution of *David Slaying Goliath* to Perino del Vaga is not universally accepted: see L.Dussler, *Raphael*, London-New York, 1971, pp.90-91. We may suppose that Rubens was also familiar with Marcantonio's engraving after Raphael (H.Delaborde, *Marc-Antoine Raimondi*, Paris, s.d., p.89, No.5; Cat. Exh. *Raphael in der Albertina*, Vienna, 1983, pp.132-135, repr.).
 8. Held, *Drawings*, p.104, under No.26.
 9. P.Barolsky, *Daniele da Volterra*, New York-London, 1979, pp.91-93, No.17, fig.67.
 10. G.Fiocco, *Giovanni Antonio Perdonone*, Udine, 1939, p.91, fig.176 (this illustration is not of the painting itself but of an engraving after it by Jacopo Piccini, which Rubens may have seen).
 11. Cat. Exh. *Amsterdam*, 1933, No.93, repr.; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Tekeningen*, pp.33-34, No.11; W.Stechow, *Rubens and the Classical Tradition*, Cambridge, Mass., 1968, pp.25-27, figs.11, 12.
 12. *Fubini-Held*, p.125, fig.9, pl.1.
 13. *Seilern, Flemish Paintings*, p.51, No.25, pl.LIX.
 14. *Martin, Ceiling Paintings*, pp.69-70, Nos.5, 5a, 5b, figs.31-36.
 15. H.E.Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian, I. The Religious Paintings*, London, 1969, pp.120-121, fig.157.

38. David Slaying Goliath (Fig.86)

Oil on canvas; 122 x 99 cm.
Pasadena, California, The Norton Simon Foundation.

PROVENANCE: H.R.H. Prince Eugène, Duke of Leuchtenberg, Munich; Mrs Hester Mullett, Buffalo, New York; sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, 15 November

1945, lot 45, sold to Vicente Caledonio Pereda, Buenos Aires.

COPIES: (1) Anonymous drawing from the middle of the seventeenth century, whereabouts unknown; black chalk. PROV. sale, London (Christie's), 20 June 1951, lot 54^A (not in the catalogue); (2) Etching by J.N.Muxel (Fig.85); below on the left: *N.Muxel a.f.*; title: *Rubens, Peter Paul*. LIT. V.S., p.7, No.47; (3) Engraving (?French eighteenth century), Staatliche Bildstelle, Berlin, No.9820 (as *Egid. Sadeler*); title: *Cucurrit, & stetit super Philisthaeum, & tulit gladium ejus, & eduxit cum de vagina sua; & interfecit eum, praeciditque caput eius. 1 Reg.17.51*.

EXHIBITED: Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 1972 (on loan); *Selections from the Norton Simon Foundation and the Norton Simon Inc. Museum*, County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, 1972.

LITERATURE: J.N.Muxel, *Gemälde Sammlung in München ... des Dom Augusto, Herzogs von Leuchtenberg und Santa Cruz, Fürsten von Eichstädt, Ec.Ec.*, Munich, s.d., p.3, No.94, repr. in line etching by Muxel (as *Rubens*); N.Muxel, *Catalogue des Tableaux de la Galerie de feu Son Altesse Royale Monseigneur Le Prince Eugène, duc de Leuchtenberg à Munich*, Munich, 1825, 2nd room, No.94; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, p.247, No.17 (as *Rubens*); *Verzeichniss der Bildergalerie ... des Prinzen Eugen, Herzogs von Leuchtenberg in Muenchen*, Munich, 1843, p.48, No.129 (as *Rubens*); J.D.Passavant, *Galerie Leuchtenberg. Gemälde-Sammlung ... des Herzogs von Leuchtenberg in München*, Frankfurt am Main, 1851, p.22, No.110 (as *Rubens*); G.F.Waagen, *Die Gemäldesammlung der Ermitage zu St.Petersburg & andere dortige Kunstsammlungen*, Munich, 1864, p.383, No.129 (as *Van Dyck*); *Rooses*, I, p.146; V,

p.312; Renard de Liphard-Rathshoff, *Leugtenberg'ska Tavel-Samlingen*, Stockholm, 1917, p.48, No.45, repr. (as Rubens); Oldenbourg, *Rubens*, p.101, fig.58 (as Rubens); Valentiner, *Rubens in America*, p.159, No.52 (as Rubens, executed with the help of pupils, c.1615); Burchard-d'Hulst, *Tekeningen*, p.50, under No.38 (as Rubens, early Antwerp period); Held, *Drawings*, p.104, under No.26 (as Rubens, c.1615); Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, pp.116-117, under No.70 (as Rubens, early Antwerp period); J.D.Morse, *Old Master Paintings in North America*, New York, 1979, p.242 (as Rubens); *Selected Paintings at the Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena, California*, New York, 1980, p.46, repr. (as Rubens, c.1630); Held, *Oil Sketches*, p.43, under No.11 (as Rubens, c.1615).

In single combat with Goliath, David has felled the Philistine giant with a stone from his sling and then cut off his head (I Samuel 17: 48-51; see also No.36).

The vanquished Goliath lies on the ground, his eyes fixed on the spectator. David, kneeling, places one foot on the giant's head and raises the sword with both hands to deal the final blow. In the foreground are David's sling and Goliath's spear and helmet. The background shows the Israelites pursuing the fleeing Philistines.

The view of David *di sotto in su* indicates that Rubens had in mind the figure of Cain in Titian's *Cain Slaying Abel*, a soffito painted for Santo Spirito in Isola, Venice, and now in Santa Maria della Salute in that city.¹ On the other hand, the figure of David also closely resembles the executioner to the left of Christ in *Christ Scourged*, a painting by Rubens in St Paul's Church in Antwerp, generally dated c.1614.² Goliath, lying on the ground

with his head turned towards the spectator and resting on his right hand, resembles the same figure in the semicircular fresco in the Loggia of the Palazzo del Te at Mantua, executed by an assistant after a project by Giulio Romano (see No.36). The battle scene in the background with the Israelites pursuing the Philistines was repeated by Rubens in 1620 in his ceiling painting of *David Slaying Goliath* for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp;³ it may have been inspired by Perino del Vaga's *David Slaying Goliath*, after a design by Raphael, in the Vatican Loggia (see No.37).

Like Oldenbourg,⁴ Burchard⁵ believed this painting to be entirely by Rubens's hand. However, neither had actually seen it, and their judgement was based solely on the engravings made after it. Later authors accepted their view. Valentiner,⁶ who had an opportunity of seeing the work after it appeared in New York in 1945, thought it was 'executed with the help of pupils'. It does in fact appear to be by Rubens's hand, but has suffered greatly. The edges were damaged and the impasto lessened during a previous lining; the background has been abraded by overcleaning and inpainted extensively.

Valentiner, here followed by Held, dated the work c.1615. Perhaps this is somewhat too late; the correct date may be around 1610-1612, which is generally accepted for the drawings of the same subject at Rotterdam (No.36; Fig.83) and Montpellier (No.37; Fig.84). In view of the fact that no preparatory drawing or oil sketch can at present be directly connected with the picture, and also that no final work based on the two drawings at Rotterdam and Montpellier has been identified, it may be wondered whether the latter are not variants with which

Rubens experimented before determining on the pose of his protagonists as they appear in the painting belonging to the Norton Simon Foundation.

Other paintings of scenes connected with the combat between David and Goliath are attributed to Rubens by some authors. The most important of these is an oil sketch of *David with the Head of Goliath, Met by the Women of Israel* (I Samuel 18: 6) in the Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas,⁷ in which Müller Hofstede,⁸ Jaffé⁹ and Robb¹⁰ believed they could recognize the master's hand. However, we share the opinion of Burchard and Held¹¹ that it is the work of another Flemish artist, as yet unidentified (see also No.20). Michiel Engel Immenraet (Antwerp 1621-Utrecht 1683),¹² executed a painting based on it¹³ which was in the Von Nickl Collection in Budapest around 1930. Another oil sketch, *The Triumph of Saul, with David Carrying the Head of Goliath*, in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London,¹⁴ was attributed to Rubens by Waagen¹⁵ and Rooses,¹⁶ but is now recognized to be the work of an immediate follower.

1. H.E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian, I, The Religious Paintings*, London, 1969, pp.120-121, fig.157. Rubens drew a copy of Titian's *Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac* from the same soffitto in Venice; this is now in the Albertina, Vienna (*Mitsch, Rubenszeichnungen*, p.132, No.56, repr.). It is therefore very possible that he also brought back from Italy a drawing of Titian's neighbouring work, *Cain Slaying his Brother Abel*.
2. *K.d.K.*, p.87. An oil sketch for this painting is in the Ghent museum (see d'Hulst, *Olieverfschetsen*, p.91, No.4, fig.2); it shows the executioner on the left in the same pose.
3. Martin, *Ceiling Paintings*, pp.69-73, No.5, figs.31-34, 36.
4. Oldenbourg, *Rubens*, p.101, fig.58.
5. Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, pp.116-117 under No.70.
6. Loc. cit.
7. Inv. No.AP66.3; panel, 58.5 × 80 cm.
8. J.Müller Hofstede, 'Zeichnungen des späten Rubens', *Pantheon*, XXIII, 1965, p.165, fig.3.

9. M.Jaffé, 'Rediscovered Oil Sketches by Rubens-II', *Burlington Magazine*, CXI, 1969, pp.534-537, fig.10.
10. D.M.Robb, *Kimbell Art Museum. Catalogue of the Collection*, 1972, pp.49-52, repr.
11. Held, *Oil Sketches*, p.635, No.A21, fig.490. J.-P. De Bruyn attributed the work to Erasmus Quellinus II: see 'Werk van Erasmus II Quellinus verkeerdelijk toegeschreven aan P.P.Rubens', *Jaarboek Museum Antwerpen*, 1977, pp.313-315, fig.19.
12. See A.Goovaerts, 'Le peintre Michel-Ange Immenraet d'Anvers et sa famille', *Bulletins de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, 2nd Series, XLVI, No.11, 1878; *Thieme-Becker*, XVIII, p.580; F.-C.Legrand, *Les peintres flamands de genre au XVIIIe siècle*, Brussels, 1963, pp.105-106.
13. Photo Netherlandish Art Institute, The Hague, L. No.8400 (Iconclass 71H14.9). On 22 May 1963 a painting was sold at the Galerie Nackers in Brussels as by Hendrik van Balen (lot 128, fig.13; copper, 50 × 40 cm.) representing the same scene, but enlarged at the top (see J.-P. De Bruyn, op. cit., fig.18). Another painting (panel, 46.5 × 63 cm.) figured as 'attributed to Cornelis de Baellieur' in a sale at the Galerie des Chevaux-Légers at Versailles on 29 April 1979 (lot 33, repr.).
14. Panel, 58.7 × 85.7 cm. *Victoria and Albert Museum. Catalogue of Foreign Paintings*, London, 1973, pp.250 to 251, No.309, repr.
15. Waagen, *Treasures*, Supplement, 1857, p.180.
16. Rooses, I, p.145, No.117.

39. King David Playing the Harp: Drawing (Fig.87)

Laid down. Pen and brown ink and brown wash; sheet with the inscription: 230 × 150 mm.; drawing, 169 × 113 mm.; two inscriptions with the pen in brown ink, in Rubens's hand: above, *Soli deo gloria*, and below, *Si ha da avertire che l'opra riuscirebbe molto diversa / da questi scizzi li quali sono fatti liggierissimamente da / primo colpo per demostrar solo il pensiero mà poi si farebbono / li disegni come anco la pittura con ogni studio e diligenza*; below on the left, mark of the Louvre (L.1886); below on the right, mark of the collection of P.J.Mariette (L.1852). *Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre*. Inv. No.20.221.

PROVENANCE: P.J. Mariette (Paris, 1694–1774), sale, Paris, 15 November 1775–30 January 1776, lot 1004 (together with No.13 above, and 'Quatre petits Sujets de la Vie de saint Ignace'), bought by Joullain.

COPY: Anonymous painting, Town Hall, Nijmegen; canvas, 178.5 × 160 cm. LIT. L. Ackermans, 'Schilderijen in het Nijmeegse Stadhuis', in *Het Stadhuis van Nijmegen*, Nijmegen, 1982, p.152, repr.

EXHIBITED: *Rubens, ses maîtres, ses élèves, dessins du musée du Louvre*, Louvre, Paris, 1978, No.8.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, V, pp.224–225, No. 1423 (as *Rubens*); *Michel, Rubens*, p.108, repr. p.109; *Glück-Haberditzl*, No.41 (as *Rubens, early years in Italy*); *Evers, Neue Forschungen*, pp.202–203, fig.218 (as *Rubens*); *Goris-Held*, p.42, under No.107 (as *Rubens*); *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, p.11, No.1007, pl.XII (as *Rubens, before 1608*); *Held, Drawings*, pp.25, 44, 62 (as *Rubens, c.1612–1615*); A.P. de Mirimonde, 'La musique dans les œuvres flamandes du XVIIIe siècle au Louvre', *La revue du Louvre*, XIII, Nos.4–5, 1963, pp.173–174, pl.10; *Vlieghe, Saints*, I, p.102, under No.70 (as *Rubens*); *Judson-Van de Velde*, p.96, under No.7a (as *Rubens, c.1610*); A.P. de Mirimonde, 'Rubens et la Musique', *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen*, 1977, pp.170–171, fig.65; *De Poorter, Eucharist*, pp.179, 181–182, 268, under No.2b, fig.51 (as *Rubens*); *Cat. Exh. Rubens, ses maîtres, ses élèves, dessins du musée du Louvre*, Louvre, Paris, 1978, pp.25–26, No.8, repr. (as *Rubens*).

The elderly King David, crowned and wearing the royal mantle, is seen kneeling on one knee and playing the harp as an accompaniment to one of the Psalms,

of which he is traditionally the author. He gazes heavenwards and joins his voice to those of the angels who, seated on clouds above him, are playing instruments and singing the praises of Yahveh.¹ Musical instruments lie on the ground to the left and right of David. In the background is a hilly landscape with trees.

The motif of the harp-playing psalmist in Christian iconography is borrowed from the antique model of *Orpheus Playing the Lyre*; it was popularized by miniatures in psalters, Bibles and books of prayers and hymns, and by paintings on organ-doors. David also has a harp as his attribute in *The Tree of Jesse*, where he and the kings of Judah are shown as ancestors of the incarnate Christ.² In the sixteenth and seventeenth century, the harp-playing psalmist is also encountered as the patron of choral and musical associations, showing his importance as a representative of music.³

Scenes such as this one, with David playing the harp and angels making music, had already occurred earlier in Netherlandish painting. Rubens must certainly have known Pietro Candido's *King David Playing the Harp*,⁴ which was well known from an engraving by Jan Sadeler (Fig.88),⁵ executed in about 1590. The essential elements of Candido's composition can be found in the present drawing: David singing psalms and accompanying himself on the harp, in an open landscape; above, in the clouds, the music-making angels in corresponding formation around a circle of light, and angelic choirs with the tetragrammaton.

The drawing is a pendant to another by Rubens, also in the Louvre in Paris, representing *Abraham, Isaac and Jacob* (No.13; Fig.29). For the connection, the function and the dating of these two drawings, see No.13.

The royal psalmist playing the harp and joining his voice to that of the angels praising Yahveh was again depicted by Rubens, c.1626–1628, in a tapestry in *The Eucharist Series*.⁶

A painting in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut at Frankfurt am Main shows David half-length, playing the harp but without angels; this is in fact a study by Rubens of an aged man, which was enlarged by Jan Boeckhorst (No.40; Fig.89).

1. For an identification of the instruments surrounding King David, and those played by the angels, see A.P.de Mirimonde, 1977, loc. cit.
2. Réau, *Iconographie*, II, 1, pp.255–256; H.J.Zingel, *König Davids Harfe in der abendländischen Kunst*, Cologne, Gering, 1968.
3. *Reallexikon*, III, cols.1112–1113; *Lexicon der christlichen Ikonographie*, I, col.479.
4. See O.Hirschmann, 'Ein Gemälde Peter Candids im Haarlemmer Museum', *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, VIII, 1915, pp.81–83; 'Keuze uit de aanwinsten', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam*, XXI, 1973, pp.32, 37, fig.18.
5. De Poorter, *Eucharist*, pp.181–182, fig.50; B.Volk-Knüttel, *Cat. Exh. Peter Candid Zeichnungen*, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich, 1978–1979, pp.31–33, No.4, fig.9.
6. De Poorter, *Eucharist*, pp.280–281, No.6, fig.117.

40. King David Playing the Harp (Fig.89)

Oil on panel; 84.5 × 69.2 cm. (including two later enlargements: 20.2 cm. at the left, 21.7 cm. below). An inscription in an archaic hand, 60 P.7.3/P.P.R., was formerly to be seen on the back, but has now disappeared.

Frankfurt am Main, Städelsches Kunstinstitut. Inv. No.1043.

PROVENANCE: Count Schönborn, Pommersfelden Gallery, sale, Paris (Drouot), 17, 18 and 22–24 May 1867, lot 206 (sold 13,800 fr; Kohlbacher).

COPIES: (1) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 82 × 56 cm.

PROV. Sale, Cologne (Lempertz), 14, 15 November 1892; (2) Anonymous painting, A.P.Ritchie, 'Little London', Whitchurch nr Aylesbury (1952); panel, 94 × 71 cm. PROV. Sale, London (Christie's), 10 May 1948, lot 150; (3) Anonymous painting, J.J.Humblet, Brussels (1963); (4) Anonymous painting, Dr Rudolf Brands, Schau ins Land 5, 506 Bensberg (1965); (5) Anonymous painting, E.Verrijken, Antwerp (1975); (6) Anonymous painting, Municipality of Niederhausen near Wiesbaden (1978); canvas, 80 × 60 cm.; (7) Anonymous painting, Mr & Mrs Staes-D'Hulster, Merksem near Antwerp; canvas, 75 × 60 cm.; inscribed on the back: *Jacob De Witte*. PROV. Sale, Antwerp (Leys), 20, 21 October 1980; (8) Engraving by J.K.Eissenhardt (Frankfurt am Main, 1824–1896).

LITERATURE: Catalogues of the Pommersfelden Gallery: 1719, No.233; 1746, fol. F verso, No.25; 1857 (W.Bürger), No.546; G.F.Waagen, *Kunstwerke und Künstler in Deutschland*, I, Leipzig, 1943, p.131 (as Rubens); Rooses, I, p.147, No.119 (as Rubens); K.d.K., edn. Rosenberg, p.58, left (as Rubens); R.Oldenbourg in K.d.K., pp.451, S58; 459, S119 (as only the head by Rubens); Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, p.205 (as Rubens); *Verzeichnis der Gemälde aus dem Besitz des Städelschen Kunstinstituts und der Stadt Frankfurt*, Frankfurt am Main, 1966, p.105 (as Rubens); J.S.Held, 'Nachträge zum Werk des Johann Bockhorst (alias Jan Boeckhorst)', *Westfalen, Hefte für Geschichte, Kunst und Volkskunde*, 63, 1985, p.27, figs.21, 22 (as J.Boeckhorst, although maybe not the whole picture).

The aged King David, shown bust-length and in profile, wears a golden-yellow damask robe with a large white ermine

collar; over it is a double ornamental chain set with pearls. He is almost bald and has a long white beard.¹ He is playing with both hands on a harp in front of him, gazing fervently towards heaven (see No. 39).

It can be seen from the painting that the panel was originally smaller and was enlarged on the left and below. As the priming of the added portions differs from that of the original part, we may suppose that the extension took place at a later date.²

In 1921 Oldenbourg pointed out that two different hands had worked on the painting. He believed that Rubens had painted the head, while all the remainder was by another artist whom he did not name.³ Glück, who agreed with Oldenbourg, went further and identified the second artist as Jan Boeckhorst, nicknamed Lange Jan (Münster 1605–Antwerp 1668).⁴ This is acceptable on the basis that a study of an aged man, painted by Rubens, was enlarged by Boeckhorst to represent David playing the harp, and that the latter not only painted the portions added on at the left and below, but also the ermine collar and chains on the original panel.

The inventory of Rubens's estate mentions *inter alia* 'Een menigte van tronien of koppen naer 't leven, op doek en pineel, ... door Myn heer Rubens' (A large number of faces or heads depicted from life, on canvas or panel, by Mr Rubens);⁵ it is possible that the study of the aged man's head was one of them, and that when Rubens's collection was dispersed it came into Boeckhorst's possession.

Boeckhorst, who died in 1668, made a will on 2 November 1666 appointing his friend Gaspar Thielens as one of the two executors.⁶ Thielens died in 1691, and an inventory of his collection was made in

that year: it was rich in works by Boeckhorst and included 'Een stuck, Coninck David, van Lange Jan, met vergulde lijst' (A King David by Lange Jan, in a gilded frame).⁷ This may possibly be the present work.

Among early copies of *King David Playing the Harp* is one (belonging to Mr A.P. Ritchie) painted on a panel branded with the Antwerp mark; this would indicate that it was executed there, and hence that Boeckhorst made his enlargement of Rubens's study of a head, also in Antwerp.

'Een schilderye, verbeldende den Coninck David, gheschildert naer een stuck van Langen Jan' (A painting of King David after a work by Lange Jan) appears in the 1692 inventory of the collection of Guill. Potteau at Antwerp,⁸ and may have been a copy of the present painting.

A painting by an unknown hand, which in 1936 was in the possession of Prof. Dr Karolus at Probstdeuben near Leipzig,⁹ shows copies of two heads by Rubens: that of David in the present work, and that of St Francis in *The Madonna Adored by Penitents and Saints* in the Kassel Museum.¹⁰

1. It is to be noted that David is not wearing a crown, as would be expected in the case of a royal personage. Rubens himself depicted the harp-playing psalmist as wearing a crown, in a drawing in the Louvre in Paris (No. 39; Fig. 87).

2. In the paint layer of the added portion there has in places been a crystallization of the binding agent, producing pale, opaque patches. One of these can be seen on David's right hand. This crystallization is also visible in some other paintings from the Städel Collection. (Information kindly furnished by Dr Michael Mack-Gérard.)

3. R. Oldenbourg, *loc. cit.*

4. Glück mentioned his attribution to Boeckhorst orally to Burchard, who noted it in 1933. Arguing from the treatment of the hands and especially of the robe. Held in 1985 (*loc. cit.*) also attributed the painting to Boeckhorst, but added: 'wenn vielleicht nicht das ganze Bild - so doch einen wesentlichen Teil' (perhaps not the whole, but at any rate a substantial part). He did not suggest which parts were not by Boeckhorst, or who might have painted them.

5. Denucé, *Konstkamers*, p.70.
6. Van den Branden, *Schilderschool*, pp.905-906; H.Lahrkamp, 'Der "Lange Jan". Leben und Werk des Barockmalers Johann Bockhorst', in *Westfalen, Hefte für Geschichte, Kunst und Volkskunde*, 60, 1982, pp.21-22. A codicil added to the will in 1668 was countersigned by Gaspar Thielens as a witness (H.Lahrkamp, loc. cit.).
7. Denucé, *Konstkamers*, p.351.
8. Denucé, *Konstkamers*, p.370.
9. Canvas, 36 × 55 cm. PROV. Lanz Collection, Mannheim; Generalarzt Weil, Prague.
10. K.d.K., p.129; *Katalog der Staatlichen Gemäldegalerie zu Kassel*, Kassel, 1958, p.133, No.119, repr.

41. The Meeting of David and Abigail (Figs.90, 94)

Oil on canvas; 123 × 228 cm.¹

Malibu, California, J. Paul Getty Museum.

PROVENANCE: Welbore Ellis Agar,² sale, London (Christie's), 2 May 1806, lot 36 (not brought to public sale: the whole Agar Collection was bought by the Earl of Grosvenor for 30,000 guineas); the picture, formerly at Grosvenor House, was sold after the death of Hugh Richard Arthur, Duke of Westminster, by order of the executors at Sotheby's, London, 24 June 1959, lot 13 (bought by Stephen Pollock for Edward Speelman, London); Dr Günther Henle, Duisburg, W. Germany; Edward Speelman and Hallsborough Gallery, London, 1972.

COPIES: (1) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown (Fig.93); canvas, 41 × 77 cm. PROV. Dr Casimir Wurster, Strassburg, sale, Cologne (Heberle), 15 June 1896, lot 253, repr.; (2) Anonymous painting, Musée municipal, Bergues-St Winocq, French Flanders, Inv. No.76.110 (as *Theodoor van Thulden*) (Fig.92); canvas, 110 × 211 cm. EXH. *Trésors des musées du Nord de la France. III. La peinture flamande au temps de Rubens*, Lille, Calais, Arras, 1977, pp.32, 192; Paris, 1977-78, p.286.

EXHIBITED: *Die Sammlung Henle*, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne, 1964, No.31.

LITERATURE: Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.170, under No.592; Rooses, I, p.148, under No.20; G.Redford, *Art Sales*, I, London, 1888, p.95; *Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures at Grosvenor House*, London, 1888, p.43, No.105; *Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures at Grosvenor House*, London, 1913, No.105; L.Burchard, quoted by H.Vey in the Cat. Exh. *Die Sammlung Henle*, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne, 1964, under No.31 (as *Rubens, c.1625-1628*); J.Müller Hofstede, 'Neue Ölskizzen von Rubens', *Städel Jahrbuch*, N.F., 2, 1969, p.239 n.131 (as 'späten Rubens'); M.Jaffé, 'Rubens's "David and Abigail"', *Burlington Magazine*, CXIV, 1972, pp.863-865, fig.92 (as *Rubens, from the early 1630's*); Held, *Oil Sketches*, p.435, under No.315 (as *Rubens, c.1630*); J.S. Held, *Flemish and German Paintings of the 17th Century. The Collections of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, Detroit, 1982, pp.88-89 (as *Rubens, the very beginning of the 1630s*).

Nabal, a sheep-farmer in Maon, pastured his flocks around the village of Carmel in Judah, on the confines of the wilderness. David and his followers had dwelt for some time in the neighbourhood, and had protected the people from marauding bands of robbers. When Nabal was shearing his sheep, David sent ten young men to solicit assistance for himself and his followers. Nabal sent back a churlish refusal, which so incensed David that he mustered four hundred armed men in order to kill Nabal and every man of his household. Nabal's wife Abigail, who was both wise and beautiful, gathered large quantities of food (bread, flour, mutton, wine, raisins and figs) and went to meet

David. After apologizing for her husband's conduct, she offered him the gifts to be distributed among his men. David, impressed by her eloquence and her presents, blessed the Lord and thanked Abigail for preventing him from shedding blood (I Samuel 25: 1-35). Nabal, on learning of the danger Abigail had averted, suffered a stroke and died ten days later. Abigail thereupon became one of David's wives (I Samuel 25: 39-42).

In the typological literature of the Middle Ages, and particularly in the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, Abigail, a model of womanly prudence and diplomacy, was regarded as prefiguring the Virgin in her role as intercessor for souls at the Last Judgement.³

The Meeting of David and Abigail represents a theme for which Rubens had a special liking: the depiction of emotionally charged meetings. Other Old Testament examples are *The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek*, *The Reconciliation of Esau and Jacob*, and *Esther before Ahasuerus*; and to these may be added a historical event in Rubens's own time, *The Meeting of Ferdinand, King of Hungary, and the Cardinal Infante Ferdinand at Nordlingen*.⁴ As in most of these, so in the present work he has well succeeded in rendering the atmosphere of the scene and the emotions of the protagonists. The elaborate composition with numerous figures falls broadly into two contrasting halves. On one side is a group of handsome women in glimmering silks, with servants, bare to the waist, carrying gifts or leading Abigail's donkey. On the other are warriors in armour, whose stern appearance enhances the vulnerability of Abigail and her companions. (This manner of setting the scene was used by Veronese, for instance in *The Family of the Conquered Darius before Alexander the Great*,⁵

and also by Maarten de Vos in his *Meeting of David and Abigail* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts at Rouen.⁶) Abigail kneels humbly on one knee and looks imploringly up at David, with one hand on her breast and the other pointing to the gifts she has brought. David, bare-headed out of politeness, bends graciously forward and takes her arm to help her to rise. The scene is at the edge of a leafy forest.

It is not known who commissioned this picture or what was its purpose. As loaves are prominent among the gifts, it may have been intended to adorn the chapel altar of a bakers' guild. There are examples of the subject of David and Abigail being used in this way. Thus in St Rombout's (Rumoldus') Church at Malines in 1586 an altar was consecrated in the bakers' chapel with a retable by M. Coxcie, in the centre panel of which this subject was depicted.⁷ However, the frieze-like horizontal shape of Rubens's painting seems less suitable for an altarpiece, and it is possible, as Burchard suggested,⁸ that it may have hung above the dining-table in a monastic refectory. This suggestion was supported by Müller Hofstede,⁹ who also pointed out that the reconciliation and the feeding of David and his companions were regarded as a prefiguration of Christ and the miracles of feeding in the New Testament.

The airy treatment of the design, the light touch and delicate colouring, as well as the expressive faces and gestures, indicate that the painting was executed shortly after Rubens's return from his diplomatic missions in April 1630.¹⁰

A preparatory oil sketch is in the collection of Mrs Rudolf J. Heinemann in New York (No. 41a; Fig. 91).

Another version of this painting is in The Detroit Institute of Arts (No. 42; Fig. 96).

1. The conservation of the painting is described in J.S.Held, *Flemish and German Paintings of the 17th Century. The Collections of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, Detroit, 1982, p.89.
2. G.Redford, loc. cit. writes: 'This collection was formed by Mr Agar, chiefly through Mr Gavin Hamilton, who brought so many fine pictures to England from Rome and other cities of Italy'.
3. Réau, *Iconographie*, II, 1, p.272.
4. K.d.K., pp.110, 211, 271, 290, 295, 303.
5. National Gallery, London (cf. T.Pignatti, *Veronese*, Venice, 1976, p.132, No.163, fig.428).
6. A.Zweite, *Marten de Vos als Maler*, Berlin, 1980, pp.289-290, No.60, fig.74.
7. L.Godenne, *Guide illustré de Malines*, Malines, 1920, p.41: 'Malines, Eglise métropolitaine de Saint-Rombaut ... Pourtour... Dès le commencement du XVIIe siècle, les Boulangers avaient l'usage de cette chapelle; après le retour du clergé, en 1585, les Boulangers reprirent possession de leur autel, consacré le 3 janvier 1586 par l'archevêque Hauchin, et fut orné d'un retable dû à Michel Coxie, dont le panneau central représentait Abigaël présentant au roi David des pains et d'autres dons pour fléchir sa colère contre Nabal' (Malines, metropolitan Church of St Rumoldus ... Ambulatory... The bakers had the use of this chapel from the beginning of the 16th century. After the clergy returned in 1585 the bakers recovered possession of their altar, which was consecrated by Archbishop Hauchin on 3 January 1586 and was adorned by an altarpiece, the work of Michel Coxie, the centre panel of which showed Abigail presenting loaves and other gifts to King David to soften his anger against Nabal).
8. [H.Vey], Cat. Exh. *Die Sammlung Henle*, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne, 1964, under No.31.
9. Ibid.
10. [F.Baudouin], Cat. Exh. *Rubens Diplomaat*, Rubens-kasteel, Elewijt, 1962, p.43.

41a. The Meeting of David and Abigail: Oil Sketch (Fig.91)

Oil on panel; 45.7 × 67.3 cm.
New York, Mrs Rudolf J.Heinemann.

PROVENANCE: Wieszbicki Collection, Warsaw, 1935; Knoedler's, New York, 1957, from whom Mr Rudolf J.Heinemann bought it.

COPIES: (1) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 46 × 64 cm.
PROV. Rodolphe Kann, Paris; Carl von

Hollitscher, Berlin; Siegfried Buchenau, Niensdorf bei Lübeck. LIT. *Rooses*, I, pp.148-149, No.120bis; V, p.313, No.120bis; *Jahrbuch der Königlichen preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, I, 1890, No.205; W.Bode and M.J.Friedländer, *Die Gemäldesammlung des Herrn Carl von Hollitscher in Berlin*, Berlin, 1912, fig.26; (2) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 43.8 × 68.5 cm. PROV. The picture is one of several given by King Charles II of Spain to Father Joseph Martin de L.B., who was administrator of the Hôpital St Louis in Madrid. Father Martin brought them to France about 1660, and the Rubens sketch is No.73 of a list of pictures in the archives of the Château de L.B. where he died (comte R.de Sazilly, *La généalogie de la Famille de Martin de L.B.*); sold by a descendant of the Martin de L.B. family at Sotheby's, London, 27 March 1968, No.42, repr. LIT. *Held, Oil Sketches*, p.436, under No.315; (3) Anonymous painting, Ernest L.Jay, Huntington Woods, Michigan; panel, 49.5 × 77.5 cm.; bears on the back the wax seal of J.B.J.van Bevere, Brussels, notary since 1788. PROV. Sales at London (Christie's), 29 March 1935, lot 105, and 8 December 1967, lot 124. EXH. Brussels, Galerie Robert Finck, 22 November-15 December 1968, No.32. LIT. *Held, Oil Sketches*, p.436, under No.315; (4) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 39.3 × 47 cm. (partial copy only). PROV. Sale, London (Christie's), 7 May 1937, lot 258. LIT. *Held, Oil Sketches*, p.436, under No.315; (5) Anonymous painting Mr Jean Poos, Luxemburg; canvas, 45 × 71 cm.; (6) Engraving, in reverse, by Adriaen Lommelin (Fig.95), executed after Rubens's death; inscribed *P.P.Rubens pinxit, Adr. Lommelin sculp., Gillis Hendricx ex.*; letter: ET AIT DAVID AD ABIGAIL: BENEDICTVS DOMINVS DEVS ISRAEL QVI MISIT HODIE TE

IN OCCVRSVM MEVM. I. *Samuel* 25 v. 32. LIT. V.S., p.7, No.49; *Rooses*, I, p.148, under No.120, pl.34; *Van den Wijngaert*, *Prentkunst*, p.70, No.400; *Hollstein*, XI, 1955, p.95; *Held*, *Oil Sketches*, p.436, under No.315; (7) Tapestry, in reverse, Bob Jones University Collection, Greenville (partial copy only); probably woven as a commission by the firm Fourment-Van Hecke at Antwerp. LIT. E. Duverger, 'Tapijten van Rubens en Jordaens in het bezit van het Antwerps handelsvennootschap Fourment-Van Hecke', *Artes Textiles*, VII, 1971, pp.121-125, fig.1.

LITERATURE: M. Jaffé, 'Rubens' Sketching in Paint', *Art News*, 52, 1953, p.64, repr. p.36 (as *Rubens*); L. Burchard, quoted by H. Vey in Cat. Exh. *Die Sammlung Henle*, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne, 1964, under No.31 (as *Rubens*); M. Jaffé, 'Rubens's "David and Abigail"', *Burlington Magazine*, CXIV, 1972, p.863, fig.90 (as *Rubens*); *Held*, *Oil Sketches*, pp.30, under No.4, 435-436, No.315, fig.313 (as *Rubens*, c.1630); J. S. Held, *Flemish and German Paintings of the 17th Century. The Collections of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, Detroit, 1982, pp.88-89 (as *Rubens*, the very beginning of the 1630s).

This elaborated sketch shows various adjustments of outlines by Rubens; he also painted out a soldier's head between the two horsemen on the right and the first foot-soldier. The composition is generally similar to the painting of the same subject by Maarten de Vos, dated about 1575, in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Rouen,¹ which, however, contains many more figures.

The sketch is a *modello* for the painting in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California (No.41; Fig.90). There are some

differences: in the painting there is one more servant on the left, and the horseman on the right is seen in his entirety. The painting originally showed the old nurse kneeling behind Abigail, but Rubens painted her out, probably thinking she was incongruous in the group of attractive women; moreover her absence made it possible to depict Abigail's two companions full-length. However, her head has since become visible again under the attendants' robes. The original outline of David's armour, which Rubens reduced in extent, is also once again visible.

The engraving by Adriaen Lommelin (Fig.95) corresponds completely with the sketch (in reverse), including the old nurse. It can thus be deduced that the sketch has come down to us without lateral curtailment, and that for the painting in the Getty Museum Rubens extended the scene at either side. We may even wonder if the painting was not originally wider still. Two copies by unknown hands—one in the Museum at Bergues-St Winocq, French Flanders (Fig.92), and the other formerly in the collection of Dr Casimir Wurster, Strassburg, but present whereabouts unknown (Fig.93)—show two more warriors on the extreme right. One of these warriors carries a lance, only the tip of which can be seen in the version in the Getty Museum.

The inventory, dated 24-26 October 1652, of the estate of the painter Victor Wolfvoet, who died at his home in Sint-Jansstraat, Antwerp, on 23 October 1652, mentions 'Een stucxken van David ende Abigael, op panneel, in lyste, na Rubens' (A small painting of David and Abigail, on panel, framed, after Rubens).²

1. A. Zweite, *Marten de Vos als Maler*, Berlin, 1980, pp.289-290, No.60, fig.74. Another *Meeting of David and Abigail*, similar in composition but in reverse,

was formerly also attributed to Marten de Vos; but Zweite (p.370) rejects this and ascribes it to Frans Pourbus the Elder.

2. *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p.146.

42. The Meeting of David and Abigail (Fig.96)

Oil on canvas; 178.5 × 249 cm. (including along the top a canvas strip of 26 cm., which is a later addition).

Detroit, *The Detroit Institute of Arts*. Inv. No.1889-63.

PROVENANCE: Armand-Jean de Vignerod Duplessis, duc de Richelieu (1629-1715), who gave it c.1680 to Roger de Piles (1636-1709); duc de Grammont, before 1714; Jacques Meyers, Rotterdam (d. 25 September 1721), sale, Rotterdam, 9 September 1722, lot 71 (1400 florins); Ferdinand, Count Van Plettenberg and Witten, sale, Amsterdam, 2 April 1738, lot 37 (690 florins); Paul Methuen (1672-1757), London, Grosvenor Street; M. Secretan, sale, Paris, 1-4 July 1889, lot 158 (bought by James E. Scripps, Detroit, and given by him in the same year to The Detroit Institute of Arts).

EXHIBITED: *The Scripps Collection of Old Masters*, Detroit Museum of Art, 1889, No.29; *Detroit*, 1936, No.6; *Antwerp*, 1977, No.77; *Homage to Rubens*, The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1978, No.6.

LITERATURE: An unsigned biography, added to a posthumous edition (1715) of Roger de Piles' *Abrégé de la vie des peintres*, reads: 'M. Le Duc de Richelieu ... luy fit présent d'un fameux tableau de Rubens, qui représente David & Abigaël: & qui a été depuis à M. le Duc de Grammont'; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.170, No.592 (as *Rubens*); *Waagen, Kunstwerke*, II, pp.313-314 (as *Rubens*); *Rooses*, I, pp.147-148, No.120 (as '*Rubens et ses élèves*, c.1618');

M. Rooses, 'Les Rubens de la Galerie du duc de Richelieu', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 3, pp.138, 141 (as *Rubens*); *Rooses, Life*, pp.279 to 280 (as *Rubens with pupils, especially Van Dyck*); L.M. Bryant, *What Pictures to See in America*, New York, 1915, pp.228-231; W.R. Valentiner, 'Rubens and Van Dyck in the Detroit Museum', *Art in America*, X, 1921-1922, pp.203-209 (as *Rubens*); W. Heil and C.H. Burroughs, *Catalogue of Paintings in the Permanent Collection of the Detroit Institute of Arts of the City of Detroit*, Detroit, 1930, No.194 (as *Rubens with the help of assistants*, c.1618); E. Scheyer, *Baroque Painting*, Detroit, 1937, pp.42-44; Valentiner, *Rubens in America*, p.160, No.72 (as *Rubens, with the help of pupils*, c.1618); Goris-Held, p.32, No.39, pl.46 (as *Rubens*, c.1625-1630); M. Jaffé, 'Rubens' Sketching in Paint', *Art News*, 52, May 1953, p.64, repr. (as *Rubens and an assistant, probably Panneels*); L. Burchard quoted by H. Vey in *Cat. Exh. Die Sammlung Henle*, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne, 1964, under No.31 (as *aus Rubens' letzte Jahrzehnt* ?); 'Other Works of Rubens in the Collection of the Detroit Institute of Arts', *Bulletin of The Detroit Institute of Arts*, 43, Nos.3-4, 1964, p.54, repr. (as *Rubens with the help of assistants*, c.1625-1630); C. Goldstein, Review of B. Teyssèdre, 'Roger de Piles et les débats sur le coloris au siècle de Louis XIV', *Art Bulletin*, XLIX, 1967, pp.266-267 (as *Rubens*); Id., 'Theory and Practice in the French Academy: Louis Licherie's "Abigail and David"', *Burlington Magazine*, CXI, 1969, p.346, fig.12 (as *Rubens*); J. Müller Hofstede, 'Neue Ölskizzen von Rubens', *Städel Jahrbuch*, N.F., 2, 1969, p.239 n.131 (as *Rubens*); M. Jaffé, 'Rubens's "David and Abigail"', *Burlington Magazine*, CXIV, 1972, pp.863-864, fig.91 (as *Rubens with the aid of an assistant*, c.1630); J.G. van Gelder, 'Het Kabinet van de heer

Jaques Meyers', *Rotterdams Jaarboekje*, 1974, pp.167-183 (as *Rubens*); Cat. Exh. Antwerp, 1977, p.183, No.77, repr.; H.Vlieghe, 'Erasmus Quellinus and Rubens's Studio Practice', *Burlington Magazine*, CXIX, 1977, p.643, fig.58 (as *largely workshop, 1630 or slightly later*); K.Renger, Review of Antwerp, 1977, in *Kunstchronik*, January 1978, p.2 (as 'Rubens mit eventuelle Werkstattbeteiligung'); Held, *Oil Sketches*, p.436, under No.315 (as *Rubens, c.1625-1628*); J.S.Held, *Flemish and German Paintings of the 17th Century. The Collections of the Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, 1982*, pp.87-90, repr. (as *Rubens, c.1625-1628*).

This version is of large size, like the one in the J.Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California (No.41; Fig.90). Although the composition is generally similar, there are considerable differences of detail. The present version contains only thirteen figures instead of seventeen: on the left, the servant with the basket of loaves on his head is missing; on the right, there are two fewer warriors and David's shield-bearer with the helmet is not to be seen. David's horse is only partly visible; its pose is based on Roman sarcophagi¹ and was used by Rubens in earlier compositions.² Abigail wears a dark piece of drapery over her head instead of a gauzy white veil, and thus looks somewhat older. The elimination of some figures concentrates attention more on the protagonists; the figures are closer together and less loosely painted, making the entire scene more compact.

The question arises as to the relationship between the two paintings. Is the present work with its compact and more limited form derived from that in the Getty Museum, or is the latter an enlarged version of it? Critics are not unani-

mous on this point. Burchard³ dated the Getty painting c.1625-1628, and the present work to the 1630s. Jaffé⁴ agreed as to the date-order, and considered that the Detroit painting showed weaknesses that pointed to studio assistance. He also drew attention to a significant *pentimento*: part of David's military cloak, which in the Heinemann *modello*, and also in the Getty painting, hangs down beneath his left arm was originally also to be seen in the Detroit painting, but was later over-painted. Held⁵ saw the force of this argument, but none the less preferred a date of c.1625-1628 for the Detroit painting, which he regarded as entirely by Rubens, whereas the Getty painting, in his view, dated from 'the very beginning of the 1630s'. His reasons for the order of dating were stylistic: 'The whole tendency of Rubens's development in the later years of his activity was towards a looser, more spacious treatment of his designs. A transformation of a broadly extended action into one more tightly compressed runs counter to the general trend of his art in these years. Moreover, the Heinemann and Getty versions look in some respects like a deliberate improvement or rational clarification of the narrative as depicted in the Detroit canvas'. This is in principle a true characterization of the development of Rubens's later style, and it is also true that the narrative is less clear and rational in the Detroit painting than in the Getty version. None the less, the sequence proposed by Held is unacceptable.

As appears from the *pentimento* with David's cloak, the present painting was in fact executed after the Getty version and hence after the Heinemann *modello*; this probably took place within a short time, in the early 1630s. Moreover it is not wholly by Rubens but partly the

work of studio assistants; this is shown by weak portions such as David's armour, the warriors behind him, and the treatment of the sky. These shortcomings, and the condensed nature of the work, detract from the clarity of the narrative. The composition was derived from the Getty painting and not from the *modello*. Thus the servant on the extreme left is also in the Getty painting but not in the *modello*—which, as we know from Lommel's engraving (Fig.95), has come down to us without lateral curtailment; while the old woman, who appears in the *modello* but not in the Getty version, is not in the Detroit painting either.⁶

1. J.S.Held, 'Le roi à la chasse', *Art Bulletin*, June 1958, pp.146-147; Held, *Oil Sketches*, p.84 under No.51, pl.52.
2. *Triumphant Rome*, Mauritshuis, The Hague (*Antwerp*, 1977, p.145, No.60, repr.); *The Adoration of the Magi*, Prado, Madrid (*K.d.K.*, p.26).
3. Quoted by H.Vey in Cat. Exh. *Die Sammlung Henle*, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne, 1964, under No.31.
4. 'Rubens's "David and Abigail"', loc. cit. It is not clear, however, exactly how Jaffé dates both paintings: the Getty one he calls 'characteristic of Rubens's practice in Antwerp during the early 1630s', while he considers the Detroit one as 'a work of c.1630'.
5. *Flemish and German Paintings of the 17th Century. The Collections of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, Detroit, 1982, p.88.
6. If the Detroit painting were prior to the Heinemann *modello* and the Getty version, how could it be explained that the servant on the extreme left of the Detroit painting appears in the Getty version but not in the *modello*? Moreover, in that case one would have to assume that Rubens first painted Abigail's two young companions full-length and then, in the *modello*, placed an old woman kneeling in front of them, but did not include her in the Getty version.

43. Bathsheba Receiving David's Letter: Drawing (Fig.97)

Sheet cut off on the left. Watermark: a shield with cross surmounted by a crown

(cf. F.Wibiral, *L'Iconographie d'Antoine Van Dyck*, Leipzig, 1877, pl.VI, No.20). Pen and brown ink and grey wash in a few places; 192 × 262 mm.—*Verso*: Pen and brown ink. Below on the left, the mark of the Printroom, Berlin (L.2504), and the inscriptions VB and 5397; below on the right, with the pen and brown ink, van Dyck (probably by Roupell), and Roupell's initials (L.2234).

Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett. Inv. No.5397.

PROVENANCE: Robert Prioleau Roupell (London, 1798-1886); Adolph von Beckerrath (Berlin, 1834-1915); acquired in 1902.

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp*, 1956, No.55; *Berlin*, 1977, No.18.

LITERATURE: F.Lippmann, *Zeichnungen alter Meister im Kupferstichkabinett der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Berlin, 1910, No.253 (as *Van Dyck*); J.Rosenberg, 'Weitere Federzeichnungen von Rubens im Kupferstichkabinett', *Berliner Museen*, XLIX, 1928, pp.57-58, fig.1 (as *Rubens*); Bock-Rosenberg, p.250, No.5397, fig.181 (as *Rubens*, c.1615); F.Lugt, 'Beiträge zu dem Katalog der Niederländischen Handzeichnungen in Berlin', *Berliner Jahrbuch*, LII, 1931, p.64; J.Rosenberg, 'Neuerworbene Zeichnungen des Kupferstichkabinetts', *Berliner Museen*, LII, 1931, p.110 (as '*Rubens, frühes Blatt*'); H.Kauffmann, 'Überblick der Litteratur betreffende Niederländische Kunst', *Oud-Holland*, XLVIII, 1931, p.196 (as *Rubens*, c.1614-1615); Evers, *Rubens*, p.506 n.436 (as '*Rubens, früh*'); Burchard-d'Hulst, *Tekeningen*, p.60, No.55 (as *Rubens*, c.1614); Held, *Drawings*, pp.107-108, No.32, pl.31 (as *Rubens*, c.1612-1614); E.Kunoth-Leifels, *Über die Darstellungen der 'Bathsheba im Bade'*. *Studien zur Geschichte des Bildthemas 4. bis 17. Jahrhundert*,

Essen, 1962, p.85 n.123, fig.51; Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, pp.130-131, No.78, repr. (as *Rubens*, c.1614); J. Neumann, 'Aus den Jugendjahren Peter Paul Rubens', *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Institutes der Universität Graz*, III-IV, 1968-69, p.122, fig.56 (as *Rubens*, c.1612-1614); Renger, *Rubens Dedit*, I, pp.139-140 (as *Rubens*); Bernhard, p.244, repr. (as *Rubens*, c.1614); H. Mielke in *Mielke-Winner*, pp.62-64, No.18, fig.18r (as *Rubens*, c.1613-1614); Mitsch, *Rubenszeichnungen*, p.97, under No.33 (as *Rubens*, vor 1615); M. Jonzeck, *Peter Paul Rubens, 1577-1640. Material für die Kunstpropaganda der Staatlichen Allgemeinbibliotheken und der Gewerkschaftsbibliotheken anlässlich des 400. Geburtstages des Malers*, Zentralinstitut für Bibliothekswesen, Berlin, 1977, pp.48-51; Held, *Drawings*, 1986, pp.102-103, No.83, fig.135 (as *Rubens*, c.1612-1614).

While his troops, under Joab's command, were conquering the Ammonites and besieging their capital of Rabbah, David remained in Jerusalem. One evening, walking on the palace roof, he caught sight of a beautiful woman washing herself. Having discovered that she was Bathsheba, daughter of Eliam and wife of Uriah the Hittite, he sent for her and took her to his bed (II Samuel 11: 1-4).

According to theologians of the time, David was a symbol of Christ and Bathsheba represented the Church, cleansing herself so as to receive the Bridegroom worthily. These subtleties counted for little in the popularity of a theme which, like its usual pendant *Susanna and the Elders*, degenerated into senile eroticism. In medieval art the *risqué* subject of Bathsheba was treated with reserve, but from the Renaissance onwards its popularity was unbridled.¹

The naked Bathsheba is seated cross-legged to the left of centre. She is attended by three women: one, kneeling before her, dries her feet; a second, carrying a plate or a basket, stands to her left; a third, standing behind, combs her hair²—a motif which recurs in *Bathsheba Receiving David's Letter*, painted c.1635, in the Gemäldegalerie, Dresden (No.44; Fig.98). On the right a female messenger, whose attitude recalls that of the Angel of the Annunciation, hands to Bathsheba a letter from King David. The Bible makes no mention of such a letter, but it already occurs in medieval art.

The figures of Bathsheba and the female messenger are elaborated in three-dimensional fashion with hatching and grey wash; the others are merely outlined. Rubens drew two alternatives for Bathsheba's right hand, and tried a different pose for her left leg so that one of the maids could dry it. Subsequently he drew in the upper left corner a variant of the group formed by Bathsheba and this serving-maid. As Mielke observed, Rubens was probably dissatisfied with the latter's kneeling posture, since in the new version she is seated on the ground and more relaxed: he was to use a similar pose in, for example, *Diana and Actaeon* in the Boymans-van Beuningen Museum in Rotterdam.³ While searching for the correct pose he repeated the head of the woman combing Bathsheba's hair.

The drawing is inspired by Giulio Romano's fresco of *The Toilet of Bathsheba* in the Loggia of the Palazzo del Te, Mantua.⁴ In that fresco, Bathsheba is also attended by three maids: the left one, kneeling, holds a mirror; the one on the right, standing, attends to Bathsheba's hair; the one in the middle, standing upright, is seen slightly from behind and closely resembles the corresponding fig-

ure in the present drawing. Bathsheba, in this drawing, comes nearer, in reverse, to Giulio Romano's Bathsheba in the fresco *David Spying upon Bathsheba* in the Loggia of the Palazzo del Te.⁵ We may assume that Rubens had in his studio copies, now lost, that he himself had made, when in Mantua, from Giulio Romano's compositions.

The motif of the bather's crossed legs is also to be found in *Susanna and the Elders*, an engraving after Rubens by Lucas Vorsterman (No.62; Fig.162). Otherwise this Bathsheba is related to the *Susanna* in Rubens's painting in the Galleria Borghese, Rome (No.58; Fig.152), and even more to that in the painting in Stockholm (No.60; Fig.156). The latter is dated 1614, a date which, with some tolerance, also seems acceptable for the sheet discussed here. No work based on this preparatory drawing is known to exist, nor is there any known painting of Bathsheba by Rubens before the late panel in Dresden. There is no connection between that painting and this drawing.

On the verso is a group of three men standing full-length, all approximately *de face* and wearing the court dress of around 1630. The one in the middle lays his left hand on the head of a young person, kneeling and in armour (the head of this kneeling person is drawn again above, on a somewhat larger scale). This may allude to the condemnation of Joan of Arc in 1431: a '*Pucelle d'Orléans, sur toile*' is mentioned as No.159 in the inventory of Rubens's estate.⁶

1. *Reallexikon*, I, cols.1512-1520; Réau, *Iconographie*, II, 1, p.274; *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, cols. 253-257.
2. J.S.Held (loc. cit.) believes that 'the two standing women belong to a different theme, probably the one for which the five [*sic*] figures on the reverse were intended'. In fact there are only four figures on the verso, not five. Moreover there is no doubt

that the woman behind Bathsheba is combing her mistress's hair, as is the case in Giulio's *Toilet of Bathsheba* in the Loggia of the Palazzo del Te. This woman has nothing to do with the theme of the drawing on the verso.

3. *K.d.K.*, p.350; *Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam. Catalogus schilderijen tot 1800*, 1962, pp.119-120, No.2296.
4. F.Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, New Haven, 1958, pp.150-151, fig.334 (painted by Rinaldo, from a design by Giulio).
5. *Id.*, pp.150-151, fig.335 (painted by Rinaldo, from a design by Giulio).
6. *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p.63. The painting *Joan of Arc*, belonging to the North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh, N.C., and exhibited as *Rubens in Antwerp* in 1977 (*Antwerp, 1977*, p.115, No.46, repr.) appears in its present state to be of inferior quality. A laboratory examination is called for, as it may be that the work has been much damaged in the course of time and unskillfully restored.

44. Bathsheba Receiving David's Letter (Fig.98)

Oil on panel; 175 × 126 cm.
Dresden, *Gemäldegalerie*. Inv. No.965.

PROVENANCE: ?Rubens's estate (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p.60, No.87); Count Van Plettenburg and Witten, sale, Amsterdam, 2 April 1738, lot 38; M. Van Zwieten, sale, The Hague, 12 April 1741, lot 34; bought by Le Leu for Augustus III (1733-1763), Elector of Saxony and King of Poland at the Araignon sale, Paris, 26 March et seq. 1749.

COPIES: (1) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 103 × 73 cm. PROV. Baden-Baden, Hamilton Collection; bought from this family by the Ehrhardt Gallery, Berlin, 1931; (2) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 164 × 111 cm. PROV. Madrid, Duque de Berwick y de Alba. LIT. *Rooses*, V, p.313, No.121 (as '*copie ancienne*'); *Catálogo de la Colección de Pinturas del Duque de Berwick y de Alba*, s.l., 1911, pp.163-164, No.181, heliograph before p.163 (as *Van*

Dyck); (3) Anonymous drawing, whereabouts unknown; pen and brown ink and brown wash. PROV. C. Fairfax Murray (London, 1849-1919). LIT. C. Fairfax Murray, *Collection of Drawings by the Old Masters formed by C. Fairfax Murray*, V, London, 1905-1912, No.41.

LITERATURE: *Catalogue des tableaux de la Galerie Electorale à Dresde*, Dresden, 1765, p.75, No.385 (as Rubens); Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp.171, No.595, 281, No.944 (as Rubens); Rooses, I, pp.149-150, No.121 (as Rubens, c.1635); K.Woermann, *Katalog der Königlichen Gemäldegalerie zu Dresden*, Dresden, 1908, pp.318-319, No.965 (as Rubens); K.d.K., p.347 (as Rubens, c.1635); K.Erdmann, 'Peter Paul Rubens "Nessus und Dejanira"', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 1929-1930, pp.70-71, repr. (as Rubens); Evers, *Rubens*, pp.419-422, figs.239-241 (as Rubens, late); Burchard-d'Hulst, *Tekeningen*, p.60, under No.55 (as Rubens, c.1635); Held, *Drawings*, pp.107-108, under No.32 (as Rubens, late); E.Kunoth-Leifels, *Über die Darstellungen der 'Bathsheba im Bade'*. *Studien zur Geschichte des Bildthemas 4. bis 17. Jahrhundert*, Essen, 1962, pp.60-63, fig.50 (as Rubens, c.1635); Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, pp.130-131, under No.78 (as Rubens, c.1635); M.Praz, *Mnemosyne. The Parallel between Literature and the Visual Arts*, Princeton, 1967, p.233 n.8; E.Panofsky, *Problems in Titian, Mostly Iconographic*, London-New York, 1969, p.155 n.43; *Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Dresden, Alte Meister*, Dresden, 1979, p.287, No.965, repr. (as Rubens, c.1635); Held, *Drawings*, 1986, p.102, under No.83.

King David, walking one evening on his palace roof, was captivated by the beauty of Bathsheba, wife of Uriah, whom he

saw bathing. He sent for her and took her to his bed. (II Samuel 11: 1-4; see also No.43).

Bathsheba, under an overhanging drapery, is seated on a chair¹ in the foreground beside a pool of water; she rests her arm on a fountain decorated with a dolphin on which a cupid is riding.² Her dark, heavy dress is drawn up above her thighs; only her upper right arm is loosely covered by a piece of white linen. In this garb she displays her full naked beauty. While a maid combs her blond hair, she looks towards a negro page who approaches from behind a low balustrade to hand her David's letter. A small dog barks angrily at the messenger as if to defend his mistress.³ In the background, behind the balustrade of the palace roof, David watches to see how Uriah's wife receives his message.

The motif with the maid combing Bathsheba's hair occurred some twenty years earlier in Rubens's drawing in Berlin (No.43; Fig.97). In that drawing, however, David does not appear, and his letter is brought by a woman instead of a boy messenger.

The motif of Bathsheba seated is borrowed from Titian's *Diana and Actaeon*, now in The National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh;⁴ Rubens had copied this and other works by the Venetian master during his stay in Madrid in 1628-1629.⁵ In the centre of that painting, seated beside a pool, is a nymph who, startled by Actaeon's appearance, turns her body to the right while looking in the opposite direction. Rubens took over this pose for Bathsheba and adapted it to the rhythm of his composition. There is also a remarkable similarity between the profile head of the negress in the painting of *Diana* and that of the blackamoor in Rubens's *Bathsheba*. In both cases, the dark-skinned

figure serves to set off the beauty of the nearby female nude. As Kunoth-Leifels has pointed out,⁶ this contrast of colours is found in scenes of Bathsheba in Netherlandish painting from the sixteenth century onwards: for example, in Jan Massijs's *Bathsheba Receiving David's Letter* (1562) in the Louvre in Paris,⁷ and Cornelisz. van Haarlem's *Bathsheba at the Fountain* (1594) in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam.⁸

One might be inclined to suppose that H el ene Fourment sat for the figure of Bathsheba, but a comparison of the latter's facial traits with known portraits of Rubens's wife shows that the resemblance is not sufficient to identify the two women. It would rather seem that this Bathsheba represents the general ideal of beauty that Rubens found embodied in his wife and that recurs with more or less modification in several of his paintings of the 1630s.

Rubens chose for his painting of Bathsheba the theme preferred by his sixteenth-century predecessors both North and South of the Alps, namely the delivery of David's message. In this scene, where the messenger's arrival and David spying in the background combine to create a brief dramatic incident, previous artists had gradually made Bathsheba the centre of the composition and brought her into the foreground. Their principal aim was to depict the seductive beauty of the woman bathing and to give the scene its full erotic content.⁹ Thanks to his brilliant use of colour and above all his skill in portraying physical attractiveness, Rubens surpassed them all in this respect.

On stylistic grounds the painting is to be dated c.1635. It is not known by whom it was commissioned or for what purpose.

1. The legs of this chair terminate in an arrow-shape. This is also seen in Rubens's oil sketch of *The Emperor Constantine on his Death-bed*, Paris, collection of R. K uss (*Held, Oil Sketches*, pp.83-84, No.50, pl.51), and in the paintings *Mars and Rhea Silvia*, Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection (G. Wilhelm, *Peter Paul Rubens, aus den Sammlungen des F ursten von Liechtenstein*, 1974, p.15, No.25, fig.XXV) and *The Death of Dido*, Paris, Louvre (K.d.K., p.408).
2. The fountain decorated with a cupid riding a dolphin is a motif frequently used by Rubens: cf. *Susanna and the Elders*, Academia de San Fernando, Madrid, (No.59; Fig.153).
3. A similar small dog appears in Rubens's *Susanna and the Elders*, c.1635-1640, Munich, Alte Pinakothek (No.65; Fig.170), where it rushes to defend Susanna against the importunate greybeards.
4. H.E. Wethey, *Titian, III, The Mythological and Historical Paintings*, London, 1975, pp.138-141, No.9, fig.142; E. Kunoth-Leifels, op. cit., p.61.
5. Rubens's copy after Titian's *Diana and Actaeon* is No.44 in the inventory of his estate (*Denuc , Konstkamers*, p.58). On Rubens's stay in Madrid in 1628-1629 and the copies of Titian that he painted there see *Rooses, Life*, II, pp.465-474; *Jaff , Rubens and Italy*, pp.33-34.
6. Op. cit., p.61.
7. Id., p.57, fig.45.
8. Ibid., pp.58-59, fig.48.
9. See, for instance, Jan Massijs's *Bathsheba Receiving David's Letter*, 1562, Paris, Louvre (E. Kunoth-Leifels, op. cit., fig.45), or Veronese's painting of that subject, Lyon, Mus e des Beaux-Arts (T. Pignatti, *Veronese*, Venice, 1976, p.151, No.260, fig.598).

45. The Judgement of Solomon (Fig.100)

Oil on canvas; 184 x 217 cm. (including the strips added, top and bottom, by an unknown hand); below left, the numbers 665 and 1246.

Madrid, Prado. No.1543.

PROVENANCE: Queen Isabel de Farnesio (Elizabeth Farnese), Palacio de San Ildefonso (La Granja), on whose orders the painting was acquired in Italy (described in the inventory drawn up after the death of Philip V in 1746, No.665, as Rubens); later in the palace at Aranjuez, as appears from the inventory of 1794, drawn up by Bayeu, Goya and Gomez (as *Rubens*).

COPY: Anonymous painting, Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection; canvas, 156 × 210 cm. LIT. Oldenbourg, *Flämische Malerei*, p.127 (as 'anonyme Schülerarbeit, mit geringer Wahrscheinlichkeit Frans de Neve (1606-1681) zugeschrieben'); A.Kronfeld, *Führer durch die Fürstlich Liechtensteinsche Gemäldegalerie in Wien*, Vienna, 1931, p.39, No.92 (as 'Franz von Neve oder Neue').

LITERATURE: A.Ponz, *Viaje de España*, X, Madrid, 1781, p.142 (as in the style of Rubens); H.Hymans, 'Le Musée du Prado', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1894, p.78 (as Rubens); Don Pedro de Madrazo, *Catalogue des tableaux du musée du Prado*, Madrid, 1913, p.269, under No.1346, pp.311-312, No.1543 (as *Jordaens*); G.Glück, 'Ein verkanntes Werk von Rubens im Prado zu Madrid', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, I, 1932, pp.271-273, repr. (as Rubens, 1608-1610); id., in *Thieme-Becker*, XXIV, 1955, p.141, right (as Rubens, 1608-1614); M.S. Soria, 'Some Flemish Sources of Baroque Painting in Spain', *Art Bulletin*, XXX, 1948, pp.252-253, fig.5; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, pp.106-108, under No.63, fig.63r (as Rubens); J.Müller Hofstede, Review of *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, in *Master Drawings*, 4, 1966, p.446, No.63 (as Rubens); Díaz Padrón, *Cat. Prado*, pp.340-341, No.1543, pl.215 (as 'Rubens, Escuela'); *Reinger*, p.23, under No.2 (as Rubens, 1609-1610); H.Vlieghe, Review of Díaz Padrón, *Cat. Prado*, in *Art Bulletin*, LXI, 1979, p.653 (as the invention by Rubens, the execution to a large extent due to the collaboration of the studio).

Two harlots living in the same house were each delivered of a child. One of them, having lain accidentally on her child during the night, took the other's child away and substituted her own dead child for it. The consequent dispute was

referred by the two women to the judgement of King Solomon. In order to discover which was the mother of the living child, the King commanded that it be cut in two, and a half given to each of the women. One of them agreed, the other, however, moved by maternal instinct, begged that the child might live, even if it was given to her rival. Solomon thus recognized who was the true mother, and the child was restored to her (I Kings 3: 16-27).

Among the kings of Israel, Solomon was the most famous for power, splendour and, above all, wisdom. In typology the Judgement of Solomon was interpreted as prefiguring the Last Judgement. In the clerical courts it was regarded as a traditional exemplar of justice, and from the fifteenth century onwards, especially in the Netherlands, it was similarly regarded in civil courts, such as the municipal courts of aldermen.¹

The action takes place in a palace forecourt. Seated on his throne and holding a sceptre, Solomon gives the order for the living child—held in the outstretched hand of an executioner, seen from behind—to be cut in two. The consenting woman addresses the true mother, who kneels and with outstretched arms implores the king to spare the child's life. The limp, pale body of the dead child lies on the ground, sniffed at by an inquisitive dog. Beside Solomon, slightly further off, are two young courtiers; behind the two women there are an old man in a turban and three soldiers in armour; an other dog lies at the foot of the throne.

The full impact of Solomon's judgement is expressed in the composition, with the burly figure of the executioner forming its central vertical axis. This motif is based on Andrea del Sarto's *Be-*

heading of *St John the Baptist*, a fresco in the Chostro dello Scalzo in Florence, in which an executioner appears in a similar pose and dress.² The child dangling from the executioner's outstretched hand is probably taken from Raphael's *Judgement of Solomon*, a fresco in the ceiling of the Stanze della Segnatura in the Vatican,³ of which Rubens made a drawing *sur place*.⁴ An executioner seen from behind, full-length and holding a sword, also occurs in later works by Rubens, such as *The Martyrdom of St Catherine of Alexandria* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts at Lille⁵ or *The Beheading of St Paul*, a drawing in the British Museum, London.⁶

A sheet now in the Hessisches Landesmuseum at Darmstadt (No.45a; Fig.99) shows the preparatory sketch, executed rapidly with the pen in brown ink, for the 'pretended mother'. The shell that forms the back of the throne, and the sphinx decorating its arm-rest,⁷ symbolize wisdom and discretion; they belong to the language of sculpture with which Rubens was familiar from Renaissance tribunals.

