

**CORPUS RUBENIANUM
LUDWIG BURCHARD**

PART VIII

SAINTS I

HANS VLIEGHE



ARCADE

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 XVIde EN XVIIde EEUW"

R.-A. d'HULST, President - F. BAUDOUIN, Secretary
M. DE MAEYER - J. DUVERGER - L. LEBBER - H. LIEBAERS
J.-K. STEPPE - W. VANBESLAERE

SAINTS I

HANS Vlieghe



BRUSSELS - ARCADE PRESS - MCMLXXII

NATIONAL CENTRUM
VOOR DE PLASTISCHE KUNSTEN
IN DE 16^e EN DE 17^e EEUW
71109

COPYRIGHT IN BRUSSELS, BELGIUM, BY ARCADE PRESS, 1972

PUBLISHED IN THE UNITED KINGDOM BY PHAIDON PRESS LTD.
5 CROMWELL PLACE, LONDON SW 7

PUBLISHED IN THE U.S.A. BY PHAIDON PUBLISHERS INC., NEW YORK
DISTRIBUTED IN THE U.S.A. BY PRAEGER PUBLISHERS INC.
111 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003
LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOG CARD NUMBER : 68-21258

TRANSLATED FROM THE DUTCH
BY P.S. FALLA

PRINTED IN BELGIUM — LEGAL DEPOSIT D/1972/0721/32

CONTENTS

FOREWORD	IX
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	I
SOURCES OF PHOTOGRAPHS	9
ABBREVIATIONS	II
AUTHOR'S PREFACE	17
INTRODUCTION	19
CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ	25
INDEXES: I. COLLECTIONS	163
II. SUBJECTS	168
III. OTHER WORKS BY RUBENS MENTIONED IN THE TEXT	179
IV. NAMES AND PLACES	182
PLATES	191



FOREWORD

When the plans for the *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard* were first drawn up it was decided that the contents of each Part would determine whether it was to take the form of a monograph or of a *catalogue raisonné*. It so happens that the first three Parts to be published have each been devoted to a series of works so closely interrelated that a monographic treatment was required, although a catalogue was also included so as to meet the declared purposes of the Corpus. The present Part is the first to be arranged entirely as a *catalogue raisonné*, and this will also be the case with most of the remaining Parts of the Corpus.

The critical catalogue, in which the author has here assembled all known data pertaining to each work, is preceded by an Introduction, dealing succinctly not only with Rubens's style, but also with his iconography in the context of the Counter-Reformation and of the art of his time. Some points briefly touched upon in the introductory text are discussed at greater length in the catalogue entries. Although it was not the author's aim to write a full-scale study of Rubens as a painter of Saints he has collected a great amount of material which will be useful to everybody interested in aspects of iconography during the period of the Flemish Baroque. The material to be covered was so large that the book would have become too bulky and difficult to use if we had not divided it into two volumes. The first volume, soon to be followed by the second, deals with groups of Saints and with single Saints in alphabetical order up to St. Francis of Assisi.

In addition to the documentation assembled by the late Dr. Ludwig Burchard, which forms the basis of the present catalogue, the author has made use also of the results of his own and other scholars' later researches. He has been able to examine most of the paintings and drawings in the original and to form his own opinion about them. In cases where he disagrees with the opinions of Dr. Burchard he has fully explained the points at issue so that the reader is fairly informed of the arguments on both sides.

The present whereabouts of some works, many of them mentioned in Dr. Burchard's documentation, have proved impossible to ascertain, in spite of all efforts. In some of these cases we have not been successful in obtaining good photographs, and it became necessary to make use of illustrations in earlier

publications; as a result some of our reproductions are not as good as might be wished.

This catalogue is the work of Dr. Hans Vlieghe, a scientific research worker at the "Nationaal Centrum voor de Plaïstische Kunsten van de XVIde en de XVIIde eeuw", and is thus the first to be written by a member of our own staff. This would not have been possible without the increase of our scientific staff and without the fine spirit of cooperation prevailing within our team.

We take this opportunity to express our gratitude for the support of the Belgian "Fonds voor Kollektief Fundamenteel Onderzoek", which has provided us from the beginning with financial means for our undertaking. We also thank the municipal authorities of Antwerp, under whose auspices the *Corpus Rubenianum* is published, for the help they have given us in various ways, and in particular Mrs. A. Stubbe, Town clerk, who was appointed by the City Council to follow the progress of the work.

F. Baudouin

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

R.-A. d'Hulst

*President of the "Nationaal Centrum
voor de Plaïstische Kunsten
van de 16de en de 17de eeuw"*

SAINTS I



LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Rubens, *All Saints*, oil sketch (No. 1). Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen
2. P. Pontius, *The Face of Christ*, engraving (No. 2)
3. C. Jegher after E. Quellinus, *The Face of Christ*, woodcut
4. E. Rucholle, *The Face of Christ*, engraving (No. 2)
5. E. Rucholle, *The Holy Virgin as Mater Dolorosa*, engraving
6. *The Face of Christ*, engraving (ed. by J. Galle; No. 2)
7. *The Holy Virgin as Mater Dolorosa*, engraving (ed. by J. Galle)
8. *The Face of Christ*, engraving (ed. by G. Hendrickx; No. 2)
9. *The Holy Virgin as Mater Dolorosa*, engraving (ed. by G. Hendrickx)
10. After Rubens, *The Bust of Christ* (No. 3). Present whereabouts unknown
11. After Rubens, *The Bust of Christ* (No. 3). Present whereabouts unknown
12. After Rubens, *Christ* (No. 4). Present whereabouts unknown
13. After Rubens, *The Holy Virgin* (No. 5). Present whereabouts unknown
14. After Rubens, *Christ as Salvator Mundi* (No. 6). Ottawa, National Gallery
15. After Rubens, *Christ as Salvator Mundi* (No. 6). Rome, Galleria Pallavicini
16. P. Isselburg, *Christ as Salvator Mundi*, engraving (No. 6)
17. N. Ryckmans, *Christ as Salvator Mundi*, engraving (No. 6)
18. Rubens, *St. Peter* (No. 7). Madrid, Prado
19. After Rubens, *St. Peter* (No. 7). Rome, Galleria Pallavicini
20. P. Isselburg, *St. Peter*, engraving (No. 7)
21. N. Ryckmans, *St. Peter*, engraving (No. 7)
22. Rubens, *St. Andrew* (No. 8). Madrid, Prado
23. After Rubens, *St. Andrew* (No. 8). Rome, Galleria Pallavicini
24. P. Isselburg, *St. Andrew*, engraving (No. 8)
25. N. Ryckmans, *St. Andrew*, engraving (No. 8)
26. Rubens, *St. James the Greater* (No. 9). Madrid, Prado
27. After Rubens, *St. James the Greater* (No. 9). Rome, Galleria Pallavicini
28. P. Isselburg, *St. James the Greater*, engraving (No. 9)
29. N. Ryckmans, *St. James the Greater*, engraving (No. 9)
30. Rubens, *St. John the Evangelist* (No. 10). Madrid, Prado

31. After Rubens, *St. John the Evangelist* (No. 10). Rome, Galleria Pallavicini
32. P. Isselburg, *St. John the Evangelist*, engraving (No. 10)
33. N. Ryckmans, *St. John the Evangelist*, engraving (No. 10)
34. Rubens, *St. Philip* (No. 11). Madrid, Prado
35. After Rubens, *St. Philip* (No. 11). Rome, Galleria Pallavicini
36. P. Isselburg, *St. Philip*, engraving (No. 11)
37. N. Ryckmans, *St. Philip*, engraving (No. 11)
38. Rubens, *St. Bartholomew* (No. 12). Madrid, Prado
39. After Rubens, *St. Bartholomew* (No. 12). Rome, Galleria Pallavicini
40. P. Isselburg, *St. Bartholomew*, engraving (No. 12)
41. N. Ryckmans, *St. Bartholomew*, engraving (No. 12)
42. Rubens, *St. Thomas* (No. 13). Madrid, Prado
43. After Rubens, *St. Simon* (No. 13). Rome, Galleria Pallavicini
44. P. Isselburg, *St. Thomas*, engraving (No. 13)
45. N. Ryckmans, *St. Simon*, engraving (No. 13)
46. Rubens, *St. Matthew* (No. 14). Madrid, Prado
47. After Rubens, *St. Thomas* (No. 14). Rome, Galleria Pallavicini
48. P. Isselburg, *St. Matthew*, engraving (No. 14)
49. N. Ryckmans, *St. Thomas*, engraving (No. 14)
50. Rubens, *St. James the Less* (No. 15). Madrid, Prado
51. After Rubens, *St. Matthew* (No. 15). Rome, Galleria Pallavicini
52. P. Isselburg, *St. James the Less*, engraving (No. 15)
53. N. Ryckmans, *St. Matthew*, engraving (No. 15)
54. Rubens, *St. Simon* (No. 16). Madrid, Prado
55. After Rubens, *St. Jude* (No. 16). Rome, Galleria Pallavicini
56. P. Isselburg, *St. Simon*, engraving (No. 16)
57. N. Ryckmans, *St. Jude*, engraving (No. 16)
58. Rubens, *St. Matthias* (No. 17). Madrid, Prado
59. After Rubens, *St. Matthias* (No. 17). Rome, Galleria Pallavicini
60. P. Isselburg, *St. Matthias*, engraving (No. 17)
61. N. Ryckmans, *St. Matthias*, engraving (No. 17)
62. Rubens, *St. Paul* (No. 18). Madrid, Prado

63. After Rubens, *St. Paul* (No. 18). Rome, Galleria Pallavicini
64. P. Isselburg, *St. Paul*, engraving (No. 18)
65. N. Ryckmans, *St. Paul*, engraving (No. 18)
66. ? Rubens, *St. Peter* (No. 20). Present whereabouts unknown
67. ? Rubens, *St. Andrew* (No. 21). Present whereabouts unknown
68. ? Rubens, *St. James the Greater* (No. 22). Present whereabouts unknown
69. ? Rubens, *St. Philip* (No. 24). Present whereabouts unknown
70. ? Rubens, *St. Bartholomew* (No. 25). Present whereabouts unknown
71. ? Rubens, *St. Matthew* (No. 26). Present whereabouts unknown
72. ? Rubens, *St. James the Less* (No. 27). Present whereabouts unknown
73. Title-page of *Apostolorum Icones*, engraving (ed. by C. Galle)
74. S. a Bolswert, *Christ as Salvator Mundi*, engraving (No. 32)
75. *The Holy Virgin as Regina Cæli*, engraving (ed. by C. Galle; No. 33)
76. S. a Bolswert, *St. Peter*, engraving (No. 34)
77. P. Clouwet, *St. Andrew*, engraving (No. 35)
78. *St. James the Greater*, engraving (ed. by C. Galle; No. 36)
79. S. a Bolswert, *St. John the Evangelist*, engraving (No. 37)
80. *St. Philip*, engraving (ed. by C. Galle; No. 38)
81. *St. Bartholomew*, engraving (ed. by C. Galle; No. 39)
82. *St. Thomas*, engraving (ed. by C. Galle; No. 40)
83. *St. Matthew*, engraving (ed. by C. Galle; No. 41)
84. S. a Bolswert, *St. James the Less*, engraving (No. 42)
85. *St. Simon*, engraving (ed. by C. Galle; No. 43)
86. *St. Jude*, engraving (ed. by C. Galle; No. 44)
87. *St. Matthias*, engraving (ed. by C. Galle; No. 45)
88. S. a Bolswert, *St. Paul*, engraving (No. 46)
89. Rubens, *St. Peter* (No. 49). Present whereabouts unknown
90. Rubens, *St. Paul* (No. 50). Present whereabouts unknown
91. Rubens, *St. Peter and St. Paul*, oil sketch (Nos. 49–50a). Brussels, private collection
92. Rubens, *St. Peter and St. Paul* (No. 51). Schleissheim, Schloss
93. After Rubens, *St. Peter and St. Paul*, drawing (No. 51). Vienna, Albertina

94. Rubens, *St. Paul* (No. 52). New York, Coll. Dr. and Mrs. R.J. Heinemann
95. Rubens, *St. Peter* (No. 53). New York, Coll. Dr. and Mrs. R.J. Heinemann
96. Rubens, *The Four Evangelists* (No. 54). Potsdam-Sanssouci, Bildergalerie
97. Rubens, *The Four Evangelists*, oil sketch (No. 55). Present whereabouts unknown
98. H. Snyers, *The Real Presence in the Holy Sacrament*, engraving (No. 56)
99. Rubens, *The Real Presence in the Holy Sacrament* (No. 56), Antwerp, St. Paul
100. X-radiograph of detail of Fig. 99
101. After Rubens, *The Real Presence in the Holy Sacrament*, drawing (No. 56a). Present whereabouts unknown
102. X-radiograph of detail of Fig. 99
103. After Rubens, *The Real Presence in the Holy Sacrament*, drawing (No. 56a). Vienna, Albertina
104. J. Jordaens, *The Four Latin Doctors of the Church* (No. 60). Blackburn, Lancashire, Stonyhurst College
105. C. Galle, *The Four Latin Doctors of the Church*, engraving (No. 60)
106. C. van Dalen the Younger, *The Four Latin Doctors of the Church*, engraving (No. 59)
107. After Rubens, *The Martyrdom of St. Adrian* (No. 61). Present whereabouts unknown
108. Rubens, *The Martyrdom of St. Adrian*, oil sketch (No. 61a). Antwerp, Rubenshuis
109. Rubens, *The Martyrdom of St. Andrew* (No. 62). Madrid, Real Hospital de San Andrés de los Flamencos
110. Rubens, *The Martyrdom of St. Andrew*, drawing (No. 62a). Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen
111. After Rubens, *The Martyrdom of St. Andrew*, drawing (No. 62b). London, British Museum
112. *The Martyrdom of St. Andrew*, engraving (ed. by J. Dierckx; No. 62b)
113. Rubens, *The Death of St. Anthony Abbot* (No. 64). Pommersfelden, Castle Weissenstein, Coll. Count Schönborn
114. After Rubens, *The Death of St. Anthony Abbot* (No. 64). 's Hertogenbosch, St. John
115. C. Galle, *The Blessed Anna de Jésus*, engraving (No. 63)
116. Rubens, *St. Augustine*, oil sketch (No. 65). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum
117. Rubens, *St. Augustine between Christ and the Holy Virgin* (No. 66). Madrid, Academia de San Fernando

118. Rubens, *St. Augustine at the Seashore* (No. 67). Prague, Národní Galerie
119. S. a Bolswert, *St. Barbara*, engraving (No. 68)
120. S. a Bolswert, *St. Catherine of Alexandria*, engraving (No. 69)
121. ? Rubens, *The Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew*, drawing (No. 70). New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library
122. Rubens, *The Conversion of St. Bavo*, oil sketch (No. 71). London, National Gallery
123. Rubens, *The Conversion of St. Bavo* (No. 72). Ghent, St. Bavo
124. After Rubens, *The Conversion of St. Bavo* (No. 72a). Present whereabouts unknown
125. Rubens, *The Miracles of St. Benedict* (No. 73). Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts
126. G. de Crayer, *St. Benedict and Totila*. Present whereabouts unknown
127. ? Rubens, *St. Catherine of Alexandria*, etching (No. 75)
128. ? Rubens, *St. Catherine of Alexandria*, counterproof of etching (No. 75a). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
129. School of Rubens, *St. Catherine of Alexandria* (No. 74). New York, Historical Society
130. Rubens, *The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine of Alexandria* (No. 77). Formerly Potsdam-Sanssouci, Bildergalerie, now lost
131. Rubens, *The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine of Alexandria* (No. 76). Present whereabouts unknown
132. Rubens, *The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine of Alexandria*, drawing (No. 76a). Oberlin, Oberlin College, Allen Memorial Museum of Art
133. Rubens, *The Martyrdom of St. Catherine of Alexandria* (No. 78). Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts
134. Rubens, *Head of St. Catherine of Alexandria*, drawing (No. 78a). Vienna, Albertina
135. W. de Leeuw, *The Martyrdom of St. Catherine of Alexandria*, engraving (No. 78)
136. After Rubens, *The Martyrdom of St. Catherine of Alexandria* (No. 78). Ghent, St. Bavo
137. ? Rubens, *Angels Transporting the Dead Body of St. Catherine of Alexandria* (No. 79). Present whereabouts unknown
138. After Rubens, *Angels Transporting the Dead Body of St. Catherine of Alexandria* (No. 79). Antwerp, Coll. Gustave Faes
139. ? Rubens, *St. Catherine of Siena* (No. 80). Düsseldorf, Kunstmuseum
140. M. Coxcie, *St. Cecilia Playing the Virginals*. Madrid, Prado

141. C. Drebbel after H. Goltzius, *Allegory of Music*, engraving
142. After Rubens, *St. Cecilia Playing the Virginals* (No. 81). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
143. H. Witdoeck, *St. Cecilia Playing the Virginals*, engraving (No. 82)
144. Rubens, *St. Cecilia Playing the Virginals* (No. 82). Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen
145. ? Rubens, *St. Cecilia* (No. 84). Düsseldorf, Kunstmuseum
146. N. van den Berg, *St. Charles Borromeo*, etching (No. 85)
147. H. Wierix, *St. Charles Borromeo*, engraving
148. After Rubens, *St. Charles Borromeo* (No. 85). Antwerp, St. Andrew
149. Rubens, *St. Dominic* (No. 86). Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland
150. Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi* (No. 87). Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland
151. Rubens, *St. Dominic and St. Francis of Assisi Protecting the World from the Wrath of Christ* (No. 88). Lyons, Musée des Beaux-Arts
152. After Rubens, *St. Dominic and St. Francis of Assisi Protecting the World from the Wrath of Christ*, drawing (No. 88a). Present whereabouts unknown
153. Rubens, *Head Study of St. Catherine of Alexandria*, drawing (No. 88b). Angers, Musée Turpin de Crissé
154. ? Rubens, *Head Study of St. Francis of Assisi* (No. 89). Present whereabouts unknown
155. Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata* (No. 90). Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum
156. Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata*, drawing (No. 90a). Berlin, Print Room of the Staatliche Museen
157. ? A. van Dyck, *St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata*, drawing (No. 90b). Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre
158. L. Vorsterman, *St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata*, engraving (No. 90b)
159. Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata* (No. 91). Arras, Musée Municipal
160. Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata*, oil sketch (No. 91a). Amsterdam, Coll. Wetzlar
161. Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata* (No. 92). Ghent, Museum voor Schone Kunsten
162. After Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata* (No. 93). Rome, Capitoline Museum

163. After Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata*, drawing (No. 93). Copenhagen, Print Room of the Statens Museum for Kunst
164. After Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata*, etching (No. 92)
165. Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Infant Christ* (No. 94). Antwerp, St. Anthony
166. M. Lasne, *St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Infant Christ*, engraving (No. 94)
167. Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Infant Christ* (No. 95). Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts
168. Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Infant Christ*, drawing (No. 95a). Present whereabouts unknown
169. Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Infant Christ* (No. 96). Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts
170. After Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi and St. Clare*, drawing (Nos. 96–98a). Present whereabouts unknown
171. Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata* (No. 97). Lier, St. Gummarus
172. Rubens, *St. Clare* (No. 98). Lier, St. Gummarus
173. Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi Protecting the World from the Wrath of Christ* (No. 100). Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts
174. Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi* (No. 99). Present whereabouts unknown
175. After Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi* (No. 99). Formerly Berlin, Farr Gallery, now lost
176. After Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi in Adoration before the Crucified Christ* (No. 101). Vaduz, Coll. Prince of Liechtenstein
177. Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi Raising his Arms in a Gesture of Adoration*, drawing (No. 101a). London, British Museum
178. Rubens, *The Last Communion of St. Francis of Assisi* (No. 102). Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten
179. H. Snyers, *The Last Communion of St. Francis of Assisi*, engraving (No. 102)
180. Rubens, *The Last Communion of St. Francis of Assisi*, drawing (No. 102a). Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet
181. Rubens, *The Last Communion of St. Francis of Assisi*, drawing (No. 102b). Farnham, Coll. Wolfgang Burchard
182. Rubens, *Two Studies for a Franciscan Monk*, drawing (No. 102c). Chatsworth, Coll. Duke of Devonshire
183. Rubens, *Study of a Kneeling Male Nude*, drawing (No. 102d). Paris, Fondation Custodia, Institut Néerlandais



SOURCES OF PHOTOGRAPHS

- A.C.L., Brussels, Figs. 99, 108, 123, 125, 136, 159, 160, 167, 171-173, 178, 180, 181
- Albertina, Vienna, Figs. 93, 103, 134
- Allen Memorial Museum of Art, Oberlin, Fig. 132
- Archives Photographiques, Paris, Fig. 151
- Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Fig. 116
- Baron Studios, London, Fig. 97
- Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich, Fig. 92
- Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, Figs. 2, 98, 105, 106, 143, 158, 164, 179
- H. Breyne, Bruges, Fig. 109
- British Museum, London, Fig. 111
- City Art Gallery, Manchester, Fig. 104
- A.C. Cooper, London, Figs. 10, 152
- De Schutter, Antwerp, Figs. 3, 119, 120, 146-148, 161, 165, 166
- J. Evers, Angers, Fig. 153
- J. t'Felt, Antwerp, Fig. 138
- Fondation Custodia, Institut Néerlandais, Paris, Fig. 183
- Foto-, Pers- en Filmbureau "Het Zuiden", 's-Hertogenbosch, Fig. 114
- A. Frequin, The Hague, Figs. 1, 89-91
- Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome, Figs. 15, 19, 23, 27, 31, 35, 39, 43, 47, 51, 55, 59, 63
- R. J. Heinemann, New York, Figs. 94, 95
- Historical Society, New York, Fig. 129
- Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique, Brussels, Figs. 100, 102
- Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng, Copenhagen, Fig. 163
- Kunstgeschichtliches Seminar der Universität, Marburg, Fig. 113
- Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf, Fig. 145
- Mas, Barcelona, Fig. 117
- J. Mathey, Paris, Fig. 168
- Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Figs. 128, 142
- Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon, Fig. 169
- Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille, Fig. 133
- Musée du Louvre, Paris, Fig. 157
- Museo del Prado, Madrid, Figs. 18, 22, 26, 30, 34, 38, 42, 46, 50, 54, 58, 62, 140
- Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, Fig. 110
- Národní Galerie, Prague, Fig. 118
- National Gallery, London, Fig. 122
- National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, Fig. 14
- National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, Figs. 149, 150
- Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Fig. 121
- Prentenkabinet der Rijksuniversiteit, Leiden, Fig. 141
- Rheinisches Bildarchiv, Cologne, Fig. 155
- Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Figs. 73-88
- Rubonianum, Antwerp, Figs. 4-13, 17, 21, 25, 29, 33, 37, 41, 45, 49, 53, 57, 61, 65-72, 101, 107, 115, 124, 126, 127, 131, 135, 139, 154, 162, 170, 174, 175, 177
- Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Figs. 130, 156
- Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten, Potsdam, Fig. 96
- W. Steinkopf, Berlin, Fig. 144
- Teylers Museum, Haarlem, Figs. 16, 20, 24, 28, 32, 36, 40, 44, 48, 52, 56, 60, 64, 112
- The Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement, Fig. 182
- Wolfrum, Vienna, Fig. 176



ABBREVIATIONS

LITERATURE:

AA.SS. – *Acta Sanctorum, quotquot toto orbe coluntur vel a catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur, quae ex Latinis et Graecis aliarumque gentium antiquis monumentis collegit, digessit, notis illustravit Joannes Bollandus servata primigenia scriptorum phrasi*, Antwerp, 1643–1925.

Bellori – G.P. Bellori, *Le Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti moderni*, Rome, 1672

Berbie – [G. Berbie], *Description des principaux ouvrages de peinture et sculpture, actuellement existans dans les églises, couvens & lieux publics de la ville d'Anvers*, 3rd ed., Antwerp, 1757.

Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert – H.F. Bouchery and F. van den Wijngaert, *P.P. Rubens en het Plantijnsche Huis*, Antwerp-Utrecht, 1941.

Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963 – L. Burchard and R.-A. d'Hulst, *Rubens Drawings*, I-II, Brussels, 1963.

Delen – A.J.J. Delen, *Cabinet des estampes de la ville d'Anvers, Catalogue des dessins anciens, écoles flamande et hollandaise*, I-II, Brussels, 1938.

Denucé, Konstkamers – J. Denucé, *De Antwerpsche "Konstkamers", Inventarissen van kunstverzamelingen te Antwerpen in de 16e en 17e eeuwen*, Antwerp, 1932.

Descamps, Vie – J.B. Descamps, *La vie des peintres flamands, allemands et hollandais*, I, Paris, 1753.

Descamps, Voyage – J.B. Descamps, *Voyage pittoresque de la Flandre et du Brabant*, Paris, 1769.

De Wit – J. de Wit, *De kerken van Antwerpen, met aanteekeningen door J. de Bosschere en grondplannen (Uitgaven der Antwerpsche Bibliophilen, Nr 25*, Antwerp-The Hague, 1910.

d'Hulst, 1968 – R.-A. d'Hulst, *Olieverfschetsen van Rubens uit Nederlands en Belgisch openbaar bezit*, s.l., 1968.

- Dillon – E. Dillon, *Rubens*, London, 1909.
- Evers, 1942 – H.G. Evers, *Peter Paul Rubens*, Munich, 1942.
- Evers, 1943 – H.G. Evers, *Rubens und sein Werk, neue Forschungen*, Brussels, 1943.
- Fiocco, Veronese – G. Fiocco, *Paolo Veronese 1528–1588*, Bologna, 1928.
- Glück, 1933 – G. Glück, *Rubens, Van Dyck und ihr Kreis*, Vienna, 1933.
- Glück-Haberditzl – G. Glück and F.M. Haberditzl, *Die Handzeichnungen von Peter Paul Rubens*, Berlin, 1928.
- Goris-Held – J.-A. Goris and J.S. Held, *Rubens in America*, Antwerp, 1947.
- Held – J.S. Held, *Rubens, Selected Drawings*, I-II, London, 1959.
- Hind – A.M. Hind, *Catalogue of Drawings by Dutch and Flemish Artists... in the British Museum*, I-V, London, 1915-1932.
- Janson, Véronèse-Rubens – Claire Janson, *L'influence de Véronèse sur Rubens, Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1937, pp. 26–36.
- K.d.K. – P.P. Rubens, *Des Meisters Gemälde*, ed. by R. Oldenbourg, *Klassiker der Kunst*, v, 4th ed., Stuttgart-Berlin, [1921].
- K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg – P.P. Rubens, *Des Meisters Gemälde*, ed. by A. Rosenberg, *Klassiker der Kunst*, v, 1st ed., Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1906.
- K.d.K., Michelangelo – Michelangelo, *Des Meisters Gemälde*, ed. by F. Knapp, *Klassiker der Kunst*, VII, 2nd ed., Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1907.
- K.d.K., Raffael – Raffael, *Des Meisters Gemälde*, ed. by G. Gronau, *Klassiker der Kunst*, I, 4th ed., Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1909.
- K.d.K., Van Dyck – Van Dyck, *Des Meisters Gemälde*, ed. by G. Glück, *Klassiker der Kunst*, XIII, 2nd ed., Stuttgart-Berlin, 1931.
- Knipping – B. Knipping, *De iconografie van de Contra-Reformatie in de Nederlanden*, I-II, Hilversum, 1939-1940.
- L. – F. Lugt, *Les marques de collections de dessins et d'estampes*, Amsterdam, 1921.

- Larsen – E. Larsen, *P.P. Rubens*, Antwerp, 1952.
- Legenda Aurea* – J. de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, transl. by R. Benz, I-II, Jena, 1917-1921.
- Martin, *Ceiling Paintings* – J.R. Martin, *The Ceiling Paintings for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, 1)*, Brussels, 1968.
- Mensaert – G.P. Mensaert, *Le peintre amateur et curieux*, I-II, Brussels, 1763.
- Michel – E. Michel, *Rubens, sa vie, son œuvre et son temps*, Paris, 1900.
- Michel, 1771 – J.F.M. Michel, *Histoire de la vie de P.P. Rubens*, Brussels, 1771.
- Norris, 1953 – C. Norris, *La peinture flamande à Rome*, by Leo van Puyvelde, *The Burlington Magazine*, xcv, 1953, pp. 107, 108.
- Odevaere – [J. Odevaere], *Liste générale des tableaux et objets d'art arrivés de Paris, ...*, printed in 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, pp. 313-339.
- Oldenbourg, 1922 – R. Oldenbourg, *Peter Paul Rubens*, ed. by W. von Bode, Munich-Berlin, 1922.
- Pallavicini, Rome, *Cat. Zeri* – F. Zeri, *La Galleria Pallavicini in Roma*, Florence, 1959.
- Parthey – G. Parthey, *Deutscher Bildersaal*, I-II, Berlin, 1863-1864.
- Prado, *Cat. Madrazo* – P. de Madrazo, *Catalogo de los cuadros del Real Museo de Pintura*, Madrid, 1845.
- Prado, *Cat. 1963* – *Museo del Prado, Catalogo de las pinturas*, Madrid, 1963.
- Reynolds – J. Reynolds, *A Journey to Flanders and Holland in the year MDCCLXXXI*, printed in *The Literary Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, ed. by H.W. Beechey, II, London, 1852, pp. 139-236.
- Rooses – M. Rooses, *L'Œuvre de P.P. Rubens, histoire et description de ses tableaux et dessins*, I-V, Antwerp, 1886-1892.

- Rooses-Ruelens – Correspondance de Rubens et documents épistolaires concernant sa vie et ses œuvres, publiés, traduits, annotés par Ch. Ruelens (1), par Max Rooses et feu Ch. Ruelens (II-VI), Antwerp, 1887-1909.*
- Rubens-Bulletijn – Rubens-Bulletijn, Jaarboeken der ambtelijke Commissie ingesteld door den Gemeenteraad der Stad Antwerpen voor het uitgeven der Bescheiden betreffende het Leven en de Werken van Rubens, I-V, Antwerp, 1882-1910.*
- Smith, Catalogue Raisonné – J. Smith, A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish and French Painters, I-IX, London, 1829-1842.*
- Spruyt, 1777 – P.L. Spruyt, Liste des tableaux appartenant à des mains mortes, qui se trouvent dans la ville de Gand, ..., 3 septembre 1777, printed in 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, pp. 134-162.*
- Spruyt, 1789-91 – E. Duverger, Filip Spruyt en zijn inventaris van kunstwerken in openbaar en privaat bezit te Gent (Ca. 1789-91), Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis en de Oudheidkunde, XIX, 1961-1966, pp. 151-240.*
- Tessin – N. Tessin, Studieresor i Danmark, Tyskland, Holland, Frankrike och Italien, ed. by O. Sirén, Stockholm, 1914.*
- Tietze, Tintoretto – H. Tietze, Tintoretto, The Paintings and Drawings, New York, 1948.*
- Tietze, Titian – H. Tietze, Titian, The Paintings and Drawings, London, 1950.*
- Van Puyvelde – L. Van Puyvelde, Rubens, Paris-Brussels, 1952.*
- Van Puyvelde, Esquisses – L. Van Puyvelde, Les esquisses de Rubens, 2nd ed., Basle, 1948.*
- Van Puyvelde, Rome – L. Van Puyvelde, La peinture flamande à Rome, Brussels, 1950.*
- V.S. – C.G. Voorhelm Schneevoegt, Catalogue des estampes gravées d'après P.P. Rubens, Haarlem, 1873.*

EXHIBITIONS:

Amsterdam, 1933 – Rubenstentoonstelling, Gallery J. Goudstikker, Amsterdam, 1933.

Antwerp, 1956 – Tekeningen van P.P. Rubens, Rubenshuis, Antwerp, 1956.

Brussels, 1910 – L'art belge au XVIIe siècle, Museum, Brussels, 1910.

Brussels, 1937 – Esquisses de Rubens, Museum, Brussels, 1937.

Brussels, 1953 – P.P. Rubens, esquisses et dessins, Museum, Brussels, 1953.

Brussels, 1965 – Le siècle de Rubens, Museum, Brussels, 1965.

Cambridge-New York, 1956 – Drawings and Oil Sketches by P.P. Rubens from American Collections, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, and The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 1956.

Detroit, 1936 – Sixty Paintings and Some Drawings by Peter Paul Rubens, Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, 1936.

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.

Los Angeles, 1946 – Loan Exhibition of Paintings by Rubens and Van Dyck, Los Angeles County Museum, Los Angeles, 1946.

Paris, 1936 – Rubens et son temps, Musée de l'Orangerie, Paris, 1936.

Rotterdam, 1953-54 – Olieverfschetsen van Rubens, Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, 1953-1954.

Vienna, 1889 – Sommer-Ausstellung, Oesterreichischer Kunstverein, Vienna, 1889.



AUTHOR'S PREFACE

This eighth part of the *Corpus Rubenianum* contains a catalogue of all known representations by Rubens of Saints or incidents from their lives, the central figures being depicted either individually or in groups. It includes triptychs in which the central panel represents a Saint or Saints, as well as some complex compositions where the main emphasis is on a hagiographical aspect (e.g. *The Real Presence in the Holy Sacrament*). Compositions forming part of a series dealt with in a separate volume of the *Corpus Rubenianum* (e.g. *The Ceiling Paintings for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp*, Part I) are not included, and some other works involving Saints have been assigned to later Parts because of certain formal or iconographical components. Examples are scenes from the *Acta Apostolorum* (Part VII), *St. Ambrose Barring the Emperor Theodosius from Milan Cathedral* in Vienna (Part XIII), the *Landscape with St. George* at Buckingham Palace (Part XVIII) and Rubens's lost copy-drawing after Titian's *St. Jerome* (Part XXIV).

Items 1 to 60 comprise group representations of All Saints, the Apostles, the Evangelists and the Doctors of the Church. They also include heads of Christ and of the Virgin. Having regard to the general arrangement of the *Corpus*, it seemed best to describe the latter representations, which are not related to any incidents in the New Testament or the life of the Virgin, in the same part of the work as the series of the Apostles, who are in any case generally accompanied by figures of Christ or the Virgin or both. The other items represent individual Saints or scenes from their lives; they are arranged in alphabetical order of the Saints' names. Owing to the large quantity of the material it has been necessary to divide it into two volumes.

It is a great pleasure to express my gratitude to all who have contributed towards the completion of this first volume of the book. Acknowledgment is due in the first place to Professor R.-A. d'Hulst and Mr. F. Baudouin, whose clear directives and constructive criticism during the preparation and editing of the work have been most valuable. Many thanks are due to my colleagues Nora De Poorter and Carl Van de Velde, who willingly relieved me of some of my professional duties in order that I might have more time for the editing. I am also indebted to them for many critical suggestions and for help in planning the illustrations, collecting bibliographical material and preparing the

indexes. I am equally indebted to Mr. P. S. Falla, who translated the text from the Dutch.

I should be failing in gratitude if I did not mention my colleagues and the collectors in this country and abroad who have facilitated the work in all sorts of ways, by providing fuller information on the provenance and present condition of some works, by procuring photographs or arranging for access to unexhibited paintings or drawings. I am happy to record this debt to Dr. R. Andree, G. Bartoschek, Baroness Gabriele Bentinck, Dr. Liselotte Camp, G. Eckart, Dr. P. Eikemeier, J. Foucart, C. van Hasselt, Dr. R. J. Heinemann, H. R. Hoetink, Dr. W. Kaiser, Mlle Françoise Maison, G. Martin, J. Mathey, H. de Morant, Dr. A. Pérez Sanchez, Dr. W. Schonath, R. Van de Walle and Dr. G. Wilhelm. Finally a special word of thanks should be addressed to the members of the Rubenianum staff, who have provided valuable assistance on numerous occasions.

Hans Vlieghe

INTRODUCTION

Among the many stimuli that the Council of Trent afforded to religious life in the part of Europe which remained Roman Catholic, one of the strongest was without doubt the encouragement of a fervent cult of the saints. This revived and purified form of devotion was an answer to the challenge of Protestants, who spoke disparagingly of the veneration of saints as a relic of superstition. The Catholics for their part assigned a central role to the intercession of the saints as a means of salvation for the faithful; at the same time, they took drastic and effective steps to do away with the abuses that had caused some aspects of the cult of saints to degenerate. It was also thought timely to divest the saints' Lives of the many apocryphal elements that had clung round them in the course of the Middle Ages and had reduced their credibility. By far the most popular collection of such naïve and often charming legends was the *Legenda Aurea* compiled in the late Middle Ages by Jacopo de Voragine.

Thus it was not long before a movement took shape with the object of approaching in a more historical and critical spirit the diversity of legends and traditions which composed the accepted picture of the saints' Lives. Texts were studied and commented on with zeal. The first important work of this sort, although still somewhat amateurish and incomplete, was performed in the 1570s by the Carthusian Surius in his six-volume collection of saints' Lives.¹ A more accurate production was the *Flos Sanctorum* by Ribadeneira, a companion of St. Ignatius of Loyola: this important work appeared in Spanish² about the turn of the century and was soon translated into several languages. A Dutch translation was published at Antwerp in 1619, the work of Heribert Rosweyde,³ a learned Jesuit who assisted John van Bolland in the preparation of the *Acta Sanctorum*: this latter compilation—the first volume of which appeared in 1643, three years after Rubens's death—became an acknowledged monument of scholarly hagiography. A good deal of important material had appeared in the Netherlands even before the *Flos Sanctorum*: e.g. the pioneer

¹ L. Surius, *De probatis Sanctorum historiis*, I–VI, Cologne, 1570–1575.

² P. Ribadeneira, *Flos Sanctorum o libro de las vidas de los santos*, I–II, Madrid, 1599–1601.

³ P. Ribadeneira & H. Rosweyde, *Generale Legende der Heylighen*, Antwerp, 1619.

work of Johannes Molanus,⁴ and those of Bishop Matthias Lambrecht of Bruges⁵ and the secular priest Hendrik Adriani of Antwerp.⁶ These two owed much to the celebrated Aubertus Miraeus, dean of the chapter of Antwerp Cathedral, an apostolic protonotary and a man of influence at the court of the Habsburgs and the Roman curia: he revised and supplemented Lambrecht's work and was responsible for the publication of Adriani's.⁷

During the Counter-Reformation innumerable churches, abbeys, monasteries and convents were built or restored in consequence of the founding of new parishes, orders and congregations. From the end of the sixteenth century onwards these institutions afforded measureless opportunities to architects, sculptors, painters and craftsmen of all kinds, in the southern Netherlands as well as in the other parts of Europe that remained Catholic. After Farnese's capture of Antwerp in 1585, and more especially during the governorship of Albert and Isabella from 1598 onwards, the process of re-Catholicizing, thorough and successful as it was, led, in the southern Netherlands as elsewhere, to the establishment or restoration of religious institutions which furnished exceptional opportunities to local artists.⁸

It is not surprising that representations of saints figured prominently among the works newly commissioned. A well-defined function is assigned to them in the decisions of the Council of Trent: they are to encourage the faithful to imitate the exemplary lives of those they portray. The Council further laid down that reliable sources must be followed as faithfully as possible and that

⁴ J. Molanus, *Indiculus Sanctorum Belgii*, Louvain, 1573; id., *Natales Sanctorum Belgii*, Louvain, 1595.

⁵ M. Lambrecht, *Historia ecclesiastica, oft Kerkelicke Historie om claellycken te zien d'eendrachtigheyt van de Heylige Catholycke Kercke des Heeren Jesu-Christi, oock tot meerder verstandt van de Legenden oft Leven der Heyligen ghenomen ende by een int corte vergadert met verscheydene ghelooffelycke Legenden, Historien ende oude Schryvers*, Antwerp, 1607.

⁶ H. Adriani, *Legende oft d'leven, wercken, doot ende miraculen ons liefs Heeren Jesu-Christi, ende van de Alderbeylichste moeder Godts ende Maghet Maria, ende alle Godtslieve Heylighen*, Antwerp, 1609.

⁷ On this see M.C.B. De Ridder, *Aubert Le Mire, sa vie, ses écrits*, Brussels, 1863, pp. 57-59.

⁸ A. PaSture, *La Restauration religieuse aux Pays-Bas Catholiques, sous les Archiducs Albert et Isabelle*, Louvain, 1925; see also E. de Moreau, in *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, vi, Utrecht-Antwerp, 1953, pp. 307-335: an excellent article with a full bibliography.

picturesque but apocryphal material should be discarded. The saints were to be clearly depicted with their characteristic attributes.⁹ Another factor was that the new church foundations were everywhere in search of relics of their patron saints, and the monastic orders, which were entering on a period of major development, were zealous for the glorification of those of their members who had been canonized. At the same time, it was not long before iconographical orthodoxy came to be interpreted somewhat loosely, owing in part to the tenacity of local traditions: the Council's decisions were applied in a somewhat pragmatic fashion, not least in the southern Netherlands, when they came into contact with local devotions. As Mâle pointed out, the vigorous attempt to place the cult of the saints in a more accurate historical focus did not prevent the pious fictions of the *Legenda Aurea* from supplying artists with a good deal of their inspiration.¹⁰ Molanus's strict injunctions on the form and content of religious art¹¹ thus failed to win systematic observance.

Rubens's pictures of saints belong to the spirit of the Counter-Reformation, above all by reason of their didactic character. As a true disciple of the militant movement to revive and spread the faith, he represents the saints as Christian heroes whose exploits must be so depicted as to strengthen worshippers in their belief and spur them to emulation. With the Counter-Reformation saints in particular, emphasis is laid on edifying aspects: St. Ignatius's miracles, so comforting to the faith, St. Francis Xavier's missionary journeys, St. Charles Borromeo's purity and devotion, St. Teresa of Avila's self-surrender to Christ. But saints of the early Church and the Middle Ages are also portrayed in a manner that unmistakably reflects the 'propagandizing' spirit of Trent. Pictures of martyrdom, for instance, are above all designed to show the saint in question as a steadfast witness to the true faith: he is seen immediately before being put to death, and the composition, clearly built up to emphasize his self-surrender to God, contrasts with the anecdotic treatment of the theme in

⁹ The relevant decisions of the Council and their application are well described in A. Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy 1540-1600*, Oxford, 1956, pp. 103-136.

¹⁰ E. Mâle, *L'art religieux après le Concile de Trente*, Paris, 1932, pp. 368-374.

¹¹ J. Molanus, *De picturis et imaginibus sacris*, Louvain, 1570. A second, enlarged edition of this guide to religious iconography was published at Louvain twenty-four years later under the title *De historia SS. imaginum et picturarum*.

earlier pictures with their multiplicity of incident. The devotion of ascetics is shown by Rubens in a very similar way: *St. Jerome in the Wilderness* at Dresden (II, No. 121) and *St. Mary Magdalen in Ecstasy* at Lille (II, No. 131), but above all the different interpretations of *St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata* (Nos. 90-93). The Counter-Reformation emphasis on the saints as intercessors with God is clearly reflected in such works as *St. Dominic and St. Francis of Assisi Protecting the World from the Wrath of Christ* at Lyons (No. 88), *St. Francis of Assisi Protecting the World from the Wrath of Christ* at Brussels (No. 100) and *St. Roch Interceding for the Plague-Stricken* at Alost (II, No. 140). Some pictures of saints also serve to assert dogmas challenged by the Protestants but upheld with equal fervour by the Counter-Reformation: e.g. *The Real Presence in the Holy Sacrament* (No. 56), which shows an assembly of saints and theologians, led by the four Latin Doctors of the Church, defending the reality of transubstantiation. *The Last Communion of St. Francis of Assisi* at Antwerp (No. 102) also shows a strongly Eucharistic spirit. In *The Four Latin Doctors of the Church* (No. 59) the doctrinal element is clearly seen in the portrayal of St. Augustine, St. Ambrose and St. Gregory, together with St. Jerome, reading from the latter's translation of the Vulgate which was declared by the Council of Trent to be the sole authorized Latin version of the scriptures.

Rubens's pictures of saints, like his other works, were strongly influenced by the composition and motifs of the great Italian masters of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century. His objective, as always, was to find models which satisfied the demands of his own monumental style and which he then adapted in a very personal manner. For instance, he borrowed in a striking way from Raphael. The composition of *The Real Presence in the Holy Sacrament* (No. 56) is partly taken from the *Disputa* in the Vatican and *St. Cecilia* at Bologna. The pair of pictures representing *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* (Nos. 49, 50), formerly in the ten Horn collection at Nijmegen, are based on Plato and Aristotle in *The School of Athens*. The composition of *The Martyrdom of St. Adrian* (No. 61) was inspired by the Borghese *Entombment*. There are also typical borrowings of motifs from artists who were themselves influenced by the Counter-Reformation. Cigoli's *St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata* and *The Martyrdom of St. Stephen* provided the basis for Rubens's interpretation of the same themes (No. 91; II, No. 146). Barocci's *Madonna del Popolo* inspired the composition of *St. Dominic and St. Francis Protecting the World*

from the *Wrath of Christ* at Lyons (No. 88). Agostino Carracci's *Last Communion of St. Jerome* was clearly the basis of Rubens's *Last Communion of St. Francis of Assisi* (No. 102). Some borrowings from Caravaggio should also be mentioned, notably in *The Four Evangelists* at Potsdam (No. 54). In addition, Rubens borrowed from his Romaniſtic compatriots of the ſixteenth and early ſeventeenth century; for inſtance, Floris and Van Veen clearly furniſhed the model for *St. Michael Striking down the Rebellious Angels* (II, No. 135) and *The Martyrdom of St. Andrew* (No. 62) in their compositions of the ſame ſubjects. One may alſo compare the graphic work of the Wierix brothers, in which Rubens found an iconographic prototype for his portrayal of almoſt contemporary figures ſuch as *The Blessed Anna de Jéſus* (No. 63) and *St. Charles Borromeo* (No. 85).

However, from the point of view of form Rubens owed ſtill more to the Venetians than to the ſchools of Florence, Bologna and Rome. Moſt of his pictures of ſaints were ſcenes of glory and heroic deeds, and the works of the Venice ſchool ſhowed him, better than any others, how to achieve a harmonious ſynthesis between the dignity of the ſubject and the reaſtiſtic approach which the circumſtances of the time demanded. Moſt of Rubens's works ſhowing martyrdoms of early Chriſtian ſaints, with their variegated groups of fierce executioners, heavily armed warriors, emperors on horſeback, prieſts pointing to idols and, not leaſt, the pompous architecture in the background, ſhow a clear affinity to works by Veroneſe. Other compositions of his remind one of the Venetian ſchool, eſpecially in the ſurrounding architectural décor, even though one cannot point to ſpecific models: e.g. the elaborate arrangement of ſteps and pillars in ſuch works as the London ſketch for *The Conversion of St. Bavo* (No. 71), *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier* (II, No. 104), *The Miracles of St. Ignatius Loyola* (II, No. 115) and *St. Ildeſonſo Receiving the Chasuble* at Vienna (II, No. 117).

The Venetian artiſt to whom Rubens owed moſt in his portrayal of ſaints was undoubtedly Titian. *St. Jerome in the Wilderness* at Dresden (II, No. 121), *The Martyrdom of St. Laurence* at Schleisſheim (II, No. 126) and *The Martyrdom of St. Sebaſtian* at Berlin (II, No. 145) are all based on compositions of the ſame ſubjects by the Venetian maſter. Rubens's ſketch for an *All Saints* (No. 1), now at Rotterdam, is based on the *Gloria* in the Eſcorial. The composition of *The Miracles of St. Benediſt* (No. 73) at Brussels is borrowed from Titian's *Ecce Homo*, now at Vienna. The rearing horſe in *St.*

George Slaying the Dragon at Madrid (II, No. 105) is a copy in reverse of the horse in a study by Titian, to be seen at Munich, for a work that cannot now be identified. The altarpiece of the *Madonna and Six Saints* in the Vatican, or at all events Boldrini's woodcut thereof, may have suggested the arrangement of *St. Gregory Surrounded by Saints* at Grenoble (II, No. 109). *The Martyrdom of St. Livinus* at Brussels (II, No. 127) is very similar in composition to *The Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr*, formerly in SS. Giovanni e Paolo at Venice.

On the other hand, Rubens's pictures of saints also show clearly the survival of a pre-Tridentine tradition. His borrowings from the Golden Legend, with its wealth of picturesque anecdote, are legion. One of the most striking of these occurs in the *St. Stephen* triptych at Valenciennes, where the account of the Saint's martyrdom in the Acts of the Apostles, detailed though it is, is supplemented by Jacopo de Voragine's story of the burial by Gamaliel and Nicodemus. In composition, likewise, Rubens makes use of late medieval themes: e.g. especially *The Death of St. Anthony Abbot* (No. 64), which is clearly based on fifteenth-century representations of the Death of the Virgin. *The Enthronement of a Holy Bishop*—a work which has disappeared but can be judged from an etching by Soutman (II, No. 160)—shows in its strict symmetry the influence of a tradition of which many examples can be found in fifteenth-century Flemish painting.¹²

In conclusion it should be pointed out that Rubens in his pictures of saints was as successful as in his other works in blending Italian with Netherlandish sources of inspiration.

¹² Attention has been drawn in another connection to the influence of late-Gothic Netherlandish works on certain of Rubens's religious compositions: see especially N. Verhaegen, *Iconographie*, in *La Descente de Croix de Rubens. Etude préalable au traitement*, *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique*, v, 1962, pp. 17–26, and C. Eisler, *Rubens' Uses of the Northern Past. The Michiels Triptych and its Sources*, *Bulletin des Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, xvi, 1967, pp. 43–78.

CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ



1. ALL SAINTS: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 1)

Oil on panel; 58 : 38 cm.

Rotterdam, *Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*. No. 1738.

PROVENANCE: Presented to the Museum by A.J. Lamme, 1863.

EXHIBITED: *Petrus Paulus Rubens herdacht, 1577-1927*, Museum, Antwerp, 1927, No. 10; *Amsterdam, 1933*, No. 10 (repr.); *Paris, 1936*, No. 54; *Helsinki, 1952-53*, No. 8; *Brussels, 1953*, No. 8; *Rotterdam, 1953-54*, No. 13 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Jaarverslag Museum Boymans, 1863*, p. 1 (as *Van Dyck*); P. Haverkorn van Rijsewijk, *Notice descriptive des tableaux et sculptures du Musée de Rotterdam*, Rotterdam, 1892, No. 62 (as *Van Dyck*); P. Haverkorn van Rijsewijk, *Beknopte catalogus der schilderijen en beelden van het Museum te Rotterdam*, Rotterdam, 1907, No. 259; F. Schmidt-Degener, in *Jaarverslag Museum Boymans, 1920*, pp. 3, 4, repr.; L. Burchard, *Skizzen des jungen Rubens, Sitzungsberichte der kunstgeschichtlichen Gesellschaft Berlin*, October 1926 - May 1927, p. 3, No. 23; K. Zoege von Manteuffel, in *Kunstchronik*, 1930, p. 129; C. Norris, *The Rubens Exhibition at Amsterdam, The Burlington Magazine*, LXIII, 1933, p. 230; D. Hannema, *Rubens in het Museum Boymans*, Rotterdam, 1933, p. 10, No. 1; F. Van den Wijngaert, *Inventaris der Rubeniaansche Prentkunst*, Antwerpen, 1940, p. 57; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 62, 132, 153; *Evers, 1943*, pp. 208, 219, 357; E. Haverkamp Begemann, *Rubens in Rotterdam, Apollo*, July 1967, p. 38; K. Bauch, *Die Elsheimer-Ausstellung in Frankfurt am Main (1)*, *Kunstchronik*, xx, 1967, p. 61; *d'Hulst, 1968*, pp. 90, 91, No. 3, fig. 26; H. Kauffmann, *Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini. Die figürlichen Kompositionen*, Berlin, 1970, p. 26, n. 51.

This sketch represents the company of All Saints worshipping the Holy Trinity. St. Laurence, seen from the back, is in the middle foreground; St. Gregory is seen in the group to his left, while on his right are the naked St. Sebastian and St. George in armour. In the distance can be seen two figures in the garb of a Franciscan and a Dominican, probably St. Francis and St. Dominic themselves. The upper part of the sketch vaguely shows the Virgin Mary on a cloud, approaching the Holy Trinity.

Bouchery and Van den Wijngaert have shown clearly that this composition was inspired by Titian's *Triumph of the Holy Trinity* (*Tietze, Titian*, fig. 230) painted in 1554, which Rubens may have seen during his first visit to Spain in 1603; it was brought to the Escorial in 1574 and is now in the Prado at Madrid. He may, however, have used as his model the engraving of Titian's picture

made in 1566 by Cornelis Cort (J.C. Bierens de Haan, *L'œuvre gravé de Cornelis Cort*, The Hague, 1948, No. 111, fig. 30). It seems less clear that, as Bauch recently suggested, the work also contains reminiscences of Elsheimer's *Adoration of the Cross* in the Städelsches Institut at Frankfurt (H. Weizsäcker, *Adam Elsheimer*, II, Berlin, 1952, pl. 4).

A large painting of the same subject has not come down to us and is nowhere mentioned in the sources. There is an engraving, made before 15 May 1613 for the *Missale Romanum* and *Breviarium Romanum* published by B. Moretus in 1614, and depicting the same subject (*Rooses*, v, pp. 64, 65; *Evers*, 1943, fig. 189). The appearance and arrangement of the figures is so similar to the Rotterdam sketch that Bouchery, Van den Wijngaert and Evers believed the latter to have been made for the engraving; however, as early as 1926 Burchard rightly concluded that there was no such connection between the two works. The fact that the sketch in oils is nearly twice as long and wide as the illustration for the *Missale* and *Breviarium* (295 : 200 mm.) in itself tends to disprove the supposition of Bouchery, Van den Wijngaert and Evers. Moreover there are striking differences of detail between the two versions of the theme, and no preliminary studies seem to have been painted for any of the other engravings in the Missal and Breviary. On the other hand, we do know of a preliminary drawing for this as for other engravings in the same series: it is now in the Albertina at Vienna, and agrees with the engraving in every detail (*Glück-Haberditzl*, pl. 70).

Zoege von Manteuffel has pointed out the striking similarity of pose between St. Sebastian in this sketch and the naked youth in the modello drawing in the Louvre for *The Baptism of Christ* (1604-5), now in the Antwerp museum (*Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p. 53, No. 29; II, pl. 29).

The close resemblance to the engraving of 1613 permits us to assign this sketch to about the same date.

2. THE FACE OF CHRIST: OIL SKETCH OR DRAWING

Approximately 30 : 25 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) Engraving by P. Pontius (Fig. 2; *V.S.*, p. 72, No. 70); (2) Engraving by E. Rucholle (Fig. 4; *V.S.*, p. 73, No. 72); (3) Engraving, published by J. Galle (Fig. 6;

V.S., p. 73, No. 74); (4) Engraving, published by G. Hendrickx (Fig. 8; V.S., p. 73, No. 78).

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, p. 336, No. 346; *Rooses*, V, pp. 199, 200, No. 1380.

The drawing or oil sketch, which is presumably lost, may be judged from four prints made from it. Christ's head is seen in profile, with long wavy hair and a full beard. In Pontius's engraving after the lost original, Christ's face is turned to the left (Fig. 2); however, he is seen in right profile in the version signed by Rucholle (Fig. 4) and those published by Jan Galle (Fig. 6) and Gillis Hendrickx (Fig. 8).

The inscription under Paul Pontius's engraving indicates in detail by whom and on what occasion the work was commissioned:

DEI HOMINIS *speciosissimi Regis, indeficientem contemplationem vobis, in*ò *universo populo Christiano, divina hæc imago offert; quæ in manibus, in oculis, in summa/veneratione* S. IGNATIO Societatis *vestræ Auctori fuit.* QUINTINUS CHARLARTUS *tanti Patris amicus, deinde Filius, suspiciendæ veritatis tabulam, DEO simillimam/esse divinatorum participes pronuntiaverunt ROMA in BELGIVM detulit: ac postmodum Matri suæ dono dedit. apud heredes mansit, donec toto ferè vertente sæculo, in/possessionem venit* IO. WAVERI *Antverpiensis, Equitis, REGI CATHOLICO à Consiliis: qui devoto adfectu piorum amori venerabile cimelium consecravit, &/ propter suum suæque coniugis sepulchrum vivus, sed morti intentus, HALLIS in æde DEIPARÆ VIRGINIS dedicavit.* [MD]. CXXXIII. Die XXVII. MAI. *Natali suo* LVII.

From this we learn that Rubens depicted the head of Christ after an old painting much venerated by St. Ignatius Loyola. The painting was brought from Rome to the Netherlands by the Jesuit Father Quintin Charlat (in May 1554, according to A. Poncelet, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus dans les anciens Pays-Bas*, Brussels, 1927, I, p. 64), who presented it to his mother. It remained in the hands of her descendants until it was acquired by the knight Jan van den Wouwere or Woverius, an alderman of Antwerp and member of the *Conseil de Guerre* of the Spanish Netherlands. Finally Woverius presented the picture to the Onze-Lieve-Vrouwkerk (Church of Our Lady) at Halle in Brabant, on May 27th, 1633, at the age of 57 years. In addition the print is dedicated to Muzio Vitelleschi, the then General of the Jesuits (see A. Poncelet, *op. cit.*, *passim*).

The representation of Christ is based on medallions executed in Italy in large numbers after 1492 and purporting to represent the True Visage of Christ; they are in fact based on a fifteenth-century Flemish prototype (G.F. Hill, *The Medallion Portraits of Christ*, Oxford, 1920, pp. 30–37, pl. 19).

A copy was also drawn by Erasmus Quellinus from the original presented to Halle; it is necessary to emphasize its importance for the interpretation of the work now in question. Christoffel Jegher made a woodcut from it (M.D. Henkel, *Christoffel Jegher*, in U. Thieme and F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, XVIII, Leipzig, 1925, p. 487; F. van den Wijngaert, *Inventaris der Rubeniaansche Prentkunst*, Antwerp, 1940, p. 62, No. 312), with an inscription repeating the information accompanying the Paul Pontius version (Fig. 3). A new information is also given in the title of the woodcut: *Raphaelis Urbinitis penicillo ad sacrae vetustatis prototypum expressam, Erasmus Quell. delineabat, Christophorus Jegher sculpsit* [sic]. That is to say, Raphael allegedly painted the picture from a much older prototype. It is hard to judge the truth of this statement. In the first place, no trace can now be found of the picture presented to Halle, and secondly no such work is mentioned in the literature about Raphael.

There are also reasons for thinking that Pontius's engraved portrait of Christ facing to the left was published earlier than Jan Galle's print. In the latter version Rubens's name occurs only in the text of the inscription below, but not in the title before *delineavit*. Moreover Galle published together with this engraving, and as a counterpart to it, a representation of the Virgin which is not based on Rubens (Fig. 7). This perhaps means that Galle decided on his own initiative to publish a pair of engravings depicting Christ and the Virgin—an iconographic combination of old standing which had been followed in the Netherlands by among others, Quentin Massijs (*Honderd afbeeldingen van schilderijen uit het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen*, I, *Oude Meesters*, Antwerp, n.d., pl. 32 and 33), and in Italy by Titian (*Tietze, Titian*, pl. 206 and 207)—and that he used for the head of Christ the engraving by Pontius, reproducing it in reversed form. The combination was subsequently imitated: a head of the Virgin Mary was reproduced as a pendant to the head of Christ published by Gillis Hendrickx (Fig. 9) and to that engraved by Rucholle (Fig. 5) and dedicated to the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm.

The pendant of the Hendrickx version bears, in the title, the attribution *P.P. Rubens pinxit*. It is not clear from which of his paintings the print was

made, but in any case it does not belong, as Burchard thought, to the same type as the Madonna of the Annunciation on the outer wings of the triptych of *The Martyrdom of St. Stephen* at Valenciennes (II, No. 149); it is closer to the *Holy Virgin* which also forms the counterpart to a head of Christ and may be dated 1615–20 (No. 5). This head of the Virgin is incorrectly described in the literature as a pendant to the Pontius version. The mistake is due to a statement by R. Hecquet (*Catalogue des estampes gravées d'après Rubens*, Paris, 1751, p. 18, No. 57), which was reproduced by subsequent authors (F. Basan, *Catalogue des estampes gravées d'après P.P. Rubens*, Paris, 1767, p. 49, No. 25; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, p. 336, No. 346; *V.S.*, p. 72, No. 70; E. Dutuit, *Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes*, VI, Paris, 1885, pp. 90, 91, No. 26; and *Rooses*, v, pp. 199, 200, No. 1380).

There is also a print of this head of Christ which bears the signature C. Galle: it is not clear whether this was engraved by Cornelis I or II Galle. Neither is it possible to prove that it is based on Rubens's drawing or oil sketch, as has been asserted (*V.S.*, p. 73, No. 76).

3. THE BUST OF CHRIST

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 10), whereabouts unknown; panel, 61.5 : 46 cm.; prov.: sale, London (Christie's), 20 June 1958, lot 136 (as *Rubens*), bought by Henri Rowland; (2) Painting (Fig. 11), whereabouts unknown; canvas, 59.5 : 46 cm.; prov.: Berlin, Viktor Modrzejewski (as *Van Dyck*), seen by Burchard on 14 April 1934.

A half-length portrait of Christ, seen in three-quarter face with his head turned to the right. The right hand is slightly raised in a gesture of blessing. Christ, as *Salvator Mundi*, holds his left hand protectively over a globe, part of which is seen below on the left; the moon and stars are depicted on it in miniature. A halo glimmers around the Saviour's head.

Two copies of the lost original are known. The better one, which as mentioned above was sold in London in 1958, approaches the original in quality, but it shows weaknesses which can hardly be ascribed to Rubens. The drawing of the fingers is not especially plastic, and the artist's typical undulating contours are absent. The transition from the left to the right-hand side of Christ's fore-

head is rather clumsy. The second version, seen by Burchard in 1934 at Modrzejewski's in Berlin, is of inferior quality but should be mentioned here, as it differs in one detail from the better version: the terrestrial globe ball is surmounted by a cross, and it may be wondered whether this was not so in the original. The type is the same as that in the panel *Christ and the Repentant Sinners*, of about 1618, in the Alte Pinakothek at Munich (*K.d.K.*, p. 176); it also forms a good match to the figure of Christ in the *Pasce Oves* of about 1614 in the Wallace Collection, London (*K.d.K.*, p. 71).

The direction of Christ's glance seems to suggest that there was a pendant to this picture, perhaps representing the Virgin.

4-5. TWO PENDANTS: CHRIST AND THE HOLY VIRGIN

4. CHRIST

Oil on panel (?); approximately 60 : 50 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: ? Balthasar I Moretus, Antwerp.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 59.5 : 47 cm.; prov.: sale, London (Christie's), 29 July 1937, lot 86 (as *Rubens*); Tomas Harris, London, seen by Burchard, on 9 August 1939; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 61 : 49 cm.; prov.: Berlin, Dr. M.J. Binder; exh.: *Gemälde alter Meister aus Berliner Besitz*, Akademie der Künste, Berlin, 1925, No. 330 (as *Rubens*); (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 60.5 : 45.5 cm.; shown to Burchard by P.O. Cargher, Carlton Galleries, London, on 1 and 18 March, 1947; (4) Painting (Fig. 12), whereabouts unknown; panel, 63 : 49 cm.; prov.: Galerie A. de Heuvel, Brussels; sale, London (Christie's), 26 March 1971, lot 124 (as *Rubens*); lit.: *The Burlington Magazine*, xcvi, April 1955, p. ix, repr.

A bust of Christ, in three-quarter face, with a halo visible behind his head. This type of Christ, with handsome features and a serene expression, and with the locks of hair treated analytically, belongs without question to the period of Rubens's development between about 1615 and 1620.

The copy of this work acquired by Tomas Harris in 1937 is the only one of the whole series that is not separated from its pendant *The Holy Virgin*.

Pendants of this kind have an old tradition (cf. entry No. 2).

