

CORPUS RUBENIANUM
LUDWIG BURCHARD

PART VIII

SAINTS II

HANS Vlieghe



ARCADE

CORPUS RUBENIANUM
LUDWIG BURCHARD

AN ILLUSTRATED CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ
OF THE WORK OF PETER PAUL RUBENS
BASED ON THE MATERIAL ASSEMBLED
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HANS Vlieghe



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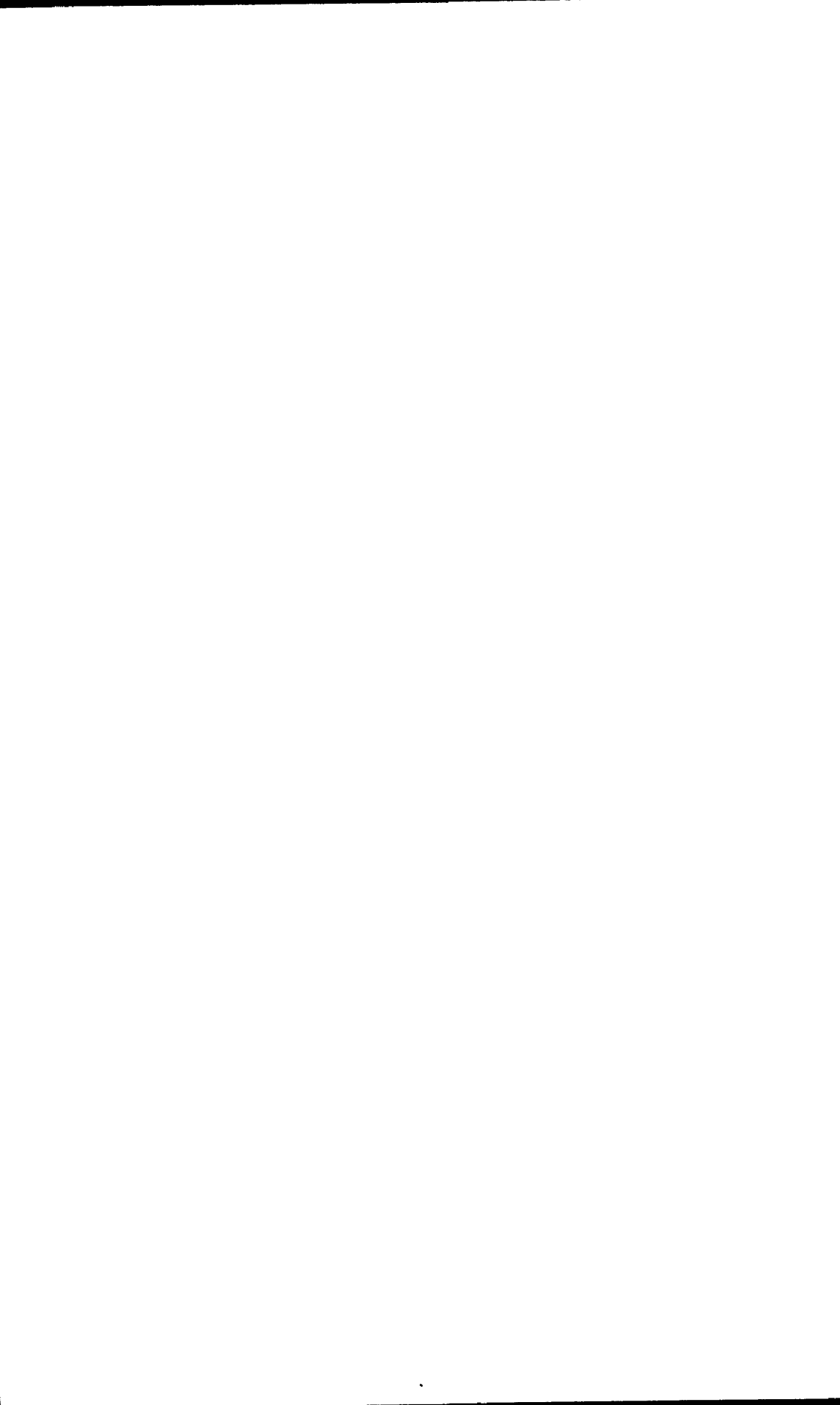
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ABBREVIATIONS

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.

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Hans Vlieghe.



CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ

103a. THE MIRACLES OF ST. FRANCIS OF PAOLA: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 1)

Oil on panel; 64.5 : 73 cm. At both left and right sides, at an average distance of c. 12.5 cm. from the edge, two vertical cracks are discernible.

Dresden, Gemäldegalerie. No. 967.

PROVENANCE: Wallenstein Collection, Dux; purchased in 1741 for the collections of August III, King of Poland and Elector of Saxony.

EXHIBITED: *Brussels*, 1937, No. 23; *Ausstellung der Gemälde aus der Dresdner Galerie*, Nationalgalerie, Berlin, 1955-56, p. 95; *Gemälde Galerie, Dresden. Ausstellung der von der Regierung der UdSSR an die Deutsche Demokratische Republik übergebenen Meisterwerke*, Staatsgalerie, Dresden, [1956], p. 78; *Sonderausstellung der Dresdner Gemäldegalerie im Albertinum*, Albertinum, Dresden, 1957, p. 44 (fig. 83); *Loan Exhibition of Paintings from Public Collections of Friends of Coventry overseas*, Herbert Art Gallery and Museum, Coventry, 1960, No. 36; *Z Dráždanské galerie, malířství 16-18. století*, Národní Galerie, Prague, 1962, No. 52; *Z Dráždanské galerie, malířství 16-18. století*, Moravská Galerie, Brno, 1963, No. 52 (fig. 4); *Expozitia de Pictură a Galerieilor de Artă din Dresda secole XV-XVIII*, Muzeul de Artă, Bucharest, 1963, No. 89.

LITERATURE: *Catalogue des tableaux de la galerie électorale à Dresde*, Dresden, 1765, No. 644 (as *St. Roc apparoissant aux Pestiférés*); *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 85, No. 269 (as *The Glorification of a Saint*); J. Hubner, *Catalogue de la galerie royale de Dresde*, Dresden, 1872, No. 843 (as *Saint Ignace dans une gloire exorcise des possédés*); *Rooses*, II, pp. 262, 263, No. 431; K. Woermann, *Katalog der königlichen Gemäldegalerie*, Dresden, 1887, No. 967; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 329; *Dillon*, pp. 146, 147, pl. CCCLVIII; *K.d.K.*, p. 303 (the central part only); *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 83, No. 60, pl. 59; M. Jaffé, *Rediscovered Oil Sketches by Rubens*, III, *The Burlington Magazine*, CXII, 1970, p. 436, fig. 8 (as a copy).

St. Francis of Paola, the founder of the Order of Minims and a celebrated miracle-worker (c. 1416-1507) is seen hovering in the upper central part of the picture. Beneath him is a crowd consisting of groups arranged pyramidally on and around a broad staircase leading to the monumental entrance-gate of a kind of palace; the gate is flanked by pillars. As in other works of this kind, Rubens here gives a composite view of several miracles performed by the saint in question. As in *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier* (No. 104; Fig. 6), *The Miracles of St. Ignatius of Loyola* (No. 115; Fig. 40) and *The Miracles of St. Benedikt* (I, No. 73; Fig. 125), we are shown here the miracles specifically

described in the saint's biography together with others connected more generally with his reputation as a thaumaturgist (*AA. SS.*, April, 1).

The chief miracle in the first category is that of St. Francis himself hovering in a circle of light; this, as it were, dominates the whole composition. The woman on the right, who is apparently trying to introduce into the saint's presence a young monk wearing the Minims' habit, recalls the story of the saint's sister-in-law who refused to consent to her son joining his uncle's Order, until he died and St. Francis raised him to life again. Among the figures above and on the left, in front of the monumental palace gate, are several persons standing or kneeling: these represent a king and his nobles, as may be seen from the two later and more detailed modelli of *The Miracles of St. Francis of Paola*. The saint was in fact summoned by Louis XI of France to his palace at Plessis-lez-Tours; he remained there under the reigns of Charles VIII and Louis XII, and was in high favour with the French kings and nobility by reason of his miracles and intercession. The other scenes in the sketch—the group on the left with a victim of the plague, two groups in the middle foreground with possessed persons, and a woman on the right with a baby in her arms—refer in a more general fashion to the saint's powers of curing the sick and ensuring a safe delivery to women in childbirth.

The structure of the composition is essentially the same as in *The Miracles of St. Benedict* (I, No. 73; Fig. 125), and there are detailed resemblances between the two works. Van Puyvelde has pointed out that the naked man on the bier, to the left, is a repetition in reverse of a similar motif in *The Miracles of St. Benedict*.

The present work is undoubtedly the first of the three oil sketches for *The Miracles of St. Francis of Paola* that have been preserved. It is sketchier than the other and, what is more important, decidedly horizontal in format, whereas both the Munich sketch (No. 103b; Fig. 2) and that at Sudeley Castle (No. 103c; Fig. 3) are vertical. The reason may be that the work was first commissioned with a view to a triptych, the picture extending over all three panels. To the left and right of the present work two vertical cracks are discernible; they split up the composition, as it were, in three parts of unequal width, consisting of a rather wide central part and two narrow ones. Oldenbourg and Burchard only accepted the central part as being executed by Rubens himself. Recently, Jaffé even considered the whole sketch a copy after a now lost original. Neither of these views seems justifiable to me. Although the present work is partially over-

painted in the area round the two cracks, the high quality of the painting of the centre does not seem to be essentially different from that of the execution of the lateral parts. In spite of the two vertical cracks there is no reason to think—as with the first modello for the altar-piece of *The Conversion of St. Bavo* (I, No. 71; Fig. 122)—that Rubens painted this sketch on three separate panels, each of them being the design for one of the three components of the triptych. The main argument against such a supposition is the circumstance that the total width of the left and right hand parts of the Dresden modello is scarcely half that of the centre; this, of course, is incompatible with the wings' function to cover exactly the central part of the altar-piece. Further, the two cracks are not quite straight and the area round them shows strong traces of overpainting. Thus it seems more plausible to consider the cracks as old damages which at one moment were repaired.

We do not know who commissioned the altar-piece for which this and the two following sketches were executed. They were no doubt intended for an altar, perhaps the high altar, of a church of the Minims. For reasons we cannot conjecture, the finished work may have been removed or destroyed at an early date; or perhaps it was never executed, in which case there may be a connection with Rubens's absence from Antwerp in 1628–30, on account of his diplomatic business in Spain and England.

103b. THE MIRACLES OF ST. FRANCIS OF PAOLA: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 2)

Oil on panel; 64.5 : 49.5 cm.

Munich, Alte Pinakothek. No. 74.

PROVENANCE: Collections of the Electors of Bavaria, Schleissheim; removed to the Hofgartengalerie, Munich, 1781; exhibited in the Alte Pinakothek since 1836.

COPIES: (1) Painting, Vienna, Akademie der bildenden Künste, No. 647; panel, 64 : 49.5 cm.; lit.: *Rooses*, II, p. 264, under No. 431 *ter*; R. Eigenberger, *Die Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der bildenden Künste in Wien*, I, Vienna, pp. 351, 352, No. 647; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 82, under No. 59; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 79 : 61 cm.; prov.: sale, Berlin (Lepke), 23 March 1920, lot 91 (repr.); lit.: *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 82, under No. 59; (3) Drawing, whereabouts unknown; prov.: sale, London (Sotheby's), 11 April 1935, part of lot 107 (as *A. van Diepenbeeck*);

Dr. E. Schapiro, London; (4) Engraving, probably after (3), by A. Lommelin (Fig. 5; *V.S.*, p. 100, No. 44).

EXHIBITED: *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No. 60.

LITERATURE: F.X. de Burtin, *Traité des connaissances nécessaires aux amateurs de tableaux*, Brussels, 1808, p. 51; *Notice des tableaux de la galerie royale de Munich*, Munich, 1818, p. 52, No. 257; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 78, No. 242 (as *A Sketch illustrative of a Romish legend*), p. 296, No. 1059; IX, p. 276, No. 115; *Partbey*, II, p. 421, No. 106; R. Marggraff, *Die ältere Kön. Pinakothek zu München. Beschreibendes Verzeichnis*, Munich, 1865, No. 910; *Rooses*, II, p. 264, under No. 431 *ter* (as a copy); F. von Reber, *Katalog der Gemälde-Sammlung der königlich älteren Pinakothek in München*, Munich, 1884, No. 763; *Dillon*, p. 147; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 82, No. 59; M. Jaffé, *Rediscovered Oil Sketches by Rubens*, III, *The Burlington Magazine*, CXII, 1970, p. 436, fig. 7.

In this second stage of preparation of the altar-piece that has disappeared or was never completed, the composition was changed from a horizontal to a vertical form, as though the commissioners of the work preferred a painting in one piece to a triptych. The warriors and other groups who figure on the extreme left and right of the first sketch, now at Dresden (No. 103a; Fig. 1), are here omitted; apart from this, the arrangement of the figures is broadly the same, but some, such as the woman below on the right and the naked man on the bier, are in reverse image. On the extreme left, alongside one of the two pillars flanking the palace gate, is a balcony from which two women contemplate the miracle of the saint hovering in air. The faces and other details are in general more carefully executed than in the Dresden sketch.

In the lower part of the sketch, between the bier and the possessed woman, the head and upper part of the body of another woman could formerly be seen; this woman was helping to restrain the other by holding on to her legs. The vague outline of this overpainted figure can be seen under X-ray (Fig. 4); she also appears in several copies of this sketch, e.g. the picture in the Vienna Academy and the engraving by Lommelin (Fig. 5).

103c. THE MIRACLES OF ST. FRANCIS OF PAOLA: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 3)

Oil on panel; 110 : 79.5 cm.

Winchcombe, Sudeley Castle, Collection of Mrs. G. Dent-Brocklehurst.

PROVENANCE: ? Sale, Paris (Paillet), 30 March 1785 et seqq., lot 1; James A. Morrison, London; Charles Morrison, Basildon Park; Simon A. Morrison.

COPY: Painting, Vienna, Akademie der bildenden Künste, No. 776; canvas, 118 : 82 cm.; lit.: *Rooses*, II, p. 263; No. 431 bis (as *Rubens*); R. Eigenberger, *Die Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der bildenden Künste in Wien*, I, Vienna-Leipzig, 1927, pp. 352, 353, No. 776.

EXHIBITED: *IIIrd National Loan Exhibition*, Grosvenor Gallery, London, 1914-15, No. 99.

LITERATURE: G. Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, II, London, 1854, p. 263 (as *The Legend of St. Mark*); IV, London, 1857, p. 106; *Rooses*, II, p. 263, under No. 431 bis; *Dillon*, pp. 147, 234; M. Jaffé, *Rediscovered Oil Sketches by Rubens*, II, *The Burlington Magazine*, CXI, 1969, p. 537, n. 71; M. Jaffé, *Rediscovered Oil Sketches by Rubens*, III, *The Burlington Magazine*, CXII, 1970, p. 436, fig. 9.

This modello represents the final stage of preparatory work for the altar-piece. It is large and carefully executed, and shows clearly the rounded border at the top which was apparently part of the final design. Here Rubens also represented the miracle of the angel proffering to the saint a cartouche emitting rays of light and inscribed with the word CHARITAS, the emblem of St. Francis and the Minims (*AA.SS.*, April, 1); this is in the upper right-hand part, but the motto has not yet been inscribed in the cartouche.

As compared with the Munich sketch (No. 103b; Fig. 2), the space in which the different scenes are situated is, so to speak, more palpable, and there is a greater distance between the figures. Their gestures and attitudes are more varied, thus enhancing the dramatic effect of the whole. The pendulum movement of the group of figures is strikingly reminiscent of the composition of *The Madonna Adored by Saints*, painted by Rubens in 1628 for the Augustinian church at Antwerp (*K.d.K.*, p. 305). He also used motifs in this sketch that occur in previous works of his on similar themes. In particular we find here, more clearly than in the two earlier sketches, paraphrases of motifs from the two paintings executed in about 1618 for the high altar of the former Jesuit church at Antwerp. From *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier* (No. 104; Fig. 6), he borrowed the figure of the blind man with outstretched arms and the woman holding forth her child, both to be seen on the right of the present sketch; while the man in the foreground, holding down a possessed man, clearly recalls

the similar figure in the foreground of *The Miracles of St. Ignatius of Loyola* (No. 115; Fig. 40).

This painting is very probably identical with a work in a sale held at Paris on 30 March 1785 and succeeding days, which belonged to an unidentified collection and is thus described in the catalogue: "1. Un Saint François de Paule montant au ciel. Tableau fait pour sa canonisation [sic] par Rubens: on voit dessous les pieds du Saint élevé à vingt pieds de terre des possédés, des malades & autres personnes qu'il avait guéries, une Reine, un Pape et plusieurs autres figures. Ce tableau est de la plus riche composition. Haut. 40 pouces [c. 108 cm.] larg. 30 pouces [c. 81 cm.]."

104. THE MIRACLES OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER (Fig. 6)

Oil on canvas; 535 : 395 cm.

Vienna, *Kunsthistorisches Museum*. No. 311.

PROVENANCE: Jesuit Church, Antwerp; acquired by J. Rosa for the Imperial Collections at Vienna, 1776.

COPIES: (1) Drawing after the blind man's head, whereabouts unknown; prov.: Berlin, Dr. E. Busch, 1936; (2) Drawing after the head of one of the female figures at the left, whereabouts unknown; prov.: Berlin, Dr. E. Busch, 1936; (3) Drawing after the head of the Indian woman, holding a dead child, whereabouts unknown; 470 : 380 mm.; prov.: Amsterdam, Goudstikker sale, 1926, lot 41 (repr.; as *A. Van Dyck*); New York, Klein, 1955.

LITERATURE: *Bellori*, p. 224; *Tessin*, p. 82; *De Wit*, p. 61; *Berbie*, p. 54, No. 14; *Descamps, Vie*, p. 322; *Mensaert*, I, p. 216; *Descamps, Voyage*, p. 186; *Michel*, 1771, p. 100; *Mechel*, p. 111, No. 2; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp. 18, 19, No. 68; *Parthey*, II, p. 42, No. 108; C. Piot, *Les Tableaux des collèges des Jésuites supprimés en Belgique*, *Bulletin de l'Académie royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, XLVI, 1878, p. 146; *Vienna, Cat. Engerth*, No. 1154; *Rooses*, II, pp. 264–266, No. 432; *Michel*, pp. 239–242; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p. 191; *Dillon*, pp. 134, 135, pl. CLXXXIV; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p. 298; *K.d.K.*, p. 205; *Van Puyvelde*, pp. 118, 120, 127, 172; *Held*, I, p. 112; H. Gerson, in H. Gerson and E.H. ter Kuile, *Art and Architecture in Belgium, 1600–1800*, Harmondsworth, 1960, pp. 88, 186, pl. 74; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 145, 180; M. Jaffé, *Rubens and Raphael*, in *Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Art Presented to Anthony Blunt*, London,

1967, p. 104; *Martin, Ceiling Paintings*, pp. 29-32, repr.; F. Baudouin, *De datering van de twee schilderijen van Rubens voor het hoofdaltaar van de Antwerpse Jezuïetenkerk en enkele aantekeningen over Hans van Mildert*, in *Miscellanea Jozef Duverger*, 1, Ghent, 1968, pp. 301-322, repr.; *Smith, Rubens' Altargemälde*, pp. 39-60, repr.; *Baudouin*, 1972, pp. 69, 109-118, fig. 69.

The saint appears on the right, standing on a stone platform and extending his right arm to bless the crowd standing before him. With his left arm he points upward to *Fides Catholica*, enthroned on clouds with attributes of the chalice, globe and cross borne by two angels. Behind him, to the right, is a younger member of the Society of Jesus, his acolyte.

As in other paintings of this kind, e.g. Nos. 103 (Figs. 1-3) and 115 (Fig. 40), Rubens here presents a synthesis of the miracles performed by St. Francis during his missionary activity in Asia. In the foreground are sick people, cripples of all kinds, men and women raised from the dead, and a woman holding a dead child with water running out of its mouth. This, as Graham Smith pointed out, is probably the Indian woman whose child drowned in a well and was restored to life by St. Francis, as described in his first biography by Horatius Tursellinus (*De vita Francisci Xaveri*, Rome-Antwerp, 1596, II, cap. 7). Among the spectators in the middle distance are men wearing Korean headgear and others in turbans. These, as Graham Smith also suggested, may be the heathen priests with whom St. Francis engaged in religious dispute and whom he brilliantly convinced of the truth of the Catholic faith (H. Tursellinus, *op. cit.*, II, cap. 9). Graham Smith also related to Tursellinus's narrative the soldier in armour in the middle distance and the scene of the destroyed idols: the former, he suggested, was the man whom the saint converted from an evil way of life (*op. cit.*, III, cap. 15), while the latter recalled the story of the Indians who destroyed the images in their temples after embracing the true faith (*op. cit.*, II, cap. 1). I find it harder to follow Graham Smith here. The soldier is not very sharply characterized, while the idols are being destroyed by a bolt from heaven and not by the Indians, who are looking on in terror. It seems to me that in this last scene Rubens is seeking to illustrate in a general way how pagan religion is overcome by the "True Faith, symbolized in the upper right hand part of the picture.

Held, Burchard and d'Hulst independently pointed out that the present composition might be based on the Berlin drawing of *The Resurrection of a Dead Man* (Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, II, fig. 87). G. Smith observed that the

motif of the saint addressing the crowd from a platform is inspired by the antique *Adlocutio*, the best known example of which is probably the famous relief depicting Marcus Aurelius, on the Arch of Constantine in Rome (*Smith, Rubens' Altargemälde*, p. 47, fig. 25). Two borrowings of specific motifs should be noticed. The blind man, as Rooses remarked, is derived from Elymas in *The Blinding of Elymas*, one of Raphael's cartoons for the tapestry series of *The Acts of the Apostles* (K.d.K., Raffael, p. 145). The kneeling man seen from behind in the lower right corner is clearly inspired by the middle one of the four smiths in Tintoretto's *Vulcan's Smithy* in the Doges' Palace at Venice (*Tietze, Tintoretto*, p. 226).

On 29 March 1620 Rubens signed a contract with Father Jacobus Tirinus, the prepositor of the Professed House of the Jesuits at Antwerp, for the delivery of the thirty-nine ceiling paintings for the Society's church there. The contract also provided that the artist should receive 3000 guilders for "two large paintings of our Holy Fathers Ignatius and Xavier, already executed by the said Sr. Rubbens for the choir of the aforesaid new church" (*Rooses*, I, pp. 44, 45; *Martin, Ceiling Paintings*, p. 214). Rooses inferred from this that the two altar-pieces were painted in 1619-20 and were both finished by 29 March 1620 (*Rooses*, II, p. 290). However, he revised this opinion in the light of Rubens's letter of 23 January 1619 to Pieter van Veen at The Hague, which listed a number of copperplate engravings of his work that had been or were about to be made. This includes "Un pezzo delle gesti d'Ignazio Loyola" and, immediately after, "Un altro di Xaverio" (*Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p. 200), which are undoubtedly prints of the present altar-piece and its companion painting (No. 115; Fig. 40). Rooses accordingly concluded that the paintings must have been finished as early as 1618 (M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, *loc. cit.*). Evers, Van Puyvelde, Gerson, Burchard and d'Hulst also subsequently adopted this dating. However, the old dating was still accepted by Oldenbourg and even in the recent catalogue of the Kunsthistorisches Museum (*Katalog der Gemäldegalerie*, II. Teil, Vienna, 1963, No. 312).

Baudouin recently discovered a third documentary source which makes it possible to date the pictures of St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier more exactly. He found in the cash-book of the Professed House at Antwerp, under the date 13 April 1617, an entry in Rubens's favour of 3000 guilders, evidently the same as the amount still owed to him on 20 March 1620 for the two paintings for the high altar. Baudouin deduced from this that Rubens had received

the commission for these paintings at a date prior to 13 April 1617. Thus the most probable date for the works would seem to be c. 1617-18.

104a. THE MIRACLES OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 7)

Oil on panel; 104.5 : 72.5 cm.; slightly trimmed at the four sides.

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. No. 310.

PROVENANCE: Jesuit Church, Antwerp; acquired by J. Rosa for the Imperial Collections at Vienna, 1776.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 8), Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, No. 7105; panel, 103 : 72 cm.; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; 100 : 73 cm.; photograph in the Burchard papers, Rubenianum, Antwerp; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; photograph in the Burchard papers, Rubenianum, Antwerp.

EXHIBITED: *Brussels, 1910, No. 319; Meisterwerke aus Österreich, Kunsthaus, Zürich, 1946-47, No. 361; Kunstschatten uit Wenen, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1947, No. 127; Chefs d'œuvre des musées de Vienne, Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, 1947, No. 127; Art Treasures from Vienna, Tate Gallery, London, 1949, No. 127; Rotterdam, 1953-54, No. 24.*

LITERATURE: *De Wit, p. 61; Berbie, p. 54, No. 17; Mensaert, I, p. 217; Descamps, Voyage, p. 186; Michel, 1771, pp. 100, 101; Mechel, p. 114, No. 14; Partbey, II, p. 421, No. 109; Vienna, Cat. Engerth, No. 1155; Rooses, II, pp. 266, 267, No. 432 bis; Michel, pp. 239, 240; K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg, p. 190; Dillon, pp. 134, 135, pl. CLXXXV; Evers, 1942, pp. 218-223; Van Puyvelde, Esquisses, p. 77, No. 42, repr.; Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, I, pp. 182, 183; Martin, Ceiling Paintings, pp. 30, 31, 38; Baudouin, 1972, fig. 20.*

The composition of this modello is similar to that of the finished painting (No. 104; Fig. 6), but with some noteworthy differences. In this sketch St. Francis extends both his arms towards the crowd, whereas in the final work he stretches out one hand in blessing and points upward in a monitory fashion with the other. Beside the saint's platform is a man in a turban who was afterwards replaced by two figures in Korean costume. The right arm of the blind man in the lower right corner is higher than his left arm; in the final version this was reversed on account of perspective. The man seen from behind, also

in the lower right-hand part of the sketch, is stretching out his left arm, while in the finished painting the arm cannot be seen.

A seventeenth century copy, now at Munich (Fig. 8) makes it clear that at one moment this sketch was slightly trimmed at its four sides.

In the seventeenth century this sketch, like that for *The Miracles of St. Ignatius of Loyola* (No. 1152; Fig. 41), hung on one of the two pillars to either side of the entrance to the choir of the Jesuit church at Antwerp; J.R. Martin drew attention in this connection to two views of the interior, one painted by Antoon Ghering and now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum at Vienna (R.H. Wilenski, *Flemish Paintings 1400-1800*, II, London, 1960, pl. 782), and the other by W.S. von Ehrenberg, in the Art History Institute of the University of Utrecht. The two paintings are also referred to in the same location in the various descriptions dating from the eighteenth century.

104b. STUDY OF A MAN WITH A BROAD-BRIMMED HAT: DRAWING (Fig. 10)

Black chalk; 428 : 241 mm. In the left upper corner: *de Backere*; in the left lower corner, mark of the collection of Sir T. Lawrence (L. 2445) and [A] *nnibale Carraci, ma | Studio di Rubens | Habè scol.º de Vandic[k] | [l'bab]bi in Roma nella morte d'un fiamen[go]... suo herede*, inscribed in the hand of Padre Resta; in the right lower corner, mark of the collections of J. Richardson Sen. (L. 2184) and Sir J.C. Robinson (L. 1433).

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. Inv. No. 2176 recto.