Various types, attitudes and gestures from this painting occur in other early works by Rubens. For instance, a similar kneeling woman, seen from behind, appears in *The Transfiguration*, Nancy Museum (in reverse)⁸ and in the left panel of *The Raising of the Cross* in Antwerp Cathedral.⁹ A similar woman, standing with one hand on her hip, occurs in the two versions of *The Expulsion of Hagar* (Nos.9, 10; Figs.22, 23). The two courtiers appear together in the *Portrait of a General with Two Attendants*, Earl Spencer, Althorp House, Northamptonshire.¹⁰ For the young courtier next to Solomon Rubens already made a study while in Italy, as appears from the fact that he is seen in the same pose in *Christ Crowned*

with Thorns, Grasse, Hospital.¹¹ He also appears, still in the same pose, in *St Matthew*, Madrid, Prado¹² and in *Angels at Music*, Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection,¹³ and, in a different pose, in *The Transfiguration*, Nancy, Museum and *The Adoration of the Magi*, Madrid, Prado.¹⁴ The head of the second courtier can be seen in *The Woman Taken in Adultery*, Brussels, Museum.¹⁵ Armoured soldiers of the same type, which Rubens had probably seen in Veronese's work,¹⁶ are found in *Samson Asleep in Delilah's Lap*, London, National Gallery (No.31; Fig.72) and *The Death of Seneca*, Munich, Alte Pinakothek,¹⁷ but the earliest known example from his hand is the halbardier¹⁸ in *The Gonzaga Family Adoring the Holy Trinity*,¹⁹ painted during his Italian period for the Jesuit Church of the Santissima Trinità in Mantua.

Edward Wright, in *Some Observations made in Travelling through France, Italy &c. in the years 1720, 1721 and 1722* (London, 1730, p.242), wrote: 'In the Church of S.Sylvester [Monte Cavallo, Rome] are some good Paintings ... the Wisdom of Solomon, a Design of Rubens...'. As the present work was purchased in Italy for Elizabeth Farnese, the Consort of Philip V, it may be wondered whether it is perhaps identical with the painting formerly in St Sylvester's, and was therefore executed during Rubens's stay in Italy. However, the style shows it to be considerably later. Taking into account also that the rapid sketch of the 'pretended mother', mentioned above, appears on the same sheet as a preparatory drawing for *The Crowning of the Victor* (c.1614), Kassel, Gemäldegalerie (see No.45a),²⁰ it seems acceptable to date *The Judgement of Solomon* to about the same period, c.1613-1614. Several weaknesses in the execution point to studio assistance.

1. Réau, *Iconographie*, II, 1, pp.289-291; B.Kerber in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, IV, cols.20, 22; J.De Ridder, *Gerechtigheidsstafelen voor Schepenhunzen in Vlaanderen in de 14de, 15de en 16de eeuw* (Doctorate, University of Ghent, 1986), vol.II-1, p.88; vol.III, pp.2-5.
2. S.J.Freedberg, *Andrea del Sarto*, Cambridge, Mass., 1963, pp.63-64, figs.129, 132.
3. K.d.K., *Raffaël, 1919*, pp.48, 51; L.Dussler, *Raphael*, London-New York, 1971, p.70, fig.121.
4. M.Winner in *Mielke-Winner*, pp.29-30, No.5, fig.5v.
5. K.d.K., p.242; *Vlieghe, Saints*, I, pp.121-122, No.78, fig.133.
6. *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, pp.309-313, No.195, fig.145.
7. A drawing of a *Head of a Sphinx*, in *Profile* is in the possession of Mr and Mrs Jaffé, Cambridge (Cat. Exh. *Jacob Jordaens*, Ottawa, 1968-1969, p.19, No.IV, pl.IV; as *Rubens*).
8. K.d.K., p.15; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p.26, fig.247.
9. K.d.K., p.36.
10. J.S.Held, 'Artis Pictoriae Amator. An Antwerp Art Patron and his Collection', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Sixth Series, L, 1957, p.66 n.29; J.Müller Hofstede, 'Rubens und Tizian: das Bild Karls V', *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, third series, XVIII, 1967, pp.67-71, p.92 n.146.
11. K.d.K., p.2; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p.60, figs.180, 182.
12. K.d.K., p.11; *Díaz Padrón, Cat. Prado*, pp.236-238, under No.1646, pp.242-243, No.1656, pl.168.
13. K.d.K., p.66; G.Wilhelm, *Peter Paul Rubens, aus den Sammlungen des Fürsten von Liechtenstein*, 1974, p.10, No.11, fig.XV.
14. K.d.K., p.26; *Díaz Padrón, Cat. Prado*, pp.220-229, pl.163.
15. K.d.K., p.54; *Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België. Inventarisatologie van de oude schilderkunst*, Brussels, 1984, p.247, No.3461, repr.
16. See, for instance: *The Family of Darius, before Alexander the Great*, London, National Gallery (T. Pignatti, *Veronese*, Venice, 1976, p.132, No.163, fig.428).
17. K.d.K., p.44; *Cat. Alte Pinakothek München*, 1983, pp.461-462, No.305, repr.
18. Mantua, Museo del Palazzo Ducale. F.Huemer, 'Some Observations on Rubens' Mantua Altarpiece', *Art Bulletin*, XXXVIII, 1966, pp.84-85, figs.1, 4; *Cat. Exh. Antwerp, 1977*, p.47, No.12, repr.; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p.76, fig.242.
19. Mantua, Museo del Palazzo Ducale. *Cat. Exh. Antwerp, 1977*, p.41, repr.; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p.74, fig.239.
20. K.d.K., p.57; *Katalog der Staatlichen Gemäldegalerie zu Kassel*, Kassel, 1958, p.132, No.91, repr.

45a. A Woman Standing: Drawing (Fig.99)

Watermark: a jug with blossoming branches; pen and brown ink; 297 × 195 mm.; cut off at the margin and inscribed with the pen by an unknown hand, below on the left *links unten 38*, below on the right *P.P.Rubens*.

Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum.

LITERATURE: *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, pp.106-108, No.63, fig.63r (as *Rubens*).

In the upper half of the sheet, on the left, is an outline sketch of a standing woman, in three-quarter length, turned three-quarters to the right. Her body and head are slightly bent forward, her right hand rests on her hip, her left arm is extended. The drawing is a sketch for the 'pretended mother' in *The Judgement of Solomon* in the Prado, Madrid (No.45; Fig.100).

A winged Victory, seated, fills the lower left half of the sheet; it is a sketch for the figure of Victory in *The Crowning of the Victor*, in the Gemäldegalerie at Kassel.¹ Rubens painted this picture as a chimney-piece for the assembly room of the Antwerp militia guild of the 'Old Crossbow', in the 'Huis van Spanien' on the Great Market. Opposite Rubens's painting and above another fireplace hung a piece by Abraham Janssens, *In Spite of Envy, Concord Triumphs with the Help of Love and Honesty*, dated 1614, and now in the Municipal Art Gallery, Wolverhampton.² Mensaert³ assumed that the two paintings were completed about the same time, which means that the sketch for the figure of Victory may be dated c.1613-1614. Since there is no reason to suppose that the two sketches on the sheet here discussed were made at a long interval

from each other, the same date may be assigned to the standing woman.

On the verso of the sheet there are various sketches in pen and brown ink: two more sketches of a Victory (one of them crowning Apollo) and, scattered over the right side of the sheet, traces of other sketches of indefinite outline which elude identification.

1. K. d. K., p. 57; *Katalog der Staatlichen Gemäldegalerie zu Kassel*, Kassel, 1958, p. 132, No. 91, repr.
2. J. Vander Auwera, 'Rubens' "Kroning van de Overwinnaar" te Kassel in het licht van zijn bestemming', in *Rubens and his World*, Antwerp, 1985, pp. 147-155.
3. *Mensaert, Peintre*, I, pp. 210-211. Mensaert is rather vague about the 'Salle des Serments' where he claims to have seen the two paintings. This was not part of the town hall, as the arrangement of his text would suggest, but was in the guild house of the 'Old Crossbow', very close by.

46. The Judgement of Solomon

Formerly in Brussels Town Hall, where it was presumably destroyed in 1695.

COPIES: (1) Anonymous painting, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst (Fig. 101); canvas, 233 × 302 cm. Below in the right corner are painted the coat of arms of the Rantzau family and (presumably by command of King Christian IV of Denmark) the legend: 'Mons: Iosias Comte de Ransau. Mar: de France / me l'a donné'. PROV. Presented, about the middle of the seventeenth century to Christian IV (1577-1648) by Josias Rantzau, *Maréchal de France* (born in Denmark, 1609-1650), who brought the picture to Denmark. LIT. Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp. 279-280, No. 939 (as Rubens); Clément de Ris in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Second Series, XII, 1875, p. 409ff.; Hymans, *Gravure*, p. 308; Rooses, I, pp. 150-152, No. 122 (as 'travail d'élève, retouché par Rubens, 1618-1620'); H. Hymans

in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Second Series, XXXIV, 1886, p. 87; K. Madsen in *Tilskueren*, Copenhagen, 1896, p. 477ff.; Rooses, *Life*, I, pp. 278-279 (as Rubens, c. 1617-1618); V. Wanscher in *Kunstmuseets Aarsskrift*, II, 1915, p. 152ff.; K. Madsen in *Belgien*, ed. by K. Früs-Møller, 1916, pp. 87ff., repr.; K. d. K., pp. 128, 459 (as 'Ausführung von Schülerhand'); G. Glück, 'Ein verkanntes Werk von Rubens im Prado zu Madrid', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, I, 1932, pp. 271-272 (as Rubens); L. Halkin, 'Itinéraire de Belgique de Dubuisson-Aubenay (1623-1628)', *Belgisch tijdschrift voor Oudheidkunde en Kunstgeschiedenis*, Antwerp, XVI, 1946, p. 61 n. 25; *Catalogue of Foreign Paintings, Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Copenhagen*, Copenhagen, 1951, pp. 268-271, No. 609, repr. p. 269 (as partly painted by Rubens's pupils); Held, *Drawings*, p. 110, under No. 39 (as Rubens); H. Vlieghe, *Gaspar de Crayer, sa vie et ses œuvres*, Brussels, 1972, p. 84, under No. A9 (as Rubens); K. Renger, *Cat. Exh. Rubens in der Grafik, Göttingen-Hannover-Nuremberg*, 1977, pp. 22-23, under No. 2 (as Rubens); Bodart, p. 24, under No. 18 (as Rubens); (2) Engraving by Boetius a Bolswert (Fig. 102); inscribed: *P. P. Rubens pinxit* (on the left), *Cum Privilegijs Regis Christianissimi, Serenissimae Infantis, et Ordinum Confederatorum* (in the middle), *B. a Bolswert sculp. et excudit* (on the right); dedication: *Nobilissimis Amplissimis(ue) viris D. D. FRANCISCO VANDER EE Praetori. ENGELBERTO DE TAY Consuli reliquoq(ue) Senatui Urbis Bruxellensis. Iuris beniq(ue) publici servantissimus Dominis suis / Schema hoc Salominici Iudicij ad aram Themidis. D. C. Boetius a Bolswert*; LIT. V. S., p. 7, No. 51; Hymans, *Gravure*, pp. 307-310; Rooses, I, pp. 151-152, pl. 35; Rooses, *Life*, repr. on p. 276; K. d. K., p. 459, under S128; L. Halkin, loc. cit.; K. Renger, loc. cit.; Bodart, p. 24, No. 18, fig. 18.

LITERATURE: Abraham Goelnitz (Golnitzius), *Ulysses Belgo-Gallicus*, Leyden, 1631, p.124; A.Henne and A.Wauters, *Histoire de la ville de Bruxelles*, 1845, III, p.46 n.6; *Hymans, Gravure*, p.308 n.1; *Roozes*, I, pp.151–152, under No.122; K.d.K., p.459, under No.S128; U.Lederle-Grieger, *Gerechtigkeitsdarstellungen in deutschen und niederländischen Rathhäusern*, Philippsburg, 1937, pp.26–33; L.Halkin, op. cit., p.61; *Cat. Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Old Foreign Paintings, Copenhagen*, Copenhagen, 1951, p.268, under No.609.

A woman whose newborn son had died took away another woman's baby and substituted the dead infant for it. A dispute arose, which the women submitted to the judgement of Solomon. The King ordered that the living child should be cut in two with a sword, and a half given to each mother. One woman agreed, but the other, moved by maternal instinct, begged that the child should be spared even if it was taken away from her. Solomon thus recognized the true mother, and she was given back the child (I Kings 3: 16–27; see also No.45).

Solomon, enthroned on a dais and holding a sceptre, orders the executioner to stay his hand. To the left of the King are two courtiers; to the right, an old man in a turban and two soldiers in armour. One of the two mothers kneels before the King and points with a urgent gesture towards the child that is about to be slain, thus revealing that it is hers. The other, accompanied by an old woman, looks on in surprise. Between the two mothers is the executioner: with one hand he holds the child by the leg, and with the other he raises the sword to strike. The dead child lies in the foreground; a dog approaches to sniff at it.

The incident takes place in the royal palace, and not in the temple as might be supposed from the Salomonic columns.

Salomonic columns have a composite Corinthian capital and a twisted shaft, divided into four sections by wreaths of acanthus leaves. The first and third sections are spirally fluted; the second and fourth are decorated with vine tendrils and grapes, with harvesting putti between. The model and prototype of these twisted columns consists in the twelve antique columns that stood, in two rows of six, before the *Confessio* of Old St Peter's in Rome from the eighth to the sixteenth century. According to a late medieval belief, they came originally from Solomon's Temple. Eleven of them are still to be seen in different parts of the new Basilica, including the *Colonna Santa* in the chapel containing Michelangelo's *Pietà*.¹

It is not certain whether Rubens saw anything of the famous columns in Rome. It might be supposed that he did, since they are already to be seen in *The Ecstasy of St Helena*, Grasse, Hospital² and *The Gonzaga Family Adoring the Trinity*, Mantua, Palazzo Ducale,³ two works painted during his stay in Italy. However, Rubens may have seen Raphael's *Healing of the Paralytic* in the series of *The Acts of the Apostles* in the Vatican, a tapestry in which numerous Salomonic columns appear,⁴ or, before he left for Italy, the cartoon for that tapestry, which, like the rest of the cartoons for the series, was for a long time in the Netherlands.⁵

Rubens also made use of Salomonic columns in *The Justice of Cambyses*, the painting which hung in the Brussels town hall opposite *The Judgement of Solomon* (see below); this appears from the engraving after it by R.Eynhoudts.⁶ He did the same in several subsequent paintings after his return to Antwerp.⁷

Abraham Goelnitz (Golnitsius), who visited the Southern Netherlands in about 1624, wrote in the account of his travels (1631)⁸ that there was, in a room of the Brussels town hall, a *Judgement of Solomon* by Rubens, with panels consisting of portraits of aldermen. All the editions of Guicciardini⁹ after 1631 repeated this information in the same terms. They also repeated a mistake by Golnitsius, who stated that Rubens had been paid 3,000 florins for the painting. Henne and Wauters¹⁰ corrected the mistake by drawing attention to a Resolution of 6 April 1622 from which it appears that Rubens received that amount for a *Justice of Cambyzes* that was then in the town hall. They inferred from this that Golnitsius, and hence Guicciardini, had actually seen a *Justice of Cambyzes* and mistaken it for a *Judgement of Solomon*. Rooses¹¹ also thought Golnitsius was mistaken, but believed that what he had seen was a triptych by Michiel Coxie that was also in the town hall, with a *Judgement of Solomon* in the centre and portraits of aldermen on the side panels. However, Rooses was struck by the fact, which he called a remarkable coincidence, that Boetius a Bolswert's engraving after Rubens's *Judgement of Solomon* was dedicated to two Brussels magistrates; this, in Rooses' view, was relevant to Golnitsius's testimony. Only Hymans¹² was of the opinion that there was indeed a *Judgement of Solomon* by Rubens in the courtroom of the Brussels town hall; he surmised that it had been destroyed by fire in the French bombardment of 1695.

Hymans was right in thinking that Golnitsius had seen a *Judgement of Solomon* by Rubens. This can be seen from the *Itinerarium Belgicum* by Dubuisson-Aubenay (1623-1628), published in part by Halkin in 1946.¹³ Dubuisson-Aubenay states that

Rubens's *Judgement of Solomon* hung in the 'chambre criminelle' of the town hall, opposite the same artist's *Justice of Cambyzes*. This mention of both works together excludes the possibility that they were confused by Golnitsius and Dubuisson-Aubenay (who also mentions that a *Last Judgement* by Rubens hung in the courtroom).

The *Judgement of Solomon* now in Copenhagen, which Oldenbourg rightly terms the work of a pupil (*Ausführung von Schülerhand*'), can scarcely be identical with the painting which hung in the Brussels town hall and which, as Hymans says, was no doubt destroyed by fire in 1695.

Moreover, the architectural décor in Boetius a Bolswert's engraving differs appreciably from the Copenhagen painting. Of the row of Salomonic columns seen on the right of that painting the engraving shows two on the left beside the king's throne; room is thus left for an archway giving a wide view of the open air. Other differences can be pointed out. The dais on which the throne is placed has only three steps in the engraving, as opposed to four in the painting, and they are seen more from above; the courtier in the foreground stands with his left foot forward instead of his right; Solomon's feet rest on a stool instead of on the dais itself; within the shell behind him there is another, smaller shell; and so on. It follows that the engraving is certainly not based on the Copenhagen painting but in all probability on the original one, formerly in the Brussels town hall. This view is supported by the fact that it is dedicated to Franciscus van der Ee, bailiff, and Engelbert de Tay, former mayor of Brussels;¹⁴ cf. Golnitsius's statement that Rubens's *Judgement of Solomon* was flanked by 'portraits of aldermen'. Of the nu-

merous known copies after Rubens's composition, almost all are based on the engraving (and hence on the original painting);¹⁵ only two agree with the Copenhagen painting.¹⁶

The engraving, with Rubens's three privileges, cannot be of earlier date than 1629. This was the year in which Engelbert de Tay relinquished his post as mayor, which explains the wording of the dedication: *Engelberto de Tay, Consuli reliquoq. Senatui Urbis Bruxellensis*.¹⁷ On the basis of the engraving, Rubens's original painting can be dated c.1615–1617. A *Judgement of Solomon* commissioned on 11 December 1619 from Gaspar de Crayer for the audience chamber of the Oud-Burg in Ghent, and now in the Ghent Museum, was strongly influenced by Rubens's work, both in the general composition and in the attitude of certain figures.¹⁸

According to Smith,¹⁹ an oil sketch (panel, 30.5 × 38 cm.) was sold from the De Schrijvere Collection at Bruges in 1763, and was a preparatory sketch for a *Judgement of Solomon* corresponding to Boetius a Bolswert's engraving. In 1785 a drawing was sold as *Rubens, Judgement of Solomon* from the Nourri Collection, Paris.²⁰

In 1950 Dr E. Schapiro, London, possessed a painting (copper, 48 × 64 cm.; signed), a copy after Rubens's composition by the Antwerp painter Frans Ykens (1601–1693). Other paintings apparently based on this composition (either the original painting, Boetius a Bolswert's engraving or the Copenhagen version) were at one time in the town hall at Rouen,²¹ the town hall at Delft, the town hall at Courtrai, and Seville Cathedral.²²

In the Hermitage in Leningrad there is an ivory cup dating from the second half of the seventeenth century,²³ decorated

with a *Judgement of Solomon* inspired by Boetius a Bolswert's engraving.

1. *De Poorter, Eucharist*, pp.171–176, figs.42, 43. This work contains a useful review of the literature on the Salomonic Columns.
2. *K.d.K.*, p.1; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, pp.10, 16, 23–24, 53, 59, 61, 64, 96, fig.179.
3. *K.d.K.*, p.13; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, pp.11, 37–38, 56, 74, 76, fig.239.
4. *K.d.K.*, *Raffaël, 1919*, p.131; L.Dussler, *Raphaël*, London–New York, 1971, p.102, fig.176.
5. *K.d.K.*, *Raffaël, 1919*, p.130; L.Dussler, *op. cit.*, p.102, fig.175.
6. *V.S.*, p.137, No.13.
7. See e.g. *K.d.K.*, pp.175, 227, 230, 237, 291, 335, 336, 370, 413, 423.
8. *Op. cit.*, p.124.
9. The first edition of Ludovico Guicciardini's *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi* was published by Silvius at Antwerp in 1567. Numerous editions followed, mostly in translation. After the appearance of Golnitsius's work in 1631 three further Dutch translations of Guicciardini were published in 1648, 1660 and 1854, and an English one in 1795.
10. *Op. cit.*, p.46 n.6.
11. *Rooses, I*, pp.151–152, under No.122.
12. *Hymans, Gravure*, p.308 n.1.
13. L.Halkin, *op. cit.*, p.61.
14. For a portrait of Engelbert de Tay, see *K.d.K., Van Dyck, 1931*, pp.295, 551 (under S.295, left), and M.Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *l'Iconographie d'Antoine van Dyck*, Brussels, 1956, p.286, No.128, fig.128.
15. (1) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 160 × 220 cm. *prov.* Bremen, House of the Clothiers' Corporation, sold in 1685 to the *Krameramt*; bought in 1862 in the *Krameramt*-sale, Bremen, by J.Ohlmeyer, Bremen; Stockholm, Captain Sjöberg (1937); Samy Rosenberg Gallery, New York (1955); (2) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; panel 73 × 89 cm. *prov.* Amsterdam, Winkelman Collection, sale, Dorset, Thornhill House, December 1880; sale, Lucerne (Fischer), 27–28 August 1929, lot 90; sale Brussels (Fiévez), 16 December 1929, lot 83, repr.; (3) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; copper, 19.6 × 26 cm. (oval). *prov.* Sale, London (Christie's), 25 April 1952, lot 150; sale, London (Christie's), 1 August 1975; (4) Anonymous painting, Den Burg (The Netherlands), town hall (1961); (5) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 74 × 110 cm. *prov.* Brussels, Neckers Gallery, 25 April 1964, lot 175, repr.; (6) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 72 × 91 cm. *prov.* Sale Frankfurt am Main (Arnold), 28 June 1975; (7) Flemish tapestry (17th century), whereabouts unknown; 213 × 150 cm. *prov.* Berlin-Westend, L.Hirschberg Collection, sale, Berlin (Internationales Kunst- und Auktions-Haus), 11 Fe-

- bruary 1933, lot 210, pl.4; sale, Cologne (Lempertz), 28 May 1971, lot 1713, pl.73; (8) Engraving by P. Viel (V.S., p.7, No.52); (9) Engraving by F. Ragot (V.S., p.7, No.53); (10) Anonymous engraving, J.C. Visscher excudit (V.S., p.7, No.54); (11) Engraving by J.B. Jackson (V.S., p.7, No.55); (12) Engraving by Van Somer (V.S., p.7, No.56); (13) Anonymous engraving, C. Danckerts excudit (V.S., p.8, No.57); (14) Anonymous engraving, à Paris chez Hecquet (V.S., p.8, No.58); (15) Anonymous engraving (V.S., p.8, No.59); (16) Anonymous engraving, à Paris chez Chereau le jeune (V.S., p.8, No.60); (17) Anonymous engraving, F. van den Enden exc. (V.S., p.8, No.61); (18) Anonymous engraving (V.S., p.8, No.62).
16. Anonymous painting, Antwerp, private collection; canvas, 119 × 176 cm. Lit. Th. Van Lerius, *Biographies d'Artistes Anversois*, I, Antwerp, 1880, p.69 (as Jan Boeckhorst); Anonymous painting, Detroit, Michigan, Revd E.J. Hickey (1972); canvas.
17. Hymans, *Gravure*, pp.308–309.
18. H. Vlieghe, op. cit., pp.84–85.
19. Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.280; Rooses, I, p.152, under No.122; *Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Catalogue of Old Foreign Paintings, Copenhagen*, Copenhagen, 1951, p.268, under No.609.
20. *Cat. Vente de dessins, Nourri, Conseiller au Grand Conseil*, 24 February 1785, Paris (Folliot et Regnault), lot 847: 'Rubens, Le Jugement de Salomon, 12 figs. Plume, lavé au bistre et rehaussé de blanc [H.36.54; L.47.38 cm.]'. See H. Mireur, *Dictionnaire des Ventes d'Art*, Paris, VI, 1912, p.362; *Royal Museum of Fine Art, Catalogue of Old Foreign Paintings, Copenhagen*, Copenhagen, 1951, p.268, under No.609 (as mentioned in the *Catalogue de la Collection de M. Nourri, Paris, 1787 [sic.]*, No.847).
21. Hymans, *Gravure*, p.308 n.1.
22. *Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Catalogue of Old Foreign Paintings, Copenhagen*, Copenhagen, 1951, p.268, under No.609. This also mentions a copy in the possession of the Prince of Liechtenstein; but the reference here is to Rubens's painting in the Prado, Madrid (No.45; Fig.100).
23. Inv. E.7286; height 42 cm. *Cat. Exh. Westeuropäische Elfenbeinarbeiten 11.–19. Jahrhundert aus der Staatlichen Hermitage Leningrad*, Deutsches Elfenbeinmuseum, Erlach o. d. W., 1975, No.31; *Cat. Exh. Rubens and Flemish Baroque* (in Russian), Leningrad, Hermitage, 1978, p.62, No.215, fig.215.

47. The Defeat of Sennacherib (Fig.103)

Oak panel; 98 × 123 cm.
Munich, *Alte Pinakothek*. No.326.

PROVENANCE: Elector Palatine Johann Wilhelm (reigned 1690–1716), Gemäldegalerie, Düsseldorf; Hofgarten-galerie, Munich, 1806; Alte Pinakothek, 1836.

COPIES: (1) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 100 × 120 cm. PROV. Sale, Felix Fleischhauer, Stuttgart, 24–25 April 1928, No.76, pl.6 (as 'Rubens-Werkstatt, Die Konstantinschlacht'); (2) Engraving by Pieter C. Soutman (Haarlem, c.1580–1657) (Fig.104); inscribed: *P. P. Rubens Pinxit, Cum Privilegio P. Soutman Effigavit et Excudit; Venit Angelus Domini, et percussit in castris Assiriorum centum octuaginta quinque millia vidit omnia corpora mortuorum, et recedens abijt Sennacherib Rex Assiriorum, et mansit in Ninive. 4: Reg.19.* Lit. Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.67, under No.193, and Supplement, 1842, p.264, under No.81; V.S., pp.8–9, No.67; Rooses, I, p.154, under No.124, pl.36; Van den Wijngaert, *Prentkunst*, p.92, No.628; Renger, p.84, No.56, fig.33; Bodart, p.28, No.23, fig.23; (3) Engraving, in reverse, by F. Piloty (1786–1844); inscribed: *P. P. Rubens pinxit; f. Piloty del;* not in V.S.

LITERATURE: G. J. Karsch, *Désignation exacte des peintures dans la galerie de la résidence à Düsseldorf*, Düsseldorf, 1719, No.193 (as Rubens); J. van Gool, *De nieuwe Schouburg, etc.*, The Hague, II, 1751, p.545 (as Rubens); *Catalogue des Tableaux qui se trouvent dans les Galleries du Palais de S.A.S.E. Palatine à Düsseldorf*, Mannheim, 'De L'Imprimerie Electorale' (s.d., but Hirsching, *Nachrichten*, VI, p.62, gives the date 1760), p.19, No.29 (as Rubens); Michel, *Histoire*, p.301, No.29 (as Rubens); N. de Pigage, *La Galerie Electorale de Düsseldorf, ou catalogue raisonné et figuré de ses Tableaux*, Basle, 1778, No.266 (as Rubens); Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp.66–67, No.193,

and *Supplement*, p.264, No.81 (as Rubens); Rooses, I, pp.153-154, No.124, pl.36 (as Rubens, c.1614); K.d.K., edn. Rosenberg, p.83, (as Rubens, c.1614-1615); H.Knackfuss, *Rubens*, 1907, p.66, fig.46 (as Rubens); L.Burchard, 'Anmerkungen zu den Rubens-Bildern der Alten Pinakothek zu München', *Kunstchronik*, N.F., XXIII, 1911-1912, No.17, col.259, No.732 (as not Rubens); Oldenbourg, *Flämische Malerei*, p.39 (as Rubens); K.d.K., pp.156, 461 (as 'Rubens, von späterer Hand ein wenig übermalt, c.1616-1618'); E.Kieser, 'Die Bekehrung des Paulus bei Rubens', *Der Cicerone*, XIX, 21, 1927, p.661 (as Rubens, c.1617); Cat. *Alte Pinakothek*, München, 1936, pp.211-212 (as 'Rubens. Von späterer Hand übermalt'); C.Janson, 'L'influence de Tintoret sur Rubens', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Sixth Series, XIX, 1938, pp.80-81 (as Rubens); Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, pp.259-263, figs.280, 281 (as 'Rubens; wenn später berührt, denn nicht in den wichtigsten Figuren'); Seilern, *Flemish Paintings*, pp.35-37, 39-40, under No.21, fig.10 (as Rubens, c.1615-1617); Held, *Drawings*, p.107, under No.31 (as Rubens, before c.1617); Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, I, pp.91-92 (as Rubens, c.1612-1614); J.Müller Hofstede, Review of Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, in *Master Drawings*, 4, 1966, pp.444-445, No.53 (as Rubens); Martin, *Cat. National Gallery*, p.184, under No.853P (as Rubens); Mitsch, *Rubenszeichnungen*, pp.46-47, under No.19, 134, under No.57, repr. p.48 (as Rubens, c.1616-1618); R.Baumstark, 'Peter Paul Rubens. Bildgedanke und künstlerische Form', *Jahrbuch der Liechtensteinischen Kunstgesellschaft*, 1977, II, p.28ff.; H.von Sonnenburg; 'Rubens' Bildaufbau und Technik', *Maltechnik, Restauro*, 1979, 2, p.78, figs.5, 10; Held, *Oil Sketches*, I, pp.362, 408, 581, 632, 635 (as Rubens, c.1614-1615); U.Krempel in *Cat. Alte Pinakothek München*, 1983, pp.440-441, No.328, repr. (as Rubens, c.1616); Balis,

Hunting Scenes, pp.108-109, under No.3 (as Rubens, 1616-1617).

In 701 B.C. Sennacherib, King of Assyria (reigned 704-681), undertook a campaign against Palestine, but failed to capture Jerusalem. The Old Testament (II Kings 19: 35-36; II Chronicles 32: 21-22; Isaiah 37: 36-37) relates how the besiegers were destroyed by divine intervention: 'And it came to pass that night, that the angel of the Lord went out, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand: and when they arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses. So Sennacherib King of Assyria departed, and went and returned, and dwelt at Nineveh'.

Rubens gives a personal interpretation to this theme, which was seldom treated in pictorial art. He shows four angels, armed with shafts of lightning or a fiery sword, swooping down amid a blinding light that pierces the darkness and sows panic in Sennacherib's camp. The King himself is unseated by his rearing white horse and, deathly pale with fear, clings to its mane so as not to fall headlong. His warriors flee to right and left of him, gazing in terror at the skies or vainly trying to calm their horses. Several men and horses, dead or wounded, lie outstretched on the ground. In the background on the left, warriors in front of their tents look with amazement at what is taking place in the heavens.

As Oldenbourg observed, the painting exhibits 'eine ungestüme Freude im Aufsuchen und Lösen der schwierigsten figuralen Verflechtungen, wobei stets ein strenges Formgefühl das Gleichgewicht hält' (a wild delight in seeking and solving the most intricate figural complexities, the balance being always held by a strict

sense of form). The same is true of *The Conversion of St Paul*, London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Princes Gate Collection; *The Death of Decius Mus*, Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection; and Rubens's early hunting scenes.² All these works, produced in the space of a few years, convey a sense of irresistible force; and none of them is conceivable without ancient or Italian models. One may think of antique sarcophagi, such as that representing *The Battle of the Amazons*, which was in the Vatican Belvedere after the middle of the sixteenth century;³ Leonardo's *Battle of Anghiari*;⁴ Raphael's fresco (executed by Giulio Romano) *The Battle of Constantine* in the Vatican;⁵ or Titian's lost *Battle of Cadore*.⁶ These lively compositions with horses and riders in violent action—some of them, as with Raphael and Titian, composed of separate but related episodes—must have made a strong impression on Rubens, especially as they suited his own dynamic style. For *The Defeat of Sennacherib* he probably recalled the hovering angels who help to secure the emperor's victory in Raphael's *Battle of Constantine*.

Rubens was familiar with Tobias Stimmer's *Neue Künstliche Figuren Biblischer Historien*, from which he made drawings of various scenes,⁷ and which included *The Defeat of Sennacherib* (as No.100). Although the overall composition is quite different, Stimmer's engraving shows on the left an avenging angel and a camp of tents, similar to those in the same part of Rubens's painting. The engraver Antonio Tempesta (1555-1630) treated the same theme on two occasions. His engravings too have little in common with the painting as regards composition, but they also introduce an avenging angel, and in one of them, as in Rubens's painting, there is an encampment of tents on

the left. Another engraving of a biblical subject by Tempesta, *The Destruction of the Amalekites*, depicts a scene of turmoil and unhorsed riders, a confused battle in which it is difficult to distinguish friend and foe. In its general composition this work does bear a remarkable resemblance to Rubens's painting, and he may have had it in mind as well as Stimmer's engravings.⁸

As Rooses⁹ observed, *The Defeat of Sennacherib* is a pendant to *The Conversion of St Paul*, now in the Courtauld Institute of Art, Princes Gate Collection, London. The two works are painted on panel and are of practically the same dimensions. They were both formerly in the collection of the Elector Palatine Johann Wilhelm, Düsseldorf Gallery,¹⁰ and were acquired by the Alte Pinakothek, Munich in 1836. They remained together until 1938, when *The Conversion of St Paul* came on the art market. Count Seilern¹¹ pointed out that the works were not simply pendants but 'were conceived as two halves of a single overall composition'. Indeed, if *The Conversion of St Paul* is placed to the right of *The Defeat of Sennacherib*—taking account of the direction of the beams of light in each—it will be seen that the two works are mirror-images of each other. As Seilern observed: 'The groups at the outer edges of both are composed of figures looking upwards and inwards; the rearing horse and rider in one appears almost as a *contre-épreuve* of that in the other; and the inner edges are left empty except for the figures fleeing into the background and, as it were, towards one another, thus drawing the eye into the distance'. The similarity of composition is enhanced by the subject-matter: the two works depict an Old and a New Testament scene respectively, with horsemen conspicuous in both, and with the divine

intervention manifested in a blinding light.¹²

Several authors since Rooses have, on stylistic grounds, proposed a date for *The Defeat of Sennacherib* varying between 1612 and 1618. One of the most recent is Balis.¹³ After pointing out that Rubens borrowed the motif of the horse and the rider falling backwards from Raphael's *Battle of Constantine*, and that, besides the present work, this motif also occurs in *The Death of Decius Mus*, Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection, and *The Lion Hunt*, London, National Gallery, Balis suggests that *The Death of Decius Mus* was the first work in which Rubens made use of it. He does so on the grounds that the connection with Raphael's *Battle of Constantine* is clearest in that painting. As the contract for the weaving of the *Decius Mus* series was signed on 9 November 1616,¹⁴ Balis argues for this date as a *terminus post quem* for both *The Defeat of Sennacherib* and *The Lion Hunt*. It remains a question, however, as Balis himself observes, whether the degree of fidelity with which the Raphael motif is copied is a trustworthy indication of the chronology of the three paintings. I believe it is not, and that on stylistic grounds *The Defeat of Sennacherib* should be dated c.1612–1614, as already proposed by Burchard-d'Hulst.

In the Albertina, Vienna (Inv.No.15.104) there is a drawing (No.48; Fig.107) which, apart from a few details, corresponds to the present painting.

Another drawing in the Albertina (Inv.No.8204), attributed to Rubens by some but rejected by others,¹⁵ has in the past been connected with this painting.¹⁶ However, Geissler's research¹⁷ has shown that this work is a copy after a painting by Hans von Aachen, which is itself copied from a painting by Christoph Schwarz. Von Aachen's work, now in a private col-

lection in London, belonged to the Emperor Rudolph II in Prague, and in 1615–1616 came into the possession of the Archduke Albert in Brussels. Jan Brueghel depicted it in one of his *Five Senses*, now in the Prado in Madrid. The drawing will be more fully discussed in Part XXV of this series (*Copies and Adaptations from Renaissance and Later Artists*).

Pieter C. Soutman made an engraving (Fig.104) which, in reverse, partly reproduces the present painting, particularly Sennacherib and the group around him. The angels in the upper part of the painting occupy a lower place in the engraving—in the background, on the right—and are reduced to a single angel.¹⁸ This modification was probably Soutman's own design. A drawing which, in reverse, corresponds to the engraving and may have been preparatory to it, is in the National Gallery, Washington D.C. (Fig.105).¹⁹ Nicolaas Visscher published an engraving (Fig.106)²⁰ reproducing Soutman's in reverse and with a rather more extensive background.

1. K.d.K., loc. cit.

2. Some of these works have motifs in common with *The Defeat of Sennacherib*. Thus the bolting horse is seen on the left of *The Conversion of St Paul* (Seilern, *Flemish Paintings*, pp.39–40, No.21, pls.XLVII–LI), and on the right is the horse, seen frontally, trying to throw its rider. In *The Death of Decius Mus* (K.d.K., p.146) the main central motif with the two horses is the same; a similar naked man is lying in the foreground, and two of the fleeing soldiers are seen, namely the *a tergo* figure (in *The Defeat of Sennacherib* helmeted and looking back over his left shoulder) and the figure in profile looking up over his right shoulder. Again, in *The Lion and Leopard Hunt*, Gemäldegalerie, Dresden (Balis, *Hunting Scenes*, pp.149–153, No.8, fig.63) are found the figure of Sennacherib, his horse, the bolting horse, and the slain bearded man in the foreground, centre.

3. C. Robert, *Die Antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*, Berlin, 1890, pp.99–101, No.80, pls.XXXIV, XXXV.

4. C. Pedretti, *Leonardo, A Study in Chronology and Style*, Berkeley–Los Angeles, 1973, pp.80–96, pl.XVII. Rubens's interest in *The Battle of Anghiari*

- can be seen, for instance, in a drawing of his in the Louvre (Rooses, V, 1882, pp.206–207, No.1395, pl.399; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, pp.29–30, No.1084, pl.L; *Held, Drawings*, pp.157–159, No.161, pl.173). This reproduces *The Fight for the Standard* with variations: a group of four horsemen contending for the flag, with three warriors on foot. It is generally accepted that Leonardo's execution on the wall of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence was confined to this group. As the wall painting was completely destroyed in 1557, Rubens was no doubt inspired by a copy from an unknown hand.
5. K.d.K., *Raffael*, 1919, p.196; L.Dussler, *Raphael*, London–New York, 1971, pp.86–88, fig.144. There is in the Louvre a drawing after *The Battle of Constantine* (*Lugt, Louvre, École flamande*, II, p.29, No.1083, pl.XLIX) which was at least touched up by Rubens, showing that he was familiar with Raphael's composition.
 6. H.E.Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian*, III, London, 1975, pp.225–232, No.L-3, figs.51–61. *The Battle of Cadore*, painted in 1537–1539 for the Grand Council chamber in the Doges' Palace in Venice, was destroyed by fire in 1577. There is a copy in the Uffizi in Florence (K.d.K., *Tizian*, 1924, p.83).
 7. Cf. *Lugt, Rubens and Stimmer*, pp.99–114; *Evers, Neue Forschungen*, pp.95–96; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, pp.34–35, Nos.1116–1121; *Burchard-Hulst, Drawings*, pp.19–20, No.6; K.L.Belkin, *Rubens and Stimmer*, in *Cat. Exh. Tobias Stimmer*, Museum, Basle, 1984, pp.201–222.
 8. *Evers, Neue Forschungen*, p.260, figs.272–275.
 9. *Rooses*, II, p.331, under No.477.
 10. See Nicolas de Pigage, *op. cit.*, Nos.266, 267 (as 'faisant pendant').
 11. *Seilern, Flemish Paintings*, pp.35–36, figs.10–11.
 12. Müller Hofstede's theory (*loc. cit.*) that Rubens first painted a *Gideon Overcoming the Midianites* (Judges 7: 13–23) as a companion piece to *The Conversion of St Paul*, and later substituted *The Defeat of Sennacherib*, is untenable, as Held has shown (*Held, Oil Sketches*, p.635, under No.A20). Held rightly describes the oil sketch *Gideon Overcoming the Midianites* in the North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh (Inv. No.52.9.207) as a compilation of Rubens motifs, executed by an unknown hand.
 13. *Balis, Hunting Scenes*, pp.108–110.
 14. See J.Duverger, 'Aantekeningen betreffende de patronen van P.P.Rubens en de tapijten met de geschiedenis van Decius Mus', *Gentse Bijdragen tot de kunstgeschiedenis*, XXIV, 1976–1978, p.17.
 15. Rubens's authorship was contested by Logan (Review of *Rubens Exhibitions*, 1977, in *Master Drawings*, 15, 1977, p.406), who thought the work more probably by P.C.Soutman, and by Vlieghe (review of *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, in *Burlington Magazine*, CXX, 1978, p.473). Freedberg expresses doubts of it in 'L'Année Rubens, manifestations et publications en 1977', *Revue de l'Art*, 39, 1978, p.90 n.19.
 16. *Rooses*, V, pp.225–226, No.1425; *Glück-Haberdtz*, p.39, No.85, repr.; *Evers, Neue Forschungen*, pp.261–262, fig.278.
 17. H.Geissler, 'Eine Zeichnung von Rubens nach Christoph Schwarz', *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, third series, XII, 1961, pp.192–196, fig.1; J.Müller Hofstede, *loc. cit.*; *Mitsch, Rubenszeichnungen*, p.134, No.57, repr. (also reproduced are the paintings of Hans von Aachen and Christoph Schwarz); *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, p.60, pl.233.
 18. Similarly the engravings by Tobias Stimmer and Antonio Tempesta, and the drawing in the Albertina, Vienna (Inv. No.8204) show only a single angel.
 19. Black chalk and wash and brown ink, 350 × 450 mm. PROV. J.Richardson Senior (London, 1665–1745); Sir J.C.Robinson (London, 1824–1913); C.Fairfax Murray (*Cat.*, Vol.V [not published], No.606, as *School of Rubens*); sale, London (Sotheby's), 18 November 1959, lot 10 (as *Soutman*) LIT. M.Rooses, 'Euvre de Rubens', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1900, p.200; A.-M.Logan, Review of *Rubens Exhibitions*, 1977, in *Master Drawings*, 15, 1977, p.405, *Cat.* 19 (as *Soutman*); *Id.*, Review of *Held, Drawings*, 1986, in *Master Drawings*, 25, 1987, p.82 n.1 (as *Soutman*).
 20. Anonymous engraving; inscribed: *P.P.Rubens pinxit, Nicolaas Visscher excudit; letter: Itaque fuit nocte eadem, ut prodiens Angelus Iehovae percuteret in Castris Assyriorum centum octoginta quinque Millia. 2 Regum 19.35*, with four lines of verse in Dutch, French, German and English. LIT. V.S., p.9, No.68; *Rooses*, I, p.154, under No.124.

48. The Defeat of Sennacherib: Drawing (Fig.107)

Fully mounted. Cut down slightly on the right. Small fragments of the upper right and the lower left edges torn away and restored. Spotted; traces of black chalk; pen and brush and brown ink; a few corrections in black chalk and white body-colour (in particular in the horseman on the left); 40.2 × 50.8 cm. Below on the left, mark of the Albertina (L.174); below on the right, AB (?) or 73 (?) inscribed with the pen in brown ink.—*Verso*: a signed inscription by the hand of P.J. Mariette (L.2998) reading *Dessein original de P.P.Rubens, de toute beauté et tellement accompli dans toutes ses parties que je ne*

connois point le pareil. Je l'ai acheté à la Vente du fameux cabinet de M. Croizat en 1741.

Vienna, Albertina. Inv. No.15.104.

PROVENANCE: Pierre Crozat (Paris, 1665 to 1740), sale, Paris, 10 April–13 May 1741, Cat. (P.J.Mariette), No.819; P.J.Mariette (Paris, 1694–1774), sale, Paris, 15 June 1775–30 January 1776, lot 992 ('vendu 1500 livres'). Mentioned in the *Catalogue des Dessins de la Collection de feu son Altesse Royale le Duc Albert de Saxe passés en Fidei commis à son Altesse Impériale l'Archiduc Charles en 1822* (in manuscript in the Albertina, Vienna) as No.548 (as Rubens).

LITERATURE: P.J.Mariette, *Description sommaire des Dessins ... du Cabinet de feu M. Crozat*, Paris, 1741, p.94, No.819; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.67 (as Rubens. *A Drawing in bistre and India ink, tinted with colours, of the above picture [sc. The Defeat of Sennacherib, Alte Pinakothek, Munich]. Sold in the collection of M. Mariette, 1775*); D.Wilkie, *Journal*, Vienna, 14 September 1840; Rooses, I, p.154, under No.124 (as 'probablement un travail fait par Rubens pour un graveur'); F.Lugt, 'Notes sur Rubens', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Fifth Series, XII, 1925, p.184 (as Rubens); Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, pp.90–93, No.53, fig.53 (as Rubens); J.Müller Hofstede, Review of Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, in *Master Drawings*, 4, 1966, pp.444–445, No.53 (as Rubens); Mitsch, *Rubenszeichnungen*, pp.46 to 47, No.19, repr. p.49 (as 'Rubens. Trotz der hohen Qualität ... sollte auch die Möglichkeit einer Kopie nicht ganz ausser acht gelassen werden'); A.-M.Logan, 'Rubens Exhibitions, 1977', *Master Drawings*, 15, 1977, p.405, Cat.19 (as may well be by Soutman).

As appears from his inscription on the verso, P.J.Mariette regarded this draw-

ing—which corresponds, except for a few details, with Rubens's painting *The Defeat of Sennacherib* in Munich (No.47; Fig.103)—as a fine authentic work by Rubens, so perfect in all its parts that he knew no other to be compared with it. In later times the enthusiastic language of the great connoisseur has given place to the more sober terminology of Rooses, who wrote that the drawing was probably executed by Rubens for an engraver; however, on the mount he noted that it was a copy by Van Dyck (see Lugt, loc. cit.). Meder, in a note in the same place, followed Rooses's opinion on this point. Glück and Haberditzl originally intended to include the drawing in their book (*Glück-Haberditzl*) and had already had the plate made for the illustration, but changed their mind at the last moment because they no longer believed in its authenticity.

A reaction against these negative views came from Lugt, who greatly admired Mariette's connoisseurship and thought more respect was due to his opinion; accordingly he reattributed the drawing to Rubens. So did Burchard and d'Hulst, who agreed with Mariette and Lugt as to the work's quality. Their view was reinforced by various *pentimenti* and some divergences of detail between the drawing and the painting at Munich. As to the relationship between the two, they thought it impossible to decide which preceded the other.

Meanwhile Mitsch, while not denying the quality and fascination of the work, has expressed the view that the possibility of its being a copy should not be quite excluded. His chief reason for doubting its authenticity is the closeness of its agreement with the painting, which suggests to him that it may be copied from the latter. He also notes that the *pentimenti*

menti and differences of detail from the painting occur principally around the edges, while the main group in the centre agrees exactly with the painting. These features, he considers, are also present in an engraving by P. C. Soutman which reproduces the painting partially and in reverse (cf. under No. 47; Fig. 104)—a fact which apparently led Göpel and Benesch to attribute the drawing to that artist (notes written on the passe-partout).

Logan also doubts Rubens's authorship and suggests Soutman, though there is no known engraving of his after the complete drawing. She believes that in execution and technique the latter is to be compared with a drawing of *The Rape of Proserpina* in the *École des Beaux-Arts*, Paris (Collection Masson, No. 570), which she regards as a preparatory work by Soutman for an engraving made by him.

Among the features that throw doubt on Rubens's authorship may be added the uncertainty with which some summary portions are executed and the over-emphatic effect of the sharp outlines of the illuminated parts. It also appears almost certain that the drawing is not a preparatory study, but was copied from the painting for the purpose of an engraving. If Soutman was the copyist, his style of drawing in this instance must have been extremely dependent on that of Rubens.

49. Tobit Burying a Slain Jew:
Drawing (Fig. 108)

Sheet cut off at the top, below and on the left. Pen and brown ink; 210 × 370 mm. On the left, inscribed in Rubens's hand: *Tobias*.

Farnham, Collection of Wolfgang Burchard.

PROVENANCE: Art dealer Laporte, Hanover; Dr Rolph Grosse, Berlin; Dr Ludwig Burchard (Berlin, London, 1886–1960).

EXHIBITED: *Amsterdam*, 1933, No. 87; *Brussels*, 1938–39, No. 9; *Artists in 17th-Century Rome*, Wildenstein Gallery, London, 1955, No. 68; *Antwerp*, 1956, No. 27.

LITERATURE: L. Burchard in *Glück, Rubens, Van Dyck*, p. 375 (as *Rubens*); *Evers, Neue Forschungen*, pp. 114, 119, pl. 18 (as *Rubens*); *Haverkamp Begemann, Olieverfschetsen*, p. 33, under No. 2 (as *Rubens*); *Burchard-d'Hulst, Tekeningen*, pp. 43–44, No. 27 (as *Rubens*); *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, pp. 46–48, No. 26, fig. 26v, 149, under No. 89 (as *Rubens*); J. Müller Hofstede, *Review of Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, in *Master Drawings*, 4, 1966, p. 440, No. 26v (as *Rubens*).

On the right a man, with his back turned to the spectator, is directing the burial of a body which is being lowered into an open tomb. On the left, seated and wrapped in a cloak, a sleeping man. Behind the corpse, two mourning figures. Below on the left, on a smaller scale, the half-length figure of a man with outstretched hand; below in the centre, two heads faintly indicated in chalk.

The scene could be a sketch for a picture of the last of the Seven Corporal Works of Mercy, the Burial of the Dead (*Mortuus Sepelitur*).¹ The annotation *Tobias* above the sleeping man, however, points to the biblical account of how Tobit (Tobias's father, living in Nineveh) secretly buried at night the bodies of Jews slain by the Assyrian king Sennacherib (Tobit 1: 21 and Tobit 2: 9). Another text (Tobit 2: 10–11) relates how one night Tobit, 'being wearied with burying', fell asleep by the wall of his

house and was blinded by hot dung falling from a swallow's nest. The seated man on the left obviously represents Tobit in his affliction. The scene recalls a tapestry by Barend van Orley, one of a series of eight representing *The Story of Tobit*, now in Vienna.²

In a study from life by Rubens, showing *A Man Bending Forwards*, Collection S. de Clercq, The Hague,³ the pose of the model closely resembles that of the man who supports the head and shoulders of the dead Jew. Apparently Rubens placed his model in this attitude. Yet it is difficult to accept that this study from life was made at the same period as *Tobias Burying a Slain Jew*; stylistically it is to be dated a few years later. It is noteworthy that the figure in this study from life also resembles the man (Gamaliel) who, in *The Entombment of St Stephen*,⁴ which forms the right wing of the *St Stephen Triptych*, c.1615–1616, at Valenciennes, supports the head and shoulders of the dead saint. However, Gamaliel has a different head and a slightly different pose, and the folds of his garment are not the same as in the study. *The Entombment of St Stephen* is similar in subject matter to *Tobit Burying a Slain Jew*: both depict the seventh Work of Mercy, performed by night and against the edict of the authorities. It is not surprising, therefore, that Rubens, when he conceived the Valenciennes wing, remembered the early burial scene. In point of fact this wing is essentially a freely adapted, condensed version in vertical format of the earlier horizontal composition.

The figure on the right, with its back turned to the spectator, may be derived from St John in Daniele da Volterra's *Deposition in Santa Trinità dei Monti*, Rome, as has been suggested by Müller Hofstede. It reappears many years later

in Rubens's *Assumption of the Virgin* in the Church of the Holy Cross, Augsburg⁵ painted c.1619–1620, and in his *Assumption of the Virgin* in Antwerp Cathedral⁶ from c.1625–1626, in both pictures as an apostle gazing into the empty tomb of the Virgin. For this apostle Rubens made two drapery studies which no longer survive but are known through copies in the Printroom of the Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen. One of the copies (Inv. No.IV.25) agrees with the Augsburg painting; the other (Inv. No.IV.24) comes close to the painting in Antwerp, and its original might have been used for the Antwerp panel before it was enlarged on the right.

It is doubtful whether Rubens ever painted the incident of *Tobit Burying a Slain Jew*, but it is remarkable that elements of the drawing survived in his work for some eighteen years.

On the reverse side of the sheet is a *St Gregory the Great Surrounded by other Saints*, a very cursory sketch⁷ for the lower half of the Grenoble altar-piece⁸ for which Rubens signed a contract on 25 September 1606 and which he finished in 1607. The half-length figure of a man with outstretched hand, drawn on a smaller scale below on the recto, is a variant of the Saint at the extreme left on the verso, while one of the two heads in chalk is very likely a study for St Domitilla.

As there is no reason to suppose that the drawings on both sides of the sheet were drawn at different times, *Tobit Burying a Slain Jew* may be assigned to the same date as *St Gregory the Great Surrounded by other Saints*, that is to say c.1606–1607.

1. Only six Works of Mercy are enumerated in the Gospel (Matthew 25: 34–46): (1) feeding the hungry (*esuriens cibatur*); (2) giving drink to the thirsty (*sitiens potatur*); (3) harbouring the harbourless (*hospes colligitur*); (4) clothing the naked (*nudus vestitur*); (5) tending the sick (*aeger curatur*); (6)

- visiting the imprisoned (*in carceratus solatur*). The seventh Work of Mercy, to bury the dead (*mortuus sepelitur*), was added in the 12th century by Jean Belet in his *Rationale divinarum officiorum*. It is not mentioned in the *Speculum Ecclesiae* by Honorius of Autun (*Réau, Iconographie*, II, 2, pp.747–749).
2. L. von Baldass, *Die Wiener Gobelinsammlung*, Vienna, 1920, No.12, pl.12. This author wrongly interprets the scene represented, as ‘*Raguel bestattet einen der sieben von Asmodi erschlagenen Gatten Saras (Tobias 3:6,8)*’.
 3. Black chalk heightened with white; 407 × 291 mm. See Burchard-d’Hulst, *Drawings*, pp.148–149, No.89, repr.
 4. Vlieghe, *Saints*, II, pp.156–158, No.148, figs.109, 117.
 5. Freedberg, *Life of Christ after the Passion*, pp.169–171, No.42, fig.112.
 6. Freedberg, *Life of Christ after the Passion*, pp.172–178, No.43, fig.116.
 7. Burchard-d’Hulst, *Drawings*, pp.46–48, No.26, repr.; Vlieghe, *Saints*, II, pp.50–51, No.109a, fig.24.
 8. Vlieghe, *Saints*, II, pp.43–50, No.109, fig.23.

50. Judith Beheading Holofernes

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: ? Collection of Charles Stuart, Prince of Wales, in 1621.

COPY: Engraving (in reverse) by Cornelis Galle the Elder (Antwerp, 1576–Antwerp, 1650) (Fig.109); inscribed *Cornelius Galle sculp. et excud.; letter: Cedite Romani ductores, cedite Graij: / Obstruxit vestris femina luminibus. / Vestra fuit magna victoria parta virum vi, / Et cessit laudis pars bona militibus; / Barbarus vnus dextra cadit Induperator, / Defendit patriae perniciem vna manus; dedication: Clariss.^o et amicissimo viro D. IOANNI WOVERIO paginam hanc auspicalem primumque suorum operum / typis aeneis expresums PETRVS PAVLLVS RVBENIVS promissi iam olim Veronae a se facti memor DAT DICAT. LIT. Mariette, *Abécédario*, V, pp.74–75; V.S., p.10, No.79; Hymans, *Gravure*, pp.37–44; Rooses, I, p.156, under No.125, pl.37; V, p.147; Rooses–Ruelens, I, pp.54–55; A.Rosenberg, ‘Die Rubensstecher’, in *Geschichte der verviel-**

fältigenden Künste, Vienna, 1893, pp.14–15, 164; Oldenbourg, *Rubens*, pp.75–76, fig.34; Van den Wijngaert, *Prentkunst*, p.46, No.193, fig.1; Evers, *Rubens*, pp.110–112, fig.53; Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, p.117; J.S.Held, ‘Comments on Rubens’ Beginnings’, *Miscellanea Prof. Dr D. Roggen*, Antwerp, 1957, p.130; Held, *Drawings*, pp.99, under No.15, 103, under No.25; Burchard-d’Hulst, *Drawings*, p.81, under No.47; J.Müller Hofstede, ‘Rubens’ Grisaille für den Abendmahlsstich des Boetius à Bolswert’, *Pantheon*, XXVIII, 1970, p.108; Pigler, *Barockthemen*, 1974, p.196; Renger, *Rubens Dedit*, I, pp.133–134; II, p.203; Bodart, pp.18–19, No.9, repr.; Renger, pp.44–46, No.21, fig.11.

LITERATURE: Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.290, No.1001; IX, p.332, No.327 and under No.328; Sainsbury, *Papers*, pp.57–58, 249; C.Ruelens, *P.P. Rubens, documents et lettres*, Brussels, 1877, pp.38–39; Hymans, *Gravure*, pp.37–44; Rooses, I, pp.154–156, under No.125; V, p.147; Rooses–Ruelens, I, p.55; II, pp.277, No.CCXVIII, 286–287, No.CCXV; Oldenbourg, *Rubens*, pp.75–76 (as *Rubens, c.1610*); H.Weizsäcker, *Adam Elsheimer, der Maler von Frankfurt*, Berlin, 1936, pp.100–101 (as *Rubens, c.1610–1611*); Knipping, *Iconography*, I, pp.47, 188, 203–204, 211–212, 222; II, pp.393, 446; H.Kauffmann, ‘Rubens und Mantegna’, *Köln und der Nordwesten*, 1941, p.102; Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, pp.117–118; J.S.Held, ‘Comments on Rubens’ Beginnings’, *Miscellanea Dr D. Roggen*, Antwerp, 1957, p.130 (as *first half of Rubens’s Italian period*); Held, *Drawings*, pp.99, under Nos.12, 15, 103, under No.25 (as *Rubens, the first years of his Italian stay*); Burchard-d’Hulst, *Drawings*, p.81, under No.47 (as *Rubens, shortly after his return from Italy*); E.Hempel, *Baroque Art and Architecture in Central Europe*, London, 1965, pp.59–60; M.Warnke,

Kommentare zu Rubens, Berlin, 1965, p.108; J.Müller Hofstede, 'Abraham Janssens. Zur Problematik des flämischen Caravaggismus', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, XIII, 1971, pp.267, 271 (as *Rubens*, c.1609–1610); R.Klessmann, in *Cat. Exh. Johann Liss*, Augsburg–Cleveland, 1975–1976, p.91, under No.A19 (as *Rubens*, 1609); *Renger*, p.46, under No.21 (as '*Rubens, eher in die letzten italienischen Jahre als in die erste Antwerpener Zeit zu ordnen*'); J.G.van Gelder, 'Das Rubens-Bild. Ein Rückblick', in *Peter Paul Rubens. Werke und Nachruhm*, Munich, 1981, p.17.

When the Assyrian troops were besieging the Jewish city of Bethulia, the beautiful widow Judith managed by a stratagem to penetrate the enemy camp. She gained the favour of the Assyrian general Holofernes, who invited her to his tent. When he was drunk and sleepy she killed him with his own sword, thus averting the danger from her city. The story is told in the Book of Judith (chapters 10–13), which is regarded as apocryphal by Jews and Protestants but which St Jerome included in his Latin Bible. It was much depicted in art, its significance varying from one period to another. In the Middle Ages Judith was seen above all as a prefiguration of the Virgin Mary or as a symbol of *Sanctimonia* (chastity and humility), and was celebrated as one of the Nine Heroines, while Renaissance and Baroque art laid emphasis on her courage and triumph over the enemy.¹

As appears from the engraving by Cornelis Galle the Elder, known as 'the great Judith', which reproduces the lost painting in reverse (Fig.109), Rubens depicted the beheading of Holofernes in a highly realistic and dramatic fashion. With an impassive expression, the richly adorned

Judith cuts the general's throat as he slips off the bed; blood spurts from the wound in three streams. Beside the bed stands Judith's old maid-servant, holding a sack in which to put Holofernes' head, and looking up at four angels who are hovering over the scene; one of them lays a finger on his lips to command silence. The moon can be seen above through an opening in the tent, in accordance with the biblical statement that the incident took place at night (Judith 13).

In this work, Rubens happily renders a dramatic theme by the skilful use of well-considered technique. Every detail is permeated by the impulse of the action, and every line is imbued with the same sense of form. There is a reminiscence of antiquity in the figure of Holofernes, resembling the *Laocoon* of which Rubens made several copies,² but the work is chiefly inspired by Italian models. With Caravaggio, whose *Judith*³ he must have seen, Rubens has in common not only the careful attention to every detail and the sharp chiaroscuro giving a sculptural effect to figures and objects, but also the objectivity with which the heroic but cold-blooded act is depicted. Elsheimer's *Judith*, which Rubens had in his collection,⁴ must also have made a strong impression on him, as is shown by the motif of Holofernes with his head towards the spectator, and also by the general composition (see No.50a). Clearly both Rubens and Elsheimer felt an affinity with Caravaggio's new technique. The motif of the drawn-up leg already occurs in Michelangelo's *Judith* on the Sistine Chapel ceiling (later also in Tintoretto), and Rubens was probably impressed by that work. But only his strong compositional powers and his brilliant imagination could have produced such an unforgettable detail as the giant's drawn-up leg with its powerful

muscles standing out against the dark background. Kauffmann⁵ has pointed out that Rubens must also have had in mind a composition by Mantegna, reproduced in a drawing from the School of that master which depicts *Judith Putting the Head of Holofernes in a Sack*, and which formerly belonged to the Koenigs Collection at Haarlem. This not only presents the motif of the maid-servant holding the sack, but also the group formed by the two women; note in particular Judith's general attitude and the position of her arms.

The painting was most probably executed shortly after Rubens's return from Italy (c.1609–1610), at the same time as *The Annunciation* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna; *The Disputa of the Fathers of the Church* in St Paul's, Antwerp; and the outer sides of the wings in *The Raising of the Cross*, formerly in St Walburga's, now in Antwerp Cathedral.⁶ (It is noteworthy that at the top in all four paintings there appears a group of angels.) Considering the freedom and skill with which Rubens handles the means of expression, it seems hard to suppose that the work is of an earlier date, i.e. in his Italian period, as some authors maintain.⁷ Rubens's dedication to his friend Jan van den Wouwere (Woverius), which is found on Galle's engraving and alludes to their stay in Verona together, proves nothing in this respect: it gives no information as to the origin of the painting, but merely says that the print is the first graphic reproduction that Rubens has caused to be made of one of his paintings.⁸

In a letter of 18 March 1620 Thomas Locke wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton that 'the Prince [of Wales] hath none of Rewbens worke but one peece of Judith & Holofernes w^{ch} Rewben disavoweth'.⁹ The painting is also referred to in a letter to Carleton from Lord Danvers, dated

27 May 1621, which calls it 'of littell credite to his [Rubens's] great skill'.¹⁰ Rubens himself says of it in a letter of 13 September 1621 to William Trumbull 'laquelle jay fait en ma jeunesse' (which I made in my youth):¹¹ he thus does not go so far as Thomas Locke, who reported him as disavowing it. What exactly Rubens meant is not clear, however. If it was really a work of his youth it could not be the one engraved by Galle, which bears witness to many reminiscences of his stay in Italy, which began when he was 23 years old. However, he may have intended 'youth' in a broader sense, and only meant to convey that he painted in a different style in earlier years, when the painting was executed, than in 1621, the date of his letter: this might explain, according to him, why the painting was not appreciated in England. In that case it is of course possible that the painting then owned by the Prince of Wales was the one engraved by Galle.

A compositional drawing for the painting is in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut at Frankfurt am Main (No.50a; Fig.110).

In his dedication on Galle's engraving Rubens recalls his promise, made at Verona, to inscribe to his friend Jan van den Wouwere the first engraving made after one of his paintings. Hence Galle's print should be the first independent sheet that Rubens caused to be produced. Since the first dated Rubens print, *Christ and the Disciples at Emmaus* by Willem Swanenburgh, bears the date 1611, several authors¹² have dated the 'Great Judith' to the previous year, 1610. However, Renger¹³ has pointed out that Swanenburgh's engraving was probably not commissioned by Rubens, so that it is not a conclusive *terminus ante quem* for the 'Great Judith', which may date from some years later than 1611.

A preparatory drawing for Galle's engraving—probably by Galle himself—was worked up by Rubens and is now in the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm (No. 50b; Fig.111); a proof retouched by Rubens is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (No.50c; Fig.112). Numerous copies were painted after the engraving (in the same direction),¹⁴ and it was also engraved in reverse by F. Ragot (Paris, 1638–1670).¹⁵ Ragot's engraving served in its turn as a model for paintings¹⁶ and tapestry:¹⁷ all these are in the same direction as the engraving and the lost painting. There are also engravings¹⁸ which agree, in reverse, with Galle's as far as the main group is concerned, but in which only two angels are seen instead of four and there is no opening in the tent giving a view of the sky.

known; panel, 107 × 76 cm. PROV. Sale, London (Sotheby's), 14 December 1977, lot 293; (2) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 200 × 145 cm. PROV. Sale, Versailles (Palais des Congrès), 16 November 1975, No.95, repr.; (3) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; 140 × 98 cm. PROV. J.Nestel, Basle, 1898; (4) Anonymous painting, Florence, Museo Stibbert, No.14320; canvas, 61.5 × 40.4 cm. LIT. Cat. Exh. *Rubens e la pittura fiamminga del Seicento nelle collezioni pubbliche fiorentine*, Florence, Palazzo Pitti, 1977, p.236, No.102, repr. p.237; (5) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 58 × 45 cm. PROV. Colonel E.R.Lamponi-Leopardi (Florence), sale, Florence (Jules Sambon), 10 November 1902 et seq., No.2327, pl.A (as *Rubens, grisaille*); (6) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 111.7 × 80 cm. PROV. Sale, London (Christie's), 26 October 1950, lot 106 (as *Spranger*); (7) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; oil on copper, 53.2 × 38 cm. PROV. Sale, New York (Christie's), 16 April 1980, lot 49 (as *School of Rubens*).