Rubens may have executed this and the next work to the order of Balthazar Moretus. In the latter's ledger for the years 1624-55 we read; "Pedro Paulo Rubens doibt avoir ... Pour deux visages peints sur paneel [sic] de Christ et Maria pour B[althasar] M[oretus] à fl. 24 ... 48" (M. Rooses, *Petrus Paulus Rubens en Balthazar Moretus*, *Rubens-Bulletijn*, 1, 1882, p. 282). Although the item relating to these pendants appears in the ledger after 1624, it is possible that they were painted before that date. The ledger records frontispiece designs which certainly date from before 1624, such as Bosius's *Crux Triumphans* of 1616-17, Lessius's *De Iustitia et Iure* of 1617, Thomas a Jesu's *De Contemplatione Divina* of 1620 (Evers, 1943, figs. 77, 80, 88), and others.

5. THE HOLY VIRGIN

Oil on panel (?); approximately 60 : 50 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: ? Balthasar I Moretus, Antwerp.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 60 : 47 cm.; prov.: sale, London (Christie's), 29 July 1937, lot 86 (as *Rubens*); Tomas Harris; London; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel; prov.: Berlin, Gustav Rochlitz; London, Asscher, Koetsier and Welker, 1925; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 63.5 : 48 cm.; prov.: New York, A. Seligman, Rey and Co.; Vienna, Berthold Waldner, 1933; exh.: *Detroit*, 1936, No. 9 (as *Rubens*); (4) Painting (Fig. 13), whereabouts unknown; panel, 62 : 48 cm.; prov.: New York, Mont and Newhouse; shown there to Burchard on 3 July 1956; (5) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 45.5 : 39 cm. (reduced copy); prov.: sale, London (Christie's), 18 March 1949, lot 163 (as *Rubens*); Brussels, A. de Heuvel, 1965; exh.: *Tableaux anciens*, Galerie Brachot, Brussels, 1965, No. 58 (repr.; as *Rubens*).

A bust of the Virgin, in three-quarter face, looking to the left. Her hand, pressed to her breast, is seen on the left at the lower edge of the picture. A halo is visible behind her head.

As with the head of Christ which forms a pair with this work, the Virgin's countenance is of a type belonging to Rubens's *œuvre* between 1615 and 1620. The expression and attitude are a more definite version of those seen in the figure of St. Clare on the right-hand panel of the former triptych of St. Francis, dating from 1618, in the church of St. Gummarus at Lier (No. 98; Fig. 172).

6-18. THE "APOSTOLADO LERMA"

In the well-known annex to Rubens's letter of 28 April 1618 to Dudley Carleton, the English envoy at The Hague, in which he offered to exchange paintings for antique sculpture, the artist spoke of "Dodeci Apostoli con un Christo fatti de mei discepoli dalle originali che ha il Ducca di Lerma de mia mano dovendosi ritoccare de mia mano in tutto e per tutto" (*Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p. 137).

It is generally supposed that the "originali che ha il Ducca di Lerma" are the same as those now in the Prado, which are first recorded in the collection at San Ildefonso of Isabella Farnese, the consort of King Philip V (N. Caïmo, *Voyage d'Espagne fait en l'année 1755*, Paris, 1772, pp. 35, 36: "Le Palais [of San Ildefonso] contient entr'autres quatre Appartemens principaux ... Ils sont tous ornés de très belles peintures; le premier (au premier étage) surtout ... renferme quantité d'excellens ouvrages des Peintres les plus célèbres ... Parmi lesquels on voit ... les douze Apotres, de Rubens"). According to *Prado, Cat.* 1963, p. 575, the earliest record is in the unpublished inventory of works of art belonging to Isabella Farnese, drawn up in 1746. The identification is very probably correct; of the many known versions of this series, only the one in the Prado is authentic.

Two questions, however, remain unanswered. Firstly, when and how did the series come into the Duke's possession; and secondly, when and how did it come into the possession of the Spanish royal house? As Christopher Norris has pointed out, the series cannot have been painted at a date earlier than the first few years after Rubens's return to Antwerp from Italy (*Norris*, 1953, p. 108). The dense filling of each of the panels, the monumental and sculptural impression made by each of the figures, and the local colouring with accentuated contrasts between bright and dark parts is very typical of that period; moreover, in the individual works, as discussed below, types of figures are found which Rubens also used in other paintings that date from the first years after his return from Italy. This rules out the view, accepted generally before the publication of Norris's enlightening article and sporadically thereafter (e.g. M. Warnke, *Kommentare zu Rubens*, Berlin, 1965, pp. 76, 77, and E. Larsen, *Three lesser-known Works by Rubens*, *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen*, 1969, pp. 151-155), that Rubens presented the paintings in 1602-3 to the then minister of King Philip III, with whom he was

in contact. They were probably sent from Antwerp to Madrid soon after they were painted, i.e. about 1610-12. As to the acquisition of the paintings for the Spanish royal collections, there is a gap of a hundred and thirty years between the date on which they were mentioned as being in the Duke's possession and the date on which they were recorded in Isabella Farnese's collection, so that in default of further information we cannot tell precisely how they came from one to the other. As they do not figure in the extensive descriptions, which have been preserved, of the royal art collections before 1746, there is reason to think that they were acquired at a late date, perhaps not until the time of Isabella Farnese herself. It remains an open question whether they were owned by the Duke of Lerma's descendants throughout the intervening period.

The series in the Prado is complete except for the figure of Christ; this must have disappeared at an early stage, since it is not mentioned in the description of Isabella Farnese's collection. It can, however, be judged from several painted copies of varying quality, the best being that now in the National Gallery of Canada at Ottawa (Fig. 14). Another *Christ as Salvator Mundi* forms part, together with copies of the twelve Apostles in the Prado, of a series in the Galleria Pallavicini, preserved in the Palazzo Rospigliosi-Pallavicini at Rome. This series is very probably identical with the "Tweelf Apostels ende eene schilderye van ons Heer, alle geschildert van Rubbens" ("Twelve Apostles and a painting of Our Lord, all by Rubens"), recorded in 1665 in the possession of Giambattista Pallavicini, an Italian merchant at Antwerp (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 244); this family later became related to the Rospigliosi through marriage, owning together the Roman palace still named after them (*Pallavicini, Rome, Cat. Zeri*, pp. 233-237, Nos. 431-443, pl. 431-443). It has been generally supposed that this series is the one which Rubens offered to Dudley Carleton on 28 April 1618, but which the latter did not accept.

The copies executed during Rubens's lifetime also include two series of prints. One of these was made by Peter Isselburg of Cologne, probably between about 1623 and 1626, as he was then in the service of Gottfried von Aschhausen, the bishop of Bamberg, to whom the series is dedicated (U. Thieme & F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, xix, Leipzig, 1926, p. 265). The other is by Nicolaas Ryckmans, who was active as an engraver of Rubens's works around 1620 and *inter alia* provided the illustrations for the 1622 edition of the *Palazzi di Genova* (H. Hymans, *Histoire de la gravure dans l'école de Rubens*, Brussels, 1879, pp. 234-242). The second series clearly

derives from the copies in the Rospigliosi-Pallavicini palace: a sufficient proof of this is the fact that the Prado *Thomas* and *Simon* (Nos. 13, 16, Figs. 42, 54) appear as in the Pallavicini copies, i.e. without their attributes of the lance and saw and are misnamed *Simon* and *Jude* (*Thaddeus*) respectively (Figs. 43, 45, 55, 57). It should also be noted that Ryckmans followed the Pallavicini series in slight divergences from the Prado series as regards the treatment of the Apostles' hair and clothing.

Although the Isselburg engravings show no divergence, as far as attributes are concerned, from the originals painted for the Duke of Lerma, it is hard to suppose that they are based directly on the series now in the Prado, which was presumably not accessible for a long period. Very probably these engravings too were made from copies. The copies in question must have been more accurate than those in the Pallavicini gallery, and it may well be, therefore, that they and not the latter are identical with those offered to Dudley Carleton.

Both series of engravings are relevant to the question of the iconography of the "Apostolado Lerma". Comparing them with each other, we find that only eight figures occur with the same designations in both. The inscriptions *Thomas* and *Simon* in the Isselburg series (Figs. 44, 56) appear in the other as *Simon* and *Jude Thaddeus* (Figs. 45, 57) respectively. The figures designated as St. Matthew in the Isselburg series (Fig. 48) appears in the Ryckmans series as St. Thomas (Fig. 49), while the James the Less of the former series (Fig. 52) is called St. Matthew in the latter (Fig. 53). These changes need not surprise us: especially in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it happened that some of the traditional attributes based on the apocryphal biographies of the Apostles were confused with one another (E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux après le Concile de Trente*, Paris, 1932, pp. 367, 368; *Knipping*, II, pp. 300, 302). Another noteworthy point about the two series of engravings is that each of them includes one figure that is not based on Rubens's invention. In the Isselburg series this is *Jude Thaddeus*, who, like the *Christ as Salvator Mundi*, is based on one of the figures in Van Dyck's series of the Apostles (c. 1618-21; *K.d.K., Van Dyck*, pp. 37, 42); also Ryckmans's engraving of St. James the Less is based on a type that owes nothing to Rubens. The explanation of these additions is that both series are what is called Credo-series: that is to say, the text of one of the articles of the Apostles' Creed is inscribed below each of the figures of the Twelve. According to a tradition followed since the early Middle Ages, each Apostle was responsible for a particular article (A. Katzenellen-

bogen, s.v. *Apoſtel*, in *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, I, Stuttgart, 1937, cols, 823, 824). The order of attribution was always the same: the first article (*Credo in Deum patrem omnipotentem, creatorem caeli et terræ*) was ascribed to St. Peter; the second (*Et in Jesum Christum filium eius unicum, dominum nostrum*) to St. Andrew; the third (*Qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria Virgine*) to St. James the Greater; the fourth (*Passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus*) to St. John; the fifth (*Descendit ad inferna, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis*) to St. Philip; the sixth (*Ascendit ad caelos, sedet ad dexteram Dei patris omnipotentis*) to St. Bartholomew; the seventh (*Inde venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos*) to St. Thomas; the eighth (*Credo in Spiritum Sanctum*) to St. James the Less; the ninth (*Sanctam ecclesiam catholicam sanctorum communionem*) to St. James the Less; the tenth (*Remissionem peccatorum*) to St. Simon; the eleventh (*Carnis resurrectionem*) to St. Jude; and the twelfth (*Vitam aeternam, Amen*) to St. Matthias. As Rubens had included St. Paul in his Lerma series, an extra figure had to be added to each of the series of engravings. Two conclusions follow from the foregoing as regards the "Apoſtolado Lerma". Firstly, it is not to be regarded as a Credo series, and secondly, it is not possible to determine in every case which apoſtles Rubens originally set out to represent. As a working hypothesis the designations here used are those of the Isselburg series of engravings, which are iconographically closest to the originals.

Glück has suggested that Rubens's *Apoſtolado Lerma* has been influenced by El Greco's famous series of Apoſtles (*Glück*, 1933, p. 288). This hypothesis has been accepted by some authors, recently also by Martin Warnke (*op. cit.*, pp. 9, 10, 76n). However, Müller Hofstede (*Eine Kreideſtudie von Rubens für den Kreuzaufrichtungsaltar, Pantheon*, xxv, 1967, pp. 39, 43) has proved convincingly that Rubens's series had a firm Netherlandish root. He rightly pointed at the many sets of engravings published by the Wierix family, e.g. after Marten de Vos and Crispijn van den Broeck, and showing the apoſtles full-length as well as half-length. Also Cornelis Ketel has painted "Twaelf Apoſtelen met den Christus, tronien, grooter oft also groot als t'leven" (C. van Mander, *Het Leven der Doorluchtighe Nederlandsche en Hoogduytsche Schilders*, Haarlem, 1604, f° 276). Tradition is yet older: the 1595 inventory of Archduke Ernst of Austria's collection makes mention of "Brustbilder von 12 Apoſteln von Francisco Floris" (M. De Maeyer, *Albrecht en Isabella en de Schilderkunst*, Brussels, 1955, p. 259 [No. 4]).

It is undeniable that Rubens's series has enjoyed a great popularity. Above all, this is proved by the many copies and *pastiches* which were executed after it. Moreover, other contemporary artists such as Van Dyck (*K.d.K., Van Dyck*, pp. 31 et seqq.) and Abraham Janssens (the series, now in St. Charles Borromeo at Antwerp and probably identical with the "Ons Heer, de Twaalf Apostelen en Sint Paulus" which were mentioned in the painter's estate, 1644 [F.J. Van den Branden, *Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche Schilderschool*, Antwerp, 1883, p. 482]), have painted Apostolado's which undoubtedly were inspired by Rubens's series for the Duke of Lerma or, at least, by one of the copies after the latter.

6. CHRIST AS SALVATOR MUNDI

Oil on panel; approximately 108 : 84 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: Don Francisco Gomez de Sandoval y Royas, Duke of Lerma, 1618.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 14), Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada, No. 3696; panel, 131.5 : 81.5 cm.; prov.: ? L.-J. Cocquereau, sale, Brussels, 25 August 1806 et seqq., lot 85 (as *Rubens*); Schamp d'Aveschoot, sale, Ghent, 14 September 1840 et seqq., lot 156 (as *Rubens*); English Convent, Bruges; Henry S. Roche (London; 1906-1929); acquired by the Museum in 1929; exh.: *Works by the Old Masters*, Royal Academy, London, 1907, No. 104 (as *Rubens*); *Daily Telegraph Exhibition*, Olympia, London, 1928, No. x 52, repr. (as *Rubens*); lit.: M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, v, 1910, p. 284 (as *Studio of Rubens*); *K.d.K.*, pp. 439, 472 (as *Studio of Rubens*); R.-R. Tatlock, *A forgotten Rubens Masterpiece*, *The Burlington Magazine*, l, 1927, pp. 233, 234, repr. (as *Rubens*); H. Tietze, *Die öffentlichen Gemäldesammlungen in Kanada*, Pantheon, xvii, 1936, p. 184 (as *Rubens*); E. Greindl, *Ein unveröffentlichtes Werk aus Rubens Jugendzeit*, *Pantheon*, xxiii, 1942, p. 43 (as *Rubens*); Evers, 1943, pp. 99, 377, No. 147; W.R. Valentiner, *Rubens' Paintings in America*, *The Art Quarterly*, ix, 1946, p. 155, No. 4 (as *Rubens*); *Goris-Held*, p. 34, No. 53, pl. 30 (as *Rubens*); Larsen, p. 214, No. 8 (as *Rubens*); K. Arndt, *Studien zu Georg Petel*, *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, ix, 1967, p. 198; E. Larsen, *Three lesser known Works by Rubens*, *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen*, 1969, pp. 151-153, fig. 3 (as *Rubens*); (2) Painting, Vienna, Schottenstift; panel, 106.5 : 82.5 cm.; prov.: Imperial collection, Vienna; exh.: *Drei Jahrhunderte Flämische Kunst*, Sezession, Vienna, 1930, No. 5 (repr., as *Rubens*); lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 98, No. 320 (as *Rubens*);

M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, v, 1910, p. 284; *K.d.K.*, p. 472; G. Glück, *Drei Jahrhunderte Flämische Kunst, Ausstellung in der Wiener Sezession, Belvedere*, v, 1930, p. 167, pl. 94 (as *Rubens*); E. Greindl, *op. cit.*, p. 43; *Evers*, 1943, p. 99; (3) Painting (Fig. 15), Rome, Galleria Pallavicini; panel, 107 : 74 cm.; prov.: Giovanni Battista Pallavicini (Antwerp; died 1665; *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 244); bequeathed to his brother Stefano (Genoa); Lazzaro Pallavicini (Genoa-Rome; 1602-1680); lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 152, No. 530 (as *Rubens*); *Rooses*, I, pp. 80-82, under Nos. 68-80; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, v, 1910, p. 284; *Glück*, 1933, p. 13 (as *Studio of Rubens, retouched by Rubens*); *Van Puyvelde, Rome*, pp. 155, 156 (as *Rubens*); *Norris*, 1953, p. 108 (as *Studio of Rubens*); *Pallavicini, Rome, Cat. Zerl*, p. 233, No. 431, pl. 431 (as *Studio of Rubens, retouched by Rubens*); (4) Painting, Hanover, Niedersächsische Landesgalerie, Cat. 1954, No. 340; canvas, 126.5 : 86 cm.; (5) Drawing by Nicolaas Ryckmans, Vienna, Albertina, No. 8214; 179 : 137 mm.; lit.: *Rooses*, I, pp. 81, 82 (as *Rubens*); H. Knackfuss, *Peter Paul Rubens*, 5th ed., Bielefeld-Leipzig, 1898, p. 12, fig. 9 (as *Rubens*); *Norris*, 1953, p. 108; (6) Engraving by Nicolaas Ryckmans (Fig. 17; *V.S.*, p. 209, No. 3); (7) Engraving by J. Prenner (*V.S.*, p. 72, Nos. 62, 65). See also No. 19 below.

Christ, seen frontally, is naked to the waist. The upper part of his body is inclined to the left. He is clasping a wooden cross in his arms.

As Arndt pointed out, the attitude of this figure resembles in reverse that of Michelangelo's *Christ Holding the Cross* in Santa Maria sopra Minerva at Rome (*K.d.K.*, *Michelangelo*, p. 90). It seems less probable that, as Arndt maintained, Rubens was actually influenced by that sculpture.

7. ST. PETER (Fig. 18)

Oil on panel; 108 : 84 cm.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1646.

PROVENANCE: Don Francisco Gomez de Sandoval y Royas, Duke of Lerma, 1618; Queen Isabella Farnese, San Ildefonso, 1746; Spanish Royal Collections, Aranjuez; deposited in the Prado, 9 September 1829.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 19), Rome, Galleria Pallavicini; panel, 106 : 74.5 cm.; prov.: see under No. 6, COPIES (3); lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 152, No. 530 (as *Rubens*); *Rooses*, I, pp. 80-82, under Nos. 68-80; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, v, 1910, p. 284; *Glück*, 1933, p. 13 (as *Studio of Rubens, retouched by Rubens*); *Van*

Puyvelde, Rome, pp. 155, 156 (as *Rubens*); *Norris, 1953*, p. 108 (as *Studio of Rubens*); *Pallavicini, Rome, Cat. Zeri*, p. 234, No. 443, pl. 443 (as *Studio of Rubens, retouched by Rubens*); (2) Drawing by Nicolaas Ryckmans, Vienna, Albertina, No. 8215; 185 : 124 mm.; lit.: *Rooses, I*, pp. 81, 82 (as *Rubens*); *Norris, 1953*, p. 108; (3) Engraving by Nicolaas Ryckmans (Fig. 21; *V.S.*, p. 209, No. 3); (4) Engraving by Peter Isselburg (Fig. 20; *V.S.*, p. 210, No. 5).

LITERATURE: *Prado, Cat. Madrazo*, No. 1509; *Rooses, I*, p. 79, No. 56; *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg*, p. 10, left; *Dillon*, pl. XIII, right; *K.d.K.*, p. 6, left; *Prado, Cat. 1963*, No. 1646.

St. Peter, looking up to the right, wears a pallium over his shoulder and holds a key in each hand.

8. ST. ANDREW (Fig. 22)

Oil on panel; 108 : 84 cm.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1649.

PROVENANCE: Don Francisco Gomez de Sandoval y Royas, Duke of Lerma, 1618; Queen Isabella Farnese, San Ildefonso, 1746; Spanish Royal Collections, Aranjuez; deposited in the Prado, 9 September 1829.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 23), Rome, Galleria Pallavicini; panel, 106 : 74.5 cm.; prov.: see under No. 6, COPIES (3); lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 152, No. 530 (as *Rubens*); *Rooses, I*, pp. 80-82, under Nos. 68-80; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, v, 1910, p. 284; *Glück, 1933*, p. 113 (as *Studio of Rubens, retouched by Rubens*); *Van Puyvelde, Rome*, pp. 155, 156 (as *Rubens*); *Norris, 1953*, p. 108 (as *Studio of Rubens*); *Pallavicini, Rome, Cat. Zeri*, p. 234, No. 443, pl. 443 (as *Studio of Rubens, retouched by Rubens*); (2) Drawing by Nicolaas Ryckmans, Vienna, Albertina, No. 8216; 182 : 124 mm.; lit.: *Rooses, I*, pp. 81, 82 (as *Rubens*); *Norris, 1953*, p. 108; (3) Engraving by Nicolaas Ryckmans (Fig. 25; *V.S.*, p. 209, No. 3); (4) Engraving by Peter Isselburg (Fig. 24; *V.S.*, p. 210, No. 5).

LITERATURE: *Prado, Cat. Madrazo*, No. 1512; *Rooses, I*, p. 79, No. 57; *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg*, p. 10, right; *Dillon*, pl. IX, right; *K.d.K.*, p. 6, right; *Prado, Cat. 1963*, No. 1649.

The upper part of the cross is seen, with the Saint behind it. He is looking to the left and leaning his right arm and shoulder on one of the cross-beams.

9. ST. JAMES THE GREATER (Fig. 26)

Oil on panel; 108 : 84 cm.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1648.

PROVENANCE: Don Francisco Gomez de Sandoval y Royas, Duke of Lerma, 1618; Queen Isabella Farnese, San Ildefonso, 1746; Spanish Royal Collections, Aranjuez; deposited in the Prado, 9 September 1829.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 27), Rome, Galleria Pallavicini; panel, 106 : 76.5 cm.; prov.: see under No. 6, COPIES (3); lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 152, No. 530 (as *Rubens*); *Rooses*, I, pp. 80–82, under Nos. 68–80; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p. 284; *Glück*, 1933, p. 13 (as *Studio of Rubens, retouched by Rubens*); *Van Puyvelde, Rome*, pp. 155, 156 (as *Rubens*); *Norris*, 1953, p. 108 (as *Studio of Rubens*); *Pallavicini, Rome, Cat. Zeri*, p. 234, No. 438, pl. 438 (as *Studio of Rubens, retouched by Rubens*); (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 91 : 74 cm.; prov.: S. Hartveld, Antwerp (1932); (3) Drawing by Nicolaas Ryckmans, Vienna, Albertina, No. 8220; 180 : 133 mm.; lit.: *Rooses*, I, p. 81 (as *Rubens*); *Norris*, 1953, p. 108; (4) Engraving by Nicolaas Ryckmans (Fig. 29; *V.S.*, p. 209, No. 3); (5) Engraving by Peter Isselburg (Fig. 28; *V.S.*, p. 210, No. 5).

LITERATURE: *Prado, Cat. Madrazo*, No. 1511; *Rooses*, I, p. 79, No. 58; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p. 11, left; *Dillon*, pl. IX, left; *K.d.K.*, p. 10, left; *Prado, Cat. 1963*, No. 1648.

The Saint's body is turned to the right, but he faces the spectator. He is dressed as a pilgrim with cloak and staff, according to the iconography adopted in the late Middle Ages under the influence of the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela (J. Braun, *Tracht und Attribute der Heiligen in der deutschen Kunst*, Stuttgart, 1943, cols. 346, 347).

10. ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST (Fig. 30)

Oil on panel; 108 : 84 cm.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1647.

PROVENANCE: Don Francisco Gomez de Sandoval y Royas, Duke of Lerma, 1618; Queen Isabella Farnese, San Ildefonso, 1746; Spanish Royal Collections, Aranjuez; deposited in the Prado, 9 September 1829.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 31), Rome, Galleria Pallavicini; panel, 105 : 75.5 cm.; prov.: see under No. 6, COPIES (3); lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 152, No. 530 (as *Rubens*); *Rooses*, I, pp. 80–82, under Nos. 68–80; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p. 284; *Glück*, 1933, p. 13 (as *Studio of Rubens, retouched by Rubens*); *Van Puyvelde, Rome*, pp. 155, 156 (as *Rubens*); *Norris*, 1953, p. 108 (as *Studio of Rubens*); *Pallavicini, Rome, Cat. Zeri*, p. 223, No. 433, pl. 433 (as *Studio of Rubens, retouched by Rubens*); (2) Drawing by Nicolaas Ryckmans, Vienna, Albertina, No. 8221; 185 : 132 mm.; lit.: *Rooses*, I, pp. 81, 82 (as *Rubens*); *Norris*, 1953, p. 108; (3) Engraving by Nicolaas Ryckmans (Fig. 33; *V.S.*, p. 209, No. 3); (4) Engraving by Peter Isselburg (Fig. 32; *V.S.*, p. 210, No. 5).

LITERATURE: *Prado, Cat. Madrazo*, No. 1510; *Rooses*, I, p. 79, No. 59; *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg*, p. 11, right; *Dillon*, pl. VIII, left; *K.d.K.*, p. 11, right; *Glück*, 1933, pp. 2, 4, repr.; *Prado, Cat. 1963*, No. 1647.

The Evangelist, whose face is brightly illuminated, is looking downwards to the left. He holds in his left hand his attribute, the Communion chalice filled with poison, with which his persecutors tried to murder him.

11. ST. PHILIP (Fig. 34)

Oil on panel; 108 : 84 cm.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1650.

PROVENANCE: Don Francisco Gomez de Sandoval y Royas, Duke of Lerma, 1618; Queen Isabella Farnese, San Ildefonso, 1746; Spanish Royal Collections, Aranjuez; deposited in the Prado, 9 September 1829.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 35), Rome, Galleria Pallavicini; panel, 106 : 73.5 cm.; prov.: see under No. 6, COPIES (3); lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 152, No. 530 (as *Rubens*); *Rooses*, I, pp. 80–82, under Nos. 68–80; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p. 284; *Glück*, 1933, p. 13 (as *Studio of Rubens, retouched by Rubens*); *Van Puyvelde, Rome*, pp. 155, 156 (as *Rubens*); *Norris*, 1953, p. 108 (as *Studio of Rubens*); *Pallavicini, Rome, Cat. Zeri*, p. 234, No. 441, pl. 441 (as *Studio of Rubens, retouched by Rubens*); (2) Painting, *St. Peter*, Washington, National Gallery of Art, Cat. 1965, No. 1584, panel, 94 : 65.5 cm.; prov.: E. Boross, New York; Mrs. W.R. Timken, New York; acquired in 1959; exh.: *Detroit*, 1936, No. 15 (as *Rubens*); lit.: *Art News*, 15 February 1936, p. 6, repr. (as *Rubens*); *Goris-Held*, p. 36, No. 66 (as *Rubens*); (3)

Drawing by Nicolaas Ryckmans, Vienna, Albertina, No. 8219; 184 : 126 mm.; lit.: *Rooses*, I, pp. 81, 82 (as *Rubens*); (4) Engraving by Nicolaas Ryckmans (Fig. 37; *V.S.*, p. 209, No. 3); (5) Engraving by Peter Isselburg (Fig. 36; *V.S.*, p. 210, No. 5).

LITERATURE: *Prado, Cat. Madrazo*, No. 1650; *Rooses*, I, p. 80, No. 61; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p. 12, right; *Dillon*, pl. x, left; *K.d.K.*, p. 11, right; *Prado, Cat. 1963*, No. 1650.

St. Philip is looking to the right and holding with his right arm the cross on which he is said to have been martyred.

12. ST. BARTHOLOMEW (Fig. 38)

Oil on panel; 108 : 84 cm.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1652.

PROVENANCE: Don Francisco Gomez de Sandoval y Royas, Duke of Lerma, 1618; Queen Isabella Farnese, San Ildefonso, 1746; Spanish Royal Collections, Aranjuez; deposited in the Prado, 9 September 1829.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 39), Rome, Galleria Pallavicini; panel, 105.5 : 75 cm.; prov.: see under No. 6, COPIES (3); lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 152, No. 530 (as *Rubens*); *Rooses*, I, pp. 80–82, under Nos. 68–80; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p. 284; *Glück*, 1933, p. 13 (as *Studio of Rubens, retouched by Rubens*); *Van Puyvelde, Rome*, pp. 155, 156 (as *Rubens*); *Norris*, 1953, p. 108 (as *Studio of Rubens*); *Pallavicini, Rome, Cat. Zeri*, p. 234, No. 439, pl. 439 (as *Studio of Rubens, retouched by Rubens*); (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 61 : 50.5 cm.; prov.: P. Kronthal, London (1949); (3) Drawing by Nicolaas Ryckmans, Vienna, Albertina, No. 8222; 180 : 130 mm.; lit.: *Rooses*, I, pp. 81, 82 (as *Rubens*); *Norris*, 1953, p. 108; (4) Engraving by Nicolaas Ryckmans (Fig. 41; *V.S.*, p. 209, No. 3); (5) Engraving by Peter Isselburg (Fig. 40; *V.S.*, p. 210, No. 5).

LITERATURE: *Prado, Cat. Madrazo*, No. 1531; *Rooses*, I, p. 80, No. 62; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p. 13, left; *Dillon*, pl. XI, left; *K.d.K.*, p. 9, left; *Prado, Cat. 1963*, No. 1652.

The bald Apostle is looking up to the right in ecstasy. He presses his left hand humbly to his breast, while with his right he holds the knife with which he is said to have been flayed alive.

13. ST. THOMAS (Fig. 42)

Oil on panel; 108 : 84 cm.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1654.

PROVENANCE: Don Francisco Gomez de Sandoval y Royas, Duke of Lerma, 1618; Queen Isabella Farnese, San Ildefonso, 1746; Spanish Royal Collections, Aranjuez; deposited in the Prado, 9 September 1829.

COPIES: (1) Painting, *St. Simon* (Fig. 43), Rome, Galleria Pallavicini; panel, 105.5 : 74 cm.; prov.: see under No. 6, COPIES (3); lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 152, No. 530 (as *Rubens*); *Rooses*, I, pp. 80–82, under Nos. 68–80; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, v, 1910, p. 284; *Glück*, 1933, p. 13 (as *Studio of Rubens, retouched by Rubens*); *Van Puyvelde, Rome*, pp. 155, 156 (as *Rubens*); *Norris*, 1953, p. 108 (as *Studio of Rubens*); *Pallavicini, Rome, Cat. Zeri*, p. 233, No. 436, pl. 436 (as *Studio of Rubens, retouched by Rubens, St. James the Less*); (2) Drawing by Nicolaas Ryckmans, *St. Simon, Vienna*, Albertina, No. 8225; 180 : 131 mm.; lit.: *Rooses*, I, pp. 81, 82 (as *Rubens*); *Norris*, 1953, p. 108; (3) Engraving by Nicolaas Ryckmans, *St. Simon* (Fig. 45; *V.S.*, p. 209, No. 3); (4) Engraving by Peter Isselburg (Fig. 44; *V.S.*, p. 210, No. 5).

LITERATURE: *Prado, Cat. Madrazo*, No. 1533 (as *St. Matthias*); *Rooses*, I, p. 80, No. 64 (as *St. Simon*); *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p. 14, left (as *St. Simon*); *Dillon*, pl. XII, left (as *St. Simon*); *K.d.K.*, p. 8, left (as *St. Simon*); *Glück*, 1933, p. 2, repr. (as *St. Simon*); *Prado, Cat.* 1963, No. 1654; J. Müller Hofstede, *Eine Kreidestudie von Rubens für den Kreuzaufrichtungsaltar, Pantheon*, xxv, 1967, pp. 38–43, fig. 5; A. Monballieu, *Bij de iconografie van Rubens' Rockox-epitafium, Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen*, 1970, p. 136.

The Apostle, depicted as a bald, aged man, is turned to the right in three-quarter face. He is absorbed in the reading of Scripture. His attribute is the lance, the instrument of his supposed martyrdom in India.

The same type of head, in a similar attitude, was used by Rubens for the figure of St. Amandus on the outer side of the left-hand panel of the *Raising of the Cross* triptych (1610–11) in Antwerp Cathedral (*K.d.K.*, p. 37). The Apostle's head also recurs, seen from another angle, in *The Tribute Money* (c. 1611–12) in the M.H. de Young Memorial Museum at San Francisco (*K.d.K.*, p. 55).

14. ST. MATTHEW (Fig. 46)

Oil on panel; 108 : 84 cm.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1656.

PROVENANCE: Don Francisco Gomez de Sandoval y Royas, Duke of Lerma, 1618; Queen Isabella Farnese, San Ildefonso, 1746; Spanish Royal Collections, Aranjuez; deposited in the Prado, 9 September 1829.

COPIES: (1) Painting, *St. Thomas* (Fig. 47), Rome, Galleria Pallavicini; panel: 106 : 73 cm.; prov.: see under No. 6, COPIES (3); lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 152, No. 530 (as *Rubens*); *Rooses*, I, pp. 80–82, under Nos. 68–80; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, v, 1910, p. 284; *Glück*, 1933, p. 13 (as *Studio of Rubens, retouched by Rubens*); *Van Puyvelde, Rome*, pp. 155, 156 (as *Rubens*); *Norris*, 1953, p. 108, fig. 88 (as *Studio of Rubens*); *Pallavicini, Rome, Cat. Zeri*, p. 233, No. 435, pl. 435 (as *Studio of Rubens, retouched by Rubens, St. Thomas*); (2) Drawing by Nicolaas Ryckmans, *St. Thomas*, Vienna, Albertina, No. 8223; 180 : 130 mm.; lit.: *Rooses*, I, pp. 81, 82 (as *Rubens*); *Norris*, 1953, p. 108; (3) Engraving by Nicolaas Ryckmans, *St. Thomas* (Fig. 49; *V.S.*, p. 209, No. 3); (4) Engraving by Peter Isselburg (Fig. 48; *V.S.*, p. 210, No. 5).

LITERATURE: *Prado, Cat. Madrazo*, No. 1535 (as *St. Jude*); *Rooses*, I, p. 79, No. 60 (as *St. Thomas*); *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 12, left (as *St. Thomas*); *Dillon*, pl. VIII, right (as *St. Thomas*); *K.d.K.*, p. 11, left (as *St. Thomas*); *Glück*, 1933, pp. 5, 20, 24, repr. (as *St. Thomas*); *Prado, Cat. 1963*, No. 1656 (as *St. Jude*); M. Jaffé, *Rubens in Italy. Part II: Some rediscovered Works of the first Phase, The Burlington Magazine*, CX, 1968, p. 180; E. Larsen, *Three lesser known Works by Rubens, Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen*, 1969, pp. 155, 156, repr. (as *St. Thomas*); A. Monballieu, *Bij de iconografie van Rubens' Rockox-epitafium, Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen*, 1970, pp. 138 (repr.), 139 (as *St. Thomas*).

The Apostle's head is turned to the left in three-quarter face. He holds a halberd in his right hand. The motif of a young man's head, used for this figure, recurs in works of about the same date such as *The Judgment of Solomon* in the Prado (G. Glück, *Ein verkanntes Werk von Rubens im Prado zu Madrid, Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, I, 1932, p. 272 [repr.] and the so-called *Commander dressed in Armour, with two Pages* in the Weitzner Gallery, London (*Cat. Exh. Weltkunst aus Privatbesitz, Cologne*, 1968, No. F25, fig. XIX). It is a type that Rubens had used during his Italian years in such works as

The Crowning with Thorns at Grasse (*K.d.K.*, p. 2) and *The Transfiguration* at Nancy (*K.d.K.*, p. 15).

15. ST. JAMES THE LESS (Fig. 50)

Oil on panel; 108 : 84 cm.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1651.

PROVENANCE: Don Francisco Gomez de Sandoval y Royas, Duke of Lerma, 1618; Queen Isabella Farnese, San Ildefonso, 1746; Spanish Royal Collections, Aranjuez; deposited in the Prado, 9 September 1829.

COPIES: (1) Painting, *St. Matthew* (Fig. 51), Rome, Galleria Pallavicini; panel, 106 : 74.5 cm.; prov.: see under No. 6, COPIES (3); lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 152, No. 530 (as *Rubens*); *Rooses*, I, pp. 80-82, under Nos. 68-80; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, v, 1910, p. 284; *Glück*, 1933, p. 13 (as *Studio of Rubens, retouched by Rubens*); *Van Puyvelde, Rome*, pp. 155, 156 (as *Rubens*); *Norris*, 1953, p. 108 (as *Studio of Rubens*); *Pallavicini, Rome, Cat. Zeri*, p. 234, No. 440 (as *Studio of Rubens, St. Jude*); (2) Drawing by Nicolaas Ryckmans, *St. Matthew*, Vienna, Albertina, No. 8224; 180 : 127 mm.; lit.: *Rooses*, I, pp. 81, 82 (as *Rubens*); *Norris*, 1953, p. 108; (3) Engraving by Nicolaas Ryckmans, *St. Matthew* (Fig. 53; *V.S.*, p. 209, No. 3); (4) Engraving by Peter Isselburg (Fig. 52, *V.S.*, p. 210, No. 5).

LITERATURE: *Prado, Cat. Madrazo*, No. 1514 (as *St. Thomas*); *Rooses*, I, p. 80, No. 63 (as *St. Matthew*); *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 13, right (as *St. Matthew*); *Dillon*, pl. x, right (as *St. Matthew*); *K.d.K.*, p. 9, right (as *St. Matthew*); *Norris*, 1953, pp. 108, 109, repr. (as *St. Thomas*); *Prado, Cat. 1963*, No. 1651 (as *St. Matthew*).

The Apostle, seen from the front, wears an ample cowl and holds a carpenter's square in his right hand. The head in this picture was also used by Rubens for one of the Pharisees in *The Tribute Money* (1611-12), now in the M.H. de Young Memorial Museum at San Francisco (*K.d.K.*, p. 55).

16. ST. SIMON (Fig. 54)

Oil on canvas; 108 : 84 cm.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1655.

PROVENANCE: Don Francisco Gomez de Sandoval y Royas, Duke of Lerma, 1618; Queen Isabella Farnese, San Ildefonso, 1746; Spanish Royal Collections, Aranjuez; deposited in the Prado, 9 September 1829.

COPIES: (1) Painting, *St. Jude* (Fig. 55), Rome, Galleria Pallavicini; panel, 106 : 74 cm.; prov.: see under No. 6, COPIES (3); lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 152, No. 530 (as *Rubens*); *Rooses*, I, pp. 80-82, under Nos. 68-80; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, v, 1910, p. 284; *Glück*, 1933, p. 13 (as *Studio of Rubens, retouched by Rubens*); *Van Puyvelde, Rome*, pp. 155, 156 (as *Rubens*); *Norris*, 1953, p. 108 (as *Studio of Rubens*); *Pallavicini, Rome, Cat. Zeri*, p. 234, No. 437 (as *Studio of Rubens, retouched by Rubens, St. Simon*); (2) Drawing by Nicolaas Ryckmans, *St. Jude*, Vienna, Albertina, No. 8226; 180 : 126 mm.; lit.: *Rooses*, I, pp. 81, 82 (as *Rubens*); *Norris*, 1953, p. 108; (3) Engraving by Nicolaas Ryckmans, *St. Jude* (Fig. 57; *V.S.*, p. 209, No. 3); (4) Engraving by Peter Isselburg (Fig. 56; *V.S.*, p. 210, No. 5).

LITERATURE: *Prado, Cat. Madrazo*, No. 1534; *Rooses*, I, p. 80, No. 65 (as *St. Jude*); *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg*, p. 14, right (as *St. Jude*); *Dillon*, pl. XI, right (as *St. Jude*); *K.d.K.*, p. 8, right (as *St. Jude*); *Prado, Cat. 1963*, No. 1655.

St. Simon, facing left in full profile, is turning the pages of a volume of Scripture. His left hand rests on the saw with which he is said to have been done to death.

17. ST. MATTHIAS (Fig. 58)

Oil on panel; 108 : 84 cm.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1653.

PROVENANCE: Don Francisco Gomez de Sandoval y Royas, Duke of Lerma, 1618; Queen Isabella Farnese, San Ildefonso, 1746; Spanish Royal Collections, Aranjuez; deposited in the Prado, 9 September 1829.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 59), Rome, Galleria Pallavicini; panel, 105 : 74 cm.; prov.: see under No. 6, COPIES (3); lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 152, No. 530 (as *Rubens*); *Rooses*, I, pp. 80-82, under Nos. 68-80; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, v, 1910, p. 284; *Glück*, 1933, p. 13 (as *Studio of Rubens, retouched by Rubens*); *Van Puyvelde, Rome*, pp. 155, 156 (as *Rubens*); *Norris*, 1953, p. 108 (as *Studio of Rubens*); *Pallavicini, Rome, Cat. Zeri*, p. 234, No. 442, pl. 442 (as *Studio of Rubens, retouched by Rubens*); (2) Drawing by Nicolaas Ryckmans, Vienna, Albertina, No. 8218; 183 : 130 mm.; lit.: *Rooses*, I, pp. 81, 82 (as *Rubens*); *Norris*, 1953, p. 108; (3) Engraving by

Nicolaas Ryckmans (Fig. 61; *V.S.*, p. 209, No. 3); (4) Engraving by Peter Isselburg (Fig. 60; *V.S.*, p. 210, No. 5).

LITERATURE: *Prado, Cat. Madrazo*, No. 1532 (as *St. Matthew*); *Rooses*, I, p. 80, No. 66; *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg*, p. 15, left; *Dillon*, pl. XIII, left; *K.d.K.*, p. 7, left; *Prado, Cat. 1963*, No. 1653.

The Apostle is looking upwards to the right, with an axe in his left hand.

18. ST. PAUL (Fig. 62)

Oil on panel; 108 : 84 cm.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1657.

PROVENANCE: Don Francisco Gomez de Sandoval y Royas, Duke of Lerma, 1618; Queen Isabella Farnese, San Ildefonso, 1746; Spanish Royal Collections, Aranjuez; deposited in the Prado, 9 September 1829.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 63), Rome, Galleria Pallavicini; panel, 105 : 74 cm.; prov.: see under No. 6, COPIES (3); lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 152, No. 530 (as *Rubens*); *Rooses*, I, pp. 80–82, under Nos. 68–80; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p. 284; *Glück*, 1933, p. 13 (as *Studio of Rubens, retouched by Rubens*); *Van Puyvelde, Rome*, pp. 155, 156 (as *Rubens*); *Norris*, 1953, p. 108, fig. 90 (as *Studio of Rubens*); *Pallavicini, Rome, Cat. Zeri*, p. 233, No. 434, pl. 434 (as *Studio of Rubens, retouched by Rubens*); (2) Drawing by Nicolaas Ryckmans, Vienna, Albertina, No. 8217; 180 : 140 mm.; lit.: *Rooses*, I, pp. 81, 82 (as *Rubens*); *Norris*, 1953, p. 108; (3) Engraving by Nicolaas Ryckmans (Fig. 65; *V.S.*, p. 209, No. 3); (4) Engraving by Peter Isselburg (Fig. 64; *V.S.*, p. 210, No. 5).

LITERATURE: *Prado, Cat. Madrazo*, No. 1536; *Rooses*, I, p. 80, No. 67; *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg*, p. 15, right; *Dillon*, pl. XII, right; *K.d.K.*, p. 7, right; *Glück*, 1933, pp. 2, 3, 24, fig. 2; *Norris*, 1953, pp. 108, 109, repr.; *Prado, Cat. 1963*, No. 1657.

St. Paul is seen in three-quarter face, with two of his attributes. With his right hand he grasps the hilt of a sword, and in his left he holds a book.

19-31. THE "APOSTOLADO LEUCHTENBERG"

In 1927–29 an incomplete series of pictures of the Apostles, ascribed to Rubens by Burchard and Glück, was in the possession of the Vienna firm of E. and A.

Silberman, who declared that it had belonged to the Duke of Leuchtenberg's collection at St. Petersburg; it is not clear, however, on what ground this statement was based. The paintings are not mentioned in the inventory of the collection drawn up in 1841, when it was still at Munich (J.N. Muxel, *Gemälde Sammlung in München seiner königl. Hobeit des Dom Augusto Herzogs von Leuchtenberg und Santa Cruz...*, Munich, 1841). The collection was transferred to St. Petersburg before 1871 (as stated in C. Gould, *National Gallery Catalogues. The sixteenth-century Venetian School*, London, 1959, p. 28), and it is possible that these paintings were added to it subsequently. However, the attribution to Rubens is in any case untenable. Some of the paintings are variants of those in the Prado series, and others are faithful repetitions of them, but the quality is too mediocre for Rubens himself to have painted them.

19. CHRIST AS SALVATOR MUNDI

Oil on panel; approximately 92.5 : 66.5 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: ? Duke of Leuchtenberg, St. Petersburg.

COPY: Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 105 : 75.5 cm.; prov.: Count Wilhelm von Sickingen, sale, Vienna, January 1819, lot 168; Ernst Stainhauser; Antonia Lux (1828); Ernst August of Cumberland, Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg (1917); Heinrich Nüsslein (1922); sale, Lucerne (Fischer), 1 December 1956, lot 2570 (repr.); sale, Lucerne (Fischer), 3-7 December 1963, lot 1653 (repr.); exh.: *Vienna, 1889*, No. 173 (as *Van Dyck and Rubens*).

20. ST. PETER (Fig. 66)

Oil on panel; 92.5 : 66.5 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: ? Duke of Leuchtenberg, St. Petersburg; E. and A. Silberman, Vienna, 1928-29; sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), 1 June 1932 et seqq., lot 41 (repr.).

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 105 : 75.5 cm.; prov.: see under No. 19, COPY; exh.: *Vienna*, 1889, No. 117 (as *De Crayer*); (2) Painting, Onteniente-Valencia, Museo La Ereta; canvas, 85 : 63 cm.; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 81.5 : 62.5 cm.; prov.: sale, Munich (H. Helbing), 3-4 May 1933, lot 475 (repr.).

In contrast to the Prado version (No. 7, Fig. 18), in which the Apostle holds a key in each hand, he is here shown holding both keys in his left. The position of his hand and the fall of his garment also differ from the Madrid original.

21. ST. ANDREW (Fig. 67)

Oil on panel; 93 : 66.5 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: ? Duke of Leuchtenberg, St. Petersburg; E. and A. Silberman, Vienna, 1928-29.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 105 : 75.5 cm.; prov.: see under No. 19, COPY; exh.: *Vienna*, 1889, No. 168 (as *attributed to Jordaens*); (2) Painting, Onteniente-Valencia, Museo la Ereta; canvas, 85 : 63 cm.

Unlike the original (No. 8, Fig. 22), this shows the Apostle holding a book.

22. ST. JAMES THE GREATER (Fig. 68)

Oil on panel; 92.5 : 66.5 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: ? Duke of Leuchtenberg, St. Petersburg; E. and A. Silberman, Vienna, 1927; purchased in the same year by Curt Benedict, Berlin, who sold it in 1928; sale, Paris (Charpentier), 10 June 1958 et seqq., lot 114 (as *attributed to Rubens*).

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 105 : 75.5 cm.; prov.: see under No. 19, COPY; exh.: *Vienna*, 1889, No. 175 (as *Jordaens*); (2) Painting, Onteniente-Valencia, Museo la Ereta; canvas, 85 : 63 cm.

Unlike the original (No. 9, Fig. 26), the book here is not seen from the back; the Apostle's staff is shorter, and the folds of the cloak are different.

23. ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST

Oil on panel; 93 : 67 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: ? Duke of Leuchtenberg, St. Petersburg; E. and A. Silberman, Vienna, 1928; Goudstikker, sale, Amsterdam, November-December, 1929, lot 36.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 105 : 75.5 cm.; prov.: see under No. 19, COPY; exh.: *Vienna, 1889*, No. 171 (as *T. van Thulden*); (2) Painting, Onteniente-Valencia, Museo la Ereta; canvas, 85 : 63 cm.

24. ST. PHILIP (Fig. 69)

Oil on panel; 92.5 : 66.5 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: ? Duke of Leuchtenberg, St. Petersburg; E. and A. Silberman, Vienna, 1927.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 105 : 75.5 cm.; prov.: see under No. 19, COPY; exh.: *Vienna, 1889*, No. 176 (as *T. van Thulden*); (2) Painting, Onteniente-Valencia, Museo la Ereta, canvas, 85 : 63 cm.

Instead of a cross as in the Prado painting (No. 11, Fig. 34), St. Philip is here seen holding a staff.

25. ST. BARTHOLOMEW (Fig. 70)

Oil on panel; 92 : 67 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: ? Duke of Leuchtenberg, St. Petersburg; E. and A. Silberman, Vienna, 1927-28.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 105 : 75.5 cm.; prov.: see under No. 19, COPY; exh.: *Vienna, 1889*, No. 166 (as *attributed to Jordaens*); (2) Painting, Onteniente-Valencia, Museo la Ereta; canvas, 85 : 63 cm.

Apart from slight differences in the folds of the garment, this is a fairly exact copy of the original (No. 12, Fig. 38).

26. ST. THOMAS

Oil on panel; approximately 92.5 : 66.5 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: ? Duke of Leuchtenberg, St. Petersburg.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 105 : 75.5 cm.; prov.: see under No. 19, COPY; exh.: *Vienna, 1889, No. 172 (as Jordaens or De Crayer and Rubens)*; (2) Painting, Onteniente-Valencia, Museo la Ereta; canvas, 85 : 63 cm.

27. ST. MATTHEW (Fig. 71)

Oil on panel; 92.5 : 66.5 cm.

PROVENANCE: ? Duke of Leuchtenberg, St. Petersburg; E. and A. Silberman, Vienna, 1927; E. & A. Silberman, New York, 1946.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 105 : 75.5 cm.; prov.: see under No. 19, COPY; exh.: *Vienna, 1889, No. 167 (as attributed to Jordaens)*; (2) Painting, Onteniente-Valencia, Museo la Ereta; canvas, 85 : 63 cm.

LITERATURE: *The Art Quarterly*, IX, 1946, p. 181, repr. (as *St. Thomas*).

The Saint is not shown here with his attribute, the halberd, as he is in the original (No. 14, Fig. 46). The position of his hands is also different from that in the Madrid painting.

28. ST. JAMES THE LESS (Fig. 72)

Oil on panel; 92.5 : 67.5 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: ? Duke of Leuchtenberg, St. Petersburg; E. and A. Silberman, Vienna, 1928; Goudstikker, sale, Amsterdam, November-December 1929, lot 35 (repr.; as *St. Matthew*); R. Dicop, Uccle (Brussels), 1960-61.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 61.5 : 49.5 cm.; prov.: Baron Hermann von Nagel, Schloss Ittlingen (1964); (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 105 : 75.5 cm.; prov.: see under No. 19, COPY; exh.: *Vienna, 1889, No. 174 (as De Crayer)*; (3) Painting, Onteniente-Valencia, Museo la Ereta; canvas, 85 : 63 cm.

The only noticeable difference between this and the original (No. 15, Fig. 50) is that the carpenter's square carried by the Apostle is longer.

29. ST. SIMON

Oil on panel; approximately 92.5 : 66.5 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: ? Duke of Leuchtenberg, St. Petersburg.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 105 : 75.5 cm.; prov.: see under No. 19, COPY; exh.: *Vienna, 1889, No. 178 (as De Crayer)*; (2) Painting, Onteniente-Valencia, Museo la Ereta; canvas, 85 : 63 cm.

30. ST. MATTHIAS

Oil on panel; approximately 92.5 : 66.5 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: ? Duke of Leuchtenberg, St. Petersburg.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 105 : 75.5 cm.; prov.: see under No. 19, COPY; exh.: *Vienna, 1889, No. 170 (as De Crayer and Rubens)*; (2) Painting, Onteniente-Valencia, Museo la Ereta; canvas, 85 : 63 cm.

31. ST. PAUL

Oil on panel; approximately 92.5 : 66.5 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: ? Duke of Leuchtenberg, St. Petersburg.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 105 : 75.5 cm.; prov.: see under No. 19, COPY; exh.: *Vienna, 1889*, No. 169 (as *attributed to De Crayer*); (2) Painting, Onteniente-Valencia, Museo la Ereta; canvas, 85 : 63 cm.; (3) Painting, Oslo, Nasjonalgalleriet; panel, 92.5 : 67 cm.; (4) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 92.5 : 66 cm.; prov.: Egon Müller (*Vienna, 1930*); sale, London (Sotheby's), 2 December 1964, lot 34; exh.: *Drei Jahrhunderte Vlämische Kunst, Sezession, Vienna, 1930*, No. 170 (repr.).

32-46. SS. APOSTOLORUM ICONES

The following compositions form a series of fifteen full-length figures: thirteen *Apostles* (Nos. 34-46), *Christ as Salvator Mundi* (No. 32) and *The Holy Virgin as Regina Cœli* (No. 33). Each figure stands on a pedestal with a cartouche underneath, on which the name is inscribed. The series was published in the form of engravings by Cornelis Galle the Elder, entitled *SS. Apostolorum Icones a Pet. Paulo Rubenio delineatae*. Apart from the title-page depicting the instruments of the Apostles' martyrdom (Fig. 73), each engraving bears the "address" *P.P. Rubens pinxit* and *Corn. Galle excudit*, while five of them—viz. *Christ as Salvator Mundi* (No. 32; Fig. 74), *St. Peter* (No. 34; Fig. 76), *St. John* (No. 37; Fig. 79), *St. James the Less* (No. 42; Fig. 84) and *St. Paul* (No. 46; Fig. 88)—also bear the indication *S. a Bolswert sculp[sit]*. One engraving, that of *St. Andrew* (No. 35; Fig. 77), is by Pieter Clouwet. As the latter did not become a master in the Guild of St. Luke at Antwerp until 1646, while Cornelis Galle died in 1650, the series must have been published between these two dates. Rubens's designs, however, must clearly have been executed about 1615. Apart from the marked plasticity of the style, certain figures such as *Christ as Salvator Mundi*, *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* are literal repetitions from pictures painted by him by that time.

We may also refer to an item of 14 January 1615 in the account-book of Balthasar I Moretus, indicating that he bought for 110 guilders from his brother-in-law, the engraver and publisher Theodoor Galle, "les tableaux des apostres avec nostre Seigneur, N^o Dame et St Jean, à l'imitation de Rubens" (*Rooses*, I, p. 82, n. 3). These paintings were inherited by his nephew Balthasar II Moretus: an inventory of his pictures, made up in 1658, includes "Christus, Maria en de 13 Apostelen, in 15 stucken cotype nae Rubens" ("Christ, the Virgin and the thirteen Apostles, in fifteen paintings copied from Rubens"), valued at only 60 guilders (*Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, p. 42). Since the number of these copies is the same as that of the engravings published by Cornelis

Galle, and since the representations of Christ and the Virgin that accompanied the Apostle series are expressly mentioned in Moretus's accounts, it is reasonable to suppose that the copies which were in Theodoor Galle's possession and the engravings published by his brother Cornelis were made from the same compositions by Rubens. The date of 14 January 1615 would thus be a *terminus ante quem*. One might go further and conjecture that the copies in question were the modelli, perhaps executed by Theodoor Galle himself, from which the engravings were later made. There would be nothing out of the ordinary in such a lapse of time between design and execution: for instance, the modelli designed before 1619 for the engravings of Rubens's *Miracles of St. Ignatius Loyola* and *Miracles of St. Francis Xavier* were engraved by Marinus van der Goes as late as 1632-33.

In catalogues of Rubens prints the present series is wrongly extended to comprise twenty-three items, viz. representations of four angels and four evangelists in addition to the fifteen already mentioned (Cf. R. Hecquet, *Catalogue des estampes gravées d'après Rubens*, Paris, 1751, p. 108, No. 3; F. Basan, *Catalogue des estampes gravées d'après Rubens*, Paris, 1767, p. 198, No. 3; *V.S.*, p. 209, No. 1; and E. Dutuit, *Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes*, III, Paris-London, 1885, p. 229, No. 1). The other eight engravings exist, but the address shows them to have been published by Gillis Hendrickx, which rules out a connection with the Galle series.

32. CHRIST AS SALVATOR MUNDI

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) ? Painting, whereabouts unknown; prov.: purchased from Theodoor Galle by Balthasar I Moretus, 1615; Balthasar II Moretus, 1658; lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, p. 353, No. 1; *Roses*, I, p. 82, n. 3; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 42, 48; (2) Engraving by S. a Bolswert (Fig. 74; *V.S.*, p. 209, under No. 1).

Christ is seen in front view, holding a globe in his left hand and raising his right in blessing. This is a literal repetition of the figure of Christ on the outside of the left-hand panel of the Jan Michielsen triptych of 1617-18 (*Le Christ à la Paille*), now in the Antwerp Museum (C. Eisler, *Rubens' Use of the Northern Past - the Michiels Triptych and its Sources*, *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, XVI, 1967, p. 56, fig. 5).

33. THE HOLY VIRGIN AS REGINA CÆLI

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) ? Painting, whereabouts unknown; prov.: purchased from Theodoor Galle by Balthasar I Moretus, 1615; Balthasar II Moretus, 1658; lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, p. 353, No. 2; *Rooses*, I, p. 82, n. 3; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 42, 48; (2) Engraving (Fig. 75; *V.S.*, p. 209, under No. 1.).

The Virgin, crowned and holding a sceptre, is looking to the left. Except for a slight difference of attitude the figure is very similar to *The Holy Virgin as Regina Cæli* of about 1615, now lost, but known from an engraving by Cornelis Galle the Elder (A. Rosenberg, *Die Rubensstecher*, II, Vienna, 1893, repr. facing p. 14).

34. ST. PETER

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) ? Painting, whereabouts unknown; prov.: purchased from Theodoor Galle by Balthasar I Moretus, 1615; Balthasar II Moretus, 1658; lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, p. 354, No. 7; *Rooses*, I, p. 82, n. 3; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 42, 48; (2) Engraving by S. a Bolswert (Fig. 76; *V.S.*, p. 209, under No. 1.).

This St. Peter, with a key in each hand, is an exact repetition of the figure of the Saint in one of the paintings, forming a pair, that were formerly in the Capuchin church at Antwerp and date from 1615 or somewhat later (No. 49; Fig. 89).

35. ST. ANDREW

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) ? Painting, whereabouts unknown; prov.: purchased from Theodoor Galle by Balthasar I Moretus, 1615; Balthasar II Moretus, 1658; lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, p. 354, No. 10; *Rooses*, I, p. 82, n. 3; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 42, 48; (2) Engraving by P. Clouwet (Fig. 77; *V.S.*, p. 209, under No. 1.).

The Saint, leaning on his cross, looks meditatively at the spectator, supporting his head with his left hand and holding a book in his right.

36. ST. JAMES THE GREATER

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) ? Painting, whereabouts unknown; prov.: purchased from Theodoor Galle by Balthasar I Moretus, 1615; Balthasar II Moretus, 1658; lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, p. 354, No. 15; *Rooses*, I, p. 82, n. 3; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 42, 48; (2) Engraving (Fig. 78; *V.S.*, p. 209, under No. 1).

The Saint is seen full-face, in traditional pilgrim's garb; in his left hand he holds a staff and drinking-bowl.

37. ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) ? Painting, whereabouts unknown; prov.: purchased from Theodoor Galle by Balthasar I Moretus, 1615; Balthasar II Moretus, 1658; lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, p. 353, No. 6; *Rooses*, I, p. 82, n. 3; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 42, 48; (2) Engraving by S. a Bolswert (Fig. 79; *V.S.*, p. 209, under No. 1).

The Apostle is shown in three-quarter view, his body turned to the right. He looks up ecstatically towards heaven. In his left hand he holds the poisoned chalice; his right is held against his breast in a gesture of humility.

38. ST. PHILIP

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) ? Painting, whereabouts unknown; prov.: purchased from Theodoor Galle by Balthasar I Moretus, 1615; Balthasar II Moretus, 1658; lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, p. 354, No. 8; *Rooses*, I, p. 82, n. 3; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 42, 48; (2) Engraving (Fig. 80; *V.S.*, p. 209, under No. 1).

The Apostle is shown looking to the right. In his right hand he holds a book and in his left the instrument of his martyrdom, a tall cross (here a processional cross).

39. ST. BARTHOLOMEW

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) ? Painting, whereabouts unknown; prov.: purchased from Theodoor Galle by Balthasar I Moretus, 1615; Balthasar II Moretus, 1658; lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, p. 354, No. 11; *Rooses*, I, p. 82, n. 3; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 42, 48; (2) Engraving (Fig. 81; *V.S.*, p. 209, under No. 1).

The Saint is seen looking leftward, with a flaying-knife in his left hand and a book in his right.

40. ST. THOMAS

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) ? Painting, whereabouts unknown; prov.: purchased from Theodoor Galle by Balthasar I Moretus, 1615; Balthasar II Moretus, 1658; lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, p. 354, No. 13; *Rooses*, I, p. 82, n. 3; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 42, 48; (2) Engraving (Fig. 82; *V.S.*, p. 209, under No. 1).

The Saint's head is turned to the right; he holds a book under his right arm, and in his left hand one of the lances with which he was put to death.

41. ST. MATTHEW

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) ? Painting, whereabouts unknown; prov.: purchased from Theodoor Galle by Balthasar I Moretus, 1615; Balthasar II Moretus, 1658; lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, p. 353, No. 3; *Rooses*, I, p. 82, n. 3; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 42, 48; (2) Engraving (Fig. 83; *V.S.*, p. 209, under No. 1).

The Apostle is seen full-face, plunged in meditation. In his left hand he grasps his emblem, the halberd.

42. ST. JAMES THE LESS

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) ? Painting, whereabouts unknown; prov.: purchased from Theodoor Galle by Balthasar I Moretus, 1615; Balthasar II Moretus, 1658; lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, p. 354, No. 16; *Rooses*, I, p. 82, n. 3; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 42, 48; (2) Engraving by S. a Bolswert (Fig. 84; *V.S.*, p. 209, under No. 1).

The upper part of the Saint's body is slightly inclined to the right. He holds a book in his left hand, and leans with his left arm on a large club, with which he is said to have been killed. His head is very similar in type to St. Ives's in the painting of this Saint, datable about 1617, now at Detroit (II, No. 119; J.S. Held, *Rubens' St. Ives*, *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, XLIII, 1964, p. 48, repr.).

43. ST. SIMON

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) ? Painting, whereabouts unknown; prov.: purchased from Theodoor Galle by Balthasar I Moretus, 1615; Balthasar II Moretus, 1658; lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, p. 354, No. 12; *Rooses*, I, p. 82, n. 3; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 42, 48; (2) Engraving (Fig. 85; *V.S.*, p. 209, under No. 1).

The Apostle is seen writing, in three-quarter view to the right. Against his left leg is a saw, the implement with which he was done to death.

44. ST. JUDE

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) ? Painting, whereabouts unknown; prov.: purchased from Theodoor Galle by Balthasar I Moretus, 1615; Balthasar II Moretus, 1658; lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, p. 354, No. 14; *Rooses*, I, p. 82, n. 3; *Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 42, 48; (2) Engraving (Fig. 86; *V.S.*, p. 209, under No. 1).

The Saint's head is turned to the left. He holds a carpenter's rule in his right hand; his left, pressed to his bosom, is half-covered by his cloak.

45. ST. MATTHIAS

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) ? Painting, whereabouts unknown; prov.: purchased from Theodoor Galle by Balthasar I Moretus, 1615; Balthasar II Moretus, 1658; lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, p. 354, No. 9; *Rooses*, I, p. 82, n. 3; *Boubery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 42, 48; (2) Engraving (Fig. 87; *V.S.*, p. 209, under No. 1).

The Saint is seen in full face, gazing ecstatically to heaven. He holds an axe in his right hand, and beats his breast humbly with his left. His fervent countenance clearly belongs to the "Alessandro Morente" type found in many of Rubens's works dating from 1615 or shortly after, e.g. *Daniel in the Lions' Den* in the National Gallery, Washington (M. Jaffé, *Some recent Acquisitions of seventeenth-century Flemish Paintings, Report and Studies in the History of Art*, Washington, 1970, p. 6, fig. 1); *The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian* at Berlin (II, No. 145); and *The Stomping of St. Stephen* at Valenciennes (II, No. 146). The type is inspired by the famous Hellenistic head, supposedly of Alexander the Great (E. Schwarzenberg, *From the Alessandro Morente to the Alexandre Richelieu*, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXII, 1969, pp. 398-405).

46. ST. PAUL

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) ? Painting, whereabouts unknown; prov.: purchased from Theodoor Galle by Balthasar I Moretus, 1615; Balthasar II Moretus, 1658; lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, p. 354, No. 17; *Rooses*, I, p. 82, n. 3; *Boubery-Van den Wijngaert*, pp. 42, 48; (2) Engraving by S. a Bolswert (Fig. 88; *V.S.*, p. 209, under No. 1).

The Saint is clad in a wide tunic. He leans with both hands on the hilt of the sword, the instrument of his martyrdom.