PROVENANCE: Gelaude Habert (Brussels, second half of the seventeenth century); Padre Sebastiano Resta (Rome, 1635-1714); J. Richardson Sen., (London, 1665-1745); T. Hudson (London, 1701-1779); Sir Thomas Lawrence (London, 1769-1830); purchased by W. Geddes from the latter's estate, 12 February 1831; W. Russell (London, 1800-1884), sale, London (Christie's), 11 December 1884, part of lot 423; Sir J.C. Robinson (London, 1824-1913), sale, London (Christie's), 5 May 1902, part of lot 348; Charles Ricketts (London, 1866-1931) and H. Charles Shannon (London, 1865-1937); bequeathed to the Fitzwilliam Museum by H. Charles Shannon, March 1937.

EXHIBITED: *Exhibition of Pictures by Masters of the Flemish and British Schools*, The New Gallery, London, 1899-1900, No. 156; *National Loan Exhibition*, Grafton Gallery, London, 1909-10, No. 5; *Loan Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1927, No. 577.

LITERATURE: M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, v, 1900, p. 199; Glück-Haberdtz, pp. 44, 45, No. 122, repr.; C. Stuart-Wortley, *Rubens' Drawings of Chinese Costume, Old Master Drawings*, ix, December 1934, p. 44; M. Jaffé, *The Interest of Rubens in Annibale and Agostino Carracci, The Burlington Magazine*, xcix, 1957, pp. 376, 379, fig. 18; Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, I, pp. 181-184, No. 115; II, pl. 115 r; M. Jaffé, *Rubens as a Draughtsman, The Burlington Magazine*, cvii, 1965, p. 381.

A man standing, wearing a broad-brimmed hat and an ample cloak which he is holding across his chest. On the right is a sketchier drawing of the head and part of the attire of another man. These figures are preliminary studies for the Orientals standing immediately to the left of St. Francis Xavier's platform in the finished painting at Vienna (No. 104; Fig. 6). However, the broad-brimmed hat is there worn by the second man, while the first wears an oblong head-covering of Korean origin which is also seen in the drawing of a *Jesuit Missionary*, formerly in Lady Du Cane's collection (*Old Master Drawings*, ix, December 1934, pl. 41). The two figures do not appear in the oil sketch (No. 104a; Fig. 7).

Padre Resta's reference to "Habè" in the inscription below must be intended for the name of the Brussels art dealer Gelaude Habert, who lived in the second half of the seventeenth century (*Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, p. 183).

Jaffé's belief that this drawing was made in Rome in about 1608 was based on a misreading of the inscription below on the left: instead of [*l'hab*]bi in Roma nella morte d'un famen[go] he read it as [*le*]bbi in Roma nella morte d'un fanciullo suo erede, and concluded that the figure represented a man mourning his dead son and was drawn from life in the costume of Annibale Carracci.

104c. DRAPERY STUDY FOR ST. FRANCIS XAVIER PREACHING: DRAWING (Fig. 11)

Black chalk; 428 : 241 mm.

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. Inv. No. 2176 verso.

PROVENANCE: See under No. 104b.

LITERATURE: M. Jaffé, *The Interest of Rubens in Annibale and Agostino Carracci, The Burlington Magazine*, xcix, 1957, p. 379, fig. 19; Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, I, pp. 181-184; No. 115; II, pl. 115 v.

Verso of No. 104b (Fig. 10): study for the figure of St. Francis Xavier preaching in the Vienna painting (No. 104; Fig. 6). The saint's attitude is exactly as in the finished picture, and the folds of his garment are much the same; his features, however, are not individualized.

104d. STUDY OF A BLIND MAN STRETCHING HIS ARMS FORWARD: DRAWING (Fig. 13)

Black and white chalk; 280 : 417 mm.; lower left corner cut off; sides of irregular length.

Vienna, *Albertina*. Inv. No. 17641.

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

EXHIBITED: *Meisterwerke aus Österreich*, Kunsthaus, Zürich, 1946–47, No. 90.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, v, pp. 200, 201, No. 1381; F.M. Haberditzl, *Über einige Handzeichnungen von Rubens in der Albertina, Die graphischen Künste*, xxxv, 1912, pp. 1, 2; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 44, No. 120, repr.; *Evers*, 1942, p. 218; H. Leporini, *Rubens*, in *Handzeichnungen grosser Meister*, Berlin, 1948, No. 8, repr.; A. Millier, *The Drawings of Rubens*, London-Los Angeles, 1957, p. 26, repr.; *Held*, I, p. 136, No. 100; II, pl. 109; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p. 180; *Smith, Rubens' Altargemälde*, pp. 46, 48, fig. 29.

A study for the blind man seen in an exactly similar pose in the finished picture at Vienna (No. 104; Fig. 6).

104e. STUDY OF A NUDE MAN RAISING HIS BODY FROM A RECUMBENT POSITION: DRAWING (Fig. 12)

Black chalk; consisting of a large sheet (353 : 536 mm.) upon which is pasted, above on the right, a smaller sheet (207 : 235 mm.). Below on the left, inscribed with pen by an unknown hand: *Rubbens fecit uit t grote antaer stuk van de Paters Jesuite te Antwerpen van St Ignatius* [sic] and mark of the collection of Sir Thomas Lawrence (L. 2445); above in the centre, *P.P. Rubbens*; below on the right, the mark of the collection of Benjamin West (L. 419).

London, *Victoria and Albert Museum*. Inv. No. D 904 & 905 - 1900.

PROVENANCE: Benjamin West (London, 1738–1820); Sir Thomas Lawrence (London, 1769–1830); bequeathed to the Victoria and Albert Museum by Miss E.F. Dalton, 1900.

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp*, 1956, No. 66.

LITERATURE: H. Reitlinger, *A Selection of Drawings by Old Masters in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, London, 1921, No. 68; [K.T. Parker], in *Old Master Drawings*, II, 1927, p. 39, n. 1; *Glück-Haberditzl*, No. 121, repr.; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 179-181, No. 114; II, pl. 114; P. Ward - Jackson, *Old Master Drawings*, in *Handbook of the Departments of Prints and Drawings and Paintings, Victoria and Albert Museum*, London, 1967, p. 24.

On the left, a study for the naked man raised from the dead by St. Francis Xavier, on the left of the Vienna canvas (No. 104; Fig. 6). On the smaller sheet pasted on the right are two studies of legs.

The first one of these leg studies was used with slight modification both in the final painting below on the right, and in the oil sketch at Vienna (No. 104a; Fig. 7). The other leg study was used for a kneeling man also in the right lower corner of the composition, but the figure in this pose occurs in the oil sketch only.

104f. STUDY OF A YOUTH WRAPPED IN A CLOAK, TURNED TO THE LEFT:
DRAWING (Fig. 9)

Black chalk on grey paper, heightened with white body-colour; 495 : 292 mm.

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. Inv. No. 2180.

PROVENANCE: Charles Ricketts (London, 1866-1931) and H. Charles Shannon (London, 1865-1937); bequeathed to the Fitzwilliam Museum by the latter, March 1937.

EXHIBITED: *Loan Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art*, Royal Academy, London, 1927, No. 561; *Exhibition of 17th Century Art in Europe*, Royal Academy, London, 1938, No. 598.

LITERATURE: *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 45, No. 123, repr.; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p. 181.

Drawing of a youth wrapped in an ample cloak and looking to the left: a study for the young Jesuit standing with St. Francis on the platform to the right of the large painting at Vienna (No. 104; Fig. 6). As in the final version, the young man is seen in profile, whereas in the oil sketch (No. 104a; Fig. 7) his head and body are half-turned towards the spectator.

104g. STUDY OF THE HEAD AND RIGHT HAND OF A WOMAN: DRAWING

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 14), Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Inv. No. D. 2630; 338 : 226 mm.; lit.: M. Delacre, *Le Dessin dans l'œuvre de Van Dyck*, Brussels, 1934, pp. 36, 37, fig. 15 (as *A. Van Dyck*); H. Vey, *Van Dyck Studien*, Cologne, 1958, p. 176, n. 28; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p. 181.

Head of a young woman, looking to the right, with her mouth half open. Below, a study of a hand. Rubens used this head for that of a young woman on the right of the resurrected man, below left in the finished painting at Vienna (No. 104; Fig. 6). The hand was not used again, though it corresponds with that of the woman in the modello (No. 104a; Fig. 7).

104h. THE MIRACLES OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER: DRAWING (Fig. 15)

Black chalk, pen and brown wash, heightened with white body-colour; 554 : 429 mm.; below, in the centre and on the right, two marks of the Louvre (L. 1899 and 2207).

Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre. Inv. No. 20308 (as after Rubens).

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

COPY: Engraving by M. van der Goes (Fig. 16; *V.S.*, p. 100, No. 47).

LITERATURE: F. Reiset, *Notice des Dessins, etc. au Musée National du Louvre*, I, Paris, 1866, No. 583 (as *after Rubens*); *Rooses*, v, pp. 162, 163 (as *retouched by Rubens*); F. Van den Wijngaert, *Inventaris der Rubeniaansche Prentkunst*, Antwerp, 1940, p. 59, No. 299 (as *M. van der Goes*); *Lugt, Louvre, Ecole flamande*, II, 1949, p. 42, No. 1149, pl. LXV (as *after Rubens*); *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p. 184, under No. 115 (as *L. Vorsterman, retouched by Rubens*).

Modello for the engraving made in 1633-35 by Marinus van der Goes from the altar-piece at Vienna (No. 104; Fig. 6). The picture is reproduced without significant changes, being only extended slightly at both sides. It is not clear why the engraving was made so long after Rubens stated, on 23 January 1619, that the picture in the Jesuit church at Antwerp was to be engraved together

with that of St. Ignatius (No. 115; Fig. 40). The use of line in this work is dry and very regular, and the relief is not very effective, suggesting another and less inspired hand than is discernible in the preliminary study for *The Miracles of St. Ignatius of Loyola* (No. 115c; Fig. 45); this latter was also engraved by Marinus van der Goes and, as will be seen, was perhaps the work of Van Dyck as a young man. Burchard and d'Hulst believed that Rubens himself retouched the present drawing, but having studied the original I am not clear that this is so.

105. ST. GEORGE SLAYING THE DRAGON (Fig. 17)

Oil on canvas; 304 : 256 cm.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1644.

PROVENANCE: Bought by King Philip IV of Spain from Rubens's estate; transported from the Royal Palace, Madrid, to the Prado, after 1794.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 145 : 117 cm; prov.: London, Lord Carrington, sale, 9 May 1930, lot 61 (as *Rubens*), bought by Sam Hartveld, Antwerp; (2) Drawing, mounted on canvas, Regensburg, Städtisches Museum (Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen), No. 60; 65 : 49 cm; prov.: Munich, Electoral Collections, where already mentioned in 1728; Munich, Alte Pinakothek; lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 74, No. 222 (as *Rubens*); *Rooses*, II, p. 269; J. Müller Hofstede, *Rubens' Sankt Georg und seine frühen Reiterbildnisse, Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XXVIII, 1965, pp. 74, 75, pl. 5 (as *Rubens*); (3) Drawing after the composition, except its left side with the princess (Fig. 19), Leningrad, Hermitage, Inv. No. 5497; 432 : 298 mm.; lit: M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, v, 1900, p. 201 (as probably by *L. Vorsterman*); (4) Etching after the composition, except its left side with the princess, by W. Pannels, 1631 (Fig. 20; *V.S.*, p. 101, No. 61).

LITERATURE: R. Cumberland, *Anecdotes of Eminent Painters in Spain*, 2nd ed., I, London, 1787, pp. 15, 16; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 133, No. 460; G. Cruzada Villaamil, *Rubens diplomático español*, Madrid, 1874, p. 348, No. 7; *Rooses*, II, pp. 268, 269, No. 434; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 30; *Dillon*, pp. 93, 197, No. 16, pl. xxvi; *K.d.K.*, p. 22; *Oldenbourg*, 1922, p. 51; *Evers*, 1943, p. 119; M. Jaffé, *Rubens in Italy: Rediscovered Works, The Burlington Magazine*, c, 1958, pp. 412, 415, 416, repr.; J. Müller Hofstede, *Rubens' Sankt Georg und seine frühen Reiterbildnisse, Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XXVIII, 1965, pp. 69-112, repr.; *Martin, Ceiling Paintings*, p. 166; W. Stechow, *Rubens and the Classical Tradition*, Cambridge, Mass., 1968, pp. 60, 61, 63, fig. 50.

The story of St. George's fight with the dragon, which was already regarded as apocryphal at the time of the Council of Trent, was popularized chiefly by the *Golden Legend*. Here Jacopo de Voragine relates how a dragon lived in a lake near the Libyan town of Silene, spreading death and destruction by its poisonous breath. To quiet its rage, the citizens gave it two sheep to devour daily, and when sheep began to run short they substituted one sheep and one human being. When the turn came to the king's daughter, she took leave of her father and made her way to the lakeside where the monster was to devour her. St. George happened to pass by on his horse and saw the princess weeping. When he learnt the reason he charged at the dragon and dealt it a mighty blow with his lance. He then told the princess to lead it into the city by means of her girdle, which she was miraculously able to do. The king and his subjects became Christians *en masse*, after which St. George killed the dragon with his sword (*Legenda Aurea*, I, col. 391-394; *A.A.S.S.*, April, III).

St. George, a muscular warrior in full armour, is shown on a rearing brown horse. In his right hand he raises his sword to deal the death-blow to the monster writhing in the foreground. The dragon, already grievously wounded by the hero's lance, is trying with one of its claws to remove a fragment of the weapon from its mouth. The princess watches the scene from behind, on the left, holding by the left forefoot the lamb that was to have been sacrificed with her. Some plants of the iris type in the foreground and middle distance suggest the shore of the lake. The sky on St. George's right is overcast; on the left, above the princess, it is bright with a few white clouds.

The iconography of St. George in profile on horseback, despatching the dragon with his sword, is very old and goes back at least to the early twelfth century (O. von Taube, *Die Darstellung des heiligen Georg in der italienischen Kunst*, Halle an der Saale, 1910, pp. 46 et seqq.). Müller Hofstede believed that a model for Rubens's painting was to be seen in the fresco on the same subject by Bernardino Lanino (born c. 1510-15, died before 1583), in the Sant' Ambrogio church at Milan (*op. cit.*, fig. 3 on p. 72). Burchard and d'Hulst also pointed out that the horse's head is of the same type as those in Leonardo da Vinci's *Battle of Anghiari*, of which Rubens in fact made a copy (*Glück-Haberdirzl*, No. 9). However, art historians have failed to notice that there is a much more direct prototype for this equestrian figure. In the Graphische Sammlung at Munich there is a chalk study by Titian of a charging horseman that is almost the mirror-image of Rubens's (P. Halm, B. Degenhart and W.

Wegner, *Hundert Meisterzeichnungen aus der Staatlichen Graphischen Sammlung München*, Munich, 1958, p. 46 and pl. 1). Unfortunately we can but guess how Rubens eventually knew this sheet.

In the gesture of the princess's arms and the turn of her neck, Burchard recognized motifs from the Medici Venus in the Uffizi at Florence, which was in the Villa Medici at Rome from 1584 to 1677 (G.A. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi. Le Sculture*, 1, Rome, 1958, pl. 45a). Müller Hofstede pointed out that an antique sculpture of Leda and the Swan, which has been lost but can be studied from an engraving in J.B. de Cavalleriis's *Statuarum Antiquarum Urbis Romæ Libri II* (Rome, 1585), includes a draped female figure in the same attitude as the princess (J. Müller Hofstede, *op. cit.*, fig. 7 on p. 76).

The princess's attitude is the same as that of St. Domitilla, seen in profile on the first altar-piece for Santa Maria in Vallicella at Rome (No. 109; Fig. 23), which was completed in 1607 and is now at Grenoble. Jaffé pointed out the similarity in colouring between the two works. All critics rightly agree in assigning the picture to Rubens's second Roman period: c. 1606 (Glück, Burchard and d'Hulst), c. 1605-7 (Jaffé), c. 1607-8 (Oldenbourg).

It is not known by whom the painting was commissioned. In default of further evidence we may take into consideration Jaffé's suggestion, supported by Müller Hofstede, that it may have been a Genoese, as St. George was the patron of Genoa and the Slaying of the Dragon was a popular subject there (O. von Taube, *op. cit.*, pp. 83 et seqq.). It is worth noting in this connection that Rubens's *Circumcision* for the high altar of Sant' Ambrogio in Genoa was painted in 1606 (*K.d.K.*, p. 21). However, for some reasons this painting never reached its original place of destination, as it was among the pictures bought from Rubens's estate by King Philip IV. In the inventory of Rubens's estate it is described as "Een H. Georgius te peerd, op doeck" ("A St. George on Horseback, on canvas"; *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 63, No. 155). In the list of the paintings bought by Philip IV this work is said to have been sold at the price of 1000 guilders (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, pp. 75, 76).

As Burchard and d'Hulst observed, it is quite possible that the painting was originally intended to be narrower. A vertical seam is visible 41 cm. from the right-hand edge. The supposition that the portion to the right of this was added later is supported by the fact that in the copy drawing (Fig. 19) in the Hermitage the horse's left forefoot is cut off by the edge at exactly the point where it is traversed by the seam in the picture. A perhaps even stronger argument is that

in the preliminary drawing in the Louvre (No. 105a; Fig. 18) the horse's foot is similarly cut off by the edge of the sheet.

When Rubens painted his turbulent hunting scenes between 1615 and the early 1602s, he reverted more than once to the here discussed composition from his Italian period. Burchard and d'Hulst have pointed out two instances of this. A somewhat free repetition of the central motif of a man on horseback is found in the *Crocodile and Hippopotamus Hunt* of c. 1615 in the Alte Pinakothek at Munich (*K.d.K.*, p. 114). A much more similar rendering of the same motif can be seen on the Munich *Lion Hunt* of c. 1621 (*K.d.K.*, p. 154). The present composition also influenced other painters. The Spaniard Juan Carreño evidently saw it in the royal apartments at Madrid, as his painting of *St. James the Greater Defeating the Saracens* (1660, in the Fine Arts Museum at Budapest; A. Pigler, *Barockthemen*, 1, Budapest, 1956, p. 433) is clearly derived from Rubens's work.

105a. ST. GEORGE SLAYING THE DRAGON: DRAWING (Fig. 18)

Pen and brown ink and brown wash with traces of black chalk; 337 : 266 mm.

Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre. Inv. No. 21964.

LITERATURE: *Lugt, Louvre, Ecole flamande*, II, 1949, p. 52, No. 1213 (as *Ecole et manière de Rubens*); M. Jaffé, *Rubens in Italy: Rediscovered Works, The Burlington Magazine*, C, 1958, p. 412, repr.; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 57, 58, No. 31; II, pl. 31; J. Müller Hofstede, *Rubens' Sankt Georg und seine frühen Reiterbildnisse, Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XXVIII, 1965, pp. 69-74, repr.; M. Jaffé, *Rubens as a Draughtsman, The Burlington Magazine*, CVII, 1965, p. 380; J. Müller Hofstede, in *Master Drawings*, IV, 1966, p. 441.

This drawing corresponds for the most part to the final form of the picture in the Prado (No. 105; Fig. 17) before it was widened, though some differences should be noted. Apart from the change of shape, reasons for which were suggested above in the discussion of the Madrid picture, there is a difference in the dragon's attitude and consequently in that of St. George. In the drawing, the monster sprawls right across the foreground and is attempting to claw the horse's belly. Its head is further to the left than in the final version and the Saint accordingly leans further to that side, so that he is seen in three-quarter face instead of frontally. The light is also different: in the drawing it falls from

the right, in the painting from the left. Finally the princess, who is suggested in this first state by a vague scrawl, must originally have been intended as a more animated figure. In the drawing she seems to be turning her head away to the left in horror at the fearful scene, and stretching out her arms in a gesture of self-defence.

106-108. THE TRIPTYCH OF THE CROSSBOWMEN'S GUILD OF LIER

106. THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. GEORGE (Fig. 21)

Oil on panel; 188 : 159 cm.

Bordeaux, Musée des Beaux-Arts. Inv. No. 7078.

PROVENANCE: St Gummarus's Church, Lier; removed by French troops in 1794 and sent to Paris, 1794; transported to Bordeaux, 1803.

EXHIBITED: *Meesterwerken uit het Museum van Bordeaux*, Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ghent, and Singer Museum, Laren, 1970, No. 9 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Mensaert*, I, p. 270; *Descamps, Voyage*, p. 133; *Michel*, 1771, pp. 161, 162; *Odevaere*, p. 323, No. 106; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp. 47, 48, No. 135; V.C. van Grimbergen, *Historische levensbeschrijving van P.P. Rubens, Ridder, Heer van Steen, enz.*, Rotterdam, 1840, pp. 152-154, 441-443; *Catalogue du Musée de Bordeaux*, Bordeaux, 1856, No. 330; *Clément de Ris*, II, pp. 338-340; *Rooses*, II, pp. 271, 272, No. 438.

According to the Golden Legend, St. George was beheaded for his faith in 303 during the persecution under Diocletian and Maximian, after suffering cruel torture with miraculous fortitude (*Legenda Aurea*, I, col. 396). This central panel of the triptych shows the last moments before the execution: a Roman high priest is making a last vain attempt to persuade the saint to abjure Christianity.

St. George, near the centre of the composition, is kneeling on a scaffold in front of a temple adorned with a statue of Apollo Musagetes. The executioner is seen on the right. With his left hand he tears off the martyr's upper garment, while in his right he holds the sword. A henchman is tying the saint's hands

behind his back. On the extreme left and in the centre background are two helmeted soldiers with halberds. St. George's helmet, sword and breastplate are below on the left. Between him and the high priest a gate can be seen, surmounted by a stone cartouche inscribed [S.]P.Q.R. Two angels hover in the upper part of the picture, holding out the martyr's crown to the young saint.

This work is clearly related to Veronese's work of the same scene, dated about 1566, in San Giorgio in Braida at Verona (*Fiocco, Veronese*, pl. LVII), a city which Rubens may have visited from Mantua or Venice. He has, however, simplified Veronese's animated composition with its profusion of figures. Whereas in the Verona altar-piece St. George is less prominent, in Rubens's version he dominates the scene, forming a central motif in the foreground surrounded by a comparatively small, harmonious group of figures. The monumental effect of the characters is enhanced by the use of motifs borrowed from Hellenistic sculpture. Thus the saint's torso seems to be modelled on the Torso Belvedere, and the executioner seen from behind is in the attitude of the Farnese Hercules: Rubens made several drawings of these works while at Rome (V.H. Miesel, *Rubens's Study Drawings after Ancient Sculpture, Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1963, p. 316, fig. 9; G. Fubini and J.S. Held, *Padre Resta's Rubens Drawings after Ancient Sculpture, Master Drawings*, II, 1964, pl. 5). The martyr's imploring gaze is that of the "Alessandro morente", a Greek sculpture used by Rubens for other scenes of martyrdom about this time, e.g. *The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian* at Berlin (No. 145; Fig. 108) and *The Stoning of St. Stephen* at Valenciennes (No. 146; Fig. 112). It has also recently been pointed out that the "Alessandro morente" influenced Rubens's more or less contemporary *Daniel in the Lions' Den* at Washington (E. Schwarzenberg, *The Portraiture of Alexander the Great in seventeenth-century Italy and France, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXII, 1969, p. 400).

The style of this picture, with its "classicizing" effect and cool local colouring, suggests that it was painted about 1615.

Until 1794 this panel was in the chapel of the Crossbowmen's Guild in St. Gummarus's church at Lier. Concerning the order for the painting, J.F.M. Michel gives some information from the Guild's account-book, now lost: "Au livre des comptes dudit serment on trouve que les députés, pour prendre ce tableau au laboratoire de Rubens, ne lui ont payé que 75 florins, argent de Brabant, en considération de la bonne amitié depuis longtemps régnante entre le Chef de cette Confrairie et le Peintre; & pour le peu de tems qu'il y avoit été

occupé: on voit encore annoté audit livre, que les dits députés, étant arrivés avec ce tableau à la Chambre dudit serment, où les Confrères admirant la grande beauté de cette pièce & la modicité du prix, régalerent leurs députés d'un noble souper, aux frais de la Confrairie." According to the same source the Brussels collector, *chevalier* Verhulst, in 1768 failed to buy the picture for 5000 guilders.

Michel also tells us that Wilem Panneels made an engraving of *The Martyrdom of St. George*, "sans titre ni dédication". This has not been traced; possibly Michel was thinking of Panneels's etching, after the picture, now in the Prado, of *St. George Slaying the Dragon* (Fig. 20).

107. THE PRINCESS OF SILENE

Oil on panel; c. 188 : c. 80 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: St. Gummarus's Church, Lier, bought by M.J.L. Nieuwenhuys from the wardens of St. Gummarus's Church, 1808; Harris sale, London (Christie's), 9 February 1811, lot 13 (as *St. Agnes*); Hart Davies sale, London (Coxe), 28 May 1814, lot 19; Edward Gray; G.J. Vernon, 1830.

COPY: Engraving published by L. Vorsterman, *St. Barbara* (Fig. 22; *V.S.* p. 113, No. 21).

LITERATURE: *Mensaert*, I, p. 270 (as *Sainte Agnès et son mouton*); *Descamps, Voyage*, p. 13; (as *Sainte Agnès avec un mouton*); *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, p. 256, No. 59 (as *St. Agnès*); *Rooses*, II, pp. 272, 273, No. 440 (as *Sainte Agnès avec un agneau*).

Mensaert tells us that the guild altar at Lier "se couvre de deux battans". The Libyan princess on the outer side of the left panel of the triptych has always been regarded as St. Agnes with her lamb. Mols informs us that an engraving of the panel was published by Lucas Vorsterman, who changed the figure to St. Barbara by taking away the lamb and adding a tower: "...de andere deur behelst de H. Agnes met een lammeke bij haer het welk wonder teer en dun geschilderd is, hier naer gaat ten geheele een prent uyt, gedrukt bij Lucas Vorsterman waarvan hij eene St. Barbara gemaekt heeft, daer bij voegende eenen thoren en achterlatende het lammeke" (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, No. 5733, fo. 147; abridged mention in *Rooses*, II, p. 272). In that engraving (Fig. 22) we see the saint, richly attired, holding the martyr's palm to her

breast with her left hand while her right is pressed against her gown. The tower with three windows is clearly visible in the background.

It is curious that nothing was painted on the inner side of the panels, as far as can be seen from eighteenth-century descriptions or nineteenth-century sales catalogues. Possibly they were painted with decorative motives or adorned with the guild's coat or arms; or they may have been sawn off at a later date, like the outer panels of the altar of St. Ildefonso (No. 118; Fig. 61) and either sold or hung in the guildhall.

108. ST. GEORGE SLAYING THE DRAGON

Oil on panel; c. 188 : c. 80 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: St. Gummarus's Church, Lier; bought by M.J.L. Nieuwenhuys from the wardens of St. Gummarus's Church, 1808; Harris sale, London (Christie's), 9 February 1811, lot 12; Hart Davies sale, London (Coxe), 28 May 1814, lot 20; Edward Gray; G.J. Vernon, 1830; C.J. Nieuwenhuys sale, London (Christie's), 10 May 1833 et seqq., lot 48; C. Stanfield.

LITERATURE: *Mensaert*, I, p. 270; *Descamps, Voyage*, p. 133; C.J. Nieuwenhuys, *A Review of the Lives and Works of some of the most eminent Painters, etc...*, London, 1834, pp. 198, 199; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, p. 256, No. 58; *Rooes*, II, p. 272, No. 439.

This painting, on the outer side of the right-hand panel of the St. George triptych at Lier, is described thus by C.J. Nieuwenhuys: "St. George, the conqueror of the dragon, has already pierced him with his lance, which is broken in the contest. The saint, armed with a helmet, breastplate and buckler, trusts wholly to his sword, and holds beneath him the monster he has overthrown. A landscape forms the ground of the picture, the brilliant sky shows to advantage the contrasts of light which strike the eye, and every touch indicates the forcible pencil of the illustrious master." The panel, like the one described above (No. 107), has been lost, but we have an indication of its dimensions in the catalogue of the Nieuwenhuys sale (10 May 1833), which states: "height 74 inches, width 39 $\frac{1}{2}$ " (c. 188 : c. 100 cm.). However, only the first of these figures can be correct. The centre panel, now at Bordeaux (No. 106;

(Fig. 21) is 188 cm. high, but if the width of the side panels were 100 cm. they would together be some 40 cm. wider than the centre panel, which has clearly never been reduced in width. Unfortunately we have no other indication of their size than that in the Nieuwenhuys catalogue.