1. Réau, *Iconographie*, II, 1, pp.329–334; J.Scibert, in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, II, 1970, cols. 454–458.
2. *Fubini-Held*, figs.8, 9, pls.1–4.
3. Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica (Palazzo Barberini), Rome. See M.Marini, *Michelangelo da Caravaggio*, Rome, 1974, pp.377–379, No.32, figs. pp.142–145.
4. Wellington Museum, Apsley House, London. See K.Andrews, *Adam Elsheimer*, Oxford, 1977, p.144, No.12, fig.36.
5. Op. cit., pp.101–102, fig.16.
6. *K.d.K.*, respectively pp.30, 47, 28 and 37.
7. J.S.Held, op. cit., places the work in the first years of his Italian stay; K.Renger, op. cit., assigns it to the end of his stay.
8. According to A.Rosenberg, op. cit., and H.G.Evers, op. cit., the dedication can also be interpreted as meaning that Rubens, when in Verona, promised to give his friend Jan van den Wouwere an engraving after the painting of *Judith and Holofernes*, executed in Italy.
9. *Sainsbury, Papers*, p.57, No.XLVIII.
10. *Sainsbury, Papers*, pp.57–58, No.XLIX; *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p.277, No.CCXVIII.
11. *Sainsbury, Papers*, pp.59–61 (LIV), 249 (IV); *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, pp.286–287, No.CCXV; *Magurn, Letters*, p.77, No.46.
12. *Hymans, Gravure*, p.40; *Rooses*, I, p.155; *Oldenbourg, Rubens*, p.76.
13. *Renger*, loc. cit.
14. E.g.: (1) Anonymous painting, whereabouts un-

15. Inscribed: *F.Ragot fecit et excudit: letter: Foemina, vina, dapes, martem. straniere potentem / Serviarunt patriam foemina lympha, precis / Hic vel in imbelli quid febria pectora sexu / Possit inque viro mer temulente patent.* LIT. *V.S.*, p.10, No.81; *Rooses*, I, p.156, under No.125.
16. (1) Anonymous painting, Musée de Carpentras, No.167; panel, 114 × 88 cm. PROV. Mme veuve Brun, Boulevard du Musée, Carpentras (1881). LIT. C.Ruelens, 'Rapports sur un voyage en France (1881)', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, I, pp.126–127; *Rooses*, I, pp.154–157; *Rooses-Ruelens*, I, pp.54–55 n.2; (2) Anonymous painting, Munich, private collection (1906); canvas, 153 × 107 cm. PROV. J.van Arend, Brussels; sale, Brussels (Fiévez), 20 June 1928, lot 99, pl.XXXV. LIT. *K.d.K.*, pp.30, 455 (S.30); *Held, Drawings*, pp.99, under No.12, 103, under No.25; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, p.81, under No.47. This painting does not show the streams of blood from Holofernes' wounds which appear in Galle's engraving and in the copy after Ragot at Carpentras.
17. Anonymous French tapestry, La Cruz-Floirac (near Bordeaux), Edouard Lawton Collection. LIT. M.Fenaille, *Etat Général de la Manufacture des Gobelins*, I, Paris, 1923, pp.309–317, fig. p.317 (as *after a model by Simon Vouet*).
18. (1) Anonymous engraving, without the name of the painter or the engraver and without dedication, but with the address *Firens excudit*, and the same letter as on C.Galle's engraving: *Cedite Romani ductores ... pernecium una manus*; Pierre Firens became master at Antwerp in 1597, stayed in Paris before 1605 and died there after 8 December 1636; (2) Anonymous engraving, without the name of the painter or the engraver, but with the address *Mariette exc.* LIT. *V.S.*, p.10, No.80; *Rooses*, I, p.156,

under No.125. This engraving corresponds to the preceding one; in fact it is not impossible that it is the same, from which Firens' address has been erased and replaced by that of Pierre Mariette.

**50a. Judith Beheading Holofernes:
Drawing (Fig.110)**

Fully mounted; pen and brown ink and brown wash, 205 × 160 mm. Below on the left, mark of the collection of Sir T. Lawrence (L.2445); on the mount, mark of the collection of R. Low (L.2222) and inscribed with the pen R.P.R. van Dyck. *Judith slaying Holofernes. Barnard, Sir Thos. Lawrence. one of the selected fifty for Woodburn's Exhibition in 1853; in addition, No.34 inscribed in pencil.—Verso:* Mark of the collection of R.P. Roupell (L.2234), and the inscription *van Dyck. Frankfurt am Main, Städelches Kunst-institut. Inv. No.15.690.*

PROVENANCE: John Barnard (London, d.1784); Sir Thomas Lawrence (London, 1769–1830); Samuel Woodburn (London, 1786–1853), sale, London, 4 June 1860, lot 361 (as *Van Dyck*), bought by Roupell (£1 3s); R.P. Roupell (London, 1798–1886); Robert Low (London, 1838–1909); J.F. Lahmann (Dresden, d.1937). Purchased from Lahmann in 1935.

EXHIBITED: *The Lawrence Gallery, Second Exhibition, Royal Academy, London, July 1835, No.34 (as Van Dyck).*

LITERATURE: J.S. Held, 'Rubens' Pen Drawings', *Magazine of Art*, 44, November 1951, p.290, fig.7 (as *Rubens, probably connected with the composition known through the engraving by C. Galle*); Held, *Drawings*, p.99, No.15, fig.16 (as *Rubens, connected with a later version than the one engraved by C. Galle*); Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, pp. 80–81, No.47, fig.47 (as *Rubens*); E. Hempel, *Baroque Art and Architecture in Central*

Europe, London, 1965, pp.59–60; Held, *Drawings*, 1986, p.85, No.48, repr. (as *Rubens, c.1608–1610*).

Holofernes lies sprawled on a couch, his head and arms projecting towards the spectator and one of his knees raised. Judith, standing in profile to the left in front of the couch, holds him by the hair with her left hand, ready to strike off his head with the sword in her raised right hand. On the right, rapidly indicated with the pen, is an old maid-servant, turning away from the scene of horror while looking back over her right shoulder. The action takes place in a tent (Judith 13: 1–12).

The drawing, formerly ascribed to Van Dyck, was first attributed to Rubens by I. Q. van Regteren Altena. It is a compositional sketch for his *Judith Beheading Holofernes*, a painting now lost and best known from an engraving by Cornelis Galle the Elder (see No.50; Fig.109). The original painting must have been executed shortly after Rubens's return from Italy, c.1609–1610.

It is clear that when Rubens made this drawing he was strongly under the influence of Adam Elsheimer's painting of the same subject of c.1601–1603, which he had in his own possession.¹ Many correspondences point to this: in the first place the general composition, then the pose of Holofernes' body, the figure of Judith with the sword in her upraised hand, the maid-servant looking on from a certain distance, and finally the drapery above on the right. Like Elsheimer, Rubens depicts the scene in a Caravaggesque illumination, with the protagonists emerging from darkness into light.

The body of Holofernes is an adaptation of Rubens's study from life of a reclining male nude, a drawing in the Louvre, Paris;²

among other points of similarity, the left leg of that figure is seen in reverse.

In his painting Rubens took over the general composition of the drawing, though its flowing and dynamic character was to some extent transformed into a more static and monumental conception. He also varied several details of the figures and décor. Thus Judith is seen cutting Holofernes' throat with the sword, and the victim's twisted and helpless body is shown with one leg drawn up, so increasing the symmetry of the two protagonists about the vertical central axis. This symmetry is accentuated by moving the maid-servant to the centre—she is also brought into the action, being made to stand ready with the sack for Holofernes' head—and by adding four angles, two on either side of the central axis. The décor, in the painting, becomes a clearly recognizable tent.

1. K. Andrews, *Adam Elsheimer*, Oxford, 1977, p.144, No.12, fig.36.
2. Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, pp.72–73, No.40, fig.40.

**50b. Judith Beheading Holofernes:
Retouched Drawing (Fig.111)**

Black chalk, retouched in pen and brown ink and heightened with white; 509 × 370 mm.

Stockholm, Nationalmuseum. Inv. No.1963.1863

PROVENANCE: Bought by Carl Gustaf Tessin at the Crozat sale in Paris in 1741, after which it entered the Swedish Royal Collection.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, I, p.156, under No.125 (as wrongly attributed to Van Dyck); *V*, p.147 (as by a Rubens-collaborator, other than Van Dyck, or by an engraver); *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p.46, under No.193

(as probably by Galle); J. Müller Hofstede, 'Rubens' Grisaille für den Abendmahlsstich des Boetius à Bolswert', *Pantheon*, XXVIII, 1970, p.108, fig.1 (as 'wahrscheinlich Galle, mit Korrekturen von Rubens'); Id., 'Abraham Janssens. Zur Problematik des flämischen Caravaggismus', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, XIII, 1971, p.267; *Renger*, p.46, under No.21 (as by a Rubens-collaborator, and retouched by Rubens); *Bodart*, p.19, under No.9 (as Galle).

This engraver's drawing was the basis of Cornelis Galle the Elder's print after Rubens's lost painting *Judith Beheading Holofernes* (see No.50; Fig.109); it was very probably made by Galle himself under Rubens's supervision. Its dimensions are the same as those of the print.

Rubens made various corrections to the drawing. He gave the faces greater definition with the pen and—by means of hatchings with the pen and retouching with the tip of the brush in brown ink—deepened the shadows in Judith's head and body, in Holofernes' hair and beard, and in the drapery drawn aside by an angel on the left. At the same time, with thick white body-colour he strengthened the light on Judith's face, arms and left hand and the folds of her dress. Evidently he was not completely satisfied with the result, as he made further corrections on a proof now in the Printroom of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (No.50c; Fig.112).

**50c. Judith Beheading Holofernes:
Retouched Engraving (Fig.112)**

Engraving, 542 × 374 mm.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes. Inv. No.C10483.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, I, p.156, under No.125; *Van den Wijngaert*, *Prentkunst*, p.46, under No.193; *Held*, *Drawings*, p.38 n.1; J.Müller Hofstede, 'Rubens' Grisaille für den Abendmahlsstich des Boetius à Bolswert', *Pantheon*, XXVIII, 1970, p.108; *Renger*, *Rubens Dedit*, I, p.134; II, pp.202–203; *Renger*, p.46, under No.21.

Cornelis Galle the Elder, in his engraving after Rubens's *Judith and Holofernes*, faithfully carried out the corrections made by Rubens on the engraver's drawing, now in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (No.50b; Fig.111). However, when he showed the proof to Rubens the latter was not wholly satisfied and made several further corrections with the pen. These affected the angel figures, the draperies above, Holofernes' hair and his open hand, the sack held by the maid-servant, and the lion's claw foot of the bed. The changes, designed to deepen the shadow parts, were all carried out in Galle's final print.

The care which Rubens took over the 'Great Judith' shows what importance he attached to the engraving.

51. Judith with the Head of Holofernes (Fig.113)

Oil on panel; 120 × 111 cm.
Brunswick, *Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum*.

PROVENANCE: Duke Anton Ulrich (1633 to 1714), from his Salzdahlum Gallery.

COPIES: (1) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 119 × 94 cm. PROV. Sale, Berne (Dobiaschofsky), 19–22 October 1983, lot 671 (as *School of Rubens*); (2) Engraving (not in reverse)

by C.Schroeder (Brunswick, 1760–1844), 1793. LIT. V.S., p.10, No.83.

LITERATURE: *Smith*, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.290, No.1002; IX, pp.332–333, No.328; *Rooses*, I, p.157, No.126 (as *Rubens*, after 1630); *H.Riegel*, *Beschreibendes und kritisches Verzeichnis der Gemälde-Sammlung*, Brunswick, 1900, p.57, No.87 (as *Rubens*); *H.Knackfuss*, *Rubens*, Bielefeld–Leipzig, 1907, p.133, fig.113 (as *Rubens*); *K.d.K.*, p.136 (as *Rubens*); *R.Oldenbourg*, 'Zur "Judith" von Rubens', *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, January–February 1922, pp.66–68, fig.2 (as *Rubens*, c.1615); *Knipping*, *Iconography*, I, p.204; *J.Davidson Reid*, 'The True Judith', *Art Journal*, XXVIII, 4 (Summer 1969), pp.376, 382, fig.6; *J.Müller Hofstede*, 'Abraham Janssens. Zur Problematik des flämischen Caravaggismus', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, XIII, 1971, p.277 n.237 (as *Rubens*, c.1617); *H.Vlieghe*, *De schilder Rubens*, Utrecht–Antwerp, 1977, pp.88–89, pl.11 (as *Rubens*, c. or shortly after 1615); *R.Klessmann*, *Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum*, Braunschweig, Munich, 1978, p.44, repr. p.45 (as *Rubens*, c.1616); *J.Bialostocki*, 'La gamba sinistra della Giuditta: il quadro di Giorgione nella Storia del tema', in *Giorgione e l'Umanesimo Veneziano*, I, Florence, 1981, p.217, fig.55.

After Judith had succeeded, by a trick, in entering the tent of Holofernes, the Assyrian general whose troops were besieging the Jewish town of Bethulia, and had cut off his head, she handed it to her maid-servant to put in a sack.¹ Then the two women left the enemy camp and returned to Bethulia, which Judith had saved by her heroic deed. (Judith 10–13; see also No.50).

The two women are here depicted half-

length. Judith, whose broad chest and sturdy arms testify to her physical strength, stands frontally in the vertical axis of the composition. She holds a sword in one hand, and with the other she grasps Holofernes' head by the hair. Her blue garment is in disorder, so that her breasts escape from the bodice, and her white linen is rolled back from her bare arms; she wears a pearl necklace. The young woman, gazing at the spectator with a satisfied air and evidently excited by her exploit, contrasts with the old maid-servant, whose expression is a mixture of horror and curiosity. The old woman, dressed in red with a white kerchief, holds a candle in one hand and stretches out the other for Holofernes' head. The candle-light throws a sharp, warm glow on Judith's white skin; Holofernes' face is bluish, his nose and mouth bloodstained. In the semi-darkness his headless body can be seen on the left, and his armour in the background.

Rubens's composition is not dissimilar to that of Veronese's *Judith and her Maid-Servant with the Head of Holofernes*,² which he may have seen in Italy. In both paintings the figures are in half-length, Judith stands in the vertical axis of the composition field, and the maid-servant is on the right; moreover, like Veronese, Rubens depicts Judith with a necklace and with bare arms and bosom. In addition he gives the scene a peculiar dramatic intensity by means of strong Caravaggesque chiaroscuro. However, Caravaggio himself did not deliberately illuminate his pictures by artificial light³ as is the case here. A different model must be sought for the candle, and we find it in Elsheimer, whose influence on Rubens is so obvious in other respects: a candle is seen, for instance, in his *Judith Beheading Holofernes* in the Wellington Museum, Apsley

House, London.⁴ The source of light, half-covered by the maid-servant's arm, gives a *repoussoir* effect that is also found in Antwerp masters of Rubens's following, such as Jordaens.⁵

For the old maid-servant with the wrinkled face Rubens used the same model as for the *Old Woman with a Coal-Pan* in the Gemäldegalerie, Dresden;⁶ that painting likewise shows an artificial source of light giving a strong Caravaggesque chiaroscuro. It is similar in execution to the present work, and on stylistic grounds both may be dated c.1616-1617.

We do not know for whom this *Judith with the Head of Holofernes* was painted. In 1621 Theodoor Schrevelius in Leiden possessed 'Een Judith bij Rubens, hebbende het hooft van Holyfernes, dat aerdigh de doot vuytbeelt'⁷ (a Judith with the head of Holofernes by Rubens, in which death is skilfully portrayed); this may be the painting now in Brunswick, though there is no proof.

In 1631 Willem Panneels made an engraving of Rubens's *Salome with the Head of John the Baptist* (Fig. 115),⁸ which closely resembles the painting in Brunswick in reverse, differing only in details. The pose of the figures is the same in both works. However, while Judith holds the sword in one hand and grasps Holofernes' hair with the other, Salome holds the charger with the severed head on it, and with her other hand grasps the Baptist's tongue. In both scenes the old woman holds a candle in one hand; with the other she takes hold of Holofernes' head in the first composition, and of the charger in the second.

1. Réau, *Iconographie*, II, 1, p.334.

2. T. Pignatti, *Veronese*, Venice, 1976, p.181, No. A83, figs.797, 798 (both as attributed to Veronese).

3. The torch in Caravaggio's *Naples Seven Works of Mercy* is purely incidental.

4. K. Andrews, *Adam Elsheimer*, Oxford, 1977, p.144, No.12, fig.36.
5. See, for example, Jordaens's painting *The Holy Family with Maid-Servant*, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (R.-A. d'Hulst, *Jacob Jordaens*, London, 1982, p.124, fig.89), or his drawing *Musical Party in an Interior*, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (R.-A. d'Hulst, *Jordaens Drawings*, London-New York, 1974, I, pp.292-293, No.A206, fig.221).
6. Cat. *Gemäldegalerie. Alte Meister*, 1975, p.93, No.958, pl.VI.
7. Arnoldus Buchelius, '*Res Pictoriae*', published by G.J. Hoogewerff and I.Q. van Registeren Altena, The Hague, 1928, pp.48-49 (in *Quellenstudien zur Holländischen Kunstgeschichte*, XV).
8. V.S., p.31, No.168; Van den Wijngaert, *Prentkunst*, p.78, No.481; Rooses, II, p.11; V, p.323.

52. Judith Putting the Head of Holofernes in a Sack (Fig.114)

Oil on canvas; 113 × 89 cm. (including a strip of c.9 cm. added below).

Florence, *Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici per le Provincie di Firenze e Pistoia*.

PROVENANCE: Offered for sale to the Louvre, Paris, in 1892 by Mr Becucci, Bologna (not bought); Borghesani Collection, Bologna; Mrs Maria Borghesani sale, London (Sotheby's), 25 June 1924, lot 35, repr. (£420); Alessandro Contini Bonacossi, Florence; sold to Field Marshal Göring in 1942; recovered in Germany, 16 November 1948.

COPY: Engraving, in reverse, by Alexander Voet the Younger (Fig.116); inscribed: *Petr. Paul Rubens pinxit, Alex. Voet sculpsit et excudit*; letter: *Aspice quid potuit Iudith praeclara virago / que caput in palmis en Holofernis habet*. LIT. V.S., p.10, No.82. After this print, Franz Prechler, Prague (active c.1698-1721) published an anonymous print (in reverse with respect to Voet; not in V.S.).

EXHIBITED: *Seconda Mostra Nazionale dalle Opere d'Arte ricuperate in Germania*,

Florence, 1950, No.22; Antwerp, 1977, No.68; Florence, 1977, No.91.

LITERATURE: Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.290, No.1002; Hymans, *Gravure*, p.38; Rooses, I, p.158, No.127, pl.38; V, pp.313-314, No.127; M. Rooses, 'Euvres de Rubens. Addenda', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, p.86 (as *Studio, retouched by Rubens*); K.d.K., p.236 (as *Rubens, c.1620-1622*); R. Oldenbourg, 'Zur "Judith" von Rubens', *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, January-February 1922, pp.66-68, fig.1 (as '*Rubens in jedem Strich, c.1620*'), republished in Oldenbourg, *Rubens*, pp.132-135; Knipping, *Iconography*, I, p.204; H. Kauffmann, 'Rubens und Mantegna', *Köln und der Nordwesten*, 1941, p.102 (as *Rubens*); D. Marrow, *The Art Patronage of Maria de' Medici*, (Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania), 1978, p.172, fig.68 (as *Rubens*).

In this scene from the story of *Judith and Holofernes* (cf. No.50), the beautiful and richly dressed heroine, with jewels in her ears and hair and a double string of pearls round her neck, takes hold of Holofernes' head by the hair and drops it into a sack held by her old maid-servant; in the other hand she holds the sword with which she has cut off the general's head. She is seen against the background of the sumptuous tent, which is partially open to the sky. Below on the left is Holofernes' blood-stained body, lying on a bed.

In the painting of c.1616-1617 in Brunswick (No.51; Fig.113) Judith wears a tense expression, full of excitement at the deed she has just performed. Here, by contrast, her calm, beautiful features show no sign of emotion. Similarly there is no trace here of the disarray of her clothing, due to the violence with which she committed the act of murder. In the Brunswick paint-

ing her powerful arms contrast with the darkness in a Caravaggesque manner, defiantly expressing the more than natural force with which she performed her task. Here they cease to play a major part in the total impression, as one arm is more foreshortened and the other in shadow. This weakening of the dramatic content is accompanied by an emphasizing of the formal aspect, especially the rough touches of colour which take on an importance of their own.

Oldenbourg,¹ who saw this as a typical instance of the change in Rubens's style around 1620, wrote that the present work 'zeigt in jedem Strich die Hand des Meisters und wird uns zum wichtigsten Zeugnis für Rubens' Malweise in jenen Jahren, da ihn die umfangreichen Arbeiten für Ludwig XIII. und seine Mutter Maria von Medici zu Bildern intimeren Charakters nur selten Zeit finden liessen' (shows the master's hand in every touch. It furnishes highly important evidence as to Rubens's style in those years, when his extensive work for Louis XIII and the king's mother Marie de' Medici left him little time for pictures of a more intimate character). Burchard, as his notes show, also regarded this painting as an authentic work by Rubens. Rooses² on the other hand—having seen it in 1896 in Paris, where it was unsuccessfully offered for sale to the Louvre by a certain 'abbé de Bologne'—was less enthusiastic, calling it 'probablement un tableau d'atelier retouché par le maître dans les parties les plus claires, les chairs de Judith. Œuvre peu intéressante ayant subi de fortes retouches' (probably a studio painting retouched by the master in the lightest parts, i.e. Judith's flesh-tints. An uninteresting work, much retouched). The painting in its present condition makes no great impression and it is hard to see Rubens's hand in it.

Only the face of Holofernes, which is also that of Cyrus in *Thomyris and Cyrus* in the Louvre,³ shows a certain mastery. Since, as Rooses noted, the work is heavily restored, it is difficult to form a judgement. It is not quite impossible, however, that, while impaired by restoration, it is the same work as that which, in its unspoilt state, was the basis of Voet's engraving (Fig.116).

1. *Loc. cit.*

2. M. Rooses, *loc. cit.*

3. *K.d.K.*, p.237.

53. Esther before Ahasuerus

Whereabouts unknown, presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) Etching (in reverse) by Willem Panneels (Antwerp, c.1600—after 1632) (Fig.117); inscribed: *Ex inue Rubeni fec. Discip. eius Guil^o Panneels, Franc van Wyn-gaerde ex.* LIT. V.S., p.9, No.70; (2) Engraving (in reverse) by R. Colins (Luxemburg, 1627—c.1697); inscribed: *Pet. Paul Rubbens pinxit, Richardus Colins sculpsit;* letter: *Estheris obtinuit populo, pro caede triumphum effusa ad Dominum gratia nixa prece. / Sic ree victor abis vera Esther virgo parenso / ad gnati solium si tua vota ferret,* and a dedication to Judocus Gillis, abbot of the Abbey of St Bernard, near Antwerp, by Rumoldus van de Velde. LIT. V.S., p.9, No.69; (3) Engraving by P. Spruyt (Ghent, 1727—1801). LIT. V.S., pp.8 (No.64, as '*La reine de Saba devant Salomon*'), 9 (No.71); Rooses, I, p.159, under No.128; V, p.314.

The Persian king Ahasuerus (a Latinized form of the Jewish name for Xerxes I, who reigned from 485 to 465 B.C.) divorced his haughty consort Vashti and

took the Jewish Esther in her stead. Mordecai, Esther's uncle and foster-father, urged her to intercede with the King for the Jewish people, who were threatened with extermination by the King's chief minister Haman. Esther did so at the risk of her life, as she was forbidden to approach the King without being summoned. Once in his presence, she fainted with fear; her weakness softened Ahasuerus' anger and he agreed to hear her request. She was so persuasive that the King revoked his order to destroy the Jews, and Haman was hanged on the gallows he had prepared for Mordecai (Esther, 3-7).

In Christian iconography Esther (a name supposedly derived from the Persian for 'star') is a prefiguration of Mary, the *Stella Maris* of the litanies. The crowning of Esther by Ahasuerus corresponds to the Coronation of the Virgin, and her intervention with the King parallels Mary's intercession with her divine son at the Last Judgement: as Esther obtained mercy for the Jews, so Mary will obtain clemency for the whole human race.¹

The composition consists of ten figures. Esther, who has sunk to her knees on the steps leading to the throne, faints in the arms of two ladies-in-waiting; one of them, bending by her side, holds her hand. The King appears to have risen in haste from his throne; he holds the fainting Queen by the hand and extends his sceptre over her. A page supports his train, and two of his ministers are behind him. Three guards in armour witness the scene. The décor is composed of classical architecture, with a view of the open air in the background, and a baldachin over the throne, suspended between Salomonic pillars.

As already observed by Rooses, the present composition was inspired by Ver-

onese's *soffitto* of the same subject in St Sebastian in Venice.² The analogies in Veronese's painting are striking: Esther, approaching from the left and kneeling on the steps before the King, is attended by two women; the raised throne is covered by a curtained baldachin; and the right foreground is occupied by the King's attendants. Rubens was influenced by Veronese not only in the present work but in another *Esther before Ahasuerus* and also a *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*, two ceiling paintings executed in 1620-1621 for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp.³

According to Burchard, a preparatory oil sketch for this painting (No. 53a; Fig. 118) was in the possession of Herr Gustav Hobraeck, Neuwied, Rheinland-Pfalz in 1937.

Rubens's *Esther before Ahasuerus* was used as a model by other artists. One of these was Jan Boeckhorst (1605-1668), who is known to have painted two versions of the subject: one is in the collection of Mrs M.S. at Kortrijk (Courtrai), Belgium;⁴ the other's whereabouts are unknown.⁵ Both reproduce Rubens's composition in reverse, as does the engraving by Panneels.

1. Réau, *Iconographie*, II, I, pp. 335-337.

2. T. Pignatti, *Veronese*, Venice, 1976, p. 112, No. 58, fig. 114.

3. Martin, *Ceiling Paintings*, p. 111, under No. 17, figs. 22, 90.

4. Canvas, 152 x 236 cm. PROV. Sale, London (Christie's), 13 December 1957, lot 100 (as A. Janssens). LIT. H. Lahrkamp, 'Der "Lange Jan"', *Leben und Werk des Barockmalers Johann Bockhorst aus Münster*, in *Westfalen*, 60, 1982, No. 3a, repr.

5. Canvas, 166 x 235 cm. PROV. Sale, Brussels (G. Giroux), 5-7 December 1957, lot 410, pl. XXXIII (as *Rubens's Workshop*). LIT. H. Lahrkamp, op. cit., p. 27, No. 3, repr.

53a. Esther before Ahasuerus:
Oil Sketch (Fig.118)

Oil on panel; 46 × 52 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: Arthur Anderson, Storrington, Sussex (1912); Baron Albert von Goldschmidt-Rothschild, Frankfurt am Main (1925); Gustav Hobraeck, Neuwied, Rheinland-Pfalz (1937).

COPIES: (1) Anonymous grisaille painting, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm; panel, enlarged at the top, 41 × 55 cm. PROV. King Gustavus III of Sweden (1746–1792). LIT. Cat. Nationalmuseum, 1958, p.176, No.608; (2) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; copper, 42 × 57 cm. PROV. A.Kay, Edinburgh, sale, London (Christie's), 8 April 1943, lot 129 (as *Rottenhammer*).

EXHIBITED: *Works by Old Masters and Deceased Masters of the British School*, Royal Academy, London, 1912–13, No.56; *Ausstellung alter Malerei aus Privatbesitz*, Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main, 1925–26, No.179; *Brussels, 1937*, No.4.

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp.225, No.802, 289, No.999; IX, p.332, No.326 (as *Rubens*); *Rooses*, I, pp.158–159, No.128; V, p.314 (as *Rubens*); O.Götz, in *Der Cicerone*, August 1925, p.735, repr. p.730 (as *Rubens*).

Esther, kneeling before King Ahasuerus, faints in the arms of her waiting-women (see No.53).

In a certificate, dated 1932, for the then owner Mr Gustav Hobraeck, Burchard described this sketch as 'eine schöne eigenhändige und gut erhaltene Arbeit von Peter Paul Rubens, aus den Jahren

1620 bis 1625' (a fine, authentic, well preserved work by Peter Paul Rubens from the period 1620–1625). However, after being shown at Brussels in 1937 (when on loan from Mr Hobraeck) at the exhibition *Esquisses de Rubens* the work disappeared without trace and is now known only from a reproduction, so that it is no longer possible to form a well founded judgement as to its authenticity. That Rubens did make an oil sketch, whether this one or another, is proved by the existing copies.

Rubens made at least two preparatory oil sketches for the *Esther before Ahasuerus* that was formerly part of the ceiling decoration of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp. This can be seen from those respectively in the Akademie der bildenden Künste in Vienna and in the Courtauld Institute of Art, Princes Gate Collection, London.¹ The present sketch too, in all probability, did not stand alone. A copy² is known (Fig.120) which differs from it in certain elements, showing that it must be based on an earlier version. In that copy the waiting-woman in profile is closer to Esther, which may mislead the spectator into thinking that Esther's drooping right arm in fact belongs to her attendant. Behind them is a page holding up the train of Esther's ermine cloak, and there is a barking dog at the King's feet. In the later sketch Rubens increased the distance between Esther and her companion, thus removing the ambiguity as to the Queen's right arm. However, there was then no room for the page holding the train, who was accordingly left out.³ For less clear reasons Rubens also omitted the dog in the later version.

Various old sale catalogues and inventories mention oil sketches by Rubens of *Esther before Ahasuerus* which have since disappeared or cannot be related to any

known example. Thus in the estate of the painter Anthony de Waardt, The Hague, 29 June 1752 there was (No.60) a sketch 'verbeeldende de Koninginne Esther bij Ahasuerus, door P.P. Rubens' (a sketch of Queen Esther before Ahasuerus, by P.P. Rubens), (A. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, III, The Hague, 1917, p.1026, No.60). In the sale catalogue of the collection of Mr Servad in Amsterdam on 25 June 1778 there appears as lot 85 an *Esther before Ahasuerus* (panel, 37 × 38 cm.; for fl.200 to Fouquet. LIT. Abstract from the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague). This may be identical with a work that was later in the collection of J.F. de Vinck de Wesel and was sold with that collection, as lot 4, in Antwerp on 27 April 1813, H.14 *duim*, L.14.5 *duim* [36.5 × 38 cm.]; it became the property of M. van den Bergh of Antwerp for the sum of 100 florins (Rooses, I, p.159, under No.128). In the sale catalogue of the collection of F[riedrich] J[akob] Gsell (died 30 September 1871), held in Vienna, Künstlerhaus (Georg Plach) on 14 March 1872 et seq., we read: 'No.91. Rubens, Esther vor Ahasver; Holz, 46 × 52 cm. Sammlung Br.Pasqualatti. Oben in der Architektur angesetzt und von anderer Hand ergänzt. Auf der Rückseite Entwürfe von Rubens' (No.91. Rubens, Esther before Ahasuerus; panel, 46 × 52 cm. Collection of Br. Pasqualatti. Enlarged in the architecture at the top and added to by unknown hand. Sketches by Rubens on the back). It is also referred to in Theodor von Frimmel, *Lexikon der Wiener Gemälde-sammlungen*, II, Munich, 1914, p.89: 'No.91. Rubens aus der Sammlung Pasqualatti—fl.1000: Plach'.

1. Martin, *Ceiling Paintings*, pp.112-114 (No.17a), 114-116 (No.17b), figs.94, 95.

2. Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 36.5 × 43 cm. PROV. Giuseppe Cavalieri, Fer-

rara, sale, Milan (Hugo Helbing, Munich, and A. Rambaldi, Bologna), 25-30 May 1914, No.1021, pl.28; Savile Gallery Ltd., London (1928); Trotti & Co., Paris (1928); M. Knoedler & Co., London-New York (1937-1944; see *Burlington Magazine*, September 1943, p.IV, repr.). EKH. Kleykamp, The Hague, 1929; E.J. van Wisselingh, Amsterdam, August 1932, Cat. No.13 (probably wrongly as *canvas*), repr.; Brussels, 1937, pp.19-20, No.3. An *Esther before Ahasuerus* (canvas, 69 × 85.5 cm.), sold successfully in Paris (Ader, Picard and Tajan), 12 June 1986, lot 124 (as *Van Thulden*), and in Monaco (Sotheby's), 6 December 1987, lot 256 (as *Van Thulden*), shows the same composition.

3. In an anonymous painting in Schloss Weissenstein, Pommersfelden (Fig.119) (canvas, 138 × 208.5 cm. LIT. Cat. 1721, No.3 [as *Van Thulden*]; Cat.1746, No.13 [as *Van Thulden*]; Cat.1894, No.476 [as *Rubens's Workshop*]), the ambiguity as to the Queen's right arm is removed, but the page is not eliminated. It may be wondered if this painting is not based on a third oil sketch, now lost.

54-56. THE TRIPTYCH OF JOB IN DISTRESS

Formerly in St Nicholas's Church in Brussels; destroyed by fire during the bombardment of the city by the troops of the French Marshal de Villeroy in 1695.

LITERATURE: *Mensaert*, *Peintre*, I, p.98; *Descamps*, *Voyage*, p.52; *Rooses*, I, pp.159-162, No.129, pl.39; A.Henne and A.Wauters, *Histoire de la Ville de Bruxelles*, Brussels, 1975, 3, p.132.

When Yahveh praised to Satan the piety and uprightness of his servant Job, the Adversary replied: 'Thou hast blessed the work of his hands ... but put forth thy hand now, and touch all that he hath, and he will curse thee to thy face.' Thereupon Yahveh afflicts Job with all possible disasters: his house is struck by lightning and all his children crushed under the ruins, his servants are slain and his oxen, asses and camels plundered by the Sabeans and Chaldeans. Job himself is

stricken by disease and his whole body covered with boils. He is also tormented by the devil and, as he sits on a dunghill, is scolded by his wife and put to the test by his friends; but nothing shakes his faith and confidence in God. Finally God takes pity on him, cures him of his disease and returns his possessions a hundredfold (Job 1-42). Job is spoken of as a righteous man in Ezekiel (14: 13-23) and as a model of patience in Tobit (2: 12) and the Epistle of James (5: 11).

Job plays an important part in Christian iconography, although he was neither a judge nor a king nor an army commander such as, for instance, Judas Maccabaeus. It is not even known if he ever lived: possibly he is a mythical personage and the book is no more than a parable. Early and medieval Christians, however, believed him to be a real character. In the late Middle Ages he was venerated especially in the Netherlands and in Italy, as a saint and patron of lepers and sufferers from the plague and venereal disease, and consequently of hospitals. He was also chosen as a patron by troubadours and minstrels, probably on account of two passages in the Book of Job: 'They take the timbrel and harp, and rejoice at the sound of the organ' (21: 12), and 'My harp also is turned to mourning, and my organ into the voice of them that weep' (30: 31). Thanks to the patience with which he bore his wife's reproaches, he was also invoked by men plagued with a nagging spouse.

The trials of Job were represented in Christian art as a prefiguration of the Passion and Triumph of Christ, or of church persecutions, and also as symbolizing the trials of the Christian soul. His story was regarded as an illustration of the virtue of patience—often tinged, in the seventeenth century, with stoic im-

perturbability—as well as resignation and constancy in faith.¹

Almost all we know of the origin of this triptych is derived from François Jean Joseph Mols's *Annotations manuscrites sur Rubens*, a manuscript in the Royal Library in Brussels. Mols, who was born at Antwerp on 22 January 1722, derived his information from two earlier sources, of which he made copies: (1) a handwritten catalogue of Rubens's paintings, drawn up by one Smeyers; (2) a note copied from an old register.

Neither this note nor Smeyers's original catalogue can now be traced; Mols believed that the register, as well as the triptych itself, had been destroyed by fire in 1695.²

Mols's transcription of the catalogue by Smeyers contains the following passage: 'Brussel—Men sal hier nog byvoegen eenige gedenkweirdige aenmerckingen van de schilderyen van Rubens dewelcke gestaen hebben in sommige kerken en op het stadthuys ende verbrandt zyn door de Bombardatie van Brussel in het jaar 1696 [sic]. Voor eerst was in St Nicolaeskerck dat overpuyck autaer stuk van Job sittende opden mesthoop, die getergt wird van syne vrouw ende beproeft van syne drij vrinden. Hy had d'eene hand hemelwaerts opheffende, en met de andere schrabde hij den etter uijt syne sweeren met eenen schervf; de deur aen den kant van het Evangelie verbelde wonderlyck hoe Job met slangen geslaegen wird van den satan, de andere deur vertoonde, hoe by Job eenen loopende Bode komt het sweet van syn hooft afvaegende, om te boodschappen het ongeluk dat over syn huysgesin gekomen was, als dese deuren gesloten waeren sag men op dese twee Paneelen hoe Job staende op eenen trap als eenen weirdigen ouderling tot grooteren overvloed

van alles gekomen zynde, aen den slinken kant bragten hem de vrouwen toe syne jonge kinderen, en van den anderen kant syne knechten vee en aerdvruchten. Van dese uytnemende verbeeldnissen altegaeder was nogtans wel de schoonste daer Job van den duyvel geplaegt wird; mits den achtergrond pek swardt zynde het bloot lichaem van Job zig helder daer tegen vertoonde; ik heb hier van tot Brussel eene opgeschilderde schets gesien, dewelke men niet sonder verbaesthydt kost aenschouwen, gelyk P. Bellori verhaeld in het leven van Rubens dat dese autaer stukken onder het puyk van dien meester gerekent word, en gelyk hem hierover van alle kanten grooten lof gegeven wird, bekende hy selfs, soo men sydt, dat de hand des Heere hem waerelyk geraekt had, en hier in zigselven hierin te boven gegaen had, het was ook hier om dat hy ider naer dit schilderwerk sendt om te sien wat hy int schilderen vermogt. Voorders alle dese autaer stukken heeft doen maeken het broederschap oft confrerie van st. Job het welk bestaet uyt musikanten dewelke op instrumenten spelen, het wird aenbesteedt in het jaar 1612 voor 1500 guldens, het welk betaelt wird in 8 verschyde paijen beginnende van het jaar 1613 tot het jaar 1621, volgens dat ik gekopieert uyt den rekeningboek van het selfste Broederschap, bovendien wird hem nog betaelt den onkost van de promuring van dese talfreelen, als ook van het overbrengen van de selve uyt antwerpen. My is gesegt van den ouden baudewyns dat den Artshertog Albertus dese stukken soo behaegden dat hy voor de selve 7000 guldens heeft willen geven, dog dese confrerie versogt beleefdelyk niet verpligt te mogen zyn van sulks te leveren en Rubens vertoonde hier neven aen syne hooghydt dat hy niet besorgt soude zyn om dese schilderyen te

bekomen, mits die hand nog leefde die hem werk genoeg soude doen hebben van gelyke deugt en weirdighydt, bovendien den landtschapschilder Coppens heeft hy verhaelt dat als in't jaer [ille-gible] den grooten hertog van Toscaenen in nederland gekomen was, hy over dese schilderyen soo ingenomen was, dat hy voor de selve geboden heeft 30.000 guldens, mits hier by nog te geven de copijen geschildert door den besten meester van dit landt en daer by nog te laeten maeken eenen autaer van marber, het welk nogtans in alles is afgeslaegen. Daer naer heeft dien innighen konstliefhebben Jan Willem keurvorst van den Palts de selve somme door den Heer Columellus voor dese schilderyen geboden, ende het soude hem toegestaen zyn geweest, soo my synen Cabinetschilder den Heer Douven verhaeld heeft, ten waer wynigen tydt hiernaer, het selve toen de Franschen Brussel bombardeerden, niet en was verbrandt geweest tot groot jammer van alle die de konst beminnen, nogtans men kan zig nog eenigsints vertroosten met te aensien de schoone copyen soo van dit stuk als van de deuren dewelke staen in eenen autaer van de kerck van Wesemael een dorp gelegen tusschen aertschot en loven, en die schynen van over een eeuw gemaekt te zyn door eenen ervaeren meester'.³

(Brussels—Some memorable remarks should be added here concerning the pictures by Rubens which were formerly in some churches or in the town hall and were destroyed by fire in the bombardment of Brussels in 1696 [sic]. Firstly, in St Nicholas's Church was the very fine altarpiece of Job sitting on a dunghill, being scolded by his wife and put to the test by his three friends. He pointed up to heaven with one hand, and with a potsherd in the other he scraped the pus

from his sores. The wing on the Gospel side showed marvellously how Job was tormented with snakes by Satan; the other wing depicted a messenger wiping the sweat from his brow and telling him of the misfortune that has struck his household. When these doors were closed, the two panels together showed Job standing on a raised platform as a worthy old man with an abundance of possessions: on the left, women were bringing his young children to him, and on the right were his servants with cattle and fruits of the earth. But the finest of these excellent pictures was no doubt the one showing Job tormented by the devil, his naked body showing up against the pitch-black background. I have seen a painted sketch of his in Brussels which could not be looked at without amazement. P. Bellori says in his life of Rubens that these altarpieces are reckoned among the best of his work and were much praised on every side. The master himself is said to have declared that he was touched by the hand of God and had surpassed himself, and that he would send anyone to look at this painting to see what he was capable of as an artist. All these altarpieces were made for the confraternity or brotherhood of St Job, consisting of musicians who play on instruments. It was commissioned in 1612 for 1500 guilders, to be paid in 8 instalments from 1613 to 1621, as I have copied from the book of the Brotherhood's accounts; he was also paid for the cost of priming these paintings and bringing them from Antwerp. I have been told by the old Baudewyns that the Archduke Albert was so pleased with these pieces that he offered 7,000 guilders for them, but the Brotherhood politely requested that they should not be obliged to part with them, and Rubens indicated to His Highness that he

need not be so anxious to obtain them, as the hand was still living that could furnish him with plenty of works of equal merit. Moreover he told the landscape painter Coppens that when the Grand Duke of Tuscany came to the Netherlands in the year [illegible] he was so taken with these paintings that he offered 30,000 guilders for them and was prepared to have copies painted by the best master in the land, and to have a marble altar made as well; but this offer was refused also. Thereafter the Elector Palatine Johann Wilhelm, a great lover of art, offered the same sum for the paintings through Mr Columellus, and this would have been accepted, so I was told by his cabinet painter Mr Douven; but shortly afterwards, when the French bombarded Brussels, they were destroyed by fire to the great distress of all art-lovers. However, there is some consolation in the fine copies of this piece and of the doors, to be seen on an altar in the church at Wezemaal, a village between Aarschot and Louvain, which seem to have been made over a century ago by a skilled artist).

According to Mols, the note in the register (already lost in his time) ran as follows: 'Pièces Justificatives pour l'Etat des Tableaux de Pierre Paul Rubens, existants en Europe.—Haec sunt! Rubenius ad 7 Junium 1776: 1612—Par accord passé entre Rubens & la confrérie des Musiciens de Bruxelles, il entreprit de leur peindre l'Histoire du Patriarche Job pour leur Autel dans l'Eglise de St Nicolas. Cette entreprise a été consommée en cette année, car, en 1613, il reçut à compte suivant l'accord du premier payement: fl.150: en 1614, 150; en 1615, 150; en 1616, 150; en 1617, 300; en 1619, 300; en 1620, 150; en 1621, 150; ensemble 1500 florins, pour lesquels Il avoit entrepris de peindre le Tableau de St Job leur patron avec les

volets' (Evidence concerning the state of the paintings by Peter Paul Rubens, in existence in Europe.—Haec sunt ! Rubenius ad 7 Junium 1776: 1612—By an agreement between Rubens and the Brussels Confraternity of Musicians, he undertook to paint the history of the patriarch Job for their altar in St Nicholas's Church. The work was completed in that year, for in 1613 he received, in accordance with the agreement, a first payment of fl.150 on account; then fl.150 in 1614; 150 in 1615; 150 in 1616; 300 in 1617; 300 in 1619; 150 in 1620; 150 in 1621; altogether fl.1500, for which he had agreed to paint the altarpiece of their patron St Job with the wings). Mols added: 'Cet extrait a été tiré d'un ancien registre, qui je crois ne subsiste plus, ayant péri avec les tableaux, dans l'incendie de cette Eglise lors le Bombardement de Bruxelles en 1695'⁴ (This is an extract from an old register which I believe no longer exists, having been lost together with the paintings when the church caught fire during the bombardment of Brussels in 1695).

Mols's manuscripts contain three passages, the information in which is derived from the sources mentioned above:

A. '1613—Le fameux tableau de S^t Job sur le fumier dans l'Eglise de S^t Nicolas de la même ville. Ce tableau, qui était compté pour un des chefs d'œuvre d'Rubens, vengea celui-ci des critiques de sa Sainte Anne.⁵ Il étoit en volets, le grand tableau representoit ce S^t patriarche assis sur le fumier elevant une main vers le ciel, & s'otant de l'autre le pus qui sortoit de ses plaies avec un morceau de pot cassé, d'un côté sa femme le provoquoit & de l'autre ses amis qui tachoient de le consoler. Sur l'un des volets on voioit un mesager qui en grande hâte vennoit anoncer à Job la destruction de ses biens,

& sur l'autre on voioit Job livré à Satan qui le tourmentoit d'une étrange façon.

Quand ces volets étoient fermés, on voioit Job rétabli dans ses biens. Il étoit comme sur un perron, au bas duquel, d'un côté, on lui présentoit des fruits, et de l'autre, on lui amenoit plusieurs enfants. Ce tableau seul suffisoit non seulement pour faire taire les critiques de la ville, mais tous ceux qui allieurs tachoient a déprimer les valeurs supérieurs de ce grand homme. Il étoit d'une telle force de coloris, d'une si grande expression de caractère que les descendants en parlent encore avec admiration. Il fut fait pour la confrérie des musiciens qui ont ce saint pour leur patron. Il fut placé dans l'autel en 1613 et Rubens reçut, pour prix de son travail, 1500 florins en huit paiemens, dont le premier fut fait en 1613 et le dernier en 1621. On prétend que l'archiduc Albert eut tant de goût pour ce tableau qu'il fit offrir 7000 florins pour l'avoir, mais les confrères trouvèrent moyen d'éluder ses offres avec honnêteté. Il en fut de même quand le grand-duc de Toscane Ferdinand vint dans le pays. Il fut tellement frappé de ces tableaux qu'il en fit offrir jusqu'à trente mille florins, de leur faire faire une copie du meilleur peintre du pays et outre cela de leur donner un autel neuf tout en marbre'.⁶ (1613—The famous picture of St Job on the dunghill in St Nicholas's Church in that city. This painting, considered one of Rubens's masterpieces, avenged him on the critics of his St Anne. It consisted of panels, the centre one showing the patriarch seated on a dunghill, with one hand pointing towards heaven; with a potsherd in the other he was scraping the pus from his sores. On one side was his wife railing at him, and on the other his friends trying to comfort him. On one of the wings a messenger came in haste to

tell Job of the destruction of his possessions, and on the other Job was being tormented by Satan in a strange manner.

When these wings were closed, the painting showed Job once more in possession of his worldly goods. He was on a kind of platform at the foot of which, on one side, he was being presented with fruits, while on the other several children were brought to him. This painting alone sufficed not only to silence all the town critics but also all those elsewhere who called in question the outstanding worth of this great man. The colouring was so powerful and the expression of character so striking that men of a later time still speak of it with admiration. The work was painted for the Confraternity of Musicians who have Job as their patron saint. It was placed on the altar in 1613 and Rubens received as a fee fl.1500 in eight payments, the first in 1613 and the last in 1621. It is said that the Archduke Albert admired the painting so much that he offered fl.7,000 for it, but the Brotherhood politely refused the offer. The same happened when Ferdinand, Grand Duke of Tuscany, came to the Netherlands. He was so struck by the paintings that he offered up to fl.30,000 and was prepared in addition to have copies made by the best artist in the country and also to present the Brotherhood with a new marble altar).

B. 'Notice de différents tableaux dont il est parlé dans le Manuscrit titré Rubeniana—en Deux volumes folio: 122. St Job sur le fumier accompagné de sa femme & de ses amis, autrefois dans l'Eglise de St Nicolas à Bruxelles détruit par le bombardement en 1695/1613; 123. Sur l'un des volets, St Job recevant un messenger tout en hâte qui lui vient annoncer la perte de ses biens / 1613; 124. Sur l'autre, St Job tourmenté par les démons / 1613;

125. Quand ils étaient fermés, St Job rétabli dans ses biens / 1613'.⁷

(Note of several paintings mentioned in the manuscript entitled Rubeniana, in two folio volumes: 122. St Job on the dunghill with his wife and friends, formerly in St Nicholas's Church in Brussels, destroyed by the bombardment in 1695/1613; 123. On one of the wings, Job receiving a messenger who comes in haste to tell him of the destruction of his goods / 1613; 124. On the other, Job tormented by demons / 1613; 125. When the wings were shut, Job with his possessions restored to him / 1613).

C. Dans l'Eglise paroissiale de St Nicolas: 1. St Job sur le Fumier peint sur bois, haut de [not filled in]. Cet excellent Morceau était placé au Retable de l'Autel des Musiciens, qui avoient ce patriarche pour Patron de leur confrérie. Il estoit représenté assis sur le fumier visité par ses amis, invectivé par sa femme; 2. Job Tourmenté par le Malin Esprit. C'etoit le sujet de l'un des volets en dedans; on y voioit le patriarche assis sur le fumier outragé par sa femme & tourmenté [illegible] par le Demon. Ce morceau etoit extraordinaire pour l'effet de la lumière & du coloris; 3. Job recevant des messages sinistres de la perte de ses Biens, & [illegible]. Ce sujet étoit peint sur l'autre volet endedans; 4. Job rétabli dans ses Biens. Ce sujet étoit représenté sur les dehors des volets quand ils étoient fermés. Tous ces morceaux furent entrepris par Rubens en 1612, achevés & delivrés en 1613; & pour lesquels il reçut en différents payements f 1500: Ils ont été admirés par tous les Amateurs tant Etrangers que naturels & Bellori dans sa vie de Rubens en fait un éloge particulier.—Le grand Duc de Toscane, étant à Bruxelles, peu de temps avant le Bombardement, en fit offrir f 30,000; en outre, de faire rebatir a ses dépens,

leur Autel tout en Marbre, & de faire placer les copies de ces tableaux, exécutés par les meilleurs artistes du pays, sans pouvoir persuader ces Messieurs a lui céder leur St Job'.⁸

(In the parish church of St Nicholas: 1. St Job on the dunghill, painted on panel, height [not filled in]. This fine piece was placed on the retable of the altar of the Musicians, who recognized the patriarch as the patron of their Brotherhood. He was shown seated on the dunghill, visited by his friends, scolded by his wife. 2. Job tormented by the Evil One. This was the subject of one of the inner wings, which showed the patriarch seated on the dunghill, insulted by his wife and tormented [illegible] by the Devil. This piece was amazing as to the effects of light and colour. 3. Job receiving evil tidings of the loss of his goods and [illegible]. This scene was on the other inside wing. 4. Job's possessions restored to him. This scene appeared on the outer wings when they were closed. All these paintings were undertaken by Rubens in 1612, completed and delivered in 1613, and he received for them fl.1500 in several payments. They were admired by all art-lovers, both native and foreign, and Bellori praises them especially in his life of Rubens. The Grand Duke of Tuscany, who was in Brussels shortly before the bombardment, offered to pay fl.30,000 for them and in addition to have their altar rebuilt entirely in marble and to replace the paintings by copies to be executed by the best artists in the country; but he could not persuade the musicians to part with their St Job).

The sources used by Mols, which we may assume to have been reliable, furnish important information. In the first place they make it clear that a painting of *Job in Distress* by Rubens was in St Nicholas's Church in Brussels and was

destroyed by fire in the bombardment of 1695. It is also made clear that the work was a triptych with folding panels; the dimensions are not indicated. In its open state, the centre panel showed Job seated on a dunghill, with one hand pointing to heaven and with a potsherd in the other, with which he scraped the pus from his sores; he was being scolded by his wife and put to the test by his three friends (see No.54). On the left panel Job was being scourged with snakes by the Devil (see No.55), while on the right a messenger came hastening to tell him of his various misfortunes. When the panels were closed Job was seen as a rich man once more, a venerable old man standing on a dais, while from one side women led his young children to him and from the other his servants brought him cattle and the produce of the fields. The triptych was commissioned in 1612 by the Brotherhood of Musicians, whose patron was St Job, and was intended for their altar in St Nicholas's Church. The agreed fee was fl.1500, to be paid over a period of years: fl.150 in 1613, 1614, 1615 and 1616, fl.300 in 1617 and 1619, and fl.150 in 1620 and 1621. In addition Rubens was paid the cost of priming the panels and transporting them from Antwerp to Brussels.⁹ It also appears from Mols's sources that the triptych must have enjoyed great success in the course of years, as three princes tried to buy it from the Confraternity. Thus the Archduke Albert admired it so much that he offered them fl.7,000 for it, but without success. Again, a 'Grand Duke of Tuscany' (Florence) on a visit to the Netherlands¹⁰ was so enthusiastic that he offered not only to pay fl.30,000 but also to present the Brotherhood with a marble altar and a copy of the triptych by the best artist in the land. This tempting suggestion was likewise

refused. Finally it appears that the art-loving Elector Palatine Johann Wilhelm¹¹ made a similar offer and that the Brotherhood were willing to accept it, but nothing came of this as the triptych was destroyed by fire soon afterwards. It also appears from Mols's sources that Bellori¹² considered the work one of the best that Rubens had ever painted; and that copies of the centre and side panels were on the altar of the church at Wezemaal, a village between Aarschot and Louvain¹³ (see No. 56).

1. H. Weizsäcker, 'Der sogenannte Jabachsche Altar und die Dichtung des Buches Hiob', *Kunstwissenschaftliche Beiträge August Smarow gewidmet*, Leipzig, 1907, pp. 153-162; W. Weisbach, 'L'histoire de Job dans les Arts. A propos du tableau de Georges de la Tour au musée d'Epinal', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Sixth Series, XVI, 1936, pp. 102-112; M. L. Brown, 'The Subject Matter in Dürer's Jabach Altar', in *Marsyas*, New York University, Institute of Fine Arts, I, 1941, pp. 55-68; V. Denis, 'Saint Job, patron des musiciens', *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, XXI, 1952, 4, pp. 253-298; Réau, *Iconographie*, II, 1, pp. 310-318; R. Budde, in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, II, cols. 407-414; Pigler, *Barockthemen*, 1974, I, p. 204.
2. Mols, 5736, fol. 41.
3. Mols, 5733, fol. 145, recto and verso.
4. Mols, 5730, Tomus tertius, V, fols. 40-41. See Rooses, I, p. 161.
5. This 'St Anne' is very probably identical with *The Education of the Virgin*, painted by Rubens for the Church of the Calced Carmelites in Brussels, and destroyed during the French bombardment of the city in 1695. See Mols, 5735, fol. 459; Rooses, I, pp. 182-183, No. 141.
6. Mols, 5725, fol. 56, recto and verso. See Rooses, I, pp. 160-161 (with some deviations from the manuscript).
7. Mols, 5725, fol. 90.
8. Mols, 5735, fols. 114-115.
9. The author of the note transcribed by Mols (Mols, 5730, Tomus tertius, V, fols. 40-41) states that the painting was completed in 1612, the year in which it was commissioned. He infers this from the fact that Rubens received a first payment in 1613, but this cannot be regarded as conclusive. In Mols's own texts we read that the triptych was completed in 1613 (Mols, 5725, fol. 90), and delivered (Mols, 5735, fols. 114-115) or placed on the altar (Mols, 5725, fol. 56 recto and verso) in the same year.
10. The Grand Duke's name is not given, and the date

of his visit to the Netherlands is illegible. Mols calls him Ferdinand in one of his own texts (Mols, 5725, fol. 56 recto and verso).

11. The Elector Palatine Johann Wilhelm (1658-1716) reigned from 1690 to 1716. His collection, formed in Düsseldorf, later came to Munich and now forms the core of the Pinakothek in that city.
12. Bellori, *Vite*, I, p. 225.
13. These copies are also mentioned by Baert in a note on the paintings destroyed by fire in Brussels in 1695 (Rijksarchief, Brussels, No. 15.765-70).

54. Job Seated on a Dunghill between his Wife and his Three Friends

Formerly in St Nicholas's Church in Brussels. Destroyed by fire in 1695.

COPIES: (1) Engraving by Jan Lauwrijn Krafft (born 1694 in Brussels) (Fig. 121); 361 × 271 mm.; title: *Conclusitque me Deus apud iniquum, ego ille quondam opulentus repente contritus sum: Et / concidit me vulnere super vulnus. Job XVI*; dedication: *Ingeniosissimo Domino D^{no} Jacobo Bergé* [probably the sculptor Jacques Berger (Brussels, 1693-1738)], *Statuario v Bruxellensis Academie Picture v Sculpture Directori in amicitie pignus / offerabat J. L. Krafft. caelator; P. P. Rubens pinxit; Horst delin'*. [probably Nicolaas van der Horst (Antwerp, 1598-Brussels, 1646), a pupil of Rubens]. LIT. Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, IX (Supplement), p. 260, under No. 70; V. S., pp. 3-4, No. 21; Rooses, I, pp. 160, under No. 129 n. 2, 162, under No. 129; Oldenbourg, *Rubens*, pp. 94-95, fig. 48; J. Müller Hofstede, 'Beiträge zum zeichnerischen Werk von Rubens', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXVII, 1965, p. 300; (2) Drawing (by ? Nicolaas van der Horst), N. de Boer Foundation, Amsterdam (Fig. 124); black chalk, 425 × 415 mm. PROV. Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792); from the estate of Anton W. Mensing, Amsterdam. LIT. B. J. A. Renckens, 'Enkele notities bij vroege werken van Cornelis Saftleven', *Bulletin Museum Boymans-*

van Beuningen, XIII, 1962, 2, p.67 n.14, fig.21 (as *Rubens*); J.Müller Hofstede, op. cit., pp.300–304, fig.215 (as *Rubens*); (3) Drawing, retouched by Rubens, M.Jaffé, Cambridge (No.54a; Fig.122).

LITERATURE: Mensaert, *Peintre*, I, p.98; Descamps, *Voyage*, p.52; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, IX (Supplement), p.260, No.70; Rooses, I, pp.160, under No.129 n.2, 162, under No.129; A.Henne and A.Wauters, *Histoire de la Ville de Bruxelles*, Brussels, 1975, 3, p.132; Oldenbourg, *Rubens*, pp.94–95, fig.48; B.J.A.Renckens, 'Enkele notities bij vroege werken van Cornelis Saftleven', *Bulletin Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*, XIII, 1962, 2, p.67 n.14, fig.21; J.Müller Hofstede, op. cit., pp.300–303, figs.215, 216.

From the catalogue of paintings by Rubens, compiled by Smeyers and copied by Mols,¹ (see p.171ff.) we know that the centre panel of the *Job* triptych, formerly in St Nicholas's Church in Brussels, depicted the patriarch sitting on a dunghill, pointing to heaven with one hand and with the other holding a potsherd to scrape the pus from his sores, while he is being scolded by his wife and put to the test by his friends. The composition of the scene can only be deduced from the three more or less exact copies mentioned above (an engraving and two drawings, one of which was finished by Rubens and was probably the design for an engraving) and from particular works by masters who were evidently inspired by Rubens. The chief of these are: (1) A painting by Gerard Seghers, Prague, National Gallery, Inv. No.302 (Fig.123); canvas, 192 × 242.5 cm. LIT. J.Šíp and O.J.Blažiček, *La peinture flamande au XVIIème siècle à la Galerie Nationale de Prague*, Prague, 1963,

No.48, repr.; J.Müller Hofstede, op. cit., p.304; (2) A painting by ?Cornelis Saftleven, Antwerp, Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Inv. No.479; panel, 42.7 × 60.8 cm. PROV. Acquired by Mayer van den Bergh before 1902. LIT. Oldenbourg, *Rubens*, p.95 (as a copy from the middle of the 17th century); B.J.A.Renckens, op. cit., pp.66–69, fig.20 (as *Cornelis Saftleven*); J.de Coo, *Museum Mayer van den Bergh. Catalogus 1. Schilderijen, verluchte handschriften, tekeningen*, Antwerp, 1978, pp.154–155 (as after *Rubens*, c.1650); (3) An anonymous painting, c.1630–1635, *Job Importuned by his Wife, with Members of the Fraternity of Saint Job at Saint-Omer*, Saint-Omer, Notre-Dame; canvas, 180 × 220 cm. PROV. Placed in 1635 in the chapel of the fraternity of St Job in Notre-Dame Cathedral, Saint-Omer. LIT. Descamps, *Voyage*, p.326 (as *De Crayer*); Chanoine Bled, 'Enlèvements de l'argenterie des églises et chapelles du diocèse de Saint-Omer', *Bulletin de la Société des antiquaires de la Morinie*, Saint-Omer, 1922, p.681; Chanoine Coolen, 'La Confrérie de Monsieur Saint Job', *Bulletin de la Société des antiquaires de la Morinie*, Saint-Omer, 1946, pp.302–303; J.Foucart, *Cat. Exh. Paris, 1977–78*, pp.204–205, No.157, repr. (as 'Anonyme vers 1620–1640, s'inspirant de Rubens'); (4) A painting by Gaspar de Crayer, Toulouse, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Cat. No.438 (Fig.126); canvas (originally rounded at the top), 263 × 191 cm. Signed and dated, below on the right: *G.d. Crayer 1619*. LIT. H.Vlieghe, *Gaspar de Crayer, sa vie et ses œuvres*, Brussels, 1972, p.81, No.A7, fig.10 (with the previous literature); (5) A drawing by Abraham van Diepenbeeck (a design for the title-page of the book *Job Elucidatus* by Balthasar Corderius, engraved by C.Galle the Younger and published by Balthasar Moretus in Antwerp in 1646), Leningrad, Hermitage, Inv. No.25322

(Fig.127); black chalk, pen and brown ink, heightened with white, traces of needle for transfer, 300 × 195 mm. PROV. Prince W. Argoutinsky-Dolgoroukoff (Paris, 1875 to 1941). Acquired by the Hermitage in 1929. LIT. J. Müller Hofstede, op. cit., p.304, fig.216; J. Kuznetsov, Cat. *Western European Drawing. The Hermitage*, Lenin-grad, 1981, No.142, repr.

In all three copies Job is placed centrally with his wife to the right and his friends to the left,² so we may assume that this was also the case in Rubens's original version: it is supported, moreover, by the woman's emphatic argumentative gesture with her right (not her left) hand.³ It is noteworthy that in none of the copies nor in the works inspired by Rubens is Job engaged in scraping the pus from his sores, as Smeyers describes. However, this action is indicated in the drawing worked up by Rubens (see No.54a; Fig.122) and in the works by ?Cornelis Saftleven, the anonymous artist (c.1630–1635), and Abraham van Diepenbeeck, where potsherders are seen at Job's feet.

Job's wife in Rubens's painting was certainly inspired by the illustration to *Das Buch Job*⁴ in Tobias Stimmer's *Neue Künstliche Figuren Biblischer Historien*, where she appears in a similar attitude and with her hand on her hip, as here.

A problem arises as to the ratio between the height and width of the centre panel. As it was part of a triptych with folding doors, it must have been twice as wide as each door. We do not know what the right panel looked like, but the left one is known from a print by Lucas Vorsterman (see No.55), and its ratio of height to width is such as to imply that the centre panel of the triptych was horizontal in format. There is some slight

support for this hypothesis in the fact that three of the works inspired by Rubens (those by Gerard Seghers, ?Cornelis Saftleven and the anonymous artist, c.1630–1635) are of such format. In that case it must be assumed that in the three copies, for unknown reasons, the centre panel was changed from a horizontal to a vertical format. But it is also possible that the side panels were fairly narrow and that the compositional field was enlarged for Vorsterman's engraving—in that case probably after a *modello* by Rubens—so as to give it a ratio between height and width in accordance with that usual for prints in a vertical format.⁵ It is not impossible to have a vertical centre panel with relatively narrow side panels; in that case the original proportion might after all have been respected in the copies.

In MS English, *Catalogues of Picture Sales in England*, II, c.1760, p.22 (Victoria and Albert Museum Library), a *Job on the Dunghill*, Rubens appears as lot 42 in Mr John Verelst's Sale of Pictures, [London], 1717–1718. Johannes Verelst, painter, is mentioned in London as a witness in 1691.⁶

1. Mols, 5733, fol.145 recto and verso.

2. This is also the case in the works inspired by Rubens, except those by ?Cornelis Saftleven and Gaspar de Crayer, which have Job's wife on the left and his friends on the right.

3. In the works by ?Saftleven and de Crayer she makes this gesture with her left hand.

4. Basle, 1576; edn. G.Hirth Verlag, Munich, 1923, No.108.

5. This is Rooses' supposition (*Rooses*, I, p.162).

6. C. Kramm, *De levens en werken der Hollandsche en Vlaamsche kunstschilders, beeldhouwers, graveurs en bouwmeesters*, VI, Amsterdam, 1863, p.1708; *Oud-Holland*, XIV, 1896, p.112.

**54a. Job Seated on a Dunghill
between his Wife and his Three
Friends: Retouched Drawing (Fig.122)**

Upper corners rounded. Grey body-colour and brown ink, heightened with white, over preliminary work in black chalk; 445 × 365 mm. Below on the left, mark of the collection of Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445).—*Verso*: mark of the collection of H.S.Reitlinger (L. Suppl.2274a).
Cambridge, Collection of M.Jaffé.

PROVENANCE: Sir Thomas Lawrence (London, 1769-1830); Henry Scipio Reitlinger (London, 1882-1950), sale, London (Sotheby's), 22-23 June 1954 (bought by M. Jaffé, £200).

EXHIBITED: *Seventeenth-Century Flemish Drawings and Oil Sketches*, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 1958, No.39.

LITERATURE: [M. Jaffé], *Cat. Exh. Seventeenth Century Flemish Drawings and Oil Sketches*, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 1958, p.15, No.39 (as worked over by Rubens).

This drawing, based on the centre panel of Rubens's triptych *Job in Distress*, formerly in St Nicholas's Church in Brussels, agrees in the main with the engraving by J.L.Krafft (see No.54; Fig.121) and with the black chalk drawing in the N. de Boer Foundation in Amsterdam (see No.54; Fig.124); however, the architectural decor of the latter two is replaced by a rocky landscape. The dimensions are approximately those of a Lucas Vorsterman print. Of the preliminary work in black chalk (perhaps by Vorsterman) practically nothing can be seen; the wash with the brush in brown and above all the heightening in white with body-colour reveal Rubens's

hand. The work is probably a design for an engraving that was never made.