Like the St. Peter in this series, this is a literal repetition of the corresponding painting formerly in the Capuchin church at Antwerp (No. 50; Fig. 90).

47-48. TWO PENDANTS: ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL

47. ST. PETER

Oil on panel; 97.5 : 70.5 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: Guild of the Romaniſts, Antwerp; sold, 7 July 1786, on occasion of the suppression of guilds and brotherhoods by the emperor Joseph II; offered by the Antwerp dealers Pilaer and Beeckmans to Thomas Harvey of Norwich, for 230 guineas, 6 February 1787; Bryan, sale, London, 18 May 1798, lot 24.

LITERATURE: W. Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting*, I, London, 1824, p. 282; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 210, No. 754; P. Rombouts and T. van Lierus, *De Liggeren en andere hiſtorische archieven van het Antwerpsch Sint-Lucasgilde*, I, Antwerp, n.d., p. 401; *Rooses*, II, p. 338, No. 482; E. Dilis, *La Confrérie des Romaniſtes, Annales de l'Académie royale d'Archéologie de Belgique*, LXX, 1922, pp. 445-448.

Rubens executed this and the following panel in 1614, on the occasion of his appointment as dean of the Antwerp Guild of the Romaniſts. In the guild accounts for that year we read: "Ter eeren van de glorieuſe Heijlighen ende Patronen van deſer Confraterniteit, ende oock vanden voors. deken, die met haere naemen genoemt is, ſoo heeft denzelven de broederschap vereert met twee groote contereitselen op panneelen by zyne handt geſchildert, representerende de voors. Heylighen Petrus en Paulus, die overzulx voortaan oock komen onder de Specificatie vande meubelen de broederschap aengaende, die jaerlix gewoonlick wordt overgelevert aende nieuwgecoſen deken. Twelck hier geſtelt wort voor memorie." ("In honour of the glorious Saints and Patrons of this Confraternity, and of the present dean who bears their names, the aforeſaid dean has conferred on the brotherhood the gift of two large portraits on panels by his own hand, representing Saints Peter and Paul, to be included henceforth in the Inventory Specification of the brotherhood's movable property which it is the cuſtom to deliver annually to the newly choſen dean; which gift is here recorded *pro memoria*."; E. Dilis, *op. cit.*, pp. 445, 446).

It has not previously been remarked that this entry refers not only to the connection between Rubens's paintings and the patronage of the Romaniſts by the Saints in queſtion (As Dilis points out [*op. cit.*, p. 421] the Guild was originally known as the "College of St. Peter and St. Paul"). The additional

point to be emphasized is that the document refers to the fact that the Saints were also Rubens's own patrons. His choice of subject was thus probably designed not only as a compliment to the Guild but also as a mark of honour to his own patron Saints.

The two panels were not permanently exhibited either in the Cathedral or in St. Joris's (George's), where the Guild successively possessed altars of its own. As the above quotation shows, they and other works of art belonging to the Guild were annually entrusted to the newly appointed dean. They were probably exhibited only on the feast-days of Saints Peter and Paul. This in any case was so, as Mols tells us, in about 1770 (*Rooses, loc. cit.*), when they were displayed on the Guild's altar in St. Joris's church. We should know nothing of the dimensions and material of these companion pieces if it were not for an important passage in a hitherto unpublished letter of 6 February 1787, now in the Rembrandt House at Amsterdam, in which the Antwerp dealers Pilaer and Beeckmans offer the two panels to Thomas Harvey of Norwich: "... nous venons de recevoir une partie de Tableaux de la première classe, dont voici la note... No. 6: Deux beaux tableaux de P.P. Rubens, l'un représente St. Pierre et l'autre St. Paul. Ces deux tableaux sont vendus dernièrement de la part de S.M. l'Empereur par la suppression des confréries. Rubens en avait fait présent ici à la Confrérie des Romains dont il était le chef, et sont peints l'année 1610 [sic] selon l'acte authentique qui se trouve signé par Rubens même au livre de la confrérie; ils sont peints sur Panneau, d'un fini précieux, et de la plus belle manière avec des Draperies superbes et des belles mains. Le prix est 230 guinées, haut 36 et large 26 pouces en riches cadres dorés, lesquelles Feu Mr. le Chanoine Knyff, qui était aussi chef de cette confrérie, a fait présent."

48. ST. PAUL

Oil on panel; 97.5 : 70.5 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: Guild of the Romanists, Antwerp; sold, 7 July 1786, on occasion of the suppression of guilds and brotherhoods by the emperor Joseph II; offered by the Antwerp dealers Pilaer and Beeckmans to Thomas Harvey of Norwich, for 230 guineas, 6 February 1787; Bryan, sale, London, 18 May 1798, lot 25.

LITERATURE: W. Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting*, I, London, 1824, p. 282; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 210, No. 775; P. Rombouts and T. van Lerijs, *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven van het Antwerpsch Sint-Lucasgilde*, I, Antwerp, n.d., p. 401; *Rooses*, II, p. 338, No. 483; E. Dilis, *La Confrérie des Romanistes, Annales de l'Académie royale d'Archéologie de Belgique*, LXX, 1922, pp. 445-448.

49-50. TWO PENDANTS: ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL

49. ST. PETER (Fig. 89)

Oil on canvas; 214 : 104 cm.; arched at the top.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: Capuchin Church, Antwerp; A. De Beule, Ghent, by whom deposited in the Museum there, 1905; K. Larisch, Aachen; Dr. C. ten Horn, Nijmegen.

COPY: Drawing, Copenhagen, Print Room of the Statens Museum for Kunst, "Rubens-Cantoor", No. 1, 8.

LITERATURE: *De Wit*, p. 124; *Descamps, Voyage*, p. 198; *Michel*, 1771, p. 103; *Reynolds*, p. 183; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 23, No. 80; *Ninth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, II, London, 1884, p. 482; *Rooses*, II, p. 339, No. 484; L. Maeterlinck, *Catalogue du Musée des Beaux-Arts*, Ghent, 1905, No. 135 bis; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p. 300.

The Saint is clad in a tunic with a mantle draped over it. He holds one of the two keys in each hand and is pointing upwards with one, downwards with the other.

This and the next painting were clearly designed as a pair, inspired by the somewhat analogous figures of Plato and Aristotle, the monumental *togati* in Raphael's *School of Athens* in the Vatican *Stanza della Segnatura* (*K.d.K., Raffael*, p. 69). The monitory gesture of Plato's raised finger especially is faithfully reproduced in the figure of St. Peter with the key.

Because of the paintings's exceptional height and rounding at the top it may be accepted that they are identical with the two pendants which, according to the notes of the eighteenth-century Antwerp printer Verdussen were originally in window-niches in the apse of the choir of the Capuchin church at Antwerp

(document formerly in the possession of Gustave van Havre, published in *Rooses*, II, p. 339, n. 1). At some time during the eighteenth century they were attached to, or displayed in front of, the doors to either side of the high altar that gave access to the priests' choir (a plan of the former Capuchin church showing these locations will be found in *De Wit*, pl. XIII). They were certainly transferred to their new location before c. 1748, the approximate date of De Wit's account of the Antwerp churches, in which these two pictures of apostles—erroneously described as saints of the Order—are mentioned as being “on the choir doors to either side of the high altar”.

For the purpose of dating we have the *terminus post quem* of 1613–14, at which time the church was built with the help of Rogier Clarisse (*Rooses-Ruelens*, II, pp. 205, 206; P. Hildebrand, *Rubens chez les Capucins, Etudes franciscaines*, XLVII, 1935, pp. 726–729). The paintings must have been executed fairly soon after the erection of the monastic church. The monumental conception of the two Princes of the Apostles and the powerful modelling of their faces and attire are characteristic of Rubens's style between about 1615 and 1620. As will be seen from the description of the variant of this representation of the two Apostles which is now at Schleissheim (No. 51; Fig. 92), we may also regard 1621 as a *terminus ante quem*. To judge from the photograph, the execution would seem to have been left to the studio to a large extent; it is no doubt relevant that De Wit says of the paintings that they “are attributed to Rubens or at all events to his school.”

Sir Joshua Reynolds wrote to Cunningham on 25 November 1785 that he intended to buy the pictures, which were by then much damaged, for £300 in order to have them restored to their original beauty. He proposed to have copies made which could then occupy the place of the originals (*Ninth Report...*, *loc. cit.*).

50. ST. PAUL (Fig. 90)

Oil on canvas; 214 : 104 cm.; arched at the top.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: Capuchin Church, Antwerp; A. De Beule, Ghent, by whom deposited in the Museum there, 1905; K. Larisch, Aachen; Dr. C. ten Horn, Nijmegen.

LITERATURE: *De Wit*, p. 124; *Descamps, Voyage*, p. 198; *Michel*, 1771, p. 103; *Reynolds*, p. 183; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 23, No. 80; *Ninth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, II, London, 1884, p. 482; *Rooses*, II, p. 339, No. 485; L. Maeterlinck, *Catalogue du Musée des Beaux-Arts*, Ghent, 1905, No. 135 ter; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p. 300.

Like St. Peter in the companion picture, St. Paul is clad in a tunic with a mantle draped over it. He is seen leaning with both hands on a sword, his attribute.

49-50a. ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 91)

Oil on panel; 52 : 67 cm., including a narrow strip of a later addition at the bottom.

Brussels, Private Collection.

PROVENANCE: Capt. W.A. Hankey of Beaulieu, Hastings; Charles Sedelmeyer, Paris, 1899; bought from him by Franz Philippson, Brussels; Jules Philippson, Brussels.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 60 : 72 cm.; prov.: St. Petersburg, Prince Yussupoff; lit.: *Rooses*, II, p. 340, No. 484¹ - 485¹ (as *Rubens*); (2) Engraving by R. Eynhoudts (*V.S.*, p. 108, No. 127).

EXHIBITED: *Works by the Old Masters and by Deceased Masters of the British School*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1885, No. 78; *Brussels*, 1910, No. 378; *Flemish and Belgian Art, 1300-1900*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1927, No. 274; *Exposition belge d'art ancien et moderne*, Société Hongroise des Beaux-Arts, Budapest, 1927, No. 17; *Tentoonstelling van Oud-Vlaamsche Kunst*, World Exhibition, Antwerp, 1930, No. 248; *Paris*, 1936, No. 57; *Brussels*, 1937, No. 31; *London*, 1950, No. 3; *Chefs-d'œuvres de l'art ancien*, Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, 1953, No. 39 (repr.); *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No. 23 (repr.); *Herinneringen aan P.P. Rubens*, Rubenshuis, Antwerp, 1958, No. 2 (repr.).

LITERATURE: H. Hymans, *Zur neuesten Rubensforschung*, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, N.F., IV, 1893, p. 16; *Sedelmeyer Gallery, The fifth Hundred Paintings by Old Masters*, Paris, 1899, p. 54, No. 45, repr.; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 100; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p. 176; *Dillon*, p. 213, pl. CXXXVI; *Trésors de l'Art belge au XVIIe siècle*, Brussels, 1912, p. 36, pl. VII; *K.d.K.*, p. 107; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, pp. 67, 68, No. 15, pl. 14; M. Jaffé, *Rubens at Rotterdam*, *The Burlington Magazine*, CXVI, 1954, p. 57.

Both the Apostles are here sketched on a single panel. Another difference from the finished pendants is that here they are depicted in an architectural setting. It seems quite probable that Rubens intended this sketch to show how the companion pictures ought to look in the two separate window-niches of the choir.

With one exception, this sketch has always been dated either 1615 or between 1615 and 1620. Only Jaffé held, wrongly, that it was "sensibly earlier" than 1615.

51. ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL (Fig. 92)

Oil on canvas; 243 : 190 cm.

Schleissheim, Schloss. Inv. No. 336-3904.

PROVENANCE: ? Rubens's estate; ? private collector, Bruges; ? Johann-Wilhelm, Elector Palatine (Düsseldorf, 1658-1716); Schleissheim, Schloss, 1761; Hofgartengalerie, Munich 1781; transferred to the Alte Pinakothek in 1836; again removed to Schleissheim after 1945.

COPIES: (1) Drawing (Fig. 93), Vienna, Albertina, No. 8228; lit.: *Rooses*, v, p. 165 (as *retouched by Rubens*); H. Knackfuss, *Rubens*, Bielefeld-Leipzig, 1901, p. 5, fig. 2 (as *Rubens*); (2) Engraving by F. Piloty (*Rooses*, II, p. 341, pl. 164).

LITERATURE: *Michel*, 1771, p. 311, No. 16; *Smith*, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 74, No. 223; R. Marggraff, *Die ältere K. Pinakothek zu München. Beschreibendes Verzeichnis*, Munich, 1869, No. 246; F. von Reber, *Katalog der Gemäldesammlung der K. Älteren Pinakothek zu München*, Munich, 1884, p. XI; *Rooses*, II, p. 340, No. 486; T. Levin, *Geschichte der Kunstbestrebungen von dem Hause Pfalz-Neuburg, Jahrbuch des Düsseldorfer Geschichtsvereins*, XXIII, 1911, p. 10; *Ältere Pinakothek München, Amtlicher Katalog*, Munich, 1936, p. 217, No. 336 (750).

The two Apostles, here grouped in a single painting, are fairly exactly copied from their representation in the two canvases from the Capuchin church at Antwerp (Nos. 49, 50; Figs. 89, 90). The only important difference as regards their attitudes and gestures is that in this case, no doubt on account of the lack of space, Peter points upward with both his keys. Apart from their usual attributes, the keys and the sword, both Apostles have subsidiary ones. A cherub hovers above St. Peter's head with the Papal tiara. Below, on the right,

behind St. Paul there was originally a second cherub holding a book: this may still be seen in the copy drawing in the Vienna Albertina and in Piloty's print. It is expressly mentioned in J. Smith's description and in Marggraff's catalogue of 1869. As Dr. Peter Eikemeier has kindly informed me, it is very probable that the figure was painted over in the course of a restoration in 1875. The Holy Spirit hovers above the Apostles' heads in the form of a dove: its presence is evidently in direct connection with the miracle of Pentecost and the sending forth of the apostles. The Saints are seen standing under a portico. This may be related to a passage in the *Golden Legend* which tells how Dionysius the Areopagite saw a vision of Saints Peter and Paul entering the gates of a city together (*Legenda Aurea*, I, col. 566).

Rooses, quite rightly, suggested that this work was for the most part not painted by Rubens himself. It was probably executed in the studio and touched up by the master not very long after the paintings in the Capuchin church at Antwerp (Nos. 49, 50; Figs. 89, 90), for which 1613-14 may be given as a *terminus post quem*. A *terminus ante quem* is provided by the painting by A. van Dyck of St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist, which was in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum at Berlin until 1945: this belongs to the artist's first Antwerp period, i.e. before 1621, and was directly influenced by Rubens's composition (*K.d.K., Van Dyck*, p. 47).

In Rubens's estate we already find, as No. 158, a "S. Petrus en S. Paulus, op doeck" ("St. Peter and St. Paul, on canvas"; *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 63). On 5 December 1696, François Ignace Rosseaux, the agent in Ghent of the Elector Palatine Johann Wilhelm, drew up an inventory of paintings belonging to a Bruges collector who wanted to sell them to the Prince, in which he described the following work: "No. 1, P.P. Rubens, représentant S. Pierre et S. Paul, accompagnés de deux anges et du St. Esprit, plus grands que nature" ("No. 1, P.P. Rubens, representing St. Peter and St. Paul, accompanied by two angels and by the Holy Spirit, larger than lifesize"). The measurements of 8½ by 6½ feet (233 : 178.5 cm.) agree closely with the visible dimensions of the canvas at Schleissheim, so that one might agree with T. Levin, who published the above quotation, that the works may be identical. An objection to this, however, is the fact that the *St. Peter and St. Paul* does not figure in the inventory, drawn up in 1719, of Johann Wilhelm's collections, which afterwards became the property of the Elector of Bavaria. It should also not be overlooked that J.F.M. Michel in 1771 mentions as part of Catherine the

Great's collection at St. Petersburg a work ascribed to Rubens and depicting "deux apôtres de forme colossale, représentant S. Pierre et S. Paul" (two apostles of colossal stature, representing St. Peter and St. Paul"; *Michel*, 1771, p. 364). This of course cannot be identified with the Schleissheim canvas, which is already mentioned as being preserved in that place in the handwritten inventory of 1761. Identification with the painting mentioned by Rosseaux remains a possibility; while the canvas in Rubens's estate may of course be identical with either of the two others.

52-53. TWO PENDANTS: ST. PAUL AND ST. PETER

52. ST. PAUL (Fig. 94)

Oil on panel; 65.5 : 48.5 cm.

New York, Dr. and Mrs. R.J. Heinemann.

PROVENANCE: ? St. Donatus's Church, Bruges; Chorherrenstift Sankt Florian (Austria); bought there in 1936 by Galerie Sankt Lucas, Vienna; sold to the present owners in the same year.

EXHIBITED: *Los Angeles*, 1946, No. 23 (repr.).

LITERATURE: J. Hollnsteiner, *Das Chorherrenstift St. Florian*, Steyr, 1923, p. 41, repr.; W. Valentiner, *Rubens' Paintings in America, The Art Quarterly*, IX, 1946, p. 159, No. 53; *Goris-Held*, p. 36, No. 64, pl. 48; *Larsen*, p. 216, No. 34.

A half-length portrait of the Saint in right profile, holding in his right hand his attribute the sword, half of which is cut off by the lower edge of the panel.

Goris and Held think that this painting and its pendant (No. 53; Fig. 95) should be dated about 1614-15, while Burchard placed them around 1620. Perhaps the middle of the decade is the more likely date. The treatment of the face and hair, for example, seem very like those of St. Peter in the centre panel of the Rockox triptych of 1613-15, now in the Royal Museum at Antwerp (*K.d.K.*, p. 84). As regards the representation of St. Paul in particular, Burchard has also pointed out the striking similarity to the *Study for the Head of*

an Old Man with a long white Beard in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (*Goris-Held*, pl. 28). He suggested that the two works must be based on the same model, but this does not seem convincing to me.

This and the next panel form a pair; they may be identical with two half-length portraits that were formerly kept in a silver tabernacle at the church of St. Donatus at Bruges (*Descamps, Voyage*, p. 275; *Michel*, 1771, pp. 194, 195; *Reynolds*, p. 142; P. Thicknesse, *A Year's Journey through the Pais Bas*, London, 1786, p. 18). According to V.C. van Grimbergen (*Levensbeschrijving van P.P. Rubens*, Rotterdam, 1840, p. 454, n. 52), these works were sold between 1835 and 1840 for the benefit of needy members of the clergy. This, however, does not agree with a letter written on 25 May 1836 by Albert Gregorius, the then director of the Academy of Fine Arts at Bruges, and published in A. Schouteet, *Een onderzoek naar de werken van Pieter Paul Rubens op nationaal plan in 1836. Het Brugse antwoord*, in *Miscellanea Jozef Duverger*, 1, Ghent, 1968, p. 393. Here we read: "L'ancienne cathédrale ... possédait ... deux tableaux de ce grand peintre ... St. Pierre et St. Paul, en bustes avec des mains; le chapitre ... les fit enlever avant l'entrée des Français ... et les tint cachés pendant plusieurs années, ensuite ils furent vendus et transportés, l'un dit à Bruxelles, l'autre dit en Hollande. La première version paraît la plus vraisemblable" ("The ancient cathedral ... possessed ... two paintings by this great master ... St. Peter and St. Paul, half-length, showing their hands; the chapter ... had them taken away before the entry of the French ... and kept them hidden for several years; afterwards they were sold and transported, some say to Brussels, others to Holland. The former seems more probable").

According to Hollnsteiner (*op. cit.*, pp. 34, 57), Michael Arneth, who was dean of the monastery of St. Florian in Austria from 1823 to 1854, added to the collection of paintings there. If the panels we are considering are identical with those that were previously at Bruges, it is of course possible that they were among those acquired by Arneth.

Max Rooses (*Rooses*, II, p. 338), who evidently did not know the St. Florian collection, attempted to identify the heads of the Apostles at Bruges with two works forming a pair, now in private ownership in Sweden, from the Steengracht collection at The Hague (oil on panel, 60 : 45 cm.; sale, Paris [G. Petit], 9 July 1913, lots 64 and 65, repr.). However, to judge from the photographs in the catalogue of the sale of this collection, the works in question seem much too weak to have been painted by Rubens himself.

53. ST. PETER (Fig. 95)

Oil on panel; 65.5 : 48.5 cm.

New York, Dr. and Mrs. R.J. Heinemann.

PROVENANCE: ? St. Donatus's Church, Bruges; Chorherrenstift Sankt Florian (Austria); bought there in 1936 by Galerie Sankt Lucas, Vienna; sold to the present owners in the same year.

EXHIBITED: *Los Angeles*, 1946, No. 24 (repr.).

LITERATURE: J. Hollnsteiner, *Das Chorherrenstift St. Florian, Steyr*, 1923, p. 41, repr.; W. Valentiner, *Rubens' Paintings in America, The Art Quarterly*, IX, 1946, p. 159, No. 53; *Goris-Held*, p. 36, No. 65, pl. 49; *Larsen*, p. 216, No. 35.

A half-length portrait of the Saint in left profile, holding the keys in his right hand. The treatment of the face and hair seems to me to resemble, in addition to the above-mentioned of St. Peter in the Rockox triptych, the *Portrait of a man in profile* to which R. Oldenbourg (*K.d.K.*, p. 81) assigns the approximate date of 1614-15.

54. THE FOUR EVANGELISTS (Fig. 96)

Oil on canvas; 224 : 270 cm.

Potsdam - Sanssouci, Bildergalerie. Inv. No. GK I 7580.

PROVENANCE: purchased for the collection of Frederick II, King of Prussia, between 1755 and 1764.

COPY: Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 57.5 : 63.5 cm.; prov.: sale, London, 3 July 1935, lot 130 (as *Rubens*).

EXHIBITED: *Gemälde älterer Meister im Berliner Privatbesitz, Königliche Akademie der Künste, Berlin*, 1883, p. 37, No. 2.

LITERATURE: M. Oesterreich, *Beschreibung der Königlichen Bildergalerie und des Kabinetts im Sans-Souci, Potsdam*, 1764, No. 99 (as *Van Dyck*); F. Nicolai, *Beschreibung der Königlichen Residenzstädte Berlin und Potsdam*, III, Berlin, 1786, p. 1208, No. 8

(as *Van Dyck*); *Rooses*, II, pp. 193, 194, n. 367; *Dillon*, p. 224; P. Seidel, W. Bode and M. Friedländer, *Gemälde alter Meister im Besitz ... des deutschen Kaisers*, Berlin-Leipzig-Vienna-Stuttgart, n.d., p. 87, repr.; *K.d.K.*, p. 68; *Oldenbourg*, 1922, p. 104, repr.; E. Henschel-Simon, *Die Gemälde und Skulpturen der Bildergalerie von Sanssouci*, Berlin, 1930, No. 95, repr.; U. Moussalli, *Rubens et Caravage, Etudes d'art publiées par le Musée d'Alger*, 11-12, 1955-56, p. 91; *Die Gemälde in der Bildergalerie von Sanssouci*, Potsdam, 1962, No. 66; G. Eckardt, *Die Gemälde in der Bildergalerie von Sanssouci*, Potsdam, 1965, No. 83.

St. Luke, St. Matthew and St. Mark form a continuous group on the left, sitting round a table, while St. John stands somewhat apart from them on the right. Very probably this grouping was meant to make clear symbolically the coherence between the three so-called synoptic Gospels as well as to accentuate the distance that separates them from the later and in many aspects differently conceived Gospel of St. John. All are dressed in long robes except St. Matthew, who appears half-naked. The Evangelists' attributes are clearly recognizable. An ox's head may be seen to the left of St. Luke. A half-clothed angel hovers close to St. Matthew, who is writing. St. Mark's lion rests at his feet, while the eagle spreads its wings above St. John's head. Apart from this there is a minimum of decoration. A drapery covers most of the background; a pilaster is seen on the extreme left.

The representation of the four Evangelists in a single picture is already found in a canvas by Correggio dated 1521, in the Muzeul de Arte at Bucharest (illustrated in L. Bachelin, *Tableaux anciens de la Galerie Charles I^{er}, Roi de Roumanie*, Paris, 1898, facing p. 46). As far as we know, the theme was first treated in the Netherlands by Frans Floris, in a composition which has been lost but is known from a print dated 1566. Among others who handled it before Rubens were Pieter Aertsen (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; illustrated in L. Baldass, *Sittenbild und Stilleben im Rahmen des niederländischen Romanismus, Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, XXXVI, 1923, p. 39, No. 31) and Joachim Beuckelaer (Staatliche Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, illustrated in L. Baldass, *op. cit.*, p. 38, No. 30).

Ulysse Moussalli believed that a connection could be seen between this work and the *Angel Appearing to St. Matthew*, Caravaggio's early masterpiece (about 1597-1601) in the Cappella Contarelli in the church of San Luigi dei Francesi at Rome (W. Friedländer, *Caravaggio Studies*, Princeton, 1955, pl. 30). The Lombard master's painting may certainly appear to provide a *Vorstufe*

for the angel which descends here from heaven; but I think there is also a connection with another of Caravaggio's three famous compositions for the chapel at Rome, *The Calling of St. Matthew* (W. Friedländer, *op. cit.*, pl. 29). This provides a model for the general arrangement of the group round the table on the left and the monumental single figure on the right. The treatment of St. Luke, on the extreme left, as a *repoussoir* has a precedent in Rubens's own work in one of the two Disciples at Emmaus in the painting of about 1610 in the church of St. Eustache at Paris (U. Moussalli, *op. cit.*, p. 94, fig. 2).

Roses dated the present work to 1630, but Oldenbourg with good reason suggested about 1614. The painting is very typical of the classical-monumental conception that characterized Rubens's work around that time.

Henschel-Simon, supported by Eckardt, regards it as a work executed in Rubens's studio and retouched by him. The middle group with St. Matthew, St. Luke and the angel is in fact weaker than the two figures on the extreme left and right, and it is most probable that collaborators were at work here.

55. THE FOUR EVANGELISTS: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 97)

Oil on panel; approximately 20 : 30 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: V.M. Picot (19th century); Warwick Castle.

COPY: Engraving (*V.S.*, p. 63, No. 464).

From left to right the sketch shows St. Luke, St. John, St. Mark and St. Matthew. Apart from St. Mark they have their respective attributes: St. Luke's ox, St. John's eagle and St. Matthew's angel. St. John is seen at an oblique angle, looking towards heaven, in a very similar attitude to St. Stephen in the triptych at Valenciennes, which dates from c. 1615-20 (II, No. 146).

The painting for which this sketch was made was either not executed or has been lost. Either from this sketch or from the finished composition, a variant in reverse was painted by Pieter Soutman, similar in the main but somewhat different as regards facial types; this is now in the Stockholm Museum (Cat. *Stockholm Nationalmuseum. Aldre Utländska Målningar och Skulpturer*, Stock-

holm, 1958, p. 188, No. 343). Soutman probably painted it during his stay at Antwerp from 1619 to 1624. He may have seen the sketch or the finished painting, if there was one, in Rubens's studio.

Burchard saw this sketch at Warwick Castle on 28 August 1947, and I myself saw it there in May 1965; however, it is apparently no longer there. I have not been able to discover when it was acquired for the Warwick collection. At the beginning of the nineteenth century it belonged to a certain M. Picot, as may be seen from the inscription on an early nineteenth-century engraving (*V.S.*, p. 63, No. 464).

56-58. THE ALTAR-PIECE OF THE CHAPEL OF THE HOLY SACRAMENT IN THE DOMINICAN CHURCH AT ANTWERP

56. THE REAL PRESENCE IN THE HOLY SACRAMENT (Fig. 99)

Oil on panel; 309 : 241.5 cm.

Antwerp, St. Paul's Church.

COPIES: (1) Drawing after the right side, whereabouts unknown; 355 : 280 mm.; prov.: A. Beurdeley, sale, Paris (G. Petit), 8-10 June 1920, lot 286 (repr.; as *Rubens*); (2) Drawing after the heads of the presumed saints Ambrose, Augustine and Paul, on the left side, whereabouts unknown; 146 : 159 mm.; prov.: sale, London, (Sotheby's), 18 March 1959, lot 10 (as *Jordaens*), bought by L. Franklyn; (3) Engraving by H. Snyers, 1643 (Fig. 98; *V.S.*, p. 67, No. 28).

EXHIBITED: *Tableaux recouverts ... revenus de France*, Musée, Antwerp, 1816, No. 33 (as *A. Sallaert*).

LITERATURE: M. de Monconys, *Journal des Voyages*, II, Lyon, 1666, p. 107 (*ad* 1663); *Bellori*, p. 223; *Tessin*, p. 83; *De Wit*, p. 57; *Descamps, Vie*, p. 322; *Berbie*, p. 61, No. 9; *Mensaert*, I, p. 203; *Descamps, Voyage*, p. 190; *Michel*, 1771, p. 88; *Odevaere*, p. 317; No. 44 (as *Rubens* or *Sallaert* [sic]); *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 11; T. Rombouts and P. Van Lerijs, *De Liggenen en andere historische archieven betreffende het Antwerpsche Sint-Lucasgilde*, I, Antwerp, n.d., p. 402, n. 1; II, The Hague, n.d., p. 3, n. 2; *Rooses*, II, pp. 196-199, No. 376; *Dillon*, pp. 98, 105, 211; *K.d.K.*, p. 28; *Oldenbourg*, 1922, pp. 61, 73; *Knipping*, II, pp. 86, 87; *Evers*, 1942, pp. 60, 61, repr.; J. Van den Nieuwenhuizen, *Antwerpse schilderijen te Parijs (1794-1815)*, *Antwerpen*, VIII, 1962, p. 79.

In a monumental interior, a number of saints, monks and church dignitaries are grouped symmetrically about an altar, on which is a monstrance containing the Host. In the upper part of the picture, God the Father and the Holy Spirit appear among clouds, together with six cherubs holding open books of the Gospels with texts relating to the miracle of transubstantiation. On the left we read: CARO [ENIM] MEA VERE EST CIBVS ET SANGVIS MEVS VERE [EST POTVS] (John 6:56), and on the right HOC EST CORPVS MEVM QVOD PRO VOBIS DA[TVR] (Luke 22:19) and ACCIPITE ET COMEDITE: HOC EST CORPVS MEVM (Matt. 26:26).

The identification of the figures presents some difficulty. The imposing personages in the foreground are certainly the four Latin Doctōrs of the Church. The mitred bishops on the left must be St. Augustine and St. Ambrose, though they are not provided with attributes to indicate which is which. In the right foreground is St. Gregory the Great, shown according to custom with shaven head, and St. Jerome in cardinal's robes. These four Saints play a dominant role in this composition, by virtue of the authority they enjoyed among later generations of divines as expounders and defenders of the Eucharistic doctrine. On the left, beside St. Augustine and St. Ambrose, is a bearded figure with long black hair: this may be St. Paul, who was the patron of the Dominican church at Antwerp and to whom we owe the oldest account of the Last Supper, other than that in the Synoptic Gospels (1 Cor. 11:23 et seq.). In the middle distance, in the centre of the picture, are four more figures, none of whom can be identified. On the left of the group is an aged, half-naked man and a somewhat younger one with a black beard, who is writing. On the right of these is a youngish man gazing ecstatically heavenwards and holding a book from which an old, bald-headed monk is reading. St. Thomas Aquinas, recognizable by the sun on his breast, is seated behind the altar on the left, in conversation with a pope. This is certainly Urban IV, who instituted the Eucharistic feast of Corpus Christi by a bull of 1264; the text of the Office with its hymns was composed by St. Thomas (E. Schoutens, *Histoire du culte de la Très Sainte Eucharistie en Belgique*, Antwerp, 1886, pp. 133-147). Two mitred bishops are seated behind the altar on the right. In the extreme background, on the left, five monks are seen in discussion; one, wearing the Dominican habit, is pointing to the monstrance on the altar with a gesture of respectful devotion. In the right background are a number of young men in togas. An X-ray photograph has shown that there were originally two more figures in

the painting. To the left of the young man looking up in ecstasy in the middle distance, a man's face was to be seen frontally, and to the left of St. Gregory was the head, in profile, of a man reading (Figs. 100, 102). It is not clear why and by whom these heads were painted out; they had disappeared before 1643, as is shown by Snyers' engraving of that year. In any case they must have formed part of Rubens's original plan, as they figured in the oil sketch for this altar-piece which is now lost but can be judged from two copies (No. 56a; Figs. 101, 103).

The scene is no doubt to be regarded as depicting the development, in the course of church history, of the recognition by theologians and exegetes of the doctrine of transubstantiation, emphasized as an article of faith by the Council of Trent: viz. the miraculous transformation of the Eucharistic elements of bread and wine into Christ's body and blood. This view is borne out by the earliest known description of the picture, dating from 24 July 1616, in an inventory of the chapel of the Sodality of the Sweet Name of Jesus in the former Dominican church at Antwerp: "Een constich stuck schilderije van de Realiteyt van den Heyligen Sacramente, geschildert bij mijnheer Peeter Paulo Rubbens" ("An artful painting of the Reality of the Holy Sacrament, by Peter Paul Rubens"; T. Rombouts and P. van Lerius, *op. cit.*, I, p. 402).

The arrangement of the figures round the altar, as in an exedra, is clearly based on Raphael's famous *Disputa* in the Vatican (*K.d.K., Raffael*, p. 60); St. Jerome's attitude on the right of Rubens's composition reflects that of the figure on the left of Raphael's fresco. As regards the general composition, Rubens also seems indebted to another work by Raphael, the dimensions of which are more similar to the present one than those of the *Disputa*: viz. the *St. Cecilia*, now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale at Bologna but originally in the church of San Giovanni in Monte in that city (*K.d.K., Raffael*, p. 117). The figure of St. Paul on the left of that painting, leaning his head meditatively on his right hand, performs the function of a frame to the composition in a way closer to that of Rubens's St. Jerome than does the corresponding figure in the *Disputa*. In the old, half-naked man in the middle distance we may recognize the *Seneca* motif: this famous Hellenistic work was copied by Rubens (G. Fubini and J.S. Held, *Padre Resta's Rubens Drawings after Ancient Sculpture, Master Drawings*, II, 1964, p. 130, fig. 7) and inspired his *Death of Seneca* in the Alte Pinakothek at Munich (*K.d.K.*, p. 44), which was painted at about the same time as the present work.

This altar-piece is generally dated shortly after Rubens's return from Italy, c. 1609. One of the earliest records of it, that of Bellori in 1672, says that it was "fra le prime ch'egli [sc. Rubens] dipingesse in Anversa". Stylistically it resembles *The Adoration of the Magi*, now in the Prado (*K.d.K.*, p. 26), which documentary evidence shows to have been painted in 1609-10. Als Oldenbourg pointed out, the somewhat elongated figures are typical of the earliest Antwerp paintings (*Oldenbourg*, 1922, p. 73); they also recall Rubens's latest Italian works such as the first altar-piece for Santa Maria in Vallicella, now in the Grenoble Museum (II, No. 109).

The present panel, executed for the altar of the Holy Sacrament chapel in the Antwerp Dominican church, is probably one of the works by Rubens referred to as "diversche stucken ... die in groote extime gehouden worden als namentlyck ... tot ... Preeckheren ..., die fray syn", in a letter of 12 March 1611 from Jan le Grand in Antwerp to his colleague Lieven vuytten Eeckhoute at Dunkirk (published by A. Monballieu in *P.P. Rubens en het "Nachtmael" voor St.-Winoksbergen (1611), een niet uitgevoerd schilderij van de meester, Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen*, 1965, p. 196). Nothing is known of the circumstances in which it was commissioned. The rich merchant and connoisseur Cornelis Van der Geest may have helped to provide the money, as we know that in 1616 he advanced funds for the construction of a marble balustrade closing off the renovated chapel of the Holy Sacrament in the Dominican church (P. Rombouts and T. van Lierus, *op. cit.*, I, p. 461; I. Leyssens, *Hans van Mildert, Gentsche Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, VII, 1941, pp. 100, 101).

The altar-piece has not been preserved in its original state. A comparison with Hendrik Snyers's engraving of 1643 (Fig. 98) shows differences of detail and in the relation of its height to its width. The projection seen in the engraving under St. Gregory and St. Jerome has been replaced by two books. We also see that in the painting the raised platform has been enlarged so that its edge is in line with the original projection. Changes were also made in the upper part of the picture: e.g. the figure of God the Father is less close to the upper edge than it is in the engraving, and the floating part of the Father's mantle looks longer. Finally, the picture would seem to have extended less far to either side than it does now, as in the engraving the figures of saints are slightly cut off by the border. Closer inspection shows that the picture was enlarged on all four sides, with strips of about 8 cm. on the left and right,

34 cm. at the top and 67 cm. at the bottom. This indicates that it was first of all reduced in size, presumably on account of damage at the edges, and afterwards enlarged as required. The circumstances that led to these enlargements have not previously been noted. In 1654 the sculptor Pieter Verbruggen the Elder contracted to make a completely new altar of the Holy Sacrament "van de grootte ende materialen conforme den aultaer van Onze Lieve Vrouwe" ("of like size and materials to Our Lady's altar; A. Jansen, *Het O.L. Vrouw-altaer in de St. Pauluskerk te Antwerpen, Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis en Folklore*, IV, 1941, p. 138) — i.e. the altar of Our Lady of the Rosary erected in 1650 on the opposite side of the church, in the north transept (A. Jansen, *op. cit.*, pp. 139–145). The words quoted suggest that the intention was for the side-altars to be wholly symmetrical. Verbruggen's altar, like that of the Rosary chapel, is still extant. The date 1658 appears in a cartouche at the top (illustrations of both altars in Jansen, *op. cit.*, pls. 1 and 2), and this is evidently the year in which it was completed. Rubens's panel is of approximately the same dimensions as Caravaggio's *Madonna of the Rosary* (oil on panel, 364 : 249 cm., now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum at Vienna, cat. No. 483; W. Friedländer, *Caravaggio Studies*, Princeton, 1955, pl. 39), which adorned the altar in the north transept from c. 1620 to the end of the eighteenth century. It may thus be assumed that during the reconstruction of 1654–58 the dimensions of Rubens's work were enlarged to correspond to those of the Caravaggio.

An entry in the accounts of the Sodality of the Sweet Name of Jesus suggests that the enlargement took place during the reconstruction of the altar: the sum of 60 guilders was paid in 1657 to Antoon Goubau (1616–1698) "voor de schilderij van den vollen Aflaet" ("for the painting of the Plenary Indulgence"), which can scarcely refer to any other picture than the one now in question (P. Rombouts and T. van Lierus, *op. cit.*, II, p. 3). There is, however, an apparent contradiction here with items of 1680: "Aen den schrynwercker, voor het vergrooten van de schilderye van den autae van het Alderheyligste Sacrament, fl. 50. Voor het pourmuieren van de schilderye, fl. 8. Voor de lijst van de schilderye van het Alderheyligste Sacrament, ende van de zelve te vergulden, fl. 14. Monsieur Goubau, den schilder getraecteert voor het vergrooten van de schilderye van den autae, par courtoisie, fl. 12." ("To the joiner, for enlargement of the painting on the altar of the Most Holy Sacrament, 50 guilders; for the priming thereof, 8 guilders; for the frame of the painting of the Most Holy Sacrament, and for gilding the same, 14 guilders. To Monsieur

Goubau, the painter commissioned to enlarge the altar-piece, *par courtoisie*, 12 guilders"; P. Rombouts and T. van Lerijs, *op. cit.*, p. 3, n. 2). Perhaps the explanation is that when the retable was rebuilt in 1654-58 Goubau carried out some superficial restoration of the painting, which was too small for its new setting, but that, perhaps owing to shortage of funds, it was not finally adapted to the new dimensions until 1680.

Other interesting points may be noted in connection with Hendrik Snyers's engraving of 1643. On 3 September 1642 Snyers entered the service of Abraham van Diepenbeeck, who shortly afterwards secured a twelve-year privilege on the strength of a declaration that he had "for some years" been making drawings of "rare and ingenious pictures" and now wished to make engravings from them (F.J. Van den Branden, *Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche Schilderschool*, Antwerp, 1883, p. 784). Abraham van Diepenbeeck's daughter Anna Theresa made a will of 5 December 1701, which refers *inter alia* to "some copperplates after Rubens... secondly: the Disputation of the Holy Sacrament, of the Dominican Fathers" (F.J. Van den Branden, *ibid.*). It is probably to be inferred from this that Snyers's engraving was actually made from a drawing by Van Diepenbeeck.

In 1794 the altar-piece was removed from the church to Paris, where it was exhibited in the Musée Central des Arts. It was returned to its original place in 1815.

56a. THE REAL PRESENCE IN THE HOLY SACRAMENT: OIL SKETCH

Oil on panel; approximately 65 : 50 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: ? Cornelis van der Geest (Antwerp, 1575-1638).

COPIES: (1) Drawing (Fig. 101), attributed to J. de Bisschop by Burchard, whereabouts unknown; approximately 730 : 480 mm.; prov.: Brussels, G. de Leval; (2) Drawing (Fig. 103), Vienna, Albertina, No. 15103; 363 : 265 mm.

LITERATURE: L. Burchard, *Skizzen des jungen Rubens, Sitzungsberichte der kunstgeschichtlichen Gesellschaft Berlin*, October 1926 - May 1927, p. 2; L. Burchard, *Nachträge*, in *Glück*, 1933, p. 382; L. Burchard, in *Cat. Exh. Some pictures from Dulwich Gallery*, National Gallery, London, 1947, under No. 45.

There are several divergences between this sketch, known only from copies, and the final version. In the first place, the group of seated figures is differently arranged, and the attitude and dress of the two persons sitting on the left is altogether different. On the right of the composition are two figures, one sitting and the other standing, who appeared in the finished altar-piece but were later painted out (cf. No. 56). God the Father does not appear in the upper part of the picture: this may be because it was intended to represent him separately in a painting or sculpture above the principal work, as was done shortly afterwards with the *Raising of the Cross* altar-piece for St. Walburga's at Antwerp, now in the cathedral there (*Rooses*, II, pp. 74, 75, Nos. 280-282). There are two angels on the left instead of three. The books in the foreground are differently arranged, and there are some scrolls among them.

The sketch confirms that the painting was originally intended to be less vertical in shape. St. Augustine's feet, for instance, are closer to the lower edge. The two broad steps that are seen in the lower part of the finished work are not in the sketch.

At some time in the seventeenth century this sketch was joined to the modelli, now in the Dulwich Gallery, for the outer panels of *The Raising of the Cross* now in Antwerp cathedral (*Paintings from the Dulwich College Picture Gallery*, London, 1954, p. 17, Nos. 40 and 40a, repr.). The two copy-drawings that have survived show the pictures thus combined. A *terminus ante quem* for the separation of the panels is given by the fact that on 4 September 1747 the two sketches now at Dulwich were sold at The Hague, without the present modello, as lot 56 from the estate of Jacques de Roore (G. Hoet, *Catalogus of Naamlijst van schilderijen, met derzelver prijzen*, II, The Hague, 1752, p. 204).

We may conjecture that all three sketches were in the possession of Cornelis van der Geest and were joined together by him. As we know, he not only advanced money for the adornment of the Holy Sacrament chapel in the Dominican church, but was also the "praecipuus Author et promotor" of *The Raising of the Cross* in St. Walburga's (*Rooses*, II, pp. 80, 81).

57. MOSES

Oil on panel.

Whereabouts unknown, presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: Dominican Church, Antwerp, 1616.

LITERATURE: T. Rombouts and P. van Leries, *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven van het Antwerpsche Sint-Lucasgilde*, 1, Antwerp, n.d., p. 402; *Rooses*, 1, p. 138, No. 110.

The inventory, drawn up in 1616 and mentioned above (No. 56), of the chapel of the Sweet Name of Jesus in the former Dominican church at Antwerp records two paintings forming a predella to the altar-piece and representing "de figuren van Moyses ende Aaron, bij den voorgeschreven mijnheer Peter Paulo Rubbens gemaect" (the figures of Moses and Aaron by the aforesaid mijnheer Peter Paulo Rubbens). The choice of figures is explained iconographically by the fact that Moses commanded Aaron (Exod. 16:32-34) to preserve in the Tabernacle a supply of manna, which was regarded as prefiguring the Eucharist (L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien*, 1, Paris, 1956, p. 199).

Both parts of the predella probably disappeared when the altar was completely rebuilt in 1654-58.

58. AARON

Oil on panel.

Whereabouts unknown, presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: Dominican Church, Antwerp, 1616.

LITERATURE: T. Rombouts and P. van Leries, *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven van het Antwerpsche Sint-Lucasgilde*, 1, Antwerp, n.d. p. 402; *Rooses*, 1, p. 138, No. 111.

This panel, together with that depicting Moses (No. 57), formed the predella to the altar-piece in the chapel of the Holy Sacrament.

59. THE FOUR LATIN DOCTORS OF THE CHURCH

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: ? Jeremias Wildens, Antwerp, 1653; ? J.B. Horion, sale, Brussels, 1 September 1788 et seqq., No. 19.

COPY: Engraving by C. van Dalen the Younger (Fig. 106; *V.S.*, p. 64, No. 3).

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, No. 1065 (the engraving); *Rooses*, II, p. 196, No. 369.

The four Latin Doctors are depicted in three-quarter length. From left to right we recognize St. Ambrose with his mitre and crozier, St. Gregory with the Papal tiara, St. Jerome with the cardinal's hat and St. Augustine with cope and mitre. St. Jerome holds an open book at which the others gaze with reverence: this is probably his Latin translation of the Bible, the celebrated Vulgate, which the Council of Trent had solemnly proclaimed as the only authentic version and the text on which all interpretations must be based.

The grouping of the figures in Jordaens's *Four Evangelists* in the Louvre (M. Rooses, *Jordaens*, Antwerp, 1906, repr. facing p. 28) is certainly related to that of Rubens's *Doctors of the Church*. The dating of Jordaens's picture between about 1619 and 1627 (R.A. d'Hulst, *De tekeningen van Jacob Jordaens*, Brussels, 1956, p. 91) must thus be regarded as a *terminus ante quem* for Rubens's composition.

The latter may be identical with "De vier Doctoren met goude coorkappen van Rubens" ("The four Doctors wearing golden copes, by Rubens"), a picture that figured in the estate of Jeremias Wildens at Antwerp on 30 December 1653 (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 166, No. 560). In the J.B. Horion sale at Brussels (1 September 1788 et seqq., lot 19) we hear of "Un Tableau représentant les quatre Docteurs de l'Eglise" (oil on panel, 65 : 46 cm.), which also may well be identical with the work engraved by Van Dalen. The item in the sale is described, without any discussion, as a "sketch" by both Smith (*op. cit.*, II, No. 658) and Rooses (*op. cit.*, II, p. 195).

60. THE FOUR LATIN DOCTORS OF THE CHURCH (Fig. 104)

Oil on canvas; 209.5 : 252.5 cm.

Blackburn, Lancashire, Stonyhurst College.

PROVENANCE: Estate of Herman de Neyt, Antwerp, 1642; bequeathed by W.T.B. Lund, in the second half of the nineteenth century.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 165 : 225 cm.; prov.: perhaps identical with a painting of about the same size in the F. Tronchin sale, Paris, 23 March 1801 et seqq., lot 169 (as *Rubens*); Barbier, sale, Brussels (Fiévez), 12 June 1912, lot 107 (repr.; as *Jordaens*); (2) Painting, lost; panel, 41 : 54 cm.; formerly Königsberg, Städtische Kunstsammlungen, as a loan from the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin; lit.: H. Posse, *Die Gemäldegalerie des Kaiser-Friedrich Museums*, Berlin, 1911, p. 350, No. 773, repr.; (3) Engraving by C. Galle (Fig. 105; *V.S.*, p. 64, No. 2).

EXHIBITED: *Works of Art from Private Collections*, City Art Gallery, Manchester, 1960, No. 77; *Jacob Jordaens*, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 1968, No. 69 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp. 211, 212, No. 759, p. 297, No. 1064 (the engraving and the copy in the F. Tronchin sale); *Rooses*, II, pp. 194–196, No. 368 (the engraving); P. Tudor-Hart, *The Authorship of the "Four Doctors"*, *The Stonyhurst Magazine*, No. 287, June, 1930, pp. 539, 540.

A painting executed by Jacob Jordaens from a design by Rubens.

The four Doctors are represented with their respective attributes: from left to right St. Jerome with the lion, St. Augustine with the flaming heart with an angel pointing to it, St. Gregory with the dove and St. Ambrose with the beehive. Besides the angel pointing to St. Augustine's heart two cherubs are seen, one with St. Jerome's crozier and the other carrying St. Ambrose's beehive. St. Augustine and St. Jerome are together immersed in the study of the Bible.

The picture was first attributed to Jordaens by P. Tudor-Hart in 1930, and since then this has rightly become the general view. On the other hand we read under the above-mentioned print by Galle—which corresponds to the painting in all respects, apart from two extensions to left and right, which are clearly by the engraver himself—the information "P. Paulus Rubens inventor". This engraving was dedicated by the well-known art dealer Herman de Neyt to Willem van Hamme, a licentiate *utriusque juris*, protonotary apostolic and canon of Our Lady's church at Antwerp and St. Catherine's at Hoogstraten. We also know that in the estate of De Neyt, who died in 1642, mention was made of "Een groot stuck op doeck in lyste, inhoudende de vier doctoren vande Heylige Kercke, gemaect door Rubbens ende Jordaens" ("A large framed canvas depicting the four Doctors of Holy Church, the work of Rubbens and Jordaens"; *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 107).

Burchard pointed out the probable connection between the composition engraved by Galle and the work that belonged to De Neyt. Jaffé, in the catalogue of the Ottawa exhibition, 1969, No. 69, also emphasized the identity of the two and stated that the painting at Stonyhurst was executed by Jordaens from a sketch in oils by Rubens. Its style is characteristic of Jordaens in the late thirties or even about 1640: see R.-A. d'Hulst, *De tekeningen van Jakob Jordaens*, Brussels, 1956, pp. 127-152. It seems quite probable that the work was one on which Rubens was engaged shortly before his death in 1640, that he executed the modello but was unable to accomplish the painting, so that the task fell to Jordaens.

Rooes (*op. cit.*, II, p. 195) says that, according to information from Mols, in about 1775 a *Quatre docteurs de l'église*, ascribed to Rubens and connected with Galle's engraving, was in the possession of M. Simons at Amsterdam: it was believed to measure 7 feet (about 220 cm.) across. To judge from the size, it may have been identical with the above-mentioned copy sold at Brussels.

Jordaens painted at least two variants of the same subject, with slightly differing measurements and iconography. One of them (oil on canvas, 180 : 243 cm.) is in the Chrysler collection (*Cat. Exh. Paintings from the Collection of Walter P. Chrysler, Jr.*, Portland, Oregon, 1956, No. 11, repr.). The other (oil on canvas, 219 : 252 cm.) is in the National Museum at Stockholm (G. Göthe, *Musée national de Stockholm*, Stockholm, 1900, No. 595, repr.). The chief difference between these versions and the one at Stonyhurst consists in iconographic variations as regards St. Jerome. The version in the Chrysler collection does not show his hat, whereas at Stockholm he is fully attired as a cardinal.

In conclusion it may be noted that De Neyt's collection also included "De vier Doctoren nae Rubbens, wit ende swert" ("The four Doctors, after Rubens, white and black"; *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 99): the grisaille may well be the engraver's modello executed by Galle from the large painting.

60a. THE FOUR LATIN DOCTORS OF THE CHURCH: OIL SKETCH

Oil on panel.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: ? Estate of Jeremias Wildens, 1653.

The modello for Jordaens's painting may have been in Jeremias Wildens's collection. The inventory of the latter's estate, drawn up in 1653, refers to "De vier Doctoren geschrift [sic] van Rubbens" ("The Four Doctors, a sketch, by Rubens"; *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 166; the word *geschrift* is misspelt *geschift*).

It may be recalled that Wildens was also the owner of "The four Doctors wearing golden copes, by Rubbens" which, as I mentioned above, is perhaps to be identified with the composition engraved by C. van Dalen the Younger (No. 59; Fig. 106).

61. THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. ADRIAN

Oil on panel or canvas; approximately 310 : 220 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 107), whereabouts unknown; canvas, 312 : 220 cm.; prov.: Douai, Chartreuse, until 1792; Douai, Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1869, Cat. N° 339; Antwerp, Sam Hartveld, 1931; lit.: *Catalogue des Ouvrages de Peinture, Sculpture, Dessin, Gravure et Lithographie... du Musée de Douai*, Douai, 1869, pp. 140, 141, N° 339; M. Dechristé, *Les tableaux, vases sacrés et autres objets précieux appartenant aux Eglises Abbatiales, Collégiales et Paroissiales... de Douai et de son Arrondissement au moment de la Révolution, Mémoires de la Société d'Agriculture, de Sciences et d'Arts séant à Douai*, 2nd series, XIII, 1874-76, pp. 199, 207; (2) Needlework panel, whereabouts unknown; approximately 213 : 142 cm.; prov.: sale, London (Christie's), 25 March 1959, lot 122.

LITERATURE: R.-A. d'Hulst, *De tekeningen van Jakob Jordaens*, Brussels, 1956, p. 132; C. Van de Velde, *Recente aanwinsten van het Rubenshuis*. III. *Een schets van P.P. Rubens: De Marteling van de heilige Adrianus*, Antwerpen, XII, 1966, pp. 41-49.

According to the Life of Adrian in the fifth-century *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, this Saint was an officer at the court of the emperor Maximian; he embraced Christianity and was put to death in 290. His wife Natalia, who became a Christian before him, supported him in his martyrdom. He was first cruelly scourged, after which his feet and hands were cut off (*Legenda Aurea*, II, col. 140-146; *AA. SS.*, September, III).

On the left of the picture, the naked martyr is held by a hangman's assistant under the right shoulder. On the right, another myrmidon holds the Saint's

right leg on an anvil, while a third hoists his axe to cut it off. In this scene there is also a priest pointing to a statue of Apollo, a half-naked Moor and a youth, and four or five soldiers in armour including two officers on horseback. The action takes place on the steps in front of a building, probably a temple, two pillars of which are visible. In the upper part of the picture are two angels, one holding a laurel wreath with which to crown the Saint.

Rubens did not follow the legend very closely: he represents St. Adrian with his feet intact but with stumps for arms, whereas the text states that his feet were cut off first. Another deviation from the traditional account is that Natalia is not present at the execution.

The martyr's attitude and the arrangement of the surrounding figures seem closely akin to those of Christ and the persons burying and mourning him in Raphael's *Entombment*; Rubens may have seen this work in the Borghese Gallery at Rome, where it has hung since March 1608 (*K.d.K., Raffael*, p. 48).

The date, proposed by Burchard, of shortly before 1620 was confirmed by Van de Velde through comparison with other compositions of this date or somewhat earlier. There is a close similarity with the arrangement of figures in *The Martyrdom of St. Laurence* in the Alte Pinakothek at Munich (II, No. 126), where there is also a helmeted horseman carrying a banner. The figure of St. Adrian himself closely resembles that of the naked man lying in the foreground of *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum at Vienna (II, No. 104). The henchman laying hold of St. Adrian on the left displays, in reverse, the same attitude as the Prodigal Son in the picture of that name in the Royal Museum at Antwerp (*K.d.K.*, p. 182). The trunk and left arm of the man about to cut off the Saint's foot correspond to those of the figure of Christ in *St. Dominic and St. Francis of Assisi Protecting the World from the Wrath of Christ*, in the Musée des Beaux-Arts at Lyons (No. 88, Fig. 151).

As Van de Velde has suggested, there is some indication that this lost altarpiece was ordered for a church or convent in Artois or Picardy, where St. Adrian was much venerated. In the first place, the copy that was in the possession of Sam Hartveld in 1931 and previously in the Musée des Beaux-Arts at Douai had been in the Carthusian monastery in that town until 1792. Secondly, Nicolas Poussin, in his *Martyrdom of St. Erasmus* painted for St. Peter's in Rome in 1628-29 (*A. Blunt, Nicolas Poussin*, III, London, 1969, pl. 45), adopted several motifs from the present work: he must therefore have seen either the

original or a copy before he left northern France in the autumn of 1623. Finally, it may be observed that around 1620, the approximate date of this painting, Rubens was entrusted with several orders for churches in what is now northern France, e.g. at Arras, Cambrai, Lille and Valenciennes.

61a. THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. ADRIAN: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 108)

Oil on panel; 32 : 40 cm. Cut down above and below; originally approximately 43 : 40 cm. Above on the left, a rectangle of 15.5 : 7.5 cm. was inserted during a restoration.

Antwerp, Rubenshuis. Inv. No. S. 136.

PROVENANCE: The panel is probably that listed in the inventory of Jacob Horremans, Antwerp 6-7 May 1678 (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 271: "Noch een schetse vanden selven [Rubens], representerende de Marterye van Sinte Adrianus"); sale, London, 7 May 1937, lot 80 (the subject described as "The Martyrdom of a Saint"); Henry Leroux, Versailles, who sold it to the Rubenshuis in 1959.

EXHIBITED: *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No. 22 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Van Puyvelde*, p. 186, repr.; M. Jaffé, *Rubens at Rotterdam, The Burlington Magazine*, xcvi, 1954, p. 57; C. Van de Velde, *Recente aanwinsten van het Rubenshuis*. III. *Een schets van P.P. Rubens: De Marteling van de heilige Adrianus, Antwerpen*, xii, 1966, pp. 41-49, repr. on p. 43; *d'Hulst*, 1968, p. 93, No. 8, pl. 4.

There are appreciable differences between the sketch and the final version, especially in the background architecture. To the left of the sketch we see the temple façade, placed further forward, with plain pillars surmounted by Corinthian capitals. On the right is a round structure which does not figure at all in the completed work; as Van de Velde has pointed out, it shows great similarity, in reverse, with a structure in the left background of *The Martyrdom of St. Catherine*, painted at about the same time for St. Catherine's church at Lille (No. 78, Fig. 133). This motif may be derived from the famous tapestry from Raphael's cartoon of *St. Paul and St. Barnabas at Lystra* (*K.d.K., Raffael*, p. 146). The two hovering angels are also not present in the sketch. The statue of Apollo can be seen almost full-length. The executioner on the left does not have a Moorish appearance, and the horseman on the extreme right is not carrying a banner.

From a comparison between the design and the final work it appears that the sketch must originally have been considerably higher: a strip of about 10 cm. must be imagined along the bottom, and of about 1 cm. at the top.

62. THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. ANDREW (Fig. 109)

Oil on canvas; 306 : 216 cm.

Madrid, Real Hospital de San Andrés de los Flamencos.

PROVENANCE: Chapel of the Ancient Hospital of San Andrés de los Flamencos; temporarily removed to the Escorial between the end of the XVIIIth century and 1844; removed to the chapel of the new Hospital of San Andrés de los Flamencos, 1877.

COPY: Engraving by K.G. Thelott, 1816, (*V.S.*, p. 95, No. 7).

EXHIBITED: *L'art Flamand dans les Collections Espagnoles*, Groeninge Museum, Bruges, No. 102 (repr.).

LITERATURE: A. Palomino, *El Museo Pictórico*, III, Madrid, 1724, p. 298; *Descamps, Vie*, p. 319; *Michel*, 1771, p. 317; N. Caïmo, *Voyage d'Espagne, fait en l'année 1755*, II, Paris, 1772, p. 133; R. Cumberland, *Anecdotes of eminent Painters in Spain*, 2nd ed., I, London, 1787, p. 187; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 130; C. Justi, *Diego Velazquez und sein Jahrhundert*, I, Bonn, 1888, p. 245; *Rooses*, II, pp. 216-218, No. 389; W. Stirling-Maxwell, *Annals of the Artists of Spain*, II, London, 1891, p. 639; M. Rooses, *De schenker der Marielie van den H. Andreas aan het gasthuis der Vlamingen te Madrid*, *Rubens-Bulletijn*, v, 1900, pp. 121-137; M. Rooses, *Trois pages d'histoire rubénienne*, *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique (Classe des Beaux-Arts)*, 1900, pp. 261-267; *Michel*, p. 554; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 424; *Dillon*, p. 171, pl. CCCXXIII; *K.d.K.*, p. 416; *Janson, Véronèse-Rubens*, p. 35.

According to an apocryphal tradition, St. Andrew was crucified in the Greek town of Patras by order of the Roman proconsul Egeas. In this painting Rubens faithfully depicts the Apostle's last moments as described by Jacopo de Voragine (*Legenda Aurea*, I, cols. 27, 28). After St. Andrew had hung on the cross for two days, during which time he continued to preach to a crowd of 20000 people, the proconsul offered to release him at the crowd's entreaty; but the Saint replied that he did not wish to descend from the cross alive, as God was awaiting him. At that moment he was surrounded by a bright glow of light, whereupon he gave up the ghost.

The cross with the body of the Saint fills about two-thirds of the picture. Egeas, on horseback on the right, has just ordered the executioners to release him. Below, on the left, two men are unfastening his right leg, while a third, on a ladder, is freeing his left arm; a fourth man, lower down on the right, is loosening the rope from the Apostle's waist. At the top of the picture, a ray of light from heaven illuminates the Saint's figure. On the left are two women: one, at the edge of the picture, is standing upright, and in front of her, nearer the middle, is one on her knees, looking up at Egeas with entreaty and stretching out her arms to him. One of the women may represent Egeas's wife Maximilla, who was converted to Christianity by the Saint. Some figures in the background, including a woman with a child, have been watching the execution and are no doubt part of the crowd which begged Egeas to spare the Apostle's life. Above, on the right, two or three small angels are seen hovering with a crown of laurel and the martyr's palm.

Rubens's model for this painting was an altarpiece of the same title executed by Otto van Veen between 1594 and 1599 for St. Andrew's church at Antwerp (J. Müller Hofstede, *Zum Werke des Otto van Veen 1590-1600*, *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, VI, 1957, Fig. 11 on p. 146). There we see the martyr on the cross and the proconsul on horseback in the same attitude, pointing to the Saint, and the crowd is also visible in the background behind the cross-beams. However, we can also recognize in Rubens's composition that of his own *Coup de Lance* of c. 1620, originally in the Franciscan church at Antwerp and now in the Museum there (*K.d.K.*, p. 216). Claire Janson, for her part, pointed out that the figure of the horseman on the right was inspired by Veronese. This and similar figures in other pictures of martyrs by Rubens do in fact ultimately derive from works by the Venetian master, e.g. his *Martyrdom of St. George* in San Giorgio at Verona (*Fiocco, Veronese*, pl. LVII). The present composition may also owe something to Hellenistic and Roman motifs: e.g. the martyr's head is very like that of Laocoön, and the female suppliant is reminiscent of a figure in a similar attitude, symbolizing a conquered province, in a Roman relief that was formerly in the Villa Medici at Rome (P. Santo Bartoli, *Admiranda Romanarum Antiquitatum...*, Rome, 1664-67, pl. 40). At an earlier date Rubens had in fact used the motif of the suppliant in reverse in a sketch for *The Entry of Henry IV into Paris*, now in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin-Dahlem (*K.d.K.*, p. 318).

By a will dated 24 April 1639 this painting was bequeathed by Jan van Vucht, the Madrid agent of Balthasar Moretus's printing works, to the Real Hospital de San Andrés de los Flamencos, a hostel for Flemings in the Spanish capital. The passage reads: "Mando se entregue al d^{ho} ospital el quadro del martirio del glorioso san andres que e hecho traer de flandes y es pintura de la mano del famoso maestro p^o pablo Rubens y al d^{ho} quadro se le heche un marco como lo pide el mismo quadro de la mejor escultura que se pudiere á election de abraan lers y Ju^o beymar ebanista criados de su mag^d. Y ansi mismo se hagan sus columnas y rremates y lo demas que fuere nezes^o á la mysama election de los susod^{hos} lo qual a de ser en el altar mayor del d^{ho} ospital y lo que todo esto costare se a de pagar de lo que ansi debo à las d^{has} limosnas de mi dispuzion" (M. Rooses, *De schenker der Martelie van den H. Andreas...*, *op. cit.*, p. 134). It appears from this that the picture was not yet framed—the work of doing so was to be entrusted to the cabinet-makers Abraham Lers and Juliaan Beymar—and it would thus seem that it had been painted only a short time before. We may therefore take it as probable that it was painted and delivered in 1638 or, at the latest, early in 1639.