109. ST. GREGORY THE GREAT SURROUNDED BY OTHER SAINTS (Fig. 23)

Oil on canvas; 477 : 288 cm.

Grenoble, Musée des Beaux-Arts. Inv. No. 97.

PROVENANCE: Chiesa Nuova, Rome; brought to Antwerp by Rubens himself on his return from Italy, 1608; erected above the altar of the Holy Sacrament, near the tomb of Rubens's mother, Maria Pypelinckx in the church of St. Michael's abbey at Antwerp, 1610; removed and sent to Paris by the French troops, 1794; sent to the Museum at Grenoble, 1811.

EXHIBITED: *Les Chefs d'Œuvre du Musée de Grenoble*, Petit Palais, Paris, 1935, No. 39.

COPIES: (1) Drawing by J. de Bisschop, whereabouts unknown; 450 : 320 mm.; prov.: Rogers collection; sale, Berlin (M. Perl), 11-12 April 1935, lot 508; (2) Etching by R. Eynhoudts (*V.S.*, p. 112, No. 4).

LITERATURE: F. Sweertius, *Monumenta sepulcralia et inscriptiones publicæ privatæque ducatus Brabantiae*, Antwerp, 1613, pp. 143, 144; G. Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori*, Rome, 1642, p. 362; A. Sanderus, *Chorographia Sacra Brabantiae*, Brussels, 1659, p. 31; Bellori, p. 223; Tessin, p. 84 (as *S. Caterina undt anderen heiligen*); De Wit, p. 151 (as *Den Antaer van St. Norbertus*); Descamps, *Vie*, pp. 313, 321 (as *Saint Norbert*); Berbie, p. 43, No. 3 (as *Saint Norbert*); Mensaert, 1, p. 257 (as *Saint Norbert et quelques autres Saints*); Descamps, *Voyage*, p. 171 (as *Saint Bernard qui porte ses regards vers le ciel*), Michel, 1771, p. 83; Reynolds, p. 170; Odevaere, p. 319, No. 65; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 10, No. 18; Clément de Ris, II, pp. 111, 112; A. Michiels, *L'Art flamand dans l'Est et le Midi de la France*, Paris, 1877, p. 353; Rooses, II, pp. 273-276, No. 441; Michel, pp. 108-111, rept.; K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg, p. 35; Dillon, pp. 24-26, pl. xxvii; K.d.K., p. 23; Evers, 1942, pp. 51-56, fig. 18; Evers, 1943, pp. 107-119; fig. 15; Van Puyvelde, Rome, pp. 147, 148; Van Puyvelde, p. 74; Jaffé, 1959, pp. 5-37, figs. 20, 22, 23, 37; Müller Hofstede, *Rubens's first Bozzetto*, pp. 442-450, fig. 14; J. Müller Hofstede, *Rubens' St. Georg und seine frühen Reiterbildnisse*, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, xxviii, 1965, pp. 80, 81; A. Monballieu, *P.P. Rubens en bet "Nachtmael" voor St. Win-*

oksbergen, *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen*, 1965, pp. 186, 187, 196; Warnke, pp. 82-84, fig. 17; Baudouin, 1972, pp. 46, 47.

St. Gregory the Great, together with the Virgin Mary, is the patron of the so-called Chiesa Nuova of Santa Maria in Vallicella, the Oratorians' church in Rome (L. Ponnelle and L. Bordet, *Saint Philippe de Néri et la société romaine de son temps (1515-1595)*, Paris, 1928, p. 292). He is seen in front of a gateway built in antique style, looking up at the Holy Ghost, which appears to him in the form of a dove. On the left are St. Maurus in full armour and St. Papianus, represented naked: the relics of these martyrs were transferred to the Chiesa Nuova in 1590 (L. Ponnelle and L. Bordet, *op. cit.*, p. 445). On the right are Saints Domitilla, Nereus and Achilleus: their presence is explained by the fact that some of their relics were brought to the Chiesa Nuova in 1597 (G. Calenzio, *La vita e gli scritti del Cardinal Baronio*, Rome, 1907, pp. 477, 478). Above the gateway, surrounded by six cherubs, is the Madonna di Vallicella, the miraculous picture preserved in the church since the middle ages.

Rubens's composition would not be imaginable without the example of the *Sacre Conversazioni* of the Italian high Renaissance. We may think more particularly of Titian's *Sei Santi*, an altar-piece that was in the Frari church at Venice until the end of the eighteenth century and is now in the Vatican (*Tierze, Titian*, pl. 137), and of which an engraving was made by Niccolò Boldrini (*Müller Hofstede, Rubens' first Bozzetto*, fig. 10). This picture, like Rubens's, depicts a group of six saints, with St. Nicholas, like St. Gregory in the present work, dominating the others and gazing ecstatically upwards. The two martyrs on the left are shown in a characteristic attitude of triumph, closely related to such works of antique sculpture as the *Mars Ultor* in Rome (H. Stuart Jones, *The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*, II, Oxford, 1912, pl. 7, fig. 40). Rubens's reproduction of the miraculous picture follows the main lines of the latter's iconography (*Warnke*, fig. 20). As in the medieval painting, the Madonna is seen in front view with the Child on her lap; the latter's right hand is raised in blessing, while his left hand rests on a globe. However, Rubens has omitted the crowns worn by the Madonna and Jesus in the venerated picture.

We are fully informed as to the circumstances in which this altar-piece was executed. On 2 August 1606 it was recorded in the "Liber de Decreti" of the Roman Oratory that the miraculous picture of the Madonna di Vallicella was to be transferred to the high altar of the Chiesa Nuova. From the same source

we learn that the Fathers agreed on a price of 450 scudi with the artist who wished to paint the altar-piece. "Si trasporti l'Imagie della Madona all Altar Maggiore, et si accetti l'offerta del Pittore che vol fare il quadro, et lascia che il prezzo stimato da due Gentil' huomini, quatrocento cinquanta scudi" (*Jaffé*, 1959, p. 7). That this artist was Peter Paul Rubens, then staying in Rome, appears from the contract he signed shortly afterwards, on 25 September 1606, with Fathers Flaminio Ricci and Prometeo Peregrini. In this he undertook to paint the altar-piece within eight months, to pay for his own materials and to donate to the Congregation the sum of 50 scudi (originally fixed at 200). It also appears from the contract that the Fathers originally imposed strict conditions. Before commissioning the painting they wished to see other work by Rubens; he must submit a modello for their approval, and if they did not like the final picture he was to take it back. These conditions, however, were modified through the intervention of a prelate, not named in the contract, who provided 300 scudi from his own purse. Under the final terms, the picture could not be rejected once it had been publicly displayed; while Rubens's fee was to be paid to him before the picture was exhibited in the church, subject to the approval of two noblemen or cardinals, of whom each party to the contract was to nominate one. The contract reads as follows:

"Essendo che li mesi passati dal R.P. Artemio Vannini da Siena fu proposto al Rettore della Congregazione dell'Oratorio nella chiesa nuova di pozzo bianco di Roma l'infrascritto partito a beneficio di detta chiesa, et dell'infrascritto pittore, cioè che Un Prelato di questa corte di Roma si per far opera di charità verso detta chiesa come per far conoscere il valore di un Pittore nominando da Sua Signoria Rma, offeriva dare scudi trecento di moneta del suo proprio per parte di quanto fosse poi stimata l'opera compita che ella fosse, et altri 200 simili della medesima stima offeriva rimettere, et rilassare del suo il medesimo pittore ad utilità di essa chiesa, et successivamente essendo che sia stato proposto e trattato detto partito dal detto Rettore fra li preti di detta congregatione, et sia stato accettato con rendimento di molte gratie al Prelato benefattore con l'infrascritte conditioni, et 1° che sia loro dato sodisfattione prima d'ogni altra cosa poter vedere qualche opera fatta dal Pittore nominando 2° che il quadro da farsi dal detto Pittore in detto altar maggiore, sia conforme a quello, che da essi Preti li sarà ordinato, et al disegno che esso Pittore doverà prima farne, e mostrare loro. 3° che non piacendo loro l'opera compita, non siano obligati pigliarla, ma possino liberamente relassarla ad esso Pittore.

Ultimo che sodisfacendo, et risolvendosi pigliarla non siano obligati pagarli quel di più, che sarà stimato da Pittori intelligenti oltre li sopradetti trecento scudi, e remissione di parte di essa stima, come di sopra, ma siano tenuti solamente farli un donativo secondo che piacerà e parerà loro conveniente et finalmente essendo, che il predetto Pittore si sia contentato delle condizioni proposte, ed dichiarazione però che il Prelato non intenda usare la detta charità di 300 scudi, se non in evento che si conceda di fare il quadro detto al predetto Pittore, ma quando per qualche causa non vada avanti il partito, non intende il detto Prelato fare la detta elemosina. Item che la dichiarazione da farsi da essi Padri circa l'opera, finita che ella sarà, se piace loro o non piace, la vogliono, o non vogliono, si faccia prima che l'opera sia esposta in publico sopra il predetto altare ma doppo che l'haveranno esposta in publico, non sia più lecito loro rifiutarla et che non contentandosi li detti Preti stare alla stima di detti dui Pittori come è consueto; nel qual caso si contentarà il detto Pittore di rimettere scudi 200 della stima. Ma contentandosi solo di far un donativo, questo donativo si dichiari per dui gentilhuomini o dui Cardinali ad eleggersi uno per parte, et alla loro dichiarazione l'una e l'altra parte debba stare. Di qui è che hora volendo il Sr Pietro Paolo Rubenio—fiammengo Pittore nominato dal predetto P. Artemio in nome del predetto Mons.^{re} et li predetto Rettore, et il P. Prometeo Procuratore di detta Congregatione, stabilire, e fermare detto partito, per la presente poliza, quale vogliono che habbia forza di Instrumento publico, et si possa stendere con tutte le clausule, obligationi, et cautele contenute nella più ampla forma di obligatione Camerale, promettono a nome di detta Congregazione dare, et danno a dipingere al detto Sr Pietro Paolo il detto quadro del detto altar maggior della detta loro chiesa secondo il disegno, o sbizzo mostrato loro dal Sr. Pietro Paolo, nel quale da un lato sono li SSti Martiri Papia, e Mauro, dall'altra li SSti Nereo, et Achilleo, et Flavia Domitilla, in mezzo S. Gregorio Papa, di sopra la Madona S.^{ma} con molti altri ornamenti et compito che sarà riuscendo a sodisfattione di detta loro Congregatione, subito che da quella sarà accettato ed approvato, inanzi che sia esposto in publico, fare e pagare al detto Sr Pietro Paolo in recognitione della sua charità un donativo di quella qualità, che dichiararanno dui gentilhuomini da eleggersi uno per parte et alla dichiarazione loro stare, et non richiamare, ma sodisfare e pagare secondo quella et all'incontro il detto Sr Pietro Paolo promette dare il detto quadro compito come di sopra a tutte sue spese fra termine di otto mesi pigliando sopra di se il peso e pericolo di riscuotere li 300 scudi

dal predetto Monsignore, promettendo per quelli non molestare in alcun tempo li detti preti e Congregatione e relassa liberamente non solo li sudetti trecento scudi da riscuotersi, come sopra ma ancora 50 scudi del vero et giusto valore di detto quadro, contentandosi del detto donativo secondo che sarà dichiarato dalli predetti dui gentilhuomini da eleggersi come di sopra. Anchora degli Azzurri et in fede re in Roma questo giorno XXV di 7bre 1606. Io Flamminio Riccio Rettore Prometto ed Confermo quanto di sopra / Io Prometeo Peregrini Procuratore prometto et confermo come sopra / Io Pietro Paulo Rubenio prometto et confermo come sopra / Io Germanico Fedeli fui presente a quanto di sopra / Io Gio. Battista Pio fui presente a quanto di sopra." (*Jaffé*, 1959, pp. 7-9.)

As *Jaffé* has pointed out, the prelate referred to in the contract was in all probability Giacomo Serra, commissary-general to the Papal curia. On 25 October 1608, in connection with the execution of three paintings on schist which finally took the place of the present work, Rubens confirmed the receipt of 300 scudi from "Monsignor Illustrissimo Serra" (A. Pinchart, *Les tableaux de Rubens dans l'Oratoire de Rome*, *Rubens-Bulletijn*, I, 1882, p. 111).

That Rubens felt greatly honoured by the commission is shown in a letter he wrote on 2 December 1606 to Annibale Chieppio, secretary of state to the duke of Mantua, Vincenzo Gonzaga. He described it as the greatest honour of this kind that could have come his way in Rome, the church in question being then the most famous and popular one in the city, and already adorned by the foremost Italian artists: "Offerendosi dunque la più bella et superba occasione di tutta Roma mi spinse ancora zelo d'honore a prevalermi della mia sorte. Quest' é l'altar maggiore de la Chiesa nuova delli Preti dell'Oratorio detta S. Maria in Vallicella, senza dubio hoggidi la piu celebrata et frequentata chiesa di Roma per esser situata giusto nel centro d'essa et adornata a concorrenza di tutti li più valenti pittori d'Italia." (*Rooses-Ruelens*, I, p. 354.)

Except for retouching, the work was finished by approximately the due date. On 9 June 1607 Rubens complained to Annibale Chieppio that it could not be placed in position before the middle of September because the miraculous picture of the Madonna could not be transferred sooner; on the other hand it was essential to do the last retouching when the work was installed in its place above the altar. "La sacra imagine ancora della Madonna della Vallicella che va commesso dentro la sommità del quadro mio non potrà trasportarsi prima di mezzo settembre che vanno insieme, non potendosi scoprire l'una senza

l'altro, oltre che sarà necessario che io ritocchi la pittura mia al luoco istezzo prima che scoprirla come s'usa di fare non volendo ingannarsi." (*Rooses-Ruelens*, I, pp. 376, 377). However, the painting was not put to its original purpose, as we learn in detail from Rubens's letter to Chieppio of 2 February 1608: "Non mi pare fuori di proposito, il rendere conto a V.S. Illustrissima d'un caso stravagante che mi è occorso, havendosi lei per l'affettione che mi porta sempre mostrato interessatiss^{mo} nelle cose mie. E tanto piu il farò voluntieri quanto penso questa disgracia mia poter risultare in servizio di S.A. S^{ma}. Sappia dunque V.S. I^{ma} che'el mio quadro per l'Altar maggiore della Chiesa nova, essendo riuscito buonissimo, i con summa soddisfattione di quelli Padri i (ciò che rare volte accade) di tutti gli altri ch'el videro prima. Ha però sortito così sciagurata luce sopra quel Altare, che a pena si ponno discernere le figure non che godere l'esquisitezza del colorito, e delicatezza delle teste e panni cavati con gran studio del naturale i secondo il giudizio d'ognuno ottimamente rusciti. Di maniera ch'io vedendo buttato quel buono che c'è, ne potendo conseguire l'honore dovuto alle mie fatiche senza che siano vedute, penso di non scoprirlo più, ma di levarlo de li, e cercare qualche miglior luce contutto ciò ch'el prezzo sia stabilito in ottocento scudi (a dieci giulij per scudo) cioè ducatonj, come può farmi fede il Sig^r Magni che sa apunto come il negozio è passato. Ma perche li Padri non voglionochel quadro li sia tolto, senza ch'io m'obligi di farli di mia mano una copia di quello, sopra l'istesso altare depignendola in pietra o materia che sorba li colori a fine che non ricevono lustro da quei perversi lumi, non giudico perciò conveniente al honor mio che in Roma siano due tavole simili de mia mano. Ma ricordandomi ch'el Signor Ducca e Madama Ser^{ma} altre volte mi dissero di volere un quadro mio per la Galeria delle Pitture, confesso che poi che l'Altezze loro mi vogliono far questo honore, mi sarebbe carissimo che si servissero della sudetta tavola che senza dubbio di gran lunga è riuscita la miglior opera, ch'io facessi mai, ne sono facilmente per risolvermi di fare un'altra volta tal sforzo d'ogni mio studio, e volendolo fare forse non mi riuscirebbe così felicemente. Et il tutto sarebbe ben impiegato in quel loco ripieno di concorrenza e gielosia di tanti valenthuomini. Del prezzo (benche stabilito e concertato in ottocento scudi) non servira di pregiudicio la stima di Roma. Ma io mi rimettero sempre nella discretione di S.A. et ancora il pagamento a sua commodità. Un centinaro di scudi o dua in fuori di quali havrei di bisogno per adesso mentre andarò facenda la copia. La quale si spedira quanto prima al più in un par di mesi, non occorrendo studiarla di novo. Si che

non mancarò di ritrovarmi infallibilmente inanzi Pasqua à Mantova. Se V.S. Ill^{ma} si compiacerà di favorirmi ancora questa volta con fare la proposta al S^r Ducca, benchè li oblii mei non si ponno accrescere, sarà però un renovarli tutto in uno. I la supplico volermi avisare quanto prima della mente di S.A. perche tenerò il quadro coperto, e tutto il negozio sospeso fra tanto. Et in caso che S.A. accetti l'offerta subito mi rissolverò di levarlo e d'esponerlo nella medesima Chiesa in Publico a miglior luce, per sodisfattione di Roma e mia insieme. Perche nella copia non occorerà mettere tanto del buono i senza gran finimento perche non potra mai essere ben goduta. Ma perche V.S. sia ben d'ogni cosa informata ha da sapere ancora l'argomento essere bellissimo per il numero, grandezza e varietà di figure de vecchi, giovani i donne riccamente abbigliati, et ancora che tutti siano santi non hanno però contrasegno o proprieta alcuna che non se possa applicare ad ogni altro santo de simil grado. Et la grandezza de la tavola non è tanto essorbitante, che sià per occupare gran loco, per essere stretta ed alta. In somma, io sono sicuro che l'Altezze loro vedendola restaranno intieramente sodisfatte come infiniti che l'hanno veduta in Roma. Mi perdona di gracia V.S. Ill^{ma} del fastidio di questa bagatella, ch'io so quanto non convengà alla gravità de suoi negocij i confesso essere questa proprio un abusare della sua cortesia, con tutto ciò, perche molto mi preme, la suplico voler pigliarla a petto, et esser sicura di non poter favorire a persona che più stimi li suoi favori di me. Et per fine baccio a V.S. Ill^{ma} humilmente le mani." (*Rooses-Ruelens*, I, pp. 403-405). In short, although the Oratorians seem to have been pleased with the picture, the lighting was so bad that the figures in their different shades of colour could hardly be distinguished from one another. Rubens therefore wanted it removed from the high altar to a more suitable place, but the Fathers demanded that in that case he should make a copy on schist or some other non-reflecting substance. Not wishing to leave two versions of the same painting in Rome, Rubens suggested to Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga that he should buy the original: he (Rubens) was prepared to reduce the price agreed on with the Oratorians, which seems meanwhile to have risen to 800 scudi. However, on 15 February 1608 Chieppio wrote to Giovanni Magno, the Mantuan envoy to the Holy See, that his master could not afford the purchase, much as he admired Rubens's work. "Io non trovo disposta S.A. a far l'aquisto del quadro del Sr Pietro Paolo, caminandosi adesso con molta riserva nelle spese, se ben per altro mostra di stimar l'opere sue grandemente, come pur ne scrivo al medesimo Sr. P. Paolo." (*Rooses-Ruelens*, I, p. 410).

Evidently Rubens now saw no other solution than to keep the picture himself. He took it with him when he returned to Antwerp shortly afterwards, and in 1610 had it placed above the altar of the Holy Sacrament in the church of St. Michael's Abbey, near the grave of his mother Maria Pypelinckx. This is shown by an inscription beneath the painting which has now disappeared but was recorded by Sweertius: "Matri Virgini hanc tabulam a se pictam, de suo ornatam, pio affectu ad opt. Matris sepulcrum, commune cum uxore Isabella Brant, sua sibi die Petrus Paulus Rubens L.M.D. ipso die D. Michaelis Archangelii Anno CIO. IO. CX." This tells us that the painting was installed on St. Michael's feast-day, 29 September. It soon became highly celebrated. On 12 March 1611 it is mentioned by the Antwerp merchant Jan le Grand, in a letter to his agent at Dunkirk, as one of "diversche stucken ... die in groote extime gehouden worden te Antwerpen" ("many works ... that are held in high esteem at Antwerp"; A. Monballieu, *op. cit.*, p. 196).

During his last few months in Rome Rubens made a new version of the painting, on schist, for the high altar of the Chiesa Nuova. It still exists, and differs considerably from the original. Instead of a single canvas the figures are arranged in three separate pictures of equal size. *The Madonna di Vallicella Adored by Angels* was placed above the high altar in the apse, and the pictures of saints were hung on the side-walls of the choir (Rooses, I, pp. 270-275, No. 205; II, pp. 276-278, Nos. 442, 443). As in this group of three coherent paintings the main emphasis is on the representation of the Madonna this second commission for the Chiesa Nuova will be discussed in Part IV of the *Corpus Rubenianum*.

109a. ST. GREGORY THE GREAT SURROUNDED BY OTHER SAINTS: DRAWING (Fig. 24)

Pen and brown ink; 210 : 370 mm.

Farnham, Collection of Wolfgang Burchard.

PROVENANCE: Art dealer Laporte, Hanover; Dr. Rolph Grosse, Berlin; Dr. Ludwig Burchard, Berlin and London.

EXHIBITED: *Amsterdam*, 1933, No. 87 (repr.); *Brussels*, 1938-39, No. 9 (repr.); *Artists in 17th Century Rome*, Wildenstein Gallery, London, 1955, No. 68; *Antwerp*, 1956, No. 27.

LITERATURE: L. Burchard, *Nachträge*, in *Glück*, 1933, p. 375; Evers, 1943, pp. 114, 119, fig. 18; Van Puyvelde, *Rome*, p. 150; *Cat. Exh. Rotterdam*, 1953-54, pp. 33, 35; Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, I, pp. 46, 47, No. 26; II, pl. 26r; Müller Hofstede, *Rubens's first Bozzetto*, pp. 446, 447, fig. 6; J. Müller Hofstede, in *Master Drawings*, IV, 1966, p. 440; M. Jaffé, *Rubens and Raphael*, in *Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Art Presented to A. Blunt*, London, 1967, p. 104; Martin, *Ceiling Paintings*, p. 124; Warnke, pp. 78, 79, fig. 14.

A very cursory oblong sketch for the lower half of the Grenoble altar-piece (No. 109; Fig. 23). Only St. Gregory and St. Domitilla can be clearly recognized; in contrast to the final version, the former is here depicted frontally. Domitilla's attitude is much the same as in the drawing in the Metropolitan Museum (No. 109b; Fig. 27). Immediately to the left of St. Gregory the figure of Domitilla is reproduced in a still more cursory fashion. Next come three other figures: two of them, in profile and full face respectively, were thought by Burchard and d'Hulst to be "warrior saints", but this does not seem clear. The third figure is that of a woman: it is not clear whom it represents, but it appears to be a frontal version of the figure of Domitilla on the right. Immediately to the left of the latter is a veiled woman: as Burchard and d'Hulst noted, this figure is repeated in the much later *St. Magdalen Repentant* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum at Vienna (No. 129; Fig. 82). As pointed out in the description of the final version, Boldrini's engraving of Titian's *Sei Santi* may have been the basis of this altar-piece. The resemblance, pointed out by Müller Hofstede, between the horizontal shape of the present sketch and that of the engraving of the lower part of *Sei Santi* seems to strengthen the likelihood that Rubens's composition is based on Titian's. An *Entombment* scene is drawn on the reverse side.

109b. STUDY OF A WOMAN SAINT: DRAWING (Fig. 27)

Bistre wash, reinforced with pen and ink over preliminary work in black chalk; 470 : 315 mm. Inscribed by a later hand, on top: *Anthony van Dyck*, at bottom: *A.V.D.*

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund. No. 65175.

PROVENANCE: Art market, Rome, 1932; purchased by Dr. L. Burchard, Berlin, afterwards London; Lilli Burchard, London; sold to the Metropolitan Museum, 1966.

EXHIBITED: *Amsterdam*, 1933, No. 84 (repr.); *London*, 1950, No. 43; *Antwerp*, 1956, No. 26 (repr.).

LITERATURE: L. Burchard, *Nachträge*, in *Glück*, 1933, p. 375; C. Norris, *The Rubens Exhibition at Amsterdam*, *The Burlington Magazine*, LXIII, 1933, p. 230; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 114, 119, fig. 20; C. Norris, *Rubens in Retrospect*, *The Burlington Magazine*, XCIII, 1951, pp. 4, 7; *Cat. Exh. Rotterdam, 1953-54*, under No. 3; D. Sutton, *Cat. Exh. Artists in 17th Century Rome*, Wildenstein Gallery, London, 1955, pp. 83, 84; *Held*, I, pp. 127, 128, No. 74; II, pl. 85; *Jaffé*, 1959, p. 25; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 51-53, No. 28; II, pl. 28; Müller Hofstede, *Rubens's first Bozzetto*, p. 447, fig. 7; M. Jaffé, *Rubens as a Draughtsman*, *The Burlington Magazine*, CVII, 1965, p. 380; J. Bean, in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, XXV, 1966, p. 75, repr.; J. Müller Hofstede, in *Maßer Drawings*, IV, 1966, p. 441; *Warnke*, p. 79.

A full-length drawing of a woman, seen partly from the back; she is barefoot and is walking slowly leftwards. She wears a tunic with full sleeves and a cloak which trails on the ground and is partly draped over her hips. Her hand rests on a sword, lightly sketched in, evidently as an afterthought; apparently she was intended to represent an early Christian martyr. On the left are traces in black chalk of what may be a niche or arch containing a statue or picture, perhaps that of the *Madonna di Vallicella*; at all events this scribble could not have been meant for a proposed human figure, as Müller Hofstede (*Rubens's first Bozzetto, loc. cit.*) contends. In the left bottom corner are three oblique parallel lines that may suggest steps. Burchard was the first to point out that this sketch is closely related to the first painting executed in 1607 for the high altar of Santa Maria in Vallicella, Rome (No. 109; Fig. 23). The woman here depicted resembles, especially in the treatment of her clothing and the position of her left arm and right hand, the figure of St. Domitilla in the modello for the Grenoble picture, now in Berlin (No. 109d; Fig. 25), but the Saint in that picture is seen more strictly in profile than in the present sketch.

109c. BUST OF ST. DOMITILLA: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 28)

Oil on paper, mounted on panel; 88.5 : 67.5 cm., including the addition of a strip of 10 cm. on the left hand side, and of a strip of 6 cm. on the right hand side.

Bergamo, Accademia Carrara.

PROVENANCE: Bequeathed by Annibale Costa to Count Lochis for the future Accademia Carrara, on 17th May 1841.

LITERATURE: *Elenco dei quadri dell' Accademia Carrara in Bergamo*, Bergamo, 1912, No. 447 (as *Maniera del Rubens*); Oldenbourg, 1922, p. 47, fig. 23; E. Kieser, *Antikes im Werke des Rubens*, *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, x, 1933, p. 111; Evers, 1943, p. 114; Van Puyvelde, *Rome*, p. 28, fig. 19; Müller Hofstede, *Rubens's first Bozzetto*, p. 449; J. Müller Hofstede, in *Master Drawings*, IV, 1966, p. 441; J. Müller Hofstede, *Zur Kopfstudie im Werk des Rubens*, *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, xxx, 1968, pp. 227, 228, fig. 160.

The half-length figure of a woman, in profile against a dark background. She is dressed in a loose white garment, and has a rope of pearls round her neck. She is wrapping a fur round her waist with her left arm, which is partially bare. She holds a palm in her right hand; her wavy black hair is adorned with a diadem.