54b. Head of a Bearded Man (Fig.125)

Oil on panel; 38 × 31 cm.
Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: Thomas Agnew & Sons, London (1942); Julian Singer, London (1948); Fernand Houget, Verviers (1949).

Burchard, who saw this painting, described it as follows in a letter of 23 August 1949 to M.Houget: 'La tête est dirigée de trois quarts vers la droite et se détache d'un fond sombre. Les cheveux et la barbe sont châtain, et le teint est d'un brun rougeâtre. L'homme est éclairé en plein sur le visage et lève ses yeux avec une expression de profonde concentration. Cette peinture, d'une facture énergique et magistrale, est entièrement de la main de Rubens. Elle est merveilleusement bien conservée' (The head, seen against a dark background, is turned three-quarters to the right. The hair and beard are chestnut, and the complexion reddish-brown. The light falls fully on the man's face, and his eyes are raised with an expression of deep concentration. This energetic and masterly painting is entirely by Rubens's hand and is wonderfully well preserved).

Colin Agnew¹ was the first to connect this work with *Job Seated on a Dunghill between his Wife and his Three Friends*, the centre panel of Rubens's triptych of *Job in Distress*, formerly in St Nicholas's Church in Brussels (see No.54): he recognized it as a study for the head of the friend nearest to Job. Kurt Badt² agreed with the attribution to Rubens, but

thought it was a fragment of a lost painting and not a study. His chief reason for this view was the reddish-brown tint of the man's complexion, which he believed to be due to the reflection of a red drapery in the lost painting.

Burchard, who inspected the work, noted that the edges of the panel were not bevelled and the fibres of the wood did not run horizontally, which is unusual for a work in vertical format. He inferred that the panel was a sawn-off portion of a larger whole; this, he believed, was in horizontal format and comprised two studies of the same bearded model.

1. This appears from a certificate by Colin Agnew dated 3 December 1942, a copy of which Burchard possessed.
2. Oral information from Kurt Badt in 1948, noted by Burchard.

55. Job Tormented by Demons and Abused by his Wife

Formerly in St Nicholas's Church in Brussels. Destroyed by fire in 1695.

COPY: Engraving in reverse by Lucas Vorsterman (1595-1675) (Fig. 129); 382 × 256 mm.; title: *Homo natus de muliere, brevi vivens tempore, repletur multis miseriis. Qui quasi flos egreditur / et conteritur, et fugit velut umbra, et nunquam in eodem statu permanet. Iob. 14.*, and underneath: *P. P. Rubens pinxit and L. Vorsterman excud. cum privileg.* LIT. Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 54, No. 151; IX (Supplement), p. 260, No. 69; V. S., p. 3, No. 17; Hymans, *Gravure*, pp. 175-176; Rooses, I, p. 162, under No. 129; V, p. 147; Hymans, *Vorsterman*, pp. 67-68, No. 4; Knipping, *Iconography*, I, p. 230, fig. 224; Lugt, *Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, p. 37, No. 1129, pl. LVIII; Held, *Drawings*, pp. 37, 130, under No. 80; H. Vey, *Die Zeich-*

nungen Anton van Dycks, Brussels, 1962, p. 236, under No. 166; Renger, *Rubens Debit*, I, p. 139; Bodart, p. 69, No. 123, repr.

From Smeyers's catalogue of Rubens's paintings, copied by Mols,¹ (see p. 171ff.), we know that the left panel of the triptych of *Job in Distress*, commissioned in 1612 and formerly in St Nicholas's Church in Brussels, showed Job 'scourged with snakes by Satan'. Smeyers considered this scene, 'in which Job's naked body shows up clearly against a dark background', as the finest of the whole triptych.

Apart from *Job Seated on a Dunghill between his Wife and his Three Friends* (see No. 54), this is the only scene of the triptych that is not known merely from a brief description but of which we can form some idea from one or more copies, in this case an engraving by Lucas Vorsterman. Allowance must be made for the possibility that it does not reproduce the scene with complete accuracy: for instance, its proportions may have been adapted to those usual for an engraving in vertical format (see No. 54). It also appears from the general orientation of the figures of Job and his wife, and their gestures with the left arm, that the original painting is reproduced in reverse.

The naked Job, sitting on a dunghill, is tugged backwards by the hair, by a devil who is about to scourge him with a rope; two other devils threaten him with a burning brand and with a snake. As if this were not torment enough, his wife stands by and upbraids him with word and gesture. The motif of the central character surrounded by three demons is reminiscent of St Lawrence and the three executioners in Titian's *Martyrdom of St Lawrence* in the Jesuit Church in Venice,² a painting that Rubens must have seen

during his stay in Italy, and which he made use of for his own *Martyrdom of St Lawrence* in Schloss Schleissheim.³

The design for Vorsterman's engraving is in the Louvre in Paris (Fig.128).⁴ Only Van den Wijngaert attributes it to Vorsterman himself. Most authors (Hymans, Lugt, Held, Vey) see in it the hand of Van Dyck: probably rightly, though one may agree with Held that 'unless some new evidence appears (which is not likely) Van Dyck's authorship will remain a matter of conjecture'. Smith described the work as 'done by a scholar and perfected by Rubens', while Müller Hofstede and Renger suggest that it may be entirely by Rubens.

Rubens's *Job Tormented by Demons and Abused by his Wife* is known from several other copies, both paintings and engravings.⁵ None, however, is directly based on the original work: they all derive from Vorsterman's engraving, which the paintings reproduce in the same direction and the prints in reverse.

For the figure of Job Rubens used a study from life, now in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (No.55a; Fig.130). Another study from life, also in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (No.55b; Fig.131) was drawn by him for one of the three demons.

Another painting of *Job Tormented by Demons and Abused by his Wife* was formerly in the church at Wezemaal near Louvain but was destroyed by fire (see No.56).

Smeyers stated in his catalogue that he had seen in Brussels 'a finished sketch which could not be looked at without admiration'. Whether it still exists is not known.

In 1706 the tapestry merchants Nau-laerts and Blommaert possessed a painting of '*Verduldigen Job, waar dat 2 duyvels*

op syn lyf sitten, van Rubbens, groot ontrent een elle int vierkant, behalve dat het wat hooger is als dat het breed is' (*The Patient Job Beset by Two Devils*, by Rubens, about an ell [67.67 cm.] square, but somewhat higher than it is wide).⁶

The catalogue of a collection of paintings sold in Brussels on and after 18 August 1823⁷ includes as lot 76: 'Rubens, P.P.—*Job sur le fumier, tourmenté par sa femme et les démons*. Ce tableau est gravé. Sur bois. 15 × 11 pouces' (Rubens, P.P.—*Job on the Dunghill, Tormented by his Wife and Demons*. Engraved. On panel, 15 × 11 inches [40.6 × 29.8 cm.]).

According to Hymans,⁸ a fine drawing by Rubens of '*Job tourmenté par sa femme et par les démons*' was formerly in the collection of Count R. du Chastel Andelot in Brussels.

A drawing (black chalk on blue paper, 350 × 270 mm.), also representing '*Job tourmenté par sa femme et par les démons*', but '*d'après le tableau de Rubens*', and stated to be by Vorsterman, was lot 600 in the De Vries sale, Amsterdam, 24–25 January 1922. It had been in the H. Gerlings Collection, and attached to it was '*une épreuve de la gravure exécutée d'après ce dessin*'. This may have been the same drawing as the one that formerly belonged to Count R. du Chastel Andelot.

Among the paintings in the rich collection of T. Loridon de Ghellinck in Ghent was a '*Job tenté*' by Carel de Moor. The collection was sold there by the widow of S. Somers (s.d.; c.1780). From the description in the sale catalogue⁹ it is clear that this was a *Job Tormented by Demons and Abused by his Wife*, based on Rubens.

1. *Mols*, 5733, fol.145 recto and verso.

2. H.E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian*, I, London-New York, 1969, pp.139–140, No.114, pls.178, 179.

3. *Vlieghe, Saints*, II, pp.107–108, No.126, fig.71.

4. Paris, Louvre, Inv. No.20.316; black chalk, and

- some red chalk in the face of Job's wife, heightened with a few light touches of white in the body and garments of Job and his wife; 403 × 276 mm.; below on the left, mark of the Louvre (L.2207) and an unidentified paraph (L.2961). PROV. Ancient Royal Collection. EXH. *Antoon van Dyck, tekeningen en olieverfschetsen*, Rubenshuis, Antwerp – Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, 1960, No.21, pl.X (as *Van Dyck*). LIT. *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.54, No.153; *Hymans, Vorsterman*, pp.26–27, 68, under No.4; *Rooses*, V, p.147; F.van den Wijngaert, 'P.P.Rubens en Lucas Vorsterman', *De Gulden Passer*, Antwerp, 1945, XXIII, pp.179–180; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, pp.36–37, under No.1126, p.37, No.1129, pl.LVIII; *Held, Drawings*, pp.37, 130, under No.80; J.Müller Hofstede, 'Zur Ausstellung von Zeichnungen und Ölskizzen Van Dycks in Antwerpen und Rotterdam, Sommer–Herbst 1960', *Pantheon*, XIX, 1961, p.151, fig.2; H.Vey, *Die Zeichnungen Anton van Dycks*, Brussels, 1962, pp.32–35, pp.235–236, No.166, fig.203; *Renger, Rubens Dedit*, I, p.139; *Bodart*, p.69, under No.123.
5. (1) Painting by Eugène Delacroix (in the same direction as Vorsterman's print), Bayonne. Musée Bonnat (Cat.1908, No.70); canvas, 62 × 52 cm. LIT. B.Ehrlich White, 'Delacroix's Painted Copies after Rubens', *Art Bulletin*, XLIX, 1967, pp.39, 45–46, fig.34 (as *Delacroix, grisaille after Vorsterman's print*); L.Johnson, *The Paintings of Eugène Delacroix*, Oxford, 1981, p.13, No.15, pl.12 (as *Delacroix, grisaille after Vorsterman's print*); (2) Anonymous painting (in the same direction as Vorsterman's print), Paris, Musée du Louvre (Cat.1979, p.122, No.M.L.968, repr.); canvas, 146 × 119 cm. PROV. Thomas Henry (commissaire-expert du Musée Royal), sale, Paris (Hôtel des Ventes Mobilères), 23 May 1836, lot 71; bequeathed to the Louvre by Louis La Caze in 1869 (*Notice des tableaux légués au Musée Impérial du Louvre par M.Louis La Caze*, Paris, 1870, No.107). LIT. *Rooses*, I, p.160, under No.129; *M. Rooses, De oude Hollandische en Vlaamse meesters in den Louvre en in de National Gallery*, Amsterdam, [1902], p.92; *Hymans, Gravure*, pp.175–176; L.Johnson, op. cit., p.14, under No.15; (3) Anonymous painting (in the same direction as Vorsterman's print), Munich, Alte Pinakothek (Cat.1908, p.171, No.805); panel, 33 × 25 cm. PROV. Elector Palatine, Mannheim (*Verzeichnis der in den Churfürstlichen Cabinetten zu Mannheim befindlichen Mahlereyen*, Mannheim, 1756, No.8). LIT. *Michel, Histoire*, p.304; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp.54, No.152, 79, No.244; IX (Supplement), under No.69; *Rooses*, I, p.160, under No.129; *Hymans, Vorsterman*, pp.67–68, under No.4; (4) Anonymous painting (in the same direction as Vorsterman's print), whereabouts unknown; panel (on the back, mark of the Antwerp guild), 104 × 74 cm. PROV. Frankfurt am Main, Gottlieb Müller (1927); (5) Anonymous painting (in the same direction as Vorsterman's print), Berchem–Antwerp, R.Werner (1973); panel, 64 × 49 cm.; (6) Anonymous engraving (in reverse to Vorsterman's print); title: *Jobs Tentatie*; A.Sweerts exc. (the same print exists with the title *Leblond exc.*). LIT. V.S., p.3, No.18; *Rooses*, I, p.162, under No.129; (7) Anonymous engraving (in reverse to Vorsterman's print); title: *Job Prophète*; Mariette excud. two lines of text: *Homo natus de muliere, brevi vivens tempore repletur multis miseriis. / L'homme né de femme, vivant peu de temps est rempli de grandes miseres*. LIT. V.S., p.3, No.19; *Rooses*, I, p.162, under No.129.
6. *Denucé, Art-Tapestry*, p.303.
7. A copy of this catalogue is in the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague.
8. *Hymans, Vorsterman*, p.68, under No.4.
9. 'Catalogue d'une très-belle et riche Collection de Tableaux ... qui composent le cabinet de Monsieur T. Lorrion de Ghellinck demeurant dans le Quaetdam à Gand. A Gand chez la veuve de S.Somers, au Salamandre', p.72, lot 225; Charles de Moor, 'Job tenté, peint sur toile, haut 32, large 25 pouces [80.5 × 67.5 cm.]. Job est assis sur une élévation, où il est tenté & frappé par deux démons, & injurié par un troisième, qui est sa femme que le patient souffre sans se plaindre; derrière la femme on voit les décombres de sa maison qui est écroulée'.

55a. Nude Man leaning back (Job): Drawing (Fig.130)

Sheet fully mounted, cut off along the right edge and restored. Watermark: fleur-de-lis. Black chalk heightened with body-colour; 570 × 444 mm. Below to the right, mark of the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (L.1980), and, inscribed with the pen by an eighteenth-century hand, *Rubens, Rubens Cabinet de Crozat, 1735 and 4⁶*
Stockholm, Nationalmuseum.

Inv. No.1926–1863.

PROVENANCE: Pierre Crozat (Paris, 1665 to 1740; ?Cat. 1741, No.836); Count C.G. Tessin (Stockholm, 1695–1770). Purchased by the Royal Museum in 1735.

EXHIBITED: *Helsinki, 1952–53*, No.34; *Dutch and Flemish Drawings*, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, 1953, No.97; *Antwerp, 1956*, No.44; *Antwerp, 1977*, No.134.

LITERATURE: *Glück-Haberditz*, No.88, repr. (as *Rubens, c.1614–1615*); *Burchard–*

d'Hulst, Tekeningen, pp.53–54, No.44, fig.XX (as *Rubens, c.1612*); *Held, Drawings*, p.130, No.80, pl.91 (as *Rubens, c.1612–1614*); *Burchard–d'Hulst, Drawings*, pp.119–121, No.72, repr. (as *Rubens, c.1612*); J.Müller Hofstede, *Review of Burchard–d'Hulst, Drawings in Master Drawings*, 4, 1966, p.447, No.72; J.Kuznetsov, *Rubens Drawings* (in Russian), Moscow, 1974, No.41, repr. (as *Rubens, c.1612*); *Held, Drawings*, 1986, p.101, No.80, fig.74 (as *Rubens, c.1612–1614*).

A full-length figure of a young man, illuminated from the right and from below. He is leaning backwards and turned to the right, the eyes looking up. The right arm and leg are pulled back, the left arm is raised above the head. Rubens indicated an alternative, slightly bent left arm in a lower position. As the sheet was not big enough, he drew the whole left arm separately on the right. An alternative position of the left leg is lightly indicated.

This study from life was made for the principal figure in *Job Tormented by Demons and Abused by his Wife* (see No.55), the left panel of the triptych of *Job in Distress*, commissioned in 1612 and formerly in St Nicholas's Church in Brussels.¹ If we assume that Vorsterman's print (see No.55; Fig.129) is an essentially faithful reproduction of the left panel (in reverse), then Rubens must, in the painting, have considerably modified the figure of Job as drawn in this study from life: for in the painting Job raises his right and not his left arm, while he stretches out the left arm horizontally and inclines the head further back.

The pose of Job clearly reveals the influence of the principal figure of the *Laocoon* group, which Rubens had drawn

from many angles during one of his stays in Rome, probably between 1605 and 1608.²

The present drawing looks forward to the figure of St Lawrence in Rubens's *Martyrdom of St Lawrence*, Schloss Schleissheim, of c.1615,³ and to the figure of St John in his *Adoration of the Magi*, St John's Church, Malines (Mechelen) of 1617.⁴

1. As J.Müller Hofstede (*loc. cit.*) has pointed out, this study was probably not made in preparation for *The Martyrdom of St Lawrence* and afterwards used for the *Job* triptych, as supposed in *Burchard–d'Hulst, Drawings* (*loc. cit.*), but was executed directly for *Job Tormented by Demons and Abused by his Wife*.
2. V.H.Miesel, 'Rubens' Study Drawings after Ancient Sculpture', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Sixth Series, LXI, 1963, p.311; *Burchard–d'Hulst, Drawings*, pp.31 to 33, No.15, repr.; *Fubini–Held*, pp.123–141, figs.6, 8, 9, pl.1.
3. *Vlieghe, Saints*, II, pp.107–108, No.126, fig.71.
4. *K.d.K.*, p.105, left.

55b. A Tormenting Demon: Drawing (Fig.131)

Buff paper, slightly stained. A narrow strip of paper along the right edge, which widens towards the lower corner, has been cut away. Black chalk, heightened with white; 416 × 272 mm. Below on the left, mark of the collection of J.G.de la Gardie (*L. Suppl. 2722^a*).

Stockholm, Nationalmuseum.

PROVENANCE: Count Jacob Gustavus de la Gardie (Löberöd, Sweden, 1768–1842). In 1799 he inherited the collection of paintings and drawings of his father-in-law, Count Gustaf Adolf Sparre, and, as Swedish Minister to Vienna, he received in 1801, as a parting gift, a parcel of drawings from Duke Albert of Saxony-Teschen which the Duke had acquired at the Prince Charles de Ligne sale (Vienna, 4 November 1794); Count Pontus de la Gardie (Borrestad, Scania, Sweden).

LITERATURE: Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, pp.171-172, No.107, repr. (as *Rubens, c.1614-1615*); J. Müller Hofstede, 'Beiträge zum zeichnerischen Werk von Rubens', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXVII, 1965, p.301 n.112); Id., Review of Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings in Master Drawings*, 4, 1966, p.450, No.107 (as *Rubens, c.1612*); B. Magnusson, 'The De la Gardie (Borrestad) Collection of Drawings', *Nationalmuseum Bulletin*, VI, 3, 1982, pp.113-140.

The drawing is a study from life of a young man, naked except for a loincloth. His right leg, bent at the knee, and his right arm are raised; his left arm is stretched downwards. His gaze is fixed upon his victim (not represented in the drawing), whom he grips with his left fist, while he prepares to deliver a blow with his right. Only the upper part of his left leg is indicated, the rest of it disappearing behind the victim. The pointed ear and clawed foot mark him as a demon. The light falls from the right.

This study was made for one of the three demons in *Job Tormented by Demons and Abused by his Wife*, the left panel of the triptych of *Job in Distress*, commissioned in 1612 and formerly in St Nicholas's Church in Brussels. As shown by Vorsterman's engraving (see No.55; Fig. 129), which, we may assume, reproduces the essential elements of the left panel (in reverse), Rubens's painting did not conform exactly to the study. In the painting, the demon seizes Job by the hair with his left hand, but the position of his right arm is different, while his raised leg has been transferred to another demon. The play of light and shade is the same as in the drawing: the breast in dark shadow, the face in half-shadow, the shoulder and extended left arm bathed

in light. The presumed date of the drawing is c.1612.¹

The demon also appears, modified, in a painting which was formerly in the church at Wezemaal, near Louvain, and is reproduced in an anonymous engraving (see No.56; Fig.132). There he is not behind Job but to his right, gripping Job's shoulder with his left hand while holding in his raised hand a viper with which he is about to whip the virtuous man; his raised right arm and his head, however, are differently posed.

Rubens used the present study again, though modified, for Lucifer in *St Michael*, a painting in the Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Castagnola, Lugano² and once more, in reverse and also modified, for a young man (? an angel) causing one of the Damned to fall over his knee, in a black chalk drawing of *The Fall of the Damned* in the possession of the Van Eeghen family, Amsterdam.³

1. J. Müller Hofstede (review of Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, loc. cit.) rightly argues that the date of c.1614-1615 suggested by Burchard-d'Hulst is too late, and that there is no reason to suppose, as suggested by Oldenbourg (Oldenbourg, *Rubens*, p.96), that the left panel of the *Job* triptych was painted later than the centre panel. But he is mistaken in placing the drawing c.1611 on the authority of Mols (see p.173), who states that the triptych was completed in 1612. In fact the first of the sources used by Mols states that the triptych was commissioned in 1612 (it says nothing about completion), while in the second source the completion date of 1612 is inferred from the fact that the first instalment of the fee was paid in 1613; but this cannot be regarded as conclusive proof.

2. Cat.1969, No.268, pl.128. See Vlieghe, *Saints*, II, pp.130-131, No.136, fig.90.

3. Vlieghe, *Saints*, II, pp.123-124, No.133, fig.88.

56. Job Tormented by Demons and Abused by his Wife

Formerly in the church of Wezemaal, near Louvain. Destroyed by fire.

COPY: Anonymous engraving (Fig.132); 165 × 190 mm. (without the text above and below); title: S. IOB PROPHETA, / WESEMALIENSIS ECCLESIAE PATRONUS. X. *Maij*; inscription above: IN NIDULO MEO MORIAR ET UT PALMA MULTIPLICABO DIES. *Iob* 23; inscription below: *Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit: sicut Domino placuit, / ita factum est: sit nomen Domini benedictum. Iob. 1. / Si bona suscepimus de manu Dei, mala quare non suscipiamus. Iob. 2*; without the name of the painter, the engraver or the publisher. LIT. V.S., p.3, No.20; *Rooses*, I, p.162; V. Denis, 'Saint Job, patron des musiciens', *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, XXI, 1952, 4, p.287, pl.XIX.

According to Smeyers (see p.173), there were formerly in the church at Wezemaal near Louvain 'schoone copyen' (fine copies) of the centre and side panels of Rubens's triptych of *Job in Distress*, which had been in St Nicholas's Church in Brussels until destroyed by fire in 1695. The copies, Smeyers believed, had been executed by a skilled master, more than a century before his time. According to *Rooses*,¹ the existence of such paintings in the church at Wezemaal, and the celebrity they had enjoyed, was confirmed by local tradition. They were, it appears, subsequently destroyed by fire; the church still possesses a painting of *Job* (c.175 × 150 cm.), but it is of no artistic value.

An old anonymous print of which there is a copy in the Rubenianum in Antwerp² (Fig.132), clearly relates—as shown by its title, S. IOB PROPHETA, WESEMALIENSIS ECCLESIAE PATRONUS—to a painting formerly at Wezemaal. It represents the naked Job, half sitting and half lying on a dunghill, being ill-treated by three demons with the heads of mons-

ters, one of them clutching a snake. To the right of Job is his wife, upbraiding him with arms akimbo, and one of his friends. At his feet are potsherds and a dung-fork; in the background his house is collapsing in flames. The main group of Job and the demons is in reverse to Vorsterman's print and thus in the same direction as in the left panel of the original triptych in Brussels (see No.55; Fig.129); in the latter, however, Job's wife was on the left instead of on the right, and none of his friends was present.

There is no copy to be found anywhere of a centre panel (*Job Seated on a Dunghill between his Wife and his Three Friends*) or a right-hand panel (*Job Receiving News of his Misfortunes*) that might have been in the church at Wezemaal, and after Smeyers they are no longer explicitly mentioned. The question arises whether Smeyers made a mistake and the church possessed a copy of only one scene, *Job Tormented by Demons and Abused by his Wife*.³ This would make it easier to explain the horizontal format of the anonymous print, at least if we may assume that its author respected the proportions of his model.

Burchard⁴ believed that the painting formerly at Wezemaal was a different version from the left-hand panel of the same title in Brussels, and he had no doubt that it was executed by Rubens himself. He argued this not only from the general composition but also from the fact that the figure of Job's wife reproduces in reverse a pen-and-ink drawing by Rubens, formerly in the collection of C. Fairfax Murray. This drawing, as was shown by Lugt,⁵ is a copy of a woodcut ('*Das Buch Job*') in *Stimmer's Bible*. However, as Burchard cannot have seen the painting at Wezemaal and had to base his argument on the anonymous print,

his opinion must be treated with some reserve. He did not express any view as to whether the painting formed part of a triptych.

In the Municipal Museum Van der Kelen-Mertens at Louvain is a painting (canvas, 120 × 209 cm.; Fig.133)⁶ by a weak, unknown hand which closely resembles the anonymous print. All the figures in the print are found in this painting in the same attitudes. However, while in the print there is only one male figure behind Job's wife, in the painting there are three, representing Job's three friends. It can thus be deduced that it was not painted after the print but that both works are based on another, now lost.

1. *Rooes*, I, pp.161–162. G.Henschenius (1601–1681) states in the *Acta Sanctorum* (J.Bollandus and G.Henschenius, May, second volume, 9th edn., Paris–Rome, 1866, p.493) that pilgrimages to Weze-maal took place on 10 May, which was Job's feast-day.
2. Another copy is in the Printroom of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Portfolio Cc.34A, p.55).
3. It is true that Baert (Rijksarchief, Brussels, No. 15,765–70) also mentions a *Job* triptych at Weze-maal; but it is not certain that his text is independent of Smeijers's.
4. *Burchard-d'Hulst. Drawings*, pp.171–172, under No.107.
5. *Lugt. Rubens and Stimmer*, p.109, figs.16, 18.
6. On loan from the Openbaar Centrum voor Maatschappelijk Welzijn (Public Centre for Social Welfare), Louvain.

57. Daniel in the Lions' Den

(Fig.134)

Oil on canvas; 224 × 330 cm.

Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund 1965.

PROVENANCE: Sir Dudley Carleton (1st Viscount Dorchester), who acquired the painting from Rubens in 1618, and presented it to Charles I of England; 1st Duke of Hamilton; 12th Duke of Hamil-

ton (by descent), sale, London (Christie's), 19 June 1882, lot 80, bought by Duncan; Christopher Beckett Denison, sale, London (Christie's), 13 June 1885, lot 925, bought by Jamieson; 13th Duke of Hamilton, sale, London (Christie's), 6 November 1919, lot 57, bought by Kearly; 1st Viscount Cowdray; 3rd Viscount Cowdray (by descent), sale, London (Bonham's), 1 August 1963, lot 25, bought before the auction by J.Weitzner; with Knoedler & Co., 1964; acquired by the National Gallery of Art in 1965.

COPIES: (1) Anonymous painting, Church at Godshill near Ryde, Isle of Wight; canvas, 223 × 334 cm. PROV. Presented in the early seventeenth century by the Earl of Yarborough, his Countess being niece and heir to Sir Richard Worsley Bt., of Appledurcomb, Isle of Wight. This Worsley had inherited the picture from his father, Sir Thomas Worsley. LIT. M.Rooes in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, I, p.260; *Rooes*, I, p.163, under No.130; *Jaffé*, Amsterdam, 1955, p.59 n.5; *Jaffé*, Washington, 1970, pp.17, 31 n.35; (2) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; 44.5 × 54 cm. PROV. Jacques de Roore, sale, The Hague, 4 September 1747, lot 50. LIT. *Hoet-Terwesten*, II, p.204, No.50; *Rooes*, I, p.164, No.130bis (as sketch); (3) Anonymous painting, E. Abresch, Neustadt an der Weinstrasse, Rheinpfalz (1943). LIT. *Evers, Neue Forschungen*, p.375; *Jaffé*, Washington, 1970, pp.31–32 n.35; (4) Anonymous painting, Melville Hall, Fife. LIT. *Jaffé*, Washington, 1970, p.31 n.35; (5) Anonymous painting, Mrs Roper-Lumley-Holland, Lynstead Park, Kent, sale, London (Sotheby's), 6 July 1927, lot 82 (withdrawn); canvas, 84 × 135 in. LIT. *Jaffé*, Washington, 1970, p.32 n.35; (6) Anonymous painting, sale, London (Christie's), 20 July 1934, lot 66, bought by S.Hartveld, Antwerp; canvas,

215 × 336 cm. LIT. *Jaffé, Washington, 1970*, p.32 n.35; (7) Anonymous painting, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, No. 1267. LIT. *Roozes, V*, p.314, No.130; (8) Anonymous painting, 'Collection of Pictures made by Messrs Hadfield and Burrows during their tour through Flanders, France, Germany and Holland...', sale, London (Greenwood), 10 May 1785, lot 77 (as *Van Dyck*), repr.; (9) Anonymous painting, Copenhagen, Collection of Consul Hans West; canvas, 51 × 64 cm. LIT. *Raisonneret Catalog over Consul West's Samling af Malerier... Udgivet af hem selv*, Copenhagen, 1807, pp.138–139, No.75; (10) Anonymous painting, Mr Georges De Zuttere, Essen, Belgium (1935); (11) Anonymous painting, Private Collection, Stockholm (1947); canvas, 127 × 185 cm.; (12) Anonymous painting, C.W.Oxley Parker, London, sale, London (Sotheby's), 18 February 1953, lot 146 (bought by H. Terry-Engel); panel, 48 × 65 cm. PROV. Sale, London (Christie's), 28 June 1890, lot 46 (as a finished sketch; bought by Sir William Farrer, grandfather of C.W.Oxley Parker). EXH. *Winter Exhibition*, New Gallery, London, 1899–1900, No.105. LIT. M.Roozes in *Rubens-Bulletijn, V*, p.286, No.130bis; *Jaffé, Washington, 1970*, p.31, No.34; (13) Anonymous painting, sale, Brussels (Palais des Beaux-Arts), 5–7 May 1965, lot 397; panel, 30 × 41 cm.; (14) Anonymous painting, Mrs Walz, St Blasien, Germany (1966); (15) Anonymous painting, sale, London (Christie's), 24 February 1967, lot 117; panel, 52 × 70 cm.; (16) Anonymous painting, sale, Brussels (Palais des Beaux-Arts), 22 May 1973, lot 17, pl.VI; canvas, 120 × 203 cm.; (17) Anonymous painting, sale, Cologne (Lempertz), 11 May 1977, lot 180, pl.21; panel, 30.5 × 41 cm.; (18) Anonymous painting, Mr H.de Grijns, Beek, Holland (1978); panel, 48 × 65 cm.; (19) Anonymous paint-

ing, Mr A.E.Lammans-de Haes, Reuver, Holland (1982); canvas, 83 × 127.5 cm.; (20) Anonymous drawing, Albertina, Vienna, Inv. No.8.312; pen in brown ink on white paper, 350 × 219 mm.; lower right inscribed with the pen *P.P.Rubens fe'*, and with chalk *P.P.Rubens*; lower left, with pencil 18. PROV. Antoine Rutgers, sale, Amsterdam, 1778. LIT. *Roozes, V*, p.226, No.1426, pl.406 (as *Rubens*); F.M. Haberditzl, 'Über einige Handzeichnungen von Rubens in der Albertina', *Die Grafischen Künste, XXXV*, Vienna, 1912, p.12 (as copy after *Rubens*); *Jaffé, Washington, 1970*, pp.17, 32 n.37, fig.20 (as *Theodoor van Thulden*); *Mitsch, Rubenszeichnungen*, p.216, No.112, repr. (as copy after *Rubens*). The drawing shows ten lions and a dog. Of the lions, eight are copied after the Washington painting; two others, in the centre, are copied after *Rubens' Marriage of Henry IV and Maria de' Medici* (*Roozes, III*, 1890, pp.230–231, No.736). As *Jaffé* remarked, five of the lions appear at the left of *Theodoor van Thulden's Presentation of the Stadholdership of the Seven Provinces to Prince Frederick Henry*, signed and dated 1651, a painting to go over the doorway to the Oranjezaal of the Huis ten Bosch near The Hague. In his opinion, the seated greyhound at the left of the Albertina drawing suggests a connection with *Van Thulden's Huis ten Bosch* decoration, where a profile of a similar dog appears, in reverse, standing at the right. A copy after this drawing, but without the sketched head of a lion at the top, and without the dog, is in the Kunsthalle, Bremen (Inv. No.1938/79; pen, 369 × 253 mm.; inscribed with the pen, lower right, *Rubens*); (21) Anonymous drawing, Printroom, Copenhagen, 'Rubens Cantoor', No.VI.93; black chalk, 132 × 265 mm.; showing four of the lions; (22) Two anonymous drawings, Collection

John Nicholas Brown, Providence, Rhode Island (1959); red chalk. One shows the five most prominent lions of the left half of the painting, the other the two snarling ones from the right half. LIT. *Held, Drawings*, p.131, under No.83; (23) Etching by W.P. de Leeuw, in reverse (Fig.136); inscribed: *P.P.Rubens Inventor and W.P. Leeuw fecit*. LIT. *V.S.*, p.9, No.72; *Rooses*, I, p.164, under No.130; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p.69, No.390; *Jaffé, Washington*, 1970, p.32 n.36; (24) Etching by R.Stricker, in reverse. LIT. *V.S.*, p.9, No.73; *Rooses*, I, p.164, under No.130; *Jaffé, Washington*, 1970, p.32 n.36; (25) Anonymous engraving published by A.Blootelingh, with Daniel and four lions, in reverse. LIT. *V.S.*, p.9, No.74; *Dutuit*, p.35, No.32; *Rooses*, I, p.164, under No.130; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p.29, No.19; *Jaffé, Washington*, 1970, p.32 n.36; (26) Engraving by Francis Lamb. LIT. *V.S.*, p.9, No.76; *Rooses*, I, p.164, under No.130; *Jaffé, Washington*, 1970, p.32 n.36; (27) Engraving (mezzotint) by W.Ward. LIT. *V.S.*, p.9, No.77; *Rooses*, I, p.164, under No.130; *Jaffé, Washington*, 1970, p.32 n.36; (28) Engraving by Wenzel Hollar, showing six of the lions, in reverse (Fig.138); inscribed: *P.Paulus Rubens pinxit, W.Hollar fecit 1646*. LIT. G.Parthey, *Wenzel Hollar*, Berlin, 1853, p.451, No. 2098; *Rooses*, I, p.164, under No.130; J.S.Held, *P.P.Rubens, The Leopards*, s.l., 1970, p.2, fig.3; R.Pennington, *A descriptive catalogue of the etched work of Wenceslaus Hollar, 1607-1677*, Cambridge, 1982, p.328, No.2098.

EXHIBITED: *Works of the Old Masters*, Royal Academy, London, 1873, No.131.

LITERATURE: *Descamps, Vie*, I, p.326; *Michel, Histoire*, p.323ff.; *Gilpin's Scotch Tour*, 1776, pp.56-64; S.H.Spiker, *Travels through England, Wales and Scotland, 1816*,

London, 1820, I, p.246; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.162, No.562; IX, pp.304-305, No.222; *Waaagen, Treasures*, II, p.477; *Rooses*, I, pp.163-164, No.130, pl.40; *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p.224; *Jaffé, Amsterdam*, 1955, pp.59-67, fig.6; O.Millar, *Abraham van der Doort's Catalogue of the Collections of Charles I*, Walpole Society, 1958-1960, p.4; *Held, Drawings*, p.131, under No.83; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, pp.175-176, under No.110; K.Garas, 'Die Entstehung der Galerie des Erzherzogs Leopold Wilhelm', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, 63, 1967, p.72; *Jaffé, Washington*, 1970, pp.7-18, fig.1; J.S.Held, *P.P.Rubens, The Leopards*, s.l., 1970, pp.1, 2, 4, 5, 14-15 n.30; M.Jaffé, 'Rubens and Snyders: A Fruitful Partnership', *Apollo*, XCIII, N.S., 109, 1971, p.189ff.; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, pp.40-41; C.Kruijfhooft and S.Buys, 'P.P.Rubens en de dierenschildering', *Zoo*, Antwerp, July 1977, pp.66-69, repr. p.67; H.Mielke in *Mielke-Winner*, pp.41-43, under No.8; A.Balis, *Facetten van de Vlaamse dierenschilderkunst van de 15de tot de 17de eeuw*, in *Cat. Exh. Het Aards Paradijs*, Zoo, Antwerp, 1982, p.45, fig.29.

The Jewish captive Daniel, appointed viceroy by King Darius, aroused the jealousy of the lesser princes, who by a stratagem persuaded the King to have him cast into the lions' den (Daniel 6: 1-17). The painting shows him as a youth of heroic stature sitting in the midst of ten lions, none of which is threatening him. He raises his clasped hands in prayer, and looks up to heaven. The blue light of early morning is seen through an opening in the stone vault roof of the cave above his head. The bones of one of the lions' victims are scattered in the foreground.

To the Early Christians Daniel saved from the lions was a symbol of the soul preserved from evil, and also of Christ rising from the sealed grave. Medieval theologians also regarded the lions' den as an image of hell: seven hungry lions represented devils corresponding to the seven deadly sins. In art, however, Daniel was usually depicted with an even number of lions, as is the case here.¹

This painting, with eleven others, was offered by Rubens in 1618 to Sir Dudley Carleton, the English Minister at The Hague, in exchange for the latter's collection of antique marble statues. In the list attached to Rubens's letter of 28 April 1618 to Carleton it is referred to as 'Daniel fra molti Leoni, cavati dal naturale. Originale tutto de mia mano; 8 x 12 piedi; fiorini 600' (Daniel among many lions, taken from life. Original, entirely by my hand; 8 x 12 feet; 600 fl.).² Agreement was reached, and the exchange took place in the same year, 1618. From a letter of 7 August 1619, addressed by Lord Danvers to Sir Dudley Carleton, it appears that *Daniel in the Lions' Den* was already in Carleton's possession at that date.³

Although Rubens declared that it was entirely his own work, studio assistance cannot be wholly excluded. It is noteworthy that in the list enclosed in Rubens's letter to Carleton of 28 April 1618 'Daniel among many lions' is priced at the same amount (fl.600) as the larger 'Leopards with Satyrs and Nymphs', as to which he writes that the landscape was painted by an assistant.

The work is neither signed nor dated, and we do not know when or for whom it was painted. It can be seen on the left wall in Jan Brueghel's *Allegory of Sight*, dated 1617, now in the Prado in Madrid,⁴ and was therefore completed in that year at the latest. It probably dates from some-

what earlier, since in another work by Jan Brueghel, *The Animals Entering Noah's Ark*, dated 1613 and now in a private collection in the USA,⁵ we find the standing lion in the centre of the Daniel painting and also the foreshortened lioness on the right. This shows that Rubens had at least made studies for the lions by 1613.

The work is a landmark in the history of animal painting: the lions are for the first time faithfully depicted as majestic and dangerous creatures, full of life, their ferocity contrasting with the gentleness of the praying Daniel. A somewhat earlier *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, in which the wild beasts' friendly attitude towards the prophet contrasts with their monumental strength, can be seen, as Held pointed out,⁶ in a woodcut by Tobias Stimmer⁷ (Fig.137), many of whose woodcuts were copied by Rubens in his youth. It is possible that Rubens recalled this example and that it played a part in the genesis of his painting.

Presumably Rubens made one or more oil sketches for this elaborate composition, but hitherto none has been found. Some preparatory drawings are known, however: one for the figure of Daniel (No.57a; Fig.141) and one for a sleeping lion (No.57b; Fig.142), both in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York; one with studies of lions, in the Paul Wallraf Collection in London (No.57c; Fig.143); one of a sleeping lion, whereabouts unknown (No.57d; Fig.144); one of a lioness, whereabouts unknown (No.57e; Fig.145); two of a retreating lioness, seen from the rear, respectively in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam (No.57f; Fig.149) and the British Museum, London (No.57g; Fig.148); one of a standing lion, in the National Gallery of Art in Washington (No.57h; Fig.151); and one of a recum-

bent lion in the British Museum (No.571; Fig.150). At this time Rubens also made a drawing of a lion asleep, facing right, whereabouts unknown⁸ (Fig.139), which, however, is only known from a reproduction and was not used for the painting.

There exist several versions of *Daniel in the Lions' Den* which all represent the prophet in a different pose from the Washington version: instead of lifting up his clasped hands in prayer, he rests one hand on the rock and raises the other (Fig.135).⁹ Some of these differ from the painting in other ways also: for example, the opening in the roof of the cave is semicircular; a separate dungeon-like area is seen in the left background, with an iron grating and an extra pair of lions; the skull and bones in the foreground are absent or differently arranged. None of these works are by Rubens, but the existence of so many suggests that their authors were inspired by a prototype of the master's. They may all be based on a painting (panel, 39 × 60 cm.) mentioned in the inventory (1 September 1632) of the Milanese senator Luigi Malzi, which remained in his family until 1835 and was in an unknown private collection in 1972. According to Giulio Melzi d'Eril¹⁰ this work bore the signature *P. Paulus R.* between Daniel's legs, and below on the left that of Jan Brueghel, *Brueghel fecit Antwerpen Anno 1617*. As I have not seen it, I cannot judge its authenticity.

Several paintings of this subject are mentioned in documents, which may or may not be Rubens's work. Thus the 1655 inventory of the collection of the Marqués de Leganés, Madrid, mentions '325. Un Daniel en la cueva con los leones y el en medio orando, de mano de Rubens, de dos varas de ancho y poco mas de una de alto' (a Daniel in the lions' den, him-

self praying in their midst, by Rubens, two varas [yards] wide and just over one vara high).¹¹ The inventory of the estate of Jan Brant (1559–1639),¹² Rubens' father-in-law, also mentions a *Daniel in the Lions' Den* (but without author), and the Antwerp painter Jeremias Wildens possessed such a painting in 1653.¹³ Dezallier d'Argenville speaks of 'an outstanding little painting' that he had seen in the Jesuit Congregation in Antwerp.¹⁴ Two drawings may also be by Rubens: the first was successively in the Tersmitten and Gérard Hoet collections in the latter half of the eighteenth century,¹⁵ while the second was in the collection of Thomas Thane (London, 1782–1846).¹⁶

A drawing in the possession of Mr and Mrs J. Augustijns-Goedleven, Brasschaat, Belgium¹⁷ represents *An Angel Freeing Daniel from the Lions' Den* (Fig.140).¹⁸ Although certainly not by Rubens, its style is such that it may reflect an original composition of his, now lost.

1. H. Feldbusch in *Reallexikon*, col.1047; Réau, *Iconographie*, II, 1, pp.401–404.

2. *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p.136, No.CLXVI; *Magurn. Letters*, pp.59–61, 441, No.28.

3. *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p.224, No.CXCIII.

4. *Diaz Padrón, Cat. Prado*, pp.40–43, No.1394, pl.28; *Held, Drawings*, (p.132, under No.85) was the first to record this observation.

5. Panel, 87 × 54.5 cm.; signed and dated *BRUEGHEL FEC. 1613* (K. Ertz, *Jan Brueghel d. Ä., Die Gemälde*, Cologne, 1979, p.603, No.273, figs.48, 307).

6. *P. P. Rubens, The Leopards*, s.l., 1970, pp.14–15 n.30, fig.16.

7. *Tobias Stimmer's Bibel*, Basle, 1576 (G. Hirth Verlag, Munich, 1923, No.119).

8. Black chalk, touches of brown and white chalk, on faded blue paper, with an old attribution at the upper left, and with the pen in brown: *A. van Dyck*, 654; 173 × 390 mm. The drawing was sold in London (Sotheby's) on 16 October 1946 from the collection of Mrs Charles Murray, Coudorant,

- Strathcarron, Ross-shire (lot 35, repr.), and again at Sotheby's on 25 June 1970 (lot 69, repr.).
9. The most important of these versions are: (1) Philadelphia, Pa., Max A. Krankel (1924); canvas, 137 × 183 cm. PROV. Bought at a sale in Frankfurt am Main in 1908. LIT. P. Farina, *Daniel in the Lions' Den. Analytical Comparative Study of Rubens' Works*, privately printed, Philadelphia, Pa., 1924; Jaffé, *Washington*, 1970, p.32 n.35; (2) Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. No.1695 (Fig.135); panel, 48 × 63 cm. LIT. Rooses, V, p.314, No.130; R.H. Wilenski, *Flemish Painters, 1430-1830*, London, 1960, p.679, fig.526 (as the Vienna Daniel Painter); Jaffé, *Washington*, 1970, p.32 n.35; *Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien. Verzeichnis der Gemälde*, 1973, p.149; (3) Sale, Amsterdam (Paul Brandt), 17 May 1983, lot 32A, repr.; panel, 51.5 × 69.5 cm. PROV. Sale, Brussels (Palais des Beaux-Arts), 27 April 1954, lot 324, repr.; (4) Simferopol, Russia, Count Mouravieff (1903); panel, 43 × 65 cm.; (5) Belgium, private collection (1977); panel, 65 × 102 cm. PROV. Sale, London (Sotheby's), 24 October 1973, lot 73; (6) Düsseldorf, J.H. Petersen (1982). A painting of this kind is depicted, above left, in Jan van Kessel's *Allegory of Sight* (panel, 71.5 × 115 cm.; sale, London (Sotheby's), 19 April 1972, lot 24). There is also a print with this composition by Antonio Locatelli, dated 1834 (*V.S.*, p.9, No.75; *Rooses*, I, p.164; under No.130; Jaffé, *Washington*, 1970, p.32 n.36).
 10. 'Il capolavoro di una collezione milanese del secolo XVII', *Avum*, CLVI, 1972, pp.123-126, fig.1.
 11. M. Rooses, 'La galerie du Marquis de Leganès', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, p.170; Jaffé, *Washington*, 1970, p.31 n.35; M. Crawford Volk, 'New Light on a 17th-Century Collector: The Marquis of Leganès', *Art Bulletin*, LXII, 1980, p.267.
 12. P. Génard, 'Het testament van Jan Brant en Clara de Moy', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, p.232: 'Een groot stuck schilderije van Daniel in den Cuyt der leeuwen; op doeck, olieverve, in lijst'.
 13. Denucé, *Konstkamers*, p.160: 'Eenen Daniel in den cuyt der Leeuwen, naer Rubbens, n^o 261'.
 14. *Abrégé de la vie des plus fameux peintres*, Paris, 1762, p.299 ('Rubens, Daniel dans la fosse aux lions, petit tableau précieux').
 15. Whereabouts unknown; black and red chalk, brown wash and heightened. PROV. Tersmitten, sale, Amsterdam, 1754, No.444 ('has been engraved'); Gérard Hoet, sale, The Hague, 25 August 1760, No.457 (bought by Rotterdam, 80 fl.). LIT. *Rooses*, I, p.164, under No.130 bis; V, p.148.
 16. Whereabouts unknown. PROV. Thomas Thane, sale, London (Sotheby's), 19 June 1846, lot 78 ('Rubens, an admirable drawing'; bought by Newton, £6).
 17. Red chalk, 281 × 204 mm.; on the lower left, in pencil, *Rubens*. - *Verso*: in pen and brown ink, *rubens*.
 18. Réau, *Iconographie*, II, 1, p.404.

57a. Study for Daniel: Drawing (Fig.141)

Fully mounted. Narrow strips cut away on all sides. Watermark: ?a snake. Black chalk, heightened with white body-colour, on pale grey paper; 500 × 299 mm. Below on the right, partly cut off, mark of the collection of W. Bates (L.2604).

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library.
Inv. No.I.232.

PROVENANCE: William Bates (Birmingham, 1824-1884), sale, London (Sotheby's), 19 January 1887, possibly a part of lot 337, 'P.P. Rubens. Various Studies and Sketches (7)' (to Robinson for £1 8s), or a part of lot 242, 'Large Drawings by Old Masters (12)' (to Robinson for £1 18s); Sir John Charles Robinson (London, 1824-1913); acquired through exchange by Charles Fairfax Murray (London, 1849-1919), on 3 March 1890 (according to the manuscript preserved at the University of Texas, at Austin, Texas); J. Pierpont Morgan (New York, 1837-1913).

EXHIBITED: *Detroit*, 1936, No.4; *Art of Europe, XVth and XVIIth Centuries*, Worcester, Art Museum, 1948, No.41; *Seventy Master Drawings: Paul J. Sachs Anniversary Exhibition*, Cambridge, Fogg Art Museum, 1948, No.30; *Masterpieces of Drawing*, Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1950-1951, No.51; *Cambridge-New York*, No.14; *Treasures from the Pierpont Morgan Library*, New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, and elsewhere, 1957, No.90; *Masterpieces*, New York, Wildenstein and Co., 1961, No.66; *Rubens before 1620*, Princeton, 1972, No.12; *London*, 1977, No.69; *Paris-Antwerp-London-New York*, 1979-80, No.12; *European Drawings, 1375-1825 (The Pierpont Morgan Library)*, New York-Oxford-Toronto, 1981, No.59.

LITERATURE: Michel, *Rubens*, p.190; C.Fairfax Murray, *Collection of Drawings by the Old Masters formed by C.Fairfax Murray*, I, London, 1905–1912, No.232; J.J.Tikkanen, *Die Beinstellungen in der Kunstgeschichte*, Helsinki, 1912, pp.182–183; Glück–Haberdtztl, p.41, No.97, repr.; Goris–Held, p.41, No.95, pl.104; H.Tietze, *European Master Drawings in the U.S.A.*, New York, 1947, p.122, No.61, repr.; F.Stampfle in *One Hundred Master Drawings*, ed. by A.Mongan, Cambridge, Mass., 1949, p.70, repr.; Jaffé, *Amsterdam*, 1955, pp.64–67, fig.8; Held, *Drawings*, pp.131–132, No.85, pl.95; Burchard–d’Hulst, *Drawings*, pp.175–176, No.110, repr.; M.Jaffé, ‘Rubens as a Collector of Drawings’, *Master Drawings*, 1964, pp.384–385; A.Stubbe, *Peter Paul Rubens*, 1966, p.86, repr. p.38; Jaffé, *Washington*, 1970, pp.16–17, fig.18; D.W.Steadman, in *Rubens before 1620*, ed. by J.R.Martin, Princeton, 1972, pp.137–138, 140, 168 (No.12, repr.); J.Rowlands in *Cat. Exh. London*, 1977, pp.68–69, No.69, repr.; Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, pp.40–41, fig.99; Bernhard, p.283, repr.; C.Kruijthoof and S.Buys, ‘P.P. Rubens en de dierenschildering’, *Zoo*, Antwerp, 1977, pp.66–69, repr. p.14; F.Stampfle in *Cat. Exh. Paris–Antwerp–London–New York*, 1979–80, pp.55–56, No.12; Held, *Drawings*, 1986, p.105, No.92, fig.85 (as *Rubens*, c.1614–1615).

A naked youth, three-quarter length, with flowing hair, sits with legs crossed, hands locked in prayer, and head thrown back. His lips are parted and his eyes gaze upward in supplication.

A study from life for the painting *Daniel in the Lions’ Den* in the National Gallery of Art, Washington (No.57; Fig.134). Rubens endowed the youth with great physical strength and—as the Bible story

indicates—intense piety. His spiritual and physical energy are admirably expressed in his upraised countenance and the clenched hands, which are typical of seventeenth-century Catholic Baroque. The painting follows the study in all essentials: only the hair is longer and more luxuriant, the hands slightly closer to the face, and the loincloth slightly modified.

Although Rubens certainly drew the figure of Daniel from life, it is probable, as Jaffé pointed out,¹ that he posed his model with clasped hands and crossed legs, in imitation of the figure of St Jerome in a drawing by Girolamo Muziano in the Louvre in Paris.² Muziano’s drawing, which Rubens may have owned, is a study for *The Penitent St Jerome* in the Pinacoteca in Bologna, an altarpiece that he may have seen during his stay in Italy. Another possibility is that Rubens was inspired by Cornelis Cort’s engraving after Muziano,³ which shows the same figure of St Jerome, albeit in reverse, and which Rubens must have known or even possessed.

The crossed-legs motif is also found in other works by the master, such as *Nephtune and Amphitrite*, formerly in Berlin and now destroyed,⁴ or *The Holy Family* in Antwerp.⁵ It also occurs in a drawing in the ‘Rubens Cantoor’ in Copenhagen,⁶ which, as Burchard observed, is copied from the left-hand portion of *Pythagoras with Three Pupils*, a painting in Buckingham Palace, London.⁷

1. Jaffé, *Amsterdam*, 1955, pp.64–67; Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, pp.40–41.

2. *Lugt*, *Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, p.53, No.1219.

3. Dated 1573; *Le Blanc*, *Manuel*, II, p.52, No.202; J.C.J. Bierens de Haan, *l’Œuvre gravé de Cornelis Cort*, The Hague, 1948, pp.127–128, No.117; Jaffé, *Amsterdam*, 1955, pp.64–65, fig.9.

4. *K.d.K.*, p.108.

5. *K.d.K.*, p.284.

6. ‘Rubens Cantoor’, No.IV, 4.

7. Held, *Drawings*, p.132, under No.85.

57b. Lion Asleep, facing left: Drawing
(Fig.142)

Black chalk, heightened with white chalk, on pale grey paper; 250 × 420 mm. Watermark: none. Below on the right, with the pen in a later hand: *snijders*.

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library.

Inv. No.1977.41.

PROVENANCE: A. Paul Oppé, London; H. Eisemann, London; Stefan Zweig, London and New York; Herbert N. Bier, London; Peter Claas, London; Victor Koch, London. Purchased in 1977 from the Schaeffer Galleries, New York, by the Fellows Fund, with the special assistance of a number of Fellows and Trustees of the Pierpont Morgan Library in honour of Miss Felice Stampfle.

EXHIBITED: *Birds and Beasts and Flowers*, London, Peter Claas Gallery, 8–28 June 1954, No.17; *Paris–Antwerp–London–New York, 1979–80*, No.13.

LITERATURE: *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, p.176, under No.110 (as *Rubens*); J. Müller Hofstede, Review of *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, in *Master Drawings*, 4, 1966, p.450, under No.110 (as *rather a poor work by a pupil*); Jaffé, *Washington, 1970*, pp.16, 31 n.27, fig.15 (as *Rubens*); M. Winner in *Mielke–Winner*, pp.41–43, under No.8; *Pierpont Morgan Library, Eighteenth Report to the Fellows, 1975–1977*, pp.23, 243, 290; M. Jaffé in *Cat. Exh. Paris–Antwerp–London–New York, 1979–80*, No.13, repr.; C. White, Review of *Paris–Antwerp–London–New York, 1979–80*, in *Master Drawings*, 18, 1980, p.172.

In his letter of 28 April 1618 to Sir Dudley Carleton Rubens describes the painting

now in the National Gallery of Art in Washington (No.57; Fig.134) as 'Daniel fra molti Leoni, cavati dal naturale'. Given the number of these animals which appear in his painting in the most varied poses, there can be no doubt that he made studies of lions 'from life'. Apart from the present drawing, examples are: *Studies of Lions*, Paul Wallraf Collection, London (No.57c; Fig.143); *Lion Asleep, facing right*, whereabouts unknown (No.57d; Fig.144); *Lioness, facing left*, whereabouts unknown (No.57e; Fig.145); and possibly also *Retreating Lioness, seen from the rear*, Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam (No.57f; Fig.149). On the basis of such studies 'from life' Rubens produced some more elaborate drawings in a more complex technique, such as *Retreating Lioness, seen from the rear*, British Museum, London (No.57g; Fig.148); *Lion Standing, facing left*, National Gallery of Art, Washington (No.57h; Fig.151); or *Lion in Repose, facing right*, British Museum, London (No.57i; Fig.150).

The present drawing is one of the finest known studies executed by Rubens in front of a lion's cage. The animal evidently moved its left forepaw in its sleep, as is shown by the repetition in the drawing; the repeated forepaw was partially cut off, probably by a later owner of the sheet. Rubens paid attention above all to the lion's shaggy head and its right forepaw, raised slightly from the ground by the pressure of the head. These two elements alone were used, from a slightly different angle, in the left half of the painting; the rest of the animal's body is hidden by other lions.

Rubens used the lion's head, with the paws in a different position, for *St Jerome in the Wilderness* in the Gemäldegalerie, Dresden.¹

I. K.d.K., p.97; *Vlieghe, Saints*, II, pp.99-101, No.121, fig.66. See J.Müller Hofstede, 'Vier Modelli von Rubens', *Pantheon*, XXV, 1967, pp.440-442, fig.9; *Jaffé, Washington*, 1970, pp.16, 31 nn.28, 29, figs.16, 17.

57c. Studies of Lions: Drawing

(Fig.143)

Black chalk on pale grey paper; 250 × 410 mm. Below on the right, with the pen in a later hand: *snijders*. (partly scratched out).

London, Paul Wallraf Collection.

PROVENANCE: Parsons, London; Victor Koch (London), sale, London (Sotheby's), 29 June 1949, lot 104 (£28, bought by Rothman).

EXHIBITED: *Helsinki*, 1952-53, No.47; *Rubens, Sketches, Drawings, Prints*, Musées des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, 1952-1953, No.47.

LITERATURE: F.Baudouin, 'Nota's bij de tentoonstelling "Schetsen en Tekeningen van P.P.Rubens"', *Bulletin Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten, Brussel*, June 1953, No.2, p.53 (states his doubts of the authenticity of this drawing); *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, p.176, under No.110 (as *Rubens*); J.Müller Hofstede, Review of *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, in *Master Drawings*, 4, 1966, p.450, under No.110 (as *rather a poor work by a pupil*); *Jaffé, Washington*, 1970, pp.13, 31 n.24, fig.12 (as *Rubens*); M.Winner in *Mielke-Winner*, pp.41 to 43, under No.8.

The sheet comprises three studies 'from life': (1) a recumbent lion, its foreparts drawn in outline: the dignified head with its flowing mane is shown in three-quarter view and vigorously summarized with

firm strokes; (2) the lion's mask, caught frontally; (3) on a smaller scale, a rapid outline sketch of a retreating lioness or lion.

Subsequently, in the calm of his studio, Rubens combined the study of the foreparts of the lion in three-quarter view with the tail and hindquarters of a *Lion Asleep, facing right*, whereabouts unknown (No.57d; Fig.144), which he had also sketched from life in its cage, to form the drawing of a *Lion in Repose, facing right* in the British Museum (No.57i; Fig.150): a carefully elaborated study executed in black and coloured chalk, wash and watercolour, heightened with white. In that study he twisted the lion's head a trifle more towards us and cleared the tail of the hind leg, giving it extra length and elegance of line. It is in this pose that the lion appears, below left, in the painting in the National Gallery of Art in Washington (No.57; Fig.134).

57d. Lion Asleep, facing right: Drawing (Fig.144)

Black chalk, heightened with white on pale grey paper; 245 × 400 mm.
Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: Victor Koch (London), sale, London (Sotheby's), 29 June 1949, lot 105 (bought by Silas); Mrs Rita Johnson (State of Iowa, U.S.A.), sale, London (Christie's), 29 March 1966, lot 213 (6 guineas, bought by Jacobs).

LITERATURE: *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, p.176, under No.110 (as *Rubens*); J.Müller Hofstede, Review of *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, in *Master Drawings*, 4, 1966, p.450, under No.110 (as *rather a poor work by a pupil*); *Jaffé, Washington*, 1970,

pp.13, 31 n.25, fig.13 (as *Rubens*); M. Winner in *Mielke-Winner*, pp.41-43, under No.8.

This drawing of a sleeping lion was executed 'from life' and used by Rubens in his painting in the National Gallery of Art in Washington (No.57; Fig.134) for the lion asleep in the centre at Daniel's feet. However, in the painting the lion's head is twisted more towards the spectator, while his tail and hindquarters are concealed by another lion next to him.

Rubens also used this drawing for another lion in the painting: the one below on the left (see No.57c).

57c. Lioness, facing left: Drawing
(Fig.145)

Black chalk on pale grey paper; 237 × 410 mm. Below on the right, with the pen in a later hand: *snijders* (partly scratched out).

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: Victor Koch (London), sale, London (Sotheby's), 29 June 1949, lot 106 (bought by Hardy).

LITERATURE: *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, p.176, under No.110 (as *Rubens*); J. Müller Hofstede, Review of *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, in *Master Drawings*, 4, 1966, p.450, under No.110 (as *rather a poor work by a pupil*); *Jaffé, Washington, 1970*, pp.16, 31 n.26, fig.14 (as *Rubens*); M. Winner in *Mielke-Winner*, pp.41-43, under No.8.

The painting *Daniel in the Lions' Den* in the National Gallery of Art in Washington

(No.57; Fig.134) does not include a lioness in the pose of this drawing 'from life'. However, the drawing played a part in the genesis of the snarling lion in the lower right corner, for which no finished study is known: the set of his head, shoulders and forepaws is manifestly based on it. As Jaffé wrote,¹ 'The appalling hatred which distorts the mask of the lioness which he drew is reflected in the almost audible snarl of the lion which she becomes'. The drawing itself reflects an earlier study by Rubens in pen and ink after a small Padua bronze *Pantheress all'antica* dating from the first half of the sixteenth century, on a sheet in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (Fig.147).² He must have had that study in mind when preparing to depict the lion in the painting. He could not induce a captive lion or lioness to adopt the pose of the bronze or anything closer to it than the sketch of the lioness here discussed. Hence he was obliged to work from this sketch, which was the fruit of patience and exact observation as well as of the knowledge he had acquired years earlier when studying the bronze, probably in Italy.³

1. *Jaffé, Washington, 1970*, p.16.

2. Dyce Collection, No.524; brown ink and pen on white paper, 117/94 × 206 mm. As Jaffé points out (*Jaffé, Washington, 1970*, p.30 n.19), this sheet, comprising two studies of a Padua bronze *Pantheress*, originally formed a whole with another sheet, now in the Berlin Printroom (see under No.57f), which comprised two studies of another Padua bronze *Pantheress*; the complete sheet was cut in two at a later date. See also *Held, Drawings*, p.131, under No.83; M. Winner in *Mielke-Winner*, pp.41-43, under No.8.

3. For the dating of Rubens's studies in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and in the Berlin Printroom, see M. Winner in *Mielke-Winner*, p.43, under No.8.

57f. Retreating Lioness, seen from the rear: Drawing (Fig.149)

Black chalk; 257 × 348 mm. Below on the left, the marks of Jacob de Vos Jb^{zn} (L.1450), the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (L.2228^o), and the 'Vereniging Rembrandt', Amsterdam (L.2135), also an inscription in pen and brown ink by a later hand: *Rubbens*; below in the middle, in chalk by a later hand, *Rubens, P.P. Rubens, 19*; below on the right, in chalk, A.1388.—*Verso: Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

Inv. No.A.1388.

PROVENANCE: Jacob de Vos Jb^{zn} (Amsterdam, 1803–1882), sale, Amsterdam, 22–24 May 1883.

EXHIBITED: Amsterdam, 1933, No.66.

LITERATURE: *Jaffé, Amsterdam, 1955*, pp. 59–64, fig.2; *Held, Drawings*, p.131, under No.83; H.G.Evers, 'Rubens und der Löwe. Zu einer Zeichnung in Amsterdam', *Festschrift Eduard Trautscholdt*, Hamburg, 1965, p.130; *Jaffé, Washington, 1970*, pp.9–13, fig.5; J.S.Held, *P.P. Rubens, The Leopards*, s.l., 1970, p.11, fig.10; *Cat. Exh. London, 1977*, p.69, under No.70; M.Winner in *Mielke-Winner*, pp.41–43, under No.8; C.Kruijfhooft and S.Buys, 'P.P. Rubens en de dierenschildering', *Zoo, Antwerp, 1977*, pp.66–69, repr. p.66.

This rapid study of a lioness seen from behind bears witness to Rubens's admirable skill in depicting movement and foreshortening. Executed for the painting *Daniel in the Lions' Den* in the National Gallery of Art in Washington (No.57; Fig.134), it invites comparison with the larger and more finished drawing of a

Retreating Lioness, seen from the rear in the British Museum, London (No.57g; Fig.148).

Jaffé, who first published the present drawing, included it among studies 'from life' and called it 'perhaps the only authentic study by Rubens that we possess of a wild animal observed directly in motion',¹ while adding that 'the knowledge of forms of appearance, acquired in making drawings after the inanimate bronze, may have been Rubens's unconscious guide in the choice and reproduction of a so seldom attempted view of the living animal'.² The reference here is to a sheet in the Berlin Printroom (Fig.146)³ on which Rubens copied a small Padua bronze of a *Striding Pantheress*⁴ dating from the first half of the sixteenth century, from behind and in a side view. The close resemblance between the forepaws as they appear in the Padua bronze and in the present drawing led Held to doubt whether the latter 'was made from nature'.⁵ It is certainly true that Rubens had the ability to convert the recollection of a prototype into his own idiom, and it was the easier in the present case as he possessed a copy drawn by his own hand. However, it should also be noted that in *Studies of Lions* in the Paul Wallraf Collection in London (No.57c; Fig.143) there is a rapid sketch 'from life' of a lioness (?lion) in retreat.

The drawing dates from 1613 at the latest (see No.57).

1. *Jaffé, Amsterdam, 1955*, p.59.

2. *Jaffé, Amsterdam, 1955*, pp.63–64.

3. Inv. No.KdZ14601; brown ink and pen on white paper, 119 × 263 mm. See M.Winner in *Mielke-Winner*, pp.41–43, No.8, repr.

4. J.Rosenberg, *Pantheon*, VII, 1931, p.105ff.

5. *Held, Drawings*, p.131, under No.83. H.G.Evers (op. cit., p.130) and M.Winner (*Mielke-Winner*, p.41, under No.8) also doubt whether Rubens's lioness in Amsterdam was drawn 'from life'.

57g. Retreating Lioness, seen from the rear: Drawing (Fig.148)

Cut irregularly in the upper left corner. Black and yellow chalk, with grey wash, heightened with white body-colour; 396 × 235 mm.

London, British Museum.

Inv. No.N.G.853-0, 1973 U.1344.

PROVENANCE: J.Barnard (London, d. 1784), sale, London, 21 February 1787, lot 61; Sir Thomas Lawrence (London, 1769-1830); Sir Robert Peel; National Gallery, London; transferred to the British Museum, 1935.

EXHIBITED: *A Catalogue of One Hundred Original Drawings by Sir P.P.Rubens, Collected by Sir Thomas Lawrence, S. and A.Woodburn Galleries, London, 1835, No.54; London, 1977, No.70.*

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, V, p.227, No.1428; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p.41, No.99, repr. (as *Rubens, c.1614-1618*); A.E.Popham, 'Drawings by Rubens and Van Dyck from the National Gallery', *British Museum Quarterly*, X, 1, 1935, p.18; R.A.M.Stevenson, *Rubens, Paintings and Drawings*, London, 1939, No.92; *Jaffé, Amsterdam, 1955*, pp.59-61, fig.4; *Held, Drawings*, p.131, No.83, pl.96 and Frontispiece, Vol.II (as *Rubens, c.1614-1615*); *Jaffé, Washington, 1970*, p.9, fig.3; J.S.Held, *P.P.Rubens, The Leopards*, s.l., 1970, p.11, fig.11; J.Kuznetsov, *Rubens Drawings* (in Russian), Moscow, 1974, No.42, repr. (as *Rubens, c.1614 to 1615*); C.Kruijffhoft and S.Buys, 'P.P.Rubens en de dierenschildering', *Zoo*, Antwerp, 1977, pp.66-69, repr. p.68; M.Winner in *Mielke-Winner*, pp.41-43, under No.8; *Held, Drawings, 1986*, p.106, No.93, repr. (as *Rubens, c.1614-1615*).