Jan van Vucht and Rubens were not strangers: they had corresponded in 1629–30, when Van Vucht had commissioned other works from Rubens (*Rooses-Ruelens*, v, pp. 195, 196, 294, 300, 304, 331, 333, 338).

62a. THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. ANDREW: DRAWING (Fig. 110)

Pen and brown ink on white paper; 270 : 184 mm.

Rotterdam, *Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*. Inv. No. *Rubens 9*.

PROVENANCE: F.J.O. Boymans (Utrecht, 1767–1847); part of the initial collection of the Museum Boymans, at its foundation, 1847.

LITERATURE: *Catalogus van teekeningen in het museum te Rotterdam*, Rotterdam, 1852, No. 266 (as *anonymous work of the school of Van Dyck*); *Beschrijving der teekeningen in het Museum te Rotterdam*, Rotterdam, 1869, No. 13 (as *anonymous work of the school of Van Dyck*); J. Müller Hofstede, *Opmerkingen bij enige tekeningen van Rubens in het Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*, *Bulletin Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*, XIII, 1962, pp. 116–118.

This is a first rough sketch for the altar-piece at San Andrés de los Flamencos in Madrid.

Although executed loosely and with little detail, this drawing shows clearly the main lines of the composition of the final altar-piece. The figures of the crucified Saint, the proconsul on horseback and the onlookers are disposed in the same way, though the rider's attitude and that of his horse are different. The proconsul is seen in profile; the horse's flank is towards the spectator and its head is turned to the left. Below on the left we recognize the kneeling woman, but in the drawing her head and right arm form a gesture very similar to that of the soldier who occupies about the same position in the final version.

On the reverse of the sheet is a very sketchy drawing of two figures in rapid movement: these are connected with *The Horrors of War* in the Pitti Palace at Florence (*K.d.K.*, p. 428), a work painted in c. 1637-38, i.e. at much the same time as the St. Andrew altar-piece.

62b. THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. ANDREW: OIL SKETCH OR DRAWING

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: Rubens's estate, 1641.

COPIES: (1) Drawing (Fig. 111), London, British Museum, No. 1898.3.28.2; 578 : 443 mm.; prov.: Crozat, sale, Paris, 10 April 1741 et seqq., lot 829 (as *Rubens*); La Live de Jully, sale, Paris, 2-14 May 1770, lot 1680 (as *Rubens*); P.J. Mariette, sale, Paris, 15 November 1775 et seqq., lot 996 (as *Rubens*); Raudon de Boisset, sale, Paris, 27 February 1777 et seqq. (as *Rubens*); Vassal de St. Hubert, sale, Paris, 29 March 1779 et seqq., lot 25 (as *Rubens*); Le Brun, sale, Paris, 11 April 1791 (as *Rubens*); Lagoy; T. Lawrence, London; lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 10, No. 13 (as *Rubens*); *Rooses*, II, p. 218, under No. 389; *Hind*, II, p. 10, No. 13 (as *Rubens*); *Held*, I, p. 152 (as *only retouched by Rubens*); J. Müller Hofstede, *Zum zeichnerischen Werk von Rubens, Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, xxvii, 1965, p. 343; (2) Drawing, Haarlem, Teylers Museum, No. U-1; 593 : 460 mm.; lit.: *Hind*, p. 10 under No. 13; (3) Engraving (Fig. 112) published by J. Dierckx, probably after (1) (*V.S.*, p. 95, No. 6); (4) Engraving by A. Voet, probably after (2) (*V.S.*, p. 95, No. 5).

There are many differences between this composition, known only from copies, and the painting at Madrid. Behind the back of the kneeling woman is a man, also kneeling, with his head turned towards the proconsul. On the extreme

left, behind the woman standing upright, the head of a third female figure can be seen. As in the version in the Boymans-van Beuningen Museum (No. 62a; Fig. 110), the proconsul is still in profile. His upraised hand is in front of the executioner's outstretched arm and not of the Saint's right leg. The right hand of the kneeling woman is drawn in profile. From the nature of these differences and from the more concentrated structure of the altar-piece in San Andrés de los Flamencos, we may assume that the present composition was the modello for that painting.

Hind regarded the engraver's modello in the British Museum (Fig. 111) as a drawing by Rubens himself. He also identified it with a work mentioned as follows in the list of the painter's debts at the moment of his death: "Aen het lossen van sekere teeckeninge van St. Andries, mette plaete daeraff, die den heer afflyvigen gegeven hadde in handen van eenen plaetsnyder, van der Does genoemt, die deselve verseth hadde, betaelt gl. 23" ("For the engraving of a certain drawing of St. Andrew with the copper plate thereof, which the deceased had entrusted to an engraver named Van der Does: paid 23 guilders"; *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 83). The anonymous engraving published by Jan Dierckx was thought by Rooses and Hind to be identical with the one made by Antoon van der Does. Burchard did not agree with Hind's attribution of the modello to Rubens, but he thought it probable that the original on which it was based was identical with that recorded in Rubens's estate. However, this view must be treated with some reserve, as the name of Van der Does is missing from the engravings of the *Martyrdom*. It is also possible that the *St. Andrew* mentioned in the inventory is an entirely different work, of which we know nothing.

63. THE BLESSED ANNA DE JÉSUS

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 100 : 82 cm.; prov.: Brussels, Convent of the Carmelite Nuns; lit.: C. Emond, *L'iconographie carmélitaine dans les anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux*, 1, 1961, pp. 197, 198; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 123 : 83 cm.; prov.: Convent "zu Himmelsporten", near Würzburg; (3) Engraving by Cornelis I Galle (Fig. 115; *V.S.*, p. 181, No. 231).

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, 1830, p. 297, No. 1067; *Rooses*, II, p. 357, No. 497; IV, p. 125; T. Rauch, *Die Ehrw. Anna von Jesus und Rubens, Die Christliche Kunst*, 1934, pp. 49-58; C. Emond, *L'iconographie carmélitaine dans les anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux*, I, Brussels, 1961, pp. 197, 198.

The Blessed Anna de Jésus, a Discalced Carmelite and one of the first companions of St. Teresa of Avila, is known to have founded several convents of her order in the Southern Netherlands *e.g.* at Brussels, Louvain, Mons, Malines and Ghent (Marie-Joseph, *Anne de Jésus*, in *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie ecclésiastiques*, III, Paris, 1904, cols. 333-340).

The Blessed Anna is shown half-length; she is making an offering of her heart, inflamed by love, to the Eucharist, depicted in the form of a chalice and Host presented to her by a cherub. This theme of her self-immolation to the Holy Sacrament was the subject, before Rubens, of an engraving by Antoon Wierix (C. Emond, *op. cit.*, II, p. 173, fig. 88), which seems to have served Rubens as a model from the point of view of composition also, as the Blessed Anna's attitude is very similar in both works. She is identified in the first instance by the inscription below Galle's engraving: "Vera effigies v.M. ANNAE A IESV. HAEC, S.M. TERESIAE socia, virtutum eius Hæres specialis, SS.^{mo} Sacramento devotissima, ordinem suum in Francia et Belgio fundavit" ("True face of the Blessed Mother Anna de Jésus, companion of St. Teresa, special heir of her virtues, most devoted to the Holy Sacrament, she founded her order in France and Belgium"). Her full, fleshy face is somewhat like St. Teresa (*e.g.* II, No. 155), which explains the fact that at a later stage of the engraving she was given a saint's halo and the inscription was changed to "S. MATER ET VIRGO TERESA" (*V.S.*, p. 181, under No. 231).

64. THE DEATH OF ST. ANTHONY ABBOT (Fig. 113)

Oil on canvas; 204 : 146 cm.

Pommersfelden, Castle Weissenstein, Count Schönborn.

PROVENANCE: ? St. John's Church, 's Hertogenbosch; purchased, at the latest in 1719, for the collection of prince-bishop Lothar of Schönborn; Count of Schönborn, sale, Paris, 17-23 May 1867, lot 165 (as *Crayer*), but withdrawn to the castle of Pommersfelden.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 114), 's Hertogenbosch, St. John's Church; canvas, approximately 200 : 150 cm.; (2) Drawing, whereabouts unknown; 300 : 250 mm.; prov.: Havelsky, Brno; lit.: H. Leporini, *A hitherto unknown drawing by Rubens, The Burlington Magazine*, LIII, 1928, pp. 134, 138, repr. (as *Rubens*); (3) Drawing after the head of St. Anthony, Copenhagen, Print Room of the Statens Museum for Kunst, "Rubens-Cantoor", No. v, 63.

LITERATURE: J.R. Byss, *Fürtrefflicher Gemäld- und Bilderschatz, So In denen Gallerie und Zimmern, des Churfürstl. Pommersfeldischen... Privatschloss zu finden ist*, Bamberg, 1719, Galerie No. 122; S. Kleiner, *Wahrhaftige Vorstellung beyder Hoch-Gräfl. Schlösser Weissenstein ob Pommersfeld und Geibach*, Augsburg, 1728, not paginated; *Beschreibung des fürtrefflichen Gemähd und Bilder Schätzes, welcher in denen hochgräflichen Schlössern und Gebäuen Deren Reichs Grafen Von Schönborn, Buchheim, Wolfshal, etc... zu ersehen und zu finden*, Würzburg, 1746, No. 36; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 299, No. 1075; *Katalog der gräflich Schönbornschen Bilder-Gallerie zu Pommersfelden*, Würzburg, 1857, No. 530 (as *School of Rubens*); Mrs. Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art*, II, London, 1857, p. 753; *Parthey*, II, p. 444, No. 26 (as *Art und Schule des Rubens*); *Rooses*, II, pp. 218, 219, No. 391; T. von Frimmel, *Verzeichnis der Gemälde in gräfl. Schönborn-Wiesentheid'schen Besitze*, Pommersfelden, 1894, No. 475 (as *Atelier des Rubens, Ein sterbender Heiliger*); M. Rooses, *Rubens en Ophovius, Rubens-Bulletijn*, v, 1897, pp. 162, 163; *Oldenbourg*, 1922, pp. 103, 104 (as *loft*); H. Leporini, *A hitherto unknown drawing by Rubens, The Burlington Magazine*, LIII, 1928, pp. 134, 139; H. Hantsch and H. Fischer, *Schloss Weissenstein ob Pommersfelden der Grafen von Schönborn. Führer und Gemäldeverzeichnis*, Bamberg, n.d., p. 27, No. 475.

The account of the hermit's last hours is ultimately based on the *Vita* by his contemporary St. Athanasius. According to this, St. Anthony died in 356 at the age of 105 in his hermitage on Mount Kolzim, near the Red Sea. Shortly before, he commanded his disciples Macarius and Amathas to bury his body in secret in order that it should not be embalmed after the Egyptian custom, and to distribute his garments. The sheepskin and threadbare cloak on which he lay were to be given to the patriarch Athanasius, and another sheepskin to the bishop St. Serapion, while the disciples were to keep their master's camel-hair robe (*AA.SS.*, January, II).

St Anthony is here seen lying on a bed and making known his last wishes. A crucifix is seen on the blanket. On the left we recognize St. Athanasius by his patriarchal cross and pallium: contrary to the latter's account, St. Anthony is shown giving him the cloak directly. Between the two Saints one of the disciples is seen straightening the dying man's pillow. On the right St.

Serapion is receiving another cloak: here again it is contrary to the story that he should be given it in person, and moreover the cloak should be a sheepskin. Between Saints Serapion and Anthony we see another disciple holding a candle; on his breast is the Tau sign with two small bells, the attribute of St. Anthony and his fellow-hermits (L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, III, 1, Paris, 1958, p. 105). In the foreground two other disciples kneel by the bed, holding the Saint's camel-hair robe. On the shoulder of the right-hand one of these we also see the Tau sign and bells. Under the bed can be seen the head of St. Anthony's attribute, the pig. In the lower right-hand corner is a holy-water stoup of copper with an *aspergillum*. At the top two cherubs hover in a glow of heavenly light, bringing the dying Saint a laurel wreath.

The composition, and especially the arrangement of the bystanders in a circle round the bed, which is placed diagonally, seems to be directly derived from fifteenth-century representations of the Virgin's death-bed. Special attention should be paid here to Martin Schongauer's print (J. Baum, *Martin Schongauer*, Vienna, 1948, pl. 8) and the painting by Hugo van der Goes in the Groeninge Museum at Bruges (M.J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, IV, Berlin, 1926, pl. 14). There is a close resemblance between the iconographic details in this work and Pieter Bruegel's *Death of the Virgin*, a panel that was in Rubens's possession (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 64, No. 193) and is now at Upton House, Banbury (F. Grossmann, *Bruegel: The Paintings*, London, 1966, pl. 77). In both compositions there is a crucifix at the foot of the bed and, in front of it, a holy-water stoup and sprinkler; in both, the dying person's pillow is being set straight, in Rubens's work by a disciple and in Bruegel's by a maid. The style of the Rubens picture is typical of his work around 1615: the figures monumentally conceived and very plastically drawn, the local colouring and striking contrasts of light with sharply cast shadows.

It may be, as Rooses suggested, that this painting is identical with one of St. Anthony by Rubens that is mentioned several times in March 1631 in the *diarium* of Michiel Ophovius, then bishop of 's Hertogenbosch: "10 Martii... Recepti litteras a D^o Arnolde Godefredi van Aken Antverpiae, quibus significat, uxorem de Moij (Buscod.) ad instantiam junioris Swertii (canonici Buscod.) vendidisse tabulam S. Antonii etc. Scripsi quoque de tabula, picta per Rubens, S. Antonii, quae debetur D^o Arnolde van Aken, quam vendidit uxor de Moij... Dom^{ca} 16 Martii... In prandio nemo nisi D^a Taeterbeeck, de Moij Sylvaedu-

censis, pictor et Swertius canonicus; venerunt cum Pastore in Mirloo. Tractavi negotium van Aken de ornamentis; et nec tabula vendita, nec ornamenta alienata etc.; imo accusabant ab Aken, quod quinque candelabra aenea altaris S. Antonii abstulisset et aliqua ornamenta..." (*Diarium ofte Journael van den lesten Bisschop van 's-Hertogenbosche Ophovius...*, published in M. Rooses, *Rubens en Ophovius, op. cit.*, pp. 162, 163 (incorrect and incomplete) and A. Frenken, *Het Dagboek van Michaël Ophovius, 4 Augustus 1629 – einde 1631, Bossche Bijdragen*, xv, 1-3, 1938, pp. 192, 194). From this we learn that the painting had changed owners: Arnold Godfried van Aken, who in 1629 was pastor of St. Peter's church at 's Hertogenbosch and later studied at Louvain (A. Frenken, *op. cit.*, p. 192, n. 3), writes to Ophovius that Vrouw de Moij of 's Hertogenbosch had, with the knowledge of Canon Swertius there, sold the picture of St. Anthony from a church that is not named but was probably St. John's, in the north aisle of which the hatters' guild had an altar dedicated to St. Anthony (J.C.A. Hezenmans, *De St. Janskerk te 's Hertogenbosch en haar geschiedenis*, 's Hertogenbosch, 1866, p. 334). However, in a conversation with Ophovius shortly afterwards, Rubens and Vrouw de Moij declared that she had not sold anything from St. Anthony's altar; on the contrary, they accused Van Aken of having made away with five copper candelabra and other ornaments from the altar. Unfortunately, the diary does not tell us the outcome of this regrettable dispute. It was presumably connected with the alienation of works of art from St. John's church in the troubled times immediately after the capture of 's Hertogenbosch by the troops of the States-General in September 1629, when the guilds and craftsmen removed pictures and other decorations from their chapels in the cathedral. Some of the works of art remained on the guilds' premises thereafter; others were dispersed and some came into South Netherlandish ownership (J.C.A. Hezenmans, *op. cit.*, p. 275).

There are some signs to suggest that Rooses's presumption is correct. About the time when this picture was painted, i.e. around 1615, much work was being done to embellish the cathedral, which had been severely damaged in the religious wars of the later sixteenth century (Hezenmans, *op. cit.*, pp. 259-271). There is still in the cathedral a seventeenth-century copy of the picture now at Pommersfelden (Fig. 114), and it is not improbable that this was commissioned by the hatters' guild in order to replace the then lost original, now at Pommersfelden.

65. ST. AUGUSTINE: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 116)

Oil on panel; 38 : 17 cm.

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. No. 379.

PROVENANCE: R. Cosway, sale, London, 17 May 1821, lot 28; presented to the Ashmolean Museum by Mr. Chambers Hall, 1855.

EXHIBITED: *Brussels*, 1937, No. 20.

LITERATURE: P. Buschmann, *Rubens en Van Dyck in het Ashmolean Museum te Oxford, Onze Kunst*, xv, 1916, p. 24, repr.; *Catalogue of Paintings in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford, 1961, No. 379.

The Saint is depicted full-length, wearing the black habit of the Augustinian Hermits, who regarded him as their founder. Over the habit he wears a heavy brocaded cope, in addition to the episcopal insignia of the mitre and crozier. In his left hand he holds a heart in flames, pierced by an arrow, in allusion to his words concerning the Divine love: "Sagittaveras tu cor nostrum caritate tua et gestabamus verba tua transfixa visceribus" (*Confessions*, ix, 2).

It is suggested in the Ashmolean Museum catalogue that this may have been a sketch for one of the figures in *The Real Presence in the Holy Sacrament*, painted about 1610, in St. Paul's church at Antwerp (No. 56; Fig. 99). It certainly resembles St. Ambrose in the foreground of the altarpiece at St. Paul's, but the two works are unlikely to be directly connected. In the first place the Saint represented in the panel is a different one, and secondly the figure is only an approximate repetition of the St. Augustine, as well as being in reverse. In view of the smallness of the sketch, it seems safest to regard it provisionally as the design for the right-hand panel of a triptych that was never completed or has been lost. We may agree with the author of the catalogue in dating the sketch about 1610; it may be noted that the elongated body and small head (about one-tenth of the body's total length) are very typical of Rubens's work in his earliest years at Antwerp. The saints in the foreground of the St. Paul's altarpiece are of the same type. There is a still more striking comparison with the sketch for the outer sides of the triptych of *The Elevation of the Cross* (1610-11) in the Dulwich College Gallery (*The Dulwich Pictures*,

London, 1954, p. 17, Nos. 40 and 40 A, repr.). Apart from the similarity of bodily type in the four saints represented, there is also a similarity of technique in the marked impasto and the way it is enlivened by a few lighter strokes that also suggest the effect of light on the saints' robes.

At some time after 1821 the panel was enlarged to a width of 29 cm., and at the same time the background was painted over. In 1948 the work was restored and was once more given its original dimensions.

66. ST. AUGUSTINE BETWEEN CHRIST AND THE HOLY VIRGIN (Fig. 117)

Oil on canvas; 237 : 179 cm.

Madrid, Academia de San Fernando. No. 685.

PROVENANCE: Jesuit College, Alcala de Henarés; removed to the Jesuit College of San Isidoro, Madrid, by 1772; removed to the Academia de San Fernando, Madrid, between 1829 and 1852.

LITERATURE: A. Palomino, *El Museo Pictorico*, III, Madrid, 1724, p. 299; [A.J. Dezallier d'Argenville], *Abrégé de la vie des plus fameux peintres*, III, Paris, 1762, p. 303; A. Ponz, *Viage de España*, I, Madrid, 1772, p. 306; N. Caïmo, *Voyage d'Espagne, fait en l'année 1755*, Paris, 1772, pp. 129, 137; Conde de Maule, *Viage de España, Francia e Italia*, XI, Cadiz, 1812, p. 31; *Rooses*, II, p. 220, No. 393; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 17; W. Bode, *Kritik und Chronologie der Gemälde von Peter Paul Rubens*, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, N.F., XVI, 1905, p. 201; G. Glück, *Klassiker der Kunst in Gesamtausgaben Bd. V, Kunstgeschichtliche Anzeigen*, II, 1905, p. 54; Dillon, pp. 90, 198, pl. CXXXI; *K.d.K.*, p. 95; E. Tormo, *Academia de San Fernando Madrid*, Madrid, 1929, p. 36; Glück, 1933, p. 157; *Knipping*, II, Hilversum, 1940, pp. 45, 46, fig. 52; A. Pérez Sanchez, *Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando. Inventario de las Pinturas*, Madrid, 1964, p. 63, No. 685; F. Labrada, *Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Catálogo de las Pinturas*, Madrid, 1965, p. 75, No. 685.

This picture is based on an apocryphal story that St. Augustine, offered the choice of seeking refreshment in the blood of Christ or in Mary's milk, expressed his indecision in the verse: "Positus in medio, quo me vertam nescio, hic pascor a vulnere, hic lactor ab ubere." (For this legend see especially *Knipping*, II, pp. 44-48).

St. Augustine of Hippo, clad as a member of the Order named after him, is seen in the middle of the picture kneeling on two books, no doubt signifying his role as a Doctor of the Church. His arms are crossed and he is looking upwards. To the left is Christ with his cross, unclothed and bleeding from the wound in his side. To the right is the Virgin, who has bared her right breast as if to give suck. The Saint's mitre and crozier lie in the foreground on the extreme left.

Christ's body, inclined to the left, is modelled closely on the "Torso di Fauno" which belonged to the Gaddi family at Florence until 1778 and is now in the Uffizi (G.A. Mansuelli, *Gallerie degli Uffizi. Le Sculture*, 1, Florence, 1958, No. 126, Fig. 127). Altogether the attitude of Christ shows a strong antique influence: Rubens was undoubtedly inspired by the motif of Zeus in triumph, famous from many classical and postclassical models.

This work was formerly wrongly associated with one of Rubens's visits to Spain. Thus Rooses and Rosenberg sought to date it 1603, while Tormo thought it might have been painted in 1628. Glück in his review of Rosenberg's monograph suggested a date of about 1611; but Bode and Oldenbourg were able to show that it must date from about 1615. The characteristic feature is the "classical" conception of the middle of the second decade, expressed in the monumental and highly plastic treatment of the figures, their cool local colouring and sharply indicated shadows.

67. ST. AUGUSTINE AT THE SEASHORE (Fig. 118)

Oil on canvas; 264 : 175 cm.; enlarged at four sides.

Prague, *Národní Galerie*. No. 483.

PROVENANCE: St. Thomas's Church, the former church of the Augustinians, Prague; removed to the *Národní Galerie*, Prague, 1896.

EXHIBITED: *Flámská figurální malba 17. století v pražské Národní galerii*, *Národní Galerie*, Prague, 1964, No. IX.

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 298, No. 1074; *Rooses*, II, p. 219, No. 392; *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg*, p. 435; *Dillon*, pp. 171, 224, pl. CCCXVI; P. Bergner,

Katalog der Gemälde-Galerie im Künstlerhause Rudolfinum zu Prag, Prague, 1912, No. 523; *K.d.K.*, p. 422; *Van Puyvelde*, p. 163; *Národní Galerie v Praze. Sbirka starého Umění*, Prague, 1955, No. 483.

The legend here depicted relates how St. Augustine was walking along the seashore and meditating on the mystery of the Holy Trinity, when he saw a boy trying, with the help of a shell, to transfer the waters of the sea into a small hole in the sand. When he asked why, the youth, who seems to have been a divine messenger, replied that it would be easier to do this than fathom the mystery of the Trinity (*AA. SS.*, August, vi). The source of the legend is not precisely known, but it existed in the fifteenth century, as shown e.g. by the small panel by Filippo Lippi, formerly in Princess Eugénie of Oldenburg's collection at St. Petersburg (R. Oertel, *Fra Filippo Lippi*, Vienna, 1942, pl. 52).

The Saint is wearing his episcopal robes. A cherub, above on the right, holds the mitre and crozier in one hand and in the other the Saint's attribute of a heart in flames. The boy, scooping with his shell, is in the lower part of the picture to the right; the Saint is stretching out an arm towards him. More shells are on the beach, and gulls are hovering in the air. The monumental figure of the Saint, bending slightly forward and wrapped in an ample cloak, recalls that of St. Amandus on the outer side of the left-hand panel of the *Raising of the Cross* triptych of 1610-11, now in Antwerp cathedral (*K.d.K.*, p. 37).

We learn from a chronicle of the Augustinian monastery at Prague that Rubens's paintings for the high altar there, dedicated to St. Thomas—viz. the present work and *The Martyrdom of St. Thomas* (II, No. 156)—were delivered in 1639 and that he was paid 945 guilders for them: "... reperio in libro exitus anno 1639 sequentia: Tandem Antverpia a perillustri D. Rubens diligentia Rev. P. Baccal. fratris Nicolai a S. Augustino accessimus picturas pro majori altari a Rev. P. praedecessore p.m. ordinatus, pro quibus solvi sexcentos et triginta imperiales (id est ut columna exposita habet: 945 flor.)" (*Rooses*, II, p. 359). *Rooses* says that the two pictures were ordered in 1637 by Countess Helena Martinitz, née Werschowitz, but it has not been possible to trace the evidence for this. When the church interior was rebuilt in rococo style in about 1730 the rectangular canvas was enlarged on all four sides so as to fit into a new frame.

68-69. TWO PENDANTS: ST. BARBARA AND ST. CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA

68. ST. BARBARA

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPY: Engraving by S. a Bolswert (Fig. 119; *V.S.*, p. 113, No. 18).

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, II, p. 221, No. 395.

The Saint is seen standing in front of the tower in which she was imprisoned by her father. Her head is surrounded by a halo, and she holds a palm in her right hand. In the upper left-hand corner two angels offer her a wreath of flowers and a lily, the symbol of virginal purity. On the ground, to the right of her feet, is the sword with which she was slain. On the left is a balustrade, beyond which can be glimpsed a wooded landscape.

The figure is a repetition of that of the Virgin in *The Return of the Holy Family*, an altar-piece painted in Rubens's studio in about 1620 for the former Jesuit church at Antwerp, and now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Schelte a Bolswert's engraving from this picture is reproduced in *Rooses*, I, pl. 65).

It is impossible to say whether the engraving from the present composition and that from No. 69, which together form a pair, were done from large paintings or from modelli drawn or painted specially for the engraver.

69. ST. CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPY: Engraving by S. a Bolswert (Fig. 120; *V.S.*, p. 114, No. 29).

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, II, pp. 238, 239, No. 402; *Martin, Ceiling Paintings*, p. 145.

The Saint stands upright, holding a palm in her right hand and resting her left on the sword with which she was beheaded. In the upper right-hand corner are two angels, one offering her a laurel wreath and strewing flowers before her, while the other draws her attention to the flowers. On the right, behind

the Saint, is the wheel on which she was tortured, and which afterwards broke in pieces. In the left background are two spiral pillars with arabesque ornamentation, such as are found in several works dated about 1620 or a little later: e.g. *Tomiris and Cyrus* in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (*K.d.K.*, p. 175); the *Portrait of Alethea Talbot and her Train* in the Alte Pinakothek at Munich (*K.d.K.*, p. 200); and the *Baptism of Constantine* from the tapestry series devoted to that emperor's life (*K.d.K.*, p. 230). They derive, no doubt, from Raphael's *Healing of the Lame Man* in the famous *Acts of the Apostles* series (*K.d.K.*, *Raffaël*, p. 138). The figure of the Saint is an adaptation from another composition: as Burchard and Martin pointed out, she is to be found on the outer side of the right-hand panel of *The Raising of the Cross* (1610-11), now in Antwerp Cathedral (*K.d.K.*, p. 37).

70. THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW: DRAWING (Fig. 121)

Pen and wash; 270 : 194 mm; below on the right, mark of the collection of the Earl of Warwick (L. 2600).

New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library. No. 1.241 (as *Van Dyck*).

PROVENANCE: The Earl of Warwick, Warwick Castle; sale, London (Christie's), 20-21 May 1896, lot 125 (as *Van Dyck*); C. Fairfax Murray, London.

LITERATURE: C. Fairfax Murray, *Collection of Drawings by the Old Masters formed by C. Fairfax Murray*, 1, London, 1905-12, No. 241 (as *Van Dyck*); *Goris-Held*, p. 42, No. 107 (as *Rubens*).

The apostle St. Bartholomew is said to have been flayed alive, during the first century A.D., at the command of the pagan king Astyages of Armenia. This legend, based on the apocryphal *Breviarium Apostolorum*, became widespread at an early date (*Legenda Aurea*, II, col. 61; *AA. SS.*, August, v).

The martyr is outstretched on a rack, placed diagonally in regard to the picture, and resting against a tree to which his feet are being bound by two henchmen, while a third has just begun to flay the Saint's left arm. In the background is a horseman wearing a turban and escorted by soldiers. On the far left is a statue of Apollo Musagetes, symbolizing the paganism attacked by the Apostle. An angel hovers above, bearing the martyr's crown. In the

foreground, on the extreme right, are the executioners' implements and a dog.

The naked figure of the outstretched martyr is clearly inspired, though in reverse, by the main figure in the Laocoön group (M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York, 1955, fig. 530).

The composition of this drawing is very similar to that of Rubens's pictures of martyrs painted about 1615–20, e.g. those of St. Adrian (No. 61, Fig. 107), St. Laurence (II, No. 126) and St. Catherine (No. 78, Fig. 133). However, despite the evident inspiration of his style I do not believe that it was executed by Rubens himself, as is assumed by *Goris-Held, loc. cit.*, and Burchard. The technique is unusual for Rubens and, more definitely, the drawing of facial traits and extremities of the body is not up to Rubens's standard. I am not convinced by Held's comparison with *Abraham, Isaac and Jacob* and *King David*, two drawings in the Louvre (*Glück-Haberditzl*, Nos. 40, 41).

71. THE CONVERSION OF ST. BAVO: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 122)

Oil on three panels; central panel: 106.5 : 83 cm.; side panels, each: 107.5 : 41 cm.

London, National Gallery. No. 57.

PROVENANCE: ? Canon Hendrik van Halmale, Antwerp, 1659; Palazzo Careggi, Genoa; purchased there by Irvine for W. Holwell-Carr via W. Buchanan, 1805; W. Holwell-Carr, London; purchased for the National Gallery, with the Holwell-Carr Bequest, 1831; on loan to the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, between 1921 and 1932.

COPIES: (1) Painting after the two side wings, Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Nos. 7115 and 7116; canvas, each 113 : 43 cm.; prov.: Castle Neuburg; (2) Painting by R.P. Bonington, whereabouts unknown; panel, 26.5 : 40.5 cm.; prov.: sale, London, 20 November 1968, lot 55; lit.: A. Shirley, *Bonington*, London, 1940, p. 97, pl. 62; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 45.5 : 60.5 cm.; prov.: Arnold van Buuren, sale, Amsterdam (Mak), 26–27 May 1925, lot 113; (4) Watercolour by J. West, whereabouts unknown; 197 : 305 mm.; prov.: Northwick Park, sale, London (Christie's), 25 May 1965, lot 192; (5) Drawing after the central panel, Copenhagen, Print Room of the Statens Museum for Kunst, "Rubens-Cantoor", No. VII, 2; (6) Drawing after the three women on the left, Copenhagen, Print Room of the Statens Museum for Kunst, "Rubens-Cantoor", No. I, 62; (7) Drawing after the figures in the right of the central panel and in the foreground of the right-hand wing, London, Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum, No. 1950.5.8.1; 290 : 400 mm.; prov.: J. Mc Gowan; C. Briscoe; lit.: G. Martin, *National Gallery Catalogues. The Flemish School circa 1600*

— circa 1900, London, 1970, p. 133; (8) Drawing by Fragonard after a part of the foreground figures in the central panel and those in the inner half of the left wing, London, Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum, No. 1936.5.9.57; 190 : 286 mm.; lit.: G. Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

EXHIBITED: *Pictures by Rubens, Rembrandt, Vandyke, and other Artists of the Flemish and Dutch Schools*, British Institution, London, 1815, No. 116; *Cleaned Pictures*, National Gallery, London, 1947, No. 48.

LITERATURE: C.N. Cochin, *Voyage d'Italie*, III, Paris, 1758, p. 263; *Description des Beautés de Gènes et de ses environs*, Genoa, 1773, p. 111 (as *L'Empereur Théodose aux pieds de S. Ambroise*); C.G. Ratti, *Istruzione di quanto puo vedersi di più bello in Genova, ecc.*, 2nd ed., Genoa, 1780, p. 280 (as *S. Ambrogio, chi assolve l'Imperador Teodosio*); W. Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting*, II, London, 1824, p. 177; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 256; IX, p. 322, No. 284; G.F. Waagen, *Kunstwerke und Künstler in England und Paris*, I, Berlin, 1837, p. 218; G.F. Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, I, London, 1854, p. 350; *Rooses*, II, pp. 230, 231, No. 396bis; *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, pp. 69–74; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 63; *Dillon*, pp. 121, 146, 195, pl. LVI; *K.d.K.*, p. 272; F. Winkler, *Klassiker der Kunst Bd. V: Rubens. Vierte neubearbeitete Auflage von R. Oldenbourg*, Stuttgart, 1921, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XLIV, 1923, p. 133 (as *not by Rubens*); *Glück*, 1933, pp. 198–207, fig. 112 (as *Frans II Francken*); K. Zoege von Manteuffel, *Nachträge*, in *Glück*, 1933, p. 403; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 145–150; *Van Puyvelde*, p. 142; M. De Maeyer, *Albrecht en Isabella en de schilderkunst*, Brussels, 1955, p. 100; *Held*, I, p. 108; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 14, 312; M. Jaffé, *Rubens and Raphael*, in *Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Art presented to Anthony Blunt*, London, 1967, p. 104; J. Müller Hofstede, *Eine Kreidestudie von Rubens für den Kreuzaufrichtungsalter*, *Pantheon*, xxv, 1967, pp. 41, 42; G. Martin, *Rubens's "Dissegno Colorito" for Bishop Maes reconsidered*, *The Burlington Magazine*, cx, 1968, pp. 434–437; J. Müller Hofstede, *Neue Ölskizzen von Rubens*, *Städel Jahrbuch*, II, 1969, p. 232; G. Martin, *National Gallery Catalogues. The Flemish School circa 1600–circa 1900*, London, 1970, pp. 126–133, No. 57.

The story of St. Bavo's life is based on two or three early medieval *Vitae* (AA.SS., October, 1). These relate how the seventh-century Count Allowin of Haspengouw (Hesbaye) was converted from worldly ways after the death of his wife, under the influence of St. Amandus. He distributed his possessions among the poor and finally became a monk in St. Peter's Abbey at Ghent, the abbot of which was St. Floribert. At this time he took the name of Bavo.

Three stages of his conversion are depicted in the middle panel. Below, in the foreground, we see attendants of the Count distributing his goods among

the needy, who appear in the central part of the panel and also occupy the foreground on the extreme left. In the upper part is a further scene showing the convert, still in armour, climbing the monumental stairway of an imposing building, which must represent the abbey at Ghent. In front of him are two mitred bishops, no doubt St. Amandus and St. Floribert. Around and behind him are deacons and monks, the latter wearing the black Benedictine habit.

A satisfactory interpretation of the scenes on the extreme right and left was recently put forward by Gregory Martin. The three women on the left are, he suggests, St. Gertrude and St. Begga, who were inspired by Bavo's death to make a similar resolution to his, and Bavo's daughter Agletrude. In suggesting this Martin based himself on the edition of Bavo's *Life* by J. Molanus (*Indiculus Sanctorum Belgii*, Louvain, 1573, pp. 14-16), but Molanus's account does not speak of the presence of Agletrude. She is mentioned, however, in the *Vita Theodorici* published by Lipomanus and Surlius (L. Surlius, *De Vitis Sanctorum ab Aloysio Lipomano...*, v, Cologne, 1581, f° 166 verso, 167). The scene on the extreme right, which Martin associates with another passage in Molanus's edition, depicts two crowned personages on horseback, the one on the left being clearly older than the other. Besides members of their retinue we see a man in a robe adorned by the imperial eagle: he is evidently discussing with the other two a document that he holds in his right hand. Martin referred this to the passage in Molanus which states that the Emperor at Constantinople refused to accept St. Bavo's decision to become a monk, because of an edict forbidding warriors to embrace the monastic life. Bavo, however, was supported in his resolution by the Frankish king Clothar and his son, the future Dagobert I. The men on horseback may be identified as the two Frankish kings, and the man with the scroll is no doubt the imperial messenger seeking in vain to exact respect for the edict.

The Venetian character of this composition, with its impressive architectonic structures and the animated grouping of figures, is obvious. It is difficult to suggest a direct model; as Martin (*National Gallery Catalogues, op. cit.*, p. 130) pointed out, a similar arrangement may be found e.g. in Andrea Vicentino's *Alexius Comnenus appealing to Venice for help in the defence of Zara*, in the Palazzo Ducale at Venice (A. Venturi, *Storia dell' Arte italiana*, ix, Milan, 1929, fig. 456). The composition also shows the influence of Raphael: there is a striking resemblance between the persons seen from behind in the foreground and the women in a similar attitude in the left foreground of *The*

Expulsion of Heliodorus from the Temple, one of the frescoes in the Stanza d'Elidoro in the Vatican (*K.d.K., Raffael*, p. 90). Jaffé also detected Raphael's influence in the present work, suggesting that the lame beggar on the extreme left is inspired by the similar figure in *The Healing of the Lame Man*, one of the famous cartoons of 1515-16 in the Victoria and Albert Museum (*K.d.K., Raffael*, p. 138). The resemblance, however, does not seem to be very great. The horse in profile on the extreme right, bending its head and lifting up one forefoot, was painted by Rubens before in his *Adoration of the Kings* (1609-10), now in the Prado (*K.d.K.*, p. 26): as Martin observed, the motif in both cases is derived from Elsheimer's *Stoning of St. Stephen*, now at Edinburgh (I. Jost, *A newly discovered Painting by Adam Elsheimer, The Burlington Magazine*, CVIII, 1966, p. 2, fig. 1)—a composition from which Rubens himself copied various figures in a drawing now in the British Museum, the model for an engraving by Pieter Soutman (I. Jost, *op. cit.*, figs. 2 and 3 on p. 7).

This panel is one of the first of Rubens's works in which he depicts a medieval event in "archaeological" fashion: he makes a point of giving his Merovingians medieval costume, even if it is that of the fifteenth century. His interest in the costume of this period is shown by his *Costume Book* in the British Museum, a collection of studies based on sculpture, paintings, miniatures, carpets and prints, mostly of the late middle ages (*Hind*, II, pp. 36-44; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 11-14). This connection was also observed by Gregory Martin, who referred more particularly to folios 1, 21 and 31 of the *Costume Book*.

The ascription to Rubens was rejected by Winkler and Glück: the latter even attributed the work to Frans Francken the Younger. Doubts have also been expressed from time to time about the authenticity of parts of the work. In a letter of 1806 to Buchanan, Irvine took the view that only the central part was by Rubens (W. Buchanan, *op. cit.*, p. 177). Not long ago, Gregory Martin pointed out that most of the architectural background is overpainted (G. Martin, *National Gallery Catalogues, op. cit.*, p. 128).

On 19 March 1614 Rubens wrote to the archduke Albert that he would no doubt remember, from two years previously, a "dissegno colorito fatto di mia mano, per servizio della tavola colle porte del altar maggior del duomo di Gandt, ad istanza del Riveren^{mo} Masio, vescovo di quella città, che sia in gloria..." (*Rooses-Ruelens*, II, pp. 69, 70). The letter goes on to say that Maes's successor, Bishop Van der Burch, did not want the project to be completed:

instead of a painted triptych he wanted an altar without any painting, only an effigy of St. Bavo in a marble niche with single pillars. Rubens requests the archduke to intervene with Van der Burch to allow him to execute the painting designed two years before. This Albert did, but without success. The bishop's reasons for refusing to agree to the large-scale painting are not clear: he may have had money trouble or aesthetic objections. Gregory Martin suggested, without adducing much evidence, that he may have had reservations about the orthodoxy of the *Vita* followed by Rubens.

Since Rooses (*loc. cit.*), it has been generally accepted that the *dissegno* mentioned in the letter is identical with the work in the National Gallery, which means that the latter was painted in 1612; some authors, however, date it differently. Oldenbourg suggested 1623, i.e. just before the final version still to be seen in St. Bavo's church in Ghent (No. 72; Fig. 123). Müller Hofstede for his part (*Eine Kreidestudie, op. cit.*, pp. 41, 42) recently dated it about 1618, in view of what he considered the striking resemblance to the sketches for *The Miracles of St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum at Vienna. In reply to this, Gregory Martin rightly observed that the workmanship of the modello is much more like that of the sketches at Dulwich, made shortly before, for the side-panels of the triptych of *The Raising of the Cross* (*The Dulwich Pictures*, London, 1954, p. 17, Nos. 40 and 40 A, repr.). However, Müller Hofstede stood his ground in a later article, though he modified the date to about 1616 (*Neue Ölskizzen, op. cit.*, p. 232).

In 1659 or thereabouts, Canon Van Halmale, a relative of the celebrated mayor of Antwerp, made out a list of the damage done to his household effects in the disturbances of that year. This includes a list of "paintings and works of art" together with the cost of making good the damage. Here we read: "... ende een ander groot stuck van Rubbens, dat overmidts ghebroken is, 't gene oytbeldt de bekeeringhe van sinte Bavo: 30 [gulden]... Een stuck van Rubbens vytbellende het leven van sinte Bavo: 60 [gulden]..." ("... and another large work by Rubens, broken in the middle, representing the conversion of St. Bavo: 30 [guilders]... A work by Rubens depicting the life of St. Bavo: 60 [guilders]..."; A. Pinchart, *Archives des Arts*, II, Ghent, 1863, p. 187). One of these is probably identical with the work now in question. It may in fact be the second, the "life of St. Bavo": an argument in favour of this is the fact that the sketch under discussion tells the story of the Saint's conversion in successive scenes. There is, moreover, other evidence that the London sketch

was in Antwerp for a time. Frans Francken the Younger made a free but recognizable copy of the central portion which is now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum at Vienna (*Glück*, 1933, fig. 115). It is perhaps to be inferred from this that the sketch consisted from the start of three separate panels.

72. THE CONVERSION OF ST. BAVO (Fig. 123)

Oil on canvas; 475 : 280 cm.; arched at the top.

Ghent, St. Bavo's Church.

COPIES: (1) Drawing, Berlin, Print Room of the Staatliche Museen; 407 : 319 mm.; lit.: E. Bock and J. Rosenberg, *Zeichnungen Niederländischer Meister im Kupferstichkabinett Berlin*, 1, Berlin, 1930, p. 256, No. 13769; (2) Drawing, Copenhagen, Print Room of the Statens Museum for Kunst; "Rubens-Cantoor", No. 1, 63; (3) Engraving by F. Pilsen, ca. 1730-1741 (*V.S.*, p. 96, No. 14); (4) Etching by P. Spruyt (*V.S.*, p. 96, No. 15); (5) Engraving after the left one of the two female figures on the left, by P. Clouwet (*V.S.*, p. 154, No. 142).

EXHIBITED: *Brussels*, 1910, No. 343; *Brussels*, 1965, No. 194 (repr.).

LITERATURE: A. Sanderus, *Flandria Illustrata*, 1, Cologne, 1641, p. 123; Bellori, p. 225 (as *la tavola di San Sebastiano*); De Sadeleire, *Beschryvinge der 7 parochiaele kercken der stad Ghendt, haere raeriteyten van schilderijen, ende door wat meesters die gemaect sijn*, c. 1734, printed in C. Piot, *Rapport à M. le Ministre de l'Intérieur sur les tableaux enlevés à la Belgique en 1794 et restitués en 1815*, Brussels, 1883, p. 126; Descamps, *Vie*, p. 324 (as S. Liévin); Descamps, *Voyage*, p. 221 (as Charles V, Empereur, abdiquant sa Couronne en faveur de Philippe son fils); Michel, 1771, p. 190; E.A. Hellin, *Histoire chronologique des évêques et du chapitre exempt de l'église cathédrale de S. Bavon à Gand*, Ghent, 1772, p. 501; Spruyt, 1777, p. 138; Reynolds, pp. 142, 143; Spruyt, 1789-91, p. 173; F.X. de Burtin, *Traité des connaissances nécessaires aux amateurs de tableaux*, 1, Brussels, 1808, p. 104 (as Jordaens); *Notice des Tableaux exposés au Musée*, Brussels, 1811, pp. 34-36, No. 51; *Notice des Tableaux exposés au Musée*, Brussels, 1814, p. 31; Odevaere, p. 329, No. 149 (as *Sainte Gudule*); P.F. de Goetin-Verhaeghe, *Description historique et pittoresque de l'église cathédrale de Saint-Bavon à Gand*, Ghent, 1819, p. 19; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp. 36, No. 105, 256, 257; P. Kervyn de Volkaersbeke, *Les églises de Gand*, I, Ghent, 1857, pp. 72, 234; Rooses, II, pp. 222-230, No. 396; Michel, p. 364; Dillon, p. 146, pl. CCCXXXI; *K.d.K.*, p. 275; A. Van Werveke, *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis en de oudheidkunde*, Ghent, 1927, p. 11; *Glück*, 1933, pp. 198-207; Janson,

Véronèse-Rubens, p. 35; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 145-150; *Van Puyvelde*, pp. 142, 143; E. Dhanens, *Inventaris van het Kunstpatrimonium van Oostvlaanderen*, v, *Sint-Baafskathedraal Gent*, Ghent, 1965, pp. 206, 208, No. 460, figs. 204, 205.

This painting comprises several scenes of the conversion of St. Bavo, which are depicted in detail on three panels in the London sketch of 1612.

In the foreground we see the distribution of the Saint's goods to the poor, and in the upper part St. Bavo being received by Bishops Amandus and Floribert. The meeting between the Merovingian kings and the Imperial messenger, which was originally on the right of the picture, no longer appears. The arms of Bishop Antoon Trierst are to be seen in the bottom left-hand corner.

In this essentially vertical composition Rubens was probably following Tintoretto's *Presentation of the Virgin* of 1552 in the Madonna dell'Orto, Venice (*Tietze, Tintoretto*, pl. 98). His strong interest in the work of the Venetians is shown in a particular detail: Claire Janson has pointed out the striking resemblance between the woman seen from behind in the foreground and a similar motif in the foreground of Veronese's *Martyrdom of St. Marcus and St. Marcellinus* (1565) in San Sebastiano, Venice (*Fiocco, Veronese*, pl. XXI). Burchard for his part observed the close resemblance between the aged, half-naked man with outstretched arms in the lower picture and the attitude of Michelangelo's *Sibylla Libyca* in the Sistine Chapel (*K.d.K., Michelangelo*, p. 40).

It was not until 1623 that it was decided to adorn the high altar at St. Bavo's in Ghent with a painting (cf. No. 71). An agreement was concluded on 9 February of that year between Antoon Trierst, who had become bishop of Ghent in 1622, and the sculptor Robrecht de Nole, for the alteration of the carved altar that had been made in De Nole's studio between 1615 and 1623. The effigy of St. Bavo was to be removed and "the sculptor shall remove and cut away at his own risk the centre decoration and the place where the high altar is at present adorned and shall make there a smooth surface and a space above it sixteen and a half feet high and ten feet broad, with a half-circle above, for the placing of such a painting as may be found suitable" (M. Casteels, *De beeldhouwers De Nole te Kamerijk, te Utrecht en te Antwerpen*, Brussels, 1962, p. 382). On 27 September 1624 Jan Breughel certified on Rubens's behalf that he had received 600 guilders for the painting from the bishop's steward, Jacques de Witt (*Rooses*, II, p. 229).

It appears from the contract of February 1623 that it was intended from the

beginning that the canvas should be rounded at the top. This is confirmed by the ornamentation around the altar, which has now disappeared but can be judged to some extent from an old photograph (M. Caesteels, *op. cit.*, pl. 42). It is hard therefore to understand A. Van Werveke's view that the canvas was originally rectangular and was not rounded until 1682. Van Werveke based his opinion on a payment made to the artist Jan van Cleef in that year for "altering the painting on the high altar". This may signify that the canvas was removed for restoration, as happened fairly often in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: e.g. payments were made to Pieter Hals in 1628-29, Filips Beernaert in 1647, Pieter Hals in 1648-49, Louis van Voorenemberck in 1658-59, Filips Beernaert in 1658-59 and 1662-63, Pieter le Plat in 1670-71, Jan van Cleef in 1701, Albert Forthuyne in 1722-23 and Van Laer in 1759 (E. Dhanens, *op. cit.*, pp. 207, 208).

De Nole's high altar was demolished about 1702, and Rubens's *Conversion of St. Bavo* was then removed to the former chapel of St. Sebastian in Ghent Cathedral. With the exception of the period 1794-1825, when it was successively in the Louvre (1794), the Brussels museum (1811) and the Ghent museum (1817), it has remained in the chapel ever since.

72a. THE CONVERSION OF ST. BAVO: OIL SKETCH

Oil on panel.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: ? Canon Hendrik van Halmale, Antwerp, 1659.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 124), whereabouts unknown; panel, 82 : 55.5 cm.; prov.: Paris, F. Kleinberger, 1927; Paris, Trotti and Co., 1928; Paris, J. Guerlain, 1953; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 68.5 : 46 cm.; prov.: A. Febvre, sale, Paris, 17 April 1882, lot 81 (as *Rubens*); baron de Beurnonville, sale, Paris, 21-22 May 1883, lot 85 (as *Rubens*); J. Friedlander, sale, London, 27 October 1943, lot 109 (as *Rubens*); Tomas Harris, London, 1957; lit.: *Rooses*, II, p. 231.

A sketch, now known from copies only, for the painting of 1624 in St. Bavo's Church at Ghent (No. 72, Fig. 123). It shows two or three important differ-

ences from the final composition: it is rectangular, and on the right-hand side is a man seen from behind, wearing a plumed cap, who does not figure in the altarpiece. The banisters in the sketch are larger.

This sketch too may have been in the possession of Canon van Halmale ca 1659 (cf. No. 71). In eighteenth- and nineteenth-century collections, frequent mention is made of oil sketches for the Ghent altarpiece. In the Calonne, Nagel and Joshua Reynolds sale, London, 27 April 1795, we find: "Lot 13. Rubens, a sketch for a large picture in the Cathedral of Ghent." On 9 May 1807 the sale took place in London, from an unnamed estate in Cheshire, of "46. Old Franks [sic]. St. Bavon resigning the world and devoting his substance to the Poor... an unequalled Picture of the Master... the design for his celebrated Altar Piece, on the same subject at Antwerp" [sic]. Before 1808, François Xavier de Burtin at Brussels possessed a work that he believed to be a sketch for the painting in St. Bavo's (F.X. de Burtin, *Traité des connaissances nécessaires aux amateurs de tableaux*, 1, Brussels, 1808, p. 104). However, he ascribed both the design and the execution to Jordaens. In the F.-J. Despinoy sale at Versailles, 14-19 January 1850, we find: "284. P.P. Rubens. H. 71, L. 52. Toile. 22 figures. *Saint Bavon*, tableau en deux parties. Dans le bas du tableau, saint Bavon distribue ses biens aux pauvres. Dans le haut, on le voit entrer dans le couvent de Saint-Amand. Esquisse pour le grand tableau qui est à Gand." Finally it may be mentioned that Jacob Burckhardt in 1855 spoke of a "treffliche aber doch verdächtige Skizze des Bildes von S. Bavon in Gent", to be seen at that time in the Palazzo Manfrin at Venice (J. Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone*, Basle, 1855, p. 1020).

73. THE MIRACLES OF ST. BENEDICT (Fig. 125)

Oil on canvas; 157 : 238 cm.

Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. No. 809.

PROVENANCE: ? Rubens's estate; ? Gaspar de Crayer, 1641; Benedictine Abbey, Affligem; Schamp d'Aveschoot, sale, Ghent, 14 September 1840, lot 5; Georges, Paris, Tencé, Lille, sale, Paris, 12 December 1881, lot 48, bought by King Leopold II of Belgium; bequeathed to the Musées Royaux, Brussels, 1914.

COPIES: (1) Painting by E. Delacroix, 1841, Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique; canvas, 130 : 185 cm.; prov.: E. Delacroix, sale, Paris, 17-29 February 1864, lot 162; Pereire, sale, Paris, 6 March 1852, lot 11; King Leopold II of Belgium; exh.: *Delacroix*, Louvre, Paris, 1930, No. 225 (repr.); *Delacroix, ses maîtres, ses amis, ses élèves*, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Bordeaux, No. 27 (repr.); lit.: A. Robaut, *L'œuvre de Eugène Delacroix*, Paris, 1885, No. 736; L. Hourticq, *Rubens et Delacroix, Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, xxvi, 1909, pp. 215-228; K.E. Maison, *Copies and Interpretations in Painting*, *Apollo*, October 1958, pp. 99-103; B. Ehrlich White, *Delacroix's Painted Copies after Rubens*, *The Art Bulletin*, XLIX, 1967, p. 42; T.W. Gaechtgen, *Delacroix, Einzug der Kreuzfahrer in Konstantinopel*, *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, XI, 1969, pp. 195-198, fig. 16; (2) Painting by F. Souchon (1786-1857), Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts; canvas, 95 : 140 cm.; prov.: bought in 1844; lit.: E. Reynart, *Catalogue des tableaux, bas-reliefs et statues... du Musée des tableaux de Lille*, Lille-Paris, 1872, No. 318.

EXHIBITED: *Tableaux de maîtres anciens*, Académie royale de Belgique, Brussels, 1886, No. 186; *Brussels*, 1910, No. 387; *Amsterdam*, 1933, No. 11 (repr.); *Paris*, 1936, No. 69; *Brussels*, 1937, No. 21; *Il Seicento Europeo*, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, Rome, 1956-57, No. 256 (repr.); *Flamanska Umetnost XVII Veka*, Narodni Muzej, Belgrado, 1957, No. 35; *Delacroix, ses maîtres, ses amis, ses élèves*, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Bordeaux, No. 191 (repr.); *Brussels*, 1965, No. 195 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Michel*, 1771, p. 185; *Smith*, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp. 57, 58, No. 161; IX, p. 330, No. 318; H. Hymans, *Correspondance de Belgique*, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, xxxiv, 1886, pp. 426-428; *Rooses*, II, pp. 231, No. 397; Dom Bernard, *Geschiedenis der Benedictijner abdij van Affligem*, Ghent, 1890, pp. 360, 361; *Michel*, pp. 364-366; W. Roberts, *The King of the Belgians' Collection*, *The Connoisseur*, xxiv, 1909, pp. 204, 206, repr.; M. Rooses, *De Vlaamsche Kunst in de XVIIe eeuw tentoongesteld in het Jubelpaleis te Brussel in 1910*, *Onze Kunst*, xix, 1911, p. 6; P. Bautier, *Les Miracles de Saint Benoit de Rubens*, *Bulletin des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire*, XIII, 1914, pp. 33, 34; *K.d.K.*, p. 302; C. Norris, *The Rubens Exhibition at Amsterdam*, *The Burlington Magazine*, LXIII, 1933, p. 229; A. Joubin, *Correspondance générale de Eugène Delacroix*, II, Paris, 1936; C. Janson, *L'Influence de Tintoret sur Rubens*, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1938, p. 86; *Van Puyvelde*, pp. 77, 133; *Held*, I, p. 109; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p. 161.

The painting shows three episodes from St. Benedict's life as described in the *Dialogues* of St. Gregory the Great and later popularized by the *Golden Legend* etc. (*Legenda Aurea*, I, col. 307-319; *AA. SS.*, March, III). The Saint, attended by two brothers of the Order, stands on the right on a platform in front of the monumental entrance to Monte Cassino abbey. He is shown

discovering the ruse of Totila, king of the Ostrogoths, who had heard of the Saint's miracles and tried to deceive him by sending an officer dressed in royal garments; Benedict, however, at once realized that the man before him was not the king. We see the shamefaced officer on the right in front of St. Benedict, on the steps leading to the platform. Lower down on the same steps, in the right foreground, is the whole royal escort. At the same time Rubens recalled another of the Saint's miracles. Immediately in front of him is a black crow on a perch, no doubt with reference to the story that the Devil appeared in this form and tried to tempt the Saint, but was put to flight by the sign of the cross. In the extreme left foreground is a rider in armour on a black horse, and beside him a white horse led by an attendant. We may perhaps suppose that the rider is Totila and that he has lent his own white horse to the disguised officer. In the middle foreground is a group of invalids and cripples who have come to implore the help of the sainted abbot. The upper part of the painting shows Christ enthroned on clouds, with Saints Peter and Paul to either side and the Virgin Mary as *Mediatrix* at his feet; immediately below is a group of frolicking cherubs.

As Rooses observed, Rubens in this picture followed the general lines of a scheme that he had used for other compositions on a similar theme such as *The Conversion of St. Bavo* (No. 72; Fig. 123) and *St. Roch* (II, No. 140), but its dramatic character is here enhanced by the stronger diagonal emphasis. Some details recall earlier works by Rubens: the group of sick and maimed people occurs in the *Miracles of St. Ignatius Loyola* and *St. Francis Xavier* (about 1618), now at Vienna (II, Nos. 115, 104). The men below on the right, one with a fur cap and the other wearing a bonnet and cape, are definitely dressed as Hungarians or Poles. As Rooses also pointed out, similar figures are seen in *Tomyris receiving the Head of Cyrus*, painted in the 1620s and now in the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston (*Goris-Held*, pl. 67). Held, like Burchard and d'Hulst, observed that the attitude of St. Paul is identical with that of St. Andrew on the outer side of the right-hand wing of *The Miraculous Draught of Fishes* triptych of 1618-19 in the church of Our-Lady-across-the-Dijle at Malines (*K.d.K.*, p. 174). A preliminary drawing for the Malines altarpiece, now at Copenhagen (*Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, II, pl. 96), played a part in the creative process for the present work. Rubens is also particularly indebted in it to Titian's *Ecce Homo*, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum at Vienna (*Tietze, Titian*, pl. 139), which was in Venetian ownership until 1620, when

it was acquired by George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. Rubens may have seen it while staying at Venice during his Mantuan period. It prefigures in a strikingly similar way not only the diagonal composition but the motif of the steps and the attitudes of the characters, such as the two men in Polish or Hungarian garb. It may be noted that Rubens made several drawings after details of Titian's painting, one formerly in the V. Koch collection, London (*Held*, II, pl. 174; present whereabouts unknown; sale, London, Christie's, 18 april 1967, lot 158) and one in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam (J. Müller Hofstede, *Opmerkingen bij enige tekeningen van Rubens in het Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*, *Bulletin Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*, XIII, 1962, pp. 101-105, fig. 14; idem, *Rubens und Tizian: Das Bild Karls V.*, *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 3. F., XVIII, 1967, p. 79, fig. 45). A copy drawing of the entire Titian painting in the Louvre, Paris (No. 20.253) has recently been attributed to Rubens by M. Jaffé (*Rubens as a Collector of Drawings, Master Drawings*, IV, 1966, pp. 128, 129, pl. 3).

The canvas's destination has been a matter of conjecture. Rooses thought it might have been intended for the abbey of Affligem: he based this view on J.F.M. Michel's statement that the abbey ordered from Rubens "une esquisse pour un plus grand tableau, dont ils vouloient couvrir la muraille, faisant face à l'entrée de leur réfectoire: nota que cette esquisse se trouve dans cette Abbaye, au quartier des étrangers, dans la dernière chambre au second étage, elle représente les Miracles de S. Benoit." Van Puyvelde did not accept that the picture belonged to Affligem; Burchard was also not convinced of this, and thought it might have been ordered for the French Benedictine abbey of Notre-Dame des Guîtres, where Peiresc was abbot between 1623 and 1625 (P. Humbert, *Peiresc*, Paris, 1933, pp. 113-130). I believe nevertheless that the picture really was painted for the famous Brabant abbey. In the first place it is certain that the painting mentioned by Michel is identical with the composition now in the Brussels Museum. In a letter from October 14th, 1777, Beda Regaus, the then provoost of Affligem abbey, gave a detailed list of the most important paintings which belonged to the religious community. Among the mentioned works one can safely be considered as the canvas here discussed: "... 2do eene schetse van den selven Rubbens langh 9 v[oet] 7 D[uijn], de persoonen van 19 duijn groot behelsende de mirakelen van den H. Benedictus in generali. In de locht is eenen glorie, behelsende Christus met sijn cruijs, de voeten in de wolcken tegen den bol van de weireldt, vergeselschapt met onse lieve vrouwe, en de

apostelen Petrus en Paulus, ende onder de wolcken eenige engelen, buiten welke glorie men daer bevint 52 personen, de welke langhx den rechten kant van de schilderije bijnaer volmaeckt geschildert sijn, ende verminderende allenxkens in den slincken kant wat meer als geteekent sijn..." ("... 2°. A sketch by the same Rubens, 9 feet 7 inches wide..., the figures 19 inches high, representing a general survey of the miracles of St. Benedict. In the sky Christ bearing his cross is shown in a glory. His feet are resting on the clouds and on a terrestrial globe. He is accompanied by Our Lady and the Apostles Peter and Paul. Underneath the clouds are a few angels. Apart from the figures in the glory, 52 persons are shown. Those at the right side of the painting are nearly finished. The figures at the left, however, are only a little more than drawn..." [without any doubt Beda Regaus has confused here the left and right sides of the painting]; the document published in Dom Bernard, *loc. cit.*). In the second place there is an important iconographical argument to which attention has not previously been drawn. The presence of Saints Peter and Paul in the Brussels picture has nothing to do with the subject, but is to be explained by the fact that they were the patron saints of the abbey at Affligem: the account of the abbey written by Hubertus Phalesius before 1638 is entitled *Monasterii SS. Petri et Pauli Affligeniensis Chronicum* (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, No. 7037/7042).

The painting is not completely finished, especially on the extreme right and in the upper centre: this was no doubt what led J.F.M. Michel and Regaus to regard it as a sketch, a view shared by Van Puyvelde. It is, however, contradicted by the size of the work and the far from sketchy execution of the centre and the lower left.

Another disputed point is the dating. Dillon placed the work at the very end of Rubens's career, in 1639. In the catalogue of the Brussels exhibition, 1965, Van Puyvelde suggests a date of about 1636. Oldenbourg puts it in about 1628 and Sterling, in the Paris exhibition catalogue of 1936, argues for the late 1620's or very early 1630's. This last view seems to be the correct one. Sterling pointed out the striking stylistic resemblance between this work and the painting of *St. George and the Dragon* (1629-30) in Buckingham Palace (*K.d.K.*, p. 311), which is of approximately the same size as the painting under discussion (153 : 226 cm.). The fluent workmanship and occasional close attention to detail is an essential element in the style of both works. In both of them, one may notice the white horse, the light shining on armour and the facial

types of the women in the foreground. As regards composition there is also a remarkable likeness to another work of the late twenties, *The Madonna adored by Saints* (1628) in St. Augustine's at Antwerp (*K.d.K.*, p. 305): in both cases the upper and lower parts of the picture are linked by a similar diagonal schema. I think it probable that the present work was begun in 1628, shortly before Rubens set out on his long diplomatic travels to Spain and England in August of that year, and that after his return he failed for some reason to complete it.

Although Rubens's work was unfinished, we know that the abbey at Affligem ordered from another master a work similar in composition and iconography to the *Miracles of St. Benedict*. This is *St. Benedict and Totila*, painted by Gaspar de Crayer in 1633 for the new refectory and last heard of in 1955 at the Wilstach sale in Philadelphia (Fig. 126; canvas, 280 : 550 cm.; H. Vlieghe, *Gaspar de Crayer*, in print). The figures on the right and the group of monks on the left show that De Crayer took Rubens's version as a point of departure. It is tempting to suppose that this work was intended to fill the place of the one left unfinished by Rubens. In that case, the considerable difference in size may be accounted for by the dimensions of the new refectory, which was perhaps larger than the old. It may be added that there is quite a strong possibility—as suggested by Rooses and also by Van Puyvelde in *Cat. Exh. Brussels, 1965*—that *The Miracles of St. Benedict* was in De Crayer's possession. In 1641 he received from Héléne Fourment a "painting of St. Benedict" by way of recompense for his intervention on the occasion of the purchase by Philip IV of Spain of a large number of paintings from Rubens's estate (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 76). Arguments for the view that this is the same as the Brussels painting are (1) that the latter is Rubens's only known work depicting St. Benedict, and (2) that De Crayer must in any case have seen the Brussels picture, since it clearly inspired his own picture for Affligem, already mentioned.