Oldenbourg, the first critic to ascribe this work to Rubens, pointed out that this head was almost exactly repeated in reverse on the left of *The Circumcision* of about 1606 in Sant' Ambrogio at Genoa (*K.d.K.*, p. 21). Kieser for his part remarked on the connection between this study and the figure of St. Domitilla in the painting at Grenoble (No. 109; Fig. 23). Only after the modello from the former German imperial collections (No. 109d; Fig. 25) had come to light was it possible for Evers to establish that this female figure was the immediate model for St. Domitilla in the last-named sketch.

Both Oldenbourg and Kieser emphasized the antique character of this preliminary study, which they called typically "Junoesque". Personally I think that Müller Hofstede (*Zur Kopfstudie...*, *loc. cit.*) was right in his suggestion that the realistic features of this female head seem to be painted from life rather than from an idealized prototype. J.B. Descamps writes of the altar-piece now at Grenoble: "On prétend que la tête d'une Sainte Catherine [sic] de ce tableau étoit d'après celle d'une courtisane fort belle et fort connue." (*Descamps, Vie*, p. 313). Perhaps this belief related in fact to the present study.

109d. ST. GREGORY THE GREAT SURROUNDED BY OTHER SAINTS: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 25)

Oil on canvas; 146 : 119 cm.

Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen.

PROVENANCE: Bought for the collection of King Frederick II of Prussia, by 1766; Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin; Neues Schloss, Potsdam; bought in 1940 by Hitler for

the projected museum in Linz; Central Collecting Point, Munich, 1945; Gemälde-Treuhandverwaltung der Oberfinanzdirektion, Munich; since 1966 on permanent loan to the Berlin Gallery from the German Federal Government.

COPY: Painting (Fig. 26), Siegen, Museum des Siegerlandes; canvas, 148 : 118 cm.; for references, see under No. 109e.

EXHIBITED: *Rotterdam, 1953-54*, No. 3 (repr.).

LITERATURE: C.F. Förster, *Das Neue Palais bei Potsdam*, Berlin, 1923, p. 57; L. Burchard, *Skizzen des jungen Rubens, Sitzungsberichte der kunsthistorischen Gesellschaft Berlin*, October 1926-May 1927, p. 2, No. 3; Evers, 1943, pp. 111-116, 119, 327, fig. 16; *Van Puyvelde, Rome*, p. 150; M. Jaffé, *Rubens at Rotterdam, The Burlington Magazine*, xcvi, 1954, p. 54; K. Arndt, in *Kunstchronik*, xi, 1958, p. 355; Jaffé, 1959, pp. 23-25; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, 1, p. 52; Müller Hofstede, *Rubens's first Bozzetto*, p. 445, fig. 4; L.M., *Reiche Spenden aus ehemaligem Reichsbesitz, Weltkunst*, xxxvii, 1967, p. 82; *Warnke*, pp. 79-81, fig. 15; *Summary Catalogue of Paintings in the Dablen Museum*, Berlin, 1968, p. 94.

The four Saints are shown on steps in front of a monumental arch, through which can be seen a landscape with classical ruins. Apart from the absence of Nereus and Achilleus and the picture of the Virgin, there are some smaller differences from the finished altar-piece. St. Gregory here wears his papal *zucchetto*, whereas in the final version he is bare-headed; Maurus is seen from behind and not in profile; Papianus is clad in armour instead of being naked as a martyr; Domitilla is in full profile instead of her face being half-turned towards the spectator.

While Burchard, who first published this sketch, rightly regarded it as the earliest conception of the theme, Evers believed it to have been painted after the Grenoble altar-piece (No. 109; Fig. 23), as a fresh attempt after the latter had been found unsatisfactory. The only argument of any weight advanced by Evers is that Papianus is shown clothed, as in the second version. But it is not at all strange that Rubens in his second version should have reverted to older ideas that he had not used in the painting at Grenoble. Evers also remarked that Nereus and Achilleus might have been omitted from the present version for reasons of composition, and he thought the Madonna was left out because Rubens wanted to distinguish her from the saints. This distinction was indeed made in the second version, but there the figures are spread over three separate paintings, with the Madonna in the centre and two saints on either side (*K.d.K.*, pp. 24, 25).

It is not very clear how to define the original role of this very elaborate painting in the genesis of the Chiesa Nuova altar-piece. There may be some ground for accepting Jaffé's hypothesis that Rubens conceived it as a "trial essay" to give the Fathers an idea of his skill, for which, as the contract shows, they had asked as a condition of his executing the altar-piece.

Both Burchard and Jaffé independently pointed out that the schema of this composition resembles that of Correggio's *Madonna di S. Giorgio*, now in the Dresden Gemäldegalerie, which Rubens must have seen in its original place in the church of San Pietro Martire at Modena, not far from Mantua (*Correggio. Des Meisters Gemälde*, ed. by G. Gronau, *Klassiker der Kunst*, x, 1907, p. 136). In particular, Maurus's stance and the turn of his body, seen from the back, appear to derive directly from Correggio's figure of St. George.

109e. ST. GREGORY THE GREAT SURROUNDED BY OTHER SAINTS (Fig. 26)

Oil on canvas; 148 : 118 cm.

Siegen, *Museum des Siegerlandes*. Inv. No. R-207.

PROVENANCE: Freiherr von Grundherr (as attributed to Titian); F. Rothmann, London; Private collection, Württemberg; Heinz Kisters, Kreuzlingen (Switzerland).

EXHIBITED: *Meisterwerke aus Baden-Württembergischem Privatbesitz*, Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart, 1958-59, No. 169a (repr.); *Meisterwerke der Malerei aus Privatsammlungen im Bodenseegebiet*, Künstlerhaus, Bregenz, No. 86; *Peter Paul Rubens*, Oberes Schloss, Siegen, 1967, not numbered (repr.).

LITERATURE: K. Arndt, in *Kunstchronik*, xi, 1958, p. 355 (as a copy); Müller Hofstede, *Rubens's first Bozzetto*, pp. 442-450, fig. 1; O. Benesch, *Neue Beiträge zum Werke des Rubens*, in *Walter Friedländer zum 90. Geburtstag*, Berlin, 1965, p. 43; Warnke, p. 98, n. 109.

Burchard, whose view was later supported by Bauch, Benesch and Müller Hofstede, regarded this painting from the modello at Berlin (No. 109d; Fig. 25) as a work by Rubens's own hand, subsequent to the latter version. Müller Hofstede actually thought it was a sketch which Rubens might have presented to the connoisseur Giacomo Serra.

This, however, seems untenable, if only because it is unlikely that the artist would have made a second, identical version of a particular sketch. Moreover,

the work at Siegen is manifestly inferior in execution to that at Berlin; it is languid in workmanship and has none of the latter's powerful modelling, sense of space and effectiveness of detail.

109f. ST. GREGORY THE GREAT SURROUNDED BY OTHER SAINTS:
OIL SKETCH OR DRAWING

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPY: Engraving by J.B. de Wit (Fig. 29; *V.S.*, p. 101, No. 65).

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, II, p. 275; L. Burchard, *Skizzen des jungen Rubens, Sitzungsberichte der kunstgeschichtlichen Gesellschaft Berlin*, October 1926–May 1927, p. 2, No. 2; *Evers*, 1943, pp. 111–113, fig. 7; E. Haverkamp Begemann, in *Cat. Exb. Rotterdam, 1953–54*, p. 35; *Jaffé*, 1959, p. 35, n. 89; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p. 52; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens's first Bozzetto*, p. 448, fig. 9.

Unlike the sketch in Berlin (No. 109d; Fig. 25), this one, which is known only from an engraving by J.B. de Wit, contains the figures of Achilleus and Nereus; it also shows a medallion at the top, surrounded by four angels with festoons. On the right, next to Maurus and Papianus, is a seventh figure clad in armour. The scene is conceived in accordance with the contract of 25 September 1605, so we may presume that this sketch was executed after Rubens had definitely received the commission. Maurus's attitude is nearly the same as in the Berlin painting, the only difference being that he is shown with a palm as his attribute. Domitilla and St. Gregory are also the same, except that the latter is here wearing a tiara instead of the *zucchetto*. Papianus, however, is not seen directly from the front in this sketch, but in three-quarter face looking slightly to the left (right in the engraving).

The picture of the Madonna di Vallicella does not appear in the medallion; the engraver used the space for the letters SPQR, perhaps because the painting was intended for a Roman church. The miraculous picture does not appear in the next modello either, although this contains a space for it; it would seem that Rubens did not turn his attention to it until he had decided on the composition as a whole.

Evers mistakenly regarded this sketch as one of the "Abwandlungsversuche" made by Rubens after the rejection of the first altar-piece for Santa Maria in Vallicella (No. 109; Fig. 23).

This modello may have been the first one executed after the conclusion of the contract of 25 September 1605. In no way can I follow Jaffé, who sought to identify this "disegno o sbozzo" with a drawing now in the Museum at Montpellier (Jaffé, 1959, pp. 25, 26, figs. 13-16). I cannot accept his attribution to Rubens of this sheet which in my opinion should rather be regarded as a somewhat free adaptation of the Roman altar-piece.

109g. ST. GREGORY THE GREAT SURROUNDED BY OTHER SAINTS: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 30)

Oil on panel; 61.5 : 46.5 cm.

London, Collection of Count Antoine Seilern.

PROVENANCE: Asscher, Koetser and Welker, London; Franz Koenigs, Haarlem.

EXHIBITED: *Amsterdam*, 1933, No. 14 (repr.); *Verzameling F. Koenigs, schilderijen*, Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, 1935, No. 21; *Brussels*, 1937, No. 24.

LITERATURE: L. Burchard, *Skizzen des jungen Rubens, Sitzungsberichte der kunstgeschichtlichen Gesellschaft Berlin*, October 1926-May 1927, p. 2, No. 1; C. Norris, *The Rubens Exhibition at Amsterdam, The Burlington Magazine*, LXIII, 1933, p. 229, n. 4 (as not by P.P. Rubens); R.A.M. Stevenson, *Rubens, Paintings and Drawings*, London, 1939, No. 177; Evers, 1942, p. 486, n. 58; Evers, 1943, pp. 108-112, fig. 15; Van Puyvelde, *Esquisses*, p. 65, Nos. 2, 3; E. Haverkamp Begemann, in *Cat. Exh. Rotterdam, 1953-54*, p. 35; [A. Seilern], *Flemish Paintings and Drawings at 56 Princes Gate London SW 7*, London, 1955, pp. 25, 26, No. 14, pl. xxxiii; C. Norris, in *The Burlington Magazine*, xcvi, 1955, p. 397; Jaffé, 1959, p. 26, fig. 21; Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, I, p. 52; Müller Hofstede, *Rubens's first Bozzetto*, pp. 448, 450, fig. 13; J. Müller Hofstede, *Aspekte der Entwurfszeichnung bei Rubens*, in *Stil und Überlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes*, III, Berlin, 1967, p. 124; Warnke, pp. 84, 85, fig. 18; [A. Seilern], *Corrigenda and Addenda to the Catalogue of Paintings and Drawings at 56 Princes Gate London SW 7*, London, 1972, pp. 22, 23.

This sketch closely resembles the final composition. However, it shows three fairly marked differences from the Grenoble picture (No. 109; Fig. 23). In the modello, the arch in the background is seen closer to and therefore looks larger; a cherub, not seen in the final work, is holding St. Gregory's tiara; and Domitilla's attitude is different.

Evers believed that this panel was painted subsequently to the work at Grenoble, as an "Abänderungsversuch" when the altar-piece was not accepted. Count Seilern agreed with him, pointing out especially that Domitilla is likewise seen looking heavenwards in the version that was finally placed in the Chiesa Nuova. I don't consider this similarity a convincing argument in favour of Evers's and Seilern's hypothesis. On the contrary, it should be stressed that in this sketch, in which after all the definite composition was nearly fixed, Rubens clearly intended to change the profile view from the former preliminary studies into a less stiff three-quarter view. And this modification remained essentially the same in the Grenoble altar-piece, in spite of the different glance of the female Saint.

Parts of this sketch, viz. the figures of St. Maurus and the frolicking angels seem to be strongly repainted by a different and less skilled hand.

110-112. THE DECORATION OF ST. HELENA'S CHAPEL IN SANTA CROCE IN GERUSALEMME AT ROME

110. ST. HELENA (Fig. 31)

Oil on panel; 252 : 189 cm.; arched at the top.

Grasse, Chapel of the Municipal Hospital.

PROVENANCE: Church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, Rome; transported to Great Britain, 1811; sale, London (Squibb), 6 June 1812, lot 1; purchased afterwards, at an unknown date, by a certain Perrolle and bequeathed by him to the Grasse hospital in his will dated 14 April 1827.

COPIES: (1) Painting, Basle, H. Fankhauser; canvas, 65 : 49 cm.; lit.: *Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Rom*, pp. 69-71, fig. 3 (as *Rubens*); (2) Etching by Jacques Callot, 1609-11 (Fig. 32); lit.: P.-P. Plan, *Jacques Callot, Brussels-Paris*, 1911, p. 37, No. 29.

EXHIBITED: Orangerie, Paris, 1942.

LITERATURE: P.M. Felini, *Trattato nuovo delle cose meravigliose dell' Alma Città di Roma*, Rome, 1610, p. 25; G. Facciotti, *Le Nuove et Antiche Meraviglie dell' Alma Città di Roma*, Rome, 1616, p. 26; G. Mancini, *Alcune Considerazioni...* (before 1630) published by A. Marucchi, Rome, 1956, p. 259; G. Baglione, *Le nove chiese di Roma*,

Rome, 1639, p. 141; G. Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori*, Rome, 1642, p. 362; F. Scannelli, *Il Microcosmo della Pittura*, Cesena, 1657, p. 205; F. Franzini, *Roma antica e moderna*, Rome, 1668, p. 33; Bellori, p. 222; F. Titi, *Studio di Pittura, Scultura ed Architettura nelle Chiese di Roma*, Rome, 1674, p. 249; R. de Piles, *Diverses conversations sur la peinture*, Paris, 1677, p. 186; F. Deseine, *Description de la ville de Rome en faveur des étrangers*, III, Lyon, 1690, p. 504; J.G. Keyssler, *Neueste Reise durch Teutschland... Italien und Lothringen*, Hanover, 1740, pp. 675, 676; A.J. Dezallier d'Argenville, *Abrégé de la vie des plus fameux peintres*, II, Paris, 1745, p. 145; R. Besozzi, *La Storia della Basilica di Santa Croce*, Rome, 1750, p. 83; *Michel*, 1771, p. 316; *Smith*, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 152, No. 533; *Rooses*, II, pp. 278, 279, No. 444; C. Ruelens, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, I, 1882, pp. 127-130; *Rooses-Ruelens*, I, pp. 41-48; *Michel*, pp. 66, 67, repr.; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 3; *Dillon*, pp. 18, 86, pl. II; *K.d.K.*, p. 1; *Michel*, *Les Rubens classés*, pp. 294-314; *Evers*, 1942, pp. 40, 41, fig. 10; *Van Puyvelde*, *Rome*, pp. 144, 150; *Van Puyvelde*, pp. 15, 54, 90, 91; *De Maeyer*, 1953, pp. 75-87, repr.; F. Huemer, *Some Observations on Rubens' Mantua Altarpiece*, *The Art Bulletin*, XLVIII, 1966, p. 85 n.; I. Lavin, *An ancient Statue of the Empress Helen reidentified (?)*, *The Art Bulletin*, XLIX, 1967, p. 58, repr.; M. Jaffé, *Rubens and Raphael, Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Art presented to Anthony Blunt*, London, 1967, p. 100; M. Jaffé, *Rubens in Italy*, II, *Some rediscovered works of the first Phase*, *The Burlington Magazine*, CX, 1968, p. 179; Müller Hofstede, *Rubens in Rom*, pp. 61-110, fig. 2.

After Constantine I became emperor he bestowed the imperial dignity on his mother Helena, and she is thus portrayed here with a sceptre in her right hand, standing upright and with her face raised to heaven. On her left is a large cross surrounded by hovering angels with the emblems of the Passion. This clearly alludes to the tradition that she discovered the True Cross at Jerusalem (*Legenda Aurea*, I, pp. 454-466). On the right of the painting are two pillars of a portico; they are of the spiral, so called "Solomonic" type. This shape may be explained here by the circumstance of Jerusalem being also the town where King Solomon's temple once stood. The pillars are partly adorned with bas-reliefs of putti plucking grapes, referring to the well known symbolism whereby grapes and the harvest represent the sanctifying blood shed by Christ on the cross (cf. *Knipping*, II, pp. 78-80). The vine tendrils round one of the pillars have a similar significance.

As will be shown, this painting and its two companion pieces are among the first executed by Rubens in Italy, and it is thus not surprising that he makes unconcealed use of familiar motifs belonging to the formal language of the Italian high renaissance. St. Helena herself is a Raphaellesque figure, very

similar to St. Cecilia in Raphael's altar-piece dedicated to that saint—a work now in the Pinacoteca Comunale at Bologna but originally in the church of San Giovanni in Monte in that city (*K.d.K., Raffael*, p. 117), where Rubens may have seen it. The spiral pillars are also borrowed from Raphael: they and their ornamentation derive directly from *The Healing of the Paralytic*, one of the tapestries in the famous *Acts of the Apostles* series (*K.d.K., Raffael*, p. 139).

We are well informed concerning the execution of this, the earliest known large commission entrusted to Rubens. On 8 June 1601 the archduke Albert wrote to Jean Richardot, his envoy to the Holy See: "Et quant à la table d'autel pour la chapelle de Ste Hélène, nous nous contentons que vous la faires faire en telle forme que par delà entendrez sera la meilleure, puisque vous dites qu'elle ne coustera que cent ou deux cens escus." (*Rooses-Ruelens*, 1, p. 21). The chapel in question is in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, the famous pilgrimage church in Rome, which was Albert's titular church as a cardinal and was extensively embellished during and after the later decades of the sixteenth century. The immediate occasion for the adornment of the chapel may have been the restitution and restoration of the relic of the True Cross that had been presented by Albert and subsequently stolen (*Rooses-Ruelens*, 1, p. 26). On 30 June 1601 Richardot wrote to his father, the chairman of the Privy Council: "Je feray fayre ce que S.A. me commande à la chapelle de Ste Hélène" (*Rooses-Ruelens*, 1, p. 27). It was another six months or so before a start was made as regards the altar-piece: on 12 January 1602 Annibale Chieppio, the envoy at Rome of Vincenzo Gonzaga, duke of Mantua, was informed that Rubens, then in the duke's service, was to be employed on the paintings for Santa Croce but that he was not to spend more than two or three weeks in Rome. "Questi di passati fui ricercato da quel Gentilh^o che qui risiede per servizio del S^{mo} Arciduca Alberto a voler far sapere a S.A. che l'Arciduca suo Sig^o havria ricevuto per gran servitio quando ella si fosse compiaciuta ch'l suo Pittore fiamengo gli potesse far un quadro da mettere in Santa Croce di Gierusalemme, hora ne do parte a V.S. acciò ella possa far l'ufficio con S.A. et significarli insieme che per questo conto gli non sara necessitato fermarsi in Roma più d'un 15 o 20 giorni." (*Rooses-Ruelens*, 1, p. 41). As Ruelens pointed out (*Rooses-Ruelens*, 1, p. 45), it was most probably Richardot and not the archduke who decided to entrust the commission to Rubens. It appears from Albert's letter of 8 June that he left Richardot a free hand to choose the artist; moreover Philip Rubens was secretary to Richardot and his sons, and this personal relationship may well have played

an important part. Rubens apparently set to work at once. On 26 January 1602 Richardot wrote to Vincenzo Gonzaga that the artist had executed a scene for St. Helena's chapel; however, as it was to be accompanied by two other smaller paintings, contrary to the original plan, these would also have to be painted by Rubens, who had meanwhile returned to Mantua. "Se bene sara importunita la mia di fastidire a V.A. con questa lettera, nientedimeno io spero mi darà licenza che gli faccia intendere brevemente, come havendo ordine dal Arciduca Alberto, mio Sig^{re}, di restaurare una cappella di S^{ta} Helena nella chiesa S^{ta} Croce in Hierusalem, che fu titolo di S.A. nel tempo del cardinalato, feci diligentia di ricercare un giovane pittore fiamengho Pietro Paulo, ch'ha nome d'esser valent'huomo nel l'arte sua, ser^{re} di V.A., et col beneplacito del Sig^r Lelio Arrigoni, suo ambasciatore in questa corte, mi lasciò finito di mano sua un quadro grande per detta cappella, il quale però deve essere accompagnato d'altri duo piccoli, o altrimenti restaria del tutto l'opera imperfetta et priva dell'ornamento suo, ma essendo richiamato esso Pietro Paulo di V.A. non potria finirli senza licenza espressa sua, di che io ne prego humiliss^{to} V.A. come si possa pero fare senza ritardare il servitio suo, et credo bene che cosi poco tempo non pregiudicarà niente alle grande et magnifiche opere che mi dice ha cominciato V.A. in Mantua, et haverà anco parte in questa devotione dell'Arciduca, mio patrone, dove io pregarò et in ogni altro luogo, nostro S^{re} Iddio concedi a V.A. tutto il bene et prosperità che Lei desidera." (*Rooses-Ruelens*, I, p. 43). Vincenzo's reply is not preserved, but the three paintings at Grasse show that it must have been favourable. The painting of St. Helena, the patroness of the chapel, would undoubtedly have been executed before the other two; it was larger than they, as indicated in Richardot's letter of 26 January.

The three paintings, exhibited in one of Rome's most famous and popular places of pilgrimage, attracted attention at an early date. The first known account of them is by Felini in 1610; he does not mention Rubens, but calls them "bellissimi". The artist's name is first mentioned in the description by Mancini, which must date from before 1630. Early evidence that the work became well known is Jacques Callot's etching of the St. Helena in "Tableaux de Rome" (1609-11), a series of reproductions of famous paintings and statues in Roman churches (Fig. 32).

In about 1750 the pictures were removed from the chapel and hung in the adjoining monastery, whence they were sold *en bloc* at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

111. THE MOCKING OF CHRIST (Fig. 34)

Oil on panel; 224 : 180 cm.; arched at the top.

Grasse, Chapel of the Municipal Hospital.

PROVENANCE: Church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, Rome; transported to Great Britain, 1811; sale, London (Squibb), 6 June 1812, lot 2; purchased afterwards, at an unknown date, by a certain Perrolle and bequeathed by him to the Grasse hospital in his will dated 14 April, 1827.

EXHIBITED: Orangerie, Paris, 1942; *Le XVI^e Siècle européen*, Petit Palais, Paris, 1965-66, No. 252 (repr.).

LITERATURE: P.M. Felini, *Trattato nuovo delle cose meravigliose dell' Alma Città di Roma*, Rome, 1610, p. 25; G. Facciotti, *Le Nuove et Antiche Meraviglie dell' Alma Città di Roma*, Rome, 1616, p. 26; G. Mancini, *Alcune Considerationi...* (before 1630) published by A. Marucchi, Rome, 1956, p. 259; G. Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori*, Rome, 1642, p. 362; F. Scannelli, *Il Microcosmo della Pittura*, Cesena, 1657, p. 205; F. Franzini, *Roma antica e moderna*, Rome, 1668, p. 33; Bellori, p. 222; F. Titi, *Studio di Pittura, Scultura ed Architettura nelle Chiese di Roma*, Rome, 1674, p. 249; R. de Piles, *Diverses conversations sur la peinture*, Paris, 1677, p. 186; F.G. Keyssler, *Neueste Reise durch Teutschland... Italien und Lothringen*, Hanover, 1740, pp. 675, 676; A.J. Dezallier d'Argenville, *Abrégé de la vie des plus fameux peintres*, II, Paris, 1745, p. 145; R. Besozzi, *La Storia della Basilica di Santa Croce*, Rome, 1750, p. 83; Michel, 1771, p. 316; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp. 152, 153, No. 534; Rooses, II, pp. 279, 280, No. 445; C. Ruelens, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, I, 1882, pp. 127-130; Rooses-Ruelens, I, pp. 41-48; Michel, pp. 66, 67, repr.; K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg, p. 4; Dillon, pp. 18, 86, pl. III; K.d.K., p. 2; Michel, *Les Rubens classés*, pp. 294-314; Evers, 1942, pp. 40-42, fig. 9; Van Puyvelde, Rome, pp. 144, 150; D. Mahon, *Egregius in Urbe Pictor : Caravaggio Revised*, *The Burlington Magazine*, XCIII, 1951, p. 230, fig. 20; Van Puyvelde, pp. 15, 54, 90, 91; De Maeyer, 1953, pp. 75-87, repr.; M. Jaffé, *Rubens in Italy, Part II : Some rediscovered works of the first Phase*, *The Burlington Magazine*, CX, 1968, pp. 176, 180; O. von Simson, *Rubens und der "Mercur des Gianbologna"*, in *Festschrift Ulrich Middeldorf*, Berlin, 1968, p. 436; Müller Hofstede, *Rubens in Rom*, pp. 61-110, fig. 8.

After being scourged, Christ is mocked and humiliated by his tormentors, who crown him King of the Jews. The crown of thorns is being pressed on to his head by a helmeted soldier, while others offer him a scarlet cloak and a reed by way of a sceptre. Through a door Pilate is seen in the background, standing

on the balcony of his palace and appealing to the crowd to take pity on the tortured and derided Christ.

As has often been pointed out, the composition derives from Titian's painting of the same subject in the Louvre, formerly in Santa Maria delle Grazie in Milan (*Tietze, Titian*, pl. 143): the figure of Christ, in reverse image, makes this especially clear. The influence of antique sculpture has also been frequently noticed: e.g. Foucart, in the catalogue of the exhibition of Mannerism held in Paris in 1965, points out that in this picture as also in Titian's, the position of Christ's legs derives from the Hellenistic Laocoon group, which Rubens drew from various angles (see e.g. G. Fubini and J.S. Held, *Padre Resta's Rubens Drawings after ancient Sculpture, Master Drawings*, II, 1964, pl. 1). Held was the first to point out the resemblance between Christ's torso and the *Torso Belvedere*, a work also copied by Rubens.

This painting, one of Rubens's earliest works executed in Italy, shows typical signs of the transition from late Mannerism to baroque. The style of the late sixteenth century is especially noticeable in the rather shrill colouring and the elegant pose of such figures as the man on the extreme left. The dramatic use of light shows the influence of Caravaggio, then active in Rome; the youth with a feather in his cap is also a type that Caravaggio was fond of using in his earliest work.

In this very early painting by Rubens we also find motifs that he used again after his return to Antwerp: for example the head of the boy with the cap, which recurs in works dated soon after 1610, such as *The Judgement of Solomon* at Madrid (G. Glück, *Ein verkanntes Werk von Rubens im Prado zu Madrid, Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, I, 1932, p. 272), also *St. Matthew* in the "Apostolado Lerma", also at Madrid (I, No. 14; Fig. 46) and the so-called organ-wings with *Angels Playing Music* in the Liechtenstein collection at Vaduz (*K.d.K.*, p. 66). In the last-named composition we may also recognize the head of the man on the extreme left of the present work, who is partly cut off by the picture-edge. The present painting also seems to have provided the model for *The Crowning with Thorns*, formerly at Berlin, which Van Dyck painted before 1620, i.e. while he was in close contact with Rubens's studio (*K.d.K.*, *Van Dyck*, p. 48); he may no doubt have seen there a modello for the Santa Croce painting or a copy of it.

Together with *The Raising of the Cross* (No. 112), this is one of the two smaller panels executed by Rubens after the *St. Helena* (No. 110; Fig. 31), and

hung on either side of it in the chapel in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme: see the illustration of St. Helena's chapel, showing the original situation of the altars, in *Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Rom*, p. 65, fig. 1. The three paintings form a kind of triptych, as do those painted for the choir of the Santissima Trinità at Mantua (*K.d.K.*, pp. 13-15) and those still to be seen at Santa Maria in Vallicella, Rome (*K.d.K.*, pp. 24, 25). In these three cases Rubens adapted himself to a typical Italian conception. Indeed, the custom of painting an altar-piece consisting of separate panels joined together was abandoned in Italy at a much earlier date than in the Netherlands.