A highly finished sketch in a rich technique, executed at leisure in the studio, for the lioness at the extreme right in *Daniel in the Lions' Den* in the National Gallery of Art in Washington (No.57; Fig.134). It is based on a rapid sketch in black chalk in the Rijksprentenkabinet in Amsterdam (No.57f; Fig.149). Once Rubens had decided to place the lioness in the lower right corner of his composition, it was natural to make use of the Amsterdam drawing in reverse. However, the modification obliged him to deviate from that drawing in another respect: despite the reversal of the pose it is again the left forepaw which is lifted up, while the right one, visible between the hind legs, is resting on the ground.

The animal seen here is less supple and spontaneous in movement than that in the Amsterdam drawing, but is more monumental and impressive. As the work is more finished, the texture of the pelt is strongly emphasized; Rubens would certainly not have been able to produce such a tactile effect if he had not previously observed lions in a live state.

The drawing dates from 1613 at the latest (see No.57).

57h. Lion Standing, facing left: Drawing (Fig.151)

Some losses in the lower corners. Black chalk, heightened with white, the background tinted with pale yellow ochre, on white paper; 254 × 282 mm. Inscribed on the backing paper, *Cette belle étude dessinée par rubens a servi pour le sujet de daniel dans la fosse aux lions, elle a été achetée chez le Marquis de gouvernay, par M. Nourri de la Vente duquel, elle est passée en mains du Conseiller St. Maurice* (pen, unidentified

late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century hand).

Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund 1969.

PROVENANCE: Marquis de Gouvernet, sale, Paris, 6–10 November 1775; Conseiller Nourri, sale, Paris, 24 February–14 March 1785; Conseiller de St Maurice, sale, Paris, 1 February 1786; George Fenwick-Owen, Lether Melton, near Woodbridge, Suffolk, who bought it c.1930 in a mixed lot at Sotheby's; sold by his wife Mrs Denise Fenwick-Owen, London (Sotheby's), 27 March 1969, lot 86, repr. (bought by Agnew).

LITERATURE: Jaffé, *Washington, 1970*, pp.9, 32 (nn.15, 38), fig.4; J.S.Held, *P.P. Rubens, The Leopards*, s.l., 1970, p.11 n.27, fig.12; M.Winner in *Mielke–Winner*, pp.41 to 43, under No.8; J.Rowlands, *Cat. Exh. London, 1977*, p.68, under No.68; *Master Drawings from the Collection of the National Gallery of Art and Promised Gifts*, Washington, 1978, p.63, repr.

Study for a standing lion, above in the centre of the painting *Daniel in the Lions' Den* in the National Gallery of Art, Washington (No.57; Fig.134). It may have been executed 'from life', but the use of different materials seems to indicate that it was at least finished in the studio.

Jaffé¹ has pointed out that Rubens was fascinated by the ferocious strength of lions and that he not only reproduced their zoomorphic appearance but also rendered them appropriately fabulous, a transformation by which they seem to have assumed something human in their appearance. The present drawing is an eloquent example of this.

This standing lion appears in a number of paintings by Jan Brueghel, including

Adam and Eve in Paradise (with the collaboration of Rubens), Mauritshuis, The Hague,² as well as *The Animals Entering Noah's Ark*, The Wellington Museum, Apsley House, London, dated 1615,³ and the same subject in a private collection in America, dated 1613.⁴

1. Jaffé, *Washington, 1970*, p.18.

2. *K.d.K.*, p.219.

3. K.Ertz, *Jan Brueghel der Ältere (1568–1625). Die Gemälde*, Cologne, 1970, p.605, No.287, fig.311a.

4. *Ibid.*, p.603, No.273, figs.48, 307.

571. *Lion in Repose, facing right:* *Drawing* (Fig.150)

Black and yellow chalk and brown wash with, on the left, a touch of green watercolour, heightened with white body-colour; 281 × 427 mm.

London, British Museum. Inv. No.Oo.9-35.

PROVENANCE: G.Knapton, Esq. (d.1778), bequeathed to General Morrison, sale, London (T.Philipe), 1 June 1807 (*Lugt, Répertoire*, 7253), lot 745 (to R.Payne Knight, £42); R.Payne Knight (London, 1750–1824), bequeathed by him to the British Museum, 1824.

COPIES: (1) Anonymous drawing, Vienna, Albertina, Inv. No.8311; sanguine and traces of black chalk on white paper, 263 × 356 mm., inscribed in pen and ink *Opus manu pro: Petri Pauli Rubenii*. *LIT. Rooses*, V, p.227, No.1427; M.Rooses in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, pp.293–294, under No.1427; Jaffé, *Washington, 1970*, p.31 n.23, fig.22 (as *Jordaens, c.1615–20*); Mitsch, *Rubenszeichnungen*, p.218, No.113, repr.; (2) Anonymous drawing, Darmstadt, Landesmuseum, Inv. No.AE558; black grease crayon and white chalk on blue paper, 190 × 268 mm.; inscribed in red chalk, *F.S. LIT. Jaffé, Washington, 1970*, p.31 n.23;

(3) Anonymous drawing (*Ten Lions and a Dog*), Vienna, Albertina, Inv. No.499; pen on white paper, 350 × 220 mm.; inscribed in ink P.P. Rubens fe¹. LIT. Rooses, V, p.226, No.1426, pl.406; Jaffé, *Washington*, 1970, p.17 n.37; fig.20; Mitsch, *Rubenszeichnungen*, p.216, No.112, repr.

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1977, No.68.

LITERATURE: Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.329, No.1243; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, pp.293–294, No.1427; *Hind, Rubens*, II, p.36, No.117, pl.XVII; Glück-Haberditzl, p.41, No.98, repr.; Held, *Drawings*, p.131, under No.83; Jaffé, *Washington*, 1970, p.13, fig.11; C. Kruyfhoof and S. Buys, 'P.P. Rubens en de dierenschildering', *Zoo*, Antwerp, July 1977, pp.66–69, repr. p.68; M. Winner in *Mielke-Winner*, pp.41–43, under No.8.

Study for a recumbent lion, below left in the painting *Daniel in the Lions' Den* in the National Gallery of Art in Washington (No.57; Fig.134). Held believes that it may well have been made 'from life';¹ however, the combination of different materials, such as black and coloured chalk, brown wash, watercolour and body-colour, indicates that Rubens executed it in the studio. As Jaffé has pointed out,² this lion in fact consists of two parts, borrowed from studies made 'from life': the forequarters from *Studies of Lions* in the Paul Wallraf Collection, London (No.57c; Fig.143), and the hindquarters and tail from a *Lion Asleep, facing right*, whereabouts unknown (No.57d; Fig.144).

1. Held, *Drawings*, p.131, under No.83.

2. Jaffé, *Washington*, 1970, pp.13, 31 nn.24, 25, figs.12, 13.

58. *Susanna and the Elders* (Fig.152)

Oil on canvas; 94 × 67 cm.

Rome, Museo e Galleria Borghese.

Inv. No.277.

PROVENANCE: It is possible, but not certain, that a payment made to Annibale Durante in 1622 'per una cornice per il quadro dovè Susanna' (for a frame for the Susanna picture) relates to this painting. In any case, the painting was unquestionably in the Borghese collection before 1650 (mentioned by Giacomo Manilli, *Villa Borghese fuori di Porta Pinciana*, Rome, 1650, p.107).

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp*, 1977, No.8; *Cologne*, 1977, No.5.

LITERATURE: G. Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti. Dal Ponteficato di Gregorio XIII. del 1572 In fino a'tempi di Papa Urbano Ottavo nel 1642*, Rome, 1642, p.363; J. Manilli, *Villa Borghese fuori di Porta Pinciana*, Rome, 1650, p.107; A. Manazzale, *Itinerario di Roma*, Rome, I, 1817, p.243; A. Nibby, *Roma nell' anno 1838*, Rome, II, 1841, p.601; X. Barbier de Montault, *Les Musées et Galeries de Rome*, 1870, p.364; Piancastelli, MS 1891, p.399; A. Venturi, *Il Museo e la Galleria Borghese*, Rome, 1893, p.145, No.277 (as 'Scuola di Rubens'); F. M. Haberditzl, 'Studien über Rubens', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, 1911–1912, p.267 (as *Rubens*, c.1605); Oldenbourg, *Rubens*, pp.35, 55, 66 (as *Rubens*); R. Longhi, *Precisioni nelle Gallerie Italiane*, I.R. Galleria Borghese, Rome, 1928, p.201 n.276 (as '*Rubens, secondo soggiorno romano*'); K. d. K., p.19 (as *Rubens*, c.1606–1608); Glück, *Rubens, Van Dyck*, p.16 (as *Rubens*, c.1605); A. De Renaldis, *La Galleria Borghese in Roma*, Rome, 1935, p.35; D. A. Schmidt, *Studi sull' arte dell' Europa Occidentale*, III, Leningrad, 1949, pp.35–41;

L. Van Puyvelde, *La peinture flamande à Rome*, Brussels, 1950, pp.150–152, fig.58; Held, *Drawings*, p.102, under No.20 (as Rubens, from the early years in Italy); Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, p.35, under No.16 (as Rubens, c.1606–1608); J. Müller Hofstede, 'An Early Rubens "Conversion of St. Paul". The Beginning of his Pre-occupation with Leonardo's "Battle of Anghiari"', *Burlington Magazine*, CVI, 1964, p.96 n.3 (as Rubens, c.1602); L. Van Puyvelde, *Cat. Exh. Brussels, 1965*, p.170, under No.183 (as Rubens, shortly before 1608); *della Pergola*, p.7; *Maas*, pp.65–66, 76–87; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, pp.78, 90, 98–99, 102, pl.VIII (as Rubens, 1606–1607); *Liess*, p.356 (as Rubens).

Among the Jews in exile in Babylon was a rich man named Joakim. His wife, the pious and beautiful Susanna, used to walk daily in the garden of their house. There she was noticed by two Elders, who were appointed judges that year, and who were inflamed by lust for her. One day, when she had gone to bathe in the orchard, accompanied by her maids, the Elders spied on her from a hiding-place. When the maids had gone, they assailed her with indecent proposals and threats. Susanna remained steadfast, however, and her cries forced the Elders to take flight. (Daniel 13: 1–24). By way of revenge they swore that they had seen her commit adultery with a young man, for which she was condemned to death. However, the young Daniel, who doubted their honesty, questioned them separately and found their story to be a lie. Thereupon they were put to death by the people's will (Daniel 13: 25–62 in the Vulgate; the History of Susanna is an apocryphal addition to the Book of Daniel).

In Early Christian art the chaste Su-

sanna was a symbol of the soul's salvation. Later, like the Virgin Mary, she came to symbolize the Church, while the slanderous Elders stood for its Jewish and heathen persecutors. To medieval theologians and lawyers the acquittal of Susanna was an illustration of divine justice: God does not forsake his own, but punishes those who betray him. Thus the story was often depicted in town halls where magistrates and those seeking justice could appeal to it in support of the parties' rights, duties and responsibilities.¹ In the art of the Renaissance and later centuries interest was confined to the bathing scene and the erotic element of the old men's lust. The themes of salvation and the defence of the innocent were relegated to second place, and the Bible story was increasingly a pretext for the depiction of attractive female nudes.²

In the Borghese painting—which, in view of its size and execution, may be regarded as a cabinet piece—Rubens does not represent Susanna *between* the two Elders, as sixteenth-century Flemish painters generally did,³ but adopts the Italian style whereby they approach her from the same direction: thus, thematically and compositionally as well, they form a counterweight to the heroine.⁴ Although Susanna is centrally placed and in her beauty dominates the composition, the main stress is on the dramatic confrontation with the Elders: her dynamic pose expresses the emotion of a frightened woman surprised in her nakedness. The drama is enhanced by the harsh Caravaggesque lighting, which throws heavy shadows on Susanna's body and leaves the Elders in semi-darkness. The figure of Susanna is derived from the antique *Spinario* (Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome). Rubens most probably saw that sculpture, and we may assume that he made

a careful drawing of it, though no such copy is preserved. There is a sheet by Rubens in the British Museum in London⁵ showing the boy in two positions based on the *Spinario*, but these are modifications of Rubens's invention and perform the function of nude studies. The Susanna figure is similarly due to invention, but is marked by greater dynamism.

Rubens has differentiated the two Elders by their age and behaviour. The older one merely lays a finger on his lips to warn Susanna to keep silent, while his companion adopts a more aggressive and persuasive attitude.

The predominance of the figures in the composition leaves little room for a depiction of the surroundings. To the left of Susanna, who is seated at the edge of a pool of water, is a fountain ornamented by a young satyr playing on a pipe; behind it, a landscape with a path leading into the distance between rows of cypresses, reminiscent of an idyllic Venetian setting. A tree with abundant foliage forms a background to the actual figures.

No essentially Flemish elements are present in this work, which was painted under antique and Italian influence.⁶ It is stylistically close to *The Entombment*—also in the Galleria Borghese⁷ and also on canvas—and was probably painted in 1601–1602 during Rubens's first stay in Rome. It is not known who commissioned it. One might think of Cardinal Scipione Borghese (1578–1633), founder of the Galleria Borghese and a great art lover. He was Director of the Institute for the protection of German and Netherlands artists and was thus probably in contact with Rubens. However, he did not become a cardinal until 1605.

1. J.H.A. De Ridder, *Gerechtigheidsstafereelen voor Schepenhuiizen in Vlaanderen in de 14de, 15de, en 16de eeuw*, (Diss., Ghent University, 1986), MS, I, p.117.

2. Réau, *Iconographie*, II, 1, pp.393–398; H.Schlosser, in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, IV, cols.228–231.
3. See e.g. Willem Key (M.Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, XIII, Leiden–Brussels, 1975, p.95, No.269, pl.132), or the print by Hans Collaert after Maarten de Vos (*Hollstein*, IV, p.211).
4. See e.g. Veronese (Madrid, Vienna; T.Pignatti, *Veronese*, Venice, 1976, No.262, fig.601, No.301, fig.659), Tintoretto (Vienna; R.Palluchini and P.Rossi, *Tintoretto*, I, Milan, 1982, pp.173–174, No.200, figs.262–264), or the print by Annibale Carracci (D.De Grazia Bohlin, *Prints and Related Drawings by the Carracci Family*, Washington, 1979, pp.444 to 445, No.14, repr.).
5. Burchard–d' Hulst, *Drawings*, pp.34–35, No.16, repr.
6. Maas, pp.76–87.
7. K.d.K., pp.20, 455.

59. Susanna and the Elders (Fig.153)

Oil on panel; 198 × 218 cm.

Madrid, Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando.

PROVENANCE: Collection of Prince Pio, Rome. Bought by the Academia as an authentic Rubens on 18 January 1778.

COPY: A print by Maria Galván y Candelá, inscribed *Rubens P^o, Galván d^o y g^o*; illustrated in P. de Madrazo, *Cuadros selectos de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando*, No.7.

EXHIBITED: *Pedro Paulo Rubens*, Palacio de Velázquez, Madrid, 1977–1978, No.80.

LITERATURE: *Juntas particulares*, III, 18–1–1778, MS Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando; Antonio Ponz, *Viaje de España*, 1772–1794, V, p.307; Nicolas de La Cruz y Bahamonde, Conde de Maule, *Viaje de España, Francia e Italia*, XI, Cadiz, 1812, p.31 (as *Jordaens*); P. de Madrazo, *Cuadros selectos de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando*, No.7; *Roozes*, I, p.165, No.131 (as *workshop, retouched by Rubens*); V, p.314 (as *Rubens, executed in Italy or during his first stay in Spain*); W. von Bode, 'Kritik und Chronologie der

Gemälde von Peter Paul Rubens', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, N.F., XVI, Leipzig, 1905, p.202 (as *Rubens c.1609-1610*); P.Lafond, 'L'Académie San Fernando à Madrid', *Les Arts*, Paris, 1917, pp.1-4, No.159 (as *Rubens*); K.d.K., p.32 (as *Rubens, 1609-1610*); Oldenbourg, *Rubens*, pp.8, 72, 152 (as *Rubens, 1609-1610*); E.Tormo, *Catálogo del Museo de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid*, Madrid, 1929, p.34 (as *probably Rubens, Italian period*); A.von Schneider, *Caravaggio und die Niederländer*, Marburg an der Lahn, 1933, pp.92-93 (as *Rubens, 1609-1610*); Held, *Drawings*, p.102, under No.20 (as *after Rubens' return from Italy, but it is not impossible that it still belongs to the end of Rubens' Italian period*); Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, p.117, under No.70 (as *Rubens, early Antwerp period*); A.E.Pérez Sánchez, *Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando. Inventario de las Pinturas*, Madrid, 1964, p.63, No.688 (as *Rubens*); F.Labrada, *Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando. Catálogo de las Pinturas*, Madrid, 1965, pp.74-75, No.688; L.Van Puyvelde in *Cat. Exh. Brussels, 1965*, p.170, under No.183 (as *shortly after Rubens's return to Antwerp*); della Pergola, p.8 (as *Rubens, 1610-1612*); Maas, pp.36, 43-44, 87-98; J.S.Held, 'Zwei Rubensprobleme. Die Kekropstöchter', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XXXIX, 1, 1976, p.44 (as *Rubens*); Liess, pp.63-64, 113, 127, 177, 210, 224, 247 to 248, 250, 320, 328-330, 334, 356 (as *Rubens*); Held, *Oil Sketches*, p.599, under No.432 (as *Rubens, c.1609*); J.S.Held, *Rubens and his Circle*, Princeton, N.J., 1982, pp.163-164; Held, *Drawings*, 1986, pp.321-322, under No.233.

This large painting, in which Susanna and the Elders are represented life-size, affects the spectator quite differently from the

small cabinet piece painted by Rubens in Italy and now in the Galleria Borghese, Rome (No.58; Fig.152). Instead of the Susanna figure predominating, the three characters are equally prominent; the horizontal format also makes it possible to lay emphasis on the development of the action from right to left (see No.58).

In the painting in the Galleria Borghese the essential element is Susanna's reaction to the appearance of the Elders, so that her figure is dominant and theirs are secondary. Here, on the contrary, we are shown the action and reaction between the woman and her would-be seducers, and the emotions of all three are treated with equal emphasis. In this respect there is a resemblance to the treatment of the same subject by Domenichino at Schloss Schleissheim.¹ Another way in which the present work may have been influenced by Roman paintings of the story of Susanna (such as that by ?Annibale Carracci in the Galleria Doria-Pamphili in Rome)² is the typical presence of a balustrade over which one of the Elders is climbing, and which separates the elegant, well-kept garden from the area in which Susanna is bathing.

The Elders, not content with admiring or accosting the naked beauty, engage in physical contact. One of them lifts up the garment with which Susanna tries to cover herself and gazes at her greedily with open mouth, while the other touches her back. Neither of them can spare a glance for Susanna's face: what interests them is her naked body. The frightened, helpless Susanna tries to escape by standing up and starting to one side in an unstable attitude. The gap that thus arises between her and the Elders is bridged by their outstretched arms, so that the motif of grasping becomes prominent. Susanna's diagonal pose, parallel to the

group formed by her attackers, intensifies the physical and spiritual dynamic of the incident. The fervent morality of her attitude, which is a major element in the conflict, is emphasized by her throne-like chair on a pedestal beside the fountain: this is covered with a velvet mantle trimmed with ermine, a symbol of fidelity and virtue.³

In this painting Rubens combines northern realism with his own Dionysian temperament; however, in many respects his pictorial language evidences a debt to the South, to classical and Italian art. The figure of Susanna is clearly related to that of Laocoon in the group of that name, which was in the Belvedere in Rubens's time and is now in the Vatican Museum.⁴ In both figures the most strikingly dynamic feature is the diagonal from the right hand to the left foot. Nor is the resemblance purely formal; both of them express pain and anguish, which may be both spiritual and physical. The Elder seen in profile, with curly hair, recalls Michelangelesque models; as Held pointed out, it is based—with some modifications, especially as regards the incidence of light—on Rubens's study of the *Head of a Bearded Man* in the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica in Rome.⁵ The other grey-beard echoes an antique bust of 'Socrates' and antique sculptures of Sileni with which Rubens was familiar. The colouring and touch are unthinkable without Titian and Veronese; while the contrasts of light and shade point to the influence of Caravaggio⁶ and contribute greatly to the dramatic character of the scene.

The dolphin with the winged Cupid on its back is one of Rubens's favourite motifs for fountain sculpture. It is found here for the first time in his work, and was later used in *Cimon and Iphigenia* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna,⁷

Bathsheba Receiving David's Letter in the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden (No.44; Fig. 98), and *Diana and Actaeon* in the Boymans-van Beuningen Museum in Rotterdam.⁸ All these works exhibit the theme of a naked woman surprised while bathing, and it must therefore be assumed that the dolphin and Cupid were not merely a favourite 'prop' but possessed an iconographic significance. It is in fact a motif borrowed from antiquity, and was generally used to symbolize the ardour and impatience of love.⁹ It is noteworthy that in the composition of his paintings of Susanna, Rubens always represents the fountain as a 'pendant' to the Elders, thus creating an analogy in terms of content.

On stylistic grounds this painting may be dated c.1609–1610. It is not known for whom it was executed. A preparatory drawing is in the Musée Atger at Montpellier (No.59a; Fig.154).

1. Maas, pp.43–44, 88; R.E.Spear, *Domenichino*, New Haven-London, 1982, pp.149–151, No.29, fig.49.
2. Maas, pp.36, 38; D.Posner, *Annibale Carracci. A Study in the Reform of Italian Painting around 1590* (National Gallery of Art: Kress Foundation-Studies in the History of European Art), London-New York, 1971, II, p.58, No.131A, fig.131a (as ? Giovanni Lanfranco; ? after Annibale Carracci).
3. Maas, pp.91–93.
4. Rubens drew several studies after the *Laocoon* (Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, pp.31–33, No.15, repr.; Fubini-Held, pp.123–141, figs.8, 9, pls.1–4); Maas, p.97.
5. Held, *Oil Sketches*, p.599, No.432, pl.421.
6. A. von Schneider, *Caravaggio und die Niederländer*, Marburg an der Lahn, 1933, pp.92–93.
7. K.d.K., p.133.
8. K.d.K., p.350.
9. W.Sauerländer, 'Über die ursprüngliche Reihenfolge von Fragonard's "Amours des Bergers"', *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, XIX, 1968, p.134; Maas, p.89. Rubens seems to have had a fountain with a dolphin and putto in his own garden: it can be clearly seen in the background of *Rubens and Hélène Fourment Walking in their Garden* in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich (K.d.K., p.321). It must be borne in mind, however, that that work is probably overpainted in part (Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, pp.336–341; U.Krempel in *Cat. Alte Pinakothek München*, 1983, pp.435–436, No.313, repr.).

59a. Susanna and the Elders: Drawing
(Fig.154)

Pen and brown ink and brown wash; 216 × 157 mm. Below, mark of the Atger Museum, Montpellier (L.38), and, inscribed with the pen by a later hand, *Rubens fecit, Suzanne au bain* and *P.P.Rub...* —Verso: *David Slaying Goliath*; pen and brown ink; 216 × 157 mm. Below, mark of the Musée Atger (L.38) and, inscribed by a later hand, *David et Goliath* (pen and brown ink), 2½ and *P.P.Rubens fecit* (chalk), (Fig.84).

Montpellier, Musée Atger, Faculté de Médecine.

PROVENANCE: Xavier Atger (Paris, 1758–1833); bequeathed by him between 1813 and 1829 to the Faculty of Medicine of Montpellier, his native town.

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp*, 1956, No.38; *Dessins du Musée Atger, Montpellier*, Paris, Louvre, 1974–1975, No.58.

LITERATURE: Dr Kühnholtz, *Notice des dessins sous verre, tableaux, esquisses, recueils de dessins et estampes réunis à la Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine de Montpellier*, 1830, p.79, No.247; I.Q.van Regteren Altena, in *Amsterdam*, 1933, under No.68 (as *Rubens*); Burchard-d'Hulst, *Tekeningen*, p.50, No.38, pl.XV (as *Rubens*); Held, *Drawings*, pp.101–102, No.20, pl.17 (as *Rubens*, c.1608–1612); Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, pp.116–117, No.70, pl.70 (as *Rubens*); Maas, pp.94–96 (as *Rubens*); J.I. Kuznetsov, *Rubens Drawings* (in Russian), Moscow, 1974, No.34, repr. (as *Rubens*); Cat. Exh. *Dessins du Musée Atger, Montpellier*, Louvre, Paris, 1974–1975, pp.35–36, No.58, pl.XXIX and cover (as *Rubens*); *Varshavskaya, Rubens*, pp.68–72, under No.4, repr. p.71 (as *Rubens*); A.-M. Logan, Review of J.I. Kuznetsov, *Rubens Drawings* (in Russian), in *Master Drawings*, 14, 1976,

p.301 (as *Rubens*); M.van der Meulen, 'Rubens and the Antique Sculpture Collections in Rome', *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, XXIV, 1976–1978, pp. 154–156.

Susanna is seated on the brink of a pool of water, her legs to the front, the upper part of her body turned to the right, and bent forward. With her raised left hand she holds a linen cloth which she presses against her thigh with her lowered right arm. Looking over her shoulder, her head is turned to the left in the direction of one of the Elders whose figure, only partly visible, appears in outline on the extreme left, his arm stretched forward (see No.58).

The figure of Susanna is clearly related, in reverse, to that of Laocoon in the antique sculptural group of that name, which was in the Belvedere of the Vatican in Rubens's time and which he copied there.¹ Like Laocoon, Susanna is seated and bent forward; like him, she feels the presence of a threat and starts to one side to avoid it. Both figures thus take on a strongly dynamic character, especially marked by the diagonal from the raised arm to the outstretched leg.

This is a compositional sketch, to be dated c.1609–1610, for Rubens's *Susanna and the Elders* in the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando in Madrid (No.59; Fig.153). That painting, however, shows the scene in reverse, and is in horizontal instead of vertical format. Both works have strong side-lighting and show the recoiling Susanna with one arm raised above her head; in both works, furthermore, appears the horizontally extended arm of one of the Elders reaching for the young woman. A comparison with the painting makes it possible to identify the

vague forms on the right of the drawing as the basin of a fountain with water pouring over the edge.

Varshavskaya has pointed out that there is in the Hermitage in Leningrad a painting of *Susanna and the Elders* (Fig. 155)² which should also be connected with the drawing. As in the painting in Madrid, so in Leningrad the Elders are not content with spying on Susanna, but attempt to touch her as well. One of them has a leg over the balustrade and tries with one hand to pull off the linen cloth with which she seeks to cover her nakedness; the second Elder follows, looking on avidly. They have surprised her bathing in a grotto beside a fountain. The incident takes place in the foreground and is seen *di sotto in su*; nothing is seen of the distant background. In contrast to the horizontal format of the Madrid painting, in which the Elders and Susanna are equally prominent, the Leningrad painting is in vertical format and Susanna dominates the composition, as she does in the present drawing and in Rubens's painting of the same subject in the Galleria Borghese, Rome (No. 58; Fig. 152).

The drawing and the Leningrad painting represent the action in the same direction; both are illuminated from the side and show the recoiling Susanna with one arm above her head, clutching the linen cloth which one of the Elders is trying to pull off her with outstretched arm. However, there are also some differences, especially in the figure of Susanna: in the painting the lower part of her torso, and her lower limbs, are turned more to the right, so that one leg is in full profile. The same pose of the limbs is later seen in other versions of *Susanna and the Elders* by Rubens, such as that of 1614 in the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm (No. 60; Fig. 156).

While it can be accepted that the composition of the painting in the Hermitage is partly based on Rubens's drawing at Montpellier, and perhaps also on other models painted or drawn by him and now lost, in view of its weak execution the painting cannot be regarded as by his hand.³

1. Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, pp. 31–33, No. 15, fig. 15; *Fubini-Held*, pp. 123–141, figs. 8, 9, pls. 1–4.
2. Inv. No. 7080; oil on panel, 123 × 108 cm. EXH. *Rubens and Flemish Baroque* (in Russian), Hermitage, Leningrad, 1978, p. 20, No. 20, repr. p. 21. LIT. M. Varshavskaya, loc. cit.; A.-M. Logan, loc. cit.
3. Varshavskaya agrees that the execution is weak and that the work is not by Rubens; but she has some doubt as to Susanna's head, and does not exclude the possibility of its being by Rubens.

60. *Susanna and the Elders* (Fig. 156)

Oil on panel; 66 × 51 cm.; signed and dated *P. P. Rubens F. 1.6.1.4*.
Stockholm, Nationalmuseum. No. 603.

PROVENANCE: Probably the painting (height c. 2 feet 3½ inches, width 1 foot 9 inches) which Pierre Willemssens submitted for assessment on 3 October 1733 to the deans of St Luke's guild in Antwerp, who certified it to be by Rubens (*Resolutieboek*, II, fol. 10v; *Rooses*, I, p. 172, under No. 136; P. Rolland, 'Inventaris op het Archief van het Oud Sint Lucasgild en van de Oud Koninklijke Academie van Antwerpen', *Jaarboek van Antwerpen's Oudheidkundige Kring*, XV, 1939, p. 57, No. 82); Count C. G. Tessin (1695–1770); Louisa Ulrika (1720–1782), Queen of Sweden; Gustavus III (1746–1792), King of Sweden, after whose death the painting became the property of the Swedish State.

COPIES: (1) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 66 × 51 cm. PROV. Sale, Bern (Dobiaschofsky Gallery), 25–28 April 1978, lot 602 (as *School of Ru-*

bens); (2) Anonymous drawing (Susanna only), Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Inv. No.1123; red chalk, 263 × 181 mm. LIT. W.Wegner, *Kataloge der Staatlichen Graphischen Sammlung München. I. Die niederländischen Handzeichnungen des 15.–18. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1973, p.122, No.864 (as 'nach Rubens').

EXHIBITED: Paris, 1936, No.56; Brussels, 1937, No.6; Brussels, 1965, No.183; Antwerp, 1977, No.33; Rubens i Sverige, Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, 1977–1978, No.2.

LITERATURE: Rooses, I, pp.169–170 (No. 136), p.172; G.Göthe, *Notice descriptive des tableaux du Musée National de Stockholm*, Stockholm, 1893, I, p.276, No.603; F.M. Haberditzl, 'Studien über Rubens', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, 1911–1912, p.267; K.d.K., p.75; Oldenbourg, *Rubens*, p.98; M. Grandberg, *Catalogue descriptif des collections de peintures du Musée National*, Stockholm, 1928, p.125, No.603; Held, *Drawings*, p.108, under No.32; Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, p.131, under No.78; della Pergola, p.7; Maas, pp.98–104; G.Cavalli-Björkman, 'Målningar av Rubens i Nationalmuseum', in *Rubens i Sverige*, Stockholm, 1977, pp.11–12, 32–34, repr. p.33; Renger, p.74, under No.45; Liess, pp.224, 247, 250, 328–331, 337, 356–358 (as Rubens).

This cabinet piece is in many ways similar to the version of *Susanna and the Elders* painted c.1601–1602 and now in the Galleria Borghese, Rome (No.58; Fig.152). Both works are of small size, executed in a *bozzetto*-like style with the use of local colouring, and the figure of Susanna is centrally placed, dominating the composition. Her chaste attitude is also similar to that in the Borghese painting.¹ As in the painting of 1609–1610 in the Acade-

mia de San Fernando in Madrid (No.59; Fig.153), the garden with its flower-beds is at a lower level than the protagonists. Susanna is in a cave-like, enclosed bathhouse, her feet in the pool of water flowing from a fountain in the form of a dolphin.² Startled by the noise of the Elders' approach, she turns her head to see who it is, at the same time trying modestly to cover her naked lap. The Elders have just appeared in the doorway; Rubens shows only their heads and hands, but their attitudes fully express their different characters. The older one, with white beard and thinning hair, eyes Susanna's face with a gentle smile. The other, who is considerably younger, with short black hair and a healthy complexion, can scarcely contain himself and stares with open mouth, not at the heroine's face but at her naked body. Thus Rubens establishes an opposition between the older man's quiet admiration of Susanna's beauty and the younger one's sensuality.

This painting is signed and dated 1614; it is not known who commissioned it.

1. The resemblance to the Borghese painting was first noticed by Haberditzl, loc. cit. Held, *Drawings*, loc. cit., and Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, loc. cit., recognize the connection and also point out the similarity to the *Bathsheba* drawing in Berlin (No.43; Fig.97). Maas, loc. cit., emphasizes the difference of theme between the two paintings.
2. For the fountain, which also occurs in *Susanna and the Elders* in the Academia de San Fernando in Madrid, see No.59.

61. Susanna and the Elders

Technique and measurements unknown. Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown (Fig.157); canvas, 208 × 218 cm. PROV. Frederick II of Prussia, bought by him in June 1766 from Gutz-

kowsky for 2500 thalers; Berlin, Potsdam, Schlossgalerie Sanssouci, Inv. No. GK L7573; disappeared since 1945. LIT. Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.105, No.344 (as *Rubens*); P.Seidel, 'Friedrich der Grosse als Sammler von Gemälden und Sculpturen', *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XV, p.55 (repeated in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, pp.201-203; as *Rubens*); E.Henschel-Simon, *Die Gemälde und Skulpturen in der Bildergalerie von Sanssouci*, Berlin, 1930, p.30, No.97, fig.97; Bernhard, *Verlorene Werke*, p.56; *della Pergola*, p.10; (2) Anonymous painting (showing only the upper half of the composition as seen in the Sanssouci painting), collection of Charles E.T.Stuart-Linton, New York (1945); canvas, 114 × 160 cm. PROV. H.R.H.Adolphus Frederick, 1st Duke of Cambridge (brother of George IV); Charles Alfred George Stuart-Linton; Adolphus Frederick Stuart-Linton, Carbarston House, Hove, Sussex, England. LIT. G.H.McCall, *A Catalogue of Paintings in the Collection of Charles E.T.Stuart-Linton*, privately printed, New York, 1944, pp.12-13; (3) A. van Dyck, drawing, Paris, Louvre, Inv. No. R.F.02.052 (Fig.158); black chalk, washed with Chinese ink, with some touches of brown wash, indented for transfer, 262 × 220 mm. PROV. Prince Galitzin; presented to the Louvre by P.Houette, 1897. LIT. V.S., p.11, under No.91; Rooses, I, p.168, under No.133 (as *Rubens*); Lugt, *Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, p.38, No.1131, pl.LIX (as 'attribué au jeune Van Dyck'); H.Vey, *Die Zeichnungen Anton van Dycks*, Brussels, 1962, p.237, No.167, fig.206 (as *Van Dyck*); Maas, pp.68 to 69; Bodart, p.63, under No.114; (4) Engraving by Michel Lasne, in reverse (Fig. 159); below on the right, his monogram (M and L joined together) and P.P. *Rubens Pinxit*; titled: *Susanne surprise par deux Vieillards, dans un Jardin, / Par la vertu du*

tout puissant Conserve sa chasteté. Daniel ch.13. LIT. V.S., p.11, No.92; Rooses, I, pp.167-168, under No.153; Van den Wijngaert, *Prentkunst*, p.66, No.355bis; Lugt, *Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, p.37, No.1130, p.38, under No.1131; H.Vey, op. cit., p.237, under No.167; Maas, pp.68 to 69; Renger, pp.74, under No.45, 100, under No.67; (5) The same engraving by Michel Lasne (Fig.160); below on the right, his monogram, and below in the centre: P. *Rubens pinxit*; dedication: *Lectissimae Virgini Annae Roemer Visschers illustri Batavia Sideri, multarum Artium peritissimae, / Poetices vero studio, supra sexum celebri rarum hoc Pudicitiae exemplar, Petrus Paulus Rubenus. L.M.D.D.* LIT. V.S., p.11, No.93; Hymans, *Gravure*, pp.85-87; Rooses, I, pp.167-168, under No.133; Van den Wijngaert, *Prentkunst*, p.66, No.355; Lugt, *Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, p.37, under No.1130, p.38, under No.1131; H.Vey, op. cit., p.237, under No.167; *della Pergola*, p.11; E. Op de Beeck, 'Suzanna en de twee ouderlingen. Rubens' gravures voor Anna Roemers Visscher', *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*, Antwerp, 1973, pp.207-221, fig.1; Maas, pp.68-69; Renger, *Rubens Dedit*, XVI, p.133; XVII, pp.200, 203-204; Bodart, p.63, No.114, fig.114; Renger, pp.74; under No.45, 100, under No.67; (6) Engraving by Quirin Marcx (Fig.161); below on the right: *gravé par Quirin Marcx*; titled: *Susanne avec les Vieillards / Gravé d'après le dessin original de Rubens tiré du Cabinet de M^r le / Prince de Galitzin Ministre Plénip^o de Russie à la Cour Imp^{le} et Royale.* LIT. V.S., p.11, No.91; Rooses, I, p.168, under No.133; Lugt, *Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, p.38, under No.1131; *della Pergola*, p.10; Maas, pp.68-69.

Like *Susanna and the Elders* in the Academia de San Fernando in Madrid (No.59;

Fig.153), this version belongs iconographically to the 'aggressive' type: the two Elders do not merely gaze at Susanna or accost her, but attempt to touch her body as well (see also No.58).

On the right, in a grotto with a satyr herm, is a fountain with a Cupid astride a dolphin, pouring water into a basin. Susanna, about to bathe, stands with one foot on the ground and the other on a stool. One of the Elders, wearing a velvet hat, looks at her fixedly and pulls off her garment with one hand, laying the other on her shoulder; his companion, younger and stronger, merely touches her back. Susanna turns round in surprise and covers her bosom with both hands. In the painting formerly at Sanssouci (Fig.157) there is in the background a landscape with a pergola next to a building, only the façade of which can be seen. In the print engraved after it by Lasne (Fig.159) the background consists of an arbour directly adjoining the grotto, together with a few trees; the drawing in the Louvre (Fig.158) and the print by Marcx (Fig.161) leave the background vague. In the painting, the drawing and the prints, some vessels and a cloth lie on the ground in front; in the painting and in Lasne's print there is also a necklace and a comb.

Hitherto all authors¹ have been of the opinion that the drawing in the Louvre and the prints by Lasne and Marcx are based on the painting in Stockholm (Inv. No.596; see No.63; Fig.164). However, this is clearly not the case. In the drawing and prints in question, as in the painting formerly at Sanssouci, it is only the Elder in the velvet hat who pulls off Susanna's garment and lays a hand on her shoulder. In the Stockholm painting, on the other hand, both Elders pull at the garment and neither of them touches her shoulder. It may be added that in the Stockholm

painting Susanna's right thigh is covered by a linen cloth, which is not the case in the Sanssouci painting, the drawing, or the prints by Lasne and Marcx.

Lasne, a Frenchman, stayed only a short time in the Southern Netherlands: he received permission from St Luke's guild in Antwerp to work there for two months, some time between September 1617 and September 1618.² As, in addition to *Susanna and the Elders*, he engraved other separate prints as well as title-prints after Rubens,³ we may suppose that his stay in Antwerp exceeded that period. In any case, according to Mariette he was back in France in 1621,⁴ and his engraving must therefore date from between 1617 and 1621. Hence Rubens's original model, from which the print was made in reverse, must have been executed between those dates at the latest.

Anna Roemers Visscher, to whom Rubens dedicated Lasne's engraving, was a celebrated Dutch poetess; born in Amsterdam in 1583, she died at Alkmaar in 1651. Of a Protestant family, she converted to Catholicism probably in about 1640. Her poetic talent and general culture were widely admired. She renounced the prospect of marriage in order to look after her sick father, and was therefore also celebrated as a model of chastity: this is why Rubens refers to her as 'rarum hoc Pudicitiae exemplar'⁵ in his dedication, which was probably the fruit of personal acquaintance. She seems not to have been in Antwerp before 1640, but Rubens may have met her during his early visit to Holland in 1612.⁶ She for her part admired Rubens greatly; she copied his *Virgo lactans*, which was in Holland in 1621, and wrote a complimentary poem about him. Rubens repeated the same dedication word for word on another

Susanna print, this time the work of Lucas Vorsterman (see No.62).⁷

The drawing in the Louvre, which Lugt⁸ and Vey⁹ attribute to Van Dyck, probably rightly, is indented for transfer, probably by Marcx for the purpose of his engraving.¹⁰ The latter reproduces the drawing in the same direction; its title states that it was made after an original drawing by Rubens, formerly in the possession of Prince Galitzin, but it is possible that the drawing was merely from Rubens's studio. Since the print must have originated before 1811, the year of Marcx's death, and the indented drawing did not reach the Louvre until 1897, it is chronologically possible that Prince Galitzin's drawing and the drawing in the Louvre are one and the same.

1. Rooses, *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst, Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, H.Vey, loc. cit., *Maas, Boudart*.
2. 'Item ontfangen van Michiel Lasne, plaetsnider, fransman, voir de vriheit omme alhier te moegen wercken den tyt van twey maenden, ontfangen gul.6-0' (Item, received from Michiel Lasne, engraver, a Frenchman, for permission to work here for the space of two months, received fl.6-0) (P. Rombouts and T. van Lerijs, *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven der Antwerpsche Sint Lucas-gilde*, I, Antwerp, 1864, pp.540-541).
3. V.S., pp.11 (Nos.92, 93), 78 (No.37), 82 (No.68), 88 (No.123), 98 (No.35), 99 (No.42), 196 (No.24), 200 (Nos.48, 49); *Hymans, Gravure*, p.83ff.; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, pp.66-67, Nos.355-369.
4. *Archives de l'art francais*, I, p.44.
5. This phrase makes it clear that Rubens's reason for dedicating a *Susanna and the Elders* to Anna Roemers Visscher was that it could thus pass as an allegory of chastity. This does not by any means imply that he regarded the subject as exclusively or even mainly a biblical illustration of virtue: no more than other artists did he choose the theme for the purpose of giving a moral lesson. See E. McGrath, 'Rubens's "Susanna and the Elders" and moralizing inscriptions on prints', in *Wort und Bild*, Erfstadt, 1984, pp.81-85.
6. R. De Smet, 'Een nauwkeuriger datering van Rubens' eerste reis naar Holland in 1612', *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen*, 1977, pp.199-220.
7. Rooses, *Life*, pp.276, 418; M. Sabbe, 'De Antwerp-

sche Vriendenkring van Anna Roemers Visscher', in *De Moretussen en hun kring*, Antwerp, 1928, pp.53-77; J.G. van Gelder, 'Rubens in Holland in de zeventiende eeuw', *Nederlandsch Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 1950-1951, p.120; Renger, *Rubens Dedit*, XVII, pp.203-204.

8. *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, p.38, No.1131.
9. H. Vey, loc. cit.
10. It might be supposed that the drawing in the Louvre was made as a model for Lasne's prints. These differ from it, however, as regards the background and especially the objects on the ground beside the fountain. In Lasne's engravings, as in the painting formerly in the Schlossgalerie at Sanssouci, these include a necklace and a comb, which are not found in the Louvre drawing or in Marcx's print.

62. *Susanna and the Elders*

Technique and measurements unknown.
Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: Probably one of the paintings that Rubens delivered in 1618 to Sir Dudley Carleton (1573-1632) in exchange for the latter's collection of antique sculpture.

COPY: Engraving by Lucas Vorsterman (Fig.162); inscribed below on the left, *P.P. Rubens pinxit*; below on the right, *Lucas Vorsterman sculp. / et excud. A° 1620*; below in the middle, *Cum privilegijis, Regis Christianissimi, Principum Belgarum et Ordinum Bataviae*; dedication: *Lectissimae Virgini Annae Roemer Visschers illustri Bataviae Sijderi, multarum Artium peritissimae, Poetics vero studio, supra sexum / celebri, rarum hoc Pudicitiae exemplar, Petrus Paulus Rubenus. L.M.D.D. LIT. V.S., p.10, No.84; Hymans, Gravure*, pp.153-154, 170, 180-182; Rooses, I, p.166, under No.132, pl.41; Rooses-Ruelens, II, pp.195-212; *Hymans, Vorsterman*, p.68, No.5; *Oldenbourg, Rubens*, p.100, fig.56; *Hind, Rubens*, II, p.145, under No.1; C. Sterling, 'Manet et Rubens', *l'Amour de l'Art*, 1932, p.290, fig.50; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*,

p.101, No.710; *Van Puyvelde, Rubens*, p.117; *della Pergola*, pp.11, 13–16, fig.4; R.E.Krauss, 'Manet's Nymph Surprised', *Burlington Magazine*, CIX, 1967, pp.622–627, fig.18 (detail); J.S.Held, 'Rubens and Vorsterman', *Art Quarterly*, XXXII, 1969, pp.111–113; E.Op de Beeck, 'Susanna en de twee ouderlingen. Rubens' gravures voor Anna Roemers Visscher', *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen*, 1973, pp.207–221, fig.3; *Maas*, pp.70–71, 111–120; *Bodart*, pp.68–69, No.122, fig.122; *Renger*, pp.99–101, No.67, fig.39.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, I, pp.166–167, under No.132; V, p.314, No.132; *della Pergola*, pp.15–16.

Iconographically this version of *Susanna and the Elders* belongs to the 'aggressive' type (see No.58): the old men engage in physical contact, though less violently than the burly, primitive figures in the painting in the Academia de San Fernando in Madrid (No.59; Fig.153). The roughness of their appearance has given way to a more refined and subtle characterization, typical of Rubens's figures from c.1615 onwards.

The action takes place at the entrance to a large grotto built of rusticated stones. Susanna is seated in front of a fountain, on a stone bench forming the edge of a large bath with three steps leading down to it. She has laid her garment, hair-band and comb on the bench, and her jewels and scent-flask on one of the steps. One piece of jewellery, a string of pearls, is still round her neck. With crossed legs and one foot in the water, she tries to cover her nakedness with a linen cloth. One of the Elders, behind her, attempts to pull this off, his face reflecting his de-

light in Susanna's beauty. The other, younger man is not content to look, but bends over Susanna and cautiously touches her breast with his hand. Susanna's reaction is noteworthy: her gaze is not directed at the Elders but at us, the spectators, as if calling us to witness and involving us in the event. In the background are trees and grass, growing freely and not as part of a garden.

As in the painting in the Galleria Borghese in Rome (No.58; Fig.152), the general attitude of the figure of Susanna recalls the antique *Spinario*: the arms crossed over her bosom, on the other hand, are reminiscent of an antique *Venus pudica*. Susanna's physical beauty, and the toilet articles beside her, belong to the iconography of *The Toilet of Venus*. This association goes back to the Venetians, especially Tintoretto, who made such articles an essential part of his treatment of *Susanna and the Elders*, for instance the work now in Vienna.¹ Also of Venetian origin are the Elders' costly robes, of richly ornamented material, as they are seen, for instance, in Veronese.²

The original work by Rubens, now lost, is known only from the print by Vorsterman, which gives it in reverse. Rubens had the figures facing left, as appears from Vorsterman's preparatory drawing in the British Museum, London (Fig.163).³ In that drawing, the younger man's shod foot is seen beside the fountain.⁴ The foot was originally engraved in the copperplate (now in the Louvre in Paris), but was later erased; traces of it, however, can still be seen in the print.

Together with the print of *Susanna and the Elders*, dated 1620, eight other prints by Vorsterman after Rubens were published in that year, and some are also inscribed 1620.⁵ This does not mean, however, that the nine prints were engraved

in that year. Rubens probably delayed their publication till he had obtained the necessary privileges to protect his copyright: for France on 3 July 1619; for Brabant on 29 July 1619, extended to the whole of the Spanish Netherlands on 16 January 1620; for Holland, on 24 February 1620.⁶ Although Vorsterman did not become a citizen of Antwerp until 1620,⁷ in which year he also became a master in St Luke's guild,⁸ we may assume that he was working for Rubens from 1618 onwards at the latest. Indeed, in a letter of 23 January 1619 to Pieter van Veen,⁹ Rubens already speaks of 'de jonge graveur die onder zijn leiding werkt' (the young engraver [Vorsterman] working under his direction). In the same letter he gives a list of prints in the course of being made, including a *Susanna and the Elders*;¹⁰ it may therefore be assumed that Vorsterman was already busy with the engraving at that time, and consequently that Rubens's original work which served as a model was executed in 1618 or perhaps even earlier. This original *Susanna and the Elders* is in all probability identical with one of the paintings that Rubens delivered in 1618 to Sir Dudley Carleton, together with an amount of fl.2,000, in exchange for the latter's collection of antique sculpture. In a letter to Carleton of 28 April 1618¹¹ he says that the picture is 'done by one of my pupils, but the whole retouched by my hand; 7 x 5 ft', and estimates its value at fl.300. Carleton's reply of 8 May 1618¹² indicated that he was only interested in works painted exclusively by the master himself, but Rubens argued in a letter of 12 May 1618¹³ that a work retouched all through by him was hardly to be distinguished from an original. Consequently *Susanna and the Elders* is to be found among the paintings that Rubens finally supplied

to Carleton, as appears from the former's letter of 1 June 1618.¹⁴

Vorsterman's print is dedicated to Anna Roemers Visscher. The same dedicatory inscription appears below Michel Lasne's engraving of *Susanna and the Elders*, also after Rubens (see No.61; Fig.160). This repetition of text and subject in two different prints is most unusual and indeed inexplicable. It is clear that Rubens's dedication to the chaste Anna Roemers Visscher is only to be explained on the ground that he thought *Susanna and the Elders* could pass as an allegory of chastity. However, in a letter to Carleton of 12 May 1618¹⁵ he refers to the painting he is offering as a '*galanteria*', and Carleton in a letter of 22 May 1618 expresses the hope that Rubens's *Susanna* would prove 'beautiful enough to enamour the Elders'.¹⁶ Rubens must thus have been well aware that the theme was essentially a piquant illustration of the favourite Renaissance topic of Unequal Love.¹⁷ As McGrath writes, 'This was clearly understood by Jan Steen when he reproduced the *Susanna* of Vorsterman's engraving on the wall of a brothel where a pathetic old man is trying to buy for himself some youthful love'.¹⁸

Many paintings with the same composition are known.¹⁹ They are of very uneven quality and were executed at different times. Since they are all in the same direction as Vorsterman's print, we may assume that they are copied from it and not from Rubens's original. The principal ones are: (1) Chicago, Museum (formerly in the possession of Mr F. Voltz, Milwaukee; published as *School of Titian*, in *Klassischer Bilderschatz*, Reber-Bayersdorfer, Munich, III, 1891, No.334); *della Pergola*, fig.5; (2) St Étienne (France), Musée d'Art et d'Histoire; canvas, 69 x 55 cm.; (3) Orléans, Musée; canvas, 153 x

111 cm.; (4) Innsbruck, Ferdinandeum; *della Pergola*, fig.9; (5) Torralfina, Castello; canvas, 224 × 150 cm.; *della Pergola*, fig.11; (6) ?Genoa, Palazzo Reale; *della Pergola*, fig.10; (7) Schalkhausen über Ansbach, West Germany, Prof. W.Schnug (1965); copper, 36.5 × 29.5 cm.; *della Pergola*, fig.7; (8) Copenhagen, Mr A.Pasler (1975); canvas, 160 × 150 cm.; (9) Antwerp, Mr Op de Beeck; canvas, 140 × 112 cm.; *della Pergola*, fig.8; (10) Stockholm, Embassy of Iran, Mr Hossein Bozorgnia (1972); 188 × 120 cm.; (11) Rome, Mr Gaspari Bassi (1968); 145 × 110 cm.; (12) Nice, Mr R.Levy (1960); canvas; (13) Lisbon, private collection (1956); (14) Aachen, sale A.Crenker, 10–11 May 1921, lot 124, repr.; panel, 42 × 31 cm.; (15) Sale, Brussels (Galerie Moderne), 8–9 April 1986, lot 1132 (as 'École flamande, Diane au bain'), pl.XXIII; canvas, 93 × 73 cm.

Some prints are also based on Vorsterman's:²⁰ (1) Woodcut, by J.Facnion; in the same direction as Vorsterman (*V.S.*, p.10, No.85); (2) Engraving, by I.van Sommer; in reverse; P.Cooper *excudit* (*V.S.*, p.10, No.86); (3) Engraving, by J.Simon, *fec. et exc.*; in reverse (*V.S.*, p.11, No.87); (4) Engraving, anonymous; in reverse and enlarged in width with a view of a park; Clément de Jonghe *excudit* (*V.S.*, p.11, No.88). The same engraving, J.C.Vischer *excudit* (*V.S.*, p.11, No.89), or Rombout van den Hoeye *excudit*.

Édouard Manet used the figure of Susanna for his *Nymph Surprised*, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires.²¹ However, he reproduced it in the opposite direction to Vorsterman's print, so that the question arises whether he was inspired directly by the print or by one of the reversed copies thereof.

1. R.Pallucchini and P.Rossi, *Tintoretto*, I, Milan, 1982, pp.173–174, No.200, figs.262–264.

2. *Maas*, p.114.

3. Black chalk, with slight traces of white and a few touches of pen and sepia; 377 × 280 mm. PROV. Sir J.C.Robinson (London, 1824–1913); J.Malcolm (Poltalloch–London, 1805–1893). Purchased by the British Museum in 1895. LIT. J.C.Robinson, *Descriptive Catalogue of drawings by the Old Masters, forming the collection of John Malcolm of Poltalloch, Esq.*, London, 1869 (2nd edn., 1876), No.597; Hind, *Rubens*, II, p.145, No.1; Van den Wijngaert, *Prentkunst*, p.101 under No.710; E.Op de Beeck, op. cit., pp.211–213, fig.6; *Maas*, p.71; Bodart, p.69, under No.122; Renger, p.101, under No.67.
4. In 1937 there was with Colnaghi in London a drawing (black chalk, reinforced with the pen) which had previously been owned by the Marquis P.de Chennevières (Paris, 1820–1899) and is now lost (photograph in British Museum, No.4567). This was a copy, by a weaker hand and in the same direction, of the sheet in the British Museum. The shod foot beside the fountain occurred in it, but not the jewels and toilet articles on the step.
5. *Hymans, Gravure*, pp.153–154; J.S.Held, loc. cit.
6. *Rooses–Ruelens*, loc. cit.; *Hymans, Vorsterman*, pp.24 to 25; J.S.Held, loc. cit.
7. *Hymans, Vorsterman*, p.13.
8. *Rombouts–Van Lerius*, p.500.
9. *Rooses–Ruelens*, II, pp.199–202, No.CLXXXIV; *Magurn, Letters*, pp.69–70, No.30.
10. In a letter of 19 June 1622 to Pieter van Veen, Rubens wrote of Vorsterman's *Susanna and the Elders* that he thought it one of the best prints made after a work of his (*Rooses–Ruelens*, II, pp.444–451; *Magurn, Letters*, pp.87–88, No.48).
11. *Rooses–Ruelens*, II, pp.135–144; *Magurn, Letters*, pp.59–61, No.28.
12. *Rooses–Ruelens*, II, pp.145–148; *Magurn, Letters*, pp.61–63, No.29.
13. *Rooses–Ruelens*, II, pp.149–160; *Magurn, Letters*, pp.61–63, No.29.
14. *Rooses–Ruelens*, II, pp.181–183; *Magurn, Letters*, pp.67–68, No.34.
15. *Rooses–Ruelens*, II, pp.149–160; *Magurn, Letters*, pp.61–63, No.29.
16. *Rooses–Ruelens*, II, p.165: 'La Susanna hà da esser bella per inamorar anco li Vecchij'.
17. On the theme, see A.Stewart, *Unequal Lovers. A Study of Unequal Couples in Northern Art*, New York, 1977.
18. 'Rubens's "Susanna and the Elders" and moralizing inscriptions on prints', *Wort und Bild*, Erfstadt, 1984, p.84; see also *della Pergola*, p.17, fig.6 (where, however, Steen's picture is called *Il Vecchio malato*). The painting by Steen (oil on panel, 49 × 37 cm.) belongs to the Hermitage, Leningrad, but has been on loan to the Pushkin Museum, Moscow since 1930 (Cat. *Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow. Painting*, 1975, p.27, No.25, repr.; as *Sick Old Man*).
19. See *Rooses*, I, pp.166–167, under No.132; V, p.314.

- No.132; *della Pergola*, pp.16–19, figs.5–11; *Maas*, pp.70–71.
 20. See *V.S.*, pp.10, Nos.85, 86, 11, Nos.87–89; *Rooses*, I, p.166, under No.132; *Maas*, p.71.
 21. C. Sterling, loc. cit.; R.E.Krauss, op. cit., pp.622–623, fig.16.

63. Susanna and the Elders

Technique and measurements unknown.
Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) Anonymous painting, Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, Inv. No.596 (Fig.164); panel, 222 × 214 cm. PROV. Collection of King Gustavus III (1746–1792). LIT. *Rooses*, I, pp.167–168, No.133 (as copy); G. Göthe, *Notice descriptive des tableaux du Musée National de Stockholm*, Stockholm, 1893, p.279, No.596 (as *Rubens's workshop*); *Oldenbourg, Rubens*, pp.98–99 (as copy); *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, p.37, under No.1130; *Maas*, pp.68–70, 104–111; *Bodart*, p.102, under No.211 (as *School of Rubens*); G. Cavalli-Björkman, 'Målningar av Rubens i Nationalmuseum', in *Rubens i Sverige*, Stockholm, 1977, p.32, fig.17 (as *Rubens's Workshop*); *Cat. Exh. Rubens i Sverige*, Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, 1977–1978, No.9 (as *Rubens's workshop*); (2) Engraving by Paul Pontius, in reverse (Fig.165); inscribed below on the left, *Petrus Paulus Rubenius pinxit / Paulus Pontius sculpsit*; below on the right, *Cum privilegij Regis Christianissimi, Serenissimae Infantis / et Ordinum confoederatorum. Anno 1624*; titled: *Turpe Senilis Amor*. LIT. *V.S.*, p.11, No.90 (mentions also a counter-proof); *Hymans, Gravure*, pp.252–254; *Rooses*, I, p.167, under No.133, pl.42; V, p.148; *Oldenbourg, Rubens*, pp.98–99, fig.54; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p.80, No.513; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, p.37, under No.1130; *della Pergola*, p.11; *Maas*, pp.69, 104–111; *Renger, Rubens De-*

dit, XVI, p.145; *Bodart*, p.102, No.211, repr.; *Renger*, p.74, No.45.

The composition of this version of *Susanna and the Elders*, which belongs iconographically to the 'aggressive' type (see under No.58), is similar to that of Rubens's lost version reflected in the painting formerly at Sanssouci (see No.61; Fig.157) and in the prints by Michel Lasne (see No.61; Figs.159, 160) and Quirin Marcx (see No.61; Fig.161). There are some differences, however. As regards the figures, the man with the cap is pulling off Susanna's garment with both hands, instead of pulling with one hand and laying the other on her shoulder. Susanna's linen cloth is differently disposed, so that her thigh is not uncovered. As regards the décor, in the Sanssouci version the grotto contained a single satyr herm; here there are two, not in the grotto itself however, but at the entrance to an adjoining pergola.

It is noteworthy that in the painting in Stockholm (Fig.164) a parrot is depicted beside Susanna perched on the edge of the fountain. This is undoubtedly an allusion to Susanna's chastity. However, the parrot does not occur in Pontius's print or in any of the numerous other versions of *Susanna and the Elders* by Rubens, so it is presumably an addition by another hand.

Pontius's drawing for the engraving is in the Louvre in Paris (Fig.166).¹ We may suppose that Rubens's original work was transformed into a vertical format in this engraving, as was no doubt also the case with that made by Lasne. It is noteworthy that the surviving painted copies, one in Stockholm (222 × 214 cm.; Fig.164) and the other formerly at Sanssouci (208 × 218 cm.; Fig.157), are of about the same

dimensions and are both approximately square; the same may be said of *Susanna and the Elders*, by Rubens's own hand, in the Academia de San Fernando, Madrid (No. 59, Fig. 153; 198 × 218 cm.).

In Rubens's versions in Rome (No. 58; Fig. 152) and Stockholm, 1614 (No. 60; Fig. 156), where Susanna is in the centre of the composition, it is clear that her chastity is the true theme of the painting. This is no longer so obvious in his other versions, including the present one, in which the aggressive Elders are no less important than their victim. Indeed, the title of Pontius's print—*Turpe Senilis Amor*—shows that an iconographical shift has taken place and that the old men's shameful lust has become part of the theme. In view of the other inscriptions on the print there is no doubt that the title was added in Rubens's time and with his knowledge. The change of emphasis away from Susanna's chastity and towards moral disapproval of the Elders' action would have been unthinkable in the Netherlands in the sixteenth century, either in literature or in art. In Italian versions of the subject, Susanna was likewise the true centre of interest. Rubens, with his constant interest in differentiating the behaviour of the two Elders, was the first to involve them in the moral significance of the scene.²

In the sale of the Fontaine-Flament collection from Lille, held in Paris (Galerie Petit) on 10 June 1904, there appeared as lot 68 (repr.) a painting (canvas, 147 × 109 cm.; as *atelier de Rubens*) which, in view of its vertical format, must be based either on Pontius's drawing in the Louvre or on his engraving. An argument for the first hypothesis is the fact that the painting is in the same direction as the drawing; for the second, that neither the painting nor the engraving show the piece of

linen between Susanna's shoulder and the fountain, which appears in the drawing.

1. Inv. No. 20.317; black chalk and brown wash, retouched with the pen in brown, oil and grey body-colour; indented for transfer; 358 × 272 mm. PROV. E. Jabach (Paris, 1607/1610–1605), bought from him in 1671. LIT. *Rooses*, V, p. 148; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p. 80, under No. 513; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, pp. 37–38, No. 1130, p. LIX; *Maas*, p. 69, No. 4; *Renger, Rubens Debit*, XVI, p. 145; *Bodart*, p. 102, under No. 211.
2. *Maas*, pp. 110–111.

64. Susanna and the Elders

Technique and measurements unknown.
Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) Anonymous painting, Leningrad, Hermitage, Inv. No. 496 (Fig. 167); canvas, 178.5 × 220 cm. PROV. Sir Robert Walpole (1676–1745), Houghton Hall, Norfolk; sold by one of his heirs to Catherine of Russia in 1779; in the Imperial Palace at Gatchina at least from the middle of the nineteenth century; in the Hermitage since 1925. LIT. *Virtue Note Books*, VI (8 July 1739), *Walpole Society*, 1951–1952, 1955, p. 177; Horace Walpole, *Aedes Walpolianae, or a Description of the Collection of Pictures at Houghton Hall, Norfolk*, 2nd edn., London, 1752, p. 43 (as *Rubens*); D. A. Schmidt, *Travaux sur l'art de l'Europe occidentale*, III, Leningrad, 1949, pp. 35–41 (the *Susanna* as by *Rubens*; the *Elders* as by *collaborators*); *Van Puyvelde, Rubens*, pp. 117, 205 n. 72 (as by a *collaborator and retouched by Rubens*); *della Pergola*, pp. 11–14, fig. 2 (as *Rubens*); *Maas*, pp. 73, 120, 123–128; *Varshavskaya, Rubens*, pp. 120–122, No. 17, repr. p. 21 (as *composition by Rubens, not by his hand*); *Cat. Exh. Rubens and the Flemish Baroque* (in Russian), Leningrad, Hermitage, 1978, p. 30, No. 57 (as *Rubens's Studio*); (2) Anonymous paint-

ing, Turin, Galleria Sabauda; canvas, 177 × 246 cm. PROV. Collection of the Marchese Durazzo in Genoa, which was sold in 1824 to Carlo Felice, King of Sardinia; in Turin since 1842. LIT. *Roses*, V, pp.314 to 315; A. Baudi de Vesme, *Catalogo della Regia Pinacoteca di Torino*, Turin, 1899, No.265 (as *Rubens*); Oldenbourg, *Rubens*, p.73 (as *Rubens*); D.A.Schmidt, op. cit., pp.35-41 (as copy); *della Pergola*, pp.12, 14, fig.3 (as copy); *Varshavskaya, Rubens*, p.122, under No.17 (as copy); (3) Anonymous painting, Mannheim, private collection, sold in Munich (Helbing), 12 October 1909, lot 50, pl.33; canvas, 115 × 148 cm. LIT. D.A.Schmidt, op. cit., pp.35-41; (4) Anonymous painting, Paris, Messrs Cailleux; LIT. M.Carter Leach, 'Rubens' "Susanna and the Elders" in Munich and Some Early Copies', *Print Review*, 5, 1976, p.122, fig.5; (5) Woodcut by Christoffel Jegher, in reverse (Fig.168); 448 × 580 mm.; inscribed below in the middle, *P.P.Rub. delin. et exc. / Cum Privilegijs*, and *Christoffel Jegher sc.* LIT. *V.S.*, p.11, No.94; *Hymans, Gravure*, p.450; *Roses*, I, pp.170-172, pl.44; V, pp.314-315; Oldenbourg, *Rubens*, p.73; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p.61, No.310; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp.20-21, 99-103; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, p.38, under No.1132; D.A.Schmidt, op. cit., pp.35-41; *Cat. Exh. Brussels, 1965*, p.334, No.396; M.L. Myers, 'Rubens and the Woodcuts of Christoffel Jegher', *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, XXV, 1966-1967, pp.15-16, figs.14, 15; L.De Pauw-De Veen, 'Opmerkingen aangaande de fragmentaire proefdruk van de houtsnede "Susanna en de grijsaards" door Christoffel Jegher naar Pieter Paul Rubens', *Bulletin Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, Brussel*, XVI, 1967, pp.23-24, figs.1, 3-4, 7-10; *della Pergola*, pp.11-14, fig.1; *Maas*, pp.72-73, 120-128; *Varshavskaya, Rubens*, pp.120

to 122, under No.17, repr. p.122; *Renger, Rubens Dedit*, XVII, pp.174-177, figs.7, 7a (details); H.Lehmann-Haupt, *An Introduction to the Woodcut of the 17th Century*, New York, 1977, pp.80-81, fig.55.