74. ST. CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA (Fig. 129)

Oil on panel; 100.5 : 72.5 cm.; slightly enlarged at the left and right sides.

New York, The New York Historical Society. No. B. 158.

PROVENANCE: ? Purchased from a church in the neighbourhood of Brussels by M.J.L. Nieuwenhuys; Count Perregaux, sale, Paris 8-9 December 1841, lot 30; purchased by M. Weles; Thomas J. Bryan; presented to the New York Historical Society with the remainder of the latter's collection, 1867.

LITERATURE: *Le cabinet de l'amateur et de l'antiquaire*, I, Paris, 1842, p. 91; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, p. 346, No. 388; *Catalogue of the Gallery of Art of the New York Historical Society*, New York, 1915, pp. 76, 77, No. B. 158; *Goris-Held*, p. 35, No. 61, pl. 51; *Larsen*, p. 217, No. 56.

A knee-length picture of the Saint, whose head is turned to the left. She holds a palm in her right hand, while the other is pressed to her robe. Below on the left is her attribute, the wheel.

The dry style of the work prevents our ascribing it to Rubens himself: it is a good studio piece which, in view of its marked plasticity, must date from about 1615.

75. ST. CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA: ETCHING (Fig. 127)

Etching; 292 : 198 mm.; signed below, at the left: *P. Paul Rubens fecit.*

LITERATURE: R. Hecquet, *Catalogue des estampes gravées d'après P.P. Rubens*, Paris, 1767, p. 83, No. 15; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 295, No. 1056; *Abécédaire de P.J. Mariette*, ed. by P. de Chennevières and A. de Montaiglon, v, Paris, 1858-59, p. 108 (as *Rubens, retouched by Bolswert*); *V.S.*, p. 114, No. 35; H. Hymans, *Histoire de la gravure dans l'école de Rubens*, Brussels, 1879, pp. 144-146 (as *Rubens, retouched by L. Vorsterman*); E. Dutuit, *Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes*, vi, Paris-London, 1885, p. 131, No. 15; *Rooses*, I, pp. 35, 36, under No. 26; H. Hymans, *Lucas Vorsterman*, Brussels, 1893, pp. 97, 98, No. 57 (as *Rubens, retouched by Vorsterman*); A.M. Hind, *Rubens as Etcher, The Print Collector's Quarterly*, x, 1, 1923, pp. 61-63, 65, repr., 70, 72, 74; F. Van den Wijngaert, *Inventaris der Rubeniaansche Prentkunst*, Antwerp, 1940, p. 21 (as *P. Soutman, retouched by L. Vorsterman*); *Martin, Ceiling Paintings*, I, pp. 145-147.

This etching is based on Rubens's painting of the same subject, executed in 1620-21 for the ceiling of the Jesuit church at Antwerp (*Martin, Ceiling Paintings*, pls. 139-142). The figure of St. Catherine is the same as that in the

painting except for one detail: the body of Maximin is replaced by St. Catherine's attribute of the broken wheel. Martin has pointed out that this engraving was undoubtedly made from Rubens's modello, now lost, for the painting in the former Jesuit church, which has also disappeared but can be judged from copies.

It is generally accepted, except by Van den Wijngaert, that this etching is by Rubens's own hand. Some writers, however, have thought that it was partially executed by other engravers: Mariette suggested one of the Bolswerts, while Hymans thought of Vorsterman. The dashing lines and the exceptionally plastic effect of contrasts between light and dark testify to a brilliance not to be found among the routine engravers with whom Rubens was in contact. But we may speculate whether an etching in this spontaneous style may not have been the work of the young Van Dyck, who was working in Rubens's studio around the time when the ceiling paintings for the Jesuit church at Antwerp were being executed, and in fact took an important part in this work (*Martin, Ceiling Paintings*, pp. 39, 40). We also know that Van Dyck was engaged at the same period in drawing modelli for engravings after Rubens's compositions (*Bellori*, p. 254). Finally, the *Iconography* may be cited as indicating Van Dyck's superior skill as an etcher.

75a. ST. CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA: COUNTERPROOF OF ETCHING (Fig. 128)

Counterproof of etching, retouched with the pen; 292 : 198 mm.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1922.

PROVENANCE: Spencer, sale, London (Christie's), 25 June 1919, lot 155.

LITERATURE: A.M. Hind, *Rubens as Etcher, The Print Collector's Quarterly*, x, 1, 1923, pp. 62, 63, repr., 70, 72; J. Poortenaar, *The Technique of Prints and Art Reproduction Processes*, London, 1933, pp. 62, 63, fig. 39; W.M. Ivins, jr., *How Prints look. Photographs with a commentary*, New York, 1943, p. 141, repr.; J.S. Held, *Rubens*, London, 1955, pl. 38; *Martin, Ceiling Paintings*, pp. 146, 147, under No. 26 b, pl. 143.

A counter-proof, retouched with the pen, of the etching at No. 75.

76. THE MYSTIC MARRIAGE OF ST. CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA (Fig. 131)

Oil on canvas; 90 : 127 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: Sir. J.C. Robinson; Paris, Sedelmeyer Galleries, c. 1894; Rodman Wanamaker, Philadelphia, c. 1905; anonymous sale, New York (Anderson), 4 February 1931 et seqq., lot 171; Carlberg, New York, c. 1933; Mrs. William Fox, sale, New York (Kende), 1 December 1942 et seqq., lot 40.

LITERATURE: *The first hundred of Paintings by Old Masters belonging to the Sedelmeyer Gallery*, Paris, 1894, p. 48, No. 38; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, v, 1897, pp. 70, 71; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, pp. 2, 463; W. Bode, *Kritik und Chronologie der Gemälde von Peter Paul Rubens*, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, N.F., xvi, 1905, p. 201; *K.d.K.*, pp. 440, 472 (as not by Rubens); *Glück*, 1933, p. 156; L. Burchard, *Nachträge*, in *Glück*, 1933, pp. 376, 391.

After her conversion to Christianity St. Catherine is said to have had a vision of the Virgin Mary and the Child Jesus: the latter gave her a wedding-ring with the words: "Lo, I take thee for my unspotted bride". As far as is known, the first mention of this theme was in the Painter's Book from Mount Athos (*Das Handbuch der Malerei vom Berge Athos*, ed. by G. Schäfer, Trier, 1855, p. 355); it became very popular in West European art from the fifteenth century onwards.

The figures in this composition are in three-quarter length. The Madonna sits on the right with the Child on her lap; the Saint kneels on the left, and the Child places the ring on the fourth finger of her right hand. St. Peter, with his keys, stands between the Virgin and St. Catherine. The reason for his presence, and the significance of the organ on the extreme left, are not clear. There is a conspicuous gap between the organ and St. Peter, and one may wonder if it was not originally occupied by a figure of St. Cecilia, which was later painted out. This conjecture is supported by the study for this composition in the Allen Memorial Art Museum at Oberlin, Ohio (No. 76a; Fig. 132), where an unidentified female saint occupies the space that is empty in the final version. If this view is correct, the composition is rather to be regarded as a *Sacra Conversazione* than as a *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine*. However, this could only be elucidated by an X-ray examination of the painting. As all trace

of it has been lost since 1942, such an examination could not be carried out for the present study.

The schema of the composition with half-length figures is Titianesque: one may think in particular of Titian's *Madonna and Child with St. Dorothy and St. George* in the Prado (H. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian*, I, London, 1969, pl. 13) or his *Madonna and Child with St. Stephen, St. Jerome and St. Maurice* in the Louvre (H. Wethey, *op. cit.*, pl. 15). The stylistic qualities of the picture, especially the filling up of the area with figures that give an impression of size, and the detailed treatment of their garments and hair, are typical of Rubens's work in the first years after his return from Italy. The Child Jesus is repeated in several other works of this period, notably *The Education of the Virgin* in the collection of the Prince of Liechtenstein at Vaduz (*Glück*, 1933, p. 25, fig. 18) and *Romulus and Remus* in the Carey collection at Silver Springs, Maryland (*Cat. Exh. Detroit*, 1936, No. 2, repr.). We may also note that Van Dyck used this motif in one of his earliest compositions, *The Triumph of Silenus* (c. 1618), formerly in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum at Berlin (*K.d.K., Van Dyck*, p. 15).

As far as can be judged from a photograph, this picture was for the most part executed by Rubens's studio.

76a. THE MYSTIC MARRIAGE OF ST. CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA: DRAWING (Fig. 132)

Pen and brown ink; 158 : 217 mm.

Oberlin, Ohio, Oberlin College, Allen Memorial Art Museum. Inv. No. 54.24.

PROVENANCE: H.M. Calmann, London; M. Komor, New York; purchased for the Museum, 1954.

EXHIBITED: *Cambridge-New York*, 1956, No. 3 (repr.); *Antwerp*, 1956, No. 33; *Treasures from the Allen Memorial Art Museum*, The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minneapolis, 1966 (not numbered).

LITERATURE: *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin*, XII, 1954, p. 42; *The Art Quarterly*, XVIII, 1955, p. 84.

In this cursory sketch for the painting formerly in the Wanamaker collection at Philadelphia (No. 76; Fig. 131), the attitudes of the Child Jesus and St.

Catherine are similar to those in the final version; there are, however, differences in the other figures. The Madonna is seen in full face, while St. Peter is in three-quarter face and is leaning towards the Child. On the left, next to St. Peter, is a woman's head, whereas in the final version this space is empty. The edge of the composition is vaguely indicated below and on the right.

77. THE MYSTIC MARRIAGE OF ST. CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA (Fig. 130)

Oil on canvas; 204 : 245 cm.

Formerly in the *Bildergalerie of Sanssouci, Potsdam*. Inv. No. GK I 10633; lost since 1945.

PROVENANCE: Purchased for the collection of Frederick II, the Great, King of Prussia, 1763; temporarily exhibited in the Gallery at Berlin, between 1830 and 1929.

COPIES: (1) Painting, Louvain, St. Quintinus's Church; canvas, appr. 200 : 250 cm.; lit.: E. Van Even, *Louvain Monumental*, Louvain, 1860, p. 215 (as copy after Van Thulden); (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; prov.: London, Walter J. Abrahams (1912).

LITERATURE: M. Oesterreich, *Beschreibung der Königlichen Bildergalerie und des Kabinetts im Sans-Souci*, Potsdam, 1764, p. 86, No. 89; F. Nicolai, *Beschreibung der Königlichen Residenzstädte Berlin und Potsdam*, III, Berlin, 1786, p. 1209, No. 27; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 109, No. 263; IX, p. 289, No. 167; C.F. Waagen, *Verzeichnis der Gemälde-Sammlung des königlichen Museums zu Berlin*, Berlin, 1833, p. 210, No. 306 (as A. van Diepenbeeck); Parthey, II, p. 422, No. 137; R. Oldenbourg, *Die Vlämische Malerei des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1922, p. 127, pl. 58 (as a pupil of Rubens before 1620); E. Henschel-Simon, *Die Gemälde und Skulpturen in der Bildergalerie von Sanssouci*, Berlin, 1930, No. 118 (as a pupil of Rubens before 1620); Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, I, p. 195; M. Bernhard, *Verlorene Werke der Malerei in Deutschland in der Zeit von 1939 bis 1945*, Munich, 1965, p. 56.

The mystic marriage is taking place in the foreground of the picture. The Virgin, in left profile, is seated on a bench holding the Child, who places the ring on the kneeling Saint's finger. Three other saints witness the miraculous event: St. Francis leans over from the left, the infant John the Baptist with his lamb looks up from the right at the Virgin and Child, and in the background is an aged man, possibly St. Joseph, with long hair and a long beard.

The classical effect of the quiet, harmonious composition and the monumentality and plastic conception of the figures may suggest a date shortly before or after 1615. The head of the Madonna is of the same type as in *St. Francis of Assisi receiving the Infant Christ*, a painting of the same period, now in the Lille Museum (No. 95; Fig. 167). The present work must have been largely executed by Rubens's studio.

78. THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA (Fig. 133)

Oil on canvas; 364 : 243 cm.

Lille, *Musée des Beaux-Arts*. Inv. No. D 65-8.

PROVENANCE: St. Catherine's Church, Lille; deposited in the Museum there since 17 February 1965.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 136), Ghent, St. Bavo's Church; canvas, 239 : 180 cm.; lit.: De Sadeleire, *Beschryvinge der 7 parochiaele kercken der stad Ghendt, haere raeriteyten van schilderyen, ende door wat meesters die gemaect syn* (c. 1734), printed in C. Piot, *Rapport à M. le Ministre de l'Intérieur sur les tableaux enlevés à la Belgique en 1794 et restitués en 1815*, Brussels, 1883, p. 127; Mensaert, II, p. 23; Spruyt, 1777, p. 138; Spruyt, 1789-91, p. 174; P. Kervyn de Volkaersbeke, *Les églises de Gand*, I, Ghent, 1857, p. 80; E. Dhanens, *Inventaris van het kunstpatrimonium van Oostvlaanderen*, V, *Sint Baafskathedraal Gent*, Ghent, 1965, p. 209, No. 461; (2) Engraving by W. de Leeuw (Fig. 135; *V.S.*, p. 115, No. 45).

LITERATURE: Descamps, *Vie*, p. 326; Mensaert, II, p. 74; Descamps, *Voyage*, pp. 7, 8; Michel, 1771, pp. 197, 198; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 40, No. 115; Rooses, II, pp. 235, 236, No. 399; Dillon, p. 146, pl. CCXXXVII; F.M. Haberditzl, *Über einige Handzeichnungen von Rubens in der Albertina, Die graphischen Künste*, XXXV, 1912, p. 5 (as *School of Rubens*); *K.d.K.*, p. 242; Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, I, pp. 223, 312.

After being subjected to many cruel tortures for the faith and enduring them unscathed, St. Catherine was finally beheaded (*Legenda Aurea*, II, col. 448, 449). Rubens here shows the executioner about to deal the fatal blow with his sword: he stands to the right of the Saint, who is kneeling on a cushion. Three women are in attendance: one is blindfolding the Saint, another holding her tresses clear of her neck, while the third is helping the executioner to lay bare her shoulder. A fourth, elderly woman looks on in tears. On the left, a priest

admonishes St. Catherine for the last time by pointing to a statue of Apollo Musagetes, erected in front of a round temple. Beyond him on the extreme left are two soldiers wearing helmets. Some onlookers stand in the background on the extreme right, while angels descend from heaven bearing the martyr's palm and laurel wreath. In the very front of the scene is a sacrificial lamb, lying on the ground, and a bundle of fasces.

This painting was presented to St. Catherine's Church at Lille by Jean de Seur, member of the Council of State under the Archduke Albert and the Infanta Isabella, and by de Seur's wife Marie Patyn, as recorded in their epitaph formerly in the church: "Cy devant reposent noble homme Jean de Seur, conseiller de leurs Altèzes Sérénissimes Albert, Archiduc d'Autriche etc. et Isabelle, Infante des Espagnes et commis ordinaire de leurs finances, et dame Marie de Patyn, sa femme, lesquels ont fondez l'office de l'Ange gardien qui se célèbre en cette église le premier mercredi d'Octobre et ont donné aussy la table d'autel et peinture de Ste-Catherine au chœur de cette église; ledit Sr décéda le 2 de Juin 1621 et ladite dame le 25 de janvier 1668. Requiescant in pace." (Rooses, II, p. 236, under No. 399). The year 1621 is thus a *terminus ante quem*, while the style with its plasticity and cool local colouring suggests an earlier date, say 1615 or somewhat later.

Burchard believed that this picture was entirely Rubens's work, but its rather "dry" brushwork suggests that much of it was done by the studio.

The painting must originally have been wider on the right-hand side. The engraving by Willem de Leeuw (Fig. 135) shows two more figures in the right background that are not now to be seen. A comparison between the engraving and the picture also shows that the right side of the scaffold is not visible in the latter. It appears that after the picture was made narrower on the right, it was once more enlarged with a strip of about 15 cm. When this was done, the male figure immediately to the right of the executioner's right leg was altered into a woman, while the bundle of fasces on the ground was made smaller. This change must have been made at a relatively early date: this is proved by the copy, first mentioned in Ghent Cathedral c. 1734 and still in situ (Fig. 136), which closely resembles the Lille altar-piece in its actual state.

Besides Willem de Leeuw's engraving in reverse, there is another engraving of inferior quality by Adriaan Lommelin (*V.S.*, p. 115, No. 46). It was made in the same sense as the painting and was clearly copied from Willem de Leeuw's print.

78a. HEAD OF ST. CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA: DRAWING (Fig. 134)

Black chalk on paper, heightened with white body-colour; 375 : 235 mm., including a later added piece of paper in the right corner below; above, slightly cut by the edge of the sheet, the word *Catarina*, written in red chalk by a foreign hand.

Vienna, *Albertina*. No. 42283.

PROVENANCE: Duke Albert of Sachsen-Teschen (Moritzburg near Dresden, 1738 - Vienna, 1822).

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, II, p. 236, under No. 399; v, p. 234, No. 1443; F.M. Haberditzl, *Über einige Handzeichnungen von Rubens in der Albertina, Die graphischen Künste*, XXXV, 1912, p. 5; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 48, No. 143, repr.; *Held*, I, p. 138.

This is a preliminary study for the figure of the Saint in the painting in the Lille Museum (No. 78; Fig. 133).

Held pointed out that the inscription at the top is by the same hand as those on several other drawings by Rubens, particularly those described in *Glück-Haberditzl*, Nos. 152, 156, 157, 162, 164, 165.

79. ANGELS TRANSPORTING THE DEAD BODY OF ST. CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA (Fig. 137)

Oil on panel; 70 : 101 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: J.A. Snyers, Antwerp, 1830; according to *Rooses*, purchased from the latter by D. van den Schrieck, Louvain, 1831; D. van den Schrieck sale, Louvain 8 April 1861 et seqq., lot 88, (as *Rubens*), purchased by Mr. Grieten; sale, Brussels, 24 March 1868 et seqq., lot 47 (as *Rubens*); J.-B. Foucart, Valenciennes, 12 October 1898 et seqq., lot 91 (repr.; as *Rubens*), purchased by Mr. DufLOT, Verviers.

COPY: Painting (Fig. 138), Antwerp, G. Faes; canvas, 70 : 101 cm.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, II, p. 76, No. 284; M. *Rooses*, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, 1896, p. 210, No. 284; L. Burchard, *Nachträge*, in *Glück*, 1933, p. 381; *Evers*, 1943, p. 132, fig. 38; S. Heiland, *Two Rubens Paintings rehabilitated*, *The Burlington Magazine*, CXI, 1969, p. 426.

According to legend, after St. Catherine had been beheaded her body was taken by angels to Mount Sinai and buried there (*Legenda Aurea*, II, col. 449). The picture shows two angels, one lifting the body from the scaffold while the other wraps the Saint's head in a cloth. In the left foreground are the instruments with which she was tortured before being executed.

The marked plasticity of the figures points to a date of c. 1615 or shortly after. As Evers observed, the motif of the headless body is directly inspired by Stefano Maderno's sculpture of *St. Cecilia* (1599) in the famous sepulchral monument at Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome (J. Pope-Hennessy, *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture*, London, 1963, pl. 159).

Rooses, Burchard and Evers, accepting the information in the catalogues of the Van den Schrieck and Foucart sales, identified this panel with a painting of the same title from the predella of the *Raising of the Cross* altarpiece, which was formerly in St. Walburga's church at Antwerp and was sold at The Hague on 4 September 1747 as lot 29 of the de Roore collection. However, Suzanne Heiland recently showed that this identification is mistaken, as the latter work included six angels: this appears from the description in the catalogue of the Campe sale held at Leipzig in September 1827, which is the most recent mention of it.

The dimensions of the present work make it very likely that it was part of a predella. A picture of "H. Catharina onthoofd zijnde die vervoert word van de engelen naar den berg Sinaij" ("the body of the beheaded St. Catherine being carried by angels to Mount Sinai") formed part of the predella of the altarpiece of St. Teresa, formerly in the church of the Discalced Carmelites at Brussels (II, Nos. 150-152). But identification with this work is not possible either, since the dimensions (62.5 : 90.5 cm.) of the painting that formed the remainder of the predella, *The Appearance of the Holy Spirit to St. Teresa*, now in the Stichting W. van der Vorm at Rotterdam (II, No. 151; D. Hannema, *Beschrijvende Catalogus van de schilderijen uit de kunstverzameling Stichting Willem van der Vorm*, Rotterdam, 1962, No. 71), differ considerably from those of the painting now under discussion.

It is difficult to judge from a photograph the authenticity of the painting, last heard of as part of the Foucart collection. At the sale of the latter and at the previous Van den Schrieck sale it was regarded as an original, but there is evidence that its genuineness was doubted while it was still in the Snyers col-

lection at Antwerp. This would appear, at all events, from a previously unknown letter of 5 June 1830 addressed by the governor of the Antwerp province to the "Administrator" for education, arts and sciences at The Hague. The latter had asked for advice regarding an offer by Snyers to sell to King William I of the United Netherlands a picture in his possession entitled *Angels transporting the body of St. Catherine of Alexandria*. The governor's somewhat discouraging advice was as follows: "De heer J.A. Sneyers alhier, bezit inderdaad eene schilderij, vertoonende het opnemen door twee Engelen van het lijk van de Heilige Catharina, naardat van het lichaam het hoofd was afgezonderd geworden. Gemeld stuk is niet zonder waarde, doch vindt men daarvan, zoo het meest het geval van stukken van groote meesters is, geene hoegenaamde melding in boeken of noticiën; geen mensch kan zeggen, wanneer of waar, of voor wien de schilderij vervaardigd werd, en omtrent deszelfs afkomst uit zich de heer J.A. Sneyers bij hier terugkeerend rekwest ook niet duidelijk. In gesprekken geeft hij daaromtrent geene voldoende inligtingen. Ik geloof dus niet dat de meest beroemde levende schilders of deskundige in het werk zouden durven wagen te verklaren dat zij het stuk in kwestie voor een voorbrenghsel van P.P. Rubens houden; of evenmin dat het zelve fl. 3000 waard is. Alhier werd zulks niet verklaard." ("Mr. J.A. Sneyers of this city does indeed possess a picture showing the decapitated body of St. Catherine being taken up by two angels. It is a work of some merit, but no mention of it can be found in books or other documents, as is usual with paintings by great masters. No one knows when or where or for whom it was painted; in the petition which I return herewith Mr. Sneyers is not explicit as to its origin, and he does not give an adequate account of this in conversation either. For these reasons I do not believe that the bestknown living painters or experts would acknowledge it as a work by Rubens, or that it is worth 3000 guilders. At all events, no such acknowledgment of its origin has been made here."). The governor concludes with an observation, which is probably typical of early nineteenth-century taste: "Eindelijk moet ik nog opmerken dat in allen gevallen het voorwerp dezer schilderij dezelve ongetwijfeld van bewoonde vertrekken of gale-reen van een of ander tusschen koninklijke paleizen uitsluiten zal." ("I would remark that in any case, in view of the subject of this painting, it could certainly not be hung in the living apartments or galleries of any of the Royal palaces."; *Antwerp, Rijksarchief, Fonds "Provincie", No. 449*).

80. ST. CATHERINE OF SIENA (Fig. 139)

Oil on panel; 53 : 43 cm.

Düsseldorf, *Kunstmuseum*. Inv. No. 56.

PROVENANCE: Count von Benckendorff, St. Petersburg, until 1917; H. Rothmann, Berlin (?), who sold it to Prof. L. Goldis, Czechoslovakia, in 1931; Prof. L. Goldis, Berlin, sale, Munich (H. Helbing), 22 March 1932, lot 78 (repr.); purchased by J. and S. Goldschmidt, Berlin; Hinrichsen Gallery Berlin; purchased there by the Düsseldorf Museum, 1935; disappeared in 1945; rediscovered in the U.S.A., 1951, and returned to the Museum.

LITERATURE: H. Ebel and H.W. Hupp, *Drei Jahre Museumsarbeit in Düsseldorf 1934-1936*, Düsseldorf, n.d., not paginated, repr.

A bust of the Saint, who belonged to the Third Order of St. Dominic; according to tradition, she is shown with the crown of thorns, a crucifix and lilies denoting purity (L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'Art chrétien*, III, 1, Paris, 1958, p. 273). She is looking towards the spectator and shedding a tear. I cannot agree with Burchard in attributing this work to Rubens: the pictorial treatment seems to me inferior to his work.

81. ST. CECILIA PLAYING THE VIRGINALS

Approximately 125 : 100 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 123 : 94.5 cm.; prov.: Dresden, collections of the Electors of Saxony, first mentioned there in 1722; Dresden, Gallery, until 1925; Dresden, art trade P. Rusch; Brno, G. Haas, c. 1930; seen by Burchard in one of the store-rooms at Christie's, London, 13 November 1950; lit.: *Katalog der königlichen Gemäldegalerie zu Dresden*, Dresden-Berlin, 1912, No. 997; (2) Painting (Fig. 142), New York, Metropolitan Museum, No. 29.100; canvas, 122 : 103 cm.; prov.: Baron de Beurnonville, sale, Paris, 9-16 May 1881, lot 437; Paris, Tabourier collection; A. Marmontel, sale, Paris, 28, 29 March 1898, lot 5 (repr.); bequeathed to the Museum by Mrs. H.O. Havemeyer, 1929; lit.: W. Valentiner, *Rubens' Paintings in America*, *The Art Quarterly*, IX, 1946, p. 164, No. 101 (as *Rubens*); *Goris-Held*, p. 52, A.64 (as *Rubens*); *Larsen*, p. 218, No. 79 (as *Rubens*); J.L. Allen & E.E. Gardner, *A concise Catalogue of the European Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York,

1954, p. 87 (as *Rubens*); (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 37 : 33.5 cm.; prov.: sale, Vienna (Kende), 16 December 1921 et seqq., lot 13 (as *W. van Herp*); (4) Engraving by W. Panneels (*V.S.*, p. 115, No. 47); (5) Engraving by A. Lommelín (*V.S.*, p. 116, No. 48).

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 181, No. 628; *Rooses*, II, pp. 240, 241, No. 404; R. Klessmann, *Rubens's Saint Cecilia in the Berlin Gallery after Cleaning, The Burlington Magazine*, CVII, 1965, p. 557, n. 19.

This work, which can only be judged from copies, is a half-length portrait of the Saint, gazing upward as she sings to her own accompaniment on the virginals. Two cherubs on the left are joining in the song from a musical score, and one seems to be beating time with his right arm. As is well known, the association of music with St. Cecilia is based on the misreading of a sentence from her legendary *Passio*, which runs: "Cantantibus organis Caecilia in corde suo solo Domino decantabat, dicens: Fiat cor et corpus meum immaculatum." The first two words do not refer to the Saint herself playing (cf. L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, III, 1, Paris, 1958, p. 280).

As Klessmann pointed out, this half-length composition belongs to a sixteenth-century tradition, a notable example of which is Coxcie's *St. Cecilia* of 1569, now in the Prado (Fig. 140); Klessmann also drew attention to the fact that Rubens had a *St. Cecilia* by Coxcie in his possession (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 65). A still closer resemblance to Rubens's *St. Cecilia* is shown by the engraving *Musica* by C. Drebbel, after Goltzius (Fig. 141), particularly in the arrangement of the three singers and the diagonally placed virginals.

The Saint's facial type and hair are similar to those of the midmost of the three women on the left of *The Conversion of St. Bavo* in Ghent Cathedral (No. 72; Fig. 123). As far as can be judged from the copies mentioned above, this lost composition would seem to belong to the early 1620s rather than later in the decade as supposed by Valentiner and Larsen.

The original or a copy is reproduced in a 17th century Flemish "Konstkamer" (J.E. Wigmore sale, London [Christie's], 29 June 1923, lot 121).

82. ST. CECILIA PLAYING THE VIRGINALS (Fig. 144)

Oil on panel; 177 : 139 cm.

Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen. No. 781.

PROVENANCE: ? Received by the Brussels nobleman Jacob van Ophem from Rubens's estate, 1641; Prince de Carignan, sale, Paris, 30 July 1742, lot 72; Duc de Tallard, sale, Paris, 22 March 1756, lot 139; purchased by King Frederick II, the Great, of Prussia, for his gallery in Sanssouci, Potsdam; removed to the Berlin Museum by King William III of Prussia, 1830.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; copper, 34.5 : 27 cm.; prov.: Paris, Marquis de Blaisel; London, C.T. Hawkins, sale, London (Christie's), 30 October 1936, lot 128 (as *Rubens*); (2) Painting by F. von Lenbach, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 177 : 140 cm.; prov.: sale, Munich (Helbing), 10 July 1931, lot 68 (repr.); (3) Drawing attributed to A. Watteau, after the upper part of the saint's body, whereabouts unknown; 210 : 162.5 mm.; prov.: Stockholm, Count Tessin; Stockholm, Queen Louise of Sweden; Princess Albertine of Sweden; Count Stenbock; Count Nils Barck; J. Klein; sale, Brussels (Giroux), 27-28 June 1952, lot 354 (repr.; as *Rubens*); Albert Niels, sale, London (Sotheby), lot 35 (repr.); lit.: K.T. Parker & J. Mathey, *Dessins de Watteau*, 1, Paris, 1957, No. 317, repr.; (4) Engraving by J. Witdoeck, the third state of it being retouched by S. a Bolswert (Fig. 143; *V.S.*, p. 116, No. 50).

LITERATURE: *Descamps, Vie*, p. 316; M. Oesterreich, *Beschreibung der Königlichen Bildergalerie und des Kabinetts im Sans-Souci*, Potsdam, 1764, p. 74, No. 70; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 106, No. 350, p. 180, No. 627; IX, p. 286, No. 158; G.F. Waagen, *Verzeichnis der Gemälde-Sammlung des Königlichen Museums zu Berlin*, Berlin, 1833, No. 286; *Parthey*, II, p. 423, No. 133; *Rooses*, II, pp. 239, 240, No. 403; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 453; *Dillon*, p. 172, pl. CCCCLIII; H. Posse, *Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Die Gemäldegalerie des Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums*, II, Berlin, 1911, pp. 346, 347, No. 781, repr.; *K.d.K.*, p. 435; R. Klessmann, *Die Hl. Caecilie von Rubens in der Berliner Galerie nach der Restaurierung, Sitzungsberichte der Kunstgesch. Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, N.F., XII, 1963-64, pp. 6-8; R. Klessmann, *Rubens's Saint Cecilia in the Berlin Gallery after Cleaning, The Burlington Magazine*, CVII, 1965, pp. 550-559, figs. 1-6, 10; *Martin, Ceiling Paintings*, p. 136.

St. Cecilia, with the features of Hélène Fourment, is seated at the virginals and gazing upward, singing as she plays. Her body is slightly inclined to the left; her left foot is covered by her right. On the left a putto is trying to climb on to the instrument, standing on the carved sphinx that acts as its support. Two other cherubs, also on the left, are singing from a score. Behind them is a pair of marble columns with Corinthian capitals, and in the distance a sunny, wooded landscape. In the upper right-hand corner is a fourth putto holding a wreath of flowers for the Saint. Below, on the right, a dog is sleeping on the edge of Cecilia's robe.

The restoration of this painting in about 1961 brought to light some surprising facts. These were interpreted by Rüdiger Klessmann, who showed that Rubens added, on the left, a strip 23 cm. wide in order to modify the composition. Originally there was a garland above on the left, just below the top of the columns, and on the right a curtain only; there was more to be seen of the Saint's garment, and her right hand was partly concealed by the instrument. The landscape, the climbing putto, the dog, the pillar on the right and the cherub with the wreath all belong to Rubens's revised composition. As Klessmann has clearly established, the new version differed radically from the traditional portrayal of the organ-playing Saint in an indoor space, which Rubens had followed in the 1620s (No. 81) and in the first version of the Berlin canvas. The chief novelty of the second version lies in the addition of details such as the landscape and the dog, which give the scene a more intimate and less strictly devotional character. Klessmann also pointed out that large parts of the picture surface show an unusual amount of *craquelé*, which must be due to the "wet on wet" technique. Rubens's use of this slovenly method, in contrast to his usual meticulousness, may, as Klessmann suggested, have been due to the break-up of his health during his last year of life. This would support the generally accepted dating of 1639-40. The work may be identical with "een stuck van Ste Cecilia" acquired from Rubens's estate by Jacob van Ophem, the High Steward of the Domains of the Spanish king (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 77).

Finally it may be noted that the engraving by Witdoeck (Fig. 143) differs in some respects from the Berlin painting: e.g. the composition in the upper part is somewhat longer and the Saint's hair is done differently.

83. ST. CECILIA

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: ? Canon Hendrik van Halmale, Antwerp, 1659; ? Chevalier de Julienne, sale, Paris, 30 March 1767 et seqq., lot 103.

LITERATURE: A. Pinchart, *Archives des Arts et des Lettres*, II, Ghent, 1863, p. 187; *Rooses*, II, p. 241, under No. 405.

In 1659 Canon Hendrik van Halmale, a relative of the burgomaster Hendrik van Halmale, owned a "Sinte Cecilia van Rubbens, wit ende swert" ("St. Cecilia by Rubens, in black and white"), valued at 36 guilders (A. Pinchart, *loc. cit.*). This may be identical with the grisaille sketch after the *St. Cecilia* now in Berlin (No. 82; Fig. 144), which was sold in 1767 from the de Julienne collection and was intended as the modello for the engraving (Fig. 143) by Jan Witdoeck ("Sainte Cecile chantant les louanges du Seigneur et touchant du clavecin. Cette esquisse en grisaille, peinte sur bois. Gravé par Jean Witdoeck, 15 po[uces] x 10 po[uces] 3 lignes [= 40.5 : 28 cm.]).

84. ST. CECILIA (Fig. 145)

Oil on panel; 78.5 : 58 cm.

Düsseldorf, Kunstmuseum.

PROVENANCE: Prince Lobkowitz, New York; private collection, Stuttgart; Julius Böhler, Munich, approx. 1926–28; purchased by Heinrich, Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza for his collection at Schloss Rohoncz; Baroness Gabriele Bentinck-Thyssen, Paris; given on long loan by the latter to the Düsseldorf Kunstmuseum, 1971.

COPY: Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 75 : 62 cm.; prov.: ? Private collection, Great Britain, around 1903; sale, London (Christie's), 3 March 1950, lot 126.

EXHIBITED: *Sammlung Schloss Rohoncz*, Neue Pinakothek, Munich, 1930, No. 281 (repr.); *Amsterdam*, 1933, No. 12 (repr.); *Choix de la Collection Bentinck*, Institut Néerlandais, Paris, 1970, No. 36 (repr.); *Die Sammlung Bentinck-Thyssen*, Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf, 1970–71, No. 44 (repr.).

LITERATURE: A.L. Mayer, *Some recently discovered Paintings*, *The Burlington Magazine*, L, 1927, pp. 114, repr., 115; C. Norris, *The Rubens Exhibition at Amsterdam*, *The Burlington Magazine*, LVI, 1932, p. 229, n. 4 (as not by Rubens); *Schloss Rohoncz Foundation Collection: Catalogue of Paintings*, Lugano, 1937, No. 361, pl. 107; R. Klessmann, *Rubens's Saint Cecilia in the Berlin Gallery after Cleaning*, *The Burlington Magazine*, CVII, 1965, pp. 550–553, fig. 13; H.J.M., *Aus der Arbeit der Museen, Pantheon*, XXIX, pp. 60, 61, repr.

The Saint, in half-length, is seen from the front, gazing upwards ecstatically and apparently singing from a music-book, the pages of which she is turning with her left hand while beating time with the right.

The expression of the face, the position of the head, the upper part of the body and the left arm, as well as the treatment of the Saint's clothing, are derived from *St. Cecilia playing the Virginals* in Berlin (No. 82; Fig. 144). However, the pictorial treatment indicates a different authorship from the Berlin painting. We may agree with Norris in refusing to admit the authenticity of this pastiche, though even Burchard attributed it to Rubens.

85. ST. CHARLES BORROMEEO

Oil on panel or canvas; approximately 145 : 100 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 148), Antwerp, Presbytery of St. Andrew's Church; canvas, 145 : 100 cm.; (2) Etching by N. van den Berg (Fig. 146; *V.S.*, p. 96, No. 16).

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, p. 334, No. 332; *Rooses*, II, p. 241, No. 406.

This lost picture can be judged from two copies, a painted one in St. Andrew's church at Antwerp and an eighteenth-century etching in reverse by Nicolaas van den Bergh (1725-74), the address of which bears the indication "P.P. Rubens pinx.". The Saint is here depicted as far as below the knee. He is wearing a plain surplice and over it the *cappa magna* in token of his archiepiscopal rank. He is standing absorbed in prayer in front of a small altar with a crucifix. His Cardinal's hat is seen against the wall behind him.

The picture clearly derives directly from the engraving by Hieronymus Wierix, showing the Saint in the same attitude (Fig. 147): this is the first known representation in the Netherlands of the great Counter-Reformation prelate. Even such a striking detail as the Saint's bony fingers was borrowed by Rubens from this prototype. The date of the lost composition is hard to determine owing to the inferior quality of the painted copy and the etching, which are all we have to go on.

86-87. TWO PENDANTS: ST. DOMINIC AND ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI

86. ST. DOMINIC (Fig. 149)

Oil on panel; 183 : 91.5 cm.; arched at the top; below on the left, inscribed in white, the old Leganés number 274.

Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland. No. 427.

PROVENANCE: Marquess of Leganés, 1655, No. 274; Matthew Anderson, Jesmond Cottage (near Newcastle/Tyne); W. Ellis, sale, London (Christie's), 1871; Marquess of Bristol; purchased from the latter for the Dublin Gallery, 1895.

EXHIBITED: *National Exhibition of Works of Art, Leeds, 1868, No. 568.*

LITERATURE: G. Waagen, *Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain*, London, 1857, p. 480; *Rooses*, II, p. 244, No. 408; V, p. 331; G. Redford, *Art Sales*, II, London, 1888, p. 322; Poleró, *Colección de Pinturas que reunio en su Palacio el Marqués de Leganés, Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, VI, 1898, p. 130; M. Rooses, *La galerie du Marquis de Léganès, Rubens Bulletijn*, V, 1900, p. 169; E. Duncan, *The National Gallery of Ireland, The Burlington Magazine*, X, 1906, p. 10; *Catalogue of Pictures and other Works of Art in the National Gallery of Ireland*, Dublin, 1928, No. 427; T. Bodkin, *Dismembered Masterpieces*, London, 1945, p. 25, pl. 33; J.L. Navio, *La gran colección de pinturas del Marqués de Leganés, Analeña Calasanziana*, 1962, p. 281, No. 274; *National Gallery of Ireland. Concise Catalogue of the Oil Paintings*, Dublin, n.d., No. 427.

The Saint, in right profile, is wearing the black and white habit of his Order. He holds a book in his right hand, no doubt in connection with his role as a champion of orthodoxy. The star on his forehead and the dog, seen below on the right, with a blazing torch in its jaws belong to a dream that the Saint's mother is said to have had while expecting him (*Legenda Aurea*, I, col. 702).

Like St. Francis in the pendant to this work (No. 87; Fig. 150), St. Dominic is seen beneath a semicircular stone arch. A similar composition of saints' figures is seen in Rubens's companion pictures of St. Peter and St. Paul, from the former Capuchin church at Antwerp (Nos. 49, 50; Figs. 89, 90); these were probably intended as decoration for window-niches, and perhaps the same was the case with St. Francis and St. Dominic.

Rubens's studio probably took a large part in the execution of the latter works. Their melting transitional tones and the rather loose brushwork suggest a date in the 1630s. The same tired and slightly swollen face of St. Francis is to be seen in the picture of him receiving the Stigmata, painted c. 1635 and now in the Museum at Ghent (No. 92; Fig. 161).

87. ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI (Fig. 150)

Oil on panel; 183 : 91.5 cm.; arched at the top; below on the right, inscribed in white, the old Leganés number 265.

Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland. No. 51.

PROVENANCE: Marquess of Leganés, 1655, No. 265; Matthew Anderson, Jesmond Cottage (near Newcastle/Tyne); W. Ellis, sale, London (Christie's), 1871; purchased there for the Dublin Gallery.

COPY: Painting, Strasbourg, Musée des Beaux-Arts, No. 293; canvas, 200 : 83 cm.; prov.: London, C. Robinson; purchased for the Museum by W. Bode, 1893; lit.: H. Haug, *Musée des Beaux-Arts de la Ville de Strasbourg, Catalogue des peintures anciennes*, Strasbourg, 1938, No. 99 (as Rubens).

LITERATURE: G. Waagen, *Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain*, London, 1857, p. 480; *Rooses*, II, p. 258, No. 427; G. Redford, *Art Sales*, II, London, 1888, p. 322; Poleró, *Colección de Pinturas que reunio en su Palacio el Marqués de Leganés, Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, VI, 1898, p. 129; M. Rooses, *La galerie du Marquis de Léganès, Rubens Bulletin*, V, 1900, p. 169; E. Duncan, *The National Gallery of Ireland, The Burlington Magazine*, X, 1906, p. 10; *Catalogue of Pictures and other Works of Art in the National Gallery of Ireland*, Dublin, 1928, No. 51; T. Bodkin, *Dismembered Masterpieces*, London, 1945, p. 25, pl. 34; J.L. Navio, *La gran colección de pinturas del Marqués de Leganés, Analeña Calasanziana*, 1962, p. 280, No. 265; *National Gallery of Ireland. Concise Catalogue of the Oil Paintings*, Dublin, n.d., No. 51.

St. Francis, clad in the coarse habit of the Capuchins, strikes his breast with his right hand in a gesture of humility. The scar on this hand, recalling the miracle of the Stigmatization, is illuminated by a ray of light falling from the upper left of the picture. The lamb, below on the right, is an attribute of the Saint which, like St. Dominic's dog, refers to a specific passage in his history: in the biography by his contemporary and fellow-friar Thomas of Celano we are told that

St. Francis showed especial fondness for lambs as a symbol of the humility of Jesus Christ (*The Lives of St. Francis of Assisi by Brother Thomas of Celano*, ed. by A.G. Ferrers Howell, London, 1908, pp. 74-77).

88. ST. DOMINIC AND ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI PROTECTING THE WORLD FROM THE WRATH OF CHRIST (Fig. 151)

Oil on canvas; 155 : 361 cm.; arched at the top.

Lyons, *Musée des Beaux-Arts*, No. 166.

PROVENANCE: Dominican Church (St. Paul's), Antwerp; brought to the Louvre, Paris, in 1794; sent to the Museum at Lyons, 1811.

LITERATURE: B. de Monconys, *Journal des Voyages*, II, Lyons, 1666, p. 107 (as seen in July 1663, erroneously in the "Carmes" at Antwerp); *Tessin*, p. 83; *De Wit*, p. 53; *Descamps, Vie*, p. 321; *Berbie*, pp. 59, 60, No. 1; *Mensaert*, I, pp. 201, 202; *Descamps, Voyage*, pp. 192, 193; *Michel*, 1771, p. 90; *Notice des grands tableaux de Paul Veronèse, Rubens... dont l'exposition provisoire aura lieu dans le Grand Salon du Musée...*, Paris, 1803, No. 55; *Odevaere*, p. 317, No. 47; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp. 12, 13, No. 25; F.L. Clément de Ris, *Les Musées de Province*, II, Paris, 1861, p. 378; *Rooses*, II, pp. 242-244, No. 407; *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg*, p. 174; *Dillon*, p. 219, pl. CLXXXII; P. Dissard, *Le Musée de Lyon. Les peintures*, Paris, 1912, p. 54; R. Jullian, *Collections publiques... France... Lyon*, Paris, 1960, p. 31.

The central theme of this painting is a vision that St. Dominic is said to have had while in Rome. Christ appeared to him with a threatening countenance, holding three thunderbolts with which to destroy sinful man. The Virgin Mary thereupon fell at her son's feet and persuaded him to relent, by declaring that she had two faithful servants who between them could convert the world. She then presented to him St. Dominic and St. Francis. The story is related by Gerard de Fracheto, a contemporary of St. Dominic and member of his Order. It was also illustrated by Theodoor Galle in Johannes Nys's *Vita S.P. Dominici*, Antwerp, 1611, p. 13 (*Knipping*, II, fig. 28).

Rubens's composition is clearly divided into an upper and a lower zone. Above, we see the wrathful Christ about to hurl down his thunderbolts. To the left Mary pleads with him, and on the right are the two other Persons of the Holy Trinity. The two Saints are in the lower part of the picture, separated

by clouds from the upper. Their hands are outstretched protectively over a globe with a serpent coiled round it, symbolizing the sinful world. About them is a large company of Saints, including (from left to right) St. Catherine, St. George, St. Mary Magdalene and St. Sebastian. The two mitred bishops on the left are probably the Church Doctors St. Ambrose and St. Augustine. To their right is an unidentified Dominican saint. On either side of St. Mary Magdalene are two female saints, whose identity is also unknown. To the right of St. Sebastian is a bearded cardinal, whom Rooses believed to be St. Jerome; it is possible, however, that Rubens intended the figure for the Franciscan St. Bonaventure. Behind this group and among the clouds several more figures can be seen, the only identifiable one being St. Cecilia playing the virginals.

Rooses dates this work about 1619-20, Rosenberg about 1618-20. All the signs indeed point to its having been painted at that time. Various motifs recur in other works by Rubens during these years. St. George, looking heavenward, is met with again in the *Great Last Judgement* at Munich (*K.d.K.*, p. 118), ordered c. 1616. There is in the Louvre a study for a head, ascribed to Van Dyck by Glück (*K.d.K., Van Dyck*, p. 33, left), which shows the same facial type. The head of St. Sebastian is the same as that of St. John the Evangelist in *The Assumption* (c. 1616-17) in the Brussels museum (*K.d.K.*, p. 120). Rooses already pointed out the striking resemblance between the mitred saint on the left, probably St. Ambrose, and the central figure in *St. Ambrose Barring the Emperor Theodosius from Milan Cathedral*, Vienna (c. 1618-19; *K.d.K.*, p. 191). The closest similarity, however, is that between the pose of St. Catherine and the woman in the right foreground of *The Miracles of St. Ignatius* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum at Vienna (II, No. 115), an altar-piece executed about 1618. There seems also to be a link with the *Madonna del Popolo*, Federigo Barocci's masterpiece painted in 1579 for the Pieve church at Arezzo and now in the Uffizi at Florence (H. Voss, *Die Malerei der Spätrenaissance in Rom und Florenz*, II, Berlin, 1920, p. 483, fig. 189). Rubens may have seen this work if he stopped at Arezzo on the way to Rome. The Virgin kneeling on clouds is very similar, in reverse, to the corresponding figure in Barocci's work.

The history of St. Paul's church at Antwerp may afford some evidence as regards the date of this picture, for which no direct archival records survive. Seventeenth and eighteenth-century accounts of the church mention it as being over the high altar. The choir and transept are known to have been begun in

1618, while the nave certainly was completed before that date (A. Sanderus, *Chorographia Sacra Brabantiae*, 2nd ed., III, The Hague, 1727, p. 3). Perhaps the start of the building-work in the latter year was the occasion for commissioning this picture, whose stylistic features are characteristic for the stage which had been reached in the evolution of Rubens's work by the end of the second decade.

Rooses held that only the lower half of the painting is by Rubens himself and that the upper half is by one of his pupils: he suggested somewhat arbitrarily the name of Cornelis Schut (1597-1655). There is, in fact, no reason to see in the work any other hand than Rubens's. We may, however, disregard the 50-cm. addition at the top; this is no doubt connected with the adaptation of the painting to the altar, rounded at the top, which was erected in 1670 by the sculptor Pieter Verbruggen the Elder (the engraving by his son, Pieter the Younger, showing clearly the altar and the date 1670 on it, is reproduced in P. Génard, *Anvers à travers les âges*, I, Brussels, 1888, p. 329). The fact that Rubens's painting was originally square in shape may also be inferred from the oil sketch discussed below (No. 88a).

88a. ST. DOMINIC AND ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI PROTECTING THE WORLD FROM THE WRATH OF CHRIST: OIL SKETCH OR DRAWING

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 152), whereabouts unknown; 53.5 : 39 cm.; prov.: London, Agnew's, where seen by Burchard, 1947.

There are several marked differences between the painting at Lyons and this sketch, known only from a copy, especially in the representation and grouping of the various saints. Instead of St. Sebastian and the cardinal who has been taken for St. Jerome, the sketch showed four other characters on the right of St. Francis and St. Dominic. Of these, the two mitred saints may be the Church Fathers St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, and the half-naked greybeard may perhaps be their fellow-Doctor St. Jerome. All we can see of the fourth is his tonsured head, indicating that he belongs to one of the two great mendicant Orders. The group to the left of St. Dominic and St. Francis was also conceived quite differently. Of the four characters in the design, one is vested as

a bishop and another is a knight in armour, probably St. George. Another striking difference between the sketch and the final version is in the position occupied by the group of the Trinity and the Virgin Mary. This was originally more or less confined to the left-hand side, leaving room on the right for a company of saints and Old Testament prophets, who in the final version were mainly replaced by putti. They include Saints Peter and Paul, St. Laurence with his grid and King David with his harp. Originally, too, there were angels supporting the cloud above which the Virgin is represented; these do not appear in the Lyons picture. All these figures formed, as it were, an organic link between the upper and lower parts of the composition.

In this work Rubens makes use of ideas that occur in related scenes by him such as the two representations of *All Saints*, one in the *Missale Romanum* of 1613-14 (Evers, 1943, fig. 189), the other in the modello of about the same date in the Boymans - van Beuningen Museum at Rotterdam (No. 1; Fig. 1). The Saint in bishop's robes on the left is very similar to a figure that occupies the same position in these two works.

88b. HEAD STUDY OF ST. CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA: DRAWING (Fig. 153)

Black chalk, heightened with white body-colour; 280 : 245 mm.; inscribed with ink in the right corner below, *Rubens*.

Angers, Musée Turpin de Crissé, No. 201.

PROVENANCE: Bequeathed to the Museum by Count E. de Saint Genys, 1915.

LITERATURE: A. Recouvreur, *Ville d'Angers. Musée Turpin de Crissé (Hôtel de Pincé). Catalogue guide*, Angers, 1933, p. 238, No. 201.

A study from life of a woman's head in right profile. Some drapery is sketched on the extreme right near the edge of the sheet. This drawing, not known to Burchard, was regarded by A. Recouvreur as a study for the head of St. Catherine in the altar-piece now at Lyons (No. 88; Fig. 151). The two indeed resemble each other closely, except that in the drawing no veil is seen on the Saint's hair. From the point of view of technique the drawing may be compared with similar studies of heads dating from 1615-20, such as the sketch at Chatsworth for *The Last Communion of St. Francis* (No. 102c; Fig. 182)

or the study, whose whereabouts are unknown, for one of the three Marias in *The Assumption of the Virgin*, formerly in the Jesuit church at Antwerp and now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum at Vienna (*Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, II, pl. 111). In all these cases Rubens managed, in a very similar way, to suggest the maximum plasticity with a minimum of graphic means.

89. HEAD STUDY OF ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI (Fig. 154)

Oil on panel; 42.5 : 40.5 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: Anonymous sale, London, 19 March 1943, lot 110 (as *A. Van Dyck*); Leger Galleries, London; Terry Engell Galleries, London, where seen by Burchard in 1957.

COPY: Drawing, Turin, Palazzo Reale, No. 9830.

LITERATURE: [H. Granville Fell], *A Rubens Head, The Connoisseur*, October, 1951, p. 119.

A head study of the Saint, looking upward to the left.

Burchard regards this as a work by Rubens and is inclined to date it 1615-20 or later. I cannot, however, accept the attribution.

90. ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI RECEIVING THE STIGMATA (Fig. 155)

Oil on canvas; 382 : 243 cm.

Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum. No. 1043.

PROVENANCE: Capuchin Church, Cologne; given to Canon Ferdinand-Franz Wallraf by the Fathers, 1794, to be hidden from the French troops.

COPIES: (1) Painting, Antwerp, St. Anthony's Church; canvas, 232 : 171.5 cm.; prov.: Antwerp, Capuchin Church; lit.: *De Wit*, plan XIII, No. 4 (as *Rubens*); *Rooses*, II, p. 250; (2) Painting after the Head of St. Francis, Moscow, Pushkin Museum; canvas, 64 : 52 cm.; prov.: bought by the Empress Catherine II for the imperial collections, St. Petersburg; St. Petersburg, later Leningrad, Ermitage; lit.: *Rooses*, II, p. 250, No. 415

(as *Rubens*); A. Somof, *Ermitage Impérial – Catalogue de la galerie des tableaux*, II, St. Petersburg, 1901, No. 585 (as *Rubens*); *Dillon*, pl. LXXXVII (as *Rubens*); *K.d.K.*, p. 452; (3) Watercolour, attributed to Delacroix, whereabouts unknown; 270 : 180 mm.; prov.: Paris, Galerie Katia Granoff; lit.: A.M. Kesting and H. Vey, *Niederländische Gemälde von 1550 bis 1800 im Wallraf-Richartz Museum und im öffentlichen Besitz der Stadt Köln*, Cologne, 1967, p. 100.

LITERATURE: C.S. Schier, *Briefe aus Köln, Agrippina*, I, 1824, p. 255; J.J. Merlo, *Nachrichten von dem Leben und den Werken Kölnischer Künstler*, Cologne, 1850, p. 382; *Partbey*, II, p. 421, No. 105; J. Niessen, *Katalog des Museums Wallraf-Richartz in Köln*, Cologne, 1868, No. 617; *Rooses*, II, pp. 249, 250, No. 414; J. Burckhardt, *Erinnerungen aus Rubens*, Basle, 1898, p. 28; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 145; *K.d.K.*, p. 94; *Knipping*, I, pp. 205, 206; *Evers*, 1942, pp. 146–148; W. Schöne, *Über das Licht in der Malerei*, Berlin, 1954, p. 155; G. Auß, *Entwurf und Ausführung bei Rubens, Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, XX, 1958, p. 198; W. Friedländer, *Early to Full Baroque: Cigoli and Rubens, Studien zur toskanischen Kunst*, Munich, 1964, p. 82; A.M. Kesting and H. Vey, *Niederländische Gemälde von 1550 bis 1800 im Wallraf-Richartz Museum und im öffentlichen Besitz der Stadt Köln*, Cologne, 1967, No. 1043, fig. 133; H. Vey, *Südniederländische Künstler und ihre kölnischen Auftraggeber, Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen*, 1968, pp. 16, 17, fig. 8; J. Müller Hofstede, *Neue Olskizzen von Rubens, Städel Jahrbuch*, N.F., II, 1969, pp. 213, 214; H. Vey, *Zeugnisse der Rubens-Verehrung in Köln während des 19. Jahrhunderts, Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, XXXI, 1969, p. 121.

The fullest description of the miracle of the stigmata is to be found in the second part of the *Fioretti di San Francesco*, dated about 1322–28 (ed. by A. Mori, Turin, 1923, pp. 192–202). In 1224, two years before his death, St. Francis had a vision on Mount Alverna near Arezzo, where he had retired with Friar Leo. The crucified Christ appeared to him in the form of a six-winged seraph, with two wings extended over his head, two spread out as if in flight, and two covering his body. Thereupon the five wounds of Christ were miraculously imprinted on the Saint's hands and feet and in his side.

St. Francis is seen in the left-hand part of the picture, with Brother Leo sitting in the foreground. Above, on the right, is the winged Christ in a bright nimbus, surrounded by heads of angels. To the left, behind St. Francis, is a tree with a perching falcon: according to the *Fioretti* (*op. cit.*, p. 191), this bird used to awaken the Saint to prayer during his stay on Mount Alverna. We also see a death's head, symbolizing the hermit's life of mortification, and a crucifix, before which the Saint is absorbed in prayer.

As has often been pointed out, this painting must be regarded as largely the work of Rubens's studio, and it is not possible precisely to identify his own contribution. Rooses mistakenly thought that the figures were executed by Cornelis Schut; he ascribed the landscape to Jan Wildens, a view recently shared by Müller Hofstede, but until Wildens's work is better known it seems wiser not to pronounce definitely on this. It also does not seem evident that, as W. Friedländer thought, the composition is based on Cigoli's painting of the same subject in the Palazzo Pitti at Florence.

Except for Jacob Burckhardt, who proposed a date of about 1635-40, all the writers who have discussed this work place it shortly before or after the middle of the second decade. Vey recently showed that it was recorded at the Capuchin church in Cologne when that building was consecrated in October 1616 (see J. Müller Hofstede, *op. cit.*, p. 238, n. 113), and it was probably painted a very short time before.

Kesting and Vey also pointed out that the picture of 1620 of the same subject by Frans Pourbus the Younger, now in the Louvre, was inspired by Rubens (*Cat. Exh. Ile de France - Brabant*, Brussels, 1962, fig. xxvi). The observation is very pertinent: Brother Leo's characteristic gesture of the arm is an almost literal repetition of that in the picture at Cologne.

90a. ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI RECEIVING THE STIGMATA: DRAWING (Fig. 156)

Black chalk, pen and brown wash, heightened with white body-colour, on brown paper; 520 : 371 mm.; below in the left, mark of the collection van Parijs (L. 2531) and the inventory number 749, followed by an only partially readable text, in brown ink: *Nr. 2 Paulus R[...] ft.*

Berlin-Dablem, Print Room of the Staatliche Museen. No. 5738.

PROVENANCE: van Parijs (Brussels, c. 1800); A. von Beckerath (Berlin, 1834-1915); purchased for the Print Room, 1902.

LITERATURE: Glück-Haberditzl, p. 38, No. 79, repr.; E. Bock and J. Rosenberg, *Zeichnungen Niederländischer Meister im Kupferstichkabinett Berlin*, I, Berlin, 1930, p. 250, No. 5738; F. Lugt, *Beiträge zu dem Katalog der niederländischen Handzeichnungen in Berlin, Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, LII, 1931, p. 65; G. Auß, *Entwurf und Ausführung bei Rubens, Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, XX, 1958, p. 198; M. Jaffé, *Rubens as a Collector of Drawings*, I, *Master Drawings*, II, 1964, p. 385, Fig. 2.

This drawing, as has been generally noted, is a composition-sketch for the altarpiece from the Capuchin church at Cologne (No. 90; Fig. 155). There are some notable differences from the final version: St. Francis is in the centre of the picture and is kneeling on his right knee instead of the left; the winged Christ in the upper right-hand corner is considerably smaller. Lesser differences are to be seen in the position of the falcon in the tree on the left and the winged heads of cherubs.

The figure of the Saint himself is almost exactly repeated in an engraving by Cornelis Galle inscribed *Petrus Paulus Rubens pinxit* (*V.S.*, p. 97, No. 25).

90b. ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI RECEIVING THE STIGMATA: DRAWING (Fig. 157)

Black chalk, pen and brown wash, heightened with white body-colour, on paper; 518 : 352 mm.; a strip of 3–5 mm. added below; below, in the centre and on the right, two marks of the Louvre (L. 1899 and 2207). – *Verso*: mark of the collection of E. Jabach (L. 2959).

Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre. No. 20312 (as after Rubens).

PROVENANCE: E. Jabach (Cologne-Paris, 1610-1695); sold to Louis XIV, King of France, 1671.

COPY: Engraving by L. Vorsterman, 1620 (Fig. 158; *V.S.*, p. 97, No. 26).

EXHIBITED: *Dessins flamands du XVIIème siècle*, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1952, No. 1147 (as after Rubens); *Dessins de Pierre-Paul Rubens*, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1959, No. 50 (as after Rubens).

LITERATURE: F. Reiset, *Notice des Dessins, etc. au Musée National du Louvre*, 1, Paris, 1866, No. 582 (as after Rubens); *Rooses*, v, p. 162 (as L. Vorsterman); F. Van den Wijngaert, *Inventaris der Rubeniaansche Prentkunst*, Antwerp, 1940, p. 102, No. 723 (as L. Vorsterman); F. Lugt, *Musée du Louvre, Inventaire général des dessins des écoles du Nord... Ecole flamande*, II, Paris, 1949, p. 41, No. 1147, pl. LXII (as after Rubens); H. Vey, *Die Zeichnungen Anton van Dycks*, Brussels, 1962, I, pp. 230, 231, No. 160; II, pl. 204 (as A. van Dyck).

There are no differences of importance between this drawing and the painting of the same subject (No. 90; Fig. 155): the only one worth mentioning lies in the treatment of the branches seen on the left under the Saint's arm.

Opinions as to the authorship of the drawing differ widely. Rooses, supported by Van den Wijngaert, attributed it to Lucas Vorsterman. It should be remarked that this modello shows great smoothness of line compared with other drawings for engravings which were made by Vorsterman after Rubens and which are also to be seen in the Cabinet des Dessins at the Louvre (F. Lugt, *op. cit.*, Nos. 1126 et seqq.). This is probably why Burchard ascribed it to Rubens himself. It is difficult in fact to discern Rubens's hand in the work, yet it seems to be of better quality than Vorsterman's drawings such as his portraits of Spinola and Buckingham in the British Museum (*Hind*, II, pls. LXXVI and LXXVII). Vey made the interesting suggestion that the author might be Van Dyck, who, as the latter's friend Kenelm Digby told Bellori, was "uno allievo che sapesse tradurre in disegno le sue [sc. Rubens's] inventioni, per farle intagliare al bulino"; in this connection Bellori refers to the preliminary drawing, now lost, for Vorsterman's engraving of *The Battle of Amazons* (Bellori, p. 254). Vey's theory may be correct; on the other hand, Rubens's hand may be discernible in the pen-and-ink retouching and the heightening.

As Vey also pointed out, the engraving after this drawing, though dated 1620, must have been made earlier; Rubens mentions it in a letter of 23 January 1619 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p. 199), from which it appears that the engraving, and therefore the drawing, already existed in 1618.

91. ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI RECEIVING THE STIGMATA (Fig. 159)

Oil on canvas; 193.5 : 146 cm.

Arras, Musée Municipal.

PROVENANCE: Purchased by the Museum at an unknown date after 1907.

The seraph is seen above on the left. St. Francis, on his knees, looks up in ecstasy, stretching out both arms in a gesture of humble submission. The wound-marks in his hands can be clearly seen. On the ground in front of him are a prayer-book, a crucifix and a skull, the *Vanitas* symbols of the hermit. The head of the startled Friar Leo is seen on the right, and there is a wooded slope in the background. On the left is a view of a distant landscape with a small church, some trees, and a ridge of hills on the horizon.

The typical oblique posture of St. Francis is an invention of the late Italian mannerists. The model may have been a work such as Cigoli's *St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata*, now in the Pitti Palace at Florence (*Cat. Exp. Mostra del Cigoli e del suo ambiente*, San Miniato, 1959, pp. 59-61, pl. XV).

The present work, which was not known to Burchard, was for the most part executed by Rubens's studio, from the modello in the Wetzlar collection at Amsterdam (No. 91a; Fig. 160); however, Rubens himself painted the Saint's head. Pentimenti can be seen at the level of the Saint's right elbow and in his left shoulder and upper left arm: in the two latter places, rather less of the Saint's *mozzetta* was originally visible.

The marked plasticity with which the face and garments are treated suggest a date of about 1615-20.

91a. ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI RECEIVING THE STIGMATA: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 160)

Oil on panel; 23,5 : 18 cm.

Amsterdam, The Heirs of Dr. H.A. Wetzlar.

PROVENANCE: Unknown German collection, until 1932; Dr. Ludwig Burchard, Berlin, later London; Matthiesen Gallery, London.