111a. THE MOCKING OF CHRIST: DRAWING (Fig. 33)

Pen and brown ink; 207 : 288 mm. Below, on the right, inscribed with the pen: *No. 270.* - *Verso*: below, on the right, inscribed in red chalk by an unknown hand: *Rubens.*

Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum. Inv. No. 205.

PROVENANCE: Presumably acquired by Charles I, Duke of Brunswick (1713-1780).

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp*, 1956, No. 8 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Preßel-Gesellschaft* IX/7, 1925, No. 72, repr. (as *A. van Dyck*); G. Pauli, in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 1927, p. 11 (as *A. van Dyck*); L. Burchard, in *Sitzungsberichte der kunstgeschichtlichen Gesellschaft Berlin*, 15 January 1932, p. 10; L. Burchard, *Nachträge*, in *Glück*, 1933, p. 374; M. Delacre, *Le Dessin dans l'œuvre de Van Dyck*, Brussels, 1934, pp. 44, 45, pl. 19 (as *A. van Dyck*); O. Benesch, *Zur Frage der frühen Zeichnungen Van Dycks, Die graphischen Künste*, III, 1938, p. 22; *Evers*, 1943, p. 98, pl. 4; *Held*, I, p. 95, No. 5; II, pl. 3; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 45, 46, No. 25; II, pl. 25; M. Jaffé, *Rubens as a Collector of Drawings*, III, *Master Drawings*, IV, 1966, p. 131; J. Müller Hofstede, *Aspekte der Entwurfszeichnung bei Rubens*, in *Stil und Überlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes*, III, Berlin, 1969, pp. 122, 123; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Rom*, p. 69, fig. 10; J. Müller Hofstede, *Abraham Janssens. Zur Problematik des flämischen Caravaggismus, Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, XIII, 1971, p. 269.

Christ is in a sitting position, with his body bent forward to the right. Two men are standing behind him, one holding a scourge while the other fastens the crown of thorns. Another man kneeling in the right foreground proffers the reed as a sceptre.

This is a rough preliminary study for the central portion of *The Mocking of Christ* at Grasse (No. 111; Fig. 34). As compared with the final version, Christ's right shin-bone is turned more to the left, and the kneeling man mocking Christ is on the right and not on the left. These details of the drawing are also found in Titian's *Crowning with Thorns* in the Louvre (*Tietze, Titian*, p. 143): this shows that Rubens's first design for the altar-piece at Santa Croce in Gerusalemme was even closer to Titian's work than the latter. Müller Hofstede (*Abraham Janssens...*, *loc. cit.*) convincingly remarked that the motif of the bent head of the central figure shows a strong resemblance with the attitude of Christ in Caravaggio's interpretation of the same theme (lost, but known through a copy in the Kunsthistorisches Museum at Vienna; see W. Friedländer, *Caravaggio Studies*, Princeton, 1955, pl. 65).

On the verso of the drawing, below left, is a woman kneeling and facing right, with long, flowing hair. She has no connection with the composition on the recto.

112. THE RAISING OF THE CROSS

Oil on panel; c. 226 : 190 cm.; arched at the top.

Lost.

PROVENANCE: Church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, Rome; ? Guy Head sale, London, 27 April 1801, lot 324; ? purchased by Bryan, 1820; ? sale, London (Squibb), 24 May 1821, lot 63; ? Woodburn; ? purchased by Count Woronzow and lost at sea.

COPY: Painting (Fig. 35), Grasse, Chapel of the Municipal Hospital; canvas, 224 : 180 cm.; prov.: Rome, Church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme; transported to Great Britain, 1811; sale, London (Squibb), 6 June 1812, lot 3 (as *Rubens*); purchased afterwards, at an unknown date, by a certain Perrolle, and bequeathed by him to the Grasse hospital in his will dated 14 April, 1827; exh.: Orangerie, Paris, 1942; lit.: G. Facciotti, *Le Nuove et Antiche Meraviglie dell' Alma Città di Roma*, Rome, 1616, p. 26; G. Baglione, *Le nove Chiese di Roma*, Rome, 1639, p. 141 (as *Rubens*); G. Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori*, Rome, 1642, p. 362 (as *Rubens*); F. Scannelli, *Il Microcosmo della Pittura*, Cesena, 1657, p. 205 (as *Rubens*); F. Franzini, *Roma antica e moderna*, Rome, 1668, p. 33 (as *Rubens*); Bellori, p. 222 (as *Rubens*); F. Titi, *Studio di Pittura, Scultura et Architettura nelle Chiese di Roma*, Rome, 1674, p. 249 (as *Rubens*); J. von Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie*, Nürnberg, 1675, p. 291 (as *Rubens*); R. de Piles, *Diverses conversations sur la peinture*, Paris, 1677, p. 186 (as *Rubens*);

F. Deseine, *Description de la ville de Rome en faveur des étrangers*, III, Lyons, 1690, p. 504 (as *Rubens*); J.G. Keyssler, *Neueste Reise durch Teutschland... Italien und Lothringen*, Hanover, 1740, p. 675 (as *Rubens*); A.J. Dezallier d'Argenville, *Abrégé de la vie des plus fameux peintres*, II, Paris, 1745, p. 145 (as *Rubens*); R. Besozzi, *La Storia della Basilica di Santa Croce*, Rome, 1750, p. 83 (as *Rubens*); *Michel*, 1771, p. 316 (as *Rubens*); *Smith*, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 153, No. 535 (as *Rubens*); *Rooses*, II, pp. 280-284, No. 446; C. Ruelens, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, I, 1882, pp. 127-130 (as *Rubens*); *Rooses-Ruelens*, I, pp. 41-48 (as *Rubens*); *Michel*, pp. 65-68, repr. (as *Rubens*); *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 4 (as *Rubens*); *Dillon*, pp. 18, 86, pl. III (as *Rubens*); *K.d.K.*, p. 7 (as *Rubens*); *Michel*, *Les Rubens classés*, pp. 294-314; *Evers*, 1942, p. 41 (as *Rubens*); *Evers*, 1943, pp. 97-104, fig. 7 (as *Rubens*); *De Maeyer*, 1953, pp. 75-87, repr.; *Müller Hofstede*, *Rubens in Rom*, pp. 91-101, fig. 16; *J. Müller Hofstede*, *Abraham Janssens. Zur Problematik des flämischen Caravaggismus*, *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, XIII, 1971, pp. 269, 270.

LITERATURE: P.M. Felini, *Trattato nuovo delle cose meravigliose dell'Alma Città di Roma*, Rome, 1610, p. 25; G. Mancini, *Alcune Considerazioni...* (before 1630) published by A. Marucchi, Rome, 1956, p. 259 (perhaps the copy, now at Grasse); *De Maeyer*, 1953, pp. 75-87.

This painting, known only from a seventeenth-century copy, shows seven men uplifting the cross with Christ fastened to it. In the background, on the left, St. John supports the Virgin, who is fainting; in the right background are the two thieves, one of whom has already been crucified.

As in the two other paintings of this series for Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, Rubens has clearly borrowed motifs from Italian artists: notably the torturer in the centre, seen from behind, who, as Jaffé pointed out, is a somewhat more oblique variant of the cyclops in *Vulcan's Smithy* by Tintoretto, one of the four ceiling pictures in the Sala del Anticollégio in the Doge's Palace at Venice (*Tietze*, *Tintoretto*, p. 226). As Müller Hofstede observed, the position of the legs is still more clearly based on another work by Tintoretto, the *Hercules and Antæus* now at Hartford, Conn. (*Müller Hofstede*, *Rubens in Rom*, fig. 22). Michelangelo's influence is also visible: as noted by Evers, Christ's naked body with crossed legs is a direct imitation of the figure of God the Father in *The Creation of Adam*, one of the ceiling decorations in the Sistine chapel (*K.d.K.*, *Michelangelo*, p. 26). Several figures in the present painting recur in similar poses in *The Raising of the Cross* painted by Rubens, soon after his return to Antwerp, for St. Walburga's church there (*K.d.K.*, p. 36); however, the composition of the latter work is much more plastic and three-dimensional, whereas

in the Grasse altar-piece the main action is treated in a flat and linear fashion. This fact tends to confirm Müller Hofstede's suggestion that the Santa Croce composition is based on an engraving of the same subject made in 1589 by Jan Sadeler after Friedrich Sustris and Christian Schwarz (*Müller Hofstede, Rubens in Rom*, fig. 17). However, as the same author recently pointed out (*Abraham Janssens...*, *loc. cit.*), there may also be a reflection of Caravaggio's now lost *Martyrdom of St. Peter*, painted in c. 1600-1 for Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome (a copy in the Hermitage at Leningrad; see W. Friedländer, *Caravaggio Studies*, Princeton, 1955, pl. 63).

As M. De Maeyer pointed out, the version at Grasse is only a copy of a lost original: it is on canvas and not on panel, and the style is much weaker and drier than that of *St. Helena* (No. 110; Fig. 31) or *The Mocking of Christ* (No. 111; Fig. 34). Moreover, an extant document suggests that the original *Raising of the Cross* was replaced by a copy at an early date. On 1 February 1614 Philip Maes, the Archduke's envoy in Rome, wrote to his master: "Et quand aux tableaux de la chapelle de Ste Hélène en l'église de la St^e Croix en Jerusalem, V.A. aurat aussi veu ce que cousteroit à faire ung tableau nouveau et racommoder les aultres deux, a quoy aussy suis attendant response, pour selon icelles me reigler" (*De Maeyer*, 1953, p. 84). This letter is part of a correspondence between archduke Albert and his resident, from 13 January 1614 to 10 October 1615, concerning the restoration of the three paintings in Santa Croce, which had suffered from damp owing to heavy rain.

We do not know what happened to the damaged original of *The Raising of the Cross*, which may have been preserved in the monastery adjoining the church. It may be identical with "The Raising of the Cross painted when he [Rubens] was at Rome for the Church of Santa Croce in Jerusalema [sic] . . . 3 ft 3 in by 7 ft 5 in" [190 : 226 cm.], sold in London on 27 April 1801 from the estate of Guy Head: it is very striking that the catalogue of this sale makes no reference to the two other paintings in Santa Croce. In an anonymous sale in London on 24 May 1821, mention is made of what seems to be the same painting: "Rubens. The Crucifixion—a splendid gallery picture, painted at Rome, by order of the Arch-duke Albert, for the church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme. Purchased at a former sale by the late Mr. Bryan." Smith, who wrongly identifies this picture with the one of the same title in the lot sold by Squibbs in 1812, which finally found its way to Grasse, states that it was bought by Bryan in 1820. The painting was re-sold to the dealer Woodburn, who

according to Smith later sold it to Count Woronzow; we are also told by Smith that it was subsequently lost at sea.

113-114. TWO PENDANTS: ST. IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA AND ST. FRANCIS XAVIER

113. ST. IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA (Fig. 36)

Oil on canvas; 224 : 138 cm.

Warwick Castle, Collection of the Earl of Warwick.

PROVENANCE: ? Gesù Church, Rome; Jesuit Church, Brussels; sale "Tableaux déposés au Collège de Bruxelles et provenant des ci-devant Jésuites de Bruxelles, de Louvain, de Namur, de Nivelles, de Malines, d'Alost et de Mons", Brussels, 12 May 1777, lot 2; purchased by Donckers; purchased by Guy Greville, 2nd Earl of Warwick.

COPIES: (1) Painting, Sibiu, Muzeul Brukenthal, No. 995; canvas, 225 : 135 cm.; prov.: ? sale "Tableaux déposés au Collège de Bruxelles et provenant des ci-devant Jésuites de Bruxelles, de Louvain, de Namur, de Nivelles, de Malines, d'Alost et de Mons", Brussels, 12 May 1777, lot 208, 212 or 214; Baron Samuel von Bruckenthal (1721-1803); exh.: *Brussels, 1965*, No. 197 (repr.; as *Rubens*); lit.: T. von Frimmel, *Kleine Galeriestudien, Neue Folge*, Vienna, 1894, pp. 16, 17; L. Van Puyvelde, *Les "Saint Ignace" et "Saint François Xavier" de Rubens*, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1959, pp. 225-236, fig. 1 (as *Rubens*); T. Ionesco, *Deux Tableaux de Rubens au Musée Brukenthal, L'Art dans la République Populaire Roumaine*, 1960, pp. 33-40, repr. (as *Rubens*); T. Ionesco, *Musée Brukenthal, Galerie des Arts Plastiques*, Sibiu, 1964, p. 16, No. 21, repr. (as *Rubens*); *Lesuisse*, pp. 281-317; (2) Painting, Nivelles, Musée Communal; canvas, 224 : 140 cm.; prov.: sale "Tableaux déposés au Collège de Bruxelles et provenant des ci-devant Jésuites de Bruxelles, de Louvain, de Namur, de Nivelles, de Malines, d'Alost et de Mons", Brussels, 12 May 1777, lot 210; Nivelles, Chapter of St. Gertrude's Church; lit.: *Lesuisse*, pp. 281-317; (3) Painting, Nivelles, Musée Communal; canvas, 222 : 135 cm.; prov.: ? sale "Tableaux déposés au Collège de Bruxelles et provenant des ci-devant Jésuites de Bruxelles, de Louvain, de Namur, de Nivelles, de Malines, d'Alost et de Mons", Brussels, 12 May 1777, lot 208, 212 or 214; lit.: *Lesuisse*, pp. 281-317; (4) Painting, Church of Notre-Dame de la Chapelle, Brussels; canvas, 228 : 152 cm.; prov.: ? sale "Tableaux déposés au Collège de Bruxelles et provenant des ci-devant Jésuites de Bruxelles, de Louvain, de Namur, de Nivelles, de Malines, d'Alost et de Mons", Brussels, 12 May 1777, lot 208, 212 or 214; lit.: *Lesuisse*, pp. 295, 296; (5) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 216 : 121 cm.;

prov.: sale "Tableaux qui ont appartenu aux collèges des ci-devant Jésuites de Gand, Ipres, Courtray, Tournai et Bruges", Ghent, 5 May 1777, lot 214; lit.: *Lesuisse*, pp. 294, 295; (6) Engraving by S. a Bolswert (Fig. 38); (*V.S.*, p. 102, No. 70).

EXHIBITED: *Art Treasures of the United Kingdom*, Manchester, 1857, No. 547; *L'Art flamand dans les collections britanniques*, Groninge Museum, Bruges, 1956, No. 66 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Mensaert*, I, p. 42; *Descamps, Voyage*, p. 64; *Michel*, 1771, pp. 69, 70; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 51, No. 143; IX, p. 258, No. 66; G.F. Waagen, *Kunstwerke und Künstler in England*, II, Berlin, 1838, p. 367; G.F. Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, III, London, 1854, pp. 214, 215; W. Burger, *Trésors d'art exposés à Manchester en 1857*, Paris, 1857, p. 195; *Rooses*, II, p. 286, No. 449; *Dillon*, p. 237; L. Burchard, *Die Seitenaltäre von Rubens für il Gesù in Rom*, in *Actes du XII^e Congrès International d'histoire de l'art*, Brussels, 1930, I, pp. 127, 128; *Evers*, 1942, p. 493, n. 187; *Van Puyvelde*, pp. 206, 207, n. 90 (as a copy); F. Grossmann, *Flemish Paintings at Bruges*, *The Burlington Magazine*, XCIX, 1957, p. 6; L. Van Puyvelde, *Les "Saint Ignace" et "Saint François Xavier" de Rubens*, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1959, pp. 231, 232, fig. 5 (as a copy); *Lesuisse*, pp. 281-317.

A full-length portrait of the founder of the Jesuits. He is seen wearing a brocaded chasuble; his head is surrounded by an aureole, and he is gazing ecstatically to the right, where beams of heavenly light are breaking through clouds. His right hand is raised in a gesture of admonition, while in his left he holds a copy of the *Constitutions* of the Society of Jesus: the volume rests on a pedestal and is open at the page with the celebrated motto AD MAIOREM DEI GLORIAM. The saint's features are based on the portrait, executed in 1583 by Alonso Sánchez Coello from an elaborated death-mask, which is now in the Professed House of the Society at Madrid (W. Schamoni, *The Face of the Saints*, London, 1948, p. 134 and fig. facing p. 136).

Opinions are divided concerning the origin of Rubens's portrait and the companion one, now lost, of *St. Francis Xavier* (No. 114; Fig. 37). It does not seem likely that they were painted for the Jesuit church at Brussels, where they are mentioned in the eighteenth century: they were not placed above the altars of the two saints in that church but were hung on pillars, which suggests that they were presented or sold to it by some other institution which owned them previously. The view of Van Puyvelde and Ionesco that the paintings mentioned in the eighteenth-century descriptions of the Brussels church were intended for the Jesuit church at Antwerp is based on a misreading of the contract of

29 March 1620 between Rubens and Fr. Tirinus concerning the two paintings now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum at Vienna, *The Miracles of St. Ignatius of Loyola* and *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier* (Nos. 114 and 115; Figs. 6 and 40). The reference in this document to 3000 guilders "for two large paintings of our holy Fathers Ignatius and Xavier, already painted by the said Sr. Rubens for the aforesaid New Church" (Rooses, II, p. 266, n. 1) relates in fact to the pictures now at Vienna. Moreover, both Van Puyvelde and Ionesco regarded the copies at Sibiu (see above) as originals. Rooses, while not claiming a direct connection with the works here referred to, draws attention to a passage in Mols's *Notes sur Rubens* in the Manuscript Room of the Royal Library at Brussels: "Rubens a peint pour l'église des Jésuites à Rome deux tableaux représentant Saint-François Xavier et Saint-Ignace, à gauche et à droite du maître-autel" (Rooses, II, p. 267, under No. 433). The possibility that these are in fact the two pictures here discussed is strengthened by some references from the seventeenth and early eighteenth century. The paintings in the Gesù are mentioned by F. Scannelli in *Il Microcosmo della Pittura*, Cesena, 1657, p. 205: "e se bene il Rubens habbia per lo piu dipinto in Fiandra . . . ha lasciato pero in Italia, dopo haver studiato in questa prima scuola varie buone operationi, come le due Tavoli, che sono nella Chiesa del Gesù di Roma l'una, che dimostra alla destra dell'Altare maggiore S. Ignatio e l'altra all' incontro S. Francesco Xaverio . . .". Two other writers mention the Gesù paintings, while attributing them to Van Dyck: F. Titi (*Ammaestramento utile e curioso di Pittura, Scultura et Architettura nelle Chiese di Roma*, Rome, 1686, p. 148) and N. Pio (*Le Vite de Pittori, Scultori e Architetti*, Rome, 1724 [publ. in J.A.F. Orbaan, *Bescheiden over Nederlandsche geleerden en kunstenaars in Italië*, I, The Hague, 1911, p. 259]). The paintings disappeared towards the end of the seventeenth century, when it was decided to raise new altars in the Gesù to the two great patrons of the Society. The one to St. Francis was built between 1673 and 1678, that to St. Ignatius between 1696 and 1700 (P. Pecchiai, *Il Gesù di Roma*, Rome, 1952, pp. 133, 167-190). If the altar-pieces from the Gesù are the same as the paintings in the Jesuit church in Brussels in the eighteenth century, we may suppose that they were taken from Rome to Brussels at the time of the alterations to the former church.

There are also different views as to the dating of the two pictures. Rooses placed them in Rubens's Italian period, and Burchard agreed with this in his study published in 1930 (*loc. cit.*); later, however, he changed his mind and

dated them much later, about 1620-22. I also think this view to be the correct one. Indeed, the paintings show signs of Rubens's gradual transition c. 1620 to a less plastic manner with less local colouring. This applies especially to the painting of faces: instead of the plastic effect of his earlier works, with sharp contrast between light and shadow, his manner is softer and the contrast more delicate and subdued. I would suggest the possibility that the portraits were commissioned at the time of the canonization of the two saints, on 12 March 1622. This is borne out by the fact that they are both shown with haloes, and by the inscriptions under the engravings made from the portraits by Schelte a Bolswert (Figs. 38 and 39), which summarize the grounds on which they were canonized by Pope Gregory XV.

It is not surprising that Rubens should have been entrusted with commissions for the Gesù. In 1604-5 he had executed one of the chief works of his Italian period for the choir of the Jesuit church at Mantua, the Santissima Trinità (*K.d.K.*, pp. 13-15), and in 1605-6 he painted a *Circumcision* for the Jesuit church at Genoa, Sant'Ambrogio (*K.d.K.*, p. 21). In about 1620, many years after his return from Italy, he also painted for the Genoa Sant'Ambrogio *The Miracles of St. Ignatius of Loyola* (No. 116; Fig. 46).

114. ST. FRANCIS XAVIER (Fig. 37)

Oil on canvas; 216 : 135 cm.

Formerly Asscher and Welker, London; destroyed by fire 1940.

PROVENANCE: ? Gesù Church, Rome; Jesuit Church, Brussels; sale "Tableaux déposés au Collège de Bruxelles et provenant des ci-devant Jésuites de Bruxelles, de Louvain, de Namur, de Nivelles, de Malines, d'Alost et de Mons", Brussels, 12 May 1777, lot 3; purchased by Donckers; purchased by N. Desenfans for Stanislas Poniatowski, King of Poland, between 1790 and 1802; Lord Hertford, Ragley Hall, sale, London (Christie's), 20 May 1938, lot 28 (as *St. Ignatius*); purchased by Asscher and Welker, London.

COPIES: (1) Painting, Sibiu, Muzeul Brukenthal, No. 996; prov.: ? sale "Tableaux déposés au Collège de Bruxelles et provenant des ci-devant Jésuites de Bruxelles, de Louvain, de Namur, de Nivelles, de Malines, d'Alost et de Mons", lot 209, 213 or 215; Baron Samuel von Bruckenthal (1721-1803); lit.: T. von Frimmel, *Kleine Galeriestudien, Neue Folge*, Vienna, 1894, p. 17; L. Van Puyvelde, *Les "Saint Ignace" et "Saint*

François Xavier" de Rubens, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1959, pp. 225-236, fig. 4 (as Rubens); T. Ionesco, *Deux Tableaux de Rubens au Musée Brukenthal, L'Art dans la République Populaire Roumaine*, 1960, pp. 33-40, repr. (as Rubens); T. Ionesco, *Musée Brukenthal, Galerie des Arts Plastiques*, Sibiu, 1964, p. 9, No. 22, repr. (as Rubens); *Lesuisse*, pp. 281-317; (2) Painting, Nivelles, Musée Communal; canvas, 224 : 140 cm.; prov.: sale "Tableaux déposés au Collège de Bruxelles et provenant des ci-devant Jésuites de Bruxelles, de Louvain, de Namur, de Nivelles, de Malines, d'Alost et de Mons", Brussels, 12 May 1777, lot 211; Nivelles, Chapter of St. Gertrude's Church; lit.: *Lesuisse*, pp. 281-317; (3) Painting, Nivelles, Musée Communal; canvas, 222 : 135 cm.; prov.: ? sale "Tableaux déposés au Collège de Bruxelles et provenant des ci-devant Jésuites de Bruxelles, de Louvain, de Namur, de Nivelles, de Malines, d'Alost et de Mons", Brussels, 12 May 1777, lot 209, 213 or 215; lit.: *Lesuisse*, pp. 281-317; (4) Painting, Church of Notre-Dame de la Chapelle, Brussels; canvas, 228 : 152 cm.; prov.: ? sale "Tableaux déposés au Collège de Bruxelles et provenant des ci-devant Jésuites de Bruxelles, de Louvain, de Namur, de Nivelles, de Malines, d'Alost et de Mons", Brussels, 12 May 1777, lot 209, 213 or 215; lit.: *Lesuisse*, pp. 295, 296; (5) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 216 : 121 cm.; prov.: sale "Tableaux qui ont appartenu aux Collèges des ci-devant Jésuites, de Gand, Ipres, Courtray, Tournay et Bruges", Ghent, 5 May 1777, lot 215; lit.: *Lesuisse*, pp. 294, 295; (6) Engraving by S. a Bolswert (Fig. 39; *V.S.*, p. 100, No. 51).

EXHIBITED: *Pictures purchased for His Majesty the late King of Poland*, London, 1802, No. 83.

LITERATURE: *Mensaert*, I, pp. 41, 42; *Descamps, Voyage*, p. 64; *Michel*, 1771, pp. 69, 70; N. Desenfans, *Pictures purchased for His Majesty the late King of Poland*, London, 1802, II, pp. 19-23; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 51, No. 144; *Rooses*, II, p. 267, No. 433; L. Burchard, *Die Seitenaltäre von Rubens für il Gesù in Rom*, in *Actes du XII^e Congrès International d'histoire de l'art*, Brussels, 1930, I, pp. 127, 128; *Evers*, 1942, p. 493, No. 187; F. Grossmann, *Flemish Paintings at Bruges*, *The Burlington Magazine*, XCIX, 1957, p. 6; *Lesuisse*, p. 294, No. 37.

Pendant to *St. Ignatius of Loyola* (No. 113; Fig. 36). St. Francis Xavier, who founded and developed the successful Jesuit missions in Asia, was the Society's chief saint after St. Ignatius. He is seen here facing left, wearing a simple surplice and a stole. His arms are crossed over his breast; his head is encircled by a halo and his gaze is lifted towards a beam of heavenly light. His features are based on a sixteenth-century prototype supposed to represent his appearance at his death in 1552 (W. Schamoni, *The Face of the Saints*, London, 1948, fig. facing p. 130).

115. THE MIRACLES OF ST. IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA (Fig. 40)

Oil on canvas; 535 : 395 cm.

Vienna, *Kunsthistorisches Museum*. No. 313.

PROVENANCE: Jesuit Church, Antwerp; acquired by J. Rosa for the Imperial Collections at Vienna, 1776.

COPY: Drawing after the possessed man, lying on his back, in the left foreground, Cambridge, Mass., The Fogg Art Museum, No. 488; 254 : 381 mm.; prov.: Houlditch; Richardson; Lord Northwick sale, London (Sotheby's), 1-4 November 1920, lot 195 (as *Rubens*); Lord Northwick sale, London (Sotheby's), 5 July 1921, lot 70 (as *Rubens*); acquired for the Museum from Colnaghi's, London, 1927; lit.: A. Mongan and P.J. Sachs, *Drawings in the Fogg Museum of Art*, Cambridge, Mass., 1946, I, No. 488; II, pl. 253 (as ? *Rubens*).

LITERATURE: *Bellori*, p. 224; *Tessin*, p. 82; *De Wit*, p. 60; *Berbie*, p. 54, No. 13; *Descamps, Vie*, p. 322; *Mensaert*, I, p. 217; *Descamps, Voyage*, pp. 185, 186; *Michel*, 1771, pp. 99, 100; *Mechel*, p. III, No. 1; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp. 19, 20, No. 69, p. 87, No. 281; *Partbey*, II, p. 421, No. 114; C. Piot, *Les Tableaux des Collèges des Jésuites supprimés en Belgique*, *Bulletin de l'Académie royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts*, XLVI, 1878, p. 146; *Vienna, Cat. Engerth*, No. 1152; *Rooses*, II, pp. 289-291, No. 454; V, p. 332; *Michel*, pp. 239-242; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p. 298; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p. 189; *Dillon*, pp. 134, 135, pl. CLXXXVI; *K.d.K.*, p. 204; C. Janson, *L'Influence de Tintoret sur Rubens*, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1938, pp. 83-85, repr.; *Evers*, 1942, pp. 218-223; *Van Puyvelde*, pp. 127, 128; *Held*, I, p. 113; H. Gerson, in H. Gerson and E.H. ter Kuile, *Art and Architecture in Belgium, 1600-1800*, Harmondsworth, 1960, pp. 88, 89; M.J. Lewine, *The Source of Rubens' Miracles of St. Ignatius*, *The Art Bulletin*, XLV, 1963, pp. 143-147, repr.; *Martin, Ceiling Paintings*, pp. 29-32, 141, 195, repr.; F. Baudouin, *De datering van de twee schilderijen van Rubens voor het hoofdaltaar van de Antwerpse Jezüitenkerk en enkele aantekeningen over Hans van Mildert*, in *Miscellanea Jozef Duverger*, I, Ghent, 1968, pp. 301-322, repr.; *Smith, Rubens' Altargemälde*, pp. 39-60, repr.; *Baudouin*, 1972, pp. 109-118.