Susanna is seated on a bench in front of a balustrade at the edge of a bathing pool in the middle of which is a fountain crowned with a dolphin on which a putto is riding (see Nos.58,59). The Elders approach her, one from each side; she has no escape, as the balustrade is behind her and the pool of water in front. Although she is at the men's mercy, they apparently do not intend to attack or touch her, but rather to remove the cloth from her lap. Rubens has characterized the personality of each of the Elders and in a sense opposed them to each other. One, who has stepped over the balustrade, is barefooted, with a turban-like head covering and a plain cloak of coarse stuff, fastened with a simple belt. His russet-brown complexion and the beard that hides most of his face mark him as a primitive, satyr-like figure. He attempts with a strong, impetuous gesture to remove the cloth covering Susanna's body. His companion wears a fur-trimmed cloak and sandals; his complexion is light, his beard well-kept, and his features are refined. Not only his appearance is different, but so is his behaviour. He approaches Susanna quietly and cautiously, without haste or special effort. He has not had to step over the balustrade, and he does not seize the cloth to uncover Susanna's body, but deliberately places his hand beside hers. Thus the two characters are contrasted: one acting emotionally and making straight for his objective, the other a rational individual subduing his purely sensual impulses. Susanna's attitude is

one of limp resignation, aware of her helplessness: her head, sunk on her shoulder, and her downward glance express shame and grief at the harm done to her. A sparse landscape in the background, with three cypresses and a low horizon, echoes and emphasizes her isolation.¹

This description relates to the scene as it is depicted in the work in Leningrad (Fig. 167), the best of the surviving painted versions. While there is no doubt that the composition is by Rubens, his hand cannot be seen in the execution (and the state of preservation leaves something to be desired).² Rubens must have painted the original not very long after his return to Antwerp from Italy. The composition shows some features that were popular with sixteenth-century Flemish painters, notably the placing of Susanna *between* the two Elders (see No. 58). However, Rubens did not, like his predecessors, arrange the figures parallel to the picture surface, but somewhat obliquely, so that the scene develops spatially towards the spectator. Susanna's S-shaped posture resembles that of one of the daughters of Cecrops in *The Daughters of Cecrops Finding the Child Erichthonius* in the Liechtenstein Collection, which was painted at the latest in 1616, since it inspired Jordaens's painting of the same subject, dated 1617, in the Antwerp Museum.

Under Rubens's supervision, Christoffel Jegher (1596–1652/53) made a woodcut (Fig. 168) reproducing the present composition in reverse, with an extension of the décor on all four sides. Most notable is the addition of a formal garden with a pergola and an arbour; also an architecturally enlarged grotto and, directly behind the figures, a massive tree which divides the composition in two,

like the tree in the late *Susanna and the Elders* in Munich (No. 65; Fig. 170).

As appears from accounts which have survived,³ Jegher's woodcut was printed on the presses of the Plantin House in Antwerp between 1633 and 1636, and we may assume that it was engraved at that time. This does not mean, however, that Rubens's original painting on which it is based was executed at that late period. Indeed, it can be inferred from the painting in Leningrad that the original concept was stylistically related to the lost works by Rubens from which were derived the engravings by Lasne (see No. 61; Figs. 159, 160), Vorsterman (see No. 62; Fig. 162), and Pontius (see No. 63; Fig. 165).

A drawing in the Louvre in Paris (Fig. 169),⁴ probably made in preparation for the engraving but not by Rubens's hand, reproduces his original concept, in the same direction, as it is reflected in the Leningrad painting.⁵ It shows some retouches with the pen which certain authors (Rooses, Van den Wijngaert, Renger) attribute to Rubens; we cannot, however, recognize his hand in them.

Eugène Delacroix, who greatly admired Rubens, made a copy⁶ after this *Susanna and the Elders*—not from Jegher's print, as Ehrlich White believed,⁷ but from a painting. Only the poses of the three figures interested him: Susanna's physiognomy is only cursorily reproduced, and that of the Elders not at all.

1. *Maas*, pp. 123–128. The satyr-like physiognomy of the Elder who has climbed over the balustrade is accentuated in Jegher's print (Fig. 168), thus further emphasizing the difference in character between the two.

2. Burchard did not see the painting, and expressed no opinion as to its authorship.

3. *Hymans, Gravure*, p. 450; M. Rooses, 'Petrus-Paulus Rubens en Balthasar Moretus', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, II, pp. 180–182; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 20–21, 100–101.

4. Inv. No. 20.315; black chalk, retouched with the

- pen in brown and heightened with white; 351 × 448 mm. PROV. Collection of Louis XIV, King of France. LIT. *Rooses*, V, p.136, No.1317 (as 'modèle pour Jegher, retouché à l'encre par Rubens'); *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, p.38, No.1132 (as 'dessin pour la gravure de Jegher, il est improbable que les retouches soient de Rubens'); *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p.61, under No.310 (as 'retouched by Rubens'); *Maas*, p.73 (as 'vermutliche Vorlage für den Jegher-Holzschnitt'); *Renger, Rubens Dedit*, XVII, pp.174-177, fig.6 (as 'von Schülerhand, die Federarbeiten von Rubens' Hand').
5. The painting in Turin is extended on both sides as compared with that in Leningrad. As the drawing in the Louvre does not show these extensions, it cannot be based on the Turin painting.
6. Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts.
7. B. Ehrlich White, 'Delacroix's Painted Copies after Rubens', *Art Bulletin*, XLIX, 1967, pp.38-39, fig.29; *Maas*, p.128; L. Johnson, *The Paintings of Eugène Delacroix*, I, Oxford, 1981, p.219, No.D5, pl.165.

65. Susanna and the Elders

(Figs.170, 173)

Oil on panel; 77 × 110 cm.
Munich, *Alte Pinakothek*.

PROVENANCE: ? 'Een Susanna op paneel' is mentioned in the inventory of Rubens's estate (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p.60, No.99); 'Churfürstlichen Hofcammer und Commerzien-Raths' Joseph von Dufresnes, bequeathed by him in 1768 to Maximilian Joseph III (1727-1777), Elector of Bavaria (1745-1777); moved from Schleissheim to the Hofgartengalerie in 1781; in the *Alte Pinakothek* since 1836 (*Katalog der Älteren Pinakothek*, Munich, 1936, pp.XVIII-XIX, 212, No.317).

COPIES: (1) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 78 × 109 cm. PROV. Sale, Paris (Drouot), 17 March 1987, lot 179, repr. (as 'Atelier de Rubens'); (2) Lithograph by Ferdinand Piloty (1786-1844). LIT. *Rooses*, I, p.169, under No.134, pl.43.

LITERATURE: [Roger de Piles], *Conversations sur la connaissance de la Peinture*, Paris, 1677, pp.136-137; Roger de Piles, 'Le

cabinet de Monseigneur le Duc de Richelieu', in *Dissertation sur les ouvrages des plus fameux peintres*, Paris, 1681, p.77ff.; *Rooses*, I, pp.168-169, No.134, pl.43 (as *Rubens*, c.1636-1640); *K.d.K.*, pp.411, 470 (as *Rubens*, c.1636-1640); L. Hourticq, *Rubens*, Paris, 1924, p.188, repr.; *Kieser*, p.119; E. Hanfstaengl, *Les chefs-d'œuvre de la pinacothèque de Munich*, Brussels, 1948, p.39; D.A. Schmidt, 'Rubens' "Susanna and the Elders" in the Hermitage Collections', *Studies of the Department of Western Art* (in Russian), III, Leningrad, 1949, p.35ff.; A.M. Cetto, *Kunstwerke der Münchner Museen*, Berne, 1949, p.76, No.80; J. Burckhardt, *Recollections of Rubens*, ed. H. Gerson, London, 1950, p.170; B. Teyssèdre, 'Une collection française de Rubens au XVIIIe siècle: le cabinet du Duc de Richelieu, décrit par Roger de Piles', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Sixth Series, LXII, 1963, p.241ff.; *della Pergola*, pp.7-22; M. Carter Leach, *Rubens and the Theme of Susanna and the Elders*, Master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1973; *Maas*, pp.74-76, 129-138 (as *Rubens*, c.1636-1640); M. Carter Leach, 'Rubens' "Susanna and the Elders" in Munich and Some Early Copies', *Print Review*, 5, 1976, pp.120-127, fig.1 (Tribute to W. Stechow) (as *Rubens*, late 1630s); F.A. Dreier, 'Anmerkungen zur "Frierenden Venus" von Peter Paul Rubens', *Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte*, XVI, 1977, p.47, fig.6; [R. an der Heiden], *Alte Pinakothek München. Erläuterungen zu den ausgestellten Gemälden*, Munich, 1983, pp.441-442, No.317, repr. (as 'Rubens, Mittelzone des Bildes [?eigenhändig] übermalt'); W.A. Liedtke, *Flemish Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1984, p.214.

In Rubens's versions of *Susanna and the Elders* that we have so far discussed (see

Nos.58–64) the décor was reduced to a minimum and the theme developed almost entirely by the figures. Here, on the contrary, it is notable what an important part is played by the décor and in what detail it is elaborated; the markedly horizontal format contributes to this in large measure.

By placing Susanna at a distance from the Elders, Rubens has clearly divided his composition into two halves. She crouches on a stool to the left, at the edge of a grotto built of rusticated stone; a basin in front of her is replenished by a fountain let into the wall of the grotto, in the shape of a simple vase. The prototype of the figure of Susanna is the *Venus of Doidalses* or *Crouching Venus* in the Vatican. Rubens was acquainted with this antique marble sculpture, of which he had no doubt seen one of the many replicas in Italy,¹ and made use of the pose repeatedly. It occurs, for instance, in *Venus, Bacchus and Ceres*, c.1613, in the Kassel Museum (in reverse),² and in *Venus Chilled*, 1614, in the Antwerp Museum.³ In each of these works it is not merely a question of copying an external form, but of a figure combining physical and psychological qualities. Rubens did not simply copy the figure but adapted it to the character he wished to portray, and this is also the case with the frightened Susanna. In addition, the pearls round the young woman's neck and in her hair, the toilet articles (a glass scent-bottle and a brush and comb), the ornamental ewer and the bowl with vine-leaf decoration on the mosaic floor, are associated with the theme of *The Toilet of Venus* which had developed especially in Venetian painting (see No.62).

On the right are the Elders, both eager for their prey. They are clearly differentiated, however. The older one, gazing

at Susanna through the branches of a gnarled apple-tree, is too senile to accomplish his will, while the other, still full of energy, steps boldly over the balustrade towards her. A lapdog rushes to aid his mistress and barks at the intruders, while Susanna, who has not yet seen them, grasps at her cloak to cover her nakedness. The dog does not appear in Rubens's earlier versions of *Susanna and the Elders* (Nos.58–64), but can be seen in similar themes such as the early *Rape of Lucretia*, formerly in Sanssouci, Potsdam⁴ and the late *Bathsheba at the Fountain* in the Gemäldegalerie, Dresden (No.44; Fig.98).⁵ Very probably Rubens borrowed this motif from Veronese: it is seen, for instance, in the latter's *Susanna and the Elders*, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.⁶

As Maas⁷ pointed out, Susanna's striking physical beauty, which, together with the toilet accessories, arouses an association with Venus, and likewise the apple-tree which occupies such a prominent place in the picture, evoke the figure of Eve, the personification of ever-recurring temptation. Carter Leach⁸ has drawn attention to some patristic writers (St. Hippolytus, John Chrysostom and Asterius) who drew a parallel between the two Old Testament scenes of temptation, and whose writings may have been known to Rubens.

It has hitherto been generally accepted that the Munich painting, which on stylistic grounds is to be dated in the second half of the 1630s, came from the collection of Armand-Jean de Vignerod Duplessis, duc de Richelieu (1629–1715), nephew of the cardinal. The authority for this was Roger de Piles,⁹ who describes a *Susanna and the Elders* by Rubens, in Richelieu's possession, which broadly corresponds to the Munich painting. How-

ever, if his text is examined in detail some differences come to light. For instance, De Piles in his 1682 edition¹⁰ gives the dimensions '2 pieds et demi de haut, et trois pieds et demi de large', i.e. 81.21 × 113.69 cm., whereas the Munich painting measures 77 × 110 cm. De Piles, moreover, says of Susanna: 'Elle croise les bras fortement sur son sein' (She crosses her arms tightly over her breast), whereas in the Munich painting her right arm is outstretched. Attempts have been made to explain these anomalies by assuming that the work was cut down and overpainted in the eighteenth century. However, a careful technical examination in 1973¹¹ showed that, apart from the central area, there are no physical signs of important overpainting. It must be concluded, therefore, that two separate works are in question.

On the assumption that the work in Munich had been overpainted, several so-called copies¹² were formerly believed to represent its original state before the overpainting. These are all broadly similar to the Munich painting, but they all differ in the same way from it in important details, including Susanna's pose with arms crossed over her breast (Fig. 171), as in the version owned by the duc de Richelieu.¹³ The latter may have been the model on which they were all based; whether or not it was by Rubens's own hand¹⁴ can no longer be ascertained.

As to the painting in Munich, it may be wondered whether it is not identical with a *Susanna and the Elders* formerly owned by the marquise de Nancre, née Bertrand de la Bazinière, in Paris, and by Count Karl-Heinrich von Hoym (1694–1736, ambassador of Saxony–Poland in Paris),¹⁵ and purchased by a 'sieur Jestard' in 1728. This painting appears in the inventory of von Hoym's estate (No. 360) as

'de Rubens, peint sur bois, de 2 pieds 5 pouces de haut, sur 3 pieds 4 pouces de large' (by Rubens, on panel, 2 feet 5 inches high by 3 feet 4 inches wide [78.5 × 108.28 cm.]), measurements closely similar to those of the Munich painting.

1. Oldenbourg, *Rubens*, p.98; R.Lullies, *Die kauerende Aphrodite*, Munich, 1954; M.Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York, 1955, pp.82–83, figs.290–295; W.Stechow, *Rubens and the Classical Tradition*, Cambridge, Mass., 1968, pp.48–49, fig.34; Maas, p.132; M.Carter Leach, 1976, op. cit., pp.123, 126; F.-A.Dreier, 'Anmerkungen zur "Frierenden Venus" von Peter Paul Rubens', *Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte*, XVI, 1977, pp.45–52.
2. *K.d.K.*, p.63.
3. *K.d.K.*, p.70.
4. Evers, *Rubens*, pp.112–116, fig.54; M.Carter Leach, 1976, op. cit., p.123.
5. *K.d.K.*, p.347; M.Carter Leach, 1976, op. cit., p.123.
6. T.Pignatti, *Veronese*, Venice, 1976, p.159, No.301, fig.659.
7. Maas, p.135; M.Carter Leach, 1976, op. cit., pp.124–126.
8. M.Carter Leach, 1976, op. cit., pp.124–126.
9. *Le cabinet de Monseigneur le duc de Richelieu*, loc. cit.
10. M.Rooses, 'Les Rubens de la galerie du duc de Richelieu', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, pp.138–141.
11. M.Carter Leach, 1976, op. cit., p.121.
12. (1) Anonymous painting, Aix-en-Provence, Musée Granet; panel, 38 × 47 cm. PROV. Alexandre-Louis-Marie de Bourguignon de Fabregoule (1786–1814), donated by his son Jean-Baptiste-Marie (d.1863), in 1860. Alexandre-Louis-Marie was a miniaturist and made a copy of his picture on ivory (12 × 9 cm.), also in the Musée Granet (Cat. 1900, p.237, No.638). LIT. H.Gilbert, *Catalogue du Musée d'Aix*, Aix, 1867, p.57, No.245; H.Pontier, *Cat. Musée d'Aix*, 1900, II, pp.149–150, No.349; M.Carter Leach, 1976, op. cit., p.121, fig.4; (2) Anonymous painting, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 171); panel, 46.4 × 64.5 cm. PROV. Donation of Henry G.Marquand, 1890. LIT. *Goris-Held*, p.49, No.A40; M.Carter Leach, 1976, op. cit., p.121, fig.3; W.A.Liedtke, *Cat. Flemish Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 1984, pp.213–216, pl.81 (as *Workshop of Rubens*); (3) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 71 × 101 cm. PROV. Mr Hertogs, Antwerp; Mr Sano, Paris, sold by him to C.Verlat, Antwerp; Giebens Collection, Antwerp, sale, Antwerp, 1888 (bought by M.Rooses, Antwerp). LIT. Rooses, I, p.169, No.135; V, p.314, No.135; M.Carter Leach, 1976, op. cit., p.121; (4) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; on copper, 49 × 65.5 cm. PROV. Mme E.M.des C..., sale, Paris (Drouot), 19 November 1928, lot 44;

- sale, Brussels (G. Giroux), 10 May 1930, lot 36, pl. XVI; M.F.M. Collection, sale, Amsterdam (A.G.C. de Vries), 14 May 1935, lot 41, pl. 7; (5) Anonymous painting, Leningrad, Hermitage; copper, 37.2 × 50.3 cm. LIT. Cat. Hermitage, Leningrad, 1958, II, p. 95, No. 8567; *Varshavskaya, Rubens*, p. 250, No. 17; M. Carter Leach, 1976, op. cit., p. 121 n. 4; (6) Anonymous painting, Werfen im Land Salzburg, Mr A.E. Herrmann (1927); panel, 73 × 104 cm.; (7) Anonymous painting, Mexico City, Museo de San Carlos (as *Van Diepenbeek*); (8) Anonymous painting, whereabouts unknown; on copper, 44.5 × 60 cm. PROV. Sale, London (Christie's), 18 January 1963, lot 53; (9) Anonymous painting (Susanna only), whereabouts unknown; panel, 40.5 × 32.5 cm. PROV. F. Rothmann Gallery, Berlin (1927); sale, London (Christie's), 18 July 1952, lot 144; (10) Etching (large size) by P. Spruyt (Ghent, 1727–1801), in reverse (Fig. 172); inscribed below on the left, *P. P. Rubens Pinxit*; below on the right, *P. S.* (intertwined) *Schulff*. LIT. *Basan*, pp. 10–11, No. 37 (as 'vers 1763'); *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 73, under No. 220; IX, p. 307, under No. 228 (wrongly as by *J. B. Schiel*); *V. S.*, p. 11, No. 95; *Rooses*, I, p. 169, under No. 135; M. Carter Leach, 1976, op. cit., p. 120, fig. 2; (11) Etching (small size) by P. Spruyt, in reverse; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 73, under No. 220; IX, p. 307, under No. 228 (wrongly as by *J. B. Schiel*); *V. S.*, p. 11, under No. 95; *Rooses*, I, p. 169, under No. 135; M. Carter Leach, 1976, op. cit., pp. 120–121 n. 3.
13. In the 'copies' Susanna is seated on a circular bench instead of a stool, and holds a lock of hair instead of the cloak with which she seeks to cover herself. They also depict a herm and a putto (on the fountain), neither of which appears in the Munich painting. Finally, in the 'copies' the drapery hanging from the tree to the ground conceals the view of the garden.
14. The etching by P. Spruyt, large size (see n. 12) is inscribed *P. P. Rubens Pinxit*. M. Carter Leach, 1976 (op. cit., p. 126) believes that the 'copies' reflect a copy freely executed after the Munich painting, by an artist who did not properly understand Rubens's iconographical and compositional intentions.
15. Baron Jérôme Pichon, *Vie de Charles-Henry, comte de Hoym, ambassadeur de Saxe-Pologne en France et célèbre amateur de livres, 1694–1736. Publié par la Société des Bibliophiles Français*, Paris, 1880, II, pp. 73, 82, 87.

66. The Stoning of the Accusers of Susanna: Oil Sketch (Fig. 175)

Oil on panel; 24.5 × 35 cm.
Belgium, Private Collection.

PROVENANCE: ? Sale, London (Prestage), 1 March 1766, lot 33 ('The Stoning of the Elders of Susannah, painted with great freedom, clear and fine expression. Height 9 inch., width 1 Ft, 1 inch [22.86 × 33.01 cm.]'); ? Lord Palmerston; ? Lord Mount Temple, Broadlands, Hampshire; sale, Lucerne (Fischer), 30 November 1968, lot 3745, pl. 52; sale, Lucerne (Fischer), 12 June 1970, lot 509.

COPY: Anonymous drawing, New York, Mia N. Weiner Gallery (1985); black chalk, pen and brown ink and brown wash, heightened with white body-colour on blue paper; 235 × 340 mm. PROV. H.W. Campe (Leipzig, 1770–1862; L. 1391).

The two Elders who falsely accused Susanna of adultery were unmasked by the young Daniel and put to death by the will of the people (Daniel 13: 21–62; see No. 58).

As it was against the Jewish law to execute anyone within the city, the Elders are being stoned to death outside its bounds; the crenellated walls are seen on the left. The action takes place from left to right and is depicted in a typically Rubensian manner; the movement develops, step by step as it were, from a group of three spectators to the stonethrowers and from them to the chief characters, who are bound to a tree. The central figure among the spectators raises his right hand and extends the other in front of him as if ordering the execution to begin. Of the executioners, the one furthest left is taking off his shirt before setting to work; the next one, almost in right profile, is bending down to grasp two boulders; the third, more in the background, has a stone raised above his head and is poised ready to throw it;

while the fourth is already in the act of throwing. The Elders, naked except for a loincloth, shrink away as far as their fetters allow. One of them is bald, with a tanned complexion and a wound on his shoulder; the other, with grey hair and beard and a pale, sallow complexion, has bloodstains on his forehead.

This oil sketch, which is not uniformly well preserved, shows several *pentimenti*: for instance, traces of a head can be seen, half hidden by the face and chest of the executioner lifting up a rock in the background. No painting after the sketch is known, and I have no information as to its purpose.

Several elements of its composition occur in Rubens's *Martyrdom of St Stephen*, c.1615, Valenciennes Museum (Fig.174).¹ There the execution similarly takes place just outside the city walls; characters are depicted who are not actually taking part in the stoning; and two of the executioners appear in similar postures—the one holding a rock above his head (in reverse) and the one bending down to pick up stones.

A *Martyrdom of St Stephen*, Tatton Park, National Trust (formerly the property of Earl Egerton),² painted by Van Dyck in his Italian period, shows some resemblance to the present work in the development of its composition from left to right, but is most probably based on Rubens's *Martyrdom of St Stephen*, from which Van Dyck has copied quite faithfully the two executioners in the left corner and the figure of the saint (in reverse).

Apart from religious scenes that involve stoning, Rubens painted an oil sketch of *Deucalion and Pyrrha*, a theme from ancient mythology: the two survivors of the Flood throw stones over their shoulders and the stones turn into people, thus repopulating the earth (Ovid, *Meta-*

morphoses, I: 313–415). This sketch, now in the Prado in Madrid,³ was executed for a painting intended to decorate the Torre de la Parada.

Burchard, who pointed out the links with the paintings by Rubens and Van Dyck, described the present sketch, in a certificate of 1946, as an authentic work by Rubens, which he dated after 1630. For that reason it is included in this volume, but I find it hard to perceive the master's hand in it. It is probably the work of a contemporary of Rubens who was impressed by certain motifs in his *Martyrdom of St Stephen*, who also knew Rubens's later work and admired and imitated its pictorial style.

1. K. d. K., p.158; Vlieghe, *Saints*, II, pp.150–152, No.146, fig.112.

2. K. d. K., *Van Dyck, 1931*, p.137; Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, pp.147–148.

3. Alpers, *Torre*, pp.200–201, No.17a, fig.96; Díaz Padrón, *Cat. Prado*, pp.301–302, Inv. No.2041, pl.192.

67. The Finding of the Pagan Treasures and Judas Maccabaeus's Prayer for the Dead (Figs.177, 178)

Oil on canvas; 310 × 228 cm.
Nantes, Musée des Beaux-Arts.
Inv. No.D-804-1-1-P.

PROVENANCE: Tournai, Cathedral.

EXHIBITED: *Trésors sacrés. Exposition organisée à l'occasion du VIII^e centenaire de la Cathédrale Notre-Dame de Tournai*, Tournai, 1971, No.137; Paris, 1977–78, No.141.

LITERATURE: Descamps, *Vie*, I, p.325 (as 'Rubens, Martyre des Machabées'); Mensaert, *Peintre*, II, p.75 (as 'Rubens, Martyre des Machabées'); Descamps, *Voyage*, p.24 (as 'Rubens, Martyre des Machabées'); Michel, *Histoire*, pp.195–196 (as 'Rubens, Mar-

tyre des Machabées'); Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.38, No.112; A. Van Hasselt, *Histoire de P.P. Rubens, suivie du catalogue général et raisonné*, Brussels, 1840, p.230, No.45 (as 'Rubens, Martyre des Maccabées'); C.-J. Voisin, 'Des tableaux de Rubens que possédaient les églises de Tournai', *Bulletins de la société historique et littéraire de Tournai*, IV, July 1856, pp.266-271; Léonce de Pesquidoux, *Voyage artistique en France*, Paris, 1857, p.60 (as 'Rubens, Triomphe du guerrier'); Clément de Ris, *Musées de Province*, I, Paris, 1859, p.223 (as 'Rubens, Triomphe d'un guerrier'); *Calendrier de la ville et cité de Tournai*, 1775, reprinted with notes by C.-J. Voisin in *Bulletins de la société historique et littéraire de Tournai*, XI, June 1866, pp.199-202; Clément de Ris, *Musées de Province*, 2nd edn., 1872, p.321 (as 'Rubens, Triomphe d'un guerrier'); O. Marson, *Histoire et description du Musée de Nantes (Inventaire général d'Art de la France)*, 1883, p.129b (as 'Jan van Boekhorst, Triomphe d'un guerrier'); Piot, *Rapport*, pp.58-59, 68 n.1, 305, 339, 348, 446, 448; Rooses, I, pp.172-174, No.137 (as 'Rubens, Judas Macchabée priant pour les défunts'); Rooses, *Life*, I, p.202 (as Rubens, *Triumph of the Maccabees*); K.d.K., edn. Rosenberg, pp.192, 473 (S.192) (as Rubens, c.1618-1620); W. Bode, *Rembrandt und seine Zeitgenossen*, Leipzig, 1906, p.279 (as 'lässt die Hand des Van Dyck, Mitarbeiter von Rubens, erkennen'); A. Hocquet, 'L'Art et la Révolution française à Tournai. Les tableaux', *Revue tournaisienne*, II, 1906, pp.78-86; Dillon, p.221, pl.CLVII (as Rubens, c.1618-1620); M. Rooses, 'L'Œuvre de Rubens, Addenda et Corrigenda', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, p.286, No.137 (as 'travail d'élève, retouché par Rubens, c.1618'); J. Warichez, 'Tribulations de deux tableaux de P.P. Rubens', *Revue tournaisienne*, 1910, fasc.1-5, p.31, repr.; M. Nicolle, *Catalogue du Musée de Nantes*, Nantes, 1913,

pp.159-161, No.429 (as 'Rubens, Triomphe de Judas Macchabée, c.1634-1636'); K.d.K., pp.353, 469 (S.353) (as Rubens, c.1635); H. Rosenbaum, *Der junge Van Dyck*, Munich, 1928, p.49 (as 'frühe Komposition des Rubens [1617], die Ausführung von Van Dyck'); O. Leduc, *Le Rubens et le Jordaens réclamés par Tournai*, Tournai, 1929, p.23, repr.; Id., *Les tableaux revendiqués par Tournai. Réponse aux 'Amis des Musées Royaux'*, Tournai, 25 September 1930, p.31, repr.; C. Terlinden, *Les tableaux revendiqués par la ville de Tournai. Note historico-juridique*, Brussels, 1930, pp.7-8; Mâle, *Après le Concile de Trente*, p.60, fig.28; J. Warichez, *La Cathédrale de Tournai. Seconde partie (Ars Belgica, II)*, Brussels, 1935, under No.106; *Knipping, Iconography*, II, p.343; A. Millet, *Cat. Exh. Trésors sacrés. Exposition organisée à l'occasion du VIIIe centenaire de la Cathédrale Notre-Dame de Tournai*, Tournai, 1971, pp.125-126, No.137; T.L. Glen, *Rubens and the Counter Reformation. Studies in his Religious Paintings between 1609 and 1620*, New York, 1977, p.265; A.P. de Mirimonde, 'Rubens et la musique', *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen*, 1977, pp.167-168; J. Lacambre, in *Cat. Exh. Paris, 1977-78*, pp.188-190, No.141, repr. (as Rubens, c.1634-1636); D. Freedberg, 'L'année Rubens, manifestations et publications en 1977', *Revue de l'Art*, 39, 1978, p.36; Held, *Oil Sketches*, I, p.436, under No.316; C. Souviron, *Cat. peintures monumentales, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Nantes*, I, 1983, pp.35-39, No.V, repr. (as 'Rubens, Triomphe de Judas Macchabée'); Freedberg, *Life of Christ after the Passion*, pp.241-245, under No.54.

After defeating Gorgias, Governor of Idu-maea, Judas Maccabaeus returned with his men to the battlefield to collect and

bury the Jewish dead. Under the coats of the slain they found objects consecrated to the idols of Jamnia, a city which they had recently stormed. As the possession of such things was forbidden by the Jewish law, Judas understood why the men had lost their lives; he beseeched the Lord to forgive them, and warned his soldiers not to follow their example. 'And when he had made a gathering throughout the company to the sum of twelve thousand drachmas of silver, he sent it to Jerusalem to offer a sin offering, doing therein very well and honestly, in that he was mindful of the Resurrection; for if he had not hoped that they that were slain should have risen again, it had been superfluous and vain to pray for the dead' (II Maccabees 12: 39-46).

Rubens depicts the hero standing upright, one hand half outstretched, the other resting on his baton, and with his eyes raised to heaven in prayer. Behind him is a trophy in which, among other objects, a severed head on a spear can be seen;¹ to the left a priest with torch in hand points to a long procession of warriors, musicians and slaves carrying vases filled with coins. Soldiers in the foreground are collecting the possessions of the dead; one of them hands to a priest a liturgical vessel forming part of the spoil. Another priest, some warriors and a boy leading the commander's horse form a compact group behind the victorious general.

The theme of the painting is related to the doctrine of Purgatory:² Judas's action in praying for the dead, expressing his confidence in the Resurrection, was one of the principal arguments used to justify such prayer for the consolation and liberation of souls. This doctrine was attacked by the Protestants, who regarded the Books of the Maccabees as apocryphal, but was reaffirmed by the Council of

Trent³ and widely defended by Counter-Reformation writers.⁴

Judas Maccabaeus did not occupy a fixed place in medieval iconography, where he almost always figured as an armed warrior: this was because the Books of the Maccabees (I and II) were not finally admitted to the scriptural canon until the Council of Trent. Although, from then onwards, Counter-Reformation theologians used the text concerning his prayer as a decisive argument against the Protestants,⁵ the theme is rare in seventeenth-century painting.⁶

The present work, together with an *Ascent of Souls from Purgatory*, Tournai Cathedral (Fig. 176),⁷ was commissioned from Rubens in 1635-36 by Maximilien Vilain de Gand, Bishop of Tournai from 1615 to 1644, for an altar of the departed, known as '*de la fêrie*', which was to be erected behind the high altar in the choir of Tournai Cathedral. The altar was inaugurated by the bishop on 12 September 1636, as recorded in the minutes of a session of the chapter on 15 September.⁸ Vilain expressly stated in his will that he had commissioned the two paintings from Rubens, as well as the altar of the departed and the vault beneath it, in which he wished to be buried.⁹

The Ascent of Souls from Purgatory formed a retable above the altar,¹⁰ while *Judas Maccabaeus* was placed back to back with it facing the ambulatory and the Lady Chapel, the axial chapel of the choir. Vilain's monument was erected beneath the painting of *Judas Maccabaeus*; it is still *in situ*, with tablets commemorating the bishops and canons of Tournai.¹¹

Both *Judas Maccabaeus* and *The Ascent of Souls from Purgatory* were cleaned and restored several times before the end of the eighteenth century: in 1686, 1727 (by Jacques Delhaye and Marc-Antoine Le-

rouge), 1740 (by Gilles Desfontaines) and 1762 (by Frédéric Dumesnil of Brussels).¹² Several early writers make it clear that the work was already in deplorable condition. In 1753 Descamps¹³ still described it as 'admirable', but in 1769 he found it completely ruined by unskilful restoration.¹⁴ In 1771 Michel also, though less emphatically, deplored its dilapidated state.¹⁵

When the French occupied Tournai in 1794 they sent the two paintings to Paris, where they were kept in the 'Muséum Central des Arts'. On 14 September 1802 *Judas Maccabaeus* was assigned to the newly founded museum at Nantes, where it arrived in 1804 with the designation 'École de Rubens' and the notation 'à nettoyer'. After the fall of Napoleon *The Ascent of Souls from Purgatory* was returned to Tournai Cathedral, but not *Judas Maccabaeus*, which remained at Nantes despite repeated attempts to recover it over several years.¹⁶ Subsequently it was again several times restored, and remounted in 1859 by Mortemar, 'restaurateur des Musées impériaux'. In 1940, when the museum was occupied by the Ministry of Shipping, the painting was being removed when it fell down and tore in several places; consequently it was again restored in 1942 by Jean-Gabriel Goulinat, who patched it in places and cleaned it slightly. Finally, it was thoroughly restored in 1977 on the occasion of the exhibition *Le Siècle de Rubens* in Paris.¹⁷

Although the work was very probably painted with studio assistance and bears the traces of its subsequent vicissitudes, it clearly shows the hand of Rubens in places, for instance in the rendering of the play of light and in certain touches of colour, as in the livid countenance of the dead warriors in the foreground. Both the general composition and some motifs

recall Italian models. The idea of showing a commander in armour addressing his troops may have been borrowed from Giulio Romano's *Vision of Constantine*, Vatican, Sala di Costantino,¹⁸ or Titian's *Allocution of General del Vasto to his Soldiers*, Madrid, Prado,¹⁹ which is based on that work.

Rubens had acquired from antique sculpture a knowledge of Greek and especially Roman styles of armour, while at the principal European courts he had an opportunity of seeing the finest examples of the late Middle Ages and Renaissance. Although at first sight *Judas Maccabaeus* seems to be accoutred in the style of his own period, this is not in fact the case. As was nearly always his practice when depicting armour, Rubens allowed himself some liberty in combining antique and Renaissance elements.²⁰

The procession of warriors, priests, musicians and bearers of spoils and trophies is reminiscent of those in Rubens's *Obsequies of Decius Mus*, *The Entry of Henry IV into Paris*, and *The Triumph of the Cardinal Infante Ferdinand*.²¹ As Lacambre²² has pointed out, it would be unthinkable without the influence of Mantegna, Giulio Romano and probably also Polidoro da Caravaggio. Rubens had two opportunities to study Mantegna's *Triumph of Caesar*, a frieze of nine scenes painted between 1486 and 1494. He must have seen it early in his life at Mantua, where the canvases were displayed in the Palazzo Pusterla, and again, over twenty years later, in England after they had been acquired by Charles I in 1629.²³ Of Giulio Romano's works he knew, among others, *The Triumph of Scipio*, which he copied.²⁴ As to Polidoro, whom he also copied,²⁵ he may have drawn inspiration for the trophies either from the façade of the Palazzo Milesi or from the *Libro*

de *Diversi Trophæi di Polidoro*, Rome, 1586.²⁶

Rubens also used Italian models for some individual figures, such as the dead man lying on his back in the foreground, who is closely related to a crushed giant in Giulio Romano's decoration for the Sala dei Giganti in the Palazzo del Te at Mantua.²⁷ Another example is the soldier bending forward, also in the foreground, with a vase in his arms: this figure is reminiscent of Perimedes in Primaticcio's *Ulysses Meeting the Shade of Tiresias in Hades*, a composition that was copied by Rubens.²⁸

A small anonymous panel representing *The Finding of the Pagan Treasures and Judas Maccabæus's Prayer for the Dead*, Banbury, National Trust at Upton House,²⁹ is obviously a rather mediocre copy. It may, as Held suggested, have been taken from a lost authentic sketch for the painting in the Nantes Museum.

1. According to J.Lacambre (op. cit., p.88) and C.Souviron (op. cit., p.35), the severed head is that of Nicanor (II Maccabees 15:30). However, the battle with that general took place after the one with Gorgias of Idumaea. Trophies with severed heads occur elsewhere in Rubens's work, e.g. in *The Obsequies of Decius Mus* (K.d.K., p.147).
2. Mâle, *Après le Concile de Trente*, pp.58–65; *Knipping, Iconography*, II, pp.337–343; Freedberg, *Life of Christ after the Passion*, p.242, under No.54.
3. *Sessio XXIV*, 3 December 1564, *Decretum de Purgatorio*.
4. Mâle, *Après le Concile de Trente*, pp.59–60; *Knipping, Iconography*, p.339.
5. *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, II, 1, col.448.
6. Rubens's painting at Nantes is the only 17th-century one mentioned by Réau, *Iconographie*, II, 1, p.304; Figler, *Barockthemen*, 1974, I, p.234; and *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, II, col.449.
7. Freedberg, *Life of Christ after the Passion*, pp.241–245, No.54, fig.173.
8. Tournai Cathedral, Archives, *Acta capitularia*, 15 September 1636. Cited by A.Millet (op. cit., p.126), J.Lacambre (op. cit., p.188) and C.Souviron (op. cit., p.35).
9. 'Quant à mon corps ... je choisis le lieu de son repos derrière le grand autel en la cave que j'ai fait faire, avec la table des Trépassés, où j'ai fait

faire deux peintures par le fameux peintre Rubens' (As to my body, I choose that it shall repose behind the high altar in the vault I have had made, with the altar of the Departed, for which I have had two paintings made by the famous artist Rubens). Cited by Rooses, I, p.173 n.1.

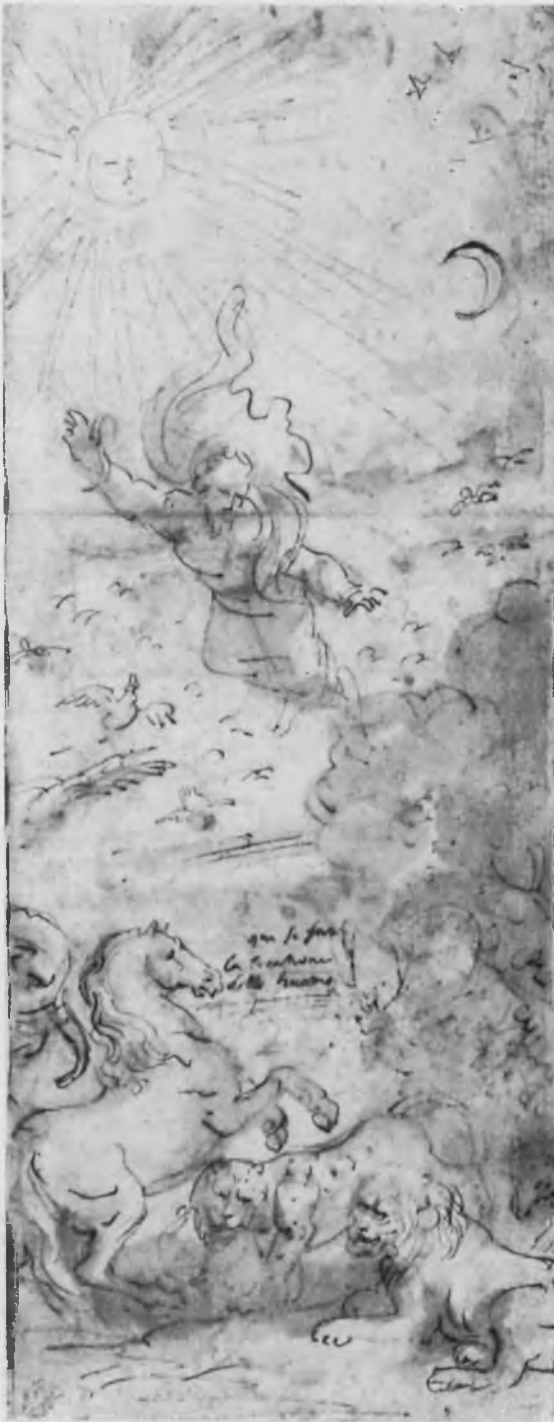
10. The painting now hangs opposite the main altar in the chapel of the Holy Sacrament in the south ambulatory of the Cathedral.
11. See A.Millet (op. cit., p.125), J.Lacambre (op. cit., p.188) and C.Souviron (op. cit., p.35). In Freedberg, *The Life of Christ after the Passion*, the author confuses the location of the two paintings, stating that 'the present work [*The Ascent of Souls from Purgatory*] was hung facing the chapel of the Virgin'.
12. See M.Nicolle (op. cit., p.160) and A.Millet (op. cit., p.125).
13. *Descamps, Vie*, p.325.
14. *Descamps, Voyage*, p.24: 'belle composition, encore aussi mal repeinte que le premier & entièrement perdue: c'est grand dommage' (a fine composition, but as badly repainted as the former [*The Ascent of Souls from Purgatory*] and quite ruined: it is a great pity). Dumesnil's unskilful restoration in Brussels had taken place between 1753 and 1769.
15. Michel, *Histoire*, p.196: 'elle a encore conservé quelques beaux restes du grand coloris de Rubens, mais elle a été aussi malheureuse que la précédente, ayant passé les mêmes et secondaires verges, tant à Tournai qu'à Bruxelles, où elle se trouva en 1768 [sic], au même laboratoire, avec le ci-devant marqué *Purgatoire*' (it still shows some fine remains of Rubens's splendid colouring, but it has been no more fortunate than the other work [*Purgatory*], having suffered the same ill-treatment and more, both in Tournai and in Brussels, where it was in the same laboratory in 1768 [sic] as the aforementioned *Purgatory*).
16. See A.Millet (op. cit., p.125), J.Lacambre (op. cit., p.188) and C.Souviron (op. cit., p.35).
17. See C.Souviron (op. cit., p.35).
18. Raffaellino dal Colle, from a cartoon by Giulio Romano, Rome, Vatican, Sala di Costantino (F.Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, I–II, New Haven, 1958, p.47, fig.57). See J.Lacambre, op. cit., p.188.
19. Madrid, Prado, Cat. 1945, p.636, No.417; K.d.K., *Tizian*, 1911, pp.89, 253, under S89; H.E.Wethey, *Titian*, I, London, 1971, pp.79, 80, No.10, figs.57, 58). See J.Lacambre, op. cit., p.188.
20. H.D.Rodee, 'Rubens' Treatment of Antique Armor', *Art Bulletin*, XLIX, 1967, pp.223–230.
21. K.d.K., pp.147, 317, 371 respectively.
22. Op. cit., p.190.
23. Two drawings by Rubens after Mantegna's *Triumph of Caesar* are known: *Three Prisoners of Caesar*, Boston, Mass., Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum (Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, pp.40–41, No.21, repr.), and, more freely copied, *Two Cors-*

- let-Bearers, Paris, Louvre (M. Jaffé, 'Rubens' Drawings at Antwerp', *Burlington Magazine*, XCVIII, 1956, p.318, pl.34; Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, p.41, under No.21. His *Roman Triumph*, London, National Gallery (K.d.K., p.310), is partly a copy after Mantegna and partly a *pasticcio* in Mantegna's style.
24. F.Hartt, op. cit., pp.227-231, figs.474-483. A drawing by Rubens after Giulio Romano's *Triumph of Scipio* is in the Louvre, Paris (*Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, pp.28-29, No.1081, pl.XLVIII).
25. For the copies by Rubens after Polidoro, see Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, pp.47-48, fig.130.
26. See A.Marabottini, *Polidoro da Caravaggio*, Rome, 1969; Palazzo Milesi, pp.126-129, 366-369, No.15, pls.CXLVI-CLV; *Libro de Diversi Trophei di Polidoro*, p.376, pl.CLX.
27. See F.Hartt, op. cit., figs.338, 341; J.Lacambre, op. cit., p.190.
28. Drawing in Weimar, Schlossmuseum (see Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, pp.250-253, No.163, repr.).
29. Panel, 64.5 x 49.5 cm.; the panel (? or the photograph) appears to have been cropped at the top and at both sides. Formerly in the collection of Captain A.Cunningham Graham, Isle of Bute, Scotland, and Viscount Bearsted (Cat. 1950, No. 166). Exhibited in *Brussels, 1937*, No.5, fig.1 (as *Rubens*). See A.Blunt and M.Whinncy, *The Nation's Pictures*, London, 1950, p.256 (as *Rubens*); A.P.de Mirimonde, 'Rubens et la musique', *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen, 1977*, pp.167-168, fig.61 (as *Rubens*); *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.436, under No.316, fig.460.

SOURCES OF PHOTOGRAPHS

- Amsterdam, Lichtbeeldeninstituut: Fig.75
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum: Figs.7, 35, 69, 121, 149
Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum: Figs.70, 71
Antwerp, M.Loobuyck: Fig.175
Antwerp, Rubenianum: Figs.6, 12, 14, 19, 25, 47, 48, 54, 62, 63, 66, 73, 79, 80, 85, 90, 91, 93, 94, 118, 120, 122, 124, 125, 132, 138, 140, 143, 144, 145, 162, 165, 167, 168, 172
Basle, Oeffentliche Kunstsammlung: Figs.24, 30, 137
Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Jörg Anders): Figs.28, 41, 97, 146
Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum: Fig.113
Brussels, A.C.L.: Figs.84, 133, 154, 177
Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts: Fig.31
Cincinatti, Art Museum: Fig.76
Chicago, Art Institute: Fig.77
Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst: Figs.32, 38, 40, 81, 82, 101
Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum: Fig.99
Detroit, Institute of Arts: Fig.96
Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen: Fig.98
Eaton Hall, The Duke of Westminster: Fig.23
Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland: Fig.43
Florence, Alinari: Fig.51
Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut: Figs.45, 89, 110
Geneva, Collection of M. Jean P. François: Fig.46
Haarlem, Teylers Museum: Figs.11, 18, 21, 58, 95, 102, 104, 109, 115, 116, 117, 159, 160, 161
Kansas City, Missouri, William Rockhill Nelson Gallery and Atkins Museum of Art: Fig.27
Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle: Fig.49
Leningrad, Hermitage: Figs.22, 34, 127, 155
London, British Museum: Figs.5, 16, 52, 148, 150, 163
London, A.C.Cooper: Figs.44, 108
London, Courtauld Institute Galleries: Figs.1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 53
London, Dulwich College Picture Gallery: Fig.26
London, National Gallery: Figs.55, 59, 72
London, Sotheby's: Figs.50, 68, 139, 151
London, Victoria and Albert Museum: Fig.147
Lugano, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection: Fig.78
Madrid, Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando: Fig.153
Madrid, Museo del Prado: Figs.39, 60, 100
Marburg, Bildarchiv: Fig.119
Miami Beach, Bass Museum of Art: Fig.10
Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen: Figs.42, 74, 103, 170, 173
Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung: Fig.88
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art: Fig.171
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library: Figs.141, 142
Paris, Archives Photographiques: Fig.126
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale: Fig.112
Paris, Bulloz: Fig.92
Paris, Documentation Photographique de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux: Fig.13, 15, 29, 36, 67, 87, 128, 158, 166, 169
Paris, Fondation Custodia, Institut Néerlandais: Figs.64, 65
Paris, Giraudon: Fig.174, 176, 178
Pasadena, California, Norton Simon Foundation: Fig.86
Potsdam, Bildergalerie Sanssouci: Fig.157
Prague, National Gallery: Fig.123
Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art: Fig.56
Rome, Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale: Fig.152
Rome, Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione: Fig.114
Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen: Figs.37, 83
Sarasota, John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art: Fig.9
Schwerin, Staatliches Museum: Fig.17
Stockholm, Nationalmuseum: Figs.20, 61, 111, 130, 131, 156, 164
Vaduz, Sammlungen des Regierenden Fürsten von Liechtenstein: Fig.57
Vienna, Albertina: Figs.33, 106, 107, 129, 136
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum: Fig.135
Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art: Figs.105, 134

ILLUSTRATIONS



1. Rubens, *The Creation of Animals*, drawing (No. 1). London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Princes Gate Collection



2. Rubens, *Three Different Types of Frame for Scenes of the Life of Christ*, drawing (verso of No. 1)



3. Rubens, *The Temptation of Man*, drawing (No. 2). London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Princes Gate Collection



4. Rubens, *Three Different Types of Frame for Religious Scenes*, drawing (verso of No. 2)



5. Marcantonio Raimondi, *The Temptation of Man*, engraving after Raphael



6. Rubens, *The Temptation of Man* (No. 3). Antwerp, Rubenshuis



Door afgunstige w'it. met Jaltirzy gevoet. Vermoort wasser hy sach de zoete offerhand
heeft dierst gebooren mensch syn broer met smact en schande meer geldde voor de heer. als toffer gheen
P. Paul. Rubens in. David de Meque. excudit.

7. Willem Buytewech, Cain Slaying his Brother Abel, etching



8. Rubens, *Cain Slaying his Brother Abel* (No. 4).
London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Princes Gate Collection



9. Rubens, *The Flight of Lot and his Family from Sodom* (No. 5).
Sarasota, John and Mable Ringling
Museum of Art



10. After Rubens, *The Flight of Lot and his Family from Sodom*.
Miami Beach, Florida,
The John and Johanna
Bass Collection



11. Lucas Vorsterman, *The Flight of Lot and his Family from Sodom*, engraving

ERUDITIONE ET FIDELITATE CL. V. D. IOANNI BRANTIO LC. VRBI ANTVERPENSIS AD ACUM, SOCIUM AMANTISSIMO, PETRVS PAVLVS RVDENS GENS OBSERVANTE ERGO H. D.
F. F. Vorsterman fecit.



12. Jacob Jordaens, *The Flight of Lot and his Family from Sodom*. Tokyo, The National Museum of Western Art



13. Rubens, *The Flight of Lot and his Family from Sodom* (No. 6). Paris, Musée du Louvre



14. After Rubens. *The Flight of Lot and his Family from Sodom*, oil sketch (No. 6a). Whereabouts unknown



15. Eugène Delacroix, *The Flight of Lot and his Family from Sodom*. Paris, Musée du Louvre



16. Mantegna, *The Calumny of Apelles*, drawing. London, British Museum



17. Rubens. *Lot and his Daughters* (No. 7). Schwerin, Staatliches Museum



18. Willem Swanenburg, *Lot and his Daughters*, engraving



19. Rubens, *Lot and his Daughters* (No. 8). Biarritz, Private Collection



20. Attributed to Cornelis de Vos, *Lot and his Daughters*
(detail of *'Interior of Rubens' House'*), Stockholm, Nationalmuseum



21. Willem de Leeuw, *Lot and his Daughters*, engraving



22. Rubens, *The Expulsion of Hagar* (No. 9). Leningrad, Hermitage



23. Rubens, *The Expulsion of Hagar* (No. 10). Eaton Hall, Collection of the Duke of Westminster



24. Tobias Stimmer, *The Expulsion of Hagar*, woodcut



P.P. Rubbens Pinxit

F. De Roy Fecit aqua forti

25. Frans De Roy, *Hagar in the Wilderness*, etching



26 Rubens, *Hagar in the Wilderness* (No. 11).
London, Dulwich College Picture Gallery



27. Rubens, *Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac* (No. 12). Kansas City, Missouri, William Rockhill Nelson Gallery and Atkins Museum of Art



28. Rubens, *Study for the Figure of Isaac*, drawing (No. 12a).
Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett

Deus Abraham Deus Isaac Deus Jacob



1 Patriarche Abraham in atto di sacrificare
per esser più cognoscibile di quella maniera
2 Isaac si potrà deprimere cieco per che tal
si fece a vicenda
3 Jacob ebbe la visione della scala dormendo



30. Tobias Stimmer, *Abraham and Melchizedek*, woodcut



31. Rubens, *Abraham and Melchizedek* (No. 17). Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts



32. Rubens, *Two Studies for St Andrew and a Study for an Ancient Priest (Melchizedek)*, drawing (No. 17a). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst



33. Rubens, *Abraham and Melchizedek*, retouched drawing (No. 17b). Vienna, Albertina



34. Rubens, *Abraham and Melchizedek*, retouched engraving (No. 17c).
Leningrad, Hermitage



35. Rubens, *Abraham and Melchizedek*, retouched engraving (No. 17d).
Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet



36. Rubens, *A Kneeling Nude Man, seen from behind, setting down a Heavy Chest*, drawing. Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre



37. Rubens, *A Kneeling Nude Man, seen partly from behind, setting down a Heavy Load*, drawing, Rotterdam, Boymans-van Beuningen Museum



38. After Rubens, *Nude Man Standing, Carrying a Load*, drawing. Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst



39. Rubens, *The Adoration of the Magi*. Madrid, Prado



40. After Rubens, *Crouching Nude Man*, drawing.
Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst



41. Rubens, *The Reconciliation of Esau and Jacob*, drawing (No. 15).
Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett



42. Rubens, *The Reconciliation of Esau and Jacob* (No. 16). Schleissheim, Staatsgalerie



41. Rubens, *The Reconciliation of Esau and Jacob*, drawing (No. 15).
Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett



43. Rubens, *The Reconciliation of Esau and Jacob*,
oil sketch (No. 16a). Edinburgh,
National Gallery of Scotland



44. ?Rubens, ?*The Meeting of Jacob and Joseph*, oil sketch (No. 14).
Lausanne, Collection
of M. Jean Zanchi



45. Rubens, *The Finding of Moses*, drawing (No. 18). Frankfurt am Main, Städelsches Kunstinstitut



46. After Rubens, *Moses Adopted by Pharaoh's Daughter* (No. 19). Geneva, Collection of M. Jean P. François



47-48. Anonymous Flemish painter, *Moses, Aaron und Miriam with other Women Celebrate the Crossing of the Red Sea* (No. 20).
47 (left half): Geneva, Collection of M. Jean P. François. 48 (right half): Graz, Alte Galerie am Landesmuseum Joanneum



49. Anonymous Flemish painter, *Moses, Aaron and Miriam with other Women Celebrate the Crossing of the Red Sea*. Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle



50. Rubens, *Moses*, drawing (No. 21). Whereabouts unknown

51. Michelangelo, *The Brazen Serpent*. Rome, Vatican, Sistine Chapel





52. Rubens, *Men and Women Attacked by Serpents*, drawing (No. 22). London, British Museum



53. Rubens, *The Brazen Serpent* (No. 23).
London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Princes Gate Collection



54. Rubens. *The Brazen Serpent*, original format (No. 23).
London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Princes Gate Collection



55. Rubens, *The Brazen Serpent* (No. 24). London, National Gallery



56. After Rubens, *Gideon Overcoming the Midianites* (No. 25). Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art



57. Rubens, *Decius Mus Relating his Dream*.
Vaduz, Prince of Liechtenstein Collection



58. Schelte a Bolswert, *The Brazen Serpent*, engraving



59. Detail of fig. 55



60. Rubens, *Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion* (No. 26).
Madrid, Duque de Hernani



61. After Rubens, *Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion*. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum



62. Franciscus van den Wijngaerde,
Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion, etching



63. Adriaen Waterloos, *Philip IV in Armour*;
Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion, medal



64. After Rubens, *Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion*, drawing.
Paris, Fondation Custodia (Frits Lugt Collection)



65. After Rubens, *Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion*, drawing.
Paris, Fondation Custodia (Frits Lugt Collection)



66. Erasmus Quellinus, *Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion*, etching



67. Rubens, *Tiger, Lion and Leopard Hunt*, Rennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts



68. After Rubens, *Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion*, drawing. Whereabouts unknown



69. Rubens, *Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion*, drawing (No. 28). Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet



70. Rubens, *Samson Slaying a Philistine*, drawing (No. 29).
Amsterdam, Gemeente-Musea, Fodor Collection



71. Rubens, *Samson Overcoming Two Philistines*, drawing (No. 30). Amsterdam, Gemeente-Musea, (verso of Fig.70). Fodor Collection



72. Rubens, *Samson Asleep in Delilah's Lap* (No. 31). London, National Gallery



73. Jacob Matham, *Samson Asleep in Delilah's Lap*, engraving



74. Frans Francken II, *The Five Senses* (detail). Munich, Alte Pinakothek



75. Rubens, *Samson Asleep in Delilah's Lap*, drawing (No. 31a).
Amsterdam, Collection of Mrs I.Q. van Regteren Altena



76. Rubens, *Samson Asleep in Delilah's Lap*, oil sketch (No. 31b).
Cincinnati, Ohio, Cincinnati Art Museum



77. Rubens. *Samson Taken by the Philistines*, oil sketch (No. 32). Chicago, Art Institute, Robert A. Waller Memorial Collection



78. Rubens, *The Blinding of Samson*, oil sketch (No. 33). Lugano, Switzerland, Collection of Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza



79. Rubens, *David Strangling a Bear* (No. 34).
New York, Spencer A. Samuels Gallery



80. Willem Panneels, *David Strangling a Bear*, engraving



81. After Rubens, *David*, drawing, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst



82. After Rubens, *Head and Forepaws of a Lion*, drawing, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst



83. Rubens, *David Slaying Goliath*, drawing (No. 36).
Rotterdam, Boymans van Beuningen-Museum



84. Rubens, *David Slaying Goliath*, drawing (No. 37).
Montpellier, Musée Atger, Faculté de Médecine



J. Muxel sculp.

RUBENS, PETER PAUL

85. N. Muxel, *David Slaying Goliath*, etching



86. Rubens, *David Slaying Goliath* (No. 38).
Pasadena, California, The Norton Simon Foundation



87. Rubens, *King David Playing the Harp*, drawing (No. 39).
Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre



88. Jan Sadeler after Pietro Candido,
King David Playing the Harp, engraving



89. Rubens, *King David Playing the Harp* (No. 40).
Frankfurt am Main, Städelsches Kunstinstitut



90. Rubens, *The Meeting of David and Abigail* (No. 41). Malibu, California, J. Paul Getty Museum



91. Rubens, *The Meeting of David and Abigail*, oil sketch (No. 41a). New York. Mrs Rudolf J. Heinemann



92. After Rubens, *The Meeting of David and Abigail*.
Bergues-St Winocq (French Flanders), Museum



93. After Rubens, *The Meeting of David and Abigail*. Whereabouts unknown



94. Detail of Fig. 90



95. Adriaen Lommelin, *The Meeting of David and Abigail*, engraving



96. Rubens, *The Meeting of David and Abigail* (No. 42). Detroit, The Detroit Institute of Arts



97. Rubens, *Bathsheba Receiving David's Letter*, drawing (No. 43).
Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett



08. Rubens, *Bathsheba Receiving David's Letter* (No. 44). Dresden, Gemäldegalerie



99. Rubens, *A Woman Standing*, drawing (No. 45a).
Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum



100. Rubens, *The Judgement of Solomon* (No. 45). Madrid, Prado



101. After Rubens, *The Judgement of Solomon*. Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst



102. Boetius a Bolswert, *The Judgement of Solomon*, engraving



103. Rubens, *The Defeat of Sennacherib* (No. 47). Munich, Alte Pinakothek



104. Pieter C. Soutman, *The Defeat of Sennacherib*, engraving



105. ?Pieter C. Soutman, *The Defeat of Sennacherib*, drawing. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art



106. *The Defeat of Sennacherib*, engraving published by Nicolaas Visscher



107. After Rubens, *The Defeat of Sennacherib*, drawing (No. 48). Vienna, Albertina



108. Rubens, *Tobit Burying a Slain Jew*, drawing (No. 49). Farnham, Collection of Wolfgang Burchard



109. Cornelis Galle the Elder,
Judith Beheading Holofernes, engraving



110. Rubens, *Judith Beheading Holofernes*, drawing (No. 50a).
Frankfurt am Main, Städelsches Kunstinstitut



111. Rubens, *Judith Beheading Holofernes*, retouched drawing (No. 50b).
Stockholm, Nationalmuseum



112. Rubens. *Judith Beheading Holofernes*, retouched engraving, (No. 50c).
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale



113. Rubens, *Judith with the Head of Holofernes* (No. 51).
Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum



114. Rubens, *Judith Putting the Head of Holofernes in a Sack* (No. 52).
Florence, Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici
e Storici per le Province di Firenze e Pistoia



Ex muc. RVBENI fec. Discip. eius Guil^o Panneels.

Just. & wyngaerde sc.



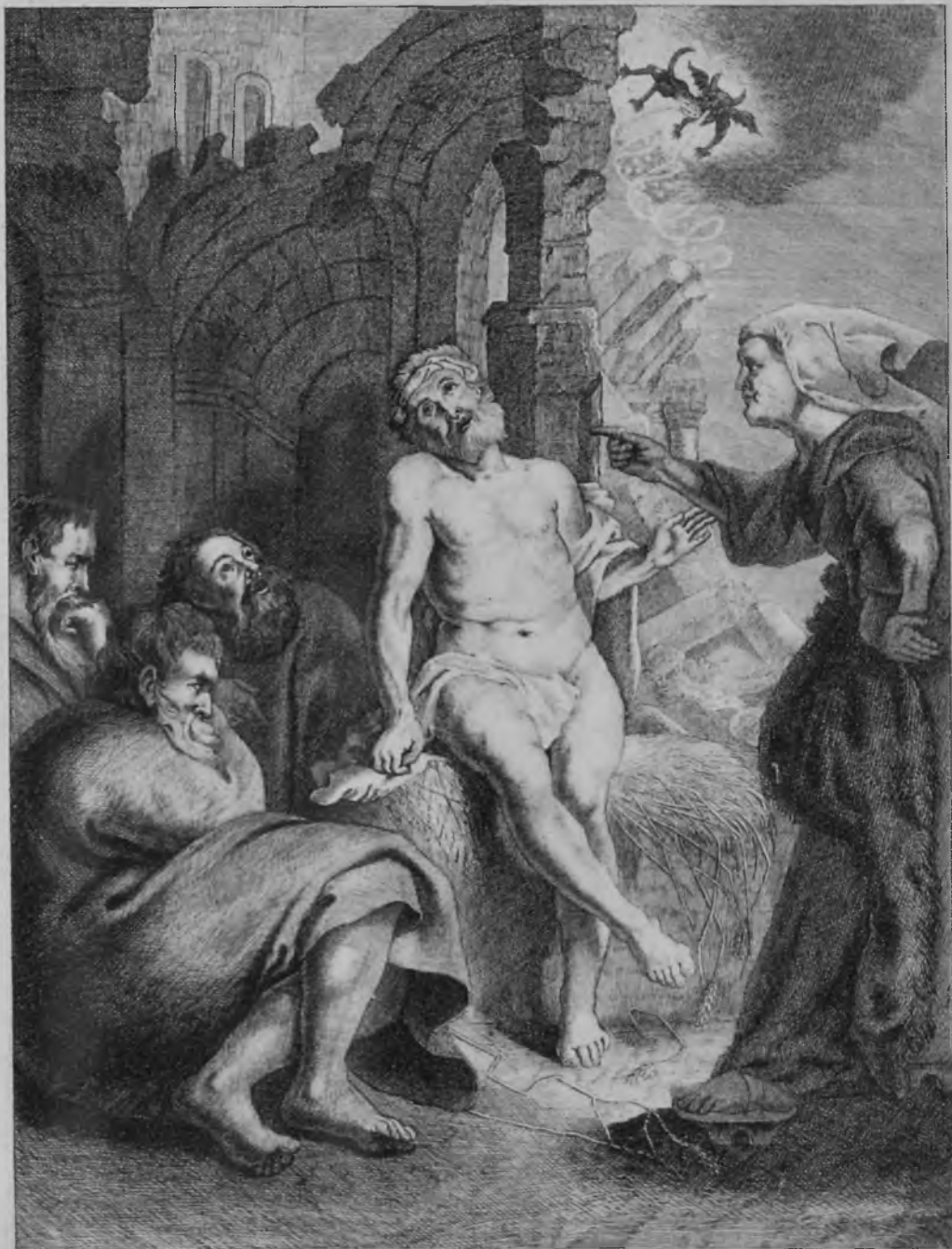
118. ?Rubens, *Esther before Ahasuerus* (No. 53a). Whereabouts unknown



119. After Rubens, *Esther before Ahasuerus*. Pommersfelden, Schloss Weissenstein



120. After Rubens, *Esther before Ahasuerus*. Whereabouts unknown



*Conclusitque me Deus apud iniquum. ego ille quondam opulentus repente contritus sum. Et
concidit me vulnere super vulnus Job XVI*

*Ingeniosissimo et Familiari Domino D^{no} JACOBO BERGÉ. Sciamano & Bruxellensi. Academiæ Picturæ & Sculpturæ Directori in amicis figuris
referat. J. Kraft. Scilicet*

P. P. Anthonis pinxit.

Hoyt delit.