EXHIBITED: *Helsinki*, 1952-53, No. 9 (repr.); *Brussels*, 1953, No. 9 (repr.); *Kenze uit de verzameling Dr. H.A. Wetzlar*, Singer Museum, Laren, 1968-69, No. 23 (repr.).

LITERATURE: J.S. Held, *A propos de l'exposition Rubens à Bruxelles, Les Arts Plastiques*, VI, 2, 1953, p. 116; J. Müller Hofstede, *Neue Ölskizzen von Rubens, Städel Jahrbuch*, N.F., II, 1969, pp. 213, 215, 216, 237, fig. 22.

This sketch, almost entirely in grey and brown tones, was discovered by Burchard, who thought that it might well have been painted for an engraving. Clearly, however, it is in fact the sketch for the composition in the Musée Municipal at Arras (No. 91; Fig. 159), which was unknown to Burchard. It differs only in some details from the finished work: e.g. the position of the skull, book and crucifix, the upper part of the Saint's body and the view of a distant horizon and the open air.

92. ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI RECEIVING THE STIGMATA (Fig. 161)

Oil on canvas; 264 : 192 cm.

Ghent, *Museum voor Schone Kunsten*. No. S-9.

PROVENANCE: Franciscan Church, Ghent; deposited in the new Museum, c. 1797.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; prov.: Bruges, Church of the Franciscan Friars; lit.: *Descamps, Voyage*, p. 297; (2) Painting, Brussels, A. de Heuvel; panel, 52 : 38 cm.; lit.: J.G. van Gelder, *Rubens in Holland in de zeventiende eeuw, Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, III, 1950-51, p. 124, fig. 13; (3) Engraving by F. Pilsen, 1770 (*V.S.*, p. 98, No. 31); (4) Etching by P. Spruyt (*V.S.*, p. 97, No. 24); (5) Etching after the figure of St. Francis (Fig. 164; *V.S.*, p. 97, No. 22).

LITERATURE: *Descamps, Vie*, pp. 56, 325; *Mensaert*, II, p. 47; *Descamps, Voyage*, p. 243; *Michel*, 1771, p. 193; *Spruyt*, 1777, p. 149; *Reynolds*, p. 145; *Spruyt*, 1789-91, p. 195; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 38, No. 110; A.P. Sunaert, *Catalogue descriptif du Musée de la ville de Gand*, Ghent, 1870, No. 9; *Rooses*, pp. 250, 251, No. 416; *Dillon*, p. 217 (as by a pupil of Rubens); *Stad Gent, Museum van Schone Kunsten. Catalogus*, Ghent, 1938, No. S-9; J. Müller Hofstede, *Neue Ölskizzen von Rubens, Städel Jahrbuch*, N.F., II, 1969, pp. 213-216, 238, 239, fig. 21.

In this version of the theme of the Stigmatization, St. Francis is seen in full face, seated on the right, while the seraph-like Christ appears from above on the left. Instead of gazing at the apparition as in the other known versions by Rubens, the Saint's eyes are turned towards the spectator. Below, on the left, Brother Leo looks up in alarm.

The colour-scheme with its melting transitional tones is typical of the last decade of Rubens's work. The dominant grey tonality recalls that of two other paintings from the church of the Friars Minor at Ghent: *St. Francis of Assisi Protecting the World from the Wrath of Christ* (c. 1635, now at Brussels: No. 100; Fig. 173) and *St. Mary Magdalene in Ecstasy*, now at Lille (II, No. 131). One may surmise that all three works were commissioned together to adorn the church. The *St. Francis of Assisi* at Dublin (No. 87; Fig. 150) shows the same type of countenance as in the present painting.

An etching was made of the figure of St. Francis only, the second state of which is signed below on the left *P. Paul Rubens* (Fig. 164). This etching was ascribed to Willem Buytewech by J.G. van Gelder (*De etsen van Willem*

Buytewech, Oud Holland, XLVIII, 1931, pp. 51-53, No. 6, fig. 11) and, with some reservation, by E. Haverkamp Begemann (*Willem Buytewech*, Amsterdam, 1959, 165-167, No. vG 6). As Buytewech died in 1624 this would mean either that the present painting was executed before that year, which is impossible, or, as seems very improbable, that at some time before 1624 Rubens painted a figure of a type and in an attitude exactly similar to those of the present work and its slightly altered replica (No. 93). As Müller Hofstede already concluded, it would accordingly seem that the attribution to Buytewech should be reconsidered. The immediate model for the etching was in any case the small copy at de Heuvel's, mentioned above.

93. ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI RECEIVING THE STIGMATA

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 162), Rome, Capitoline Museum, No. 12; canvas, 195 : 160 cm.; lit.: *Rooses*, II, p. 251, under No. 416; *The Capitoline Collections*, Rome, 1950, p. 384, No. 12; lit.: *Rooses*, II, p. 251, under No. 416; (2) Drawing (Fig. 163), Copenhagen, Print Room of the Statens Museum for Kunst, "Rubens-Cantoor", No. 1, 7; 308 : 278 mm.

This composition, known only from copies, is an almost exact repetition of the painting of the same subject at Ghent (No. 92; Fig. 161). The only important difference is that the Saint's companion in the present work is a greybeard instead of a beardless young man.

94. ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI RECEIVING THE INFANT CHRIST (Fig. 165)

Oil on canvas; 230 : 173 cm.

Antwerp, St. Anthony's Church.

PROVENANCE: Capuchin's Church, Antwerp; brought to Paris, 1794; returned to the city of Antwerp, 1815; deposited in the Sint-Antoniuserkerk there.

COPIES: (1) Drawing after the figures of St. Francis and the Christ Child, probably by M. Lasne, London, Count A. Seilern; 372 : 262 mm.; prov.: Amsterdam, C. Josi; C. Ploos van Amstel, sale, Amsterdam, 31 July 1810, lot G-42 (as *Rubens*); sale, Amster-

dam, 21 November 1929, lot 29 (repr.; as *Rubens*); N. Beets, sale, Amsterdam (F. Muller), 9-11 April 1940, lot 149 (repr.; as *Rubens*); London, V. Koch; sale, London (Sotheby's), 25 March 1965, lot 100 (repr.; as *Rubens*); lit.: *Rooses*, II, p. 254 (as *Rubens*); [A. Seilern], *Flemish Paintings and Drawings at 56 Princes Gate London, Addenda*, London, 1969, p. 59, No. 324, pl. XXXIX (as *Rubens*); (2) Drawing after the figures of St. Francis, the Virgin and the Christ Child, probably by C. Visscher, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, No. 206; 207 : 261 mm.; prov.: Wellesley; Sir Thomas Barlow, by whom presented to the Museum, 1937; lit.: K.T. Parker, *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum*, I, Oxford, 1938, No. 206; (3) Engraving by M. Lasne (Fig. 166; *V.S.*, p. 98, No. 35); (4) Engraving by C. Visscher (*V.S.*, p. 98, No. 34); (5) Engraving by A. Lommelin (*V.S.*, p. 99, No. 37).

EXHIBITED: *Tableaux recouverts... revenus de France*, Musée, Antwerp, 1816, No. 38.

LITERATURE: *De Wit*, p. 124; *Descamps, Vie*, p. 323; *Berbie*, p. 65, No. 3; *Mensaert*, I, pp. 214, 215; *Descamps, Voyage*, p. 197; *Michel, 1771*, pp. 103, 104; *Odevaere*, p. 319, No. 66; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 24, No. 81; *Rooses*, II, p. 254, No. 420; *Oldenbourg, 1922*, p. 103; J. Van den Nieuwenhuizen, *Antwerpse schilderijen te Parijs (1794-1815)*, *Antwerpen*, VIII, 1962, p. 78; [A. Seilern], *Flemish Paintings and Drawings at 56 Princes Gate London, Addenda*, London, 1969, p. 59.

The legend here depicted belongs to the time of the Counter-Reformation, as shown by E. Mâle (*L'Art religieux après le Concile de Trente*, Paris, 1932, p. 174). As the story is related e.g. in L. Wadding, *Annales Minorum* (2nd ed., I, Rome, 1731, p. 237), the Virgin appeared to St. Francis in a blaze of light and laid the infant Christ in his arms. One of the friars witnessed the miracle and was so overwhelmed that he lost consciousness. St. Francis is seen kneeling in the left foreground in front of the Virgin, who is standing on a cloud and holding out the Christ Child towards him. The astonished friar is on the extreme left behind St. Francis, part of his figure being cut through by the edge of the picture. In accordance with the legend, the Virgin's head is surrounded by a sublime radiance and is wreathed, as it were, by four or five frolicking cherubs.

As *Rooses* and *Oldenbourg* remarked, the rather weak execution of this work is probably to be ascribed in the main to *Rubens's* studio. For dating purposes we have a *terminus post* and a *terminus ante quem*. On the one hand, the former Capuchin church at Antwerp was consecrated on 3 June 1614 (P. Hildebrand, *Rubens chez les Capucins. Un témoignage de 1617, Etudes franciscaines*, XLVII, 1935, p. 728). On the other, we have a letter of 10 March 1617

from Paolo da Cesena, the General of the Capuchin Order, complaining that its members in the Netherlands paid little attention to the rule of poverty, and expressing indignation at the rich adornment of certain monasteries. He writes: "Che si è fatta fare un' imagine da un famoso pittore per il luogo di Cambrai, che vale quattrocento ducati senza altri ornamenti. Un'altra se ne fà hora per il luogo di Lilla, del medesimo prezzo e forse maggiore. Un'altra per il luogo d'Anversa, quasi del medesimo valore..." (P. Hildebrand, *op. cit.*, p. 727). As P. Hildebrand points out, the "famoso pittore" is almost certainly Rubens, who painted pictures for the monasteries at Cambrai and Lille: an *Entombment of Christ* (Held, I, fig. 34) now in the church of Saint-Géry at Cambrai, a *St. Francis of Assisi receiving the Infant Christ* and a *Descent from the Cross*, now in the Lille Museum (No. 95; Fig. 167; *K.d.K.*, p. 89). The stylistic evidence for the date of these pictures admits of their being the same as those referred to by Paolo da Cesena.

95. ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI RECEIVING THE INFANT CHRIST (Fig. 167)

Oil on canvas; 234 : 184 cm.

Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts. No. 310.

PROVENANCE: Capuchin's Church, Lille; presented to the Museum, on the occasion of its foundation in 1801.

COPIES: (1) Painting, Madrid, Descalzas Reales; canvas, appr. 230 : 180 cm.; lit.: E. Tormo, *En las Descalzas Reales*, Madrid, 1915-17, p. 67, fig. 25; (2) Painting, Enghien, Capuchin cloister; canvas; lit.: P. Gerlachus, *St. Antonius of St. Felix, De Kunst der Nederlanden*, I, 1930, p. 108, fig. 4; (3) Painting, Lille, Minorite Church; canvas; lit.: P. Gerlachus, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

EXHIBITED: *Kunstwerke aus den besetzten Nordfrankreich*, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes, 1918, No. 306.

LITERATURE: *Descamps, Voyage*, p. 14; *Michel, 1771*, pp. 198, 199; *Guide des étrangers à Lille*, Lille, 1772, p. 100; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 41, No. 118; E. Reynart, *Catalogue des tableaux, bas-reliefs et statues... du Musée de Lille*, Lille-Paris, 1872, No. 310; *Roses*, II, pp. 252, 253, No. 419; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 104; *Dillon*, pp. 90, 110, pl. CXXX; *K.d.K.*, p. 69; *Oldenbourg*, 1922, pp. 101, 103, 111, fig. 61; F.W. Holler, *Letters of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, Cambridge, 1929, pp. 143, 144; *Evers*, 1943, p. 100;

J. Müller Hofstede, *Beiträge zum zeichnerischen Werk von Rubens, Walraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, xxvii, 1965, pp. 335-337, fig. 238.

The grouping of the figures is very similar to that in the painting of the same subject in St. Anthony's church at Antwerp (No. 94; Fig. 165). St. Francis kneels to receive the Child from Mary, while a member of his Order, to one side of the picture, looks up in surprise. Angels form a kind of wreath about Mary's head. St. Francis wears the coarse brown habit of the Capuchins.

Stylistically this work, with its emphasis on plasticity, its well-defined contours and its local colouring, belongs to about the middle of the second decade. The head of the Madonna bears a close resemblance to that in Alexander Goubau's votive painting of 1614-15 in the Tours museum (*K.d.K.*, p. 72, left). It may also be noted that the head of the friar with St. Francis is a repetition of the head of the Saint himself in the picture of him receiving the Stigmata, in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum at Cologne (No. 90; Fig. 155), painted in 1615 or 1616.

In the Harrach collection at Vienna there is a painting of a girl's head, dating from about this time and wrongly attributed to Rubens, in which the same type is to be seen as in the second angel on the right (*K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p. 135, right, as *Rubens*).

Both the present painting and *The Descent from the Cross*, now also in the Lille museum (*K.d.K.*, p. 89), very probably were among the works by Rubens in the Capuchin monasteries of the Southern Netherlands listed by Paolo da Cesena in his letter of 1617 (cf. No. 94). As will be seen from the discussion of the preliminary drawing for this picture (No. 95a; Fig. 168), we have in any case a *terminus ante quem* of 1617-18.

A letter by Sir Joshua Reynolds dated 25 November 1785 indicates that he wished to buy the painting at that time.

95a. ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI RECEIVING THE INFANT CHRIST (Fig. 168)

Drawing, pen and brush and brown ink; 392 : 200 mm.; below on the right, inscribed in ink, 59.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: J. Mathey, Paris.

COPIES: (1) Drawing by M. Lasne, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, No. A.XLV.I.; 320 : 210 mm.; lit.: *Delen*, I, No. 372; (2) Engraving by M. Lasne (*V.S.*, p. 99, No. 42).

LITERATURE: J. Müller Hofstede, *Beiträge zum zeichnerischen Werk von Rubens, Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, XXVII, 1965, pp. 335-338, fig. 237.

This sketch for the altarpiece in the Capuchin church at Lille (No. 95; Fig. 167) is elaborated in great detail. The only important difference from the final version is that the figure of Brother Leo, on the left behind St. Francis, is missing, as are the two angels in the right-hand upper corner. The latter, however, as Müller Hofstede thought, may be discerned in vague outline.

This sketch was used by Michel Lasne as the basis for his engraving of St. Francis of Paola (*V.S.*, p. 99, No. 42) : he followed the composition very carefully and made only the minimum alterations, chiefly by way of adapting it to the iconography of the later Saint. Thus he added to the Capuchin habit the scapular of the Minim Friars, and placed in the right-hand upper corner the latter's emblem, the word CHARITAS in a circle of rays. The design for the engraving, executed and signed by Lasne, is still in the Print Room at Antwerp (*Delen*, I, No. 372); it is about the same size as the present sketch. Lasne's engraving provides us with a *terminus ante quem* for the Madonna of the Capuchins at Lille and the design for that work. We know that the French artist paid a sum of 6 guilders in the financial year 1617-18 to be allowed to work at Antwerp "for the space of two months" (P. Rombouts and T. van Lerijs, *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven van het Antwerpsch Sint-Lucasgilde*, I, Antwerp, n.d., pp. 540, 541).

Müller Hofstede's identification of the figure 59, below on the right, with an inventory number relating to the collection of Count C.G. Tessin (L. 2985), is not convincing.

96-98. THE TRIPTYCH OF THE TAILORS' GUILD OF LIER

96. ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI RECEIVING THE INFANT CHRIST (Fig. 169)

Oil on panel; 181 : 157 cm.; dated below, on a stone, 1618.

Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, No. 163.

PROVENANCE: Lier, St. Gummarus's Church; removed to Paris by the French troops, 1794; sent to the Dijon Museum around 1814.

COPY: Painting by Wouters, Lier, St. Gummarus's Church; canvas, 180 : 160 cm.; lit.: F. Donnet, *L'Eglise Saint-Gommaire à Lierre*, Antwerp, 1913, p. 27.

LITERATURE: *Mensaert*, pp. 270, 271; *Descamps, Voyage*, p. 134; *Michel*, 1771, p. 163; *Notice des tableaux exposés dans la Galerie du Musée*, Paris, 1814, No. 601; *Odevaere*, p. 323, No. 102; *Rooses*, II, p. 255, No. 421; *K.d.K.*, p. 168; J. Magnin, *La peinture au Musée de Dijon*, Besançon, 1929, pp. 157, 158, No. 163; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 49, 208; *Van Puyvelde*, p. 110; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p. 141, under No. 84; *Martin, Ceiling Paintings*, p. 176.

Centre panel of the triptych. For the scene here depicted cf. the description, above, of the versions in St. Anthony's church at Antwerp (No. 94) and in the Lille Museum (No. 95). The present version is in reverse compared with these, and the Saint's companion is absent. Instead of the cherubs fluttering about the Virgin's head, a single one on the extreme left of the picture is holding her robe.

The features of the Virgin and the head of the Child Jesus in this picture very closely resemble those in *The Virgin and St. Elizabeth with the Infant Christ and St. John* in the Pitti Palace at Florence (*K.d.K.*, p. 65).

The triptych of which this is the centre panel was painted in 1618-19 for the altar of the tailors' guild in St. Gummarus's church at Lier. An item in a set of accounts formerly in the possession of Gustave van Havre at Antwerp, entitled "Ex manuscriptis prae nobilis domini van Renne eqs. consulis Lirensis", reads: "In de choir van St. Franciscus zyn de schilderyen geschilderd van Rubbens als blykt in de rekeninge van Jan Willems beginnende 4 8ber 1618 tot 4 8ber 1619. Item aen Mynheer Rubbens voor onse schilderyen betaeld 50 gld. Item in 't draegen van 't geld aen den heere Rubbens als over het maken der lystē, vergulden derzelve, vrachten, verteir en drinkgeld beloopende 't saemen 400 gld. in toto." ("The paintings in the choir of St. Francis are by Rubens, as appears from Jan Willems's account covering the period 4 October 1618 - 4 October 1619. Paid 50 guilders to Mynheer Rubbens for our paintings. Paid 400 guilders for bringing the money to Mr. Rubbens, for the manufacturing of the frames, the gilding of the same, the transport, the food and the fees"; *Rooses*, II, p. 256).

97. ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI RECEIVING THE STIGMATA (Fig. 171)

Oil on panel; 181 : 64 cm.

Lier, St. Gummarus's Church.

LITERATURE: *Mensaert*, I, p. 271; *Descamps, Voyage*, p. 134; *Michel*, 1771, p. 163; *Odevaere*, p. 323, No. 104; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 48, under No. 136; *Rooses*, II, pp. 255, 256, No. 423; F. Donnet, *L'église Saint-Gommaire à Lierre*, Antwerp, 1913, p. 26, repr.; *K.d.K.*, p. 169.

The inner side of the left-hand panel of the triptych. The monumental figure of the Saint is wholly in the foreground and fills some three-quarters of the narrow panel. He is shown in profile, his arms outstretched. Brother Leo, wearing a cowl, sits on the left behind a boulder. A very small figure in the right upper corner represents the seraphic Christ.

Much of this panel, like that of *St. Clare* (No. 98; Fig. 172), must have been painted by the studio. Its outer side depicts *St. Francis of Assisi with an Angel playing the Violin*, a composition not attributable to Rubens nor to his studio.

Together with the centre and right-hand panels, this painting was removed by French troops in 1794 from St. Gummarus's church at Lier. The side-panels were returned to the church in 1815.

98. ST. CLARE (Fig. 172)

Oil on panel; 181 : 64 cm.

Lier, St. Gummarus's Church.

LITERATURE: *Mensaert*, I, p. 271; *Descamps, Voyage*, p. 134; *Michel*, 1771, p. 163; *Odevaere*, p. 323, No. 103; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 48, under No. 136; *Rooses*, II, p. 255, No. 422; F. Donnet, *L'église Saint-Gommaire à Lierre*, Antwerp, 1913, p. 26, repr.; *K.d.K.*, p. 169.

The Saint is dressed in the habit of the order of the "Poor Clares", which she founded. She is seen from the front, but her head is turned three-quarters to

the left. Like St. Francis in the left-hand panel, she is wholly in the foreground and fills about three-quarters of the picture. Beyond her a partly wooded landscape can be seen. She is displaying a monstrance, thus recalling the story probably originating from her contemporary Tommaso da Celano that by so doing she prevented the plundering of Assisi by Saracen troops in the service of the emperor Frederick II (A. Butler, *The Lives of the Saints*, ed. by H. Thurston and D. Attwater, VII, London, 1941, pp. 145, 146).

The outer side of this panel depicts *St. Francis of Assisi and the Lamb*. This subject, like that on the outer side of the left-hand panel (No. 97), has nothing to do with Rubens nor with his studio.

96-98a. ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI AND ST. CLARE: DRAWING

Probably pen in brown, washed; approximately 300 : 170 mm.

Whereabouts unknown.

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 170), whereabouts unknown; 30 : 17 cm.; prov.: sale, Cologne, 18-19 January 1892, lot 155 (as *Rubens*); E. Wouters, Paris; sale, Paris (Drouot), 27 January 1909, lot 136 (as *Rubens*).

St. Francis is seen standing upright, in left profile, dressed in a coarse habit. In the upper left corner is a somewhat cursory head study of a female saint, carrying a heart.

This drawing is known only from a copy; Burchard did not relate it to any picture. However, the figures are closely similar in type to those of St. Francis and St. Clare in the St. Francis triptych of 1618, now partly in the Dijon museum and partly in the church of St. Gummarus at Lier (Nos. 96-98; Figs. 169, 171, 172). The bearded head of St. Francis is almost exactly similar to that on the central panel of the triptych. There is also an unmistakable resemblance between the somewhat sketchy drawing of the female head and that of St. Clare on the right-hand panel at Lier, although the heart is not one of this saint's common attributes. I therefore think it legitimate to assume that the lost original of this drawing contained preliminary studies for the Lier triptych.

99. ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI (Fig. 174)

Oil on panel; 109 : 78 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: Schönborn Collection, Pommersfelden; Galerie de Pommersfelden Sale, Paris, 17-24 May, 1867, lot 123; purchased for the collection of Grand-Duke Nikolaus Friedrich Peter von Oldenburg; exhibited in the Museum at Oldenburg before 1940.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 175), destroyed; panel, 105 : 73 cm.; prov.: Berlin, art dealer Farr, where seen by Burchard in 1927; (2) Painting by Carl Spitzweg, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 81 : 59 cm.; prov.: Carl Spitzweg bequest; sale, Munich (Weinmüller), 23 September 1970 et seqq., lot 1778 (repr.); exh.: *Gedächtnisausstellung*, Kunstverein, Munich, 1908, No. 225.

LITERATURE: J.R. Byss, *Fürtrefflicher Gemälde-und Bilder-Schatz so in denen Gallerie und Zimmern des Churfürstl. Pommersfeldischen... Privatschloss zu finden ist*, v, Bamberg, 1719, p. 334; W. Bode, *Die grossherzogliche Gemäldegalerie zu Oldenburg*, Vienna, 1888, p. 72; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 99; Dillon, p. 110; *K.d.K.*, p. 100.

A knee-length, frontal representation of the Saint, holding a crucifix to his breast with one hand crossed over the other. The *mozzetta* (hooded cape), formerly on the left of the panel, was removed by Professor Kinkelin during a restoration at Munich, but in fact belonged to the original work. It can be seen in a copy probably made in Rubens's studio which was formerly in the possession of the Berlin art dealer Farr (Fig. 175). As Burchard detected underneath this copy the original portrait of a woman, the figure of St. Francis was removed so as to reveal the previous painting. The Saint is also seen with the *mozzetta* in the nineteenth-century copy by Spitzweg, which was sold recently.

Rosenberg dated the present work about 1612-15, while Oldenburg is inclined to place it somewhat later, about 1615. The workmanship is very similar to that of the heads of Franciscan friars in *The Last Communion of St. Francis*, painted in 1618-19 (No. 102; Fig. 178).

100. ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI PROTECTING THE WORLD FROM THE WRATH OF CHRIST (Fig. 173)

Oil on canvas; 413 : 280 cm.

Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. No. 376.

PROVENANCE: Franciscan Church, Ghent; brought to Paris, 1794; sent to the Brussels Museum, 1802.

COPIES: (1) Painting, Bergues, Saint-Martin (as *G. de Crayer*); (2) Drawing after the head of Saint Francis, Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut, No. 3045; 141 : 105 mm.; lit.: *Held*, I, pp. 142, 143, No. 122; II, pl. 136 (as *Rubens*); (3) Engraving by A. Possemiers (*V.S.*, p. 99, No. 38); (4) Etching by P. Spruyt (*V.S.*, p. 99, No. 39).

LITERATURE: *Descamps, Vie*, p. 325; *Mensaert*, II, p. 47; *Descamps, Voyage*, p. 244; *Michel*, 1771, pp. 191, 192; *Spruyt*, 1777, p. 149; *Reynolds*, p. 144; *Spruyt*, 1789-91, pp. 194, 195; *Notice des tableaux... exposés au Musée*, Brussels, 1811, No. 67; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 37, No. 108; E. Fromentin, *Les maîtres d'autrefois*, Paris, 1876, pp. 49, 50; *Rooses*, II, p. 257, No. 425; *Held*, I, pp. 142, 143, under No. 122; O. von Simson, *Rubens und der "Merkur" des Giambologna, Festschrift Ulrich Middeldorf*, Berlin, 1968, p. 443, n. 9; J. Müller Hofstede, *Neue Ölskizzen von Rubens, Stadel-Jahrbuch*, N.F., II, 1969, pp. 216, 239.

Rubens had treated this subject in a more elaborate form in the painting for the Dominican church at Antwerp, now in the Lyons museum (No. 88; Fig. 151). In the present version St. Dominic is omitted, the canvas having been intended for the Franciscan church at Ghent.

St. Francis, represented in the right foreground, kneels and holds his hands protectively over a globe with a snake curled round it, symbolizing sinful mankind. Above him, on clouds, Mary is persuading her wrathful Son not to hurl his thunderbolts at the earth. Four cherubs hover round the figure of Christ. Below, on the left, is a vista of a wooded landscape with a more realistic presentation of man's sinful deeds: burning houses and the horrors of war.

This picture, generally dated in the 1630s, is quite unlike the more complex version at Lyons, painted in c. 1618-20. The number of figures is reduced, so that Christ, the Virgin and St. Francis form a dramatic unity. Their attitudes and gestures also differ completely from the earlier work. The types are in fact quite new: in the striding figure of Christ we recognize Mercury from the *Mercurius abiturians*, intended for the *Pompa Introitus* executed in 1634-35 (J.R. Martin, *The Decorations for the Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi [Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, XVI]*, Brussels, 1971, fig. 98). As Burchard and von Simson pointed out, this motif may be based on Giambologna's famous *Mercury* in the Bargello at Florence (E. Dhanens, *Jean Boulogne*, Brussels,

1956, pl. 34). The softly flowing colours and delicate shadows are also characteristic of Rubens's work in the thirties. The small piece of background, below on the left, is fully in keeping with the technique of his late landscapes.

At the top of the painting marks prove that at one moment the canvas had been fixed in a rounded frame.

101. ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI IN ADORATION BEFORE THE CRUCIFIED CHRIST

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 176), Vaduz, Collection of the Prince of Liechtenstein, No. 60; panel, 78 : 47 cm.; prov.: Vienna, Collection of the Prince of Liechtenstein; lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, III, p. 333, No. 112 (as *A. van Dyck*); *Rooses*, II, p. 104, No. 305 (as *Rubens*); *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg*, p. 45 (as *Rubens*); *Dillon*, p. 108, pl. XLVIII (as *Rubens*); *K.d.K.*, p. 170 (as *Rubens*); *K.d.K., Van Dyck*, p. 27 (as *A. van Dyck* ?); [A. Seilern], *Flemish Paintings and Drawings at 56 Princes Gate London, Addenda*, London, 1969, p. 67, fig. 72 (as *Rubens or Van Dyck*); (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 75 : 53 cm.; prov.: ? Ghent, J.B. du Bois; ? Baron de Willebroeck, sale, Brussels, 25 June 1781, lot 2 (as *Rubens*); Vicomte de Buisseret, sale, Brussels, 29–30 April 1891, lot 92 (repr.; as *Rubens*); (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 66 : 51 cm.; prov.: A. Sels, Brussels, sale, 24–25 November 1922, lot 29 (repr.; as *Rubens*); lit.: *Rooses*, V, p. 326, No. 305 (as *Rubens*); (4) Painting, Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts, No. 92; panel, 62 : 37 cm.; prov.: Valenciennes, M. Rousseau de l'Aunois (as *School of Rubens*); *Rooses*, II, p. 104; *Catalogue illustré et annoté des œuvres exposées au Palais des Beaux-Arts de la ville de Valenciennes*, Valenciennes, 1931, No. 92, pl. XXI (as *Rubens*); (5) Painting of the Crucified Christ, with an anonymous donor replacing the figure of Saint Francis, whereabouts unknown; prov.: Antwerp, A. Troost (1931); (6) Engraving by J. de Meere, 1764 (*V.S.*, p. 47, No. 323).

St. Francis kneels before the crucified Christ, his arms outstretched and his eyes cast upward in ecstasy.

The exact source of this theme is not known : it may be the dialogue between St. Francis and his crucified Lord at San Damiano, as related in the *Legenda Trium Sociorum* of about 1241–46 (*Legenda Trium Sociorum*, ed. S.J. Hamburger, Munich, 1923, p. 29). It is a typical post-Tridentine representation of St. Francis (L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'Art chrétien*, I, Paris, 1955, p. 461).

As Glück and Burchard observed, the figure of St. Francis is almost the same as on the left panel of the triptych at Lier (No. 97; Fig. 171): the centre panel

of this work is dated 1618. However, the space being narrower, the position of his left arm is somewhat different. We may add that the motif of the crucified Christ seen at an oblique angle is closely related to the same figure in the *Coup de lance*, painted somewhat later (ca. 1620) and now in the Antwerp museum (*K.d.K.*, p. 216).

**101a. ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI RAISING HIS ARMS IN A GESTURE OF ADORATION:
DRAWING (Fig. 177)**

Drawing, black chalk; 423 : 287 mm.

London, Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum. No. Payne Knight 00-9-27.

PROVENANCE: Richard Payne Knight Bequest, 1824.

LITERATURE: A.W. Seaby, *Drawings for Art Students and Illustrators*, London, 1921, p. 180, fig. 54; *Hind*, II, p. 11, No. 15; *K.d.K., Van Dyck*, p. 520 (as *A. van Dyck*).

As Hind has shown, this drawing was a study for *St. Francis of Assisi in adoration before the crucified Christ*, a painting that can only be judged from copies, the best of which is in the Liechtenstein Collection at Vaduz (Fig. 176).

The similar study, probably from the same model but in a slightly different posture, mentioned by Hind as being in the possession of Mrs. Baird, of Colstoun (Harrington) in 1921, has not been discussed or reproduced since then. It had come from the Earl Dalhousie collection.

102. THE LAST COMMUNION OF ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI (Fig. 178)

Oil on panel; 420 : 225 cm.; arched at the top.

Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten. No. 305.

PROVENANCE: Franciscan Church, Antwerp; seized by the French in 1794 and brought to Paris; brought back to Antwerp, 1815, and deposited at the recently founded Museum there.

COPIES: (1) Painting, London, private collection; panel, 105 : 74.5 cm.; prov.: 2nd Viscount Palmerston; Lord Mount Temple; Countess Mountbatten of Burma; London, Mrs. Sophie Speelman; lit.: J.P. Neale, *Views of Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen in England, etc.*, II, 1819, not paginated; M. Jaffé, *Rediscovered Oil Sketches by Rubens*. III, *The Burlington Magazine*, CXII, 1970, p. 432, fig. 1 (as Rubens); (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 69 : 37 cm.; prov.: F. Burton; sale, Brussels (Fiévez), 8 May 1929, lot 101; Neustadt/Haardt, E. Abresch, 1932; (3) Painting by P.J. Verhaghen, destroyed 1914-18; prov.: Haacht, parish church, where placed in 1803; lit.: V. De Munter, *Pierre-Joseph Verhaghen*, Brussels, 1932, p. 144; (4) Painting after the head of St. Francis of Assisi, whereabouts unknown; oil on paper, 42 : 30 cm.; prov.: Cologne, Hermann Abels; (5) Engraving by H. Snyers (Fig. 179; *V.S.*, p. 99, No. 41).

EXHIBITED: *Tableaux recouvrés... revenus de France*, Musée, Antwerp, 1816, No. 10.

LITERATURE: *Bellori*, p. 224; *Tessin*, p. 83; A. Sanderus, *Chorographia Sacra Brabantiae*, 2nd ed., III, The Hague, 1727, p. 200; *De Wit*, pp. 75, 76; *Berbie*, p. 63, No. 11; *Mensaert*, I, p. 205; *Descamps, Voyage*, p. 194; *Michel, 1771*, p. 94; *Reynolds*, p. 181; *Notice des Tableaux des écoles française et flamande, exposés dans la grande galerie...*, Paris, 1801, No. 485; *Notice des Tableaux exposés dans la Galerie du Musée*, Paris, 1814, No. 600; *Odevaere*, p. 315, No. 28; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp. 14, 15, No. 29; E. Fromentin, *Les maîtres d'autrefois*, Paris, 1876, p. 100; *Rooses*, II, pp. 259-262, No. 429; S. Schoutens, *Geschiedenis van het voormalige Minderbroedersklooster van Antwerpen*, Antwerp, 1894, pp. 245, 246; *Michel*, pp. 246, 247; *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg*, p. 181; *Dillon*, p. 129, pl. CLXXIV; *K.d.K.*, p. 190; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 49-51; J. Knipping, *Rubens. De laatste communie van Sint-Franciscus van Assisië*, Leiden, 1949; *Van Puyvelde*, pp. 132, 133; J. Van den Nieuwenhuizen, *Antwerpse schilderijen te Parijs (1794-1815)*, Antwerpen, VIII, 1962, p. 78; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p. 197; M. Jaffé, *Rediscovered Oil Sketches by Rubens*. III, *The Burlington Magazine*, CXII, 1970, p. 432.

The close of the Saint's life is fully described in the *Vita* by St. Bonaventure (ed. by T. Okey, in *Everyman's Library*, London, 1917, pp. 391-393). When he felt his death approaching, St. Francis begged the friars to lay him naked on the floor of the church of Santa Maria de Portiuncula near Assisi. When they had done so he looked towards heaven, laid his left hand over the wound in his right side and said to his companions: "I have done what was mine to do, may Christ teach you what is yours." The brethren thereupon wept, "stricken with keen pangs of pity". St. Bonaventure adds that his master wished to quit the world naked so as to be "in all things like unto Christ crucified".

The scene is depicted in front of the church altar, in close accordance with the *Vita* but with the addition, on the upper of the two altar-steps on the left,

of a priest administering the Viaticum to the Saint, a theme not to be found in any of the accounts of his life. On either side of the priest are two attendant friars: each holds a torch in one hand and is wiping away tears with the other. On the right, opposite the priest and acolytes, is a group of nine friars standing close together, two of them supporting the dying Saint. This group is illuminated by an open window at the back, and another source of light must be imagined at approximately the place where the observer stands. Two or three cherubs hover above the baldaquin of the altar. There is a striking contrast between the brightly lit figures and the semi-darkness of the setting.

Roses already pointed out the close affinity in composition between this picture and two masterpieces from the Bolognese academic school, namely Agostino Carracci's *Last Communion of St. Jerome*, painted in the 1590s for the Carthusians at Bologna and now in the Museum there (*Cat. Exh. Mostra dei Carracci*, Bologna, 1956, No. 39, repr.), and Domenichino's version of the same subject, painted in 1614 for San Girolamo della Carità in Rome and now in the Vatican Museum (E. Borea, *Domenichino*, Rome, 1965, pp. 148, 149, pls. x, 27). Rubens cannot have known Domenichino's famous composition at first hand, though he may have seen a copy; but he could easily have visited Bologna from nearby Mantua. As Burchard and d'Hulst pointed out, in painting the figure of St. Francis Rubens may well have recalled the antique *Seneca Borghese*, which he copied from various angles: copies of these drawings are in the Copenhagen Print Room ("Rubens Cantoor", No. III, 28-32; see e.g. G. Fubini and J.S. Held, *Padre Resta's Rubens Drawings after ancient sculpture, Master Drawings*, II, 1964, p. 130, fig. 7).

According to the second, posthumous edition of Sanderus's *Chorographia Sacra* (*loc. cit.*), Rubens executed this altar-piece in 1618. The only surviving document relating to it is a receipt dated 17 May 1619, which shows that the work was in the Franciscan church at Antwerp before that date. It reads: "Ic onderschreven bekenne ontfanghe te hebben ut handen van Mijnheer Jaspas Charles de somme van seven hondert en vijftich guldens, tot volcomen betaelinghe van een stuck schilderije door mijne handt gemaect staende in Ste Franciscus kercke tot Antwerpen. Ende t'oirconde der waerheyt hebbe ic dese quittancie geschreven ende onderteekent. Desen 17 may 1619. Pietro Pauolo Rubens." ("I the undersigned confirm that I have received from Mijnheer Jaspas Charles the sum of seven hundred and fifty guilders in full payment for a painting by my hand which is now in St. Francis's church at Antwerp; in

attestation whereof I have written and signed this receipt on the 17th day of May 1619. Pietro Pauolo Rubens." (*Rooses*, II, p. 261, n. 1).

Schoutens (*op. cit.*, p. 359) has shown that the Charles family at Antwerp were closely attached to the monastery of Recollects there. Petrus Charles, son of the merchant Gaspar Charles who paid for the erection of the altar of St. Francis, was one of the Friars Minor living in the Antwerp convent. We also know that the Charles family had a vault built at the foot of this altar: see *Verzameling der graf- en gedenkschriften van de provincie Antwerpen*, VI, Antwerp, 1871, p. 186. The painting should in fact be considered in relation to the family burial-place, and we notice in this connection the funerary character of the iconography and the choice of this particular moment in the Saint's life.

The engraving of this composition executed by Snyers (Fig. 179) and dedicated to the Franciscan Petrus Steenberghen was published by Abraham van Diepenbeeck. It was undoubtedly engraved from one of the drawings made by Van Diepenbeeck himself "from very rare and artistic paintings", a work which the latter wanted Snyers to carry out and for which he received a "privilege" in September 1642 (F.J. Van den Branden, *Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche Schilderschool*, Antwerp, 1883, p. 784). The will, dated 1701, of the artist's daughter Anna Theresia van Diepenbeeck speaks of "the Altar-piece of St. Francis of the Friars Minor, one of nine copperplates ... after Rubens" in her possession (F.J. Van den Branden, *loc. cit.*). A *terminus ante quem* is the death in 1660 of Petrus Steenberghen, the Guardian of the Antwerp friary and later definitor, custos and visitor of the Order (S. Schoutens, *op. cit.*, pp. 293, 294). As Burchard and d'Hulst also pointed out, the picture must originally have extended further to both the right and left. In particular, the friar on the extreme right, of whom we only see the head and cowl, is visible as far as the waist in the reversed image in the engraving, with his hands in his sleeves. This attitude exactly corresponds to that in the study from life for this figure, now at Chatsworth (No. 102c; Fig. 182).

102a. THE LAST COMMUNION OF ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI: DRAWING (Fig. 180)

Pen and brown ink; 222 : 310 mm.; cut on the top and at the right.

Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet. No. A.XIV.5.

PROVENANCE: Clément van Cauwenberghs, Antwerp; presented by the "Dotatiefonds".

EXHIBITED: *Teekeningen en prenten van Antwerpsche meesters der XVIIe eeuw*, Koninklijk Kunstverbond, Antwerpen, 1927, No. 34 (as *A. van Dyck*); *Amsterdam*, 1933, No. 86 (repr.); *Tentoonstelling van Teekeningen en Prenten van Antwerpsche Kunstenaars*, Stadsfeestzaal, Antwerp, 1936, No. 33; *Teekeningen, Grauwtschetsen en Prenten van en naar P.P. Rubens*, Rubenshuis, Antwerp, 1946, No. 6; *Anvers, ville de Plantin et de Rubens*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1954, No. 417 (repr.); *Antwerp*, 1956, No. 72 (repr.); *Plantin-Rubens*, Biblioteca dell' Archiginnasio, Bologna, 1965, No. 49 (repr.); *Tri Stoleti Nizozemské Kresby*, Narodni Galerie, Prague, 1966, No. 42; *Rubens en zijn tijd*, Rubenshuis, Antwerp, 1971, No. 61 (repr.).

LITERATURE: A.J.J. Delen, *Unpublished Drawings by Rubens in the Antwerp Print Room, Old Master Drawings*, VII, 1932-33, p. 32, fig. 3; M. Delacre, *Le dessin dans l'œuvre de Van Dyck*, Brussels, 1934, pp. 233, 235, fig. 108; Delen, I, No. 195; II, pl. XXXIX; Held, I, pp. 6, 24, 70, 112, No. 44; II, pl. 45; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 194, 195, No. 123; II, pl. 123.

A cursory sketch for the lower part of the altar-piece; the main lines of the composition may be clearly discerned. On the other side of the sheet are seven pen and ink studies of monks and cardinals and two variants of a female figure in right profile (*Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p. 195, II, pl. 123v).

102b. THE LAST COMMUNION OF ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI: DRAWING (Fig. 181)

Red chalk, heightened with white body-colour; partly pen and brown ink; 285 : 235 mm.; several inscriptions in Rubens's hand: above in the centre, *geschildert venster* (black chalk); above on the right, *Engel* (red chalk); on the right, halfway up to the column, *colum metsrije* (red chalk); below *frs. franciscani. Tutto il gruppo in umbra et una luce vehemente del sole bastenda per la finestra.*

Farnham, Collection of Wolfgang Burchard.

PROVENANCE: Rosenbaum and Delbanco, London; purchased there by Ludwig Burchard, 1931.

EXHIBITED: *Amsterdam*, 1933, No. 104 (repr.); *Antwerp*, 1956, No. 75 (repr.).

LITERATURE: C. Norris, *The Rubens Exhibition at Amsterdam, The Burlington Magazine*, LXIII, 1933, p. 230; H. Konow, *Eine Zeichnungssammlung aus dem Besitz Matthäus Merians des Jüngereren, Berliner Museen*, LXI, 1940, p. 62; Held, I, pp. 45, 112; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p. 192, No. 122; II, pl. 122.

The reverse side of a sheet with a drawing of Callisto on the other (*Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, II, pl. 122r). A rapid sketch of the whole composition, including the architectural décor. The pillar which closes the scene on the right does not appear in the final version. This sketch may have been executed later than the one in the Antwerp Print Room, since, as Burchard and d'Hulst observed, the figure of St. Francis is closer to that in the final version.

Burchard and d'Hulst's reading of the detailed indications in Rubens's own hand could be completed at some points (see above). The last sentence of these notes is of importance as regards the painter's intentions when designing the altar-piece: it shows that at this early stage he already had a clear idea of the effective contrast between light and dark in the final painting. As regards the note *Engel*, it is written here at a place corresponding more or less to that part of the painting where two cherubs are visible.

102c. TWO STUDIES FOR A FRANCISCAN MONK: DRAWING (Fig. 182)

Black chalk, with red chalk in the faces and heightened with body-colour on grey paper; 561 : 404 mm.; restored in the right upper corner.

Chatsworth, Collection of the Duke of Devonshire.

PROVENANCE: ? N.A. Flink (Rotterdam, 1646-1723); probably purchased c. 1723 by the second Duke of Devonshire.

EXHIBITED: *Dessins de Pierre-Paul Rubens*, Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, 1938-39, No. 45 (repr.); *Teekeningen van Petrus Paulus Rubens*, Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, 1939, No. 35 (repr.); *Tekeningen van Jan van Eyck tot Rubens*, Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, 1948-49, No. 119; *Helsinki*, 1952-53, No. 28 (repr.); *Brussels*, 1953, No. 28 (repr.); *Antwerp*, 1956, No. 73; *Old Master Drawings from Chatsworth*, City Art Gallery, Manchester, 1961, No. 95; *Old Master Drawings from Chatsworth*, National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1962-63, No. 99 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 43, No. 113, repr.; *Cat. Exp. Cambridge - New York*, 1956, under No. 17; *Held*, I, pp. 73, 112, 133, No. 93; II, pl. 108; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 196, 197, No. 125; II, pl. 125.

Two studies for young Franciscan friars, done from the same model. On the right the man is seen in three-quarter length, bending slightly forward, with his cowl thrown back. Part of his habit, at waist-level, is drawn separately to

the left of him. In the lower left-hand corner the model is seen in a different attitude, as far as the waist only; the cowl is over his head, his arms are folded in his sleeves and he is bending to the left. The figure on the right was used for the monk in the painting who is supporting St. Francis with his left arm; the head of the figure on the left may be seen on the extreme right of the altar-piece.

102d. STUDY OF A KNEELING MALE NUDE: DRAWING (Fig. 183)

Black and some white chalk; 423 : 292 mm.

Paris, Fondation Custodia, Institut néerlandais. Inv. No. 5511.

PROVENANCE: P.O. Dubaut; purchased by F. Lugt, 1938.

LITERATURE: *Held*, I, pp. 73, 112, 133, No. 92; II, pl. 107; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 195, 196, No. 124; II, pl. 124; M. Winner, *An unknown Drawing by Peter Paul Rubens, Master Drawings*, I, 1963, No. 3, p. 35.

A study from life of a naked man, kneeling and facing slightly leftward. It was used for the figure of the dying St. Francis in the altar-piece in the Franciscan church at Antwerp. The left hand of the monk supporting St. Francis is also seen in the drawing.

INDEX I: COLLECTIONS

This index lists all the extant paintings, oil sketches and drawings catalogued in the present volume. Copies have also been included. The works are listed alphabetically according to place.

- AMSTERDAM, THE HEIRS
OF DR. H.A. WETZLAR
Rubens, oil sketch:
St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata, Cat. 91a, 143, fig. 160
- ANGERS, MUSÉE TURPIN DE CRISSE
Rubens, drawing:
Head Study of St. Catherine of Alexandria, Cat. 88b, 137, 138, fig. 153
- ANTWERP, G. FAES
Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Angels Transporting the Dead Body of St. Catherine of Alexandria, Cat. 79, 123, fig. 138
- ANTWERP, KONINKLIJK MUSEUM VOOR SCHONE KUNSTEN
Rubens, painting:
The Last Communion of St. Francis of Assisi, Cat. 102, 156-162, fig. 178
- ANTWERP, PRESBYTERY OF ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH
Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
St. Charles Borromeo, Cat. 85, 131, fig. 148
- ANTWERP, RUBENSHUIS
Rubens, oil sketch:
The Martyrdom of St. Adrian, Cat. 61a, 86, 87, fig. 108
- ANTWERP, ST. ANTHONY'S CHURCH
Rubens, painting:
St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Infant Christ, Cat. 94, 145-148, 150, fig. 165
Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata, Cat. 90, 138
- ANTWERP, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH
Rubens, painting:
The Real Presence in the Holy Sacrament, Cat. 56, 22, 73-79, 96, figs. 99, 100, 102
- ANTWERP, STEDELIJK PRENTENKABINET
Rubens, drawing:
The Last Communion of St. Francis of Assisi, Cat. 102a, 159-161, fig. 180
M. Lasne, drawing after Rubens:
St. Francis of Paola, Cat. 95a, 149
- ARRAS, MUSÉE MUNICIPAL
Rubens, painting:
St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata, Cat. 91, 142, 143, fig. 159
- BERGUES, ST. MARTIN
Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
St. Francis of Assisi Protecting the World from the Wrath of Christ, Cat. 100, 154
- BERLIN-DAHLEM, STAATLICHE MUSEEN
Rubens, painting:
St. Cecilia Playing the Virginals, Cat. 82, 127-131, fig. 144
- BERLIN-DAHLEM, STAATLICHE MUSEEN, PRINT ROOM
Rubens, drawing:
St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata, Cat. 90a, 140, 141, fig. 156
Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:
The Conversion of St. Bavo, Cat. 72, 107
- BLACKBURN, LANCASHIRE, STONYHURST COLLEGE
J. Jordaens, painting:
The Four Latin Doctors of the Church, Cat. 60, 81-83, fig. 104
- BRUSSELS, A. DE HEUVEL
Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
St. Francis of Assisi, Cat. 92, 144, 145
- BRUSSELS, MUSÉES ROYAUX DES BEAUX-ARTS

COLLECTIONS

- Rubens, paintings:
 The Miracles of St. Benedict, Cat. 73, 23, 110-115, fig. 125
 St. Francis of Assisi Protecting the World from the Wrath of Christ, Cat. 100, 22, 144, 153-155, fig. 173
 E. Delacroix, painting after Rubens:
 The Miracles of St. Benedict, Cat. 73, 111
- BRUSSELS, PRIVATE COLLECTION
 Rubens, oil sketch:
 St. Peter and St. Paul, Cat. 49-50a, 65, 66, fig. 91
- CHATSWORTH, DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE
 Rubens, drawing:
 Two Studies for a Franciscan Monk, Cat. 102c, 137, 159, 161, 162, fig. 182
- COLOGNE, WALLRAFF-RICHARTZ MUSEUM
 Rubens, painting:
 St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata, Cat. 90, 22, 138-141, 148, fig. 155
- COPENHAGEN, STATENS MUSEUM FOR KUNST, PRINT ROOM
 Anonymous, drawings after Rubens:
 Head of St. Anthony Abbot, Cat. 64, 93
 The Conversion of St. Bavo (central panel), Cat. 71, 102
 The three Women on the left of The Conversion of St. Bavo, Cat. 71, 102
 The Conversion of St. Bavo, Cat. 72, 107
 St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata, Cat. 93, 145, fig. 163
 St. Peter, Cat. 49, 63
- DIJON, MUSÉE DES BEAUX-ARTS
 Rubens, painting:
 St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Infant Christ, Cat. 96, 149, 150, 152, fig. 169
- DUBLIN, NATIONAL GALLERY OF IRELAND
 Rubens, paintings:
 St. Dominic, Cat. 86, 132, 133, fig. 149
- St. Francis of Assisi, Cat. 87, 132-134, 144, fig. 150
- DÜSSELDORF, KUNSTMUSEUM
 ? Rubens, paintings:
 St. Catherine of Siena, Cat. 80, 126, fig. 139
 St. Cecilia, Cat. 84, 130, 131, fig. 145
- ENGHIEN, CAPUCHIN CLOISTER
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
 St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Infant Christ, Cat. 95, 147
- FARNHAM, WOLFGANG BURCHARD
 Rubens, drawing:
 The Last Communion of St. Francis of Assisi, Cat. 102b, 160, 161, fig. 181
- FRANKFURT, STÄDELSCHES KUNSTINSTITUT
 Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:
 Head of St. Francis of Assisi, Cat. 100, 154
- GHENT, MUSEUM VOOR SCHONE KUNSTEN
 Rubens, painting:
 St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata, Cat. 92, 22, 133, 144, 145, fig. 161
- GHENT, ST. BAVO'S CHURCH
 Rubens, painting:
 The Conversion of St. Bavo, Cat. 72, 106-110, 112, 127, fig. 123
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
 The Martyrdom of St. Catherine of Alexandria, Cat. 78, 121, 122, fig. 136
- HAARLEM, TEYLERS STICHTING
 Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:
 The Martyrdom of St. Andrew, Cat. 62b, 90
- HANOVER, NIEDERSÄCHSISCHE LANDESGALERIE
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
 Christ as Salvator Mundi, Cat. 6, 39
- 'S HERTOGENBOSCH, ST. JOHN'S CHURCH
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
 The Death of St. Anthony Abbot, Cat. 64, 93, 95, fig. 114
- LIER, ST. GUMMARUS'S CHURCH
 Rubens, paintings:

- St. Clare, Cat. 98, 33, 151, 152, fig. 172
- St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata, Cat. 97, 151, 152, 155, 156, fig. 171
- Wouters, painting after Rubens:
St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Infant Christ, Cat. 96, 150
- LILLE, MINORITE CHURCH
Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Infant Christ, Cat. 95, 147
- LILLE, MUSÉE DES BEAUX-ARTS
Rubens, paintings:
The Martyrdom of St. Catherine of Alexandria, Cat. 78, 86, 102, 121-123, fig. 133
St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Infant Christ, Cat. 95, 121, 147-150, fig. 167
- F. Souchon, painting after Rubens:
The Miracles of St. Benedict, Cat. 73, 111
- LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM
Rubens, drawing:
St. Francis of Assisi Raising his Arms in a Gesture of Adoration, Cat. 101a, 156, fig. 177
- H. Fragonard, drawing after Rubens:
The foreground figures in the central panel and the left wing of The Conversion of St. Bavo, Cat. 71, 103
- Anonymous, drawings after Rubens:
The Martyrdom of St. Andrew, Cat. 62b, 90, 91, fig. 111
The figures in the right of the central panel and in the foreground of the right-hand wing of The Conversion of St. Bavo, Cat. 71, 102
- LONDON, NATIONAL GALLERY
Rubens, oil sketch:
The Conversion of St. Bavo, Cat. 71, 23, 102-106, 108, fig. 122
- LONDON, COUNT A. SEILERN
? M. Lasne, drawing after Rubens:
St. Francis of Assisi and the Infant Christ, Cat. 94, 145, 146
- LOUVAIN, ST. QUINTINUS'S CHURCH
Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine of Alexandria, Cat. 77, 120
- LYONS, MUSÉE DES BEAUX-ARTS
Rubens, painting:
St. Dominic and St. Francis of Assisi Protecting the World from the Wrath of Christ, Cat. 88, 22, 23, 85, 134-137, 154, fig. 151
- MADRID, ACADEMIA DE SAN FERNANDO
Rubens, painting:
St. Augustine between Christ and the Holy Virgin, Cat. 66, 97, 98, fig. 117
- MADRID, DESCALZAS REALES
Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Infant Christ, Cat. 95, 147
- MADRID, PRADO
Rubens, paintings:
St. Andrew, Cat. 8, 34, 35, 40, 50, fig. 22
St. Bartholomew, Cat. 12, 34, 35, 43, 52, fig. 38
St. James the Greater, Cat. 9, 34, 35, 41, 50, fig. 26
St. James the Less, Cat. 15, 34, 35, 46, 53, fig. 50
St. John the Evangelist, Cat. 10, 34, 35, 41, 42, fig. 30
St. Matthew, Cat. 14, 34, 35, 45, 46, 52, fig. 46
St. Matthias, Cat. 17, 34, 35, 47, 48, fig. 58
St. Paul, Cat. 18, 34, 35, 37, 48, fig. 62
St. Peter, Cat. 7, 34, 35, 39, 40, 50, fig. 18
St. Philip, Cat. 11, 34, 35, 42, 43, 51, fig. 34
St. Simon, Cat. 16, 34-36, 46, 47, fig. 54
St. Thomas, Cat. 13, 34-36, 44, fig. 42
- MADRID, REAL HOSPITAL DE SAN ANDRÉS DE LOS FLAMENCOS
Rubens, painting:

COLLECTIONS

- The Martyrdom of St. Andrew, Cat. 62, 23, 87-90, fig. 109
- MOSCOW, PUSHKIN MUSEUM
Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Head of St. Francis of Assisi, Cat. 90, 138
- MUNICH, BAYERISCHE STAATSGEMÄLDESAMMLUNGEN
Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
The two side-wings of The Conversion of St. Bavo, Cat. 71, 102
- NEW YORK, DR. AND MRS. R. J. HEINEMANN
Rubens, paintings:
St. Paul, Cat. 52, 68, 69, fig. 94
St. Peter, Cat. 53, 68-70, fig. 95
- NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
? Rubens, counterproof of etching:
St. Catherine of Alexandria, Cat. 75a, 117, fig. 128
Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
St. Cecilia Playing the Virginals, Cat. 81, 126, fig. 142
- NEW YORK, THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY
School of Rubens, painting:
St. Catherine of Alexandria, Cat. 74, 115, 116, fig. 129
- NEW YORK, THE PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY
? Rubens, drawing:
The Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew, Cat. 70, 101, 102, fig. 121
- OBERLIN, OBERLIN COLLEGE,
ALLEN MEMORIAL ART MUSEUM
Rubens, drawing:
The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine, Cat. 76a, 118-120, fig. 132
- ONTENIENTE-VALENCIA, MUSEO LA ERETA
Anonymous, paintings after Rubens:
St. Andrew, Cat. 21, 50
St. Bartholomew, Cat. 25, 51
St. James the Greater, Cat. 22, 50
St. James the Less, Cat. 28, 53
St. John the Evangelist, Cat. 23, 51
St. Matthew, Cat. 27, 52
St. Matthias, Cat. 30, 53
St. Paul, Cat. 31, 54
St. Peter, Cat. 20, 50
St. Philip, Cat. 24, 51
St. Simon, Cat. 29, 53
St. Thomas, Cat. 26, 52
- OSLO, NASJONALGALLERIET
Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
St. Paul, Cat. 31, 54
- OTTAWA, NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA
Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Christ as Salvator Mundi, Cat. 6, 35, 38, fig. 14
- OXFORD, ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM
Rubens, oil sketch:
St. Augustine, Cat. 65, 96, 97, fig. 116
? C. Visscher, drawing after Rubens:
St. Francis of Assisi, The Virgin and the Infant Christ, Cat. 94, 146
- PARIS, FONDATION CUSTODIA, INSTITUT NÉERLANDAIS
Rubens, drawing:
Study of a Kneeling Male Nude, Cat. 102d, 162, fig. 183
- PARIS, MUSÉE DU LOUVRE, CABINET DES DESSINS
? A. Van Dyck, drawing:
St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata, Cat. 90b, 141, 142, fig. 157
- POMMERSFELDEN, CASTLE WEISSENSTEIN, COUNT SCHÖNBORN
Rubens, painting:
The Death of St. Anthony Abbot, Cat. 64, 24, 92-95, fig. 113
- POTSDAM - SANSSOUCI, BILDERGALERIE
Rubens, painting:
The Four Evangelists, Cat. 54, 70-72, fig. 96
- PRAGUE, NÁRODNÍ GALERIE
Rubens, painting:
St. Augustine at the Seashore, Cat. 67, 98, 99, fig. 118
- ROME, CAPITOLINE MUSEUM
Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata, Cat. 93, 145, fig. 162
- ROME, GALLERIA PALLAVICINI
Anonymous, paintings after Rubens:

COLLECTIONS

- Christ as Salvator Mundi, Cat. 6, 35, 39, fig. 15
 St. Andrew, Cat. 8, 35, 40, fig. 23
 St. Bartholomew, Cat. 12, 35, 43, fig. 39
 St. James the Greater, Cat. 9, 35, 41, fig. 27
 St. John the Evangelist, Cat. 10, 35, 42, fig. 31
 St. Jude, Cat. 16, 35, 36, 47, fig. 55
 St. Matthew, Cat. 15, 35, 46, fig. 51
 St. Matthias, Cat. 17, 35, 47, fig. 59
 St. Paul, Cat. 18, 35, 48, fig. 63
 St. Peter, Cat. 7, 35, 39, fig. 19
 St. Philip, Cat. 11, 35, 42, fig. 35
 St. Simon, Cat. 13, 35, 36, 44, fig. 43
 St. Thomas, Cat. 14, 35, 45, fig. 47
- ROTTERDAM, MUSEUM BOYMANS-VAN
 BEUNINGEN
 Rubens, oil sketch:
 All Saints, Cat. 1, 23, 27, 28, 137, fig. 1
 Rubens, drawing:
 The Martyrdom of St. Andrew, Cat. 62a, 89-91, fig. 110
- SCHLEISSHEIM, SCHLOSS
 Rubens, painting:
 St. Peter and St. Paul, Cat. 51, 64, 66-68, fig. 92
- STRASBOURG, MUSÉE DES BEAUX-ARTS
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
 St. Francis of Assisi, Cat. 87, 133
- TURIN, PALAZZO REALE
 Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:
 Head Study of St. Francis of Assisi, Cat. 89, 138
- VADUZ, PRINCE OF LIECHTENSTEIN
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
 St. Francis of Assisi in Adoration before the Crucified Christ, Cat. 101, 155, 156, fig. 176
- VALENCIENNES, MUSÉE DES BEAUX-ARTS
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
 St. Francis of Assisi in Adoration before the Crucified Christ, Cat. 101, 155
- VIENNA, ALBERTINA
 Rubens, drawing:
 Head of St. Catherine of Alexandria, Cat. 78a, 123, fig. 134
 N. Ryckmans, drawings after Rubens:
 Christ as Salvator Mundi, Cat. 6, 39
 St. Andrew, Cat. 8, 40
 St. Bartholomew, Cat. 12, 43
 St. James the Greater, Cat. 9, 41
 St. John the Evangelist, Cat. 10, 42
 St. Jude, Cat. 16, 47
 St. Matthew, Cat. 15, 46
 St. Matthias, Cat. 17, 47
 St. Paul, Cat. 18, 48
 St. Peter, Cat. 7, 40
 St. Philip, Cat. 11, 43
 St. Simon, Cat. 13, 44
 St. Thomas, Cat. 14, 45
 Anonymous, drawings after Rubens:
 The Real Presence in the Holy Sacrament, Cat. 56a, 75, 78, 79, fig. 103
 St. Peter and St. Paul, Cat. 51, 66, 67, fig. 93
- VIENNA, SCHOTTENSTIFT
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
 Christ as Salvator Mundi, Cat. 6, 38
- WASHINGTON, NATIONAL GALLERY
 St. Peter, Cat. 11, 42

INDEX II: SUBJECTS

This index lists all the subjects here catalogued. Under each title are gathered all the known representations; these include both works by Rubens himself and copies made by other artists after these.