The whole composition is situated in a church, the architecture of which, as Graham Smith recently pointed out, is very similar to that of St. Peter's at Rome. St. Ignatius is standing at the right in front of an altar, his right hand lifted in a gesture of blessing. On his left are nine other Jesuits, evidently those of his first companions who went with him to Rome in 1538 to seek permission from Pope Paul III for the foundation of the Society. The first from the right is

St. Francis Xavier. In the foreground, in front of the screen separating the altar from the nave, are several groups of people who were cured or saved by miracles performed by the Saint. Graham Smith has pointed out that the miracles are those related in the life of St. Ignatius by the Jesuit P. Ribadineira (*Vita Ignatii Loiolæ, Societatis Iesu fundatoris*, ed. princ., Naples, 1572, revised edition Antwerp, 1587). Thus the woman being cured of daemonic possession on the left derives from Ribadineira, *op. cit.*, cap. 18, 2 and 4, which relates how the Saint exorcized a woman during his stay at the hospital of Azperitia. The man on the extreme right pointing to a rope round his neck represents the man of Barcelona who was hanging himself but whom St. Ignatius prevented from dying till he had confessed his sins (*op. cit.*, cap. 6, 4). The young women with children recall the Saint's celebrated role as an intercessor in difficult confinements (*op. cit.*, cap. 23, 4).

M. Lewine observed that the whole composition, with the aisle slanting to the left and the arrangement of figures in the foreground, is inspired by Giovanni Balducci's fresco *The Investiture of Carloman*, painted between 1592 and 1596 for San Giovanni dei Fiorentini at Rome, where Rubens could have seen it (M.J. Lewine, *op. cit.*, fig 2, facing p. 143). The resemblance, detected by Claire Janson, to the composition of Tintoretto's *Martyrdom of St. Agnes* in Santa Maria dell'Orto at Venice (*Tietze, Tintoretto*, pl. 27) seems less convincing. The latter painting might possibly be regarded as a vague prototype of Balducci's fresco, having in common with that work and with Rubens's the feature of an architectural décor extending diagonally into the background. In my opinion there is more validity in Janson's comparison between the foreshortened figure of the naked man lying in the foreground and the dead slave in Tintoretto's *Miracle of St. Mark*, painted in 1548 for the Scuola di San Marco at Venice and now in the Accademia there (*Tietze, Tintoretto*, p. 21). As regards the borrowing of motifs, reference should also be made to a figure from Raphael: the naked youth seen from behind in the left foreground, who with his almost fully extended right arm supports the possessed man lying on the ground before him. This is an almost literal repetition of the figure on the right of the *Borgo Fire* in the Stanza dell'Incendio in the Vatican (*K.d.K., Raffael*, p. 119).

Rubens's painting was ordered and completed c. 1618, together with *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier* (No. 104; Fig. 6), to hang above the high altar of the Antwerp Jesuit church.

115a. THE MIRACLES OF ST. IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 41)

Oil on panel; 105.5 : 74 cm.

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, No. 312.

PROVENANCE: Jesuit Church, Antwerp; acquired by J. Rosa for the Imperial Collections at Vienna, 1776.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 42), Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Inv. No. 7089; panel, 103 : 72 cm.; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel; prov.: Vienna, Guido Arnot.

EXHIBITED: *Brussels*, 1910, No. 320; *Meisterwerke aus Österreich*, Kunsthaus, Zürich, 1946-47, No. 362 (repr.); *Kunstschatten uit Wenen*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1947, No. 126; *Chefs-d'œuvre des musées de Vienne*, Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, 1947, No. 93 (repr.); *Art Treasures from Vienna*, Tate Gallery, London, 1949, No. 128; *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No. 25 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *De Wit*, p. 61; *Berbie*, p. 54, No. 17; *Mensaert*, I, p. 217; *Descamps, Voyage*, p. 186; *Michel*, 1771, pp. 100, 101; *Mechel*, p. 114, No. 13; *Parthey*, II, p. 421, No. 115; *Vienna, Cat. Engerth*, No. 1152; *Rooses*, II, p. 291, No. 454 bis; *Michel*, pp. 239, 240; *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg*, p. 188; *Dillon*, pp. 134, 135, pl. CLXXXVII; P. Bonenfant, *La Suppression de la Compagnie de Jésus dans les Pays-Bas Autrichiens*, Brussels, 1925, pp. 233, 234; *Evers*, 1942, pp. 218-223; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, pp. 76, 77, No. 41, repr.; H. Gerson, in H. Gerson and E.H. ter Kuile, *Art and Architecture in Belgium, 1600-1800*, Harmondsworth, 1960, p. 186, n. 87; J. Müller Hofstede, *Eine Kreidestudie von Rubens für den Kreuzaufrichtungsalter, Pantheon*, XXV, 1967, p. 42, n. 9; *Martin, Ceiling Paintings*, pp. 30, 31, 38; J. Müller Hofstede, *Neue Ölskizzen von Rubens, Städel Jahrbuch*, II, 1969, p. 232, n. 20; *Smith, Rubens' Altargemälde*, pp. 39-60, repr.; *Baudouin*, 1972, fig. 19.

The differences between this oil sketch and the definitive altar-piece at Vienna (No. 115; Fig. 40) are slight. The columns and architrave around the altar are more to the left, so that the side of the pillared hall is largely concealed, and the cherubs represented there in the finished work are here grouped more towards the middle. Other differences are that in this sketch the woman on the right has no child in her arms, and that in addition to the possessed man another figure is lying on the ground. It can also be seen from the existing copies (Fig. 42) that the first of the descending cherubs originally held a palm

in his left hand, this detail disappeared in later restorations. Like its companion piece (No. 104a; Fig. 7), this sketch was placed against one of the pillars flanking the choir of the Antwerp Jesuit church.

115b. STUDIES OF HEADS AND AN ARM: DRAWING (Fig. 43)

Black and white chalk; 320 : 220 mm. In the right corner below, the mark of Emperor Paul I (L. 2061).

Leningrad, Hermitage. Inv. No. 5454.

PROVENANCE: Count Cobenzl (Ljubljana, 1712 – Brussels, 1770); purchased from him by Empress Catherine II, the Great, 1768.

EXHIBITED: *Rubens i ego shkola v risunkakh i gravurakh*, Hermitage, Leningrad, 1940, No. 13; *Dessins flamands et hollandais du XVII^e siècle. Collections de l'Ermitage, Leningrad et du Musée Pouchkine, Moscou*, Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, 1972, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, 1972–73, and Institut Néerlandais, Paris, 1973, No. 82 (repr.).

LITERATURE: M. Dobroklonsky, *Einige Rubens-Zeichnungen in der Eremitage, Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, LXIV, 1930, pp. 35, 36, repr.; M.V. Dobroklonsky, *Risunki Rubensa*, Moscow, 1940, No. 15, repr.; M.V. Dobroklonsky, *Risunki flamandskoy shkoly XVII-XVIII vekov*, Moscow, 1955, No. 647; M. Varshavskaya, *Peter Paul Rubens*, Moscow, 1958, No. 58, repr.; *Held*, I, p. 161, No. 165; II, pl. 170; J. Kuznetsov, *Risunki Rubensa iz muzeev SSSR*, Leningrad-Moscow, 1965, No. 19.

Figure studies for *The Miracles of St. Ignatius of Loyola*, in the Kunsthistorisches Museum at Vienna (No. 115; Fig. 40). Dobroklonsky (*Risunki flamandskoy shkoly, loc. cit.*) pointed out that the head of the old man looking upwards is copied from the antique so-called bust of Seneca, of which Rubens possessed a copy and which is depicted in some of his works (e.g. *Four Philosophers*, Florence, Palazzo Pitti; *K.d.K.*, p. 45). To the right of this head is a rather lightly drawn head of a man seen in profile, with a strong chin thrust forward. As Held pointed out, there is a definite resemblance here to Leonardo's caricature heads. It should also be remarked here that the same profile recurs in Rubens's strongly Leonardesque so-called *Niccolo da Uzzano*, a drawing now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (*Goris-Held*, No. 121, Fig. 103). The forearm, below on the left, is drawn from life. The "Seneca" head reap-

pears in the altar-piece, on the right, above the left arm of the possessed woman. Rubens used the study of the forearm for the figure of the man supporting the possessed woman on the left. The face in profile was connected by Held with the female head immediately above the possessed woman, while Dobroklonsky related it to an unspecified head in the oil sketch; neither view, however, is correct. The profile recurs literally, though in reverse image, in the finished painting. Rubens in fact used this study for one of the Jesuits standing beside St. Ignatius (the fifth from the right). As the three motifs occur only in the finished picture, it is clear that this drawing was made after the oil sketch at Vienna.

115c. THE MIRACLES OF ST. IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA: DRAWING (Fig. 45)

Black chalk, pen and brown wash, heightened with white and olive-green body-colour; 521 : 415 mm. Below, on the left and on the right, two marks of the Louvre (L. 1899 and 2207); also below, on the right, an unidentifiable mark (L. 2962).

Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre. Inv. No. 20307 (as after Rubens).

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

COPY: Engraving by M. van der Goes (Fig. 44; *V.S.*, p. 102, No. 67).

LITERATURE: F. Reiset, *Notice des Dessins, etc. au Musée National du Louvre*, I, Paris, 1866, No. 584 (as after Rubens); Rooses, v, p. 163 (as retouched by Rubens); F. Van den Wijngaert, *Inventaris der Rubeniaansche prentkunst*, Antwerp, 1940, p. 59, No. 300 (as M. van der Goes); Lugt, *Louvre, Ecole flamande*, II, 1949, pp. 41, 42, No. 1148, fig. 65 (as ? A. van Dyck); H. Vey, *Die Zeichnungen Anton van Dycks*, Brussels, 1962, I, pp. 232, 233, No. 162; II, pl. 207 (as A. van Dyck).

This drawing faithfully reproduces the composition of the altar-piece at Vienna (No. 115; Fig. 40), but is somewhat enlarged on all four sides. It is probably identical with "Un pezzo delle Gestì d'Ignazio Loiola", a drawing executed by "un giovane ben intentionato" before, or perhaps shortly after, 23 January 1619 (Rooses-Ruelens, II, p. 200). Rooses (*ibid.*, p. 201) believes that the young man in question was Lucas Vorsterman. Vey, however, ascribed this study to the young Van Dyck, along with the preliminary study, discussed above, for Vorster-

man's engraving of *St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata* (I, No. 90b; Fig. 157): contemporary sources in fact indicate that in the years before Van Dyck went to Italy he drew modelli for engravers after compositions by Rubens. The execution of this drawing has the same flexible and dashing quality as that of *St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata*, and is in a quite different style from the drier, less inspired study for *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier*, which was also engraved by Van der Goes (No. 104h; Fig. 15). The highlights may, as Rooses and Burchard suggested, have been added by Rubens himself, but I cannot offer any definite evidence to support this.

Since Marinus van der Goes did not become a free master in the Guild of St. Luke until 1632-33 (T. Rombouts and P. van Lerijs, *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven betreffende het Antwerpsche Sint-Lucasgilde*, II, The Hague, n.d., p. 42), he cannot have made the engraving after this drawing (Fig. 44) until the latter year. The reason for the lapse of time between drawing and engraving is not clear.

116. THE MIRACLES OF ST. IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA (Fig. 46)

Oil on canvas; 400 : 275 cm.

Genoa, Sant' Ambrogio.

COPY: Drawing by David Wilkie, Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland; lit.: *National Galleries of Scotland*, I, 1972, fig. 8.

LITERATURE: *Relation d'un voyage du Marquis de Seignelay*, 1671 (ed. P. Clément, Paris, 1867), p. 114 (as *un saint Xavier [sic] qui guérit un possédé*); Bellori, p. 223; L. Scaramuccia, *Le Finenze de' Pennelli Italiani...*, Pavia, 1674, p. 154; R. Soprani, *Le Vite de' Pittori... Genovesi*, Genoa, 1674, p. 302; Tessin, p. 127; Comte de Caylus, *Voyage d'Italie 1714-1715* (ed. A. Pons, Paris, 1914), p. 337 (as *La prédication d'un saint Jésuite*); Descamps, *Vie*, p. 319; Cochin, *Voyage d'Italie*, Paris, 1758, III, p. 249 (as *un Saint Jésuite, qui guérit une possédée, & ressucite des enfans*); [de Lalande], *Voyage d'un François en Italie, fait dans les années 1765 & 1766*, Venice-Paris, 1769, VIII, p. 472; Michel, 1771, p. 315; *Description des beautés de Gènes*, Genoa, 1773, p. 29 (as *un Saint Jésuite qui guérit une possédée & ressucite des enfans*); C.G. Ratti, *Instruzione di quanto puo vedersi di più bello in Genova*, Genoa, 1780, p. 65; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 154; A. Cunningham, *The Life of Sir David Wilkie*, II, London, 1843, p. 165; F. Alizeri, *Guida artistica di Genova*, I, Genoa, 1846, pp. 114,

115; J. Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone*, 1855, p. 1020; A. Baschet, *Pierre-Paul Rubens, peintre de Vincent I^{er}, duc de Mantoue, Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1868, p. 334; *Rooses*, II, pp. 291-293, No. 455; *Michel*, p. 242; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 187; *Dillon*, p. 135, pl. CLXXXIX; *K.d.K.*, p. 202; *Evers*, 1942, p. 257; *Martin, Ceiling Paintings*, p. 130; M. Jaffé, *Rediscovered Oil Sketches by Rubens*, II, *The Burlington Magazine*, CXI, 1969, pp. 529, 530; J. Müller Hofstede, *Neue Ölskizzen von Rubens, Städel Jahrbuch*, II, 1969, pp. 190-194, 231-233, fig. 3; *Smith, Rubens' Altargemälde*, pp. 58, 59, repr.; *Baudouin*, 1972, pp. 71, 245 n.; R.W. Berger, *Rubens and Caravaggio: a Source for a Painting from the Medici Cycle, The Art Bulletin*, LIV, 1972, p. 476, n. 28; J. Müller Hofstede, *Abraham Janssens. Zur Problematik des flämischen Caravaggismus, Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, XIII, 1971, p. 272.

This is a variant of the painting of the same theme at Vienna (No. 115; Fig. 40): it is somewhat less crowded, perhaps because the canvas is smaller. The group of St. Ignatius and his fellow-Jesuits standing in front of the altar is the reverse image of that in the Jesuit church at Antwerp; similarly the architectural setting is reversed in the two works. In the present one, the number of figures in the foreground is reduced. On the left we recognize the group with the possessed woman, on the right the mothers with sick and dead children. Two dominating figures of the other version are missing: the man with the rope round his neck, on the right in the Vienna picture, and the possessed man lying on the ground in the left foreground. The old woman on the right, displaying her left arm, was identified by Graham Smith with the washerwoman whose withered arm was miraculously cured while she was washing the Saint's linen (*Vita beati P. Ignatii Loiolæ*, Rome, 1609, print by Cornelis Galle the Elder, reproduced in *Smith, Rubens' Altargemälde*, p. 58, fig. 37). J. Müller Hofstede maintained that the composition of this work was based on Caravaggio's *Madonna of the Rosary*, acquired in about 1618 for St. Paul's church at Antwerp and now in Vienna (J. Müller Hofstede, *op. cit.*, fig. 4), but this does not appear convincing.

The altar-piece was ordered for the Jesuit church of Sant' Ambrogio at Genoa by Niccolo Pallavicini, who had previously commissioned a *Circumcision* for the same church (*Rooses*, I, pp. 201-203, No. 156; *K.d.K.*, p. 21). From a document published by Jaffé it appears that plans were made in 1612 for the decoration of the chapel of St. Ignatius at Sant' Ambrogio: on 16 March of that year Niccolo Pallavicini decided to spend 2000 Genoese pounds annually for the purpose: "La detta sua capella che hora si sta fabricando per la sua total perfettione ed ornamento spenderli fino alla somma di libri due millia moneta di Genova per ogni anno..." (M. Jaffé, *op. cit.*, p. 530, n. 43). It appears from

the same source that Pallavicini must have been in close relations with the Jesuits of his city; his brother Marcello was of their number and seems to have supervised the adornment of the chapel: "... e tutto sio si faccia al giudicio e parere del molto Rdo Padre Marcello Pallavicini suo fratello... che sia fornita e perfetta con quelle ornamenti e pitture, stuchi, ori, marmi e finalmente con tutti quelli ornamenti tanti della cappella come dell'Altare convenevoli e che al culto divino si ricercano" (M. Jaffé, *op. cit.*, p. 530, n. 43). Rubens's painting, however, was not executed until some time afterwards. It arrived in Genoa only in 1620, as appears from an item in the Carrega archives there (A. Baschet, *loc. cit.*).

Apart from having been in contact with Pallavicini, Rubens was by no means a stranger to the Jesuits. In Italy, apart from the previous commission for Sant' Ambrogio, he had carried out orders for their church at Mantua (*Rooses*, I, pp. 87-92, Nos. 81-83) and very probably also for their convent in Rome (Nos. 113 and 114; Figs. 36 and 37). His two large altar-pieces for the Jesuit church at Antwerp (Nos. 104 and 115; Figs. 6 and 40) were painted somewhat earlier than the St. Ignatius at Genoa. Although this picture never left Sant' Ambrogio it was for some time in private ownership: after Pallavicini's death in 1649 it was bought by the Marchese Agostino Airolì, whose heirs later sold it to the Rebuffo family. It finally passed by inheritance to the Carregas (A. Baschet, *loc. cit.*).

116a. THE MIRACLES OF ST. IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA: OIL SKETCH

Oil on panel.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: Pietro Gentile, Genoa; bought by Mr. Irvine, agent of William Buchanan, 1803; anonymous sale ("the property of a distinguished amateur... late of Grosvenor Street, now residing at Caen, Normandy"), London (Phillips's), 3 May 1823, lot 73.

COPY: Painting (Fig. 47), London, Dulwich College Picture Gallery, No. 148; panel, 73.5 : 50 cm.; prov.: bequest of Sir P.F. Bourgeois, 1811; lit.: G.F. Warner, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts and Muniments of Alleyn's College of God's Gift at Dulwich (London)*, 1881, pp. 223, 224, No. 21 (inventory of N.J. Desenfans's collection, 6 July 1804 [as *Rubens*]); *A Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Pictures in the Gallery of Alleyn's College of God's Gift at Dulwich*, Dulwich, 1926, p. 340, No. 148; *A brief*

Catalogue of the Pictures in the Dulwich College Picture Gallery, 1953, p. 53 (as school of P.P. Rubens); M. Jaffé, *Rediscovered Oil Sketches by Rubens* - II, *The Burlington Magazine*, CXI, 1969, pp. 529, 530, fig. 1 (as Rubens); J. Müller Hofstede, *Neue Ölskizzen von Rubens, Siädel Jahrbuch*, II, 1969, pp. 190-194, 231-233, fig. 2 (as Rubens); Smith, *Rubens' Altargemälde*, p. 59 (as Rubens); R.W. Berger, *Rubens and Caravaggio: a Source for a Painting from the Medici Cycle*, *The Art Bulletin*, LIV, 1972, p. 476, n. 28 (as Rubens).

LITERATURE: *Description des Beautés de Gênes*, Genoa, 1773, p. 46; C.G. Ratti, *Istruzione di quanto puo vedersi di più bello in Genova*, Genoa, 1780, p. 121; W. Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting*, II, London, 1824, p. 103, No. 2; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, p. 337, No. 347; *Rooses*, II, p. 293, No. 455 bis.

This sketch, known from a copy at Dulwich (Fig. 47), differs from the final version (No. 116; Fig. 46) as follows. St. Ignatius is seen frontally and not in three-quarter face; the two deacons are absent; the accompanying group of Jesuits is differently arranged; the half-naked greybeard in the right foreground is behind, instead of in front of, the old woman with a white kerchief; this old woman is partly cut off by the edge of the panel; the head of a man with dark hair, seen on the extreme right in the final version, does not appear in the sketch; the pose of the dead child in the lower right-hand corner is more or less a mirror image of that in the final version; its mother holds it by the shoulder with her right hand instead of her left. The main general difference is that all the figures are further towards the front, which gives the composition a flatter and more crowded appearance.

Recently, Jaffé and Müller Hofstede considered the Dulwich copy an authentic work by Rubens and consequently identified it with the sketch which, according to several 18th century descriptions of Genoa, once belonged to the Gentile family there. This attribution must be rejected here for two reasons: (1) the poor quality of the work; (2) its provenance. As for the latter reason, we know indeed that the sketch from the Gentile collection was sold at Phillips's, London, on 3 May 1823. In the catalogue of that anonymous sale the following description—which has remained unnoticed hitherto—is explicit enough, in spite of an iconographic inaccuracy: “[Lot] 73. Rubens. Our Saviour [sic] curing one possessed of an evil spirit, a sketch for the famous picture in the church of the Annunciation [sic] at Genoa—this celebrated study was in the possession of the Gentile family at Genoa.” As we know that the Dulwich copy came into the Gallery there as early as 1811, we need no further arguments

to demonstrate that its supposed provenance from the Gentile collection should be rejected.

117-118. THE TRIPTYCH OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF ST. ILDEFONSO AT BRUSSELS

117. ST. ILDEFONSO RECEIVING THE CHASUBLE FROM THE VIRGIN, IN THE PRESENCE OF ARCHDUKE ALBERT AND THE INFANTA ISABELLA (Figs. 48, 50-52)

Oil on three panels; 352 : 454 cm.

Vienna, *Kunsthistorisches Museum*. No. 321 (Inv. No. 678).

PROVENANCE: Church of Sint-Jacob op de Coudenberg, Brussels; purchased by Empress Maria Theresa for the Imperial Collections at Vienna, 1777.

COPIES: (1) Painting after the central panel, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 202 : 136.5 cm.; prov.: sale, Munich (Helbing), 17-19 March 1921, lot 714 (repr.); (2) Drawing after the central panel, probably by J. Witdoeck, Genève, Mme E. Marich; 524 : 357 mm.; prov.: Everhard IV Jabach (Cologne-Paris, 1610-1695); Pierre Crozat, sale, Paris, 10 April-13 May 1741, lot 818-2 (as *Rubens*); P.J. Mariette, sale, Paris, 15 November 1775-30 January 1776, lot 1003 (as *Rubens*); lit.: J. Müller Hofstede, *Rubens Stechervorlage für die "Vision des Hl. Ildefons"*, *Pantheon*, xxiii, 1965, pp. 382-385, fig. 1 (as *Rubens*); (3) Engraving after (2) by J. Witdoeck, 1638 (Figs. 59, 60; *V.S.*, p. 103, No. 85); (4) Engraving after the side panels by J. Harrewyn (*V.S.*, p. 176, Nos. 196, 197).

LITERATURE: A. Sanderus, *Chorographia Sacra Brabantiae*, Brussels, 1659, p. 5; P. Skippon, *An account of a Journey made through Part of the Low Countries, Germany, Italy and France*, 1663, published in Churchill, *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vi, p. 373 (as *The Virgin Mary giving a Garment to St. James*); Mensaert, I, pp. 10, 11; Descamps, *Voyage*, pp. 43, 44; Michel, 1771, pp. 50-60; Mechel, p. 117, No. 1; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp. 91, 92, No. 295; Vienna, *Cat. Engerth*, No. 1150; A. Caстан, *Les Origines et la date du Saint Ildefonse de Rubens* [*Mémoires de la Société d'émulations du Doubs*, IX, 1884], pp. 1-91; A. Caстан, *Une visite au Saint-Ildefonse de Rubens* [*Mémoires de la Société d'émulations du Doubs*, X, 1885], pp. 1-8; A. Caстан, *Opinion des érudits de l'Autriche sur les origines et la date du Saint Ildefonse de Rubens* [*Mémoires de la Société d'émulations du Doubs*, XI, 1886], pp. 1-47; C. von Lützwow, *Das Dreifaltigkeitsbild von Rubens in der Bibliothek zu Mantua*, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 1887, p. 348; Rooses, II, pp. 294-306, Nos. 456-458; Michel, pp. 441, 442, repr.; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 327; Dillon, p. 168, pl. CCCXL, *K.d.K.*, p. 325; G. Glück, *Rubens' Ildefonso-Altar*, Vienna, 1921, pp. 1-14, repr.; E. Kieser, *Antikes im*

Werke des Rubens, Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst, N.F., XI, 1933, p. 132; P. Saintenoy, *Les Arts et les artistes à la cour de Bruxelles*, III, Brussels, 1935, pp. 68–86; Evers, 1942, pp. 348–355, figs. 189–191; M. De Maeyer, *Albrecht en Isabella en de schilderkunst*, Brussels, 1955, pp. 126, 127; *Martin, Ceiling Paintings*, pp. 179, 182, 183, 209.

The miracle depicted on the centre panel (Fig. 50) is described in an early medieval Spanish legend on which many paintings were based in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, owing in part to the Spanish hagiography of the Counter-Reformation: in particular F. Portocarrero, *Libro de la Descension de Nuestra Señora a la Santa Iglesia de Toledo y vida de S. Ildefonso, Arçobispo della*, Madrid, 1616. St. Ildefonso, a seventh-century Benedictine and archbishop of Toledo, and a stout defender of the Immaculate Conception, is said to have beheld a vision of the Virgin during a nocturnal procession in the cathedral. Descending amid a company of female saints, she sat in the episcopal throne and presented Ildefonso with a chasuble in token of gratitude.

The throne appears to be built into a semicircular construction, its back consisting of a niche with a scalloped vault. Two pairs of female saints are symmetrically grouped to right and left of the Virgin. Those on the right hold martyrs' palms in their hand; there are no attributes by which to identify them. St. Ildefonso kneels on the right in front of the Virgin and kisses the chasuble. Three cherubs hover in the air above the main figures.

Originally an additional female figure, facing left, could be seen to the left of the two saints standing on the right of the throne. This figure was painted out by Rubens himself, but is still discernible as the paint was applied somewhat thinly (Fig. 53). It belongs to an earlier design of the painter's, as is confirmed by the fact that it appears in the modello at Leningrad (No. 117b; Fig. 49). It may be that Rubens painted it out during the final stage, replacing it by the woman on the extreme left, who does not appear in the sketch.

The two side panels (Figs. 51, 52) show the Archduke Albert and his consort Isabella with their patron saints. These are not to be regarded in the usual way as separate compositions, but form a single whole with the middle scene: the Archducal couple are imagined as actually present at the miracle. They are kneeling at a prie-dieu and are arrayed in ceremonial cloaks, brocaded and trimmed with ermine; their crowns lie beside them on the ground. The Archduke is on the left panel, and behind him is St. Albert of Louvain in cardinal's robes: the remains of this saint were brought to Brussels by the Archduke in

1612 (A. Henne and A. Wauters, *Histoire de la ville de Bruxelles*, III, Brussels, 1845, p. 387). Behind the Infanta, on the right panel, is St. Elizabeth of Hungary in her characteristic attire of the Third Order of St. Francis, holding a book with roses and a crown.