121. Jan Lauwrijn Krafft, *Job Seated on a Dunghill between his Wife and his Three Friends*, engraving



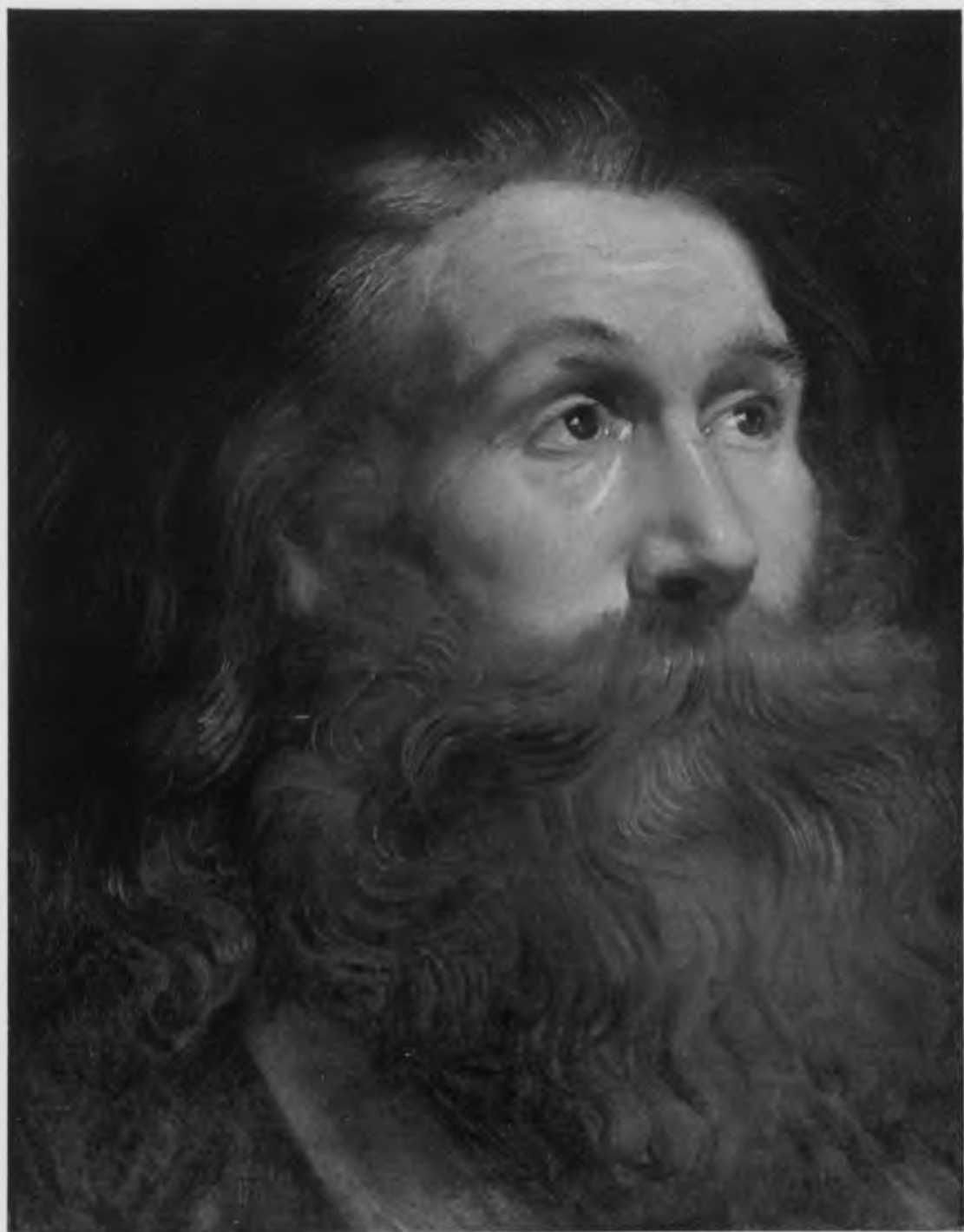
122. Rubens, *Job Seated on a Dunghill between his Wife and his Three Friends*, retouched drawing (No. 54a). Cambridge, Collection of M. Jaffé



123. Gerard Seghers, *Job Seated on a Dunghill between his Wife and his Three Friends*. Prague, National Gallery



124. ?Nicolaas van der Horst, *Job Seated on a Dunghill between his Wife and his Three Friends*, drawing. Amsterdam, N. de Boer Foundation



125. Rubens, *Head of a Bearded Man* (No. 54b). Whereabouts unknown



126. Gaspar de Crayer. *Job Seated on a Dunghill between his Wife and his Three Friends*. Toulouse, Musée des Beaux-Arts



127. Abraham van Diepenbeeck. *Job Seated on a Dunghill between his Wife and his Three Friends*, drawing. Leningrad, Hermitage



128. Anthony van Dyck, *Job Tormented by Demons and Abused by his Wife*, drawing. Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre.



129. Lucas Vorsterman, *Job Tormented by Demons and Abused by his Wife*, engraving



130. Rubens, *Nude Man leaning back (Job)*, drawing (No. 55a). Stockholm, Nationalmuseum



131. Rubens, *A Tormenting Demon*, drawing (No. 55b). Stockholm, Nationalmuseum

IN NIDULO MEO MORIAR ET UT PALMA MULTIPLICABO DIES. Job 7.20.



S. IOB PROPHE TA ,
WESEMALIENSIS ECCLESIAE PATRONUS. x. May
*Domnus dedit. Domnus abstulit: sicut Domino placuit,
ita factum est: su nomen Domini benedictum. Job 1.
Si bona suscepimus de manu Dei, mali quare non suscepiamus. Job 2.*

132. Anonymous, *Job Tormented by Demons and Abused by his Wife*, engraving



133. ?After Rubens, *Job Tormented by Demons and Abused by his Wife*.
Louvain, Stedelijk Museum Van der Kelen-Mertens



134. Rubens, *Daniel in the Lions' Den* (No. 57). Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art



135. After Rubens, *Daniel in the Lions' Den*. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



136. W.P. de Leeuw, *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, etching



137. Tobias Stimmer,
Daniel in the Lions' Den, woodcut



138. Wenzel Hollar, *Six Lions*, engraving



139. Rubens, *Lion Asleep, facing right*, drawing. Whereabouts unknown



140. After Rubens, *An Angel Freeing Daniel from the Lions' Den*, drawing. Mr and Mrs J. Augustijns-Goedleven, Brasschaat, Belgium



141. Rubens, *Study for Daniel*, drawing (No. 57a). New York, Pierpont Morgan Library



142. Rubens, *Lion Asleep, facing left*, drawing (No. 57b). New York, Pierpont Morgan Library



143. Rubens, *Studies of Lions*, drawing (No. 57c). London, Paul Wallraf Collection



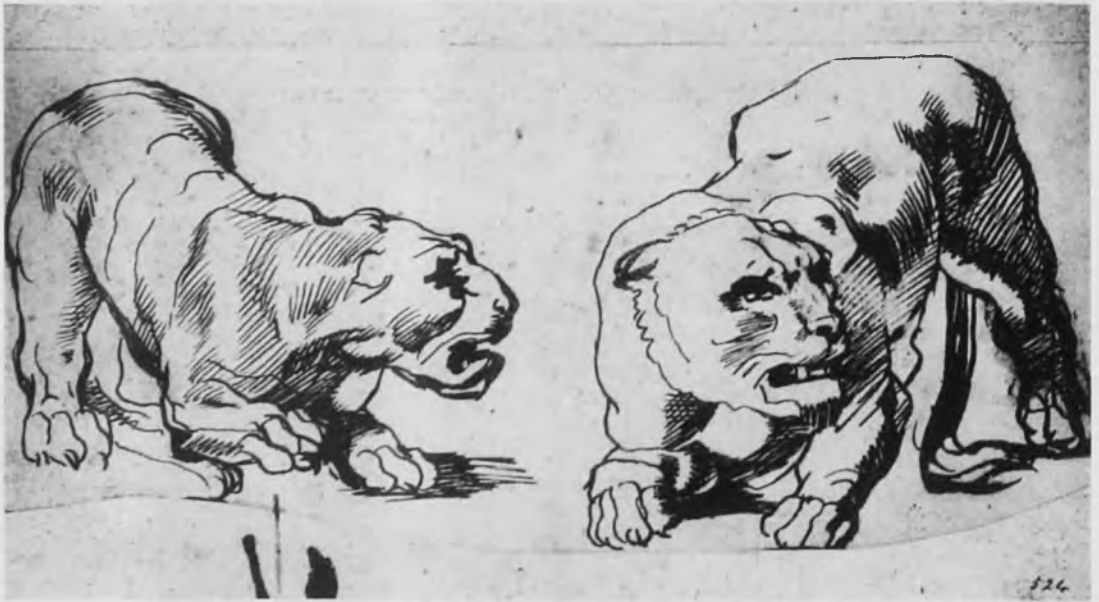
144. Rubens, *Lion Asleep, facing right*, drawing (No. 57d). Whereabouts unknown



145. Rubens, *Lioness, facing left*, drawing (No. 57e). Whereabouts unknown



146. Rubens after a Padua bronze, *Striding Pantheress*, drawing.
Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett



147. Rubens after a Padua bronze, *Pantheress 'all' antica*, drawing.
London, Victoria and Albert Museum



148. Rubens, *Retreating Lioness, seen from the rear*, drawing (No. 57g).
London, British Museum



149. Rubens, *Retreating Lioness, seen from the rear*, drawing (No. 57f).
Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet



150. Rubens, *Lion in Repose, facing right*, drawing (No. 57i).
London, British Museum



151. Rubens, *Lion Standing, facing left*, drawing (No. 57h).
Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art



152. Rubens, *Susanna and the Elders* (No. 58). Rome, Museo e Galleria Borghese



153. Rubens, *Susanna and the Elders* (No. 59).
Madrid, Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando



154. Rubens, *Susanna and the Elders*, drawing (No. 59a).
Montpellier, Musée Atger, Faculté de Médecine



155. After Rubens, *Susanna and the Elders*. Leningrad, Hermitage



156. Rubens, *Susanna and the Elders* (No. 60). Stockholm, Nationalmuseum



157. After Rubens, *Susanna and the Elders*. Whereabouts unknown



158. Anthony van Dyck, *Susanna and the Elders*, drawing.
Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre



*Susanne Surprise par deux Vieillards, dans un Jardin,
Par la vertu du tout puissant Conserve sa Chastete. Daniel. ch. 13.*

159. Michel Lasne, *Susanna and the Elders*, engraving



*L'ajinau Virgini ANNE ROEMER VISCHERS illustri Flaminia juvoni multarū artū vicia, summa
 Dignas vni phatū, fūera pexiani cēlebrū rarūm hoc Nūmū, tūc ex omīlar, Petrus Paulus Rubens L.M.D.D.*



SUSANNE AVEC LES VIEILLARDS
Gravé d'après le dessin original de Rubens tiré du Cabinet de M. le Duc de Rohan à la Cour Imp. de Russie

160. Michel Lasne, *Susanna and the Elders*, engraving

161. Quirin Marcx, *Susanna and the Elders*, engraving



162. Lucas Vorsterman, *Susanna and the Elders*, engraving



163. Lucas Vorsterman, *Susanna and the Elders*, drawing. London, British Museum



164. After Rubens, *Susanna and the Elders*.
Stockholm, Nationalmuseum



165. Paul Pontius, *Susanna and the Elders*. engraving



166. Paul Pontius, *Susanna and the Elders*, drawing.
Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre



167. After Rubens, *Susanna and the Elders*. Leningrad, Hermitage



168. Christoffel Jegher, *Susanna and the Elders*, woodcut



169. After Rubens, *Susanna and the Elders*, drawing, Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre



170. Rubens, *Susanna and the Elders* (No. 65). Munich, Alte Pinakothek



171. After Rubens, *Susanna and the Elders*. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art



172. Pieter Spruyt, *Susanna and the Elders*, etching



173. Detail of Fig. 170



174. Rubens, *The Martyrdom of St. Stephen*. Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts



175. Anonymous, *The Stoning of the Accusers of Susanna* (No. 66). Belgium, Private Collection



176. Rubens, *The Ascent of Souls from Purgatory*. Tournai, Cathedral



177. Rubens, *The Finding of the Pagan Treasures and Judas Maccabaeus's Prayer for the Dead* (No. 67). Nantes, Musée des Beaux-Arts



178. Detail of Fig. 177

INDEXES

Index I: Collections

This index lists all extant paintings, oil sketches and drawings, as well as two retouched drawings and three retouched proof states of an engraving, catalogued in the present volume. Copies have also been included. The works are listed alphabetically according to place.

References to the number of the catalogue entries are given in bold, followed by copy numbers where relevant, then by page references and finally by figure numbers in italics.

AMIENS, MUSÉE DE PICARDIE

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Lot and his Daughters, **No.8**, copy 1; 50

AMSTERDAM, MRS I. Q. VAN REGTEREN

ALTENA

Rubens, drawing:
Samson Asleep in Delilah's Lap, **No.31a**; III,
113–114, 116, 118; fig.75

AMSTERDAM, N. DE BOER FOUNDATION

(?) N. van der Horst, drawing after Rubens:
*Job Seated on a Dunghill between his Wife and
his Three Friends*, **No.54**, copy 2; 177–178,
180; fig.124

AMSTERDAM, GEMEENTE-MUSEA, FODOR

COLLECTION

Rubens, drawings:
Samson Slaying a Philistine, **No.29**; 104–106,
107; fig.70
Samson Overcoming two Philistines, **No.30**;
106–107; fig.71

AMSTERDAM, RIJKSMUSEUM (ON LOAN TO THE RIJKSMUSEUM MUIDERSLOT, MUIDEN)

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
The Reconciliation of Esau and Jacob, **No.16**,
copy 1; 67

AMSTERDAM, RIJKSPRENTENKABINET

Rubens, drawings:
Retreating Lioness, seen from the rear, **No.57f**;
190, 194, 197; fig.149
Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion, **No.28**;
103–104, 123; fig.69
J. Witdoeck, engraving retouched by Rubens:
Abraham and Melchizedek, **No.17d**; 72, 78;
fig.35

ANTWERP, RUBENSHUIS

Rubens, painting:
The Temptation of Man, **No.3**; 35–37; fig.6

ANTWERP, STEDELIJK PRENTENKABINET

(?) Rubens, drawing:
Naked Woman Seated, under **No.8**; 51

Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:
The Reconciliation of Esau and Jacob, **No.16**,
copy 6; 67

ANTWERP, E. VERRIJKEN

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
King David Playing the Harp, **No.40**, copy 5;
130

BANBURY, NATIONAL TRUST AT UPTON HOUSE

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
*The Finding of the Pagan Treasures and Judas
Maccabaeus's Prayer for the Dead*, **No.67**,
copy; 226

BEEK, HOLLAND, H. DE GRIJS

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Daniel in the Lions' Den, **No.57**, copy 18; 188

BELGIUM, PRIVATE COLLECTION

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Daniel in the Lions' Den, **No.57**; 192

BELGIUM, PRIVATE COLLECTION

Anonymous, (?) painting after Rubens:
The Stoning of the Accusers of Susanna, **No.66**;
221–222; fig.175

BENSBERG, DR RUDOLF BRANDS

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
King David Playing the Harp, **No.40**,
copy 4; 130

BERGUES-ST. WINOCCQ, MUSÉE MUNICIPAL

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
The Meeting of David and Abigail, **No.41**,
copy 2; 132, 135; fig.92

BERLIN-DAHLEM, STAATLICHE MUSEEN, KUPFERSTICHKABINETT

Rubens, drawings:
Bathsheba Receiving David's Letter, **No.43**;
138–140, 141, 207; fig.97
The Reconciliation of Esau and Jacob, **No.15**;
65–67, 68, 71; fig.41
Study for the Figure of Isaac, **No.12a**; 60,
61–62; fig.28

- BESANÇON, MUSÉE D'ART ET D'ARCHÉOLOGIE
Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion, **No.26a**,
copy 3; 99
- BIARRITZ, PRIVATE COLLECTION
Rubens, painting:
Lot and his Daughters, **No.8**; 50-51; fig.19
- BLOIS, MUSÉE D'ART ANCIEN, CHATEAU DE
BLOIS
Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Cain Slaying his Brother Abel, **No.4**, copy 1; 38
- BRESCIA, RINALDO SCHREIBER
Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
The Reconciliation of Esau and Isaac, **No.16**,
copy 5; 67
- BRUNSWICK, HERZOG ANTON ULRICH-
MUSEUM
Rubens, painting:
Judith with the Head of Holofernes, **No.51**;
164-166; fig.113
- BRUSSELS, VASSILIS ALLAMANIS
Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
The Flight of Lot and his Family from Sodom,
No.6, copy 5; 45
- BRUSSELS, J. J. HUMBLET
Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
King David Playing the Harp, **No.40**, copy 3;
130
- CAEN, MUSÉE DES BEAUX-ARTS
Rubens, painting:
Abraham and Melchizedek, **No.17**; 71-75, 76,
77, 78; fig.31
- CAMBRIDGE, M. JAFFÉ
Rubens, drawing:
*Job Seated on a Dunghill between his Wife and
his Three Friends*, **No.54a**; 178, 180; fig.122
- CHICAGO, ART INSTITUTE, ROBERT A. WALLER
MEMORIAL COLLECTION
Rubens, oil sketch:
Samson Taken by the Philistines, **No.32**; 110,
115-117, 118, 123, 124; fig.77
- CINCINNATI, OHIO, CINCINNATI ART
MUSEUM
Rubens, oil sketch:
Samson Asleep in Delilah's Lap, **No.31b**; 111,
113, 114-115, 118; fig.76
- COBURG, KUNSTSAMMLUNGEN VESTE COBURG
Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:
The Reconciliation of Esau and Jacob, **No.16**,
copy 4; 67
- COPENHAGEN, STATENS MUSEUM FOR KUNST
Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
The Judgement of Solomon, **No.46**, copy 1; 146,
fig.101
- COPENHAGEN, STATENS MUSEUM FOR KUNST,
PRINTROOM
Rubens, drawing:
*Two Studies for St Andrew and a Study for an
Ancient Priest (Melchizedek)*, **No.17a**; 73,
75-76; fig.32
Anonymous, drawings after Rubens:
Daniel in the Lions' Den, **No.57**, copy 21; 188
David Strangling a Bear, **No.34**, copy 4; 119;
fig.81
David Strangling a Bear, **No.34**, copy 5; 119;
fig.82
The Reconciliation of Esau and Isaac, **No.16**,
copy 8; 67
The Reconciliation of Esau and Isaac, **No.16**,
copy 9; 67
The Reconciliation of Esau and Isaac, **No.16**,
copy 10; 67
Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion, **No.26**,
copy 4; 97
Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion, **No.26**,
copy 5; 97
Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion, **No.26**,
copy 6; 97
- COPENHAGEN, CONSUL H. WEST
Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Daniel in the Lions' Den, **No.57**, copy 9; 188
- DARMSTADT, HESSISCHES LANDESMUSEUM
Rubens, drawing:
A Woman Standing, **No.45a**; 144, 145-146;
fig.99
Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:
Lion in Repose, facing right, **No.57i**, copy 2;
199
- DETROIT, DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS
Rubens, painting:
The Meeting of David and Abigail, **No.42**;
133, 136-138; fig.96
- DRESDEN GEMÄLDEGALERIE
Rubens, painting:
Bathsheba Receiving David's Letter, **No.44**;
139, 140-142, 204, 219; fig.98
- DUNKIRK, MUSÉE DES BEAUX-ARTS
Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
The Reconciliation of Esau and Jacob, **No.16a**,
copy 2; 70

INDEX I: COLLECTIONS

- EATON HALL, DUKE OF WESTMINSTER
 Rubens, painting:
The Expulsion of Hagar, **No.10**; 53-56; fig.23
- EDINBURGH, NATIONAL GALLERY OF SCOTLAND
 Rubens, oil sketch:
The Reconciliation of Esau and Jacob, **No.16a**; 68, 69-71; fig.43
- EINDHOVEN, GOVERS COLLECTION
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
The Brazen Serpent, **No.24**, copy 11; 91
- ESSEN, BELGIUM, G. DE ZUTTERE
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Daniel in the Lions' Den, **No.57**, copy 10; 188
- FARNHAM, WOLFGANG BURCHARD
 Rubens, drawing:
Tobit Burying a Slain Jew, **No.49**; 156-158; fig.108
- FIFE, MELVILLE HALL
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Daniel in the Lions' Den, **No.57**, copy 4; 187
- FLORENCE, PANDUCCI COLLECTION
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
The Brazen Serpent, **No.24**, copy 9; 91
- FLORENCE, SOPRINTENDENZA PER I BENI ARTISTICI E STORICI PER LE PROVINCE DI FIRENZE E PISTOIA
 (?) Rubens, painting:
Judith Putting the Head of Holofernes in a Sack, **No.52**; 166-167; fig.114
- FRANKFURT AM MAIN, STÄDELSCHES KUNSTINSTITUT
 Rubens, painting:
King David Playing the Harp, **No.40**; 130-132; fig.89
 Rubens, drawings:
The Finding of Moses, **No.18**; 79-80; fig.45
Judith Beheading Holofernes, **No.50a**; 106, 159, 160, 162-163; fig.110
- GATESHEAD, SHIPLEY ART GALLERY
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
The Brazen Serpent, **No.24**, copy 3; 90
- GENEVA, JEAN P. FRANÇOIS
 Anonymous, painting, (?) after Rubens:
Moses Adopted by Pharaoh's Daughter, **No.19**; 80-82; fig.46
 Anonymous, painting:
Moses, Aaron and Miriam with other Women Celebrate the Crossing of the Red Sea, **No.20**; 82-84, 128; fig.47
- GENEVA, J. PINGET
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Lot and his Daughters, **No.8**, copy 3; 50
- GHEENT, MRS Y. DUFRASNE
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
David Strangling a Bear, **No.34**, copy 2; 119
- GODSHILL NEAR RYDE, ISLE OF WIGHT, CHURCH
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Daniel in the Lions' Den, **No.57**, copy 1; 187
- GRAZ, ALTE GALERIE AM LANDESMUSEUM JOANNEUM
 Anonymous, painting:
Moses, Aaron and Miriam with other Women Celebrate the Crossing of the Red Sea, **No.20**; 82-84, 128; fig.48
- HUNTINGTON WOODS, MICHIGAN, ERNEST L. JAY
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
The Meeting of David and Abigail, **No.41a**, copy 3; 134
- JUPILLE, BELGIUM, H. LEONARD
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
David Strangling a Bear, **No.34**, copy 3; 119
- KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI, WILLIAM ROCKHILL NELSON GALLERY AND ATKINS MUSEUM OF ART
 Rubens, painting:
Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac, **No.12**; 58-61; fig.27
- KARLSRUHE, STAATLICHE KUNSTHALLE
 Anonymous, painting:
Moses, Aaron and Miriam with other Women Celebrate the Crossing of the Red Sea, **No.20**, copy 1; 83, 85; fig.49
- LEIDEN, KUNSTHISTORISCH INSTITUUT DER RIJKSUNIVERSITEIT
 G.Hoet, drawing after Rubens:
Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion, **No.26a**, copy 5; 99, 100
- LENINGRAD, HERMITAGE
 Rubens, painting:
The Expulsion of Hagar, **No.9**; 51-53, 55; fig.22
 J.Witdoeck, engraving retouched by Rubens:
Abraham and Melchizedek, **No.17c**; 72, 77-78; fig.34
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Susanna and the Elders, **No.64**, copy 1; 215; fig.167

LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM

Rubens, drawings:

Lion in Repose, facing right, **No.57i**; 191, 194, 195, 199–200; fig.150

Retreating Lioness, seen from the rear, **No.57g**; 190, 194, 197, 198; fig.148

Men and Women Attacked by Serpents, **No.22**; 85–86, 88, 89; fig.52

Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:

Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion, **No.26**, copy 3; 96–97

LONDON, COURTAULD INSTITUTE OF ART,
PRINCES GATE COLLECTION

Rubens, paintings:

The Brazen Serpent, **No.23**; 84, 86, 87–90, 93; figs.53, 54

Cain Slaying his Brother Abel, **No.4**; 38–40, 106; fig.8

Rubens, drawings:

The Creation of Animals, **No.1**; 33–34, 35; fig.1

The Temptation of Man, **No.2**; 33, 34–35, 37; fig.3

LONDON, DULWICH COLLEGE PICTURE
GALLERY

Rubens, painting:

Hagar in the Wilderness, **No.11**; 56–58; fig.26

LONDON, NATIONAL GALLERY

Rubens, paintings:

The Brazen Serpent, **No.24**; 84, 86, 89, 90–94; figs.55, 59

Samson Asleep in Delilah's Lap, **No.31**; 107–113, 114, 116, 118, 144; fig.72

LONDON, PAUL WALLRAF

Rubens, drawing:

Studies of Lions, **No.57c**; 190, 194, 195, 196, 197, 200; fig.143

LUGANO, BARON THYSSEN-BORNEMISZA

Rubens, oil sketch:

The Blinding of Samson, **No.33**; 117–119; fig.78

LUXEMBURG, JEAN POOS

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:

The Meeting of David and Abigail, **No.41a**, copy 5; 134

MADRID, DUQUE DE HERNANI

Rubens, painting:

Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion, **No.26**; 96–99, 100, 106, 121; fig.60

MADRID, PRADO

Rubens, painting:

The Judgement of Solomon, **No.45**; 142–145, 147; fig.100

Jan I Brueghel, painting after Rubens:

Daniel in the Lions' Den, detail of *The Allegory of Sight*, **No.57**; 190

MADRID, REAL ACADEMIA DE BELLAS ARTES DE
SAN FERNANDO

Rubens, painting:

Susanna and the Elders, **No.59**; 152, 202–204, 205, 207, 208, 211, 215; fig.153

MALIBU, CALIFORNIA, J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM

Rubens, painting:

The Meeting of David and Abigail, **No.41**; 69, 132–134, 135, 137; figs.90, 94

MANNHEIM, PRIVATE COLLECTION

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:

Susanna and the Elders, **No.64**, copy 3; 216

MERKSEM NEAR ANTWERP, MR AND MRS
STAES-D'HULSTER

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:

King David Playing the Harp, **No.40**, copy 7; 130

MIAMI BEACH, FLORIDA, JOHN AND JOHANNA
BASS COLLECTION

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:

The Flight of Lot and his Family from Sodom, **No.5**, copy 1; 40–41; fig.10

MILAN, BIBLIOTECA AMBROSIANA

Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:

Men and Women Attacked by Serpents, **No.22**, copy; 85

MONTPELLIER, MUSÉE ATGER, FACULTÉ DE
MÉDECINE

Rubens, drawings:

David Slaying Goliath, **No.37**; 123, 124–126, 127; fig.84

Susanna and the Elders, **No.59a**; 204, 205–206; fig.154

MUNICH, ALTE PINAKOTHEK

Rubens, paintings:

The Defeat of Sennacherib, **No.47**; 95, 150–154, 155; fig.103

Susanna and the Elders, **No.65**; 142, 217, 218–221; fig.170, 173

MUNICH, STAATLICHE GRAPHISCHE
SAMMLUNG

Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:

Susanna and the Elders, **No.60**, copy 2; 207

MUNICH, WITTELSBACHER AUSGLEICHSFONDS

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:

Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion, **No.26a**, copy 2; 99

INDEX I: COLLECTIONS

NANTES, MUSÉE DES BEAUX-ARTS

Rubens, painting:

The Finding of the Pagan Treasures and Judas Maccabaeus's Prayer for the Dead, **No.67**; 222-227; figs.177, 178

NIERDERHAUSEN NEAR WIESBADEN, MUNICIPALITY

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:

King David Playing the Harp, **No.40**, copy 6; 130

NEUSTADT AN DER WEINSTRASSE, RHEIN-PFALZ, E. ABRESCH

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:

Daniel in the Lions' Den, **No.57**, copy 3; 187

NEW YORK, MRS RUDOLF J. HEINEMANN

Rubens, oil sketch:

The Meeting of David and Abigail, **No.41a**: 133, 134-136; fig.91

NEW YORK, PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY

Rubens, drawings:

Study for Daniel, **No.57a**; 190, 192-193; fig.141

Lion Asleep, facing left, **No.57b**; 190, 194-195; fig.142

NEW YORK, SPENCER A. SAMUELS GALLERY

Rubens, painting:

David Strangling a Bear, **No.34**; 119-121, 122; fig.79

NEW YORK, MIA N. WEINER GALLERY

Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:

The Stoning of the Accusers of Susanna, **No.66**, copy; 221

PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, CABINET DES ESTAMPES

Rubens, retouched engraving:

Judith Beheading Holofernes, **No.50c**; 161, 163-164; fig.112

PARIS, MESSRS CAILLEUX

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:

Susanna and the Elders, **No.64**, copy 4; 216

PARIS, FONDATION CUSTODIA, FRITS LUGT COLLECTION

Anonymous, drawings after Rubens:

Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion, **No.26a**; 100; fig.64

Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion, **No.27**, copy 1; 100, 101-102; fig.65

PARIS, MUSÉE DU LOUVRE

Rubens, painting:

The Flight of Lot and his Family from Sodom, **No.6**; 43, 44-47; fig.13

E. Delacroix, painting after Rubens:

The Flight of Lot and his Family from Sodom, **No.6**, copy 8; 45; fig.15

PARIS, MUSÉE DU LOUVRE, CABINET DES DESSINS

Rubens, drawings:

Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, **No.13**; 62-64, 129; fig.29

King David Playing the Harp, **No.39**; 63, 128-130, 131; fig.87

A. Van Dyck, drawing after Rubens:

The Flight of Lot and his Family from Sodom, **No.5**; 43

Susanna and the Elders, **No.61**, copy 3; 208; fig.158

Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:

The Blinding of Samson, **No.33**, copy; 117

PASADENA, CALIFORNIA, NORTON SIMON FOUNDATION

Rubens, painting:

David Slaying Goliath, **No.38**; 123, 125, 126-128; fig.86

PHILADELPHIA, PA., M. A. KRANKEL

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:

Daniel in the Lions' Den, **No.57**; 191-192

PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND, J. N. BROWN

Anonymous, two drawings after Rubens:

Daniel in the Lions' Den, **No.57**, copy 22; 188-189

RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA MUSEUM OF ART

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:

Gideon Overcoming the Midianites, **No.25**; 94-96; fig.56

REUVER, HOLLAND, A. E. LAMMANS-DE HAES

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:

Daniel in the Lions' Den, **No.57**, copy 19; 188

ROME, MUSEO E GALLERIA BORGHESE

Rubens, painting:

Susanna and the Elders, **No.58**; 140, 200-202, 203, 206, 207, 211, 215; fig.152

ROME, PRINCE COLONNA

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:

The Reconciliation of Esau and Jacob, **No.16a**, copy 4; 70

ROTTERDAM, BOYMANS-VAN BEUNINGEN MUSEUM

Rubens, drawing:

David Slaying Goliath, **No.36**; 122-124, 125, 127; fig.83

INDEX I: COLLECTIONS

SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA, E. B. CROCKER
ART GALLERY

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
The Brazen Serpent, **No.24**, copy 4; 90

SÃO PAULO, BRAZIL, A. H. DE SOUCY

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
The Flight of Lot and his Family from Sodom,
No.6, copy 6; 45

SARASOTA, JOHN AND MABLE RINGLING
MUSEUM OF ART

Rubens, painting:
The Flight of Lot and his Family from Sodom,
No.5; 40-44, 46, 47, 50; fig.9

SCARSDALE, NEW YORK, SEENA AND ARNOLD
DAVIS

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Hagar in the Wilderness, **No.11**, copy 2; 56

SCHLEISSHEIM, STAATSGALERIE

Rubens, painting:
The Reconciliation of Esau and Jacob, **No.16**;
67-69, 71; fig.42

SCHWERIN, STAATLICHES MUSEUM

Rubens, painting:
Lot and his Daughters, **No.7**; 48-50; fig.17

SEATTLE, WASH., M. SELIG

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Lot and his Daughters, **No.7**, copy 1; 48

ST. BLASIEN, GERMANY, MRS WALZ

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Daniel in the Lions' Den, **No.57**, copy 14; 188

STOCKHOLM, BARON THURE-GABRIEL
RUBBECK

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
The Brazen Serpent, **No.24**, copy 7; 91

STOCKHOLM, NATIONALMUSEUM

Rubens, painting:
Susanna and the Elders, **No.60**; 140, 206-207,
215; fig.156

Rubens, drawings:
A Tormenting Demon, **No.55b**; 182, 184-185;
fig.131

Nude Man, leaning back (Job), **No.55a**; 182,
183-184; fig.130

Rubens, retouched drawing:
Judith Beheading Holofernes, **No.50b**; 161, 163,
164; fig.111

Anonymous, paintings after Rubens:
Esther before Ahasuerus, **No.53a**, copy 1; 169
Samson Breaking the Jaws of a Lion, **No.26a**,
copy 1; 99; fig.61

Susanna and the Elders, **No.63**, copy 1; 214;
fig.164

STOCKHOLM, PRIVATE COLLECTION

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Daniel in the Lions' Den, **No.57**, copy 11; 188

STOCKHOLM, UNIVERSITY COLLECTION

Anonymous, painting, (?) after Rubens:
Moses Adopted by Pharaoh's Daughter, **No.19**,
copy 3; 80

TOKYO, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF WESTERN ART

J. Jordaens, painting after Rubens:
The Flight of Lot and his Family from Sodom,
No.5, copy 2; 41; fig.12

TURIN, GALLERIA SABAUDA

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Susanna and the Elders, **No.64**, copy 2;
215-216

VADUZ, LIECHTENSTEIN COLLECTION

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
The Judgement of Solomon, **No.45**, copy 1; 143

VIENNA, ALBERTINA

(?) J. Witdoeck, drawing retouched by Rubens:
Abraham and Melchizedek, **No.17b**; 72, 76-77,
78; fig.33

(?) P. C. Soutman, drawing after Rubens:
The Defeat of Sennacherib, **No.48**; 153, 154-156;
fig.107

Anonymous, drawings after Rubens:
Daniel in the Lions' Den, **No.57**, copy 20; 188
The Reconciliation of Esau and Isaac, **No.16**,
copy 3; 67
Lion in Repose, facing right, **No.57i**, copy 1;
199
Ten Lions and a Dog, **No.57i**, copy 3; 200

VIENNA, AKADEMIE

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
The Brazen Serpent, **No.24**, copy 14; 91

VIENNA, KUNSTHISTORISCHES MUSEUM

Anonymous, paintings after Rubens:
Daniel in the Lions' Den, **No.57**, copy 7; 188
Daniel in the Lions' Den, **No.57**; 192; fig.135

VIENNA, SCHOTTENSTIFT

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
The Brazen Serpent, **No.24**, copy 15; 91

VOSSSELARE NEAR GHELT, MRS DE KERCHOVE
D'OESSELGEM

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
The Brazen Serpent, **No.24**, copy 18; 91

INDEX I: COLLECTIONS

WASHINGTON, D.C., NATIONAL GALLERY OF
ART, AILSA MELLON BRUCE FUND

Rubens, painting:

Daniel in the Lions' Den, **No.57**; 187-192,
193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200;
fig.134

Rubens, drawing:

Lion Standing, facing left, **No.57h**; 190, 194,
198-199; fig.151

WHITCHURCH NEAR AYLESBURY, A. P. RITCHIE

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:

King David Playing the Harp, **No.40**, copy 2; 130

Index II: Subjects

The index lists, in alphabetical order, all subjects catalogued.

Under each title are gathered all known representations;

these include both works by Rubens himself and copies made by other artists after them.

The number of the catalogue entry is given first, followed by page references; references to illustrations are in italics.

ABRAHAM AND MELCHIZEDEK, **No.17**

- Rubens, painting (Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts) No.17; 67, 71-75, 77, 78; *fig.31*
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, London, 1976) No.17, copy 1; 71
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, New York, 1927) No.17, copy 2; 71
- Anonymous, painting (the crouching man) (whereabouts unknown; formerly Prince Auguste d'Arenberg) No.17, copy 3; 71
- Anonymous, drawing (whereabouts unknown; sale, Amsterdam, 1928) No.17, copy 4; 71-72
- J.Witdoeck, engraving, No.17, copy 5; 72
- Rubens, *Two Studies for St Andrew and a Study for an Ancient Priest (Melchizedek)*, drawing (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Printroom) No.17a; 73, 75-76; *fig.32*
- ?J.Witdoeck, drawing retouched by Rubens (Vienna, Albertina) No.17b; 72, 76-77, 78; *fig.33*
- J.Witdoeck, engraving retouched by Rubens (Leningrad, Hermitage) No.17c; 72, 77-78; *fig.34*
- J.Witdoeck, engraving retouched by Rubens (Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet) No.17d; 72, 78-79; *fig.35*

ABRAHAM'S SACRIFICE OF ISAAC, **No.12**

- Rubens, painting (Kansas City, Missouri, William Rockhill Nelson Gallery and Atkins Museum of Art) No.12; 58-61; *fig.27*
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, Brussels, 1968) No.12, copy 1; 58
- A.Stock, engraving, No.12, copy 2; 58
- ?P. de Hooch, painting ornamenting the parlour in *A Woman Receiving a Man at a Door* (present location unknown) No.12; 60
- Rubens, *Study for the Figure of Isaac*, drawing (Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett) No.12a; 60, 61-62; *fig.28*

ABRAHAM, ISAAC AND JACOB, **No.13**

- Rubens, drawing (Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins) No.13; 62-64, 129; *fig.29*

BATHSHEBA RECEIVING DAVID'S LETTER, **No.43**

- Rubens, drawing (Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett) No.43; 138-140, 141, 207; *fig.97*

BATHSHEBA RECEIVING DAVID'S LETTER, **No.44**

- Rubens, painting (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie) No.44; 139, 140-142, 204, 219; *fig.98*
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; formerly Baden-Baden, Hamilton Collection) No.44, copy 1; 140
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; formerly Madrid, Duque de Berwick y de Alba) No.44, copy 2; 140-141
- Anonymous, drawing (whereabouts unknown; formerly London, C.Fairfax Murray Collection) No.44, copy 3; 141

THE BRAZEN SERPENT, **No.23**

- Rubens, painting (London, Courtauld Institute of Art Galleries, Princes Gate Collection) No.23; 84, 86, 87-90, 92; *fig.53*

THE BRAZEN SERPENT, **No.24**

- Rubens, painting (London, National Gallery) No.24; 84, 86, 89, 90-94; *figs.55, 59*
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; formerly James Stanley, 10th Earl of Derby), No.24, copy 1; 90
- Anonymous, painting (lost since 1945; formerly Potsdam, Bildergalerie of Sanssouci) No.24, copy 2; 90
- Anonymous, painting (Gateshead, Shipley Art Gallery, 1951) No.24, copy 3; 90
- Anonymous, painting (Sacramento, California, E.B.Crocker Art Gallery) No.24, copy 4; 90
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; formerly Antwerp, Mrs Xavier de Pret) No.24, copy 5; 90
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, Luzern, 1971) No.24, copy 6; 90-91
- Anonymous, painting (Stockholm, Baron T.-G.Rudbeck, 1947) No.24, copy 7; 91

INDEX II: SUBJECTS

- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; formerly L. Van der Cruyssen, Clos St. François, Dijon) No.24, copy 8; 91
- Anonymous, painting (Florence, Panducci Collection, 1950) No.24, copy 9; 91
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, Brussels, 1956) No.24, copy 10; 91
- Anonymous, painting (Eindhoven, Govers Collection, 1963), No.24, copy 11; 91
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, London, 1952) No.24, copy 12; 91
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, London, 1963) No.24, copy 13; 91
- Anonymous, painting (Vienna, Akademie) No.24, copy 14; 91
- Anonymous, painting (Vienna, Schottenstift) No.24, copy 15; 91
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, Vienna, 1976) No.24, copy 16; 91
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; formerly Lord Doverdale, 1950) No.24, copy 17; 91
- Anonymous, painting (Vosselare, near Ghent, Mrs de Kerchove d'Oesselgem) No.24, copy 18; 91
- C. Netscher, painting ornamenting a wall in *A Lady Teaching a Child to Read* (London, National Gallery) No.24, copy 19; 91
- Schelte a Bolswert, engraving, No.24, copy 20; 91; fig.58
- A. Gobert, engraving, No.24, copy 21; 91
- F. Ragot, engraving, No.24, copy 21; 91
- C. Galle, engraving, No.24, copy 21; 91
- M. Aubert, engraving, No.24, copy 21; 91
- Anonymous, two engravings, No.24, copy 21; 91
- CAIN SLAYING HIS BROTHER ABEL, No.4**
- Rubens, painting (London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Princes Gate Collection) No.4; 38-40, 106; fig.8
- Anonymous, painting (Blois, Musée d'Art Ancien, Château de Blois) No.4, copy 1; 38
- ?W. Buytewech, etching, No.4, copy 2; 38; fig.7
- THE CREATION OF ANIMALS, No.1**
- Rubens, drawing (London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Princes Gate Collection) No.1; 33-34, 35; fig.1
- DANIEL IN THE LIONS' DEN, No.57**
- Rubens, painting (Washington, D.C., National Gallery) No.57; 187-192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200; fig.134
- Anonymous, painting (Godshill near Ryde, Isle of Wight, church) No.57, copy 1; 187
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, The Hague, 1747) No.57, copy 2; 187
- Anonymous, painting (Neustadt an der Weinstrasse, Rheinpfalz, E. Abresch, 1943) No.57, copy 3; 187
- Anonymous, painting (Fife, Melville Hall) No.57, copy 4; 187
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, London, 1927) No.57, copy 5; 187
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, London, 1934) No.57, copy 6; 187-188
- Anonymous, painting (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) No.57, copy 7; 188
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, London, 1785) No.57, copy 8; 188
- Anonymous, painting (Copenhagen, consul H. West) No.57, copy 9; 188
- Anonymous, painting (Essen, Belgium, G. De Zuttere, 1935) No.57, copy 10; 188
- Anonymous, painting (Stockholm, private collection, 1947) No.57, copy 11; 188
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, London, 1953) No.57, copy 12; 188
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, Brussels, 1965) No.57, copy 13; 188
- Anonymous, painting (St. Blasien, Germany, Mrs Walz, 1966) No.57, copy 14; 188
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, London, 1967) No.57, copy 15; 188
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, Brussels, 1973) No.57, copy 16; 188
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, Cologne, 1977) No.57, copy 17; 188
- Anonymous, painting (Beck, Holland, H. de Grijs, 1978) No.57, copy 18; 188
- Anonymous, painting (Reuver, Holland, A.E. Lammans-de Haes, 1982) No.57, copy 19; 188
- Anonymous, drawing (ten lions and a dog) (Vienna, Albertina) No.57, copy 20; 188
- Anonymous, drawing (four lions) (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Print-room) No.57, copy 21; 188
- Anonymous, drawing (five lions) (Providence, Rhode Island, J.N. Brown, 1959) No.57, copy 22; 188-189
- Anonymous, drawing (two lions) (Providence, Rhode Island, J.N. Brown, 1959) No.57, copy 22; 189
- W.P. de Leeuw, etching, No.57, copy 23; fig.136
- R. Stricker, etching, No.57, copy 24; 189
- Anonymous, engraving (Daniel and four lions) (A. Blootelingh excudit) No.57, copy 25; 189
- F. Lamb, engraving, No.57, copy 26; 189

- W. Ward, engraving (mezzotint) No. 57, copy 27; 189
- W. Hollar, engraving (six lions) No. 57, copy 28; 189; *fig. 138*
- Jan I Brueghel, detail of *The Allegory of Sight* (Madrid, Prado) No. 57; 190
- ?Rubens, painting (whereabouts unknown; formerly Milan, Senator L. Malzi) No. 57; 191
- Anonymous, painting (Philadelphia, Pa., M. A. Krankel, 1924) No. 57; 192
- Anonymous, painting (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) No. 57; 192; *fig. 135*
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, Amsterdam, 1983) No. 57; 192
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; formerly Simferopol, Russia, Count Mouravieff, 1903) No. 57; 192
- Anonymous, painting (Belgium, private collection, 1977) No. 57; 192
- Anonymous, painting (Düsseldorf, J. H. Petersen, 1982) No. 57; 192
- Rubens, *Study for Daniel*, drawing (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library) No. 57a; 190; *fig. 141*
- Rubens, *Lion Asleep, facing left*, drawing (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library) No. 57b; 190; *fig. 142*
- Rubens, *Studies of Lions*, drawing (London, P. Wallraf) No. 57c; 190, 194, 195, 196, 197, 200; *fig. 143*
- Rubens, *Lion Asleep, facing right*, drawing (whereabouts unknown; sale, London, 1966) No. 57d; 190, 194, 195–196, 200; *fig. 144*
- Rubens, *Lioness, facing left*, drawing (whereabouts unknown; sale, London, 1949) No. 57e; 190, 194, 196; *fig. 145*
- Rubens, *Retreating Lioness, seen from the rear*, drawing (Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet) No. 57f; 190, 194, 197, 198; *fig. 149*
- Rubens, *Retreating Lioness, seen from the rear*, drawing (London, British Museum) No. 57g; 190, 194, 197, 198; *fig. 148*
- Rubens, *Lion Standing, facing left*, drawing (Washington, D.C., National Gallery) No. 57h; 190, 194, 198–199; *fig. 151*
- Rubens, *Lion in Repose, facing right*, drawing (London, British Museum) No. 57i; 190, 194, 195, 199–200; *fig. 150*
- Anonymous, drawing (Vienna, Albertina) No. 57i, copy 1; 199
- Anonymous, drawing (Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum) No. 57i, copy 2; 199
- Anonymous, drawing (ten lions and a dog) (Vienna, Albertina) No. 57i, copy 3; 200
- KING DAVID PLAYING THE HARP, No. 39**
- Rubens, drawing (Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins) No. 39; 63, 128–130, 131; *fig. 87*
- KING DAVID PLAYING THE HARP, No. 40**
- Rubens, painting (Frankfurt am Main, Städelsches Kunstinstitut) No. 40; 130–132; *fig. 89*
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, Cologne, 1892) No. 40, copy 1; 130
- Anonymous, painting (Whitchurch near Aylesbury, A. P. Ritchie, 1952) No. 40, copy 2; 130
- Anonymous, painting (Brussels, J. J. Humblet, 1963) No. 40, copy 3; 130
- Anonymous, painting (Bensberg, Dr R. Brands, 1965) No. 40, copy 4; 130
- Anonymous, painting (Antwerp, E. Verrijken, 1975) No. 40, copy 5; 130
- Anonymous, painting (Niederhausen near Wiesbaden, Municipality) No. 40, copy 6; 130
- Anonymous, painting (Merksem near Antwerp, Mr and Mrs Staes-D'Hulster) No. 40, copy 7; 130
- J. K. Eissenhardt, engraving, No. 40, copy 8; 130
- DAVID SLAYING GOLIATH, No. 36**
- Rubens, drawing (Rotterdam, Boymans-van Beuningen Museum) No. 36; 122–124, 125, 127; *fig. 83*
- DAVID SLAYING GOLIATH, No. 37**
- Rubens, drawing (Montpellier, Musée Atger, Faculté de Médecine) No. 37; 123, 124–126, 127; *fig. 84*
- DAVID SLAYING GOLIATH, No. 38**
- Rubens, painting (Pasadena, California, Norton Simon Foundation) No. 38; 123, 126–128; *fig. 86*
- Anonymous, drawing (whereabouts unknown; sale, London, 1951) No. 38, copy 1; 126
- N. Muxel, etching, No. 38, copy 2; 126; *fig. 85*
- Anonymous, engraving, No. 38, copy 3; 126
- DAVID STRANGLING A BEAR, No. 34**
- Rubens, painting (New York, S. A. Samuels Gallery) No. 34; 119–121, 122; *fig. 79*
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, Antwerp, 1979) No. 34, copy 1; 119
- Anonymous, painting (Ghent, Mrs Y. Dufrasne, 1979) No. 34, copy 2; 119
- Anonymous, painting (Jupille, Belgium, H. Leonard, 1979), No. 34, copy 3; 119
- Anonymous, drawing (the figure of David) (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Printroom) No. 34, copy 4; 119; *fig. 81*

INDEX II: SUBJECTS

- Anonymous, drawing (head and forepaws of the lion) (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Printroom) No.34, copy 5; 119; *fig.82*
 W.Panneels, engraving, No.34, copy 6; 119-120; *fig.80*
- DAVID STRANGLING A BEAR, No.35**
 Rubens, painting (presumably lost; formerly Royal Palace, Madrid) No.35; 98, 120, 121-122
- THE MEETING OF DAVID AND ABIGAIL, No.41**
 Rubens, painting (Malibu, California, J.P.Getty Museum) No.41; 132-134, 135, 137; *figs.90, 94*
 Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; formerly Strasburg, Dr C.Wurster, 1896) No.41, copy 1; 132, 135; *fig.93*
 Anonymous, painting (Bergues-St.Winocq, Musée municipal) No.41, copy 2; 132, 135; *fig.92*
 Rubens, oil sketch (New York, Mrs R. J.Heinemann) No.41a; 133, 134-136; *fig.91*
 Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; formerly Niensdorf bei Lübeck, S.Buchenau) No.41a, copy 1; 134
 Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, London, 1968) No.41a, copy 2; 134
 Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; Huntington Woods, Michigan, E.L.Jay) No.41a, copy 3; 134
 Anonymous, painting (partial copy only) (whereabouts unknown; sale, London, 1937) No.41a, copy 4; 134
 Anonymous, painting (Luxemburg, J.Poos) No.41a, copy 5; 134
 A.Lommelín, engraving, No.41a, copy 6; 134-135, 138; *fig.95*
 Anonymous, tapestry, No.41a, copy 7; 135
- THE MEETING OF DAVID AND ABIGAIL, No.42**
 Rubens, painting (Detroit, Institute of Arts) No.42; 133, 136-138; *fig.96*
- THE RECONCILIATION OF ESAU AND JACOB, No.15**
 Rubens, drawing (Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett) No.15; 65-67, 68, 71; *fig.41*
- THE RECONCILIATION OF ESAU AND JACOB, No.16**
 Rubens, painting (Schleissheim, Staatsgalerie) No.16; 67-69, 71; *fig.42*
 Anonymous, painting (Muiden, Rijksmuseum Muiderslot) No.16, copy 1; 67
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, London, 1973) No.16, copy 2; 67
 Anonymous, drawing (Vienna, Albertina) No.16, copy 3; 67
 Anonymous, drawing (Veste Coburg, Kunstsammlungen) No.16, copy 4; 67
 Anonymous, painting (the group of the woman with the two children only) (Brescia, R.Schreiber, 1963) No.16, copy 5; 67
 Anonymous, drawing (the group of the woman with the two children only) (Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet) No.16, copy 6; 67
 Anonymous, drawing (the group of the woman with the two children only) (whereabouts unknown; sale, London, 1971) No.16, copy 7; 67
 Anonymous, drawing (the armour of Esau only) (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Printroom) No.16, copy 8; 67
 Anonymous, drawing (the two oxen at the right of the picture) (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Printroom) No.16, copy 9; 67
 Anonymous, drawing (the head of a horse) (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Printroom) No.16, copy 10; 67
 Rubens, oil sketch (Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland) No.16a; 66, 68, 69-71; *fig.43*
 Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; formerly Honolulu, Academy of Fine Arts) No.16a, copy 1; 70
 Anonymous, painting (Dunkirk, Musée des Beaux-Arts) No.16a, copy 2; 70
 Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, The Hague, 1942) No.16a, copy 3; 70
 Anonymous, painting (Rome, Prince Colonna) No.16a, copy 4; 70
 P. de Balliu, engraving, No.16a, copy 5; 70
- ESTHER BEFORE AHASUERUS, No.53**
 Rubens, painting (whereabouts unknown; presumably lost) No.53; 167-168, 169
 W.Panneels, etching, No.53, copy 1; 167; *fig.117*
 R.Colins, engraving, No.53, copy 2; 167
 P.Spruyt, engraving, No.53, copy 3; 167
 ?Rubens, oil sketch (whereabouts unknown; formerly Neuwied, Rheinland-Pfalz, G.Hobraeck, 1932) No.53a; 168, 169-170; *fig.118*
 Anonymous, painting (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum) No.53a, copy 1; 169
 Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, London, 1943) No.53a, copy 2; 169

- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; Knoedler & Co., London-New York, 1937-1944) No.53a; 169; *fig.120*
- Anonymous, painting (Pommersfelden, Schloss Weissenstein) No.53a; 170; *fig.119*
- GIDEON OVERCOMING THE MIDIANITES, No.25**
- Anonymous, painting (Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art) No.25; 94-96; *fig.56*
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; formerly Paris, F.Kleinberger, 1936) No.25, copy; 94
- HAGAR IN THE WILDERNESS, No.11**
- Rubens, painting (London, Dulwich College Picture Gallery) No.11; 56-58; *fig.26*
- T.Gainsborough, painting (whereabouts unknown; formerly Marshall Collection, 1974) No.11, copy 1; 56
- Anonymous, painting (Scarsdale, New York, Seena and Arnold Davis, 1981) No.11, copy 2; 56
- F. De Roy, etching, No.11, copy 3; 56; *fig.25*
- THE EXPULSION OF HAGAR, No.9**
- Rubens, painting (Leningrad, Hermitage) No.9; 51-53, 55; *fig.22*
- THE EXPULSION OF HAGAR, No.10**
- Rubens, painting (Eaton Hall, Duke of Westminster) No.10; 53-56; *fig.23*
- (?) **THE MEETING OF JACOB AND JOSEPH, No.14**
- ? Rubens, oil sketch (Lausanne, M. Jean Zanchi) No.14; 64-65; *fig.44*
- THE TRIPTYCH OF JOB IN DISTRESS, Nos.54-56**
- Rubens, paintings (formerly Brussels, St Nicholas's church; destroyed) Nos.54-56; 170-177, 178, 180, 181, 182, 184, 185, 186
- JOB SEATED ON A DUNGHILL BETWEEN HIS WIFE AND HIS THREE FRIENDS, No.54**
- Rubens, painting (formerly Brussels, St Nicholas's church; destroyed) No.54; 176, 177-179, 180, 181
- J.L.Krafft, engraving, No.54, copy 1; 177, 180; *fig.121*
- ? N. van der Horst, drawing (Amsterdam, N. de Boer Foundation) No.54, copy 2; 177-178, 180; *fig.124*
- G.Seghers, painting (Prague, National Gallery) No.54; 178, 179; *fig.123*
- ?C.Saftleven, painting (Antwerp, Museum Mayer van den Bergh) No.54; 178, 179
- Anonymous, painting (Saint-Omer, Church Notre-Dame) No.54; 178, 179
- G. de Crayer, painting (Toulouse, Musée des Beaux-Arts) No.54; 178; *fig.126*
- A. van Diepenbeeck, drawing (Leningrad, Hermitage) No.54; 178, 179; *fig.127*
- Anonymous, retouched by Rubens, drawing (Cambridge, M.Jaffé) No.54a; 178, 180; *fig.122*
- Rubens, *Head of a Bearded Man*, painting (whereabouts unknown; formerly Verviers, F.Houget, 1949) No.54b; 180-181; *fig.125*
- JOB TORMENTED BY DEMONS AND ABUSED BY HIS WIFE, No.55**
- Rubens, painting (formerly Brussels, St Nicholas's church; destroyed) No.55; 176, 181-183, 184, 185, 186
- L.Vorsterman, engraving, No.55, copy; 181, 182, 184, 186; *fig.129*
- A. van Dyck, drawing (Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins) No.55; 182; *fig.128*
- E.Delacroix, painting (Bayonne, Musée Bonnat) No.55; 183
- Anonymous, painting (Paris, Louvre) No.55; 183
- Anonymous, painting (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) No.55; 183
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; formerly Frankfurt am Main, G.Müller, 1927) No.55; 183
- Anonymous, painting (Berchem-Antwerp, R.Werner, 1973) No.55; 183
- Anonymous, engraving (A.Sweerts excudit) No.55; 183
- Anonymous, engraving (V.S., p.3, No.19) No.55; 183
- Rubens, *Nude Man (Job) leaning back*, drawing (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum) No.55a; 182, 183-184; *fig.130*
- Rubens, *A Tormenting Demon*, drawing (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum) No.55b; 182, 184, 185; *fig.131*
- JOB TORMENTED BY DEMONS AND ABUSED BY HIS WIFE, No.56**
- ?Rubens, painting (formerly in the church of Wezemaal near Louvain; destroyed) No.56; 182, 185-187
- Anonymous, engraving, No.56, copy; 177, 185, 186; *fig.132*
- Anonymous, painting (?) after Rubens (Louvain, Stedelijk Museum Van der Kelen-Mertens) No.56; 187; *fig.133*
- THE FINDING OF THE PAGAN TREASURES AND JUDAS MACCABAEUS'S PRAYER FOR THE DEAD, No.67**
- Rubens, painting (Nantes, Musée des Beaux-Arts) No.67; 222-227; *figs.177, 178*

INDEX II: SUBJECTS

- Anonymous, painting (Banbury, National Trust at Upton House) No.67; 226
- JUDITH BEHEADING HOLOFERNES, No.50**
 Rubens, painting (whereabouts unknown; presumably lost) No.50; 106, 158-162, 164
 C.Galle, engraving, No.50, copy; 123, 158; fig.109
 Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, London, 1977) No.50; 161
 Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, Versailles, 1975) No.50; 161
 Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; formerly Basle, J.Nestel, 1898) No.50; 161
 Anonymous, painting (Florence, Museo Stibbert) No.50; 161
 Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, Florence, 1902) No.50; 161
 Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, London, 1956) No.50; 161
 Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, New York, 1986) No.50; 161
 F.Ragot, engraving, No.50; 161
 Anonymous, painting (Carpentras, Museum) No.50; 161
 Anonymous, painting (Munich, private collection; formerly Brussels, J. van Arend) No.50; 106; 161
 Anonymous, tapestry, No.50; 161
 Anonymous, engraving (Firens excudit) No.50; 161
 Anonymous, engraving (Mariette excudit) No.50; 161-162
 Rubens, drawing (Frankfurt am Main, Städelsches Kunstinstitut) No.50a; 160, 162-163; fig.110
 (?) C.Galle, retouched by Rubens, drawing (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum) No.50b; 161, 163, 164; fig.111
 ?C.Galle, retouched by Rubens, engraving (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Dessins) No.50c; 161, 163-164; fig.112
- JUDITH WITH THE HEAD OF HOLOFERNES, No.51**
 Rubens, painting (Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum) No.51; 164-166; fig.113
 Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, Bern, 1983) No.51, copy 1; 164
 C.Schroeder, engraving, No.51, copy 2; 164
- JUDITH PUTTING THE HEAD OF HOLOFERNES IN A SACK, No.52**
 ?Rubens, painting (Florence, Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici per le Provincie di Firenze e Pistoia) No.52; 166-167; fig.114
- A.Voet the Younger, engraving, No.52, copy; 166; fig.116
 F.Prechler, engraving, No.52, copy; 166
- LOT AND HIS DAUGHTERS, No.7**
 Rubens, painting (Schwerin, Staatliches Museum) No.7; 44, 48-50; fig.17
 Anonymous, painting (Seattle, Wash., M.Selig) No.7, copy 1; 48
 W.Swanenburg, engraving, No.7, copy 2; 48; fig.18
 Anonymous, print (Daret excudit) No.7; 49
 Anonymous, painting (Göttingen, Prof. Dr Lohmeyer; 1893) No.7; 49
- LOT AND HIS DAUGHTERS, No.8**
 Rubens, painting (Biarritz, private collection) No.8; 49, 50-51; fig.19
 Anonymous, painting (Amiens, Musée de Picardie) No.8, copy 1; 50
 Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; formerly Peymeinade-Grasse, France, G.Kasper-Ansermet; 1954) No.8, copy 2; 50
 W. de Leeuw, engraving, No.8, copy 4; 50; fig.21
 Anonymus, painting (Geneva, J.Pinget, 1968), No.8, copy 3; 50
 ?C. de Vos, detail of *Interior of Rubens's House* (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum) No.8, copy 5; 50; fig.20
- THE FLIGHT OF LOT AND HIS DAUGHTERS FROM SODOM, No.5**
 Rubens, painting (Sarasota, John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art) No.5; 40-44, 46, 47; 50; fig.9
 Anonymous, painting (Miami Beach, Florida, John and Johanna Bass Collection) No.5, copy 1; 40-41; fig.10
 J.Jordaens, painting (Tokyo, National Museum of Western Art) No.5, copy 2; 41; fig.12
 L.Vorsterman, engraving, No.5, copy 3; 41, 47; fig.11
 A. van Dyck, drawing (Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins) No.5; 43
 Anonymous, print (pub. by J.C.Visscher) No.5; 43
 Langot, engraving, No.5; 43
 J.-B.Lambrechts, painting (whereabouts unknown) No.5; 43
 Anonymous, painting (Berlin, Bode-Museum) No.5; 43
 Anonymous, painting (Humberto J.Lopez, Coral Gables, Florida) No.5; 43
 Anonymous, drawing (the group of Lot's two daughters) (whereabouts unknown;

- formerly G. Braamkamp Collection) No. 5; 43-44
- THE FLIGHT OF LOT AND HIS FAMILY FROM SODOM, No. 6**
- Rubens, painting (Paris, Louvre) No. 6; 43, 44-47; *fig. 13*
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; formerly J. A. Brentano) No. 6, copy 1; 44
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; formerly Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle) No. 6, copy 2; 44
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, Amsterdam, 1976) No. 6, copy 3; 44-45
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, London, 1949) No. 6, copy 4; 45
- Anonymous, painting (Brussels, Vassilis Allamanis, 1970) No. 6, copy 5; 45
- Anonymous, painting (São Paulo, Brazil, A. H. De Soucy) No. 6, copy 6; 45
- ?A. Watteau, painting (whereabouts unknown) No. 6, copy 7; 45
- E. Delacroix, painting (Paris, Louvre) No. 6, copy 8; 45; *fig. 15*
- R. P. Bonington, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, London, 1937) No. 6; 46
- F. Leenhoff, engraving, No. 6; 46
- Anonymous, painting (copy of a lost oil sketch by Rubens) (whereabouts unknown; sale, Reichenau, Constance, 1975) No. 6a; 46, 47-48; *fig. 14*
- MEN AND WOMEN ATTACKED BY SERPENTS, No. 22**
- Rubens, drawing (London, British Museum) No. 22; 85-86, 88; *fig. 52*
- Anonymous, drawing (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana) No. 22, copy; 85
- MOSES, No. 21**
- Rubens, drawing (whereabouts unknown; sale, Amsterdam, 1987) No. 21; 84-85; *fig. 50*
- THE FINDING OF MOSES, No. 18**
- Rubens, drawing (Frankfurt am Main, Städelsches Kunstinstitut) No. 18; 79-80; *fig. 45*
- MOSES ADOPTED BY PHARAOH'S DAUGHTER, No. 19**
- Anonymous, painting (Geneva, J. P. François) No. 19; 80-82; *fig. 46*
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; formerly Starnberg a. See, Dr R. Paulus) No. 19, copy 1; 80
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; formerly Lenzburg, Switzerland, E. Eich) No. 19, copy 2; 80
- ?A. Wolfaerts, painting (Stockholm, University Collection) No. 19, copy 3; 80
- MOSES, AARON AND MIRIAM WITH OTHER WOMEN CELEBRATE THE CROSSING OF THE RED SEA, No. 20**
- Anonymous, painting (left half: Geneva, J. P. François; right half: Graz, Alte Galerie am Landesmuseum Joanneum) No. 20; 82-84 *figs. 47, 48*
- Anonymous, painting (Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle) No. 20, copy 1; 83, 85; *fig. 49*
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, London, 1978) No. 20, copy 2; 83
- SAMSON ASLEEP IN DELILAH'S LAP, No. 31**
- Rubens, painting (London, National Gallery) No. 31; 107-113, 114, 116, 118, 144; *fig. 72*
- J. Matham, engraving, No. 31, copy; 108; *fig. 73*
- F. Francken II, detail of *The Five Senses* (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) No. 31, copy; 111; *fig. 74*
- Rubens, drawing (Amsterdam, Mrs I. Q. van Regteren Altena) No. 31a; 111, 113-114, 116, 118; *fig. 75*
- Rubens, oil sketch (Cincinnati, Ohio, Cincinnati Art Museum) No. 31b; 111; 113; 114-115; *fig. 76*
- THE BLINDING OF SAMSON, No. 33**
- Rubens, oil sketch (Lugano, Switzerland, Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza) No. 33; 117-119; *fig. 78*
- Anonymous, drawing (Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins) No. 33, copy; 117
- SAMSON BREAKING THE JAWS OF A LION, No. 26**
- Rubens, painting (Madrid, Duque de Hernani, 1977) No. 26; 96-99, 100, 106, 121; *fig. 60*
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; formerly Munich, Dr A. Wolff, 1924) No. 26, copy 1; 96
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, Los Angeles, 1982) No. 26, copy 2; 96, 101
- Anonymous, drawing (London, British Museum) No. 26, copy 3; 96, 97
- Anonymous, drawing (Samson's figure) (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Printroom) No. 26, copy 4; 97
- Anonymous, drawing (Samson's head) (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Printroom) No. 26, copy 5; 97
- Anonymous, drawing (*Lion*) (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Printroom) No. 26, copy 6; 97

INDEX II: SUBJECTS

- J.W.Nahl, lithograph, No.26, copy 7; 97
 Rubens, oil sketch (whereabouts unknown; presumably lost) No.26a; 99-101
 Anonymous, painting (Stockholm, National-museum) No.26a, copy 1; 99; *fig.61*
 Anonymous, painting (Munich, Wittelsbacher Ausgleichsfonds) No.26a, copy 2; 99
 Anonymous, painting (fragment) (Besançon, Musée d'Art et d'Archéologie) No.26a, copy 3; 99
 Anonymous, painting (Amsterdam, D.Hoogendijk, 1947) No.26a, copy 4; 99-100
 G.Hoet, drawing (Leiden, Kunsthistorisch Instituut der Rijksuniversiteit) No.26a, copy 5; 100
 F. van den Wijngaerde, etching, No.26a, copy 6; 100; *fig.62*
 A.Waterloos, medal, No.26a; 100, 102; *fig.63*
 Anonymous, drawing (Paris, Fondation Custodia, Frits Lugt Collection) No.26a; 100; *fig.64*
 Anonymous, drawing (Paris, Fondation Custodia, Frits Lugt Collection) No.26a; 100, 101-102; *fig.65*
- SAMSON BREAKING THE JAWS OF A LION, No.27**
 Rubens, painting, oil sketch or drawing (whereabouts unknown; presumably lost) No.27; 101-102
 Anonymous, drawing (Paris, Fondation Custodia, Frits Lugt Collection) No.27, copy 1; 100, 101-102; *fig.65*
 E. Quellinus, etching, No.27, copy 2; 102; *fig.66*
 Anonymous, tapestry (whereabouts unknown; sale, London, 1947) No.27, copy 3; 102
- SAMSON BREAKING THE JAWS OF A LION, No.28**
 Rubens, drawing (Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet) No.28; 103-104, 123; *fig.69*
- SAMSON OVERCOMING TWO PHILISTINES, No.30**
 Rubens, drawing (Amsterdam, Gemeentemuseum, Fodor Collection) No.30; 106-107; *fig.71*
- SAMSON SLAYING A PHILISTINE, No.29**
 Rubens, drawing (Amsterdam, Gemeentemuseum, Fodor Collection) No.29; 104-106, 107; *fig.70*
- SAMSON TAKEN BY THE PHILISTINES, No.32**
 Rubens, oil sketch (Chicago, Art Institute) No.32; 110, 115-117, 118, 123, 124; *fig.77*
- THE DEFEAT OF SENNACHERIB, No.47**
 Rubens, painting (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) No.47; 95, 150-154, 155; *fig.103*
 Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, Stuttgart, 1928) No.47, copy 1; 150
 P.C.Soutman, engraving, No.47, copy 2; 150, 153, 156; *fig.104*
 F.Piloty, engraving, No.47, copy 3; 150
 ?P.C.Soutman, drawing (Washington, D.C., National Gallery) No.47; 153; *fig.105*
 Anonymous, engraving (N.Visscher excudit) No.47; 153; *fig.106*
- THE DEFEAT OF SENNACHERIB, No.48**
 ?P.C.Soutman, drawing (Vienna, Albertina) No.48; 153, 154-156; *fig.107*
- THE JUDGEMENT OF SOLOMON, No.45**
 Rubens, painting (Madrid, Prado) No.45; 142-145, 150; *fig.100*
 Anonymous, painting (Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection) No.45, copy; 143, 150
 Rubens, *A Woman Standing*, drawing (Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum) No.45a; 144, 145-146; *fig.99*
- THE JUDGEMENT OF SOLOMON, No.46**
 Rubens, painting (formerly Brussels Town Hall, presumably destroyed) No.46; 146-150
 Anonymous, painting (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst) No.46, copy 1; 146; *fig.101*
 Boetius a Bolswert, engraving, No.46, copy 2; 146; *fig.102*
 Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; New York, S.Rosenberg Gallery, 1955) No.46; 149
 Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, Brussels, 1929) No.46; 149
 Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, London, 1975) No.46; 149
 Anonymous, painting (Den Burg, The Netherlands, Town Hall, 1961) No.46; 149
 Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, Brussels, 1964) No.46; 149
 Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown; sale, Frankfurt am Main, 1975) No.46; 149
 Anonymous, tapestry, No.46; 149-150
 P.Viel, engraving, No.46; 150
 F.Ragot, engraving, No.46; 150
 Anonymous, engraving (J.C.Visscher excudit) No.46; 150
 J.B.Jackson, engraving, No.46; 150
 Van Somer, engraving, No.46; 150
 Anonymous, engraving (C.Danckerts excudit) No.46; 150

- Anonymous, engraving (*à Paris chez Hequet*)
No.46; 150
- Anonymous, engraving (*V.S.*, p.8, No.59)
No.46; 150
- Anonymous, engraving (*à Paris chez Chereau le
jeune*) No.46; 150
- Anonymous, engraving (P. van den Eenden
excudit) No.46; 150
- Anonymous, engraving (*V.S.*, p.8, No.62)
No.46; 150
- Anonymous, painting (Antwerp, private
collection) No.46; 150
- Anonymous, painting (Detroit, Michigan,
Revd. E.J.Hickey, 1972) No.46; 150
- SUSANNA AND THE ELDERS, No.58**
- Rubens, painting (Rome, Museo e Galleria
Borghese) No.58; 140, 200–202, 203, 205,
206, 207, 209, 211, 215, 216, 217, 219, 221;
fig.152
- SUSANNA AND THE ELDERS, No.59**
- Rubens, painting (Madrid, Real Academia
de Bellas Artes de San Fernando) No.59; 142,
202–204, 205, 207, 208–209, 211, 215, 216, 219;
fig.153
- Rubens, drawing (Montpellier, Musée Atger,
Faculté de Médecine) No.59a; 124, 204,
205–206; *fig.154*
- SUSANNA AND THE ELDERS, No.60**
- Rubens, painting (Stockholm, National-
museum) No.60; 140, 206–207, 215, 219;
fig.156
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown;
sale, Bern, 1978) No.60, copy 1; 206–207
- Anonymous, drawing (Susanna) (Munich,
Staatliche Graphische Sammlung) No.60,
copy 2; 207
- SUSANNA AND THE ELDERS, No.61**
- Rubens, painting (whereabouts unknown;
presumably lost) No.61; 207–210
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown;
formerly Berlin, Potsdam, Schlossgalerie,
Sanssouci) No.61, copy 1; 207–208, 214, 219;
fig.157
- Anonymous, painting (only the upper half of
the composition) (New York, C.E.T.Stuart-
Linton, 1945) No.61, copy 2; 208
- A. van Dyck, drawing (Paris, Louvre, Cabinet
des Dessins) No.61, copy 3, 208; *fig.158*
- M.Lasne, engraving, No.61, copy 4; 208, 214,
217; *fig.159*
- M.Lasne, engraving, No.61, copy 5; 208, 212,
214, 217; *fig.160*
- Q.Marcx, engraving, No.61, copy 6; 208, 214;
fig.161
- SUSANNA AND THE ELDERS, No.62**
- Rubens, painting (whereabouts unknown;
presumably lost) No.62; 210–214
- L.Vorsterman, engraving, No.62, copy; 140,
210–211, 217, 218; *fig.162*
- L.Vorsterman, drawing (London, British
Museum) No.62; 211; *fig.163*
- Anonymous, painting (Chicago, Art Institute)
No.62; 212
- Anonymous, painting (St Etienne, France,
Musée d'Art et d'Histoire) No.62; 212
- Anonymous, painting (Orléans, Musée) No.62;
212–213
- Anonymous, painting (Innsbruck, Ferdinan-
deum) No.62; 213
- Anonymous, painting (Torralfina, Castello)
No.62; 213
- Anonymous, painting (?Genova, Palazzo
Reale) No.62; 213
- Anonymous, painting (Schalkhausen über
Ansbach, West Germany, Prof. W.Schnug,
1965) No.62; 213
- Anonymous, painting (Copenhagen, A.Pasler,
1975) No.62; 213
- Anonymous, painting (Antwerp, Mr Op
de Beeck) No.62; 213
- Anonymous, painting (Stockholm, Embassy of
Iran, Hossein Bozorgnia, 1972) No.62; 213
- Anonymous, painting (Rome, Mr Gaspari
Bassi, 1968) No.62; 213
- Anonymous, painting (Nice, R.Levy, 1960)
No.62; 213
- Anonymous, painting (Lisbon, private collec-
tion) No.62; 213
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown;
sale, Aachen, 1921) No.62; 213
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown;
sale, Brussels, 1986) No.62; 213
- J.Facnion, woodcut, No.62; 213
- I. van Somer, engraving, No.62; 213
- J.Simon, engraving, No.62; 213
- Anonymous, engraving (C. de Jonghe excudit)
No.62; 213
- Anonymous, engraving (J.C.Visscher excudit)
No.62; 213
- Anonymous, engraving (R. van den Hoeye
excudit) No.62; 213
- SUSANNA AND THE ELDERS, No.63**
- Rubens, painting (whereabouts unknown;
presumably lost) No.63; 214–215
- Anonymous, painting (Stockholm, National-

INDEX II: SUBJECTS

- museum) No.63, copy 1; 209, 214, 219;
fig.164
 P.Pontius, engraving, No.63, copy 2; 214, 217;
fig.165
 P.Pontius, drawing (Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des
 Dessins) No.63; 214; *fig.166*
- SUSANNA AND THE ELDERS, No.64**
 Rubens, painting (whereabouts unknown;
 presumably lost) No.64; 215-218
 Anonymous, painting (Leningrad, Hermitage)
 No.64, copy 1; 215-219; *fig.167*
 Anonymous, painting (Turin, Galleria Sabauda)
 No.64, copy 2; 215-216
 Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown;
 sale, Munich, 1909) No.64, copy 3; 216
 Anonymous, painting (Paris, Messrs Cailleux)
 No.64, copy 4; 216
 C.Jegher, woodcut, No.64, copy 5; 216; *fig.168*
 Anonymous, drawing (Paris, Louvre, Cabinet
 des Dessins) No.64; 217; *fig.169*
- SUSANNA AND THE ELDERS, No.65**
 Rubens, painting (Munich, Alte Pinakothek)
 No.65; 142, 217, 218-221; *figs.170, 173*
 Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown;
 sale, Paris, 1987) No.65, copy 1; 218
 F.Piloty, lithograph, No.65, copy 2; 218
 Anonymous, painting (Aix-en-Provence,
 Musée Granet) No.65; 220
 Anonymous, painting (New York, Metropo-
 litan Museum of Art) No.65; 220; *fig.171*
 Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown;
 formerly Antwerp, M.Rooses) No.65; 220
 Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown;
 sale, Amsterdam, 1935) No.65; 220-221
 Anonymous, painting (Leningrad, Hermitage)
 No.65; 221
 Anonymous, painting (Werfen im Land
 Salzburg, A.E.Herrmann, 1927) No.65; 221
 Anonymous, painting (Mexico City, Museo de
 San Carlos) No.65; 221
 Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown;
 sale, London, 1963) No.65; 221
 Anonymous, painting (Susanna only) (where-
 abouts unknown; sale, London, 1952) No.65;
 221
 P.Spruyt, etching (large size) No.65; 221; *fig.172*
 P.Spruyt, etching (small size) No.65; 221
- THE STONING OF THE ACCUSERS OF SUSANNA,
 No.66**
 Anonymous, painting (Belgium, private
 collection) No.66; 221-222; *fig.175*
 Anonymous, drawing (New York, M.N.Weiner
 Gallery, 1985) No.66, copy; 221
- THE TEMPTATION OF MAN, No.2**
 Rubens, drawing (London, Courtauld Institute
 of Art, Princes Gate Collection) No.2; 33,
 34-35, 37; *fig.3*
- THE TEMPTATION OF MAN, No.3**
 Rubens, painting (Antwerp, Rubenshuis) No.3;
 35-37; *fig.6*
- TOBIT BURYING THE SLAIN JEW No.49**
 Rubens, drawing (Farnham, W.Burchard)
 No.49; 156-158; *fig.108*

Index III: Other Works by Rubens mentioned in the Text

The following abbreviations are used throughout the index:

D—drawing; **E**—engraving; **P**—painting; **S**—sketch; **T**—tapestry.