OLD TESTAMENT

- AARON, Cat. 58
 Rubens, painting (formerly Antwerp, Dominican Church) Cat. 58, 80
- MOSES, Cat. 57
 Rubens, painting (formerly Antwerp, Dominican Church) Cat. 57, 79, 80

NEW TESTAMENT

- THE FACE OF CHRIST, Cat. 2
 Rubens, oil sketch or drawing (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 2, 28-31
 P. Pontius, engraving, Cat. 2, 28-31, fig. 2
 E. Rucholle, engraving, Cat. 2, 28-30, fig. 4
 Anonymous, engraving, Cat. 2, 28-30, fig. 6
 Anonymous, engraving, Cat. 2, 29, 30, fig. 8
- THE BUST OF CHRIST, Cat. 3
 Rubens, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 3, 31, 32
 Anonymous, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 3, 31, 32, fig. 10
 Anonymous, painting (formerly Berlin, V. Modrzejewski) Cat. 3, 31, 32, fig. 11
- CHRIST, Cat. 4
 Rubens, painting, Cat. 4, 32, 33
 Anonymous, painting (formerly Berlin, Dr. M.J. Binder) Cat. 4, 32
 Anonymous, painting (formerly Brussels, A. de Heuvel) Cat. 4, 32, fig. 12
 Anonymous, painting (formerly London, Carlton Galleries), Cat. 4, 32
 Anonymous, painting (formerly London, T. Harris) Cat. 4, 32

- CHRIST AS SALVATOR MUNDI, Cat. 6
 Rubens, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 6, 34, 35, 38, 39
 Anonymous, painting (Hanover, Niedersächsische Landesgalerie) Cat. 6, 39
 Anonymous, painting (Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada) Cat. 6, 35, 38, fig. 14
 Anonymous, painting (Rome, Galleria Pallavicini) Cat. 6, 35, 39, fig. 15
 Anonymous, painting (Vienna, Schottenstift) Cat. 6, 38
 N. Ryckmans, drawing (Vienna, Albertina) Cat. 6, 39
 J. Prenner, engraving, Cat. 6, 39
 N. Ryckmans, engraving, Cat. 6, 35, 39, fig. 17
- CHRIST AS SALVATOR MUNDI, Cat. 19
 ? Rubens, painting, Cat. 19, 49
 Anonymous, painting (formerly H. Nüsslein) Cat. 19, 49
- CHRIST AS SALVATOR MUNDI, Cat. 32
 Rubens, painting, Cat. 32, 54, 55
 Anonymous, painting, Cat. 32, 54, 55
 S. a Bolswert, engraving, Cat. 32, 54, 55, fig. 74
- THE HOLY VIRGIN, Cat. 5
 Rubens, painting, Cat. 5, 33
 Anonymous, painting (formerly Brussels, A. de Heuvel) Cat. 5, 33
 Anonymous, painting (formerly London, Asscher, Kötser and Welker) Cat. 5, 33
 Anonymous, painting (formerly London, T. Harris) Cat. 5, 32, 33
 Anonymous, painting (formerly New York, Mont and Newhouse) Cat. 5, 33, fig. 13
 Anonymous, painting (formerly Vienna, B. Waldner) Cat. 5, 33
- THE HOLY VIRGIN AS REGINA CÆLI, Cat. 33

SUBJECTS

Rubens, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 33, 54-56

Anonymous, painting, Cat. 33, 54-56

Anonymous, engraving, Cat. 33, 54-56, fig. 75

SAINTS

ALL SAINTS, Cat. 1

Rubens, oil sketch (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen) Cat. 1, 23, 27, 28, 137, fig. 1

THE FOUR EVANGELISTS, Cat. 54

Rubens, painting (Potsdam-Sanssouci, Bildergalerie) Cat. 54, 70-72, fig. 96

Anonymous, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 54, 70

THE FOUR EVANGELISTS, Cat. 55

Rubens, oil sketch (formerly Warwick Castle) Cat. 55, 72, 73, fig. 97

Anonymous, engraving, Cat. 55, 72, 73

THE REAL PRESENCE IN THE HOLY SACRAMENT, Cat. 56

Rubens, painting (Antwerp, St. Paul's Church) Cat. 56, 22, 73-79, 96, figs. 99, 100, 102

Rubens, oil sketch (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 56a, 75, 78, 79

? J. de Bisschop, drawing (formerly Brussels, G. de Leval) Cat. 56a, 75, 78, 79, fig. 101

Anonymous, drawing after the right side (formerly Paris, A. Beurdeley) Cat. 56, 73

Anonymous, drawing (Vienna, Albertina) Cat. 56a, 75, 78, 79, fig. 103

Anonymous, drawing after the heads of the presumed saints Ambrose, Augustine and Paul, on the left side (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 56, 73

H. Snijders, engraving, Cat. 56, 73, 75, 76, 78, fig. 98

THE FOUR LATIN DOCTORS OF THE CHURCH, Cat. 59

Rubens, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 59, 80, 81, 84

C. van Dalen the Younger, engraving, Cat. 59, 22, 81, 84, fig. 106

THE FOUR LATIN DOCTORS OF THE CHURCH, Cat. 60

J. Jordaens, painting (Blackburn, Lancashire, Stonyhurst College) Cat. 60, 81-83, fig. 104

Rubens, oil sketch (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 60a, 83, 84

Anonymous, painting (formerly Brussels, Barbier) Cat. 60, 82

Anonymous, painting (formerly Königsberg, Städtische Kunstsammlungen; lost) Cat. 60, 82

C. Galle, engraving, Cat. 60, 82, fig. 105

THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. ADRIAN, Cat. 61

Rubens, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 61, 22, 84-87, 102

Rubens, oil sketch (Antwerp, Rubenshuis) Cat. 61a, 86, 87, fig. 108

Anonymous, painting (formerly Antwerp, S. Hartveld) Cat. 61, 84, 102, fig. 107

Anonymous, needlework panel (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 61, 84

ST. ANDREW, Cat. 8

Rubens, painting (Madrid, Prado) Cat. 8, 34, 35, 40, 50, fig. 22

Anonymous, painting (Rome, Galleria Pallavicini) Cat. 8, 35, 40, fig. 23

N. Ryckmans, drawing (Vienna, Albertina) Cat. 8, 40

P. Isselburg, engraving, Cat. 8, 35, 40, fig. 24

N. Ryckmans, engraving, Cat. 8, 35, 40, fig. 25

ST. ANDREW, Cat. 21

Rubens, painting (formerly Vienna, E. and A. Silberman) Cat. 21, 50, fig. 67

Anonymous, painting (Onteniente-Valencia, Museo la Ereta) Cat. 21, 50

Anonymous, painting (formerly H. Nüsslein) Cat. 21, 50

ST. ANDREW, Cat. 35

Rubens, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 35, 54-57

Anonymous, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 35, 54-56

SUBJECTS

- P. Clouwet, engraving, Cat. 35, 54-56, fig. 77
- THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. ANDREW, Cat. 62
 Rubens, painting (Madrid, Real Hospital de San Andrés de los Flamencos) Cat. 62, 23, 87-90, fig. 109
 Rubens, oil sketch or drawing (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 62b, 90, 91
 Rubens, drawing (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen) Cat. 62a, 89-91, fig. 110
 Anonymous, drawing (Haarlem, Teylers Stichting) Cat. 62b, 90
 Anonymous, drawing (London, British Museum) Cat. 62b, 90, 91, fig. 111
 K.G. Thelott, engraving, Cat. 62, 87
 A. Voet, engraving, Cat. 62b, 90
 Anonymous, engraving, Cat. 62b, 90, 91, fig. 112
- THE BLESSED ANNA DE JÉSUS, Cat. 63
 Rubens, ? painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 63, 23, 91, 92
 Anonymous, painting (formerly Brussels, Convent of the Carmelite Nuns) Cat. 63, 91
 Anonymous painting (formerly Würzburg, Convent "zu Himmelsporten") Cat. 63, 91
 C. Galle the Elder, engraving, Cat. 63, 91, fig. 115
- THE DEATH OF ST. ANTHONY ABBOT, Cat. 64
 Rubens, painting (Pommersfelden, Castle Weissenstein, Count Schönborn) Cat. 64, 24, 92-95, fig. 113
 Anonymous, painting ('s Hertogenbosch, St. John's Church) Cat. 64, 93, 95, fig. 114
 Anonymous, drawing (formerly Brno, Havelsky) Cat. 64, 93
 Anonymous, drawing after the head of St. Anthony Abbot (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Print Room) Cat. 64, 93
- ST. AUGUSTINE, Cat. 65
 Rubens, oil sketch (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum) Cat. 65, 96, 97, fig. 116
- ST. AUGUSTINE BETWEEN CHRIST AND THE HOLY VIRGIN, Cat. 66
 Rubens, painting (Madrid, Academia de San Fernando) Cat. 66, 97, 98, fig. 117
- ST. AUGUSTINE AT THE SEASHORE, Cat. 67
 Rubens, painting (Prague, Národní Galerie) Cat. 67, 98, 99, fig. 118
- ST. BARBARA, Cat. 68
 Rubens, ? painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 68, 100
 S. a Bolswert, engraving, Cat. 68, 100, fig. 119
- ST. BARTHOLOMEW, Cat. 12
 Rubens, painting (Madrid, Prado) Cat. 12, 34, 35, 43, 52, fig. 38
 Anonymous, painting (formerly London, P. Kronthal) Cat. 12, 43
 Anonymous, painting (Rome, Galleria Pallavicini) Cat. 12, 35, 43, fig. 39
 N. Ryckmans, drawing (Vienna, Albertina) Cat. 12, 43
 P. Isselburg, engraving, Cat. 12, 35, 43, fig. 40
 N. Ryckmans, engraving, Cat. 12, 35, 43, fig. 41
- ST. BARTHOLOMEW, Cat. 25
 ? Rubens, painting (Vienna, E. and A. Silberman) Cat. 25, 51, 52, fig. 70
 Anonymous, painting (Onteniente-Valencia, Museo la Ereta) Cat. 25, 51
 Anonymous, painting (H. Nüsslein) Cat. 25, 51
- ST. BARTHOLOMEW, Cat. 39
 Rubens, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 39, 54, 55, 58
 Anonymous, engraving, Cat. 39, 54, 55, 58, fig. 81
- THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW, Cat. 70
 ? Rubens, drawing (New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library) Cat. 70, 101, 102, fig. 121
- THE CONVERSION OF ST. BAVO, Cat. 71
 Rubens, oil sketch (London, National Gallery) Cat. 71, 23, 102-106, 108, fig. 122

SUBJECTS

- R.P. Bonington, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 71, 102
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Amsterdam, A. van Buuren) Cat. 71, 102
- Anonymous, painting after the two side-wings (Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen) Cat. 71, 102
- Fragonard, drawing after the foreground figures in the central panel and the left wing (London, British Museum) Cat. 71, 103
- J. West, watercolour (formerly Northwick Park) Cat. 71, 102
- Anonymous, drawing after the central panel (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Print Room) Cat. 71, 102
- Anonymous, drawing after the three women on the left (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Print Room) Cat. 71, 102
- Anonymous, drawing after the figures on the right of the central panel and in the foreground of the righthand wing (London, British Museum) Cat. 71, 102
- THE CONVERSION OF ST. BAVO, Cat. 72
- Rubens, painting (Ghent, St. Bavo's Church) Cat. 72, 106, 110, 112, 127, fig. 123
- Rubens, oil sketch (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 72a, 109, 110
- Anonymous, painting (formerly London, T. Harris) Cat. 72a, 109
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Paris, J. Guérain) Cat. 72a, 109, fig. 124
- Anonymous, drawing (Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Print Room) Cat. 72, 107
- Anonymous, drawing (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Print Room) Cat. 72, 107
- P. Clouwet, engraving after the left one of the female figures on the left, Cat. 72, 107
- F. Pilsen, engraving, Cat. 72, 107
- P. Spruyt, etching, Cat. 72, 107
- THE MIRACLES OF ST. BENEDICT, Cat. 73
- Rubens, painting (Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts) Cat. 73, 23, 110-115, fig. 125
- E. Delacroix, painting (Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts) Cat. 73, 111
- F. Souchon, painting (Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts) Cat. 73, 111
- ST. CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA, Cat. 69
- Rubens, ? painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 69, 100, 101
- S. a Bolswert, engraving, Cat. 69, 100, fig. 120
- ST. CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA, Cat. 74
- School of Rubens, painting (New York, The New York Historical Society) Cat. 74, 115, 116, fig. 129
- ST. CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA, Cat. 75
- ? Rubens, etching, Cat. 75, 116, 117, fig. 127
- ? Rubens, counterproof of etching (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art) Cat. 75a, 117, fig. 128
- THE MYSTIC MARRIAGE OF ST. CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA, Cat. 76
- Rubens, painting (formerly Philadelphia, R. Wanamaker) Cat. 76, 118, 119, fig. 131
- Rubens, drawing (Oberlin, Oberlin College, Allen Memorial Art Museum) Cat. 76a, 118-120, fig. 132
- THE MYSTIC MARRIAGE OF ST. CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA, Cat. 77
- Rubens, painting (formerly Potsdam-Sanssouci, Bildergalerie) Cat. 77, 120, 121, fig. 130
- Anonymous, painting (formerly London, J. Abrahams) Cat. 77, 120
- Anonymous, painting (Louvain, St. Quentin's Church) Cat. 77, 120
- THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA, Cat. 78
- Rubens, painting (Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts) Cat. 78, 86, 102, 121-123, fig. 133
- Rubens, *Head of St. Catherine of Alexandria*, drawing (Vienna, Albertina) Cat. 78a, 123, fig. 134
- Anonymous, painting (Ghent, St. Bavo's Church) Cat. 78, 121, 122, fig. 136

SUBJECTS

- W. de Leeuw, engraving, Cat. 78, 121, 122
- ANGELS TRANSPORTING THE DEAD BODY OF ST. CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA, Cat. 79
- ? Rubens, painting (formerly Valenciennes, J.-B. Foucart) Cat. 79, 123-125, fig. 137
- Anonymous, painting (Antwerp, G. Faes) Cat. 79, 123, fig. 138
- ST. CATHERINE OF SIENA, Cat. 80
- ? Rubens, painting (Düsseldorf, Kunstmuseum) Cat. 80, 126, fig. 139
- ST. CECILIA PLAYING THE VIRGINALS, Cat. 81
- Rubens, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 81, 126, 127, 129
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Brno, G. Haas) Cat. 81, 126
- Anonymous, painting (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art) Cat. 81, 126, fig. 142
- Anonymous, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 81, 126, 127
- A. Lommelin, engraving, Cat. 81, 127
- W. Panneels, engraving, Cat. 81, 127
- ST. CECILIA PLAYING THE VIRGINALS, Cat. 82
- Rubens, painting (Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen) Cat. 82, 127-131, fig. 144
- F. von Lenbach, painting (whereabouts unknown) Cat. 82, 128
- Anonymous, painting (formerly London, C.T. Hawkins) Cat. 82, 128
- ? A. Watteau, drawing after the upper part of the Saint's body (formerly A. Niels) Cat. 82, 128
- J. Witdoeck, engraving, Cat. 82, 128-130
- ST. CECILIA, Cat. 83
- Rubens, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 83, 129, 130
- ST. CECILIA, Cat. 84
- ? Rubens, painting (Düsseldorf, Kunstmuseum) Cat. 84, 130, 131, fig. 145
- Anonymous, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 84, 130
- ST. CHARLES BORROME0, Cat. 85
- Rubens, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 85, 23, 131
- Anonymous, painting (Antwerp, Presbytery of St. Andrew's Church) Cat. 85, 131, fig. 148
- N. van den Berg, etching, Cat. 85, 131
- ST. CLARE, Cat. 98
- Rubens, painting (Lier, St. Gummarus's Church) Cat. 98, 33, 151, 152, fig. 172
- Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi and St. Clare*, drawing (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 96-98a, 152
- Anonymous, *St. Francis of Assisi and St. Clare*, drawing (formerly Paris, E. Wouters) Cat. 96-98a, 152
- ST. DOMINIC, Cat. 86
- Rubens, painting (Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland) Cat. 86, 132, 133, fig. 149
- ST. DOMINIC AND ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI PROTECTING THE WORLD FROM THE WRATH OF CHRIST, Cat. 88
- Rubens, painting (Lyons, Musée des Beaux-Arts) Cat. 88, 22, 23, 85, 134-137, 154, fig. 151
- Rubens, oil sketch or drawing (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 88a, 136, 137
- Rubens, *Head Study of St. Catherine of Alexandria*, drawing (Angers, Musée Turpin de Crissé) Cat. 88b, 137, 138, fig. 153
- Anonymous, drawing (formerly London, Agnew's) Cat. 88a, 136, fig. 152
- ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI, Cat. 87
- Rubens, painting (Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland) Cat. 87, 132-134, 144, fig. 150
- Anonymous, painting (Strasbourg, Musée des Beaux-Arts) Cat. 87, 133
- HEAD STUDY OF ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI, Cat. 89
- ? Rubens, painting (formerly London, Terry Engell Galleries) Cat. 89, 138, fig. 154

- Anonymous, drawing (Turin, Palazzo Reale) Cat. 89, 138
- ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI RECEIVING THE STIGMATA, Cat. 90
- Rubens, painting (Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum) Cat. 90, 22, 138-141, 148, fig. 155
- Rubens, drawing (Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Print Room), Cat. 90a, 140, 141, fig. 156
- Anonymous, painting (Antwerp, St. Anthony's Church) Cat. 90, 138
- Anonymous, painting after the Head of St. Francis of Assisi (Moscow, Pushkin Museum) Cat. 90, 138
- ? Delacroix, watercolour (formerly Paris, Galerie Katia Granoff) Cat. 90, 139
- ? A. van Dyck, drawing (Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Estampes) Cat. 90b, 141, 142, fig. 157
- L. Vorsterman, engraving, Cat. 90b, 141, 142, fig. 158
- ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI RECEIVING THE STIGMATA, Cat. 91
- Rubens, painting (Arras, Musée Municipal) Cat. 91, 22, 142, 143, fig. 159
- Rubens, oil sketch (Amsterdam, The Heirs of Dr. H.A. Wetzlar) Cat. 91a, 143, fig. 160
- ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI RECEIVING THE STIGMATA, Cat. 92
- Rubens, painting (Ghent, Museum voor Schone Kunsten) Cat. 92, 22, 133, 144, 145, fig. 161
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Bruges, Franciscan Church) Cat. 92, 144
- Anonymous, painting after the figure of St. Francis of Assisi (Brussels, A. de Heuvel) Cat. 92, 144, 145
- F. Pilsen, engraving, Cat. 92, 144
- P. Spruyt, etching, Cat. 92, 144
- Anonymous, etching after the figure of St. Francis of Assisi, Cat. 92, 144, fig. 164
- ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI RECEIVING THE STIGMATA, Cat. 93
- Rubens, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 93, 22, 145
- Anonymous, painting (Rome, Capitoline Museum) Cat. 93, 145, fig. 162
- Anonymous, drawing (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Print Room) Cat. 93, 145, fig. 163
- ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI RECEIVING THE STIGMATA, Cat. 97
- Rubens, painting (Lier, St. Gummarus's Church) Cat. 97, 151, 152, 155, 156, fig. 171
- Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi and St. Clare*, drawing (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 96-98a, 152
- Anonymous, *St. Francis of Assisi and St. Clare*, drawing (formerly Paris, E. Wouters) Cat. 96-98a, 152
- ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI RECEIVING THE INFANT CHRIST, Cat. 94
- Rubens, painting (Antwerp, St. Anthony's Church) Cat. 94, 145-148, 150, fig. 165
- ? M. Lasne, drawing after the figures of St. Francis of Assisi and the Infant Christ (London, Count A. Seilern) Cat. 94, 145, 146
- ? C. Visscher, drawing after the figures of St. Francis of Assisi, the Virgin and the Infant Christ (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum) Cat. 94, 146
- M. Lasne, engraving, Cat. 94, 146, fig. 166
- A. Lommelin, engraving, Cat. 94, 146
- C. Visscher, engraving, Cat. 94, 146
- ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI RECEIVING THE INFANT CHRIST, Cat. 95
- Rubens, painting (Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts) Cat. 95, 121, 147-150, fig. 167
- Rubens, drawing (formerly Paris, J. Mathey) Cat. 95a, 148, 149, fig. 168
- Anonymous, painting (Enghien, Capuchin Cloister) Cat. 95, 147
- Anonymous, painting (Lille, Minorite Church) Cat. 95, 147
- Anonymous, painting (Madrid, Descalzas Reales) Cat. 95, 147

SUBJECTS

- M. Lasne, *St. Francis of Paola*, drawing (Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet) Cat. 95a, 149
- M. Lasne, *St. Francis of Paola*, engraving, Cat. 95a, 149
- ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI RECEIVING THE INFANT CHRIST, Cat. 96
- Rubens, painting (Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts) Cat. 96, 149, 150, 152, fig. 169
- Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi and St. Clare*, drawing (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 96-98a, 152
- Wouters, painting (Lier, St. Gummarus's Church) Cat. 91, 150
- Anonymous, *St. Francis of Assisi and St. Clare*, drawing (formerly Paris, E. Wouters) Cat. 96-98a, 152
- ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI, Cat. 99
- Rubens, painting (formerly Oldenburg, Museum) Cat. 99, 153, fig. 174
- C. Spitzweg, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 99, 153
- Anonymous, painting (lost) Cat. 99, 153, fig. 174
- ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI PROTECTING THE WORLD FROM THE WRATH OF CHRIST, Cat. 100
- Rubens, painting (Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts) Cat. 100, 22, 144, 153-155, fig. 173
- Anonymous, painting (Bergues, St. Martin) Cat. 100, 154
- Anonymous, drawing after the Head of St. Francis of Assisi (Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut) Cat. 100, 154
- A. Possemiers, engraving, Cat. 100, 154
- P. Spruyt, etching, Cat. 100, 154
- ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI IN ADORATION BEFORE THE CRUCIFIED CHRIST, Cat. 101
- Rubens, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 101, 155, 156
- Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi Raising his Arms in a Gesture of Adoration*, drawing (London, British Museum) Cat. 101a, 156, fig. 177
- Anonymous, painting after the Crucified Christ with an anonymous donor replacing the figure of St. Francis (formerly Antwerp, A. Troost) Cat. 101, 155
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Brussels, Vicomte de Buisseret) Cat. 101, 155
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Brussels, A. Sels) Cat. 101, 155
- Anonymous, painting (Vaduz, Prince of Liechtenstein) Cat. 101, 155, 156, fig. 176
- Anonymous, painting (Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts) Cat. 101, 155
- J. de Meere, engraving, Cat. 101, 155
- THE LAST COMMUNION OF ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI, Cat. 102
- Rubens, painting (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten) Cat. 102, 22, 153, 156-162, fig. 178
- Rubens, drawing (Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet) Cat. 102a, 159-161, fig. 180
- Rubens, drawing (Farnham, W. Burchard) Cat. 102b, 160, 161, fig. 181
- Rubens, *Two Studies for a Franciscan Monk*, drawing (Chatsworth, Duke of Devonshire) Cat. 102c, 137, 159, 161, 162, fig. 182
- Rubens, *Study of a Kneeling Male Nude*, drawing (Paris, Fondation Custodia, Institut Néerlandais) Cat. 102d, 162, fig. 183
- P.J. Verhaghen, painting (lost) Cat. 102, 157
- Anonymous, painting after the Head of St. Francis (formerly Cologne, H. Abels) Cat. 102, 157
- Anonymous, painting (London, private collection) Cat. 102, 157
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Neustadt/Haardt, E. Abresch) Cat. 102, 157
- H. Snyers, engraving, Cat. 102, 157, 159
- ST. JAMES THE GREATER, Cat. 9
- Rubens, painting (Madrid, Prado) Cat. 9, 34, 35, 41, 50, fig. 26
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Antwerp, S. Hartveld) Cat. 9, 41

SUBJECTS

- Anonymous, painting (Rome, Galleria Pallavicini) Cat. 9, 35, 41, fig. 27
- N. Ryckmans, drawing (Vienna, Albertina) Cat. 9, 41
- P. Isselburg, engraving, Cat. 9, 35, 41, fig. 28
- N. Ryckmans, engraving, Cat. 9, 35, 41, fig. 29
- ST. JAMES THE GREATER, Cat. 22
- ? Rubens, painting (formerly Berlin, C. Benedict) Cat. 22, 50, fig. 68
- Anonymous, painting (Onteniente-Valencia, Museo la Ereta) Cat. 22, 50
- Anonymous, painting (formerly H. Nüsslein) Cat. 22, 50
- ST. JAMES THE GREATER, Cat. 36
- Rubens, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 36, 54, 55, 57
- Anonymous, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 36, 54, 55, 57
- Anonymous, engraving, Cat. 36, 54, 55, 57, fig. 78
- ST. JAMES THE LESS, Cat. 15
- Rubens, painting (Madrid, Prado) Cat. 15, 34, 35, 46, 53, fig. 50
- Anonymous, *St. Matthew*, painting (Rome, Galleria Pallavicini) Cat. 15, 35, 46, fig. 51
- N. Ryckmans, *St. Matthew*, drawing (Vienna, Albertina) 46
- P. Isselburg, engraving, Cat. 15, 35, 36, 46, fig. 52
- N. Ryckmans, *St. Matthew*, engraving, Cat. 15, 35, 46, fig. 53
- ST. JAMES THE LESS, Cat. 28
- ? Rubens, painting (formerly Uccle [Brussels], R. Dicop) Cat. 28, 52, 53, fig. 72
- Anonymous, painting (Onteniente-Valencia, Museo la Ereta) Cat. 28, 53
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Schloss Ittlingen, Baron H. von Nagel) Cat. 28, 53
- Anonymous, painting (formerly H. Nüsslein) Cat. 28, 53
- ST. JAMES THE LESS, Cat. 42
- Rubens, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 42, 54, 55, 59
- Anonymous, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 42, 54, 55, 59
- S. a Bolswert, engraving, Cat. 42, 54, 55, 59, fig. 84
- ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST, Cat. 10
- Rubens, painting (Madrid, Prado) Cat. 10, 34, 35, 41, 42, fig. 30
- Anonymous, painting (Rome, Galleria Pallavicini) Cat. 10, 35, 42, fig. 31
- N. Ryckmans, drawing (Vienna, Albertina) Cat. 10, 42
- P. Isselburg, engraving, Cat. 10, 35, 42, fig. 32
- N. Ryckmans, engraving, Cat. 10, 35, 42, fig. 33
- ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST, Cat. 23
- ? Rubens, painting (formerly Amsterdam, Goudstikker) Cat. 23, 51
- Anonymous, painting (Onteniente-Valencia, Museo la Ereta) Cat. 23, 51
- Anonymous, painting (formerly H. Nüsslein) Cat. 23, 51
- ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST, Cat. 37
- Rubens, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 37, 54, 55, 57
- Anonymous, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 37, 57
- S. a Bolswert, engraving, Cat. 37, 57, fig. 79
- ST. JUDE, Cat. 44
- Rubens, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 44, 54, 55, 59, 60
- Anonymous, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 44, 54, 55, 59
- Anonymous, engraving, Cat. 44, 54, 55, 59, fig. 86
- ST. MATTHEW, Cat. 14
- Rubens, painting (Madrid, Prado) Cat. 14, 34, 35, 45, 46, 52, fig. 46
- Anonymous, *St. Thomas*, painting (Rome, Galleria Pallavicini) Cat. 14, 35, 45, fig. 47
- N. Ryckmans, *St. Thomas*, drawing (Vienna, Albertina) Cat. 14, 45
- P. Isselburg, engraving, Cat. 14, 35, 36, 45, fig. 48
- N. Ryckmans, *St. Thomas*, engraving, Cat. 14, 35, 36, 45, fig. 49

SUBJECTS

- ST. MATTHEW, Cat. 27
 ? Rubens, painting (formerly New York, E. and A. Silberman) Cat. 27, 52, fig. 71
 Anonymous, painting (Onteniente-Valencia, Museo la Ereta) Cat. 27, 52
 Anonymous, painting (H. Nüsslein) Cat. 27, 52
- ST. MATTHEW, Cat. 41
 Rubens, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 41, 54, 55, 58
 Anonymous, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 41, 58
 Anonymous, engraving, Cat. 41, 58, fig. 83
- ST. MATTHIAS, Cat. 17
 Rubens, painting (Madrid, Prado) Cat. 17, 34, 35, 47, 48, fig. 58
 Anonymous, painting (Rome, Galleria Pallavicini) Cat. 17, 35, 47, fig. 59
 N. Ryckmans, drawing (Vienna, Albertina) Cat. 17, 47
 P. Isselburg, engraving, Cat. 17, 35, 48, fig. 60
 N. Ryckmans, engraving, Cat. 17, 35, 47, 48, fig. 61
- ST. MATTHIAS, Cat. 30
 ? Rubens, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 30, 53
 Anonymous, painting (Onteniente-Valencia, Museo la Ereta) Cat. 30, 53
 Anonymous, painting (formerly H. Nüsslein) Cat. 30, 53
- ST. MATTHIAS, Cat. 45
 Rubens, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 45, 54, 55, 60
 Anonymous, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 45, 54, 55, 60
 Anonymous, engraving, Cat. 45, 54, 55, 60, fig. 87
- ST. PAUL, Cat. 18
 Rubens, painting (Madrid, Prado) Cat. 18, 34, 35, 37, 48, fig. 62
 Anonymous, painting (Rome, Galleria Pallavicini) Cat. 18, 35, 48, fig. 63
 N. Ryckmans, drawing (Vienna, Albertina) Cat. 18, 48
 P. Isselburg, engraving, Cat. 18, 35, 48, fig. 64
 N. Ryckmans, engraving, Cat. 18, 35, 48, fig. 65
- ST. PAUL, Cat. 31
 ? Rubens, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 31, 53, 54
 Anonymous, painting (Onteniente-Valencia, Museo la Ereta) Cat. 31, 54
 Anonymous, painting (Oslo, Nasjonalgalleriet) Cat. 31, 54
 Anonymous, painting (formerly Vienna, E. Müller) Cat. 31, 54
 Anonymous, painting (formerly H. Nüsslein) Cat. 31, 54
- ST. PAUL, Cat. 46
 Rubens, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 46, 54, 55, 60
 Anonymous, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 46, 54, 55, 60
 S. a Bolswert, engraving, Cat. 46, 54, 55, 60, fig. 88
- ST. PAUL, Cat. 48
 Rubens, painting (formerly London, Bryan) Cat. 48, 61-63
- ST. PAUL, Cat. 50
 Rubens, painting (formerly Nijmegen, Dr. C. ten Horn) Cat. 50, 22, 64-67, 132, fig. 90
 Rubens, *St. Peter and St. Paul*, oil sketch (Brussels, private collection) Cat. 49-50a, 65, 66, fig. 91
 Anonymous, *St. Peter and St. Paul*, painting (formerly St. Petersburg, Prince Yussupoff) Cat. 49-50a, 65
 R. Eynhoudts, *St. Peter and St. Paul*, engraving, Cat. 49-50a, 65
- ST. PAUL, Cat. 52
 Rubens, painting (New York, Dr. and Mrs. R.J. Heinemann) Cat. 52, 68, 69, fig. 94
- ST. PETER, Cat. 7
 Rubens, painting (Madrid, Prado) Cat. 7, 34, 35, 39, 40, 50, fig. 18
 Anonymous, painting (Rome, Galleria Pallavicini) Cat. 7, 35, 39, fig. 19
 N. Ryckmans, drawing (Vienna, Albertina) Cat. 7, 40

SUBJECTS

- P. Isselburg, engraving, Cat. 7, 35, 40, fig. 20
 N. Ryckmans, engraving, Cat. 7, 35, 40, fig. 21
- ST. PETER, Cat. 20
 ? Rubens, painting (formerly Vienna, E. and A. Silberman) Cat. 20, 49, 50, fig. 66
 Anonymous, painting (Onteniente-Valencia, Museo la Ereta) Cat. 20, 50
 Anonymous, painting (formerly H. Nüsslein) Cat. 20, 50
- ST. PETER, Cat. 34
 Rubens, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 34, 54-56
 Anonymous, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 34, 54-56
 S. a Bolswert, engraving, Cat. 34, 54-56, fig. 76
- ST. PETER, Cat. 47
 Rubens, painting (formerly London, Bryan) Cat. 47, 61, 62, 63
- ST. PETER, Cat. 49
 Rubens, painting (formerly Nijmegen, Dr. C. ten Horn) Cat. 49, 22, 56, 63-67, 132, fig. 89
 Rubens, *St. Peter and St. Paul*, oil sketch (Brussels, private collection) Cat. 49-50a, 65, 66, fig. 91
 Anonymous, *St. Peter and St. Paul*, painting (formerly St. Petersburg, Prince Yussupoff) Cat. 49-50a, 65
 Anonymous, drawing (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Print Room) Cat. 49, 63
 R. Eynhoudts, *St. Peter and St. Paul*, engraving, Cat. 49-50a, 65
- ST. PETER, Cat. 53
 Rubens, painting (New York, Dr. and Mrs. R.J. Heinemann) Cat. 53, 68-70, fig. 95
- ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL, Cat. 51
 Rubens, painting (Schleissheim, Schloss) Cat. 51, 64, 66-68, fig. 92
 Anonymous, drawing (Vienna, Albertina) Cat. 51, 66, 67, fig. 93
 F. Piloty, engraving, Cat. 51, 66, 67
- ST. PHILIP, Cat. 11
 Rubens, painting (Madrid, Prado) Cat. 11, 34, 35, 42, 43, 51, fig. 34
 Anonymous, painting (Rome, Galleria Pallavicini) Cat. 11, 35, 42, fig. 35
 Anonymous, *St. Peter*, painting (Washington, National Gallery) Cat. 11, 42
 N. Ryckmans, drawing (Vienna, Albertina) Cat. 11, 43
 P. Isselburg, engraving, Cat. 11, 35, 43, fig. 36
 N. Ryckmans, engraving, Cat. 11, 35, 43, fig. 37
- ST. PHILIP, Cat. 24
 ? Rubens, painting (formerly Vienna, E. and A. Silberman) Cat. 24, 51, fig. 69
 Anonymous, painting (Onteniente-Valencia, Museo la Ereta) Cat. 24, 51
 Anonymous, painting (formerly H. Nüsslein) Cat. 24, 51
- ST. PHILIP, Cat. 38
 Rubens, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 38, 54, 55, 57, 58
 Anonymous, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 38, 54, 55, 57
 Anonymous, engraving, Cat. 38, 54, 55, 57, fig. 80
- ST. SIMON, Cat. 16
 Rubens, painting (Madrid, Prado) Cat. 16, 34-36, 46, 47, fig. 54
 Anonymous, *St. Jude*, painting (Rome, Galleria Pallavicini) Cat. 16, 35, 36, 47, fig. 55
 N. Ryckmans, *St. Jude*, drawing (Vienna, Albertina) Cat. 16, 47
 P. Isselburg, engraving, Cat. 16, 35, 36, 47, fig. 56
 N. Ryckmans, *St. Jude*, engraving, Cat. 16, 35, 36, 47, fig. 57
- ST. SIMON, Cat. 29
 ? Rubens, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 29, 53
 Anonymous, painting (Onteniente-Valencia, Museo la Ereta) Cat. 29, 53
 Anonymous, painting (formerly H. Nüsslein) Cat. 29, 53
- ST. SIMON, Cat. 43

SUBJECTS

- Rubens, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 43, 54, 55, 59
Anonymous, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 43, 54, 55, 59
Anonymous, engraving, Cat. 43, 54, 55, 59, fig. 85
ST. THOMAS, Cat. 13
Rubens, painting (Madrid, Prado) Cat. 13, 34-36, 44, fig. 42
Anonymous, *St. Simon*, painting (Rome, Galleria Pallavicini) Cat. 13, 35, 36, 44, fig. 43
N. Ryckmans, *St. Simon*, drawing (Vienna, Albertina) Cat. 13, 44
P. Isselburg, engraving, Cat. 13, 35, 36, 44, fig. 44
N. Ryckmans, *St. Simon*, engraving, Cat. 13, 35, 36, 44, fig. 45
ST. THOMAS, Cat. 26
? Rubens, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 26, 52
Anonymous, painting (Onteniente-Valencia, Museo la Ereta) Cat. 26, 52
Anonymous, painting (formerly H. Nüsslein) Cat. 26, 52
ST. THOMAS, Cat. 40
Rubens, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 40, 54, 55, 58
Anonymous, painting (present whereabouts unknown) Cat. 40, 58
Anonymous, engraving, Cat. 40, 58, fig. 82

INDEX III: OTHER WORKS BY RUBENS MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

The following abbreviations are used throughout this index : D - drawing;
E - engraving; P - painting; S - oil sketch; T - tapestry.

OLD TESTAMENT

- Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (D) (Paris, Louvre) 102
King David (D) (Paris, Louvre) 102
The Judgment of Salomon (P) (Madrid, Prado) 45
Daniel in the Lion's Den (P) (Washington, National Gallery) 60

NEW TESTAMENT

- The Holy Virgin as Regina Cœli (P) (lost) 56
— (E, by Cornelis Galle) 56
The Education of the Virgin (P) (Vaduz, Prince of Liechtenstein) 119
The Annunciation (P) (Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts) 31
The Adoration of the Magi (P) (Madrid, Prado) 76, 105
The Return of the Holy Family (P) (New York, Metropolitan Museum) 100
— (E, by S. a Bolswert) 100
The Virgin and St. Elizabeth with the Infant Christ and St. John (P) (Florence, Pitti Palace) 150
The Madonna Adored by Saints (P) (Antwerp, St. Augustine's) 115
The Virgin and the Infant Christ Adored by Alexander Goubau and his Wife (P) (Tours, Musée des Beaux-Arts) 148
The Baptism of Christ (P) (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten) 28
The Miraculous Draught of Fishes (P) (Malines, Our-Lady-across-the-Dijle) 112
The Transfiguration (P) (Nancy, Musée des Beaux-Arts) 46
46

- The Tribute Money (P) (San Francisco, The M.H. de Young Memorial Museum) 44, 46
The Crowning with Thorns (P) (Grasse, Hôpital) 45, 46
The Raising of the Cross (P) (Antwerp, Cathedral) 44, 79, 101, 124
Christ on the Cross, "Coup de Lance" (P) (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten) 88, 156
The Entombment of Christ, "Le Christ à la Paille" (P) (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten) 55
The Disciples at Emmaus (P) (Paris, St. Eustache) 72
St. Thomas Doubting (P) (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten) 68-70
Pasce Oves (P) (London, Wallace Collection) 32
The Assumption of the Virgin (P) (Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts) 135
— (P) (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) 138
The Great Last Judgment (P) (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) 135
Christ and the Repentant Sinners (P) (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) 32

SAINTS

- St. Amandus and St. Catherine (S) (Dulwich, College Picture Gallery) 79, 96, 106
St. Andrew, left wing of *The Miraculous Draught of Fishes* (P) (Malines, Our-Lady-across-the-Dijle) 112
Two Studies for St. Andrew (D) (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Print Room) 112
St. Catherine of Alexandria, from the Jesuit Ceilings (P) (lost) 116

OTHER WORKS BY RUBENS

- St. Eligius and St. Walburga (S) (Dulwich, College Picture Gallery), 79, 96, 106
 The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier (P) (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) 23, 85, 112
 — (S) (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) 106
 — (E, by M. van der Goes) 55
 St. George Slaying the Dragon (P) (Madrid, Prado) 23, 24
 St. Gregory Surrounded by other Saints (P) (Grenoble, Musée des Beaux-Arts) 24, 76
 The Miracles of St. Ignatius of Loyola (P) (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) 23, 112, 135
 — (S) (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) 106
 — (E, by M. van der Goes) 55
 St. Ildefonso Receiving the Chasuble from the Virgin (P) (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) 23
 St. Ives (P) (Detroit, Detroit Institute of Arts) 59
 St. Jerome in the Wilderness (P) (Dresden, Gallery) 22, 23
 The Martyrdom of St. Laurence (P) (Schleissheim, Schloss) 23, 85, 102
 The Martyrdom of St. Livinus (P) (Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts) 24
 St. Mary Magdalen in Ecstasy (P) (Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts) 22, 144
 St. Michael Striking down the Rebellious Angels (P) (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) 23
 St. Roch Interceding for the Plague-Stricken (P) (Alost, St. Martin) 22, 112
 The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian (P) (Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen) 23, 60
 The Stoning of St. Stephen (P) (Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts) 24, 31, 60, 72
 The Appearance of the Holy Spirit to St. Teresa of Avila (P) (Rotterdam, Stichting W. van der Vorm Museum) 124
 St. Teresa of Avila Interceding for Bernardino de Mendoza (P) (Antwerp, Ko-

- ninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten) 92
 The Martyrdom of St. Thomas (P) (Prague, Národní Galerie) 99
 The Enthronement of a Holy Bishop (P) (whereabouts unknown) 24
 — (E, by P. Soutman) 24

MYTHOLOGY

- The Battle of Amazons (E, by L. Vorsterman) 142
 Callisto (D) (Farnham, Wolfgang Burchard) 161

ALLEGORY

- The Horrors of War (P) (Florence, Pitti Palace) 90
 Mercurius Abituriens (P) (lost) 154

HISTORY

- St. Ambrose Barring the Emperor Theodosius from Milan Cathedral (P) (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) 135
 The Baptism of Constantine (T) 101
 The Death of Seneca (P) (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) 75
 The Entry of Henri IV into Paris (S) (Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen) 88
 Romulus and Remus (P) (Silver Springs, Carey Collection) 119
 Tomyris and Cyrus (P) (Boston, Boston Museum of Fine Arts) 101, 112

PORTRAIT

- Portrait of a Man in Profile (P) (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Museum of Art) 70
 Alethea Talbot and Her Train (P) (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) 101

OTHER WORKS BY RUBENS

BOOK ILLUSTRATIONS

- All Saints (D) (Vienna, Albertina) 28
 — (E, *Breviarium Romanum* and *Missale Romanum*) 28, 135
 Design for the frontispiece of *De Contemplatione Divina* by Thomas a Jesu (D) (Present whereabouts unknown) 33
 Design for the frontispiece of *Crux Triumphans* by J. Bosius (D) (London, Victoria and Albert Museum) 33
 Design for the frontispiece of *De Justitia et Jure* by L. Lessius (D) (Present whereabouts unknown) 33

MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS

- Commander Dressed in Armour with two Pages (P) (London, Weitzner Gallery) 45
 Costume Book (D) (London, British Museum) 105
 Ecce Homo, after Titian (D) (London, V. Koch) 113

- Figure Study (D) (formerly Colstoun, Mrs. Baird) 156
 Landscape with St. George and the Dragon (P) (London, Buckingham Palace) 114
 Naked Youth (D) (Paris, Louvre) 28
 Palazzi di Genova (E) (engravings by N. Ryckmans) 35
 The Prodigal Son (P) (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten) 85
 Copies after the *Seneca Borghese* (D) (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Print Room) 158
 Studies of Monks and Cardinals and two Variants of a Female Figure (D) (Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet) 160
 Study for the Head of an Old Man with a Long White Beard (P) (New York, Metropolitan Museum) 69
 Turkish Prince on Horseback (D) (London, British Museum) 105
 — (E, by P. Soutman) 105
 Two Horsemen, after Titian (D) (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen) 113
 A Young Woman with Raised Left Arm (D) (Present whereabouts unknown) 138

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 these works.

- Abels, Hermann 157
 Abrahams, Walter J. 120
 Abresch, E. 157
 Adriani, Hendrik 20
 Aertsen, Pieter
 The Four Evangelists, Vienna, Kunst-
 historisches Museum 71
 Affligem, Benedictine Abbey, 110, 113, 115
 Aken, Arnold Godfried van 95
 Albert, Archduke of Austria 20, 105, 106,
 122
 Albertine, Princess of Sweden 128
 Alcala de Henarés, Jesuit College 97
 Alessandro Morente (antique sculpture) 60
 Alošt, St. Martin's Church 22, 112
 Amsterdam, Rembrandt House 62
 Anderson, Matthew 132, 133
 Antwerp
 Capuchin Church 56, 60, 63, 64, 66,
 67, 132, 138, 145, 146
 Cathedral 44, 62, 79, 82, 101, 124
 Dominican Church (St. Paul) 75-77,
 80, 134-136, 154
 Altar of the Holy Sacrament Chapel
 76, 77, 79, 80
 Altar of Our Lady of the Rosary 77
 Franciscan Church 88, 156, 158, 162
 Guild of the Romaništs 61, 62
 Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kun-
 sten 28, 30, 55, 68-70, 85, 88, 92,
 156
 St. Andrew's Church 88
 St. Augustine's Church 115
 St. George's Church 62
 Jesuit Church (St. Charles Borromeo)
 38, 100, 116, 117, 138
 St. Walburga's Church 79, 124
 Sodality of the Sweet Name of Jesus 75,
 77
 Stedelijk Prentenkabinet 160
 Aranjuez, Spanish Royal Collections 39-47
 Arezzo, Pieve Church 135
 Arneth, Michael 69
 Aschhausen, Gottfried von 35
 Baird, Mrs. 156
 Banbury, Upton House 94
 Barbier 82
 Barck, Count Nils 128
 Barlow, Sir Thomas 146
 Barocci, Federico
 Madonna del Popolo, Florence, Uffizi
 22, 135
 Beckerath, A. von 140
 Beckmans 61, 62
 Beernaerts, Filips 109
 Beets, N. 146
 Benckendorff, Count von 126
 Benedict, Curt 50
 Bentinck-Thyssen, Baroness Gabriele 130
 Berg, N. van den 131
 Berlin
 J. and S. Goldschmidt 126
 Hinrichsen Gallery 126
 Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum 82, 119
 Staatliche Museen 88
 Beuckelaer, Joachim
 The Four Evangelists, Dresden, Staat-
 liche Gemäldegalerie 71
 Beule, A. De 63, 64
 Beurdeley, A. 73
 Beurnonville, Baron de 109, 126
 Beymar, Juliaan 89
 Binder, Dr. M.J. 32
 Bisschop, J. de 78
 Blaisel, Marquis de 128
 Bode, W. 133
 Böhler, Julius 130
 Bois, J.B. du 155
 Boldrini, Niccolò
 Madonna and Six Saints (woodcut after
 Titian) 24
 Bolland, John van 19
 Bologna
 Carthusians 158
 Pinacoteca Nazionale 22, 75, 158
 San Giovanni in Monte 75

NAMES AND PLACES

- Bolswert 116, 117
 Bolswert, Schelte a 55-57, 59, 60, 100, 128
 Bonington, R.P. 102
 Boross, E. 42
 Bosius, J. 33
 Boston, Boston Museum of Fine Arts 101, 112
 Boymans, F.J.O. 89
 Breughel, Jan 108
 Briscoe, C. 102
 Bristol, Marquess of 132
 Broeck, Crispijn van den
 Apostles (engravings) 37
 Bruegel, Pieter
 Death of the Virgin, Banbury, Upton House 94
 Bruges
 Academy of Fine Arts 69
 English Convent 38
 Groeninge Museum 94
 St. Donatus's Church 68-70
 Brun, Le 90
 Brussels
 Church of the Discalced Carmelites 124
 Convent of the Carmelite Nuns 91
 Galerie A. de Heuvel 32, 144
 Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique 24, 109, 135
 Bryan 61
 Bryan, Thomas J. 116
 Buchanan, W. 102, 105
 Bucharest, Muzeul de Arte 71
 Buckingham, Georges Villiers, Duke of 113
 Buisseret, Vicomte de 15
 Burch, Bishop Franciscus van der 105, 106
 Burchard, Dr. Ludwig 143, 160
 Burchard, Wolfgang 161
 Burtin, François Xavier de 110
 Burton, F. 157
 Buuren, Arnold van 102
 Buytewech, Willem 144, 145
 Calmann, H.M. 119
 Calonne 110
 Cambrai
 Capuchin Convent 147
 Saint-Géry 147
 Campe 124
 Caravaggio
 The Angel Appearing to St. Matthew, Rome, San Luigi dei Francesi 23, 71, 72
 The Calling of St. Matthew, Rome, San Luigi dei Francesi 72
 Madonna of the Rosary, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 77
 Carey 119
 Cargher, P.O. 32
 Carignan, Prince de 128
 Carlberg 118
 Carleton, Dudley 34-36
 Carracci, Agostino
 The Last Communion of St. Jerome, Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale 23, 158
 Catherine II the Great, Empress 68, 138
 Cauwenberghs, Clément van 160
 Celano, Tommaso da 133, 152
 Cesena, Paolo da 147, 148
 Chambers Hall, Mr. 96
 Charlat, Quintin 29
 Charles, Jasper 158
 Charles, Petrus 159
 Chrysler, Walter P. 83
 Cigoli, Ludovico
 The Martyrdom of St. Stephen, Florence, Palazzo Pitti 22
 St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata, Florence, Palazzo Pitti 22, 140, 143
 Clarisse, Rogier 64
 Cleef, Jan van 109
 Clouwet, P. 56, 107
 Cocquereau, L.-J. 38
 Cologne, Capuchin Church 138, 140, 141
 A Conquered Province Supplicating (antique relief), Rome, Villa Medici 88
 Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, 158
 Correggio
 The Four Evangelists, Bucharest, Muzeul de Arte 71
 Cort, Cornelis
 The Triumph of the Holy Trinity (engraving after Titian) 28

NAMES AND PLACES

- Cosway, R. 96
 Coxie, Michiel
 St. Cecilia, formerly Antwerp, Rubens
 Collection 127
 St. Cecilia, Madrid, Prado 127, fig. 140
 Crayer, Gaspar de 50, 52-54, 92, 110, 154
 St. Benedict and Totila, present where-
 abouts unknown 115, fig. 126
 Crozat, P. 90
 Cumberland, Ernst August of 49
 Cunningham 64
 Dalen, C. the Younger 81
 Dalhousie, Earl 156
 Delacroix, Eugène 111, 139
 Despinoy, F. J. 110
 Detroit, Detroit Institute of Arts 59
 Devonshire, Duke of 161
 Dicop, R. 52
 Diepenbeeck, Abraham van 78, 120, 159
 Diepenbeeck, Anna Theresa van 78, 159
 Dierckx, Jan 90, 91
 Digby, Kenelm 142
 Dionysius the Areopagite 67
 Does, Antoon van der 91
 Domenichino
 The Last Communion of St. Jerome,
 Vatican, Museum 158
 Douai
 Carthusian Monastery 84, 85
 Musée des Beaux-Arts 84, 85
 Drebbel, C.
 Musica (engraving after H. Goltzius)
 127, fig. 141
 Dresden, Gallery 22, 23, 71, 126
 Dubaut, P. O. 162
 Duflot, Mr. 123
 Dulwich, College Picture Gallery 79, 96,
 106
 Dyck, Anthony van 27, 31, 49, 70, 71, 89,
 101, 117, 138, 141, 142, 155, 156
 Apostles 38
 St. John the Baptist and St. John the
 Evangelist, formerly Berlin, Kaiser-
 Friedrich-Museum 67
 Study for a Head (attributed to Van
 Dyck), Paris, Louvre 135
 The Triumph of Silenus, formerly Ber-
 lin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum 119
 Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland
 102, 105
 Eeckhoutte, Lieven vuytten 76
 Ellis, W. 132, 133
 Elsheimer, Adam
 The Adoration of the Cross, Frankfurt,
 Städelsches Kunstinstitut 28
 The Stoning of St. Stephen, Edinburgh,
 National Gallery of Scotland 105
 Ernest, Archduke of Austria 37
 Escorial 27, 87
 Eynhoudts, R. 65
 Fairfax Murray, C. 101
 Farnese, Alessandro 20
 Farr 153
 Febvre, A. 109
 Flinck, N. A. 161
 Florence
 Bargello 154
 Palazzo Pitti 22, 90, 140, 150
 Uffizi 22, 98, 135, 143
 Floris, Frans
 Apostles, lost 37
 The Four Evangelists, lost 71
 St. Michael Striking down the Rebellious
 Angels, Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum
 voor Schone Kunsten 23
 Forthuyn, Albert 109
 Foucart, J.-B. 123, 124
 Fourment, Hélène 128
 Fox, Mrs. William 118
 Fracheto, Gerard de 134
 Fragonard, Honoré 103
 Francken, Frans the Younger 105
 The Conversion of St. Bavo, Vienna,
 Kunsthistorisches Museum 107
 Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut 28
 Franklyn, L. 73
 Frederick II, King of Prussia 70, 120, 128
 Friedlander, J. 109
 Gaddi 98
 Galle, Cornelis 56, 82, 91
 St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stig-
 mata, engraving 141
 Galle, Jan 28-30
 Galle, Theodoor 54-60, 134
 Geest, Cornelis van der 76, 78, 79
 Genoa, Palazzo Careggi 102

NAMES AND PLACES

- Ghent
 Convent of the Discalced Carmelites 92
 Franciscan Church 144, 154
 Museum voor Schone Kunsten 109
 St. Bavo's Church, Chapel of St. Sebastian 109
- Giambologna
Mercury (statue), Florence, Bargello 154
- Goes, Hugo van der
The Death of the Virgin, Bruges, Groeninge Museum 94
- Goes, Marinus van der 55
- Goldis, Prof. L. 126
- Goltzius, Hendrik
Musica (engraving after) 127
- Goubau, Alexander 148
- Goubau, Antoon 77, 78
- Goudstikker 51, 52
- Grand, Jan le 76
- Grasse, Hôpital 45, 46
- Greco, El 37
- Gregorius, Albert 69
- Grenoble, Museum 24
- Grieten, Mr. 123
- Guerlain, J. 109
- Haacht, Parish Church 157
- Haas, G. 126
- Halle, Our Lady's Church 29, 30
- Halmale, Burgomaster Hendrik van 130
- Halmale, Canon Hendrik van 102, 106, 109, 110, 129, 130
- Hals, Pieter 109
- Hamme, Willem van 82
- Hankey of Beaulieu, Capt. W.A. 65
- Harris, Tomas 32, 33, 109
- Hartveld, Sam 41, 84, 85
- Harvey, Thomas 61, 62
- Havelsky 93
- Havemeyer, Mrs. H.O. 126
- Havre, Gustave van 64, 150
- Hawkins, C.T. 128
- Hendrickx, Gillis 29, 30
- Herp, W. van 127
- 's Hertogenbosch
 St. John's Church 92, 95
 St. Peter's Church 95
- Holwell-Carr, W. 102
- Hoogstraten, St. Catherine 82
- Horion, J.B. 80, 81
- Horn, Dr. C. ten 63, 64
- Horremans, Jacob 86
- Ignatius of Loyola 19, 29
- Irvine 102, 105
- Isabella Farnese, Queen of Spain 34, 35, 39-47
- Isabella Clara Eugenia, Infanta 20, 122
- Isselburg, Peter 40-48
- Jabach, E. 141
- Janssens, Abraham
Apostles, Antwerp, St. Charles Borromeo's Church 38
- Jegher, Christoffel
The Face of Christ (woodcut after anonymous painting) 30
- Johann-Wilhelm, Elector Palatine 66, 67
- Jordaens, J. 50-52, 73, 81-83, 107, 110
The Four Latin Doctors of the Church, Norfolk, Virginia, Walter P. Chrysler 83
The Four Latin Doctors of the Church, Stockholm, National Museum 83
- Joseph II, Emperor 61, 62
- Josi, C. 145
- Julienne, Chevalier de 129, 130
- Ketel, Cornelis
Apostles, lost 37
- Kinkelin, Professor 153
- Klein, J. 128
- Kleinberger, F. 109
- Knyff, Canon 62
- Koch, V. 113, 146
- Königsberg, Städtische Kunstsammlungen 82
- Komor, M. 119
- Kronthal, P. 43
- Laer, Van 109
- Lagoy 90
- La Live de July 90
- Lambrecht, Bishop Matthias 20
- Lamme, A.J. 27
- Laocoön* (antique sculpture) 88, 102
- Larisch, K. 63, 64
- Lasne, M. 145, 146, 149
- Lawrence, T. 90
- Leeuw, W. de 121
- Leganés, Marquess of 132, 133

NAMES AND PLACES

- Lenbach, F. von 128
 Leningrad, Hermitage 23
 Leopold II, King of Belgium 110, 111
 Leopold Wilhelm, Archduke 30
 Lerma, Duke of 34-36, 38-47
 Leroux, Henry 86
 Lers, Abraham 89
 Lessius, L. 33
 Leuchtenberg, Duke of 49-53
 Leval, G. de 78
 Liechtenstein, Prince of 119, 155
 Lier, St. Gummarus's Church 150-152
 Lille
 Capuchin Church 147, 149
 Musée des Beaux-Arts 22, 144, 148
 St. Catherine's Church 86, 121, 122
 Lipomanus, A. 104
 Lippi, Filippo
 St. Augustine at the Seashore (formerly Princess Eugénie of Oldenburg) 99
 Lobkowitz, Prince 130
 Lommelin, A. 127, 146
 London
 Agnew's 136
 Asscher, Koetser and Welker 33
 British Museum 105
 Buckingham Palace 114
 Carlton Galleries 32
 Leger Galleries 138
 Matthiesen Gallery 143
 Rosenbaum and Delbanco 160
 Terry Engell Galleries 138
 Victoria and Albert Museum 33, 86, 101, 105
 Wallace Collection 32
 Weitzner Gallery 45
 Louis XIV, King of France 141
 Louise, Queen of Sweden 128
 Louvain, Convent of the Discalced Carmelites 92
 Lugt, F. 162
 Lund, W.T.B. 81
 Lux, Antonia 49
 Mc. Gowan, J. 102
 Maderna, Stefano
 St. Cecilia (sculpture), Rome, Santa Cecilia in Trastevere 124
 Madrid
 Ancient Hospital of San Andrés de los Flamencos 87, 89
 Jesuit College of San Isidoro 97
 Prado 23, 24, 30, 45, 76, 105, 119, 127
 Maes, Bishop Carolus 105
 Malines
 Convent of the Discalced Carmelites 92
 Our-Lady-across-the-Dijle 112
 Mariette, P.J. 90
 Marmontel, A. 126
 Martinitz, Countess Helena, née Werscho-witz 99
 Massijs, Quentin
 Christ, Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten 30
 The Virgin, Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten 30
 Mathey, J. 148
 Meere, J. de 155
 Michelangelo
 Christ Holding the Cross (sculpture), Rome, Santa Maria sopra Minerva 39
 Sibylla Libyca (fresco), Vatican, Sistine Chapel 108
 Michielsen, Jan 55
 Milan, Brera 23
 Miraeus, Aubertus 20
 Modrzejewski, Viktor 31, 32
 Moij, Vrouw de 95
 Molanus, Johannes 20, 21, 104
 Moretus, Balthasar I 28, 32, 33, 54-60, 89
 Moretus, Balthasar II 54-60
 Mount Temple, Lord 157
 Mountbatten of Burma, Countess 157
 Müller, Egon 54
 Munich
 Alte Pinakothek 32, 66, 75, 85, 101, 102, 135
 Hofgartengalerie 66
 Staatliche Graphische Sammlungen 24
 Nagel 110
 Nagel, Baron Hermann von 53
 Nancy, Musée des Beaux-Arts 46
 Neuburg, Castle 102
 New York
 Metropolitan Museum of Art 69, 100
 Mont and Newhouse 33

NAMES AND PLACES

- A. Seligman, Rey and C^o 33
 Neyt, Herman de 81-83
 Nicolaus a Santo Augustino 99
 Niels, Albert 128
 Nieuwenhuys, M.J.L. 116
 Nole, Robrecht de 108, 109
 Northwick Park 102
 Notre-Dame des Gùitres, Benedictine
 Abbey 113
 Nüsslein, Heinrich 49
 Nys, Johannes 134
 Oldenburg, Museum 153
 Oldenburg, Grand-Duke Nikolaus Friedrich Peter von 153
 Oldenburg, Princess Eugénie of 99
 Ophem, Jacob van 128, 129
 Ophovius, M. 95
 Pallavicini, Giovanni Battista 35, 39
 Pallavicini, Lazzaro 39
 Pallavicini, Stefano 39
 Palmerston, Viscount 157
 Panneels, W. 127
 Parijs, van 140
 Paris
 Galerie Katia Granoff 139
 Louvre, 28, 102, 109, 113, 119, 134, 135, 140, 142
 Musée Central des Arts 78
 St. Eustache 72
 Sedelmeyer Galleries 118
 Trotti and C^o 109
 Patyn, Marie 122
 Payne Knight, Richard 156
 Peiresc, Nicolas Claude 113
 Pereire 111
 Perregaux, Count 116
 Phalesius, Hubertus 114
 Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Museum of Art 70
 Philip III, King of Spain 34
 Philip V, King of Spain 34, 115
 Philippon, Franz 65
 Philippon, Jules 65
 Picot, V.M. 72, 73
 Pilaer 61, 62
 Piloty, F. 66
 Pilsen, F. 107, 144
 Plat, Pieter le 109
 Ploos van Amstel, C. 145
 Pommersfelden, Schönborn Collection 153
 Pontius, Paul 28
 Possemiers, A. 154
 Potsdam, Sanssouci 128
 Pourbus, Frans the Younger
St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata, Paris, Louvre 140
 Poussin, Nicolas
The Martyrdom of St. Erasmus, Vatican, Museum 85, 86
 Prague, St. Thomas's Church (former Church of the Augustinians) 98, 99
 Prenner, J. 39
 Quellinus, Erasmus
The Face of Christ, after anonymous painting 30
 Raphael
The Disputa (fresco), Vatican, Stanza della Segnatura 22, 75
The Entombment, Rome, Borghese Gallery 22, 85
The Expulsion of Heliodorus from the Temple (fresco), Vatican, Stanza d'Eliodoro 104, 105
The Face of Christ (attributed to Raphael) 30
The Healing of the Lame Man (cartoon), London, Victoria and Albert Museum 101, 105
The School of Athens (fresco), Vatican, Stanza della Segnatura 22, 63
St. Cecilia, Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale 22, 75
St. Paul and St. Barnabas at Lystra (cartoon), London, Victoria and Albert Museum 86
 Raudon de Boisset 90
 Regaus, Beda 113, 114
 Renne, van 150
 Reynolds, Sir Joshua 64, 110, 148
 Ribadeneira, P. 19
 Rijckmans, Nicolaas 39-48
 Robinson, Sir J.C. 118
 Robinson, C. 133
 Roche, Henry S. 38
 Rochlitz, Gustav 33
 Rockox, N. 68

NAMES AND PLACES

- Rohoncz, Schloss 130
- Rome
 Borghese Gallery 22, 85
 St. Peter's Church 85
 San Girolamo della Carità 158
 San Luigi dei Francesi 23, 71, 72
 Santa Cecilia in Trastevere 124
 Santa Maria sopra Minerva 39
 Villa Medici 88
- Roore, Jacques de 79, 124
- Rospigliosi 35
- Rosseaux, François Ignace 67, 68
- Rosweyde, Heribert 19
- Rothmann, H. 126
- Rotterdam
 Museum Boymans-van Beuningen 113
 Stichting W. van der Vorm Museum 124
- Rousseau de l'Aunois, M. 155
- Rowland, Henri 31
- Rucholle, E. 28
- Rusch, P. 126
- Sachsen-Teschen, Duke Albert of 123
St. Francis of Assisi with an Angel Playing the Violin (Lier, St. Gummarus) 151
St. Francis of Assisi and the Lamb (Lier, St. Gummarus) 152
- Saint-Genys, Count E. de 137
- St. Petersburg, Imperial Collections 138
- San Francisco, M.H. de Young Memorial Museum 44
- San Ildefonso, Royal Palace 33, 39-48
- Sankt Florian, Chorherrenstift 68, 69
- Saxony, Electors of 126
- Schamp d'Aveschoot 38, 110
- Schleissheim, Schloss 23
- Schönborn, Count of 92
- Schönborn, Prince-Bishop Lothar of 92
- Schönborn Collection 153
- Schongauer, Martin
The Death of the Virgin (engraving) 94
- Schrieck, D. van den 123, 124
- Schut, Cornelis 136, 140
- Sedelmeyer, Charles 65
- Sels, A. 155
- Seneca Borghese* (antique sculpture) 75, 158
- Seur, Jean de 122
- Sickinghen, Count Wilhelm von 49
- Simons, M. 83
- Snyers, H. 73, 157
- Snyers, J.A. 123-125
- Souchon, F. 111
- Soutman, Pieter 116
The Four Evangelists, Stockholm, National Museum 72, 73
- Speelman, Mrs. Sophie 157
- Spencer 117
- Spitzweg, Carl 153
- Spruyt, P. 107, 144, 154
- Stainhauser, Ernst 49
- Steenberghen, Petrus 159
- Stengracht 69
- Stenbock, Count 128
- Stockholm, National Museum 72, 83
- Surius, L. 19, 104
- Swertius, Canon 95
- Tabourier 126
- Taeterbeeck 94
- Tallard, Duc de 128
- Teresa of Avila 92
- Tessin, Count C.G. 128, 149
- Thelott, K.G. 87
- Thomas a Jesu 33
- Thulden, Theodoor van 51, 120
- Thyssen-Bornemisza, Baron Heinrich 130
- Timken, Mrs W.R. 42
- Tintoretto
The Presentation of the Virgin, Venice, Santa Maria dell'Orto 108
- Titian
Christ, Madrid, Prado 30
Ecce Homo, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 23, 112, 113
Madonna and Child with St. Dorothy and St. George, Madrid, Prado 119
Madonna and Child with St. Stephen, St. Jerome and St. Maurice, Paris, Louvre 119
Madonna and Six Saints, Vatican, Museum 24
The Martyrdom of St. Laurence (drawing), whereabouts unknown 23
The Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr, formerly Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, 24

NAMES AND PLACES

- St. Jerome in the Wilderness*, Milan, Brera 23
Study for a Man on Horseback (drawing), Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlungen 24
Triumph of the Holy Trinity (Gloria), Escorial 23, 27
The Holy Virgin, Madrid, Prado 30
Torso di Fauno (antique sculpture), Florence, Uffizi 98
Tours, Musée des Beaux-Arts 148
Triest, Bishop Antoon 108
Tronchin, F. 82
Troost, A. 155
Urban IV, Pope 74
Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts 24, 31, 60, 72
Vassal de St. Hubert 90
Vatican
Museum 22, 24, 75, 85, 158
Sistine Chapel 108
Stanza d'Eliodoro 104, 105
Stanza della Segnatura 22, 63
Veen, Otto van
The Martyrdom of St. Andrew, Antwerp, St. Andrew's Church 23, 88
Venice
Palazzo Ducale 104
Palazzo Manfrin 110
San Sebastiano 108
Santa Maria dell'Orto 108
SS. Giovanni e Paolo 24
Verbruggen, Pieter the Elder
Altar of the Holy Sacrament, Antwerp, St. Paul's Church 77
High Altar, Antwerp, St. Paul 136
Verbruggen, Pieter the Younger
View of the Choir of the Antwerp St. Paul's Church (engraving) 136
Verdussen 63
Verhaghen, P.J. 157
Verona, San Giorgio 88
Veronese 23
The Martyrdom of St. George, Verona, San Giorgio 88
The Martyrdom of St. Marcus and St. Marcellinus, Venice, San Sebastiano 108
Vicentino, Andrea
Alexius Comnenus Appealing to Venice for Help in the Defence of Zara, Venice, Palazzo Ducale 104
Vienna
Albertina 28
Galerie Sankt Lucas 68
Harrach Collection 148
Imperial Collection 38
Kunsthistorisches Museum 23, 55, 71, 77, 85, 106, 107, 112, 135, 138
E. and A. Silberman 48-52
Visscher, C. 146
Vitelleschi, Muzio 29
Voet, A. 90
Voorenemberck, Louis van 109
Voragine, Jacopo de 19, 24, 87
Vorsterman, Lucas 116, 117, 141, 142
Portrait of Buckingham (drawing), London, British Museum 142
Portrait of Spinola (drawing), London, British Museum 142
Vos, Marten de
Apostles (engravings after) 37
Vucht, Jan van 89
Waldner, Berthold 33
Wanamaker, Rodman 118, 119
Warwick Castle 72, 73
Warwick, Earl of 101
Washington, National Gallery 60
Watteau, Antoine 128
Weles, M. 116
Wellesley 146
West, J. 102
Wierix, Antoon
Apostles (engravings after Marten de Vos) 37
The Blessed Anna de Jésus (engraving) 23, 92
Wierix, Hieronymus
Apostles (engravings after Crispijn van den Broeck) 37
Apostles (engravings after Marten de Vos) 37
St. Charles Borromeo (engraving) 23, 131, fig. 147
Wigmore, J.E. 127
Wildens, Jan 140

NAMES AND PLACES

- Wildens, Jeremias 80, 81, 83, 84
Willebroeck, Baron de 155
Willems, Jan 150
William I, King of the United Netherlands 125
William III, King of Prussia 128
Wilstach 115
Witdoeck, J. 128
Witt, Jacques de 108
Wouters 150
Wouters, E. 152
Woverius, Johannes 29
Würzburg, Carmelite Convent 91
Yussupoff, Prince 65

PLATES





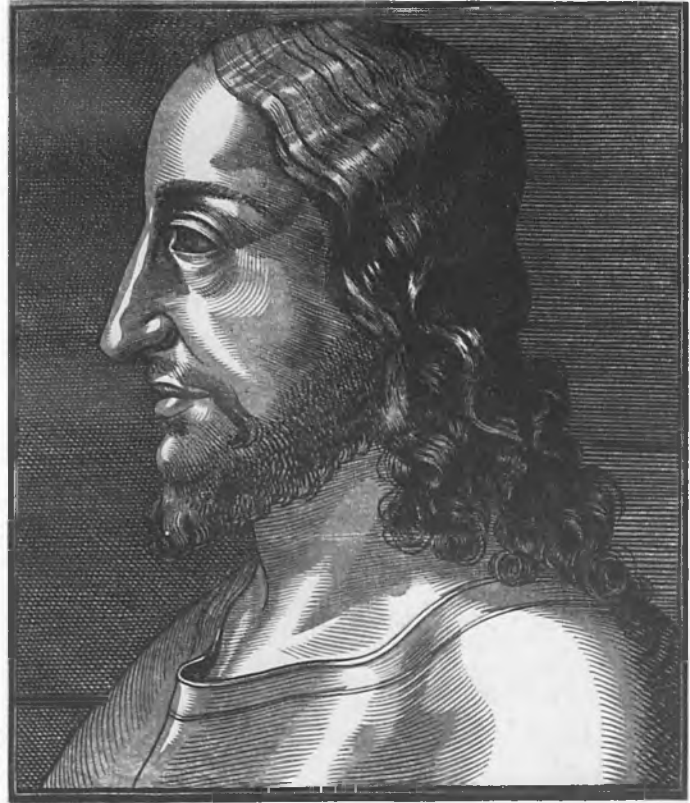
1. Rubens, *All Saints*, oil sketch (No. 1). Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen



IESU DULCISISIME. AMANTISSIME. BENIGNISSIME. CHARISSIME. PRETIOSISSIME.
DESIDERATISSIME. AMABILISSIME. PVLCHERRIME.
QUANDO VENIAM. ET APPAREBO ANTE FACIEM TVAM. D. Augustinus in Mediationibus.