Von Lützwow was the first to point out that the general arrangement of the composition with the donors kneeling symmetrically on either side is based on Rubens's much earlier *Vincenzo Gonzaga and his Family Adoring the Holy Trinity*, painted for the church of the Santissima Trinità at Mantua and now in the Palazzo Ducale there (*K.d.K.*, p. 13). It is obvious that the composition scheme of the central part, viz. the Virgin on a throne before a niche and the grouping of the saints around her, derives from Raphael's *Gregory IX Approving the Decretals*, one of the Stanza della Segnatura frescoes in the Vatican (*K.d.K.*, *Raffaël*, p. 78, right). Kieser observed that the saint on the extreme left beside the throne, holding her kerchief with her right hand and resting her right elbow on her left hand, derives from the antique Pudicitia motif which Rubens used on previous occasions, most clearly in *The Women at the Sepulchre* (c. 1614) in the Czernin collection at Salzburg (*K.d.K.*, p. 79).

The triptych of which this composition forms the inside was presented by Isabella to adorn the altar in the chapel of the Brotherhood of St. Ildefonso in the church of St. Jacob op de Coudenberg, in Brussels. The Brotherhood was founded by Albert in Lisbon in 1588 and in Brussels in 1603, after he became sovereign of the Netherlands: membership there was a privilege of the archducal court (*Rooses*, II, pp. 299, 300). Between 14 and 28 August 1630 a correspondence took place between Erycius Puteanus, the Louvain scholar and humanist, and Isabella's court chaplain Philippe Chifflet concerning the text to be inscribed around the chapel altar, which read: D.O.M. / HONORI ET CVLTVI / S. IDELFONSI, EPISCOPI TOLET. HISP. CHRYSOSTOMI, / SODALITAS PALATINORVM MINISTRORVM, / ALBERTI ET ISABELLÆ ARCHIDVCVM AVST. BELG. PRINCIPVM / PIETATE INSTITVTA, EXEMPLO ANIMATA, / HANC ARAM VIDVAM, ET HANC TABVLAM A PRINCIPE VIDVA DONATAM, / MARMORE ET MAGIS AFFECTV IN PATRONVM ET PRINCIPES, / ORNAVIT: / PRIMICERIO D. FERDINANDO D'ANDELOT, SEQVANO, EQ. PRIMAR. AVLÆ PRÆF. / ANNO M.DC.XXX (A Castan, *Les Origines et la date...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-41). The commission must certainly have been entrusted to Rubens by that date, but he cannot have begun on it until April 1630, when he returned to the Netherlands from Spain. From Chifflet's diary we learn that in 1631 "fut achevé l'autel de marbre de Cauberghe. Dès le commencement, Son Altesse

y contribua largement et fit présent au prévost d'une crosse et d'une mithre" (A. Castan, *op. cit.*, p. 27). This, however, does not necessarily mean that the altar-piece itself was finished by that date. It probably figured in the engraving of the St. Ildefonso altar made in 1632, which was mentioned by Mols (quoted in *Rooses*, II, p. 302); unfortunately I could not find a copy of this engraving. Rubens's picture is first specifically mentioned on 23 January 1636, when Chifflet in his diary gives a short account of the chapel and states that the altar was "embelly d'un très riche tableau de la main de Pierre Paul Rubens" (A. Castan, *op. cit.*, p. 36). The triptych did not remain above the altar for long: on 16 May 1641 it was removed to a side wall of the chapel, its place being taken by a Madonna sculpture which had been salvaged from 's Hertogenbosch during the siege by the States' troops (A. Henne and A. Wauters, *op. cit.*, pp. 356, 357). The Brotherhood of St. Ildefonso was dissolved in 1657, but the painting remained in the church until 1777, when it was sold to the empress Maria Theresa through the intermediary of Prince Starhemberg.

117a. THE INFANTA ISABELLA WITH HER PATRON ST. ELIZABETH OF HUNGARY:
DRAWING (Fig. 57)

Pen, brown ink and brown wash over preliminary work in black chalk; 200 : 78 mm.

Amsterdam, Gemeentemusea. Inv. No. 123.

PROVENANCE: Purchased for the Museum, 1934.

EXHIBITED: *Oude en moderne kunst-aanwinsten der gemeente Amsterdam*, 1934, Museum Fodor, Amsterdam, 1935, No. 175; *Cinq siècles d'Art*, World Exhibition, Brussels, 1935, No. 519.

LITERATURE: *Mémorial de l'exposition "Cinq siècles d'Art"*, Brussels, 1935, pl. CXXXII; *Held*, I, p. 139, under No. 110; J. Müller Hofstede, *Zeichnungen des späten Rubens, Pantheon*, XXIII, 1965, pp. 165, 167 (repr.).

This preliminary study for the right inside panel of the triptych (Fig. 52) shows the Infanta and her patron saint in full profile, whereas in the final version the Infanta's face is slightly more towards the spectator and the saint is seen frontally. In the drawing Isabella holds a prayer-book, instead of a rosary as in the painting. In the drawing, too, St. Elizabeth stands on the right and points

with her right arm towards the left as if presenting the Infanta to the Virgin; in the painting she bends forward towards Isabella in a attitude of protection. The folds of St. Elizabeth's headgear seem to be related with the style of Roman statues of the "Vestal" type.

117b. ST. ILDEFONSO RECEIVING THE CHASUBLE FROM THE VIRGIN, IN THE PRESENCE OF ARCHDUKE ALBERT AND THE INFANTA ISABELLA: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 49)

Oil on canvas; 53 : 84 cm.

Leninград, Hermitage. No. 520.

PROVENANCE: Clemens August, Duke of Bavaria, Prince-Elector and Archbishop of Cologne (According to A.-L. de la Live de Jully [letter of May 1765; cf. *infra*] in the two sales of Clemens August's collection, held at Bonn and Paris respectively on 14 May and 10 December 1764; not mentioned in any of the catalogues of these sales); Boileau, Paris; ? Count Karl Cobenzl (Ljubljana, 1712 - Brussels, 1770), after May 1765; purchased by Empress Catherine II, the Great, perhaps in 1768.

COPIES: (1) Painting, Madrid, Prado, No. 1705; copper, 33 : 55 cm.; prov.: Queen Isabella Farnese; Aranjuez, Royal Collections, 1794; lit.: *Rooses*, II, p. 308, under No. 456 bis; P. de Madrazo, *Catalogue des tableaux du Musée du Prado*, Madrid, 1913, No. 1705; (2) Painting, Vienna, Akademie der bildenden Künste; panel, 40 : 67 cm.; prov.: Munich, Halm; Vienna, count Anton Lamberg-Sprinzenstein; purchased for the Akademie from the latter's collection, 1821; lit.: *Rooses*, II, p. 308, under No. 456 bis; T. von Frimmel, *Geschichte der Wiener Gemäldesammlungen*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1901, pp. 33, 34, 152; R. Eigenberger, *Die Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der bildenden Künste in Wien*, Vienna-Leipzig, 1927, No. 590; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 41.5 : 65 cm.; prov.: Ham Court, E. Bromley Martin, sale, London (Christie's), 28 March 1924, lot 153 (as *Rubens*); London, Asscher, Koetser and Welker; Haarlem, F. Koenigs; sale, London (Sotheby's), 20 November 1957, lot 75 (as *Rubens*); exh.: *Exhibition of Pictures by Masters of the Flemish and British Schools*, The New Gallery, London, 1899-1900, No. 124 (as *Rubens*); lit.: G. Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, III, London, 1854, p. 225 (as *Rubens*); *Rooses*, II, p. 308, under No. 456 bis.

LITERATURE: *Smith*, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 92, under No. 295; *Rooses*, II, pp. 306-308, No. 456 bis; A. Somof, *Ermitage Impérial. Catalogue de la Galerie de tableaux*, II, St. Petersburg, 1901, No. 557; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p. 326; *Held*, I, p. 139; G. Aust, *Entwurf und Ausführung bei Rubens, Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, XX, 1958, p. 188,

fig. 118; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, 1, pp. 289–291; *Martin, Ceiling Paintings*, pp. 183, 184.

This sketch shows, even more clearly than the triptych (No. 117; Fig. 48) Rubens's intention of associating the donors with the miracle by placing them in the interior of the church where it took place. However, the sketch differs from the altar-piece in that they are not on the same plane as the apparition of the Virgin. Albert and Isabella are nearer the foreground, and two pillars separate them from the raised platform on which the throne stands. The figures are also somewhat different from those in the Vienna painting: instead of two symmetrical groups of two saints each, there are three women to the right of the Virgin and only one to the left. The angels do not appear in the sketch; on the other hand, two priests in the background are seen shrinking away in alarm, one of them holding a processional candle. These figures, which were omitted from the final version, are based on the legend which relates that the deacons accompanying St. Ildefonso in procession in Toledo cathedral ran away in terror at the blazing light around the bishop's throne.

Isabella's head, in strict profile, is essentially the same as in the drawing in the Fodor collection (No. 117a; Fig. 57), which preceded the present sketch. In general the latter is much closer to the final version: e.g. in both the Infanta is holding a rosary and St. Elizabeth is bending to the left, thus strengthening the link with the centre panel. The architecture in the background differs from that in the Vienna painting: it is a round structure, the lowest part of which consists of empty niches separated by Corinthian pillars. The upper part contains niches with statues in them, presumably of saints. In the final painting this elaborate construction was replaced by a single niche flanked by pillars. Rubens may have chosen this pseudo-Roman architecture as a means of producing an archaic effect, since the incident depicted took place in Visigothic times.

On 25 April 1765 Count Karl Cobenzl, the Austrian plenipotentiary at Brussels, wrote a letter to the Paris connoisseur and collector Ange-Laurent de la Live de Jully in order to make enquiries about "l'esquisse du beau tableau de Rubens que vous avez vu à l'abbaye de Coudenberg", then being preserved in the Boileau collection at Paris. Cobenzl clearly had the intention to buy the work. In his reply of May 1765 De la Live answered: "Je serais assés tenté de croire que cette esquisse, quoiqu'originale de Rubens, ayant un peu souffert, a été racordé dans plusieurs endroits". This correspondence between Cobenzl and

De la Live has been published by Alexandre Pinchart (*Correspondance artistique du Comte de Cobenzl, Compte rendu des séances de la Commission royale d'histoire*, 4^{me} Série, XII, 1884, pp. 41-43) who did not, however, note the identity of the "esquisse" with the Hermitage modello. There is no further documentary evidence as to the decision Cobenzl finally made. According to the Hermitage catalogues the here discussed oil sketch was purchased by Empress Catherine the Great from Boileau, on occasion of the sale of the latter's collection, held at Paris on 4 March 1782. However, this information seems not to be founded on a sound base, as the sketch does not figure in the catalogue of the Boileau sale. I rather presume that Cobenzl bought the sketch, in spite of De la Live's comment as to its not entirely intact state of preservation. This supposition may be corroborated by the fact that Cobenzl's celebrated collection of drawings was purchased by Catherine: the oil sketch may well have enriched the gallery of the Russian empress at the same moment.

117c. STUDY OF A HEAD OF A WOMAN TURNED TO THE RIGHT: DRAWING (Fig. 55)

Black and red chalk; 245 : 160 mm.

Vienna, *Albertina*. Inv. No. 8270.

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

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, v, 1892, pp. 292, 293, No. 1572; J. Schönbrunner and J. Meder, *Handzeichnungen alter Meister aus der Albertina und anderen Sammlungen*, Vienna, 1896-1908, IV, No. 442; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, v, 1910, p. 330; G. Glück, *Rubens' Ildefonso-Altar*, Vienna, 1921, pp. 9, 10, repr.; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 56, No. 196, repr.; H. Leporini, *Handzeichnungen grosser Meister*, Berlin, 1948, No. 7, repr.; *Held*, I, p. 139, under No. 110; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 290, 291, No. 187; II, pl. 187.

A study from life for the head of the female saint immediately left of the Madonna in the finished painting (No. 117; Figs. 48, 50). The same figure was the model for St. Catherine in *The Holy Virgin and the Child Adored by Saints* (1633), now in the Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio (*K.d.K.*, p. 343).

This and the following drawing (No. 117d; Fig. 54) may originally have been on a single sheet which was later cut in two. The two curved lines above

on the left are very similar to those indicating the hair of the woman's head in No. 117d; while the short line that appears to cut across the woman's neck in the present drawing may be regarded as part of the collar of the woman in No. 117d, where it is cut off on the right-hand side by the edge of the sheet. Both studies are on the same yellowish paper.

117d. STUDY OF A HEAD OF A WOMAN TURNED TO THE LEFT: DRAWING (Fig. 54)

Black and red chalk, heightened in a few places with white body-colour, the pupils of the eyes strengthened with Indian ink; 253 : 166 mm. Inscribed in ink, by another hand, in the right corner below: *P.P. Rubbens.*

Vienna, Albertina. Inv. No. 8271.

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

EXHIBITED: *Cinq siècles d'art*, World Exhibition, Brussels, 1935, No. 520.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, v, 1892, p. 292, No. 1571; G. Glück, *Rubens' Ildefonso Altar*, Vienna, 1921, p. 10; *Glück-Haberdtzl*, p. 56, No. 195, repr.; *Mémorial de l'exposition "Cinq siècles d'Art"*, Brussels, 1935, pl. CXXXIII; *Held*, I, p. 139, under No. 110; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 269, 270, No. 175; II, pl. 175.

A study from life for the woman's head in the Vienna altar-piece that originally appeared to the left of the two figures standing on the right beside the Virgin's throne (No. 117; Figs. 48, 50, 53).

117e. STUDY OF A HEAD OF A WOMAN LOOKING DOWNWARD: DRAWING (Fig. 56)

Black and red chalk, 193 : 167 mm. Inscribed in ink, by another hand, in the right corner below: *P.P. Rubbens.*

Vienna, Albertina, Inv. No. 8272.

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

EXHIBITED: *De Madonna in de Kunst*, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, 1954, No. 338.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, v, pp. 229, 230, No. 1433, pl. 408; G. Glück, *Rubens' Ildefonso-Altar*, Vienna, 1921, pp. 9, 10, repr. on cover; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 56, No. 194, repr.; *Held*, I, p. 139, under No. 110; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p. 270, under No. 175; J. Rosenberg, *On Quality in Art*, London, 1969, pp. 169, 172, fig. 123.

A study from life for the head of the Virgin on the centre panel of the Vienna triptych (No. 117; Fig. 50).

117f. STUDY OF FOUR FEMALE FIGURES: DRAWING

Whereabouts unknown.

COPY: Etching by C.-H. Watelet (Fig. 58; *V.S.*, p. 104, No. 87).

LITERATURE: F. Basan, *Catalogue des Estampes gravées d'après P.P. Rubens*, Paris, 1767, p. 76, under No. 32; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 91, under No. 295; *V.S.*, p. 104, under No. 87; *Rooses*, II, p. 306, under No. 455.

This drawing of four women, known only from a copy in reverse by the Paris engraver C.-H. Watelet (1718-86), must be regarded as a link between the oil modello at Leningrad (No. 117b; Fig. 49) and the finished altar-piece at Vienna (No. 117; Fig. 48). The grouping of the figures is very close to that in the final version. The attitude of the two virgins on the left beside the throne is almost the same; however, in this sketch the one further left is holding her garment together in front with both hands, while in the finished painting she holds it with her left hand only and touches her kerchief with her right. The figure of the Madonna, whereof the upper part only is visible in the sketch, also agrees with that in the final version; it may be added that her pose was already the same in the Leningrad sketch. The chief difference between this drawing and the centre panel of the great triptych is the presence of a third woman, whose head can be seen between the two attendant virgins.

It thus appears that immediately before he decided to arrange the female saints in two pairs to either side of the Virgin's throne, Rubens tried a further variation of the asymmetrical order in the Leningrad oil sketch, by placing one woman on the right of the throne and three on the left instead of the other way round. He may have made the present drawing while he was actually painting the final version. As pointed out under No. 117, he originally conformed more

closely to the Leningrad modello when starting the definite execution of the altar-piece.

In addition to this and the other preliminary detail drawings discussed above (Nos. 117c-e; Figs. 54-56) we should also make mention here of a *Study for two Angels*, belonging to the collection of the Institut Néerlandais at Paris. Recently Carlos van Hasselt (in the exhibition catalogue *Flemish Drawings of the Seventeenth Century from the Collection of Frits Lugt*, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1972, No. 83, fig. 50) claimed the drawing to be a study for the central one of the three angels, who are seen hovering in the air above the Madonna with St. Ildefonso in the central panel of the Vienna triptych (No. 117; Fig. 50). Although there is a very remarkable resemblance between the lowest one of the angels on the Paris drawing and the corresponding figure in the altar-piece, I don't think that the Paris sheet was explicitly made in view of the St. Ildefonso triptych. In the study at Paris the angel seems to be strongly lit from below; this is in contrast with the much more diffuse illumination in the Vienna painting. Further, there are also differences in the treatment of the hair as well as in the position of the legs. Finally it should not be overlooked how much more loose the drawing technique is, when compared to the execution of the highly precise head studies in the Albertina (Nos. 117c-e; Figs. 54-56).

117g. ST. ILDEFONSO RECEIVING THE CHASUBLE FROM THE VIRGIN:
RETOUCHED ENGRAVING (Fig. 59)

524 : 357 mm.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes. Inv. No. c.10501.

PROVENANCE: P.-J. Mariette (Paris, 1694-1774); purchased in 1775 from the latter's estate by Hugues-Adrien Joly, keeper of the Cabinet des Estampes.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, II, p. 306, under No. 456.

In the first state of the engraving made in 1638 by Jan Witdoeck after the centre panel of the Ildefonso altar-piece, the light parts are heightened with white body-colour and the shadows are retouched with brown wash. The garment of the woman on the extreme right is enlarged with black chalk. This was necessary because the engraving had to reproduce the composition more

broadly on that side; the architectural décor was extended laterally for the same reason (Fig. 60). Rooses and Burchard ascribed these retouches to Rubens himself, but I would not like to express an opinion either way in view of their minor character and the absence of firm data for comparison.

Müller Hofstede ascribed to Rubens's own hand a drawing formerly in the Crozat collection which served as a modello for Witdoeck's engraving (J. Müller Hofstede, *Rubens' Stechervorlage für die "Vision des Hl. Ildefons", Pantheon*, XXIII, 1965, pp. 382-385, fig. 1). I cannot, however, detect Rubens's authorship of this drawing, which agrees completely with the first state of the engraving and which I would rather ascribe to Witdoeck (see also under No. 117, COPIES (2)).

118. THE HOLY FAMILY UNDER THE APPLE-TREE WITH ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST, ELIZABETH AND ZACHARIAS (Fig. 61)

Oil on two panels; 353 : 233 cm.

Vienna, *Kunsthistorisches Museum*. No. 321 (Inv. No. 698).

PROVENANCE: Church of Sint Jacob op de Coudenberg, Brussels; purchased by Empress Maria Theresa for the Imperial Collections at Vienna, 1777.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 106.5 : 96.5 cm.; prov.: E.L. Ruelens sale, Brussels, 17-21 April 1883, lot 230 (as *Rubens*); J. Walker sale, London (Christie's), 25 June 1898, lot 58 (as *Rubens*); purchased by Mr. A. Goens; Mme de Falbe sale, London (Christie's), 19 May 1900, lot 123 (as *Rubens*); purchased by the London dealer Lesser-Lesser, sale, London (Christie's), 10 February 1912, lot 89 (as *Rubens*); Herman van Slochem, Antwerp; M. van Gelder, Uccle (Brussels); exh.: *Cinq siècles d'art*, Exposition Universelle et Internationale, Brussels, 1935, No. 194 (repr.; as *Rubens*); *Exhibition of Flemish Painting*, Worcester, Mass. and Philadelphia, 1939, No. 124 (as *Rubens*); *Dutch and Flemish Masters*, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Mass., No. 426 (repr.; as *Rubens*); lit.: M. Rooses, *Een nieuwe Rubens, Onze Kunst*, XXII, 1912, pp. 101-107, repr.; *Art News Annual*, XXXVII, 1939, p. 62 (repr.); (2) Painting, Djurgården (Stockholm), coll. Kreuger; canvas, 268 : 188 cm.; prov.: first mentioned in the collection of the Earls of Chesterfield, 1771; Earl of Chesterfield sale, London (Christie's), 3 June 1918, lot 68 (as *Rubens*); purchased from Great Britain by C.R. Lamm, Näsby (Sweden), 1919 and still in the latter's collection, 1938; exh.: *National Exhibition of Works of Art*, Leeds, 1868, No. 688 (as *Rubens*); *Exhibition of Works by the Old Masters*, Royal Academy, London, 1887, No. 141 (as *Rubens*); lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 92, under No. 295; *Rooses*,

II, p. 298, No. 459; C.R. Lamm, *Rubens' Den Heliga Familjen under Äppelträdet, Konsthistoriska Sällskapet Publikation*, 1919, pp. 39-54, repr.; (3) Painting, Penicuik House, Midlothian; canvas; lit.: *Announcements, The Burlington Magazine*, CXI, 1969, p. 642; (4) Painting, São Paulo, Conde de Matarazzo; canvas; prov.: Earl of Halifax sale, London (Christie's), 12 December 1947, lot 117 (as *Rubens*); lit.: *Announcements, The Burlington Magazine*, CXI, 1969, p. 642 (as *Rubens*); (5) Engraving after (2) by R. Earlom, 1771 (*V.S.*, p. 87, No. 114).

LITERATURE: *Mensaert*, I, pp. 11, 12; *Descamps, Voyage*, p. 45; *Michel*, 1771, p. 56; *Mechel*, p. 120, No. 13; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 92, under No. 295; *Rooses*, II, p. 298, No. 459; *Vienna, Cat. Engerth*, No. 1151; *Michel*, pp. 442, 443, repr.; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p. 328; *Dillon*, p. 168, pl. CCCXXXIX; *K.d.K.*, p. 326; G. Glück, *Rubens' Ildefonso-Altar*, Vienna, 1921, pp. 11, 12, repr.; P. Saintenoy, *Les Arts et les Artistes à la Cour de Bruxelles*, III, Brussels, 1935, pp. 68-86; *Neuerworben neugewonnen*, Vienna, 1966, No. 103; J. Pope-Hennessy, *Raphael*, London, 1971, pp. 242-244, fig. 233.

The right panel shows the Virgin, with a velum overhead, seated with the Child on her lap, and St. Joseph standing behind her. On the left panel St. John the Baptist, with his emblem of the lamb, and his parents Elizabeth and Zacharias are seen approaching the Holy Family. Zacharias holds out a branch with two apples to the Child and points to the apple-tree with his left arm. When the triptych was closed, the two panels merged into a single scene, the division being skilfully concealed by the painting of the tree, with angels playing in its topmost foliage, and by the brook in the lowest part of the picture. There was an old Netherlandish tradition of compositions covering two outer panels in this way: e.g. *The Fall of Man* forming part of Jan Gossaert's altar-piece at Palermo (M.J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, VIII, Berlin, 1930, pl. 5) and Hieronymus Bosch's *Market Vendor* on the outside of his *Hay-wain* triptych in the Escorial (L. Baldass, *H. Bosch*, Vienna, 1943, pl. 4).

Pope-Hennessy has recently shown convincingly that Rubens based this scene on two related compositions by Raphael with which he must have been well acquainted in one way or another. The Madonna's pose is that of the Virgin in the so-called *Francis I Holy Family* in the Louvre (*K.d.K.*, *Raffael*, p. 165). The figures of St. Elizabeth and the little St. John were inspired by a *Holy Family*, now also in the Louvre, painted in Raphael's studio, perhaps by Giulio Romano (*K.d.K.*, *Raffael*, p. 171).

It is at first sight curious that a scene from the Virgin's life should have been

painted on the outer side of the St. Ildefonso triptych, with which it has iconographically nothing in common. The point has so far not been discussed, but the explanation may lie in the fact that the chapel of the Brotherhood of St. Ildefonso was previously dedicated to the Virgin. In his diary (1633-36) Philippe Chifflet makes mention of the "confrérie . . . en l'honneur et soub la protection de saint Ildefonse, en une chappelle de Noſtre-Dame qui eſt à Cauberghe" (A. Caſtan, *Les Origines et la date du Saint Ildefonse de Rubens* [*Mémoires de la Société d'émulations du Doubs*, IX], Besançon, 1884, p. 36). It was situated immediately to the right of the sanctuary, the traditional place for a Lady Chapel in churches not themselves so dedicated; and it is significant that in 1641 the triptych was replaced by a miraculous sculpture of the Virgin rescued from the cathedral at 's Hertogenbosch during the siege by States' troops in 1629.

I have not been able to discover whether the present picture is based on a specific legend. It is quite possible that before the foundation of the Brotherhood there was in the chapel a representation of the Virgin sitting under an apple-tree. The apple is of course linked iconographically both with Christ and with the Virgin. It may refer to the latter's fertility or to her role as the second Eve, victorious over original sin, while as an attribute of Christ an apple or a bunch of grapes symbolizes His sacrifices and our redemption (H. Aurenhammer, *Lexikon der chriſtlichen Ikonographie*, I, Vienna, 1959, pp. 173-175). As for St. Elizabeth, it may well be that those who commissioned the altarpiece desired that she should figure in it because, like St. Elizabeth of Hungary on the inside panel, she was a patroness of the Infanta.

Two of the copies mentioned above diverge in different ways from the Vienna original. The copy formerly in the van Gelder collection at Uccle (Brussels) was enlarged considerably on either side to make an almost square composition. In the version in the Kreuger collection and the engraving from it by Earlom, the angels at the top of the apple-tree do not appear.

118a. THE HOLY FAMILY UNDER THE APPLE-TREE WITH ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST, ELIZABETH AND ZACHARIAS: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 62)

Oil on panel; 35.5 : 33 cm.; trimmed above and underneath in order to be paired with another painting.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: Somers-Cocks family; Charles McGregor sale, London (Christie's), 25 June 1971, lot 11 (repr.).

LITERATURE: M. Jaffé, *Rediscovered Oil Sketches by Rubens*, 11, *The Burlington Magazine*, CXI, 1969, pp. 533, 534, fig. 8; *Announcements*, *The Burlington Magazine*, CXI, 1969, p. 642; M.-G. de la Coëte Messelière, *Anatomie d'une vente publique*, *L'Œil*, 1971, pp. 28, 29, repr.

This oil sketch, unknown to Burchard, has survived in a fragmentary condition. The poses and gestures of the figures are much the same as in the final painting (No. 118; Fig. 61). The chief differences are that in the present version Zacharias, instead of being bald, has flowing locks; the Virgin is here seated on a chair that is not seen in the final version, and St. Joseph, standing behind her, is in profile and not full face. Such an important detail as the Baptist's lamb does not figure in the sketch.

119. ST. IVES OF TREGUIER, DEFENDER OF WIDOWS AND ORPHANS (Fig. 63)

Oil on canvas; 295 : 216 cm.

Detroit, The Detroit Institute of Arts. Inv. No. 64.459.

PROVENANCE: ? St. Peter's Church, Louvain; Jesuit Church, Louvain; sale "Tableaux déposés au Collège de Bruxelles et provenant des ci-devant Jésuites de Bruxelles, de Louvain, de Namur, de Nivelles, de Malines, d'Alost et de Mons", Brussels, 12 May 1777, lot 1; purchased by M. de Loose, probably as an agent of the Brussels art dealer J.J. Bertels; Imperial Exhibition sale (J.-J. Bertels), London (Christie's), 31 May 1787, lot 75 (withdrawn); Imperial Exhibition sale (J.-J. Bertels), London (Christie's), 21 April 1788, lot 222 (withdrawn); Imperial Exhibition sale (J.-J. Bertels), London (Christie's), 23 May 1788, lot 85 (withdrawn); J.-J. Bertels sale, Paris, 3 February 1789, lot 15 (withdrawn); Didot sale, Paris, 6 April 1825, lot 68 (withdrawn); Didot sale, Paris, 6-8 May 1828, lot 93; purchased by a certain Henry; sale, Paris, 20-21 August 1832, lot 56; purchased by the Marquis Hippolyte de Gouvello, Kerlévéan Castle, Sarzeau (Morbihan), during the first half of the 20th century; Marquis Renaud de Gouvello, Kerlévéan Castle, Sarzeau (Morbihan); purchased from the latter by the art dealers Mont, Rosenberg and Stibel, New York, c. 1960; acquired for the Detroit Institute of Arts, 1964, in memory of Feodosy Kogert, through the bequest of the latter and a gift of Mrs. Edsel B. Ford.