OLD TESTAMENT

- Adam and Eve in Paradise* **P** (The Hague, Mauritshuis) 199
Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac **P** (destroyed; formerly Antwerp, Jesuit Church) 59
The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek **P** (destroyed; formerly Antwerp, Jesuit Church) 74
The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek **T** (Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales) 69, 74
Moses Instructing the Israelites in the Gathering of Manna **D** (Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins) 83
The Gathering of the Manna **T** (Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales) 85
David Slaying Goliath **P** (destroyed; formerly Antwerp, Jesuit Church) 125, 127
David Slaying Goliath **S** (London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Princes Gate Collection) 125
King David Playing the Harp **T** (Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales) 130
Solomon and the Queen of Sheba **P** (destroyed; formerly Antwerp, Jesuit Church) 168
Esther Before Ahasuerus **S** (London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Princes Gate Collection) 169
Esther Before Ahasuerus **S** (Vienna, Akademie der bildenden Künste) 169
Esther Before Ahasuerus **P** (destroyed; formerly Antwerp, Jesuit Church) 168, 169, 170
Elijah and the Angel **T** (Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales) 85
Jesuit Church Ceiling **P** (destroyed; formerly Antwerp, Jesuit Church) 34, 35, 59, 74, 125, 127, 168, 169
The Eucharist Series **T** (Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales) 69, 74, 85, 130

NEW TESTAMENT

- The Education of the Virgin* **P** (destroyed; formerly Brussels, church of the Calced Carmelites) 177
The Annunciation **P** (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) 160
The Holy Family **P** (Antwerp, Museum) 193
The Holy Family **P** (Florence, Palazzo Pitti) 81

- Virgo Lactans* **P** (Berlin, Potsdam, Sanssouci) 209
The Adoration of the Shepherds **P** (Antwerp, St Paul's Church) 112
The Adoration of the Shepherds **P** (Fermo, Museo Civico) 89, 110
Studies for The Adoration of the Shepherds **D** (Amsterdam, Gemeente-Musea, Fodor Collection) 112–113
The Adoration of the Magi **P** (Antwerp, Museum voor Schone Kunsten) 126
The Adoration of the Magi **P** (Madrid, Prado) 74, 110, 116, 138, 144
The Adoration of the Magi **P** (Malines, St John's Church) 184
The Adoration of the Magi **S** (Groningen, Museum) 110, 116
The Massacre of the Innocents **P** (Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts) 124
The Rest on the Flight into Egypt **P** (Madrid, Prado) 81
The Return from the Flight into Egypt **P** (New York, Metropolitan Museum) 111
The Return from the Flight into Egypt **E** (L. Vorsterman) 48
Salome with the Head of John the Baptist **E** (W. Panneels) 165, fig. 115
The Miraculous Draught of Fishes **P** (Malines, Our-Lady-across-the-Dyle Church) 73, 75
The Woman Taken in Adultery **P** (Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts) 144
Jesus in the House of Simon the Pharisee **P** (Leningrad, Hermitage) 47
The Transfiguration **P** (Nancy, Musée des Beaux-Arts) 144
Christ Scourged **P** (Antwerp, St Paul's Church) 127
Christ Scourged **S** (Ghent, Museum voor Schone Kunsten) 128
Christ Crowned with Thorns **P** (Grasse, Hospital) 144
The Raising of the Cross **P** (Antwerp, Cathedral) 49, 86, 89, 144, 160
The Raising of the Cross **P** (destroyed; formerly Antwerp, Jesuit Church) 59
Christ on the Cross ('*Coup de lance*') **P** (Antwerp, Museum voor Schone Kunsten) 111
Christ on the Cross **P** (formerly Antwerp, St Walburga Church) 89

INDEX III: OTHER WORKS BY RUBENS

- Study for the Figure of Christ on the Cross* **D** (London, British Museum) 62
The Descent from the Cross **P** (Antwerp, Cathedral) 79, 111
The Entombment **P** (Rome, Museo e Galleria Borghese) 202
The Entombment **D** (Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet) 123
Christ and the Disciples at Emmaus **P** (Paris, St Eustache) 49
Christ and the Disciples at Emmaus **E** (W.Swanenburg) 49, 160
Doubting Thomas **P** (Antwerp, Museum voor Schone Kunsten) 111
The Ascent of Souls from Purgatory **P** (Tournai, Cathedral) 224, 225, 226
The Assumption of the Virgin **P** (Antwerp, Cathedral) 157
The Assumption of the Virgin **P** (Augsburg, Church of the Holy Cross) 157
Christ with the Penitent Sinners **P** (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) 93
The Madonna Adored by Penitents and Saints **P** (Kassel, Staatliche Gemäldegalerie) 131
The Gonzaga Family Adoring the Holy Trinity **P** (Mantua, Palazzo Ducale) 144, 147
The Fall of the Damned **D** (The Hague, C.P. van Eeghen Collection) 185
The Last Judgement **P** (destroyed; formerly Brussels, Town Hall) 148
The Four Evangelists **P** (Berlin, Potsdam, Sanssouci) 60
Jesuit Church Ceiling **P** (destroyed; formerly Antwerp, Jesuit Church) 34, 35, 59

SAINTS

- The Miracles of St Benedict* **P** (Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts) 76
The Mystic Marriage of St Catherine **P** (Toledo, Ohio, The Toledo Museum of Art) 81
The Abduction of St Catherine **P** (formerly Antwerp, St Walburga Church) 89
The Martyrdom of St Catherine of Alexandria **P** (Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts) 144
St Christopher and the Hermit **P** (Antwerp, Cathedral) 79
Two Studies for St Christopher **D** (London, British Museum) 123
St Gregory the Great Surrounded by other Saints **D** (Farnham, W.Burchard Collection) 157
St Gregory the Great Surrounded by other Saints **P** (Grenoble, Musée des Beaux-Arts) 157
The Ecstasy of St Helena **P** (Grasse, Hospital) 147

- St Jerome in the Wilderness* **P** (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie) 194
The Martyrdom of St Lawrence **P** (Schleissheim, Schloss) 182, 184
St Matthew **P** (Madrid, Prado) 144
St Michael Striking Down the Rebellious Angels **P** (Castagnola, Lugano, Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection) 185
St Norbert Overcoming Tanchelm **S** (Atlanta, Ga., Dr G. Baer) 125
The Conversion of St Paul **P** (London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Princes Gate Collection) 152
The Beheading of St Paul **D** (London, British Museum) 86, 144
St Stephen Triptych **P** (Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts) 157
The Martyrdom of St Stephen **P** (Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts) 222; fig.174
The Entombment of St Stephen **P** (Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts) 157
The Miracle of St Walburga **P** (formerly Antwerp, St Walburga Church) 89

MYTHOLOGY

- Achilles among the Daughters of Lycomedes* **P** (Madrid, Prado) 81
Andromeda **P** (Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen) 93
The Death of Argus **P** (Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum) 39
The Daughters of Cecrops Finding the Child Erichthonius **P** (Vaduz, Prince Liechtenstein Collection) 217
Cimon and Iphigenia **P** (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) 204
Deucalion and Pyrrha **P** (whereabouts unknown; presumably lost) 222
Deucalion and Pyrrha **S** (Madrid, Prado) 222
Diana and Actaeon **P** (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen) 139, 204
Studies for Diana and her Nymphs Surprised at the Bath, Hercules Tearing Off the Shirt of Nessus, and Dejanira and Nymphs **D** (Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins) 93
The Death of Dido **P** (Paris, Louvre) 142
Hercules and the Hydra **S** (London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Princes Gate Collection) 124
Jupiter and Callisto **P** (Kassel, Staatliche Gemäldegalerie) 119
Mars and Rhea Silvia **P** (Vaduz, Prince Liechtenstein Collection) 142
Meleager Presenting the Head of the Calydonian Boar to Atalanta **D** (Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Printroom) 67

- Neptune and Amphitrite* **P** (destroyed; formerly Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum) 193
- Satyr Sleeping off a Drinking-bout* **P** (Vienna, Akademie) 51
- A Silenus Surprised by the Water-Nymph Aegle* **D** (Windsor Castle, collection of Her Majesty the Queen of England) 51
- Venus, Bacchus and Ceres* **P** (Kassel, Staatliche Gemäldegalerie) 219
- Venus Chilled* **P** (Antwerp, Museum voor Schone Kunsten) 219
- Venus Suckling Cupids* **E** (C. Galle) 51
- The Decoration of the Torre de la Parada* **P** 124, 222

HISTORY

- The Justice of Cambyses* **P** (destroyed; formerly Brussels, Town Hall) 147, 148
- The Justice of Cambyses* **E** (R. Eynhoudts) 147
- The Conquest of Tunis by Charles V* **P** (Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen) 92
- The Emperor Constantine on his Death-bed* **S** (Paris, collection R. Küss) 142
- The Decius Mus Series* 95, 153, 225
- Decius Mus Relating his Dream* **P** (Vaduz, Prince Liechtenstein Collection) 95
- The Death of Decius Mus* **P** (Vaduz, Prince Liechtenstein Collection) 153
- The Meeting of Ferdinand, King of Hungary, and the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand* **P** (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) 69, 133
- The Triumph of the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand* **P** (*Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*) 62
- The Henry IV Series* 92, 225
- The Marriage of Henry IV and Maria de' Medici* **P** (Paris, Louvre) 188, 225
- The Entry of Henry IV into Paris* **P** (Florence, Uffizi) 225
- Henry IV Subjugating the City of Paris* **S** (Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen) 92
- The Rape of Lucretia* **P** (destroyed; formerly Berlin, Potsdam, Sanssouci) 219
- The Maria de' Medici Series* **P** (Paris, Louvre) 188
- The Birth of Maria de' Medici* **P** (Paris, Louvre) 51
- Pythagoras with Three Pupils* **P** (London, Buckingham Palace) 193
- Gaius Mucius Scaevola before Porsenna* **D** (Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Printroom) 66
- The Death of Seneca* **P** (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) 144
- Thomyris and Cyrus* **P** (Paris, Louvre) 167

HUNTING SCENES

- Boar Hunt* **P** (Marseilles, Musée des Beaux-Arts) 102
- Hippopotamus and Crocodile Hunt* **P** (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) 102
- Lion Hunt* **P** (London, National Gallery) 153
- Lion Hunt* **P** (destroyed; formerly Bordeaux, Museum) 102
- Lion and Leopard Hunt* **P** (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie) 153
- Tiger, Lion and Leopard Hunt* **P** (Rennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts) 86, 102

PORTRAITS

- The Gonzaga Family Adoring the Holy Trinity* **P** (Mantua, Palazzo Ducale) 144, 147
- Rubens and Hélène Fourmait Walking in their Garden* **P** (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) 204
- Portrait of a General with Two Attendants* **P** (Althorp House, Northamptonshire, Earl Spencer) 144
- Portrait of a Geographer* **P** (New York, Metropolitan Museum) 37

BOOK ILLUSTRATIONS AND TITLE-PAGES

- M. Barberini, Poemata* **E** 100
- Six Scenes from the New Testament* **D** (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library) 34

STUDIES

- Study for a Flying Angel* **D** (London, Victoria and Albert Museum) 60, 62
- Studies of a Reclining Hercules and a River God* **D** (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana) 51
- Two Studies of a Victory* **D** (Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum) 146
- Study of a Kneeling Nude Man, seen from behind, setting down a Heavy Chest* **D** (Paris, Louvre) 74
- Study of a Kneeling Nude Man, seen partly from behind, setting down a Heavy Load* **D** (Rotterdam, Boymans-van Beuningen Museum) 74
- Study of a Man Bending Forwards* **D** (The Hague, S. de Clercq Collection) 157
- Study of a Reclining Male Nude* **D** (Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins) 162
- Studies of a Group of Three Men Standing, and a Young Woman in Armour Kneeling* **D** (Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Printroom) 140

INDEX III: OTHER WORKS BY RUBENS

- Study of the Head of a Bearded Man* **P** (Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica) 204
Study of a Female Nude (Psyche) **D** (Windsor Castle, collection of Her Majesty the Queen of England) 62
Study of a Young Woman Crouching turned to the right, seen partly from behind **D** (Vienna, Albertina) 81
Study of a Lion Asleep, facing right **D** (whereabouts unknown; formerly Mrs C. Murray Collection) 191; fig.139

COPIES AND ADAPTATIONS

- The Belvedere Torso*, after antique sculpture **D** (Antwerp, Rubenshuis) 110, 125
The Farnese Hercules, after antique sculpture **D** (London, British Museum) 110
Two Variants of a Youth Attending to his Foot, after antique sculpture **D** (London, British Museum) 202
Pantheress, after a Paduan bronze **D** (Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Printroom) 196, 197; fig.146
Pantheress, after a Paduan bronze **D** (London, Victoria and Albert Museum) 196, fig.147
A Group of Figures, after Elsheimer's *Stoning of St Stephen* **D** (London, British Museum) 112
The Triumph of Scipio, after Giulio Romano **D** (Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins) 227
The Battle of Anghiari, after Leonardo **D** (Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins) 154
Two Corslet-Bearers, after Mantegna **D** (Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins) 226-227
Three Prisoners of Caesar, after Mantegna **D** (Boston, Mass., Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum) 226
Roman Triumph, after Mantegna **P** (London, National Gallery) 227
Night, after Michelangelo **D** (Paris, Fondation Custodia, Frits Lugt Collection) 110
Ulysses Meeting the Shade of Tiresias in Hades, after Primaticcio **D** (Weimar, Schlossmuseum) 226
The Battle of Constantine, after Raphael **D** (Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins) 154

- The Judgement of Solomon*, after Raphael **D** (Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Printroom) 144
Two Fettered Captives, after Salviati **D** (Angers, Musée Pincé) 92
Abraham and Melchizedek and Four Other Figures, after Stimmer **D** (Private collection; formerly C. Fairfax Murray Collection) 73
Job's Wife Scolding, after Stimmer **D** (Private collection; formerly C. Fairfax Murray) 186
Samson Carrying the Gates of Gaza, after Stimmer **D** (Antwerp, private collection) 53
Diana and Actaeon, after Titian **P** (lost; formerly in Rubens's collection) 141, 142
The Sacrifice of Isaac, after Titian **D** (Vienna, Albertina) 40
The Temptation of Man, after Titian **P** (Madrid, Prado) 37

ALLEGORY

- Triumphant Rome* **S** (The Hague, Mauritshuis) 138
The Crowning of the Victor **P** (Kassel, Staatliche Gemäldegalerie) 144, 145

GENRE

- The Garden of Love* **P** (Madrid, Prado) 58, 93
The Garden of Love **P** (Waddesdon Manor, James A. de Rothschild Collection) 81
Old Woman with a Coal-Pan **P** (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie) 165

MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS

- Angels Making Music* **P** (Berlin, Potsdam, Sanssouci) 64
Angels Making Music **E** (attributed to C. Schut) 64
Angels at Music **P** (Vaduz, Prince Liechtenstein Collection) 144
The Disputa of the Fathers of the Church **P** (Antwerp, St Paul's Church) 160
The Tree of Jesse **D** (Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins) 64
The Decoration of the Torre de la Parada **P** 81, 124

Index IV: Names and Places

This index lists names of artists, authors, collectors, owners, historical persons and antique models. Works of art are included; but, in order to avoid duplication, no reference is made to works by Rubens and his assistants or to the copies after the works.

- Aachen, Hans von 153
 Adolphus Frederick, First Duke of Cambridge 61
 Agar, Welbore Ellis 53, 132
 Agnew 40
 Aix-en-Provence, Musée Granet 220
 Albert, Archduke 153, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176
 Alkmaar 209
 Altamira, Conde 98, 121, 122
 Amsterdam
 Fodor Museum 105, 112
 Mrs I. Q. van Regteren Altena 111, 114, 118
 N. de Boer Foundation 180
 Rijksmuseum 142
 Rijksprentenkabinet 100, 123, 190, 194, 197, 198
 Anderson 80
 Anderson, Arthur 169
 Angerstein, William 80
 Antiquity 62
 The Battle of the Amazones (sarcophagus), Vatican, Belvedere 152
 The Venus of Doidalses (*The Crouching Venus*) (sculpture), Vatican 219
 The Labours of Hercules (sarcophagus), Rome, Villa Borghese 103
 Spinario (sculpture), Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori 201, 202, 211
 Victoria Sacrificing a Bull (bronze), London, Victoria and Albert Museum 103
 Anton Ulrich, Duke 164
 Antwerp
 Churches and Convents
 Cathedral 89, 111, 144, 157, 160
 Jesuits (St Charles Borromeo) 34, 35, 59, 74, 125, 127, 168, 169
 Recollects 111
 St Bernard's Abbey 167
 St Michaels's Abbey 126
 St Paul's 113, 127, 160
 St Walburga's 86, 89, 160
 'Huis van Spanien' 145
 Jesuit Congregation 191
 Museum Mayer van den Bergh 178
 Museum voor Schone Kunsten 126, 193, 219
 Plantin-Moretus Museum 100, 217
 Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi 62
 Rockox House 107, 111
 Rubenshuis 35, 78
 St Luke's guild 209, 212
 Stedelijk Prentenkabinet 51
 Arc, Joan of 140
 Arenberg, Prince Auguste d' 71
 Argoutinsky-Dolgoroukoff, Prince W. 179
 Asterius 219
 Atger, Xavier 124, 205
 Aubert, M. 91
 Augsburg, Church of the Holy Cross 157
 Augustijns-Goedleven, Mr and Mrs J. 191
 Augustus III, Elector of Saxony and King of Poland 140
 Autun, Honorius of 158

 Baeillieur, Cornelis de 128
 Baer, Dr George 125
 Baert 187
 Bale, C. S. 101
 Balen, Hendrik van 128
 Banbury, National Trust at Upton House 226
 Bandinelli, Baccio
 The Massacre of the Innocents (engraving by Marco Dente de Ravenna) 39
 Study of Nudes (drawing), Florence, Uffizi 39
 Barberini, (*Poemata*), Maffeo 100
 Barnard, John 162, 198
 Bartas, Du 33
 Bates, William 192
 Baudewijns 172, 173
 Bayeu 142
 Bayonne, Musée Bonnat 183
 Bazinière, Marquise de Nancreé, née Bertrand de la 220
 Bearsted, Viscount 227
 Beaujon, de 70
 Beckerath, Adolph von 138
 Becucci 166
 Beleth, Jean 158
 Bellingham-Smith 84
 Bellori, P. 172, 173, 175, 176

INDEX IV: NAMES AND PLACES

- Belvedere Torso* 110, 125
 Benedek, Mrs Julie von 82
 Berger, Jacques 177
 Bergh, M. van den 170
 Bergues-St. Winocq 135
 Berlin-Dahlem
 Königliche Bibliothek 65
 Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie 92, 93,
 107
 Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett 141,
 196, 197, 207
 Besnerd, Albert 38, 115
 Beuningen, D.G. van 122
 Beverc, J.B.J. van 134
Biblia Pauperum 59
 Bier, Herbert N. 194
 Biesum, Quirijn van 87
 Birtschansky, L. 90
 Blommaert 182
 Blootelingh, A. 189
 Boeckhorst, Jan 69, 130, 131, 150
 Esther before Ahasuerus, Courtrai, Mrs M.S.
 168
 Boileau 69
 Boileau, Major E.H.T. 102
 Bois, Du 71
 Bollandus, J. 187
 Bologna, Giovanni
 Samson Slaying a Philistine (sculpture),
 Valladolid 105
 Bologna, Pinacoteca 193
 Bologne, abbé de 167
 Bolswert, Boetius a 146, 148, 149
 Bolswert, Schelte a 91, 104
 Bonacossi, Alessandro Contini 166
 Bonington, Richard Parkes 46
 Borbón, Infante Maria Christina de 96, 98
 Borbón y Braganza, Infante don Sebastian de
 96, 98
 Borde, La 56
 Bordeaux, Musée des Beaux-Arts 102
 Borghesani, Maria 166
 Borghese, Cardinal Scipione 202
Borghese Warrior 116
 Borremans, Humbert Guillaume Laurent 56
 Boston, Mass., Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum
 226
 Bourgeois, P.F. 56
 Boymans Foundation, Museum 122
 Braamkamp, G. 43
 Brant, Jan 43, 191
 Brazil 100
 Bremen
 House of the Clothiers' corporation 149
 Krameramt 149
 Kunsthalle 188
 Brentano, Josephus Augustinus 44
 Brown, John Nicholas 189
 Brueghel, Jan I 37, 191
 Adam and Eve in Paradise, The Hague, Maurits-
 huis 199
 The Animals Entering Noah's Ark, London,
 Wellington Museum 104, 199
 The Animals Entering Noah's Ark, U.S.A.,
 private collection 190, 199
 The Five Senses, Madrid, Prado 153, 190
 Bruges, Groeninghe Museum 69
 Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum 59,
 164, 166
 Brussels 170, 171, 172, 174
 Brotherhood of the Musicians (St Job) 172,
 173, 174, 175, 176, 177
 Calced Carmelites's Church 177
 Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts 124, 144
 Rijksarchief 177
 Royal Library 40, 101, 171
 St Nicholas's Church 170, 171, 172, 173, 174,
 175, 176, 177, 178, 180, 181, 184, 185, 186
 Town Hall 146
 Buchanan 90
 Budapest, Szépművészeti Muzeum 84
 Burrows, Mr 188
 Butler, Charles 40
 Buytewech, Willem 38

 Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts 39
 Calderon, Rodrigo 112
 Callendar, Lieut.-Col. W. Forbes de 35
 Campe, H.W. 221
 Candido, Pietro 129
 Caravaggio 49, 162, 165, 167, 204
 Judith Beheading Holofernes, Rome, Galleria
 Nazionale d'Arte Antica 159
 The Seven Works of Mercy, Naples, Monte della
 Misericordia 165
 Carignan, Victor-Amédée de Savoie, Prince de
 44
 Carleton, Sir Dudley 52, 54, 55, 160, 187, 190,
 194, 210, 212
 Carlo Felice, King of Sardinia 216
 Carracci, Annibale 202
 Susanna and the Elders, Rome, Galleria Doria-
 Pamphili 203
 Cassel, Sir Felix 70
 Casteels, Peter 90
 Catherine II, Empress of Russia 52, 215
 Cavalieri, Giuseppe 170

- Ceulen, Gisbert van 50
 Chabot, J.J.M. 70
 Champion, William 90
 Charles I, King of England 187, 225
 Charles II, King of Spain 68, 134
 Charles Stuart, Prince of Wales 158
 Chastel Andelot, Count R. du 182
 Chennevières, Marquis P. de 213
 Chereau le Jeune 150
 Chicago, Art Institute 110, 118, 123, 124
 Christian IV, King of Denmark 146
 Chrysostom, St John 219
 Churchill, John, Duke of Marlborough 40, 50
 Cincinnati, Ohio, Cincinnati Art Museum 111, 113, 118
 Claas, Peter 194
 Clerck de Prinsdaele, de 43
 Clercq Collection, S. de 157
 Colins, R. 167
 Collaert, Hans 202
 Columellus 172, 173
 Coninxloo, Gillis van 37
 Conti, Prince de 70
 Cook, Sir Francis 80
 Cook, Sir Frederick 80
 Cook, Sir Herbert 80, 87
 Copenhagen
 Statens Museum for Kunst 148
 Statens Museum for Kunst, Printroom 106, 157, 193
 Coppens, Augustin 172, 173
 Cort, Cornelis 193
 Courtrai, Town Hall 149
 Courvoisier, J.J. 112
 Couwenbergh, Christiaan van
 Samson Asleep in Delilah's Lap 112
 Cowdray, First Viscount 187
 Cowdray, Third Viscount 187
 Cowper, Earl 35
 Coxie, Michiel 40, 133, 148
 Cain Slaying his Brother Abel (engraving by Jan I Sadeler) 40
 The Meeting of David and Abigail (formerly Malines, St Rombout's Church) 133
 Coypel, Charles-Antoine 69
 Crayer, Gaspar de
 Job Seated on a Dunghill between his Wife and his Three Friends, Toulouse, Musée des Beaux-Arts 178
 The Judgement of Solomon, Ghent, Museum 149
 Crewe, General 87
 Crozat, Joseph-Antoine, Baron du Tugny 52
 Crozat, Louis-Antoine, Baron de Thiers 52
 Crozat, Louis-François, Marquis du Châtel 52
 Crozat, Pierre 52, 76, 155, 163, 183
 Cruzada Villamil, G. 67, 105
 Cunningham, Captain A. 227
 Danckerts, C. 150
 Danvers, Lord 160, 190
 Daret, Jean 49
 Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum 144
 Dawkins, Miss D. 37
 Del Monte Collection, Brussels 40
 Delacroix, Eugène 45, 183, 217
 Delft, Town Hall 149
 Delhaye, J. 224
 Denison, Christopher Beckett 187
 Denon 71
 Dente de Ravenna, Marco 39
 Desfontaines, Gilles 225
 Detroit, Institute of Arts 133, 137, 138
 Didot, Jules 38
 Diepenbeek, Abraham van 221
 Job Seated on a Dunghill between his Wife and his Three Friends (drawing), Leningrad, Hermitage 178, 179
 Domenichino
 Susanna and the Elders, Schleissheim, Schloss 203
 Dorchester, First Viscount 187
 Douven 172, 173
 Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen 60, 86, 139, 153, 165, 194, 204, 219
 Du Bois 71
 Dubaut, Pierre 75, 122
 Dubois 56
 Dubuisson-Aubenay 148
 Dufour, Charles 82
 Dufresnes, Joseph von 218
 Dumesnil, Frédéric 225
 Durante, Annibale 200
 Durazzo, Marchese 216
 Dürer, Albrecht 53
 The Fall of Man (engraving) 36
 Düsseldorf Gallery 67, 150, 177
 Dutartre 71
 Duval Collection 106
 Dyck, Anthony van 43, 58, 60, 112, 155, 162, 191
 The Brazen Serpent, Madrid, Prado 89
 Job Tormented by Demons and Abused by his Wife (drawing), Paris, Louvre 182
 Samson Asleep in Delilah's Lap, London, Dulwich College 112
 Samson Taken by the Philistines, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 117

INDEX IV: NAMES AND PLACES

- The Martyrdom of St Stephen*, Tatton Park,
National trust 222
Susanna and the Elders (drawing), Paris, Louvre
210
- Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland 70, 141
Ee, Franciscus van der 146, 148
Egghen, Van 185
Egerton, Earl 222
Eich, E. 80
Eisemann, H. 194
Eissenhardt, J.K. 130
Electeur Palatine, Mannheim 183
Elizabeth, daughter of James I of England 55
Elsheimer, Adam 39, 110
Judith Beheading Holofernes, London, Wellington
Museum 112, 159, 162, 165
The Mocking of Ceres (copy), Madrid, Prado,
112
The Stoning of St Stephen, Edinburgh, National
Gallery of Scotland 112
Emerson, Thomas 101
Enden, F. van den 150
Eril, Giulio Melzi d' 191
Eynhoudts, R. 147
- Fabregoule, Alexandre-Louis-Marie de Bour-
guignon de 220
Fabregoule, Jean-Baptiste-Marie de Bourguignon
de 220
Facnion, J. 213
Faenza, Luca da
David Strangling a Bear (fresco after Giulio
Romano), Mantua, Palazzo del Te 120
David and the Lion (fresco after Giulio Romano),
Mantua, Palazzo del Te 120
Faidherbe, Lucas 93–94, 103
Fairfax Murray, C. 186, 192
Farnese Hercules 110
Farrer, Sir William 188
Fenwick, Thomas Fitzroy 33, 34
Fenwick-Owen, Denise 199
Fenwick-Owen, George 199
Féral, Jules 50
Ferdinand, Count of Plettenberg and Wittem
136
Ferdinand, Grand Duke of Tuscany 172, 173,
174, 175, 176
Ferdinand, Cardinal Infante 62
Fermo, Museo Civico 89, 110
Flavius, Josephus 109
Flessiers, Balthazar 58, 60
- Florence
Baptistry 61
Casa Buonarroti 105
Chiostro dello Scalzo 144
Medici Chapel 51, 110
Palazzo Vecchio 107, 154
Pitti Gallery 39
Uffizi 39, 154
Fonson, Albert 122
Fontaine-Flament Collection 215
Forchondt, Guillermo 107
Forchondt, Marcus 107
Fort Worth, Texas, Kimbell Art Museum 84,
128
Fourment, Baron de 50
Fourment, Hélène 57, 93, 142
Fourment-Van Hecke 135
Francken, Frans II 87
The Five Senses, Munich, Alte Pinakothek 111
Frankfurt am Main, Städtisches Kunstinstitut
106, 130, 131, 160
Frederick V. Elector Palatine (the 'Winter King'
of Bohemia) 55
Friedrich II, King of Prussia 207
Friedrich Wilhelm I, King of Prussia 65
Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg, Elector 65
- Gainsborough, Thomas 58
Galitzin, Prince 77, 208
Galle, Cornelis the Elder 51, 91, 100, 158, 162,
163, 164
Galle, Cornelis the Younger 178
Galle, Theodoor 64
Galván y Candela, Maria 202
Gambetta, P. 64, 90
Garbáty, Ella 58
Garbáty, Eugène L. 58
Garbáty, J. 58
Garbaty, Maurice 58
Gardie, Count Jacob Gustavus de la 184
Gardie, Count Pontus de la 184
Gerlings, H. 182
Getty Museum, J. Paul 69, 135, 137, 138
Ghellinck, T. Loridon de 82, 182, 183
Ghent
Museum voor Schone Kunsten 149
Oud-Burg 149
Ghiberti, Lorenzo 47
Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac, Florence, Baptistry
61
Ghirlandaio 47
Giebens Collection 220
Gillis, Judocus 167

- Giulio Romano 225
The Battle of Constantine (fresco), Rome, Vatican 152
David Slaying Goliath (fresco), Mantua, Palazzo del Te 123, 125, 127
David Spying upon Bathsheba (fresco), Mantua, Palazzo del Te 140
David Strangling a Bear (fresco), Mantua, Palazzo del Te 120
Two Lovers Upon a Couch (painting), Leningrad, Hermitage 111
The Toilet of Bathsheba (fresco), Mantua, Palazzo del Te 139
The Triumph of Scipio (tapestries) 225, 227
The Vision of Constantine (fresco), Rome, Vatican, Sala di Constantino 225
- Gobert, A. 91
 Goelnitz (Golnitsius), Abraham 149
 Goldschmidt-Rothschild, Baron Albert von 169
 Gomez 142
 Göring, Field Marshal 166
 Goulinat, Jean-Gabriel 225
 Gouvernet, Marquis de 199
 Govers Collection 91
 Goya 142
 Grange, T.P. 64
 Grasse, Hospital 144, 147
 Graves, J. 90
 Grebber, Frans Pietersson de 55
 Greenville, Bob Jones University Collection 135
 Grenoble, Musée des Beaux-Arts 157
 Groiseilliez, M. de 45
 Groningen, Museum van Oudheden 110, 116
 Grosse, Dr Rolph 156
 Grosvenor, Earl of 53, 132
 Grottaferrata, Badia 42, 49
 Gsell, Friedrich Jacob 170
 Guicciardini, Ludovico 149
 Gustavus III, King of Sweden 99, 169, 206, 214
- Haarlem, Cornelisz. van
Bathsheba at the Fountain, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum 142
 Hadfield, Mr 188
 Haecht, Willem van
Alexander the Great Visiting the Studio of Apelles, The Hague, Mauritshuis 107
 Hague, The, Mauritshuis 199
 Hamilton, First Duke of 187
 Hamilton, Gavin 134
 Hamilton, Robert 70
 Hamilton, Thirteenth Duke of 187
 Hamilton, Twelfth Duke of 187
- Happart, Johannes Philippus 114, 115, 117
 Hátvány, Baron Paul 70
 Hauchin, Archbishop 134
 Heem, Johannes de 70
 Heinemann, Mrs Rudolf J. 133, 138
 Hendricx, Gillis 134
 Henle, Dr Günther 132
 Henry IV Gallery 92
 Henry, Thomas 183
 Henschenius, G. 187
Hercules Farnese 110
 Hernani, Duque de 100, 106
 Herp, Willem van 83
 Hertogs, Mr 220
 Hildebrand Collection 64
 Hippolytus, St 219
 Hirsch, Baron Robert von 117
 Hirsch de Gereuth, Baron 50
 Hirsch de Gereuth, Baronne 50
 Hobraeck, Gustav 168, 169
 Hoecke, Jan van den 69, 108
 Hoet, Gerard 71, 100, 191, 192
 Hoeye, Rombout van den 213
 Holbein, Hans 52
 Hollar, W. 189
 Honolulu, Academy of Fine Arts 70
 Hooch, Pieter de 60
 Horst, Nikolaas van der 177
 Houette, P. 208
 Houget, Fernand 180
 Hoym, Count Karl-Heinrich von 220
 Huard, M. 38
 Huard, Mrs 38
 Hudson, Colonel T. 82
 Hudson, T. 104
- Innsbruck, Museum Ferdinandeum 117
 Isabel de Farnesio (Elizabeth Farnese), Queen 142
 Isabella Clara Eugenia, Infante of Spain, Archduchess 68, 74, 98, 121
- Jabach, E. 76, 215
 Jackson, J.B. 150
 Jaffé, Mr and Mrs Michael 145, 180
 James I, King of England 55
 Janssens, Abraham 168
'In Spite of Envy, Concord Triumphs with the Help of Love and Honesty', Wolverhampton, Municipal Art Gallery 145
 Jay, Louis 106
 Jegher, Christoffel 216
 Jestard 220

INDEX IV: NAMES AND PLACES

- Johann Adam Andreas, Prince of Liechtenstein 107
 Johann II, Prince of Liechtenstein 108
 Johann Wilhelm, Elector Palatine 150, 172, 173, 177
 Johann-Wilhelm of Neuburg 67
 Johnson, Mrs Rita 195
 Jonghe, Clément de 213
 Jordaens, Jacob 43, 165
 Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac, Milan, Brera 60
 The Daughters of Cecrops Finding the Child Erichthonius, Antwerp, Museum voor Schone Kunsten 217
 The Flight of Lot and his Family from Sodom, Tokyo, National Museum of Western Art 42, 43
 The Holy Family with Maid-Servant, Stockholm, Nationalmuseum 166
 Musical Party in an Interior (drawing), Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 166
 Josephus, Flavius 109
 Joullain 62, 69
 Julius II 86
- Kann, Alphonse 71
 Kann, Rodolphe 134
 Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle 44, 83, 85
 Karolus, Prof Dr 131
 Kassel, Gemäldegalerie 71, 119, 131, 144, 145, 219
 Kay, A. 169
 Kerrick, G.I. 89
 Kessel, Jan van
 Allegory of Sight, whereabouts unknown 192
 Key, Willem 202
 Knapton, G. 199
 Knight, R. Payne 199
 Koch, Victor 194, 195, 196
 Koenings, F. 122
 Köser, Mrs Heinz 108
 Krafft, Jan Lauwrijn 177, 180
 Krankel, M.A. 192
 Krauspe, Dr Herrmann 96
 Kretser, Maerten 70
 Küss, R. 142
- La Borde 56
 Lahmann, J.F. 162
 Lamb, Francis 189
 Lambrechts, Jan-Baptist 43
 Lamponi-Leopardi, Colonel E.R. 161
 Lanenville 38
- Lange, Arnoud de 79
 Langot 43
 Laocoon 86, 92, 116, 125, 159, 184, 204, 205
 Lasne, Michel 208, 209, 210, 212, 214, 217
 Lawrence, Sir Thomas 33, 34, 85, 90, 100, 101, 162, 180, 198
 Leeds, City Art Gallery 37
 Leembruggen, G. 85
 Leenhoff, F. 46
 Leeuw, W.P. de 189
 Leganés, Marques de 96, 121, 191
 Lempereur, J.D. 69
 Leningrad, Hermitage 111-112, 149, 178, 206, 213, 215, 217, 218
 Lenzburg 80
 Leonard, H. 119
 Leonardo
 The Battle of Anghiari 152
 Lerouge, Marc-Antoine 224-225
 Lesser 70
 Leuchtenberg, Prince Eugène, Duke of 125, 126
 Levy, Albert 70
 Liechtenstein Collection 95, 107, 108, 142, 144, 150, 152, 217
 Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts 144, 218
 Locatelli, Antonio 192
 Locke, Thomas 160
 Lohmeyer, Prof Dr 49
 Lommelien, Adriaen 135, 138
 London
 British Museum 43, 46, 86, 88, 112, 123, 144, 190, 194, 195, 197, 199, 202, 211
 Buckingham Palace 193
 Courtauld Institute of Art, Princes Gate Collection 33, 34, 37, 38, 86, 92, 106, 124, 125, 152, 169
 Dulwich College Picture Gallery 56, 112
 National Gallery 42, 86, 90, 108, 113, 114, 116, 134, 144, 153, 198, 227
 Paul Wallraf Collection 190, 194, 197, 200
 Schapiro, Dr E. 73, 149
 Victoria and Albert Museum 60, 103, 128, 196
 Wellington Museum 104
 Lopez, J. 43
 Los Angeles, County Museum 101
 Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland 78
 Louis XIII, King of France 167
 Louis XIV, King of France 218
 Louis XV, King of France 44
 Louis XVI, King of France 48
 Louisa Ulrika, Queen of Sweden 206
 Louvain, Stedelijk Museum Van der Kelen-Mertens 187

- Low, Robert 162
 Lucchesi, Conte 83
 Lugt, F. 100, 101
- Madrazo, P. de 202
 Madrid 141
 Accademia de San Fernando 142, 205, 207,
 208, 211, 215
 Alcazar 67, 105
 Duque de Hernani 100, 106
 Convent of the Descalzas Reales 74, 85
 Prado 37, 79, 81, 89, 93, 110, 112, 144, 145,
 150, 222, 225
 Royal Palace 67, 96, 98, 121
 Torre de la Parada 222
- Malcolm, J. 85, 213
 Malibu, Ca., J. Paul Getty Museum 69, 135,
 137, 138
 Malines
 Church of Our-Lady-across-the-Dyle 75
 St John's Church 184
 St Rombout's Church 133
- Malzi, Luigi 191
 Manchester, City Art Gallery 37
 Manet, Edouard
 Nymph Surprised, Buenos Aires, Museo
 Nacional de Bellas Artes 213
- Mannheim, Elector Palatine 183
 Mantegna 225, 227
 The Calumny of Apelles (drawing), London,
 British Museum 46
 Judith Putting the Head of Holofernes in a Sack
 (drawing; School of), formerly Haarlem,
 Koenings Collection 100
 The Triumph of Caesar, Hampton Court 225,
 226
- Mantua
 Jesuit Church of the Santissima Trinità 144
 Museo del Palazzo Ducale 145, 147
 Palazzo Pusterla 225
 Palazzo del Te 120, 123, 125, 127, 139, 140,
 226
- Marana, Lorenzo 90
 Marcx, Quirin 208, 209, 214
 Mariette, P. J. 43, 63, 101, 104, 129, 154, 155, 209
 Marlborough, Duke of 40
 Marle, Van 67
 Marquand, Henry G. 220
 Marseilles, Musée des Beaux-Arts 102
 Martin de L.B., Joseph 134
 Massijs, Jan
 Bathsheba Receiving David's Letter, Paris, Louvre
 142
- Matham, Jacob 108, 109, 110
 Max Emanuel, Bavarian Elector 50
 Maximilian I of Bavaria, Duke 86, 102
 Maximilian Joseph III, Elector of Bavaria 218
 Mayor, W. 84
 Medici, Giuliano de' 110
 Meeüs d'Argenteuil, Count H. de 119
 Meijne, David de 39
 Mensaert, G. P. 145
 Merian, Matthäus the Younger 65
 Methuen, Paul 42
 Meyers, Jacques 87, 136
 Michelangelo 39, 60, 61, 86, 92, 107, 110
 The Brazen Serpent (fresco), Vatican, Sistine
 Chapel 85, 88
 Crepuscolo (sculpture), Florence, Medici Chapel
 51
 David (sculpture), Florence, Palazzo Vecchio
 107
 David Slaying Goliath (fresco), Vatican, Sistine
 Chapel 125
 The Drunkenness of Noah (fresco), Vatican,
 Sistine Chapel 51
 Hercules and Cacus (sculpture), Florence, Casa
 Buonarroti 105
 Jeremiah (fresco), Vatican, Sistine Chapel 63
 Judith Beheading Holofernes (fresco), Vatican,
 Sistine Chapel 159
 Leda and the Swan (lost) 110
 Night (sculpture), Florence, Medici Chapel 110
 Pietà (sculpture), Rome, St Peter 147
 Samson with Two Philistines at his Feet (sculpture;
 not executed) 107
 Sleeping Cupid (sculpture) (lost) 81
 Tityus (drawing), Windsor Castle, Royal
 Library 39, 92
- Milan
 Biblioteca Ambrosiana 85
 Brera 60
 Mols, F. 40
 Mols, Jean Joseph 40, 171, 173, 174, 176, 177,
 178, 181, 185
 Mond, Sir Robert Ludwig 104
 Montpellier, Musée Atger 123, 124, 127, 204,
 205
 Moor, Carel de 182
 Moretus 100
 Moretus, Balthasar 178
 Morrison, General 199
 Mortemar 225
 Moscow, Pushkin Museum 213
 Mount Temple, Lord 221
 Müller, Gottlieb 183
 Mullett, Mrs Hester 126

INDEX IV: NAMES AND PLACES

Munich

- Alte Pinakothek 67, 93, 95, 111, 116, 142, 144,
152, 155, 177, 183, 204, 217, 219, 220, 221
Hofgartengalerie 150, 218
Staatliche Graphische Sammlung 75

Munro of Novar, H. A. J. 70

Murray, Mrs Charles 191

Musson, Matthijs 40

Muxel, J. N. 126

Muziano, Girolamo

The Penitent St Jerome (drawing), Paris, Louvre
193

The Penitent St Jerome, Bologna, Pinacoteca 193

Nahl, Johann Wilhelm 97

Nancré, Marquis de 220

Nancy, Musée des Beaux-Arts 144

Nantes, Musée des Beaux-Arts 225

Naples, Monte della Misericordia 165

Napoleon, Emperor 102, 225

Naulaerts 182

Nelis, Charles-Jean-Gommaire 93, 104

Netscher, C.

A Lady Teaching a Child to Read, London,
National Gallery 91

Neuburg, Johann-Wilhelm of 67

Neuerburg, August 108

New York

Frick Collection 107

Metropolitan Museum of Art 37

Pierpont Morgan Library 190, 194

Nickl Collection, Von 128

Nieuwenhuijs 70

Noailles, Maréchal de 44

Nourri Collection 149

Nourri, Conseiller 198, 199

Ny Carlsberg Foundation 75

Ohlmeyer, J. 149

Oliver, Mark Farquhar 70

Ooms 80

Oppé, A. Paul 194

Oppenheimer, Henry 105

Orange, Prince of 78

Orley, Barend van 157

Otrley, William Young 33, 34, 85

Oudaan 76

Owen, J. B. Bulkeley 90

Owen, T. B. H. 90

Palmerston, Lord 221

Panneels, Willem 119, 165, 167

Paris

Bibliothèque Nationale 43, 161, 163, 187

École des Beaux-Arts 156

Fondation Custodia (Frits Lugt Collection)
100, 101

Louvre 43, 93, 107, 116, 129, 131, 142, 154,
162, 167, 183, 193, 210, 211, 214, 215, 218, 223

Parker, C. W. Oxley 188

Pasadena, Calif., Norton Simon Foundation
125, 128

Pasqualatti, Br. 170

Pater, Admiral 100

Paul of Yugoslavia, Prince 99

Payne Knight, R. 199

Peel, Sir Robert 198

Penrice 90

Pereda, Vicente Caledonio 126

Perez, Adriana 111

Perino del Vaga

David Slaying Goliath (fresco), Vatican, Loggia
125, 127

Jupiter and Callisto (engraving) 118

Philips III, King of Spain 112

Philips IV, King of Spain 68, 98, 100, 112, 121

Philips V, King of Spain 142

Phillips, Sir Thomas 33, 34

Picart, Jean 40

Piccini, Jacopo 126

Pierpont Morgan, J. 192

Piles, Roger de 37, 136, 220

Pilizotti, J. 76

Piloty, Ferdinand 150, 218

Pio, Prince 202

Plach 96

Plantin Moretus 100

Plettenburg and Witten, Count Van 140

Polidoro da Caravaggio 225

Palazzo Milesi 225

Libro de Diversi Trophei di Polidoro 225–226

Pommersfelden, Schloss Weissenstein 170

Pontius, Paul 214, 217

Susanna and the Elders (drawing), Paris, Louvre
214

Pordenone

David Slaying Goliath, Venice, Santo Stefano
monastery 125

Potsdam 60

Schlossgalerie Sanssouci 90, 208, 209, 210, 214,
219

Potteau, Guillelmo 107, 131

Pourbus, Frans I 136

Prague, National Gallery 178

Prechler, Franz 166

Preuner, A. J. von 69

- Primaticcio
Ulysses Meeting the Shade of Tiresias in Hades
 (fresco) 226
- Prussia, Kings of 60
- Quellinus, Erasmus II 69, 83, 84, 102, 128
- Ragot, F. 91, 150, 161
- Raimondi, Marcantonio
The Judgement of Paris (engraving after Raphael)
 51
The Temptation of Man (engraving after Raphael)
 36
- Raleigh, N.C., North Carolina Museum of Art
 140, 154
- Rantzau, Josias 146
- Raphael 47
The Battle of Constantine (fresco), Rome, Vatican
 152
David Slaying Goliath (fresco), Rome, Vatican
 125, 127
The Death of Ananias (cartoon), London,
 Victoria and Albert Museum 93, 94
The Finding of Moses (fresco), Vatican, Loggias
 79
The Gathering of Manna 92
The Healing of the Paralytic (tapestry), Vatican
 147
The Judgement of Paris 51
The Judgement of Solomon (fresco), Vatican,
 Stanze della Segnatura 144
The Temptation of Man 36
- Raphael, School of
*Moses Instructing the Israelites in the Gathering of
 Manna* 83
- Regteren Altena, I.Q. van 105, 124
- Reinagle, R.F. 70
- Reitlinger, Henry Scipio 180
- Rembrandt
The Flight of Lot and his Family from Sodom
 (drawing), London, British Museum 43
The Flight of Lot and his Family from Sodom
 (drawing), Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 43
- Remy 70
- Rennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts 86, 102
- Resta, Padre Sebastiano 85
- Reusner 112
- Reuss, Princes of 119
- Rhenen, Castle of (Holland) 55
- Rhodius 84
- Richardson, Jonathan 105
- Richardson Sen^r, J. 84
- Richelieu, Armand Jean Duplessis, Cardinal de
 414
- Richelieu, Armand-Jean de Vignerod Duplessis,
 Duc de 136, 219
- Richter 40
- Rinaldo Mantovano
David Slaying Goliath (fresco after Giulio
 Romano), Mantua, Palazzo del Te 123, 125
David Spying upon Bathsheba (fresco after
 Giulio Romano), Mantua, Palazzo del Te 140
The Toilet of Bathsheba (fresco after Giulio
 Romano), Mantua, Palazzo del Te 140
- Ringling, John 40
- Robinson, Sir John Charles 192, 213
- Rochdale, Viscount 37
- Rockox, Nicolaas 107
- Rome
 Belvedere 204
 Church of St Sylvester 144
 Galleria Doria-Pamphili 203
 Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica 161, 204
 Museo e Galleria Borghese 103, 140, 202, 203,
 206, 207, 211
 Old St Peter 147
 Palazzo dei Conservatori 201
 St Peter 147
 Vatican 63, 79, 86, 88, 109, 125, 127, 144, 152,
 159, 204, 219, 226
- Roore, Jacques de 187
- Roos, Cornelis Sebille 39
- Rooses, Max 67, 220
- Ross, James 40
- Rössler, von 48
- Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen
 107, 123, 125, 127, 139, 204
- Rouen
 Musée des Beaux-Arts 133
 Town Hall 149
- Roupell, Robert Prioleau 138, 162
- Roy, Frans De 56
- Rubens, Frans 93
- Rubens, Philips 37, 43
- Rudolph II, Emperor 153
- Rupprecht von Bayern, Kronprinz 99
- Rutgers, Antoine 188
- Sadeler, Egidius 126
- Sadeler, Jan I 40
King David Playing the Harp (engraving) 129
- Saftleven, Cornelis
*Job Seated on a Dunghill between his Wife and his
 Three Friends*, Antwerp, Museum Mayer van
 den Bergh 178, 179

INDEX IV: NAMES AND PLACES

- Saint-Omer
 Brotherhood of St Job 178
 Church Notre-Dame 178
- Saint-Victor, Robert de 70
- Salviati 92
- Sandars, Mrs 70
- Sandrart, Joachim von 52
- Sano, Mr 220
- Sarasota, John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art 46
- Sarcophagus with Triton and Nereid, Grotta-ferrata, Badia 42
- Sarto, Andrea del
Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac, Dresden, Gemäldegalerie 60
Beheading of St John the Baptist (fresco), Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo 143-144
- Saxony-Teschen, Duke Albert of 184
- Schapiro, Dr E. 73, 149
- Schiavone, Andrea
Samson Killing a Philistine, Florence, Pitti Gallery 39
- Schiel, J.B. 221
- Schindbeck, F. 90
- Schleissheim, Schloss 102, 182, 184
- Schley, Filippus van der 39
- Schönborn, Count 130
- Schrevelius, Theodoor 165
- Schrijvere Collection, De 149
- Schroeder, C. 164
- Schwarz, Christoph 153
- Scorel, Jan van
The Temptation of Man, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 37
- Scripps, James E. 136
- Secretan, M. 136
- Segers 107
- Seghers, Gerard
Job Seated on a Dunghill between his Wife and his Three Friends, Prague, National Gallery 178
- Seilern, Count Antoine 33, 34, 38, 39, 87, 124, 125, 152
- Servad, Mr 170
- Seville, Cathedral 149
- Siebrecht, J. 90
- Sille, De 67
- Silvius 149
- Simon, J. 213
- Singer, Julian 180
- Singer, Julius 67
- Sjöberg, Captain 149
- Smeyers 171, 178, 181, 186
- Smith, John 70
- Snyders, Frans 119, 195
- Snyers, Petrus Johannes 94
- 'Socrates' 204
- Somer, I. van 150, 213
- Somers, S. 182
- Soppen, David van der 111
- Soutman, Pieter Claesz. 150, 156
Samson Asleep in Delilah's Lap, York, Art Gallery 112
- Sparre, Count Gustaf Adolf 184
- Spencer, Earl 144
- Spranger, Bartholomeus 161
- Spruyt, C. 73
- Spruyt, P. 167, 221
- St Ambroise, Claude Maugis, Abbé de 46
- St Maurice, Conseiller de 199
- Steen, Jan 212, 213
- Steenhault, Chevalier Augustin de 56
- Sternberg 70
- Stevens, Pieter 40
- Stimmer, Tobias 33, 52-53
Abraham and Melchizedek (engraving) 73
The Book of Job (engraving) 179, 186
Daniel in the Lions' Den (engraving) 190
The Defeat of Sennacherib (engraving) 152
The Expulsion of Hagar (engraving) 52, 53
- Stock, Andries 58
- Stockholm, Nationalmuseum 101, 140 161, 164, 169, 182, 206, 209, 214
- Stoesser, O. 96
- Stosch, Friedrich Wilhelm 66
- Stricker, R. 189
- Stuart-Linton, Adolphus Frederick 208
- Stuart-Linton, Charles Alfred George 208
- Stuart-Linton, Charles E. T. 208
- Swanenburg, Willem Isaaksz. 48, 49, 160
- Sweerts, A. 183
- Tasso 33
- Tay, Engelbert de 146, 149
- Tempesta, Antonio
The Defeat of Sennacherib (engraving) 152
The Destruction of the Amalekites (engraving) 152
- Tersmitten Collection 191
- Tessin, Count Carl Gustaf 163, 183, 206
- Thane, Thomas 191
- Thielens, Gaspar 132
- Thulden, Theodoor van 102, 170, 188
Presentation of the Stadholdership of the Seven Provinces to Prince Frederick Henry, The Hague, Huis ten Bosch 188
- Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Baron 185
- Tintoretto 159

- Cain Slaying his Brother Abel, Venice, Accademia 40
- The Rape of Proserpina* 55
- Samson Asleep in Delilah's Lap, Duke of Devonshire 109
- Samson Asleep in Delilah's Lap, Sarasota, John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art 112
- Susanna and the Elders*, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 211
- Titian 37, 204, 212
- Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac* (fresco), Venice, S. Maria della Salute 40, 60, 128
- The Allocation of General del Vasto to his Soldiers*, Madrid, Prado 225
- The Assumption of the Virgin*, Verona, Cathedral 90
- Bacchus and Ariadne*, London, National Gallery 42
- The Battle of Cadore* 152
- Cain Slaying his Brother Abel (fresco), Venice, S. Maria della Salute 39, 125, 127, 128
- David Slaying Goliath, Venice, S. Maria della Salute 89
- Diana and Actaeon*, Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland 141
- The Martyrdom of St Lawrence*, Venice, Jesuit Church 181
- Tonneman, J. 76
- Torre de la Parada 222
- Toulouse, Musée des Beaux-Arts 178
- Tournai, Cathedral 225
- Trumbull, William 160
- Uffenbach, Zacharias Conrad von 87
- Unger, Henriette 58
- Unger, Julius 58
- Unger, Manasse 58
- Vaduz, Prince of Liechtenstein 95, 142, 144, 150, 152, 217
- Valavez, Palamède de Fabri, Sieur de 40
- Valckenisse, Philips van 39
- Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts 49, 157, 222
- Vasari 107
- Veen, Otto van 36, 37
- Veen, Pieter van 43, 212
- Veneziano, Agostino
- The Gathering of Manna* (engraving after Raphael) 92
- Venice
- Churches and Convents
- Jesuit's 181
- Sta Maria dell'Isola 60
- Sta Maria della Salute 39, 40, 60, 89, 125, 127
- San Sebastiano 168
- San Spirito in Isola 89, 125, 127
- Santo Stefano monastery 125
- Accademia 40
- Doge's Palace 154
- Venus Felix* 109
- Venus pudica* 211
- Verelst, Johannes 179
- Verhaghen, P. J.
- Lot and his Daughters*, Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts 49
- Verlat, Ch. 220
- Veronese 204, 211
- Bathsheba Receiving David's Letter*, Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts 142
- Esther before Ahasuerus* (soffitto), Venice, San Sebastiano 168
- The Family of the Conquered Darius before Alexander the Great*, London, National Gallery 133, 145
- The Finding of Moses*, Madrid, Prado 79
- Judith and her Maid-Servant with the Head of Holofernes*, Florence, Fondazione Roberto Longhi 165
- Susanna and the Elders*, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 219
- The Temptation of St Anthony*, Caen 39
- Viau, G. 45
- Viel, P. 150
- Vienna
- Akademie der bildenden Künste 169
- Albertina 40, 128, 153, 155
- Imperial collections 69
- Kunsthistorisches Museum 69, 117, 160, 204, 219
- Vilain de Gand, Maximilien 224
- Villeroy, Marshal de 170
- Vinck de Wesel, J. F. de 170
- Visscher, Anna Roemers 209, 212
- Visscher, C. J. 40
- Visscher, J. C. 43, 150, 213
- Visscher, Nicolaas 153
- Vlassoff, A. S. 77
- Voet, Alexander 79, 166, 167
- Volbergen, Tyman van 58
- Volterra, Daniele da
- David Slaying Goliath*, Château de Fontainebleau 125
- The Deposition*, Rome, S. Trinità dei Monti 157
- Volz, F. 212

INDEX IV: NAMES AND PLACES

- Vorsterman, Lucas 41, 42, 43, 47, 48, 140, 179,
180, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 210, 211, 212, 213, 217
Susanna and the Elders (drawing), London,
British Museum 211
- Vos, Cornelis de 51, 82
- Vos Jb^{zn}, Jacob de 103, 197
- Vos, Maarten de 59, 73, 202
The Meeting of David and Abigail, Rouen, Musée
des Beaux-Arts 133, 135
- Vries, De 182
- Waardt, Anthony de 170
- Waller, Robert A. 115
- Wallraf, Paul 190, 194, 197, 200
- Walpole, Sir Robert 215
- Walz, Mrs 188
- Ward, W. 189
- Washington, D. C., National Gallery of Art 153,
190, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200
- Waterloos, Adriaen 100, 102
- Wendland, Dr Hans 64
- Wenner-Gren, Dr Axel L. 119
- Werner, R. 183
- Wertheimer, Anne 64
- West, Hans 188
- Westminster, Duke of 55, 112
- Westminster, Hugh Richard Arthur, Duke of
132
- Wezemaal, Church of 182, 185, 186
- Wijngaerde, F. van den 100
- Wildens, Jan 55, 69, 99, 122
- Wildens, Jeremias 191
- Wilhelm VIII of Hesse-Kassel, Landgraf 71
- Willemsens, Pierre 206
- William II, King of Holland 58, 85
- Wilson, Andrew 90
- Winkleman Collection 149
- Winter, J. De 80
- Wit, Jacob de 40
- Witdoeck, Jan 76
- Wolfaerts, Artus 80
- Wolfvoet, Victor 135
- Woodburn Brothers 33, 34
- Woodburn, Samuel 33, 34, 80, 162
- Worsley, Sir Richard 187
- Worsley, Sir Thomas 187
- Wouwere (Woverius), Jan van den 160
- Wrangham, Mrs G.W. 75
- Wurster, Dr Casimir 135
- Würzburg, Martin von Wagner-Museum 41
- Yarborough, Earl of 187
- Yarmouth, Lord 87
- Ykens, Frans 149
- Zanchi, J.: 64
- Zuttere, G. De 188
- Zwicky, J.W. 101
- Zwieten, M. van 140