REVERENDISSIME IN CHRISTO PATER MVNI VITELLESQ. GENERALIS. ET VVS SOCIETATIS IESV OMNIS. VERE VIRI DEI.
DEIFICATIONE. PATER ROME. INDIVISIONIS CONTEMPLATIONE. VBIQ. VBI. UNIVERSI POPULO. CHRISTIANO. DOMINI. FAC. AMARO. QVOD. IN. MEMBRIS. IN. QVOD. IN. QVOD. IN.
DEIFICATIONE. PATER ROME. INDIVISIONIS CONTEMPLATIONE. VBIQ. VBI. UNIVERSI POPULO. CHRISTIANO. DOMINI. FAC. AMARO. QVOD. IN. MEMBRIS. IN. QVOD. IN. QVOD. IN.
DEIFICATIONE. PATER ROME. INDIVISIONIS CONTEMPLATIONE. VBIQ. VBI. UNIVERSI POPULO. CHRISTIANO. DOMINI. FAC. AMARO. QVOD. IN. MEMBRIS. IN. QVOD. IN. QVOD. IN.

2. P. Pontius, *The Face of Christ*, engraving (No. 2)



IESU DULCISISIME, BENIGNISSIME, AMANTISSIME, CHARISSIME, POTENTISSIME,
DESIDERATISSIME, PRETIOSISSIME, AMABILISSIME, PVLCHERRIME,
QUANDO VENIAM, ET APPAREBO ANTE FACIEM TVAM! D. Augustinus in Meditationibus.

REVERENDISSIME IN CHRISTO PATER MVNI VITELLESQ. GENERALIS. ET VVS SOCIETATIS IESV OMNIS. VERE VIRI DEI.
DEIFICATIONE. PATER ROME. INDIVISIONIS CONTEMPLATIONE. VBIQ. VBI. UNIVERSI POPULO. CHRISTIANO. DOMINI. FAC. AMARO. QVOD. IN. MEMBRIS. IN. QVOD. IN. QVOD. IN.
DEIFICATIONE. PATER ROME. INDIVISIONIS CONTEMPLATIONE. VBIQ. VBI. UNIVERSI POPULO. CHRISTIANO. DOMINI. FAC. AMARO. QVOD. IN. MEMBRIS. IN. QVOD. IN. QVOD. IN.
DEIFICATIONE. PATER ROME. INDIVISIONIS CONTEMPLATIONE. VBIQ. VBI. UNIVERSI POPULO. CHRISTIANO. DOMINI. FAC. AMARO. QVOD. IN. MEMBRIS. IN. QVOD. IN. QVOD. IN.

3. C. Jegher after E. Quellinus, *The Face of Christ*, woodcut



SPECIOSVS FORMA
PRAE FILIIS HOMINVM. Psal. 44.
Reuerendo admodum in Christo Patri P. IOANNI SCHEGA e Societate IESV
Serenissimi ARCHIDUCIS LEOPOLDI Confessario effigiem hanc D. C. Q. Michael Mayer

4. E. Rucholle, *The Face of Christ*, engraving (No. 2)



MATER
PVLCHRAE DILECTIONIS. Eccli. 24.
Reuerendo admodum in Christo Patri P. IOANNI SCHEGA e Societate IESV
Serenissimi ARCHIDUCIS LEOPOLDI Confessario effigiem hanc D. C. Q. Michael Mayer

5. E. Rucholle, *The Holy Virgin as Mater Dolorosa*, engraving



IESV CHRISTI

DEI HOMINIS Spiritum Sanctum Regis adhaerentem contemplationem universae populi Christianae domus huius mundi offert
tam in mundo et deinde in terra commendat habet S. YERONIMUS LAVOLA Talem in qui deus est et ipse Deus
insistentem pro devotissimis partibus penitentissimum Romae in Mense diebus Quatuordecim et die 1678 et subditur
maximae quae deus est. simul cum sancta suo patri Joanne deus mundi deus et penitentissimum I. ANTONIO WOLFF
Inventoribus Rebus et Rebus et sanctis a cordis qui sunt Halle et qui S. Spiritus Urbes habent ad ad hunc hunc
aliquid de quo deus quatuordecim diebus Terminus Paulus Rubens et qui non est deus Iudaeus Gallus Antonius
DIEBUS IMAGINE POPULI DEI UT SANCTI CONCRETUM CORDE UT TRADUCAT CAPIUNT IMAGINEM ET GRATIAM

Incul. 1678 Roma

6. *The Face of Christ,*

engraving (ed. by J. Galle; No. 2)



SANCTA MARIA

Suorum regere pro afflictione esse fides in pro populo interius pro Christo interius pro deo interius pro Sanctis
omni tam summi quibus ubi tam communiter. Nonne parata esse precationis et captus non omnia capta
efficit in de fides ubi inter pro populo Dei qui mundi hunc la profecto propter mundi. Adhuc nobis proxi inter
facere exultationis et reportis ubi ubi inter hunc. Ne pro in reportis. Quia pro in interius de interius quia
fidei inter pietatis usque quia interius deus quia regere et capta quia interius. Atque exult et quibus interius huius
capere interius aliorum et cum interius ubi ubi non huius mundi exult. In. Inter
Ecce adhuc interius me interius omnia generationis quia interius huius mundi quia interius huius

Incul. 1678 Roma

7. *The Holy Virgin as Mater Dolorosa,*

engraving (ed. by J. Galle)



8. *The Face of Christ*, engraving (ed. by G. Hendrickx; No. 2)



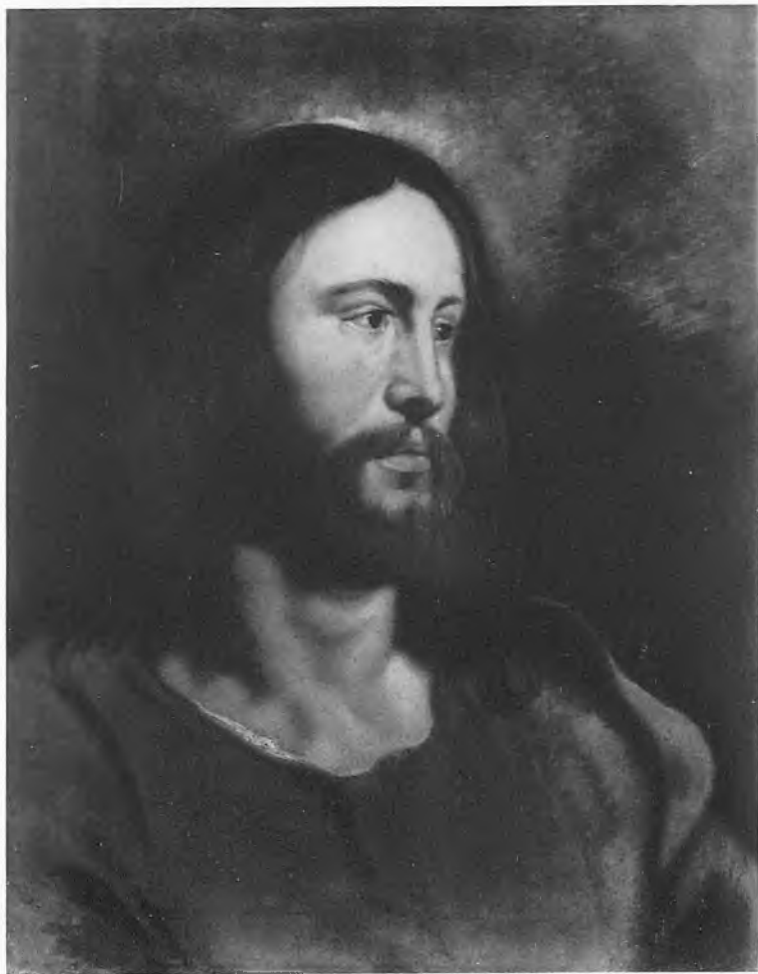
9. *The Holy Virgin as Mater Dolorosa*, engraving (ed. by G. Hendrickx)



10. After Rubens, *The Bust of Christ* (No. 3).
Present whereabouts unknown



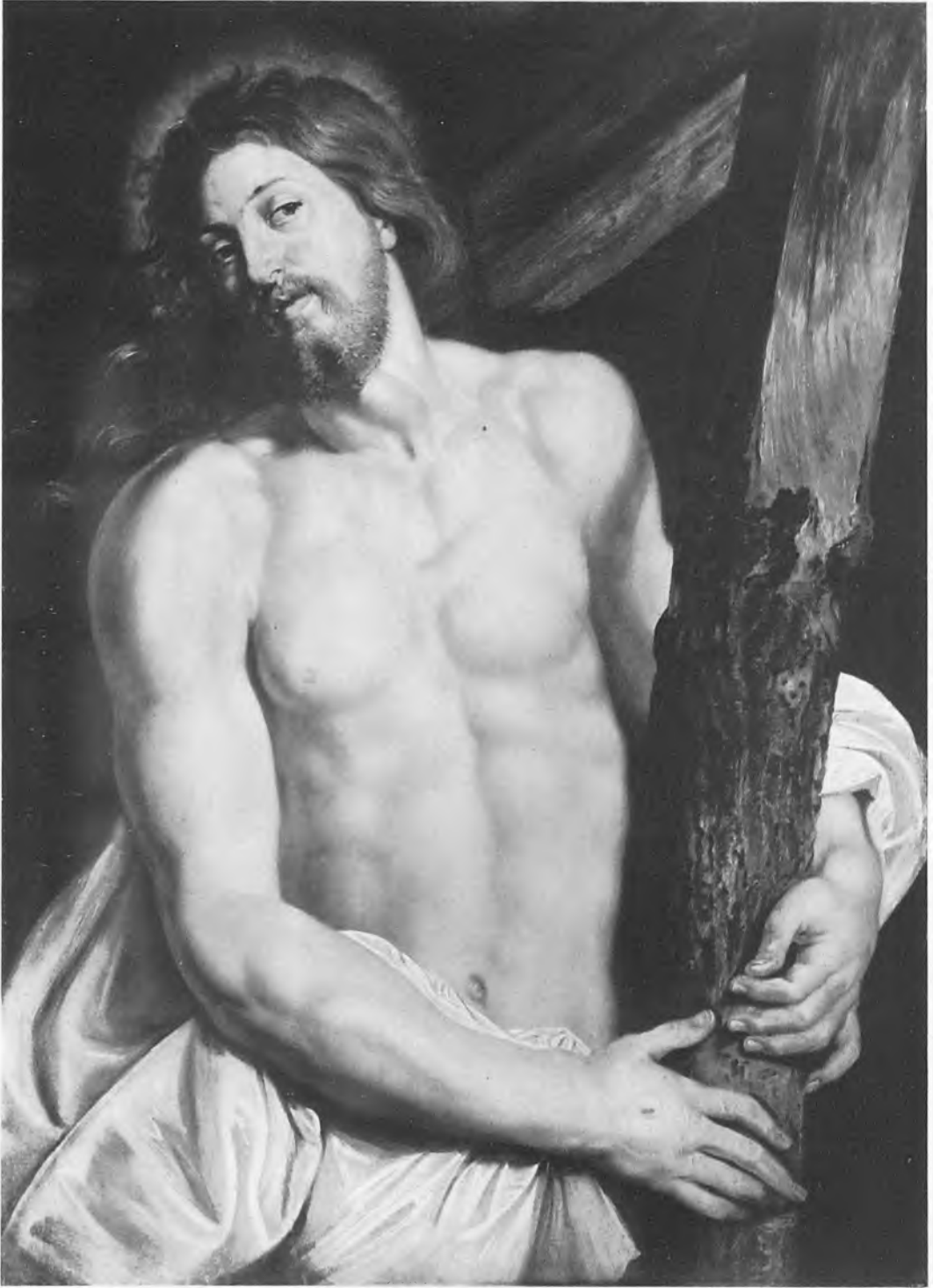
11. After Rubens, *The Bust of Christ* (No. 3).
Present whereabouts unknown



12. After Rubens, *Christ* (No. 4). Present whereabouts unknown



13. After Rubens, *The Holy Virgin* (No. 5).
Present whereabouts unknown



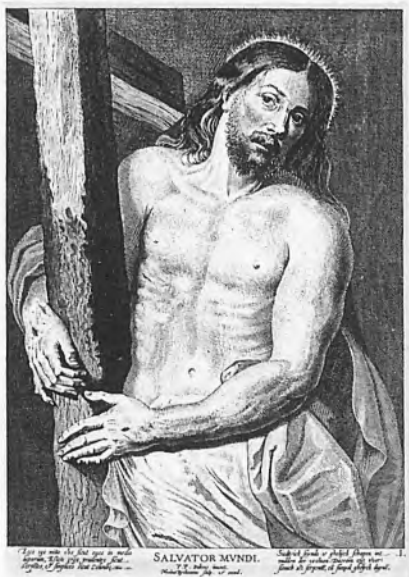
14. After Rubens, *Christ as Salvator Mundi* (No. 6). Ottawa, National Gallery



15. After Rubens, *Christ as Salvator Mundi* (No. 6).
Rome, Galleria Pallavicini



16. P. Isselburg, *Christ as Salvator Mundi*, engraving (No. 6)



17. N. Ryckmans, *Christ as Salvator Mundi*, engraving (No. 6)



18. Rubens, *St. Peter* (No. 7). Madrid, Prado



19. After Rubens, *St. Peter* (No. 7).
Rome, Galleria Pallavicini



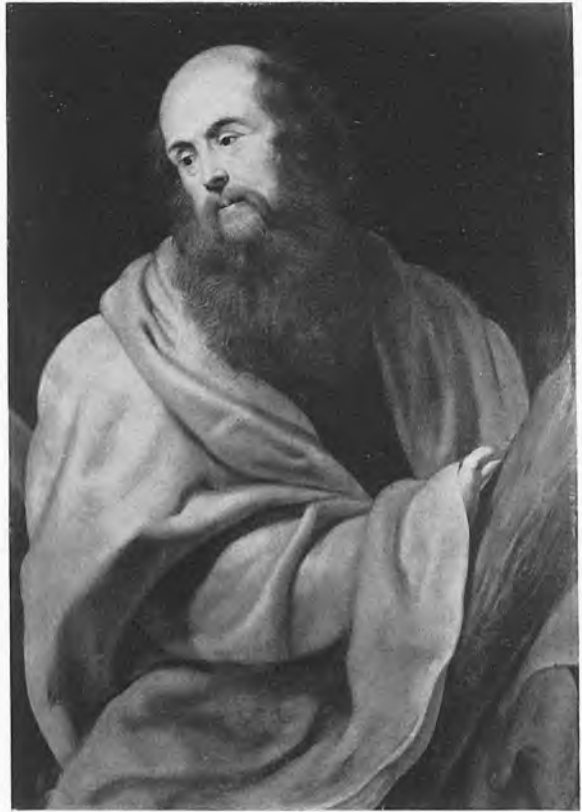
20. P. Isselburg, *St. Peter*,
engraving (No. 7)



21. N. Ryckmans, *St. Peter*,
engraving (No. 7)



22. Rubens, *St. Andrew* (No. 8). Madrid, Prado



23. After Rubens, *St. Andrew* (No. 8).
Rome, Galleria Pallavicini



24. P. Isselburg, *St. Andrew*,
engraving (No. 8)



25. N. Ryckmans, *St. Andrew*,
engraving (No. 8)



26. Rubens, *St. James the Greater* (No. 9). Madrid, Prado



27. After Rubens, *St. James the Greater* (No. 9).
Rome, Galleria Pallavicini



28. P. Isselburg, *St. James the Greater*,
engraving (No. 9)



29. N. Ryckmans, *St. James the Greater*, engraving (No. 9)



30. Rubens, *St. John the Evangelist* (No. 10). Madrid, Prado



31. After Rubens, *St. John the Evangelist* (No. 10).
Rome, Galleria Pallavicini



32. P. Isselburg, *St. John the Evangelist*, engraving (No. 10)



33. N. Ryckmans, *St. John the Evangelist*, engraving (No. 10)



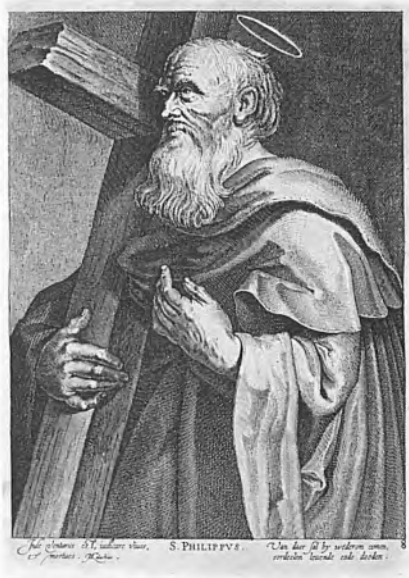
34. Rubens, *St. Philip* (No. 11). Madrid, Prado



35. After Rubens, *St. Philip* (No. 11).
Rome, Galleria Pallavicini



36. P. Isselburg, *St. Philip*,
engraving (No. 11)



37. N. Ryckmans, *St. Philip*,
engraving (No. 11)



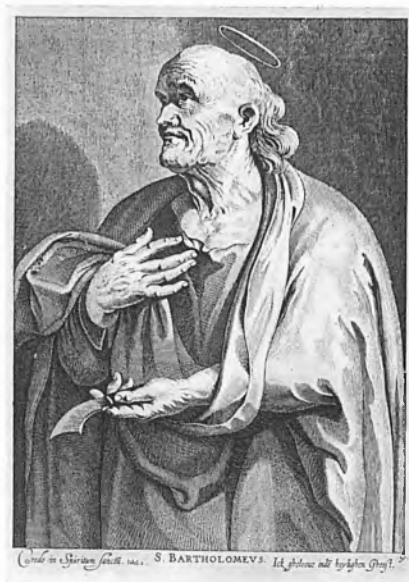
38. Rubens, *St. Bartholomew* (No. 12). Madrid, Prado



39. After Rubens, *St. Bartholomew* (No. 12).
Rome, Galleria Pallavicini



40. P. Isselburg, *St. Bartholomew*,
engraving (No. 12)



41. N. Ryckmans, *St. Bartholomew*,
engraving (No. 12)



42. *Rubens, St. Thomas* (No. 13). Madrid, Prado



43. After Rubens, *St. Simon* (No. 13).
Rome, Galleria Pallavicini



44. P. Isselburg, *St. Thomas*,
engraving (No. 13)



45. N. Ryckmans, *St. Simon*,
engraving (No. 13)



46. Rubens, *St. Matthew* (No. 14). Madrid, Prado



47. After Rubens, *St. Thomas* (No. 14).
Rome, Galleria Pallavicini



48. P. Isselburg, *St. Matthew*,
engraving (No. 14)



49. N. Ryckmans, *St. Thomas*,
engraving (No. 14)



50. Rubens, *St. James the Less* (No. 15). Madrid, Prado



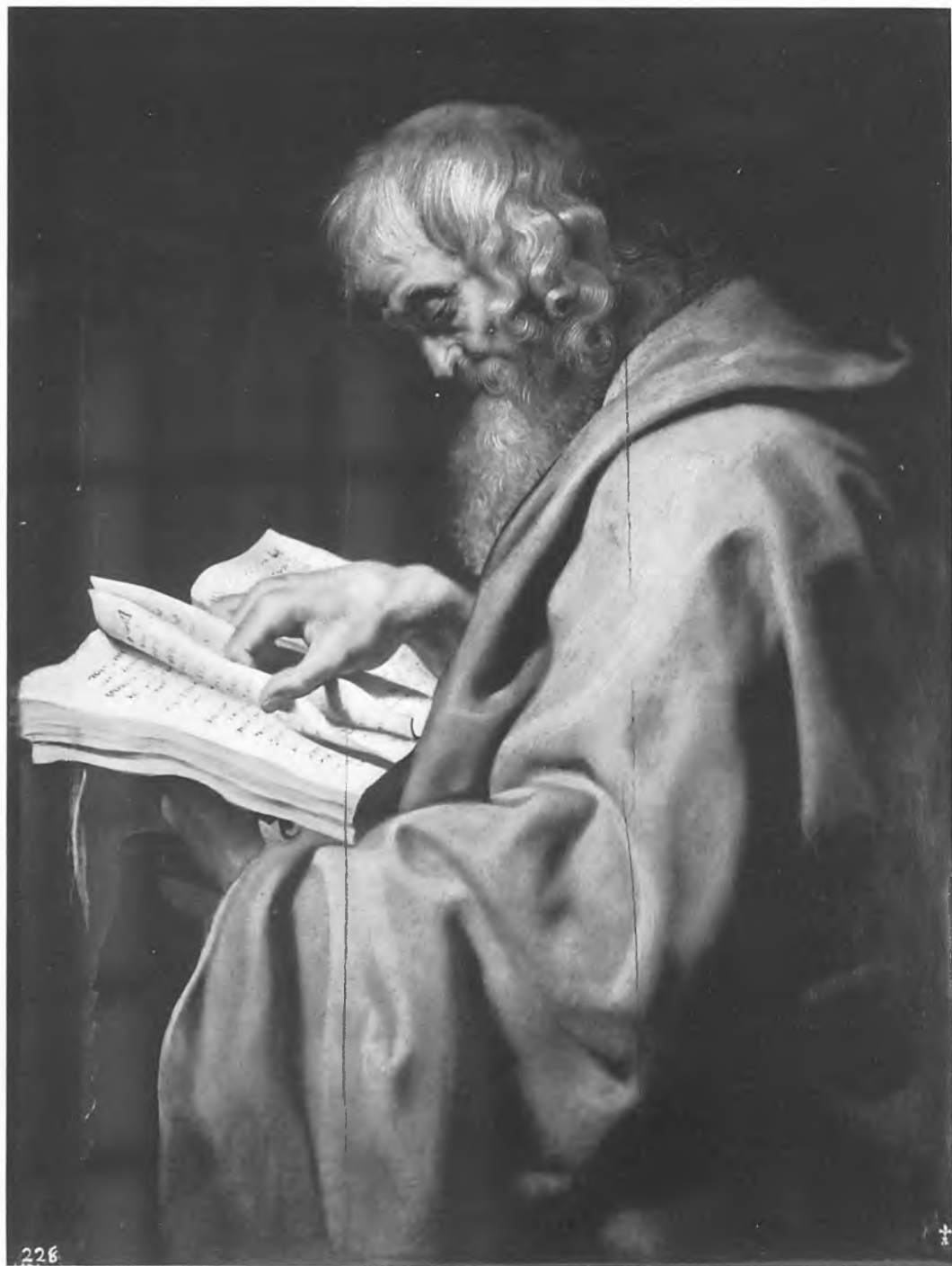
51. After Rubens, *St. Matthew* (No. 15).
Rome, Galleria Pallavicini



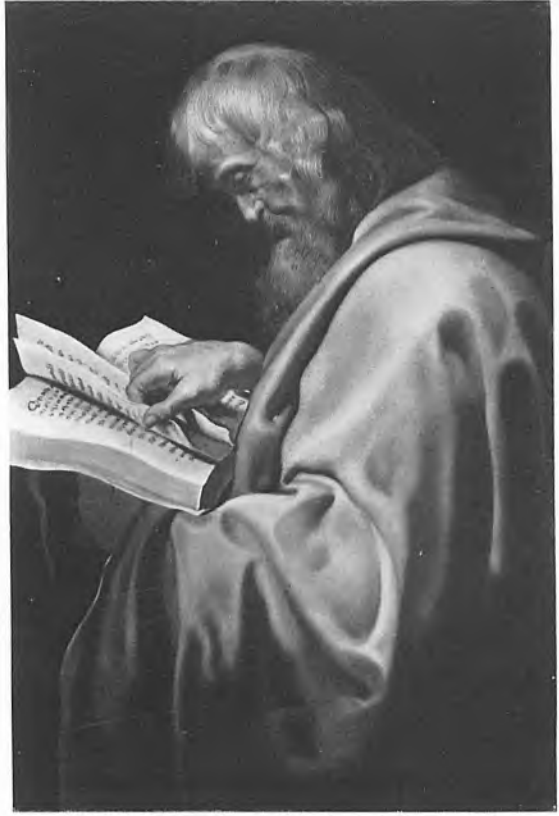
52. P. Isselburg, *St. James the Less*,
engraving (No. 15)



53. N. Ryckmans, *St. Matthew*,
engraving (No. 15)



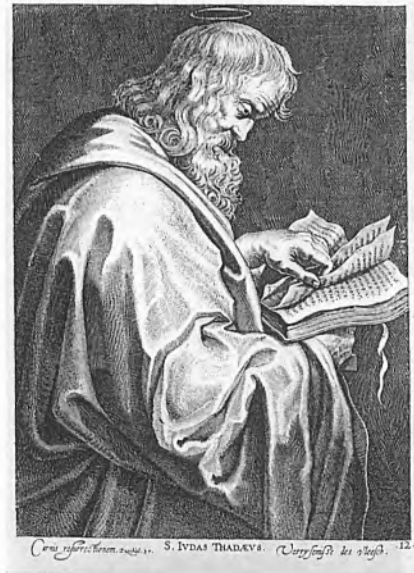
54. Rubens, *St. Simon* (No. 16). Madrid, Prado



55. After Rubens, *St. Jude* (No. 16).
Rome, Galleria Pallavicini



56. P. Isselburg, *St. Simon*,
engraving (No. 16)



57. N. Ryckmans, *St. Jude*,
engraving (No. 16)



58. Rubens, *St. Matthias* (No. 17). Madrid, Prado



59. After Rubens, *St. Matthias* (No. 17).
Rome, Galleria Pallavicini



60. P. Isselburg, *St. Matthias*,
engraving (No. 17)



61. N. Ryckmans, *St. Matthias*,
engraving (No. 17)



62. Rubens, *St. Paul* (No. 18). Madrid, Prado



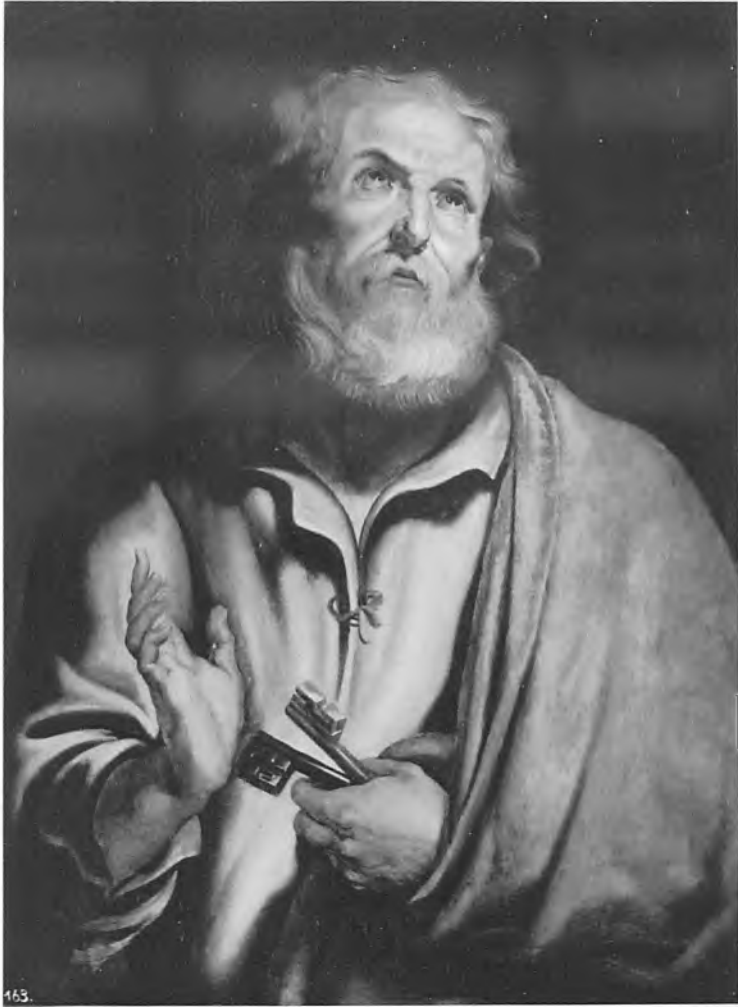
63. After Rubens, *St. Paul* (No. 18).
Rome, Galleria Pallavicini



64. P. Isselburg, *St. Paul*,
engraving (No. 18)



65. N. Ryckmans, *St. Paul*,
engraving (No. 18)



66. ? Rubens, *St. Peter* (No. 20). Present whereabouts unknown



67. ? Rubens, *St. Andrew* (No. 21). Present whereabouts unknown



68. ? Rubens, *St. James the Greater* (No. 22).
Present whereabouts unknown



69. ? Rubens, *St. Philip* (No. 24).
Present whereabouts unknown



70. ? Rubens, *St. Bartholomew* (No. 25).
Present whereabouts unknown



71. ? Rubens, *St. Matthew* (No. 26).
Present whereabouts unknown



72. ? Rubens, *St. James the Less* (No. 27).

Present whereabouts unknown



73. Title-page of *Apostolorum Icones*, engraving (ed. by C. Galle)



74. S. a Bolswert, *Christ as Salvator Mundi*, engraving (No. 32)



75. *The Holy Virgin as Regina Caeli*,
engraving (ed. by C. Galle; No. 33)



76. S. a Bolswert, *St. Peter*,
engraving (No. 34)



77. P. Clouwet, *St. Andrew*,
engraving (No. 35)



78. *St. James the Greater*,
engraving (ed. by C. Galle; No. 36)



79. S. a Bolswert, *St. John the Evangelist*,
engraving (No. 37)



80. *St. Philip*,
engraving (ed. by C. Galle; No. 38)



81. *St. Bartholomew*,
engraving (ed. by C. Galle; No. 39)



82. *St. Thomas*,
engraving (ed. by C. Galle; No. 40)



83. *St. Matthew*,
engraving (ed. by C. Galle; No. 41)



84. S. a Bolswert, *St. James the Less*,
engraving (No. 42)



85. *St. Simon*,
engraving (ed. by C. Galle; No. 43)



86. *St. Jude*,
engraving (ed. by C. Galle; No. 44)



87. *St. Matthias*,
engraving (ed. by C. Galle; No. 45)



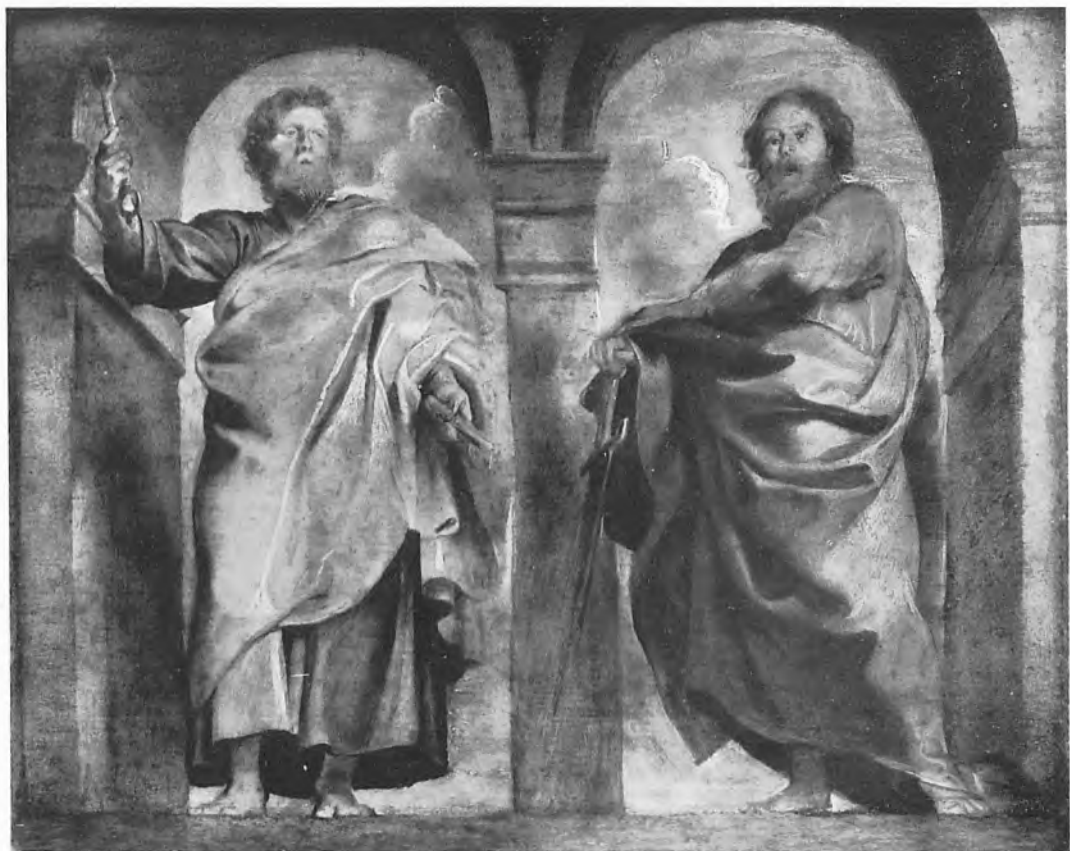
88. S. a Bolswert, *St. Paul*,
engraving (No. 46)



89. Rubens, *St. Peter* (No. 49).
Present whereabouts unknown



90. Rubens, *St. Paul* (No. 50).
Present whereabouts unknown



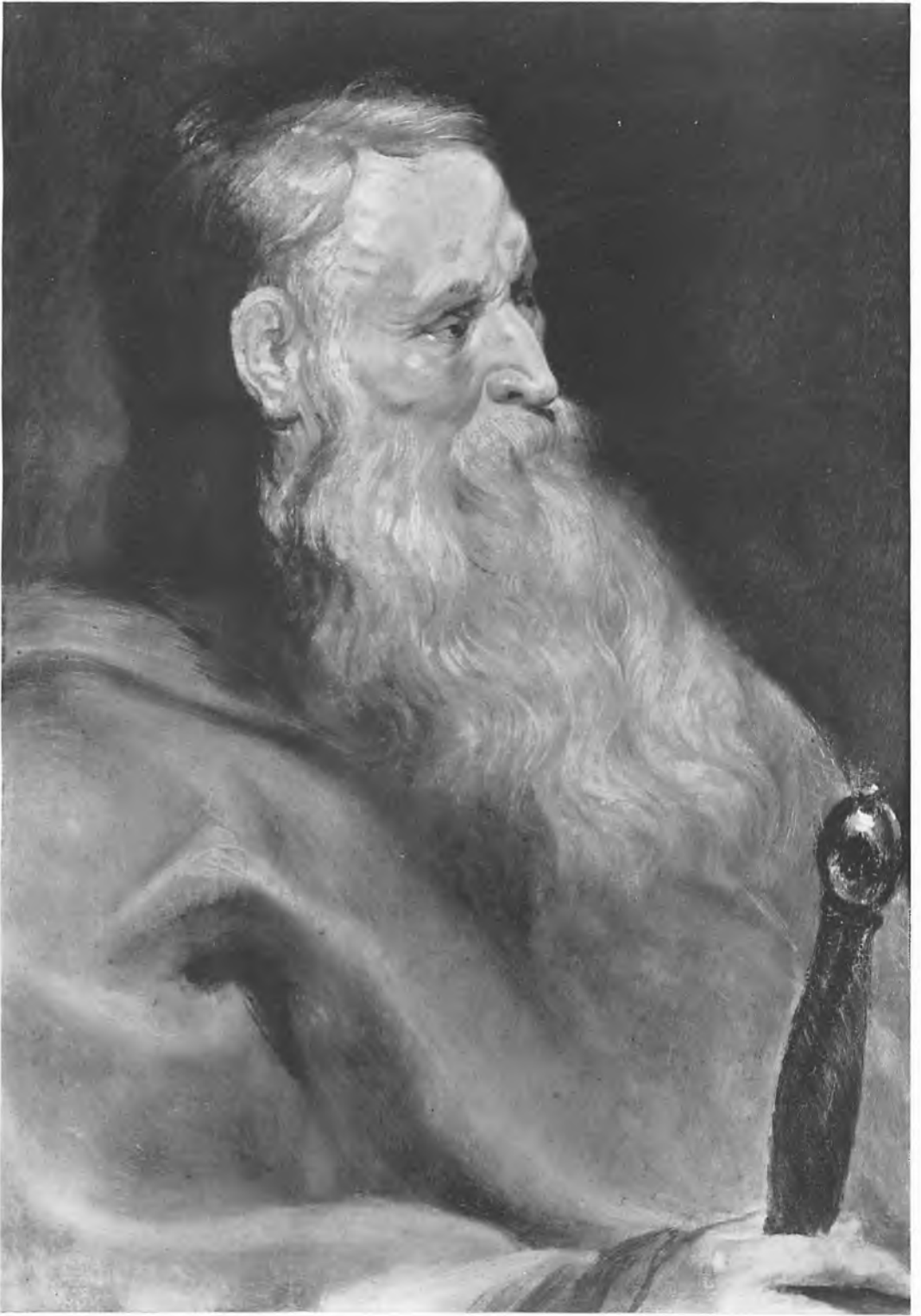
91. Rubens, *St. Peter and St. Paul*, oil sketch (Nos. 49–50a). Brussels, private collection



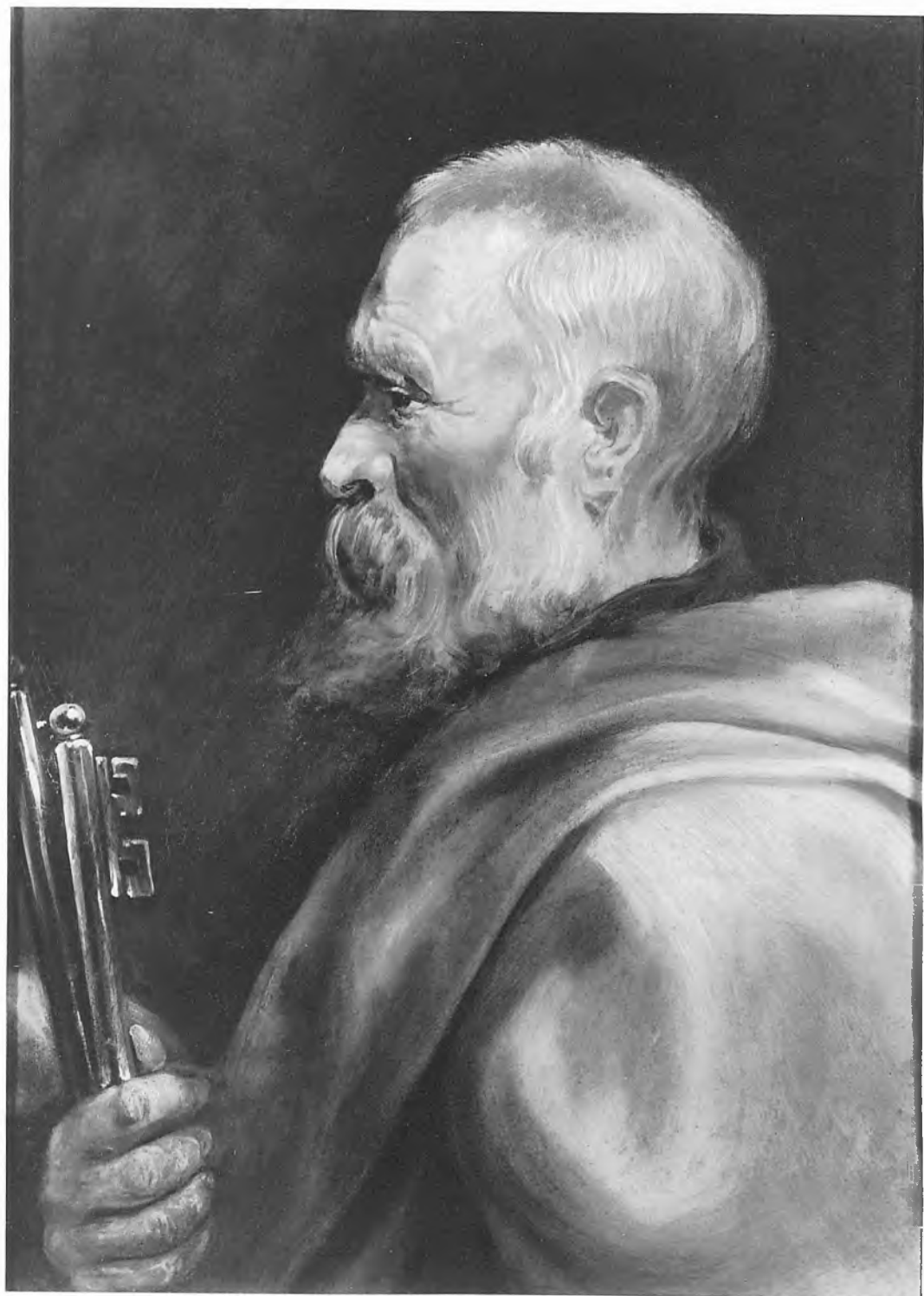
92. Rubens, *St. Peter and St. Paul* (No. 51). Schleissheim, Schloss



93. After Rubens, *St. Peter and St. Paul*, drawing (No. 51). Vienna, Albertina



94. Rubens, *St. Paul* (No. 52). New York, Coll. Dr. and Mrs. R.J. Heinemann



95. Rubens, *St. Peter* (No. 53). New York, Coll. Dr. and Mrs. R.J. Heinemann



96. Rubens, *The Four Evangelists* (No. 54). Potsdam-Sanssouci, Bildergalerie



97. Rubens, *The Four Evangelists*, oil sketch (No. 55). Present whereabouts unknown



Certe in hoc more anni 1641 convenerunt
 et sua consensu omnia reserunt
 Anno R. P. Fri CHRISTOPHORO MEICHSNER Praedicatori Gno a P.P. et Praedicatorum Antuerpiae Priori Anno 1641
 • Hinc abbas Calvus Rogatus est
 • In ista synodo versare ille ten.

98. H. Snyers, *The Real Presence in the Holy Sacrament*, engraving (No. 56)



99. Rubens, *The Real Presence in the Holy Sacrament* (No. 56). Antwerp, St. Paul



100. X-radiograph of detail of Fig. 99



101. After Rubens, *The Real Presence in the Holy Sacrament*, drawing (No. 56a).
Present whereabouts unknown



102. X-radiograph of detail of Fig. 99



103. After Rubens, *The Real Presence in the Holy Sacrament*, drawing (No. 56a).

Vienna, Albertina



104. J. Jordaens, *The Four Latin Doctors of the Church* (No. 60).

Blackburn, Lancashire, Stonyhurst College



105. C. Galle, *The Four Latin Doctors of the Church*, engraving (No. 60)



106. C. van Dalen the Younger,
The Four Latin Doctors of the Church, engraving (No. 59)



107. After Rubens, *The Martyrdom of St. Adrian* (No. 61).
Present whereabouts unknown



108. Rubens, *The Martyrdom of St. Adrian*, oil sketch (No. 61a). Antwerp, Rubenshuis



109. Rubens, *The Martyrdom of St. Andrew* (No. 62).

Madrid, Real Hospital de San Andrés de los Flamencos



110. Rubens, *The Martyrdom of St. Andrew*, drawing (No. 62a).

Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen



111. After Rubens, *The Martyrdom of St. Andrew*, drawing (No. 62b). London, British Museum



S. ANDRÆAS APOSTOLUS.
QUI MEA CRUX! LI PARVA LICET COMPERE MAJORA,
CRUX MEA CRUX NULLA EST, PATE CRUX CHRISTI TUA.

112. *The Martyrdom of St. Andrew*, engraving (ed. by J. Dierckx; No. 62b)



113. Rubens, *The Death of St. Anthony Abbot* (No. 64).

Pommersfelden, Castle Weissenstein, Coll. Count Schönborn



114. After Rubens, *The Death of St. Anthony Abbot* (No. 64). 's Hertogenbosch, St. John



Vera effigies V. M. ANNAE A IESU. S. M. Teresia sociæ, virtutum eius Heres specialis. Sacrosissimo Sacramento deuotissima, Ordinem suum in Francia et Belgio fundauit. Obijt Bruxelle 4. Martij. 1641.
P.P. Rubens pinxit
Gills Hendricks sculpsit

115. C. Galle, *The Blessed Anna de Jesus*, engraving (No. 63)



116. Rubens, *St. Augustine*, oil sketch (No. 65).
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum



117. Rubens, *St. Augustine between Christ and the Holy Virgin* (No. 66).

Madrid, Academia de San Fernando



118. Rubens, *St. Augustine at the Seashore* (No. 67). Prague, Národní Galerie



SANCTA BARBARA VIRGO ET MARTYR.

S. à Bolswert, fecit et simul. non quæsit.



SANCTA CATHARINA VIRGO ET MARTYR.

S. a. Bellini fecit et sculpsit. J. G. Schlegel del.



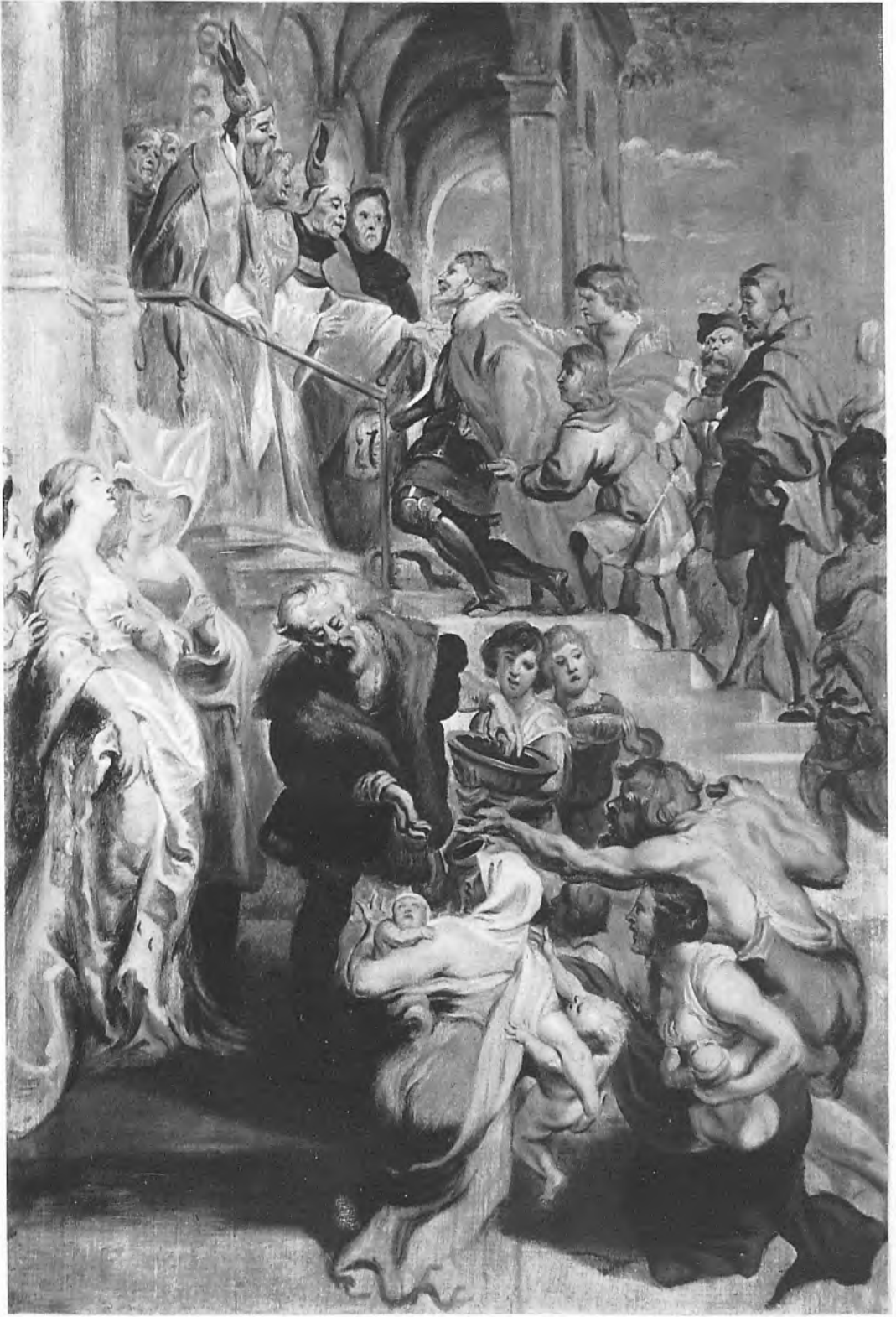
121. ? Rubens, *The Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew*, drawing (No. 70). New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library



122. Rubens, *The Conversion of St. Bavo*, oil sketch (No. 71). London, National Gallery



123. Rubens, *The Conversion of St. Bavo* (No. 72). Ghent, St. Bavo



124. After Rubens, *The Conversion of St. Bavon* (No. 72a). Present whereabouts unknown



125. Rubens, *The Miracles of St. Benedict* (No. 73). Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts



126. G. de Crayer, *St. Benedict and Totila*. Present whereabouts unknown



127. ? Rubens, *St. Catherine of Alexandria*, etching (No. 75)



128. ? Rubens, *St. Catherine of Alexandria*, counterproof of etching (No. 75a).
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art



129. School of Rubens, *St. Catherine of Alexandria* (No. 74). New York, Historical Society



130. Rubens, *The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine of Alexandria* (No. 77).
Formerly Potsdam-Sanssouci, Bildergalerie, now lost



131. Rubens, *The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine of Alexandria* (No. 76). Present whereabouts unknown



132. Rubens, *The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine of Alexandria*, drawing (No. 76a).

Oberlin, Oberlin College, Allen Memorial Museum of Art



133. Rubens, *The Martyrdom of St. Catherine of Alexandria* (No. 78).

Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts



134. Rubens, *Head of St. Catherine of Alexandria*, drawing (No. 78a). Vienna, Albertina



135. W. de Leeuw, *The Martyrdom of St. Catherine of Alexandria*, engraving (No. 78)



136. After Rubens, *The Martyrdom of St. Catherine of Alexandria* (No. 78). Ghent, St. Bavo



137. ? Rubens, *Angels Transporting the Dead Body of St. Catherine of Alexandria*
(No. 79). Present whereabouts unknown



138. After Rubens, *Angels Transporting the Dead Body of St. Catherine of Alexandria*
(No. 79). Antwerp, Coll. Guštave Faes



139. ? Rubens, *St. Catherine of Siena* (No. 80). Present whereabouts unknown

Peter Paul Rubens



140. M. Coxcie, *St. Cecilia Playing the Virginals*. Madrid, Prado



3 *facundo tristes electe carmine mentes,
Devolvō graves unas, relevōq̄ labores.*

141. C. Drebbel after H. Goltzius, *Allegory of Music*, engraving



142. After Rubens, *St. Cecilia Playing the Virginals* (No. 81).
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art



143. H. Witdoeck, *St. Cecilia Playing the Virginals*,
engraving (No. 82)

FICTA PRIOR POST HANC SILEAT MIRACLA 'ZELUSTAS, NUNC IBI MAIOR SUBBITIT CACILIS ORGHE'
ORBE ET SILEAT SAGA TRAHENTE LITRA. ILLE FEGAT CECILIA HANC AD SVA USU' LIA TRAHIT



144. Rubens, *St. Cecilia Playing the Virginals* (No. 82). Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen



145. ? Rubens, *St. Cecilia* (No. 84). Düsseldorf, Kunstmuseum

Handwritten signature or mark



146. N. van den Berg, *St. Charles Borromeo*, etching (No. 85)



147. H. Wierix, *St. Charles Borromeo*, engraving



148. After Rubens, *St. Charles Borromeo* (No. 85).
Antwerp, St. Andrew



149. Rubens, *St. Dominic* (No. 86). Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland



150. Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi* (No. 87).

Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland



151. Rubens, *St. Dominic and St. Francis of Assisi Protecting the World from the Wrath of Christ* (No. 88). Lyons, Musée des Beaux-Arts

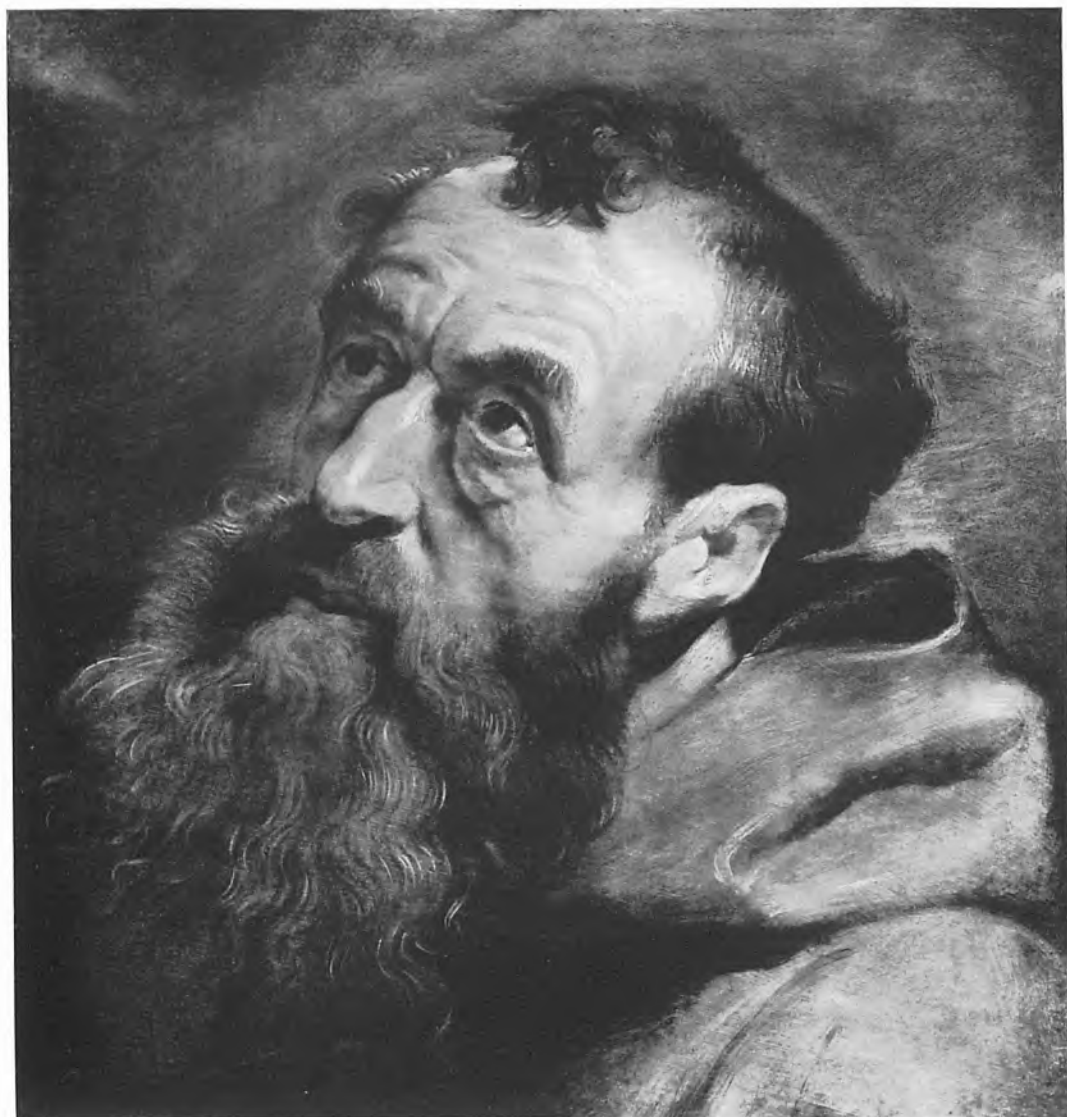


152. After Rubens, *St. Dominic and St. Francis of Assisi Protecting the World from the Wrath of Christ*, drawing (No. 88a). Present whereabouts unknown



153. Rubens, *Head Study of St. Catherine of Alexandria*, drawing (No. 88b).

Angers, Musée Turpin de Crissé



154. ? Rubens, *Head Study of St. Francis of Assisi* (No. 89). Present whereabouts unknown



155. Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata* (No. 90).

Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum



156. Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata*, drawing (No. 90a).

Berlin, Print Room of the Staatliche Museen



157. ? A. van Dyck, *St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata*, drawing (No. 90b).
Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre



159. Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata* (No. 91). Arras, Musée Municipal



160. Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata*, oil sketch (No. 91a).

Amsterdam, Coll. Wetzlar



161. Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata* (No. 92).

Ghent, Museum voor Schone Kunsten



162. After Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata* (No. 93).

Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori



163. After Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata*, drawing (No. 93).
Copenhagen, Print Room of the Statens Museum for Kunst



164. After Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata*,
etching (No. 92)



165. Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Infant Christ* (No. 94). Antwerp, St. Anthony



*Divitias alias, alias sibi querat honores
Quisquis, et immunda lumina figat humo.*

*Ipse Deum queram, cum quo mihi vivere dulce,
Dulce mori, ha mihi sunt divitiae, hic fit homo.*

OCTAVIO PISANI IO: ANTONII FILIO, IVLII FRATRI, PRIMO DEI GRATIA IN BELGIO AVTORI UMBRELLARVM SANCTISSIMI SACRAMENTI APVD ÆGROS INCEDENTIS; PRIMO CERTARVM LEGVM CONDITORI, QUARVM VIRTUTE STRAGES, ET TORMENTA LITIVM AC LITIGATIVM OMNINO EXCLVDNTVR, AC PACE AGITVR; HANC S. FRANCISCI CHRISTVM EXCIPIENTIS E MANIBVS MATRIS IMAGINEM, SIMILITVDINIS, AC PIETATIS ERGO, NEMPE TANTAS EX DEI MANIBVS GRATIAS ACCIPIENTI. TH. GALLÆVS VT VIRTVTIS AMICO AMICVS EX ANIMO DD.



167. Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Infant Christ* (No. 95).

Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts



168. Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Infant Christ*, drawing (No. 95a).

Present whereabouts unknown



169. Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Infant Christ* (No. 96).

Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts



170. After Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi and St. Clare*,
drawing (Nos. 96–98a). Present whereabouts unknown



171. Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata* (No. 97). Lier, St. Gummarus



172. Rubens, *St. Clare* (No. 98).
Lier, St. Gummarus



173. Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi Protecting the World from the Wrath of Christ*
(No. 100). Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts



174. Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi* (No. 99). Present whereabouts unknown



175. After Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi* (No. 99). Formerly Berlin, Farr Gallery, now lost



176. After Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi in Adoration before the Crucified Christ*
(No. 101). Vaduz, Coll. Prince of Liechtenstein



177. Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi Raising his Arms in a Gesture of Adoration*, drawing (No. 101a). London, British Museum



178. Rubens, *The Last Communion of St. Francis of Assisi* (No. 102).
Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten



Edne de custodia animam meam me expectant iusti donec retribuas mihi
R. in Chiesa Patri F. PETRO STENBERGHEN delin. FF. Minor. Reg. Oly. Provincie Infer. Gorni delianeri de

179. H. Snyers, *The Last Communion of St. Francis of Assisi*, engraving (No. 102)



180. Rubens, *The Last Communion of St. Francis of Assisi*, drawing (No. 102a).

Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet



181. Rubens, *The Last Communion of St. Francis of Assisi*, drawing (No. 102b).

Farnham, Coll. Wolfgang Burchard



182. Rubens, *Two Studies for a Franciscan Monk*, drawing (No. 102c).
Chatsworth, Coll. Duke of Devonshire



183. Rubens, *Study of a Kneeling Male Nude*, drawing (No. 102d).

Paris, Fondation Custodia, Institut Néerlandais