EXHIBITED: *Imperial Exhibition*, Mr. Bertels, King Street, London, 1787, No. 1.

LITERATURE: *Mensaert*, I, pp. 276, 277; *Descamps, Voyage*, p. 106; *Michel*, 1771, pp. 193, 194; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 55, No. 155; IX, p. 261, No. 73; E. Van Even, *Renseignements sur un tableau que Rubens exécuta en 1633, Rubens-Bulletijn*, I, 1888, p. 99; *Rooses*, II, p. 308, No. 460; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, 1895, p. 210; *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p. 106; *Knipping*, I, p. 233; J.S. Held, *Rubens' St. Ives, Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, XLIII, 1964, pp. 47-52, repr.; *Treasures from the Detroit Institute of Arts*, Detroit, 1966, p. 124, repr.

St. Ives (Yves), who died in 1303, was for a long time judge advocate under Alain de Bruc, bishop of Tréguier in Brittany. He became much beloved as a protector of the poor, judging their cases with equity and himself pleading before various courts on their behalf. He often paid the fines of his indigent clients and visited them in prison. He was canonized in 1347, and our information about him is largely derived from the documents assembled for that purpose: they are published in A. de la Borderie, *Monuments originaux de l'Histoire de St. Yves*, Saint-Brieux, 1887. His cult soon spread outside France; in the Netherlands he was popularly venerated towards the end of the sixteenth century as a patron of clerics and lawyers (*Knipping*, I, pp. 232, 233).

The picture shows the saint in his place of office, wearing a red gown. He is standing on the right, bending slightly forward to take a letter from the hand of a young widow with two children, who are kneeling on the left. On the right is a reading-desk with a legal volume on which the saint's hand rests. Behind it, against a wall, are bookshelves and a packet of documents tied together, probably acknowledgments of debt. A flight of steps leads out of doors, where a wooded, hilly landscape can be seen.

The motif of the saint leaning forward bears a striking resemblance to two figures of St. Peter in works by Cigoli: one in *St. Peter and the Cripple* (1606, now lost; engraved by Nicolas Dorigny [Paris, 1658-1746], see C. Le Blanc, *Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes*, II, Paris, 1854-1889, p. 139, No. 14) and the other in *Christ Walking on the Water* in the Accademia at Carrara (cat. exh. *Mostra del Cigoli e del suo Ambiente*, San Miniato, 1959, No. 36, pl. XXXIII). Rubens in fact made a drawing, now in the Boymans-van Beuningen Museum, which may be based on one or other of these compositions (*Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p. 42, No. 23; II, pl. 23). It seems to me, however, that in the last resort both Rubens's St. Ives and Cigoli's St. Peter derive from the figure of

God the Father in *The Creation of Eve*, Michelangelo's ceiling painting in the Sistine Chapel (*K.d.K., Michelangelo*, p. 25).

Stylistically, as Held pointed out, the picture belongs to the period 1615-20: this is especially marked in the calm, monumental composition, the plastic effect of the figures and the cool local colouring. It may be compared with the right panel of the former St. Francis triptych in St. Gummarus's church at Lier (I, No. 98; Fig. 172), an altar-piece dated 1618: the face and garments of St. Clare in that picture are very similar to those of the kneeling widow in the present one.

There is no direct evidence of where this picture was until it was placed in the former Jesuit church at Louvain, now St. Michael's, which was built in 1650-66. To judge from the eighteenth-century descriptions of this church, it did not contain any altar or chapel dedicated to St. Ives. There was such a chapel, however, in St. Peter's at Louvain, maintained by the Law Faculty of the University, which also had charge of St. Ives's College in that city. In 1666 the Faculty commissioned a life-size silver statue of their patron, to be placed above the chapel altar. This was also the year in which the Jesuit church was solemnly inaugurated, various relics being brought in procession for the occasion (E. Van Even, *Louvain dans le passé et le présent*, Louvain, 1860, pp. 203, 213, 297). It may thus be that the picture of St. Ives was originally in the chapel in St. Peter's and was presented or sold to the Jesuits in or about 1666, to complete the furnishing of the new church. In that case the silver statue may have been intended to occupy the place vacated by the picture. The Jesuits' interest may have been connected with the establishment of a sodality of law students within their walls: see *Historia collegii Soc. Iesu Lovani 1543-1695* in the Archives Générales du Royaume at Brussels, *ad* 1666.

The English art dealer George Gage, in a letter to Sir Dudley Carleton dated 14 March 1617, says that he "missed very narrowly Sig^r Rubens 3 days since at Lovaine" (*Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p. 104). Rooses's suggestion that the painter's visit was connected with the commission for this work is borne out by the stylistic dating of 1615-20, mentioned above.

120. ST. JEROME IN HIS STUDY (Fig. 65)

Oil on panel; 185.5 : 135 cm.

Potsdam-Sanssouci, Bildergalerie. Inv. No. GK-1-7578.

PROVENANCE: Sent to Potsdam from Paris, 1816, in partial replacement of six pictures formerly seized by the French; from 1892-1929 in the Stadtschloss, Berlin; returned to Sanssouci, 1929.

COPY: Painting, Port Eliot, Cornwall, The Earl of St. Germans; lit.: *Country Life*, 1948, p. 882, fig. 2 (as *A. van Diepenbeeck*).

LITERATURE: *Parthey*, I, p. 710, No. 20 (as *G. de Crayer*); E. Henschel-Simon, *Die Gemälde und Skulpturen in der Bildergalerie von Sanssouci*, Berlin, 1930, No. 58, repr. (as *A. Janssens*); C. Norris, *The "St. Jerome" from Sanssouci*, *The Burlington Magazine*, xcV, 1953, pp. 390-394; *Die Gemälde in der Bildergalerie von Sanssouci*, Potsdam, 1962, No. 46 (as *A. Janssens*); G. Eckardt, *Die Gemälde in der Bildergalerie von Sanssouci*, Potsdam, 1964, No. 81; J. Müller Hofstede, *Abraham Janssens. Zur Problematik des flämischen Caravaggismus*, *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, xiii, 1971, p. 259, fig. 28 (as lost).

St. Jerome in his study was a popular subject with painters from the fifteenth century onwards. The hermit is seen at his desk, deep in meditation. He is half-naked; his head rests on his left arm, and in his right, which hangs down loosely, he holds a quill pen. Propped on his knees and against the desk is a large folio volume in which he is writing. On the desk are an hourglass, some sheets of paper and an inkwell. Above on the left, behind the saint, is a shelf with four or five books of different sizes piled on it; the cardinal's hat is hanging close by. These picturesque details are in accord with traditional iconography: see Van Eyck's panel in the Detroit Art Institute (repr. in E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, II, Cambridge, Mass., 1953, pl. 129) and Dürer's famous engraving of 1514 (*K.d.K., Dürer*, p. 153). The room itself is sketchily indicated: two steps are seen in the lower part of the picture, and at the back, in the centre, is an open door with a curtain at one side; a somewhat cloudy sky is seen beyond. There is also a second source of light, to be imagined as coming from about where the spectator is. St. Jerome's faithful lion is seen below on the left. Two small angels have been added for decorative purposes: one, in the upper right corner, is blowing the ink off a quill preparatory to writing on a scroll, while the other, below on the left, is prodding the lion with his left foot.

Norris, who was the first to establish Rubens's authorship of this work, saw

in it a "curious fusion of Correggiesque with Michelangesque elements". The influence of Michelangelo is certainly clear. As Norris observed, the upper part of the saint's body and his left arm are based on Michelangelo's *St. Jerome*, as far as we may judge of it from an engraving of 1557 by Sebastiano da Reggio (C. Norris, *op. cit.*, p. 390, fig. 19), and his crossed legs and left arm are suggested by those of the Erythraean Sibyl in the Sistine chapel ceiling (*K.d.K., Michelangelo*, p. 34). I am less convinced by Norris's comparison of the putto in the left lower corner with Correggio's *Education of Cupid*; it rather resembles the first of the two putti in imitation sculpture on the right against the pilasters flanking Michelangelo's Erythraean Sybil.

The composition is typical of Rubens in about 1609-10. The bulky figure of the saint, almost filling the canvas, is to some extent reminiscent of such works as *Susannah and the Elders* in the Real Academia de San Fernando at Madrid (*K.d.K.*, p. 32). The grotesque-looking lion seems to have been much overpainted.

121. ST. JEROME IN THE WILDERNESS (Fig. 66)

Oil on canvas; 236 : 163.5 cm.; monogrammed in the left corner, below: *P.P.R.*

Dresden, Gemäldegalerie. No. 955.

PROVENANCE: Collection of Francesco I d'Este (Modena, 1610-1650); in the Este Collection at Modena until 1746, when it was bought for the collection of August III, Elector of Saxony and King of Poland.

COPIES: (1) Painting, London, Julius Weitzner, panel, 106 : 76 cm.; prov.: London, Major T.F. Trollope-Bellew sale, London (Sotheby's), 22 February 1967, lot 7 (as *Rubens*); lit.: J. Müller Hofstede, *Vier Modelli von Rubens, Pantheon*, xxv, 1967, pp. 440-442, fig. 8 (as *Rubens*); M. Jaffé, *Some recent Acquisitions of seventeenth century Flemish Paintings, Washington National Gallery of Art, Report and Studies in the History of Art*, III, 1969, pp. 16, 31, n. 28, repr. (as *Rubens*); (2) Painting of the Head of St. Jerome, Roeselare, G. van Wassenhove; panel, 66 : 56.5 cm.; prov.: Scarborough, G. White; Brussels, Galerie Nova, 1964; exh.: *Yorkshire Fine Art Exhibition*, York, May 1879.

EXHIBITED: *Vystavka Kartin Drezdenskoj Gallerie*, Pushkin Museum, Moscow, 1955; p. 61 (not numbered); *Ausstellung der Gemälde aus der Dresdener Gallerie*, National-Galerie, Berlin, 1955-56, p. 95 (not numbered); *Gemälde Gallerie, Dresden. Aus-*

Stellung der von der Regierung der UdSSR an die Deutsche Demokratische Republik übergebenen Meisterwerke, Staatsgalerie, Dresden, [1956], p. 77 (not numbered).

LITERATURE: F. Scannelli, *Il microcosmo della Pittura*, II, Cesena, 1657, p. 205; Tessin, p. 217; Descamps, *Vie*, p. 319; *Catalogue des tableaux de la Galerie Electorale de Dresde*, Dresden, 1765, No. 462; Michel, 1771, p. 313; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 155, No. 542; Parthey, II, p. 421, No. 112; Rooses, II, pp. 311, 312, No. 463; K. Woermann, *Katalog der königlichen Gemäldegalerie Dresden*, Dresden, 1887, No. 955; W. Bode, *Kritik und Chronologie der Gemälde von Peter Paul Rubens*, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, N.F., XVI, 1905, p. 201; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 24; Dillon, pp. 94, 194, pl. XXXIII; *K.d.K.*, p. 97; D. von Hadeln, in C. Ridolfi, *Le Maraviglie dell'Arte*, ed. D. von Hadeln, II, Berlin, 1924, p. 57, n. 2; Glück-Haberditzl, p. 28, under No. 4; *Katalog der Staatlichen Gemäldegalerie zu Dresden*, Dresden, 1930, No. 955; J. Müller Hofstede, *Vier Modelle von Rubens*, *Pantheon*, XXV, 1967, pp. 440-442, fig. 9; M. Jaffé, *Some recent Acquisitions of seventeenth century Flemish Paintings*, *Washington National Gallery of Art, Report and Studies in the History of Art*, III, 1969, pp. 16, 31. n. 29.

Between 370 and 380, as we learn from his epistle to Eusebius, St. Jerome spent four or five years at Chalchis in the Syrian desert, leading a life of meditation and penance. This period of the Saint's life owes its popularity as a subject to the extensive account in the *Legenda Aurea* (II, col. 231 et seq.).

He is seen here half-naked, deep in adoration of a crucifix set on a large rock: beside it are books and a skull symbolizing mortification. In the left foreground is a lion, the Saint's familiar companion since, according to the *Legenda Aurea*, he befriended it by pulling a thorn out of its paw. The background is mainly occupied by a bank on which trees and shrubs are growing. Some weeds in the left foreground are painted with minute precision. The work shows a marked dependence on Titian's composition of the same theme, now in the Brera Gallery at Milan: it was formerly in Santa Maria Nuova at Venice and Rubens must have seen it while there (*Tietze, Titian*, pl. 211). He made a drawing of Titian's work which is not itself known but can be judged from two copies, one in the Teyler Museum at Haarlem (*Glück-Haberditzl*, No. 4, repr. as *Rubens*) and the other in the Kupferstichkabinett at Dresden. Rubens took over Titian's figure of St. Jerome in reverse image, and there is an almost exact resemblance in the attitude of the sleeping lion. That of the kneeling hermit is related to the antique sculpture known as the *Dying Seneca*, which Rubens drew from various angles including a left profile as in the present

work (G. Fubini and J.S. Held, *Padre Resta's Drawings after Ancient Sculpture, Master Drawings*, II, 1964, p. 130, fig. 7).

Rosenberg assigned this work to a date in Rubens's Italian period, c. 1606-8, but other authors rightly place it in the second decade of the century. Bode and Oldenbourg suggested 1615, while Glück cautiously took the view that it could hardly date from before 1612. In fact it displays a cool classicism typical of Rubens's work in about 1612-15. In 1649 Carlo Ridolfi records as an item in the collection of the painter Nicolaas Regnier, alias Nicolò Renieri, who moved from Antwerp to Venice, a "figura di San Girolamo maggior del vivo, col Leone à canto, che par rugisca, di Pietro Paolo Ruben" (C. Ridolfi, *Le Maraviglie dell'Arte*, Venice, 1648, ed. D. von Hadeln, II, Berlin, 1924, p. 57). It is tempting to wonder, as D. von Hadeln and Burchard did, whether this is not the painting which was recorded by Scannelli in the ducal collections at Modena and which found its way to Dresden in the eighteenth century. There is, however, a serious obstacle to this in the fact that according to Ridolfi the lion is seen roaring, whereas in the Dresden picture it is asleep.

122. ST. JEROME IN THE ROBES OF A CARDINAL (Fig. 64)

Oil on panel; 60 : 47 cm.

Vienna, *Kunsthistorisches Museum*. No. 317.

PROVENANCE: First mentioned in Storffer's hand-painted inventory of the imperial gallery in the Stallburg at Vienna, 1730, No. 98.

EXHIBITED: *Flemish Art 1300-1700*, Royal Academy, London, 1953-54, No. 189.

LITERATURE: *Mechel*, p. 119, No. 12; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 95, No. 305; *Partbey*, II, p. 421, No. 111; *Vienna, Cat. Engerth*, No. 1190; *Rooses*, II, pp. 312, 313, No. 464; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 447; *K.d.K.*, p. 453 (as a workshop production); *Katalog der Gemäldegalerie*, Vienna, 1928, No. 848; *Katalog der Gemäldegalerie*, Vienna, 1928, No. 848; *Katalog der Gemäldegalerie*, Vienna, 1938, No. 848.

A bust of St. Jerome, seen full-face, as an aged man with a full white beard, wearing a cardinal's hat and red robes.

Widely differing dates are given for this work. Glück, in the Vienna catalogue of 1928, places it about 1616; Rosenberg suggests 1638-40, at the end of Rubens's life, while Raczyński, in the Vienna catalogue of 1938, places it in 1622-25. There is little doubt, however, that the free brush-strokes with which the head is depicted belong to Rubens's late style; the work cannot date from before the middle 1630s.

123. ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

LITERATURE: F. Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, Sevilla, 1649, p. 100.

According to Pacheco, Rubens painted during his second stay in Madrid, between August 1628 and April 1629, "un San Juan Evangelista, del tamaño del natural" (i.e. life-size) to the order of Don Jaime de Cárdenas, brother of the Duque de Maqueda.

124. ST. JOSEPH AND THE INFANT CHRIST

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: Chapel of the Convent of the Discalced Carmelites, Morlane, near Namur; ? H.A.J. Munro of Novar, sale, London (Christie's), 18 June 1878, lot 92.

COPIES: (1) Drawing (Fig. 67), whereabouts unknown; 350 : 300 mm.; prov.: Brussels, Comte du Châstel-Andelot; lit.: *Rooses*, v, p. 164, pl. 389; (2) Drawing by ? J. van Egmont, Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, *J. v. Egmont*, 1, 436 : 323 mm.; prov.: F.J.O. Boymans Bequest, 1847; (3) Engraving after (2) published by G. Donck, 1668 (Fig. 68; *V.S.*, p. 105, No. 98).

LITERATURE: *Mensaert*, II, p. 93; *Michel*, 1771, p. 197; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 39, No. 114; A. Pinchart, *Archives des Arts*, II, Ghent, 1863, p. 172; *Rooses*, II, pp. 313, 314, No. 465; F. Courtoy, *Les Archiducs Albert et Isabelle au désert de Marlagne, Namurcum*, XVIII, 1941, pp. 47, 48; M. De Maeyer, *Albrecht en Isabella en de schilderkunst*, Brussels, 1955, p. 120.

This picture, formerly in the convent chapel of the Discalced Carmelites at Morlane, is described by Mensaert as follows: "une très belle pièce, représentant Saint Joseph ayant l'Enfant Jésus sur les mains, qu'il présente à Dieu le Père; deux Séraphins qui cueillent & présentent des fleurs à ce divin Enfant sont à côté de Saint Joseph". It appears from this that the picture was similar to the copies mentioned above: to judge from the first of these (Fig. 67), it was rounded at the top. St. Joseph is seen in the centre with the infant Christ in his arms. On the left are two angels: one is crouched on the ground picking flowers, while the other, standing, offers the Child some grapes. At the top, close to the upper edge of the picture, is God the Father holding a globe.

The painting was presented to the convent of the Discalced Carmelites at Morlane near Namur by the Archduke Albert and his consort Isabella. On 29 March 1621 they ordered 530 pounds to be paid to Rubens for it: "A Gaspar Turckelsteyn, fondeur en métal; Estienne van Schorre, sculpteur, et Pierre-Paul Rubbens, painctre, la somme de 1066 livres 6 solz, qui, par ordonnance de Leurs Altèzes du 29 de mars 1621, leur avoit esté délivré comme s'ensuit, assçavoir: 273 livres audiçt Gaspar Turquelsteyn, pour avoir livré et geçté une platine de cuyvre pour engraver en icelle les obligations que les pères carmelites au désert ou bois de Morlane-lez-Namur ont pour la fondation de Leurs Altèzes, . . . et les restans 530 audiçt painctre Pierre-Paul Rubbens, pour avoir painct le tableau du grand autel de ladiçte église représentant monseigneur saint Joseph" (A. Pinchart, *op. cit.*, p. 172). We know that the Archducal couple did much to aid the Discalced Carmelites to establish themselves and extend their influence in the Southern Netherlands (A.D., *L'Infante Isabelle, gouvernante des Pays-Bas, et le Carmel, Etudes Carmélitaines*, 1913, pp. 33-54). It was not accidental that St. Joseph was the patron of the convent at Morlane: he was much venerated by the Order as a whole (E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux après le Concile de Trente*, Paris, 1951, pp. 314, 315) and was also the patron of its Southern Netherlands province. It may also be noted that the engraving of this composition published in 1668 was dedicated to Joannes a Matre Dei, the then Provincial of the Carmelites in the Southern Netherlands (Fig. 68).

After 1771 (*Michel*, 1771, *loc. cit.*) we hear nothing more of this picture, which no doubt disappeared during the French occupation. Rooses suggested that it might be identical with a work formerly in the Munro collection, the description of which fits the case: "Rubens. Joseph holding Infant Christ in his arms. The Eternal above; Two youthful Angels, left, gathering and offering

Flowers. Size – 94 in. [= 239 cm.] high by 73 ½ wide [= 187 cm.]". (W. Frost and H. Reeve, *Catalogue of the Paintings . . . in the Collection of the late Hugh Andrew Johnstone Munro, Esq., of Novar*, London, 1865, p. 46, No. 235). This painting was No. 92 in the Munro sale held in London on 1 June 1878.

125. THE MIRACLE OF ST. JUSTUS (Fig. 69)

Oil on canvas; 191 : 134 cm.

Bordeaux, Musée des Beaux-Arts. Inv. No. 6067.

PROVENANCE: Church of the Annunciate Nuns, Antwerp; sale "Couvents supprimés", Brussels, 12 September 1785, lot 2093, purchased by Horion; Horion sale, Brussels, 1 September 1788, lot 17; purchased by Walkiers; sale, Paris (Lebrun), 10 August 1803, lot 52 (withdrawn); general Rottiers sale Paris, 4–5 December 1846, lot 98; purchased by Napoleon III, who presented the painting to the Bordeaux Gallery in October 1851, in exchange for a portrait by Rosalba Carriera.

COPIES: (1) Drawing, Copenhagen, Print Room of the Statens Museum for Kunst, "Rubens Cantoor", No. 1, 66; (2) Engraving by J. Witdoeck, 1639 (*V.S.*, p. 105, No. 99).

EXHIBITED: *Les Chefs-d'œuvre des Musées de Bordeaux*, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Bordeaux, 1952–53, No. 45; *Chefs d'œuvre du Musée de Bordeaux*, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Bordeaux, 1961, not numbered; *Delacroix, ses maîtres, ses amis, ses élèves*, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Bordeaux, 1963, No. 190 (repr.); *Meeſterwerken uit het Museum van Bordeaux*, Museum voor Schone Kunſten, Ghent, and Singer Museum, Laren, 1970, No. 10 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *De Wit*, p. 121; *Descamps, Vie*, p. 321; *Berbie*, II, p. 67, No. 1; *Mensaert*, I, p. 215; *Descamps, Voyage*, p. 200; *Michel*, 1771, pp. 105, 106; *Reynolds*, p. 183; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 9, No. 16; E. Delacroix, *Journal*, 8 February 1847, published by A. Joubin, Paris, I, 1932, p. 183; *Clément de Ris*, II, p. 340 (tentatively as *J. Wildens* or *L. van Uden*); M. Rooses, *Petrus Paulus Rubens en Baltasar Moretus, Rubens-Bulletijn*, I, 1882, pp. 286–291; *Rooses*, II, pp. 315–317, No. 467; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 382; *Dillon*, pp. 171, 172, pl. CCCCVII; *K.d.K.*, p. 287; H. Bouchery and F. Van den Wyngaert, *P.P. Rubens en het Plantijnsche huis*, Antwerp, 1940, pp. 29, 38–41, 52; B. Ehrlich White, *Delacroix's Painted Copies after Rubens, The Art Bulletin*, XLIX, 1967, pp. 42, 43; M. Jaffé, *Rediscovered Oil Sketches by Rubens*, II, *The Burlington Magazine*, CXI, 1969, p. 530.

According to the *Martyrologium Romanum* St. Justus was a youth who suffered martyrdom near Beauvais in the third century, under the governorship of Riçtiovarus. This brief tale was embroidered with many details during the middle ages; the legend states that Justus, aged nine, fled from Amiens with his father Justinus and his uncle Justinianus but was pursued and beheaded by four of Riçtiovarus's knights because he had refused to betray the whereabouts of his companions, who were secret Christians and had taken refuge in a cellar. When the murderers had departed, Justinus and Justinianus reappeared and, to their amazement, found Justus standing with his own head in his hands. The boy commanded them to bury his body but to take the head to his mother. The legend, with critical notes, is found in *A.A.S.S.*, October, VIII, pp. 338 et seqq.

Justus is seen in the right foreground of the picture, his speaking head in his hands, while his father and uncle are in the left foreground. Justinus has a traveller's staff, and behind him are some ruins partly overgrown with vegetation, probably marking the two men's hiding-place. In the right background we see the four horsemen returning to Amiens; some of the city's towers and houses are visible.

The picture was commissioned by Balthasar II Moretus for the altar of St. Justus in the church of the Annunciate Nuns at Antwerp. In September 1629 Moretus had caused the saint's head to be solemnly transferred to this church (*Rooses*, II, p. 316), to which it was bequeathed in the previous year by Egbert Spitholdius, canon of the cathedral at Antwerp. Spitholdius had received the relic from two Franciscan friars who rescued it from the monastery at Zutphen when the town was captured by States' troops. These facts appear from a letter which Moretus wrote on 31 March 1628 to Cardinal Francesco Barberini, nephew of Pope Urban VIII, and in which he asked that a plenary indulgence should be granted to all those who adored the relic during the octave of its transference to the church (*M. Rooses, Petrus Paulus Rubens en Balthazar Moretus, op. cit.*, pp. 288, 289). However, Rubens did not execute the commission till some years later. On 12 April 1638 Moretus's ledger records a payment of 300 guilders: "Petro Paulus Rubens doibt avoir: Pour la peinture de St. Juste, pour compte de Balthasar Moretus 300 florins" (*Rooses*, II, p. 316, n. 2).

Delacroix admired this work and imitated its composition, not from the original but from Witdoeck's engraving (B. Ehrlich White, *op. cit.*, fig. 19).

125a. THE MIRACLE OF ST. JUSTUS: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 70)

Oil on panel; 21.3 : 17.8 cm.

Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum. No. 59.11.

PROVENANCE: Esterházy collection, inv. 1820, No. 969 (as *St. Dionysius*); Sigismund Bubits collection; Košice, Museum.

EXHIBITED: *Trésors du Musée de Budapest*, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Bordeaux, 1972, No. 50 (repr.).

LITERATURE: [J. Fischer and A. Rothmüller], *Inventarium No. 10 der fürstlich Esterhazyschen Gemälde*, 1820, No. 10, published in S. Meller, *Az Esterházy képtár története*, Budapest, 1915, p. 235; A. Pigler, *Museum der bildenden Künste, Katalog der Galerie alter Meister*, 1, Budapest, 1967, p. 598, No. 59.11 (as a copy); M. Jaffé, *Rediscovered Oil Sketches by Rubens*, 11, *The Burlington Magazine*, CXI, 1969, p. 530, fig. 5; M. Haraszti-Takács, *Rubens et son temps*, Budapest, 1972, No. 5, repr.

This oil sketch, listed in the catalogue of the Budapest museum as a copy of the picture at Bordeaux (No. 125; Fig. 69), was unknown to Burchard. It is badly preserved, but I agree with Michael Jaffé that it must be by Rubens. The execution, especially the outlines of the figures and the delicate white highlights, is altogether comparable with the more or less contemporary modelli for the *Torre de la Parada*.

The sketch does not differ much from the finished work. The composition of the former is more compact, with more free space to the right and less in the lower part of the picture; the expression on the saint's head is also somewhat different, as is the shape of the ruins in the background.

According to Marianne Haraszti-Takács this work may be identical with the following sketch, which is described in the catalogue of the Van Schorel sale (Antwerp, 7 June 1774, lot 18): "L'Enfant Justus décollé et portant sa tête entre ses mains. L'Esquisse du Tableau dans l'Eglise des Annonciades de Anvers. B[ois]. H[auteur]. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ po. \times L[argeur]. 13 po. [= c. 22.3 : 35.2 cm.; the height and the width having been confused]. In view of the very different measurements of the Budapest sketch, this suggestion cannot be taken into consideration.

126. THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. LAURENCE (Fig. 71)

Oil on panel; 244 : 174 cm.

Schleissheim, Schloss. Inv. No. 338.

PROVENANCE: Kapellekerk (Notre-Dame de la Chapelle), Brussels; purchased for the Düsseldorf collection of the Bavarian elector Johann-Wilhelm von der Pfalz-Neuburg in 1711; sent to the Hofgartengalerie at Munich, 1806; exhibited in the Alte Pinakothek since 1836; removed to Schleissheim, 1966.

COPIES: (1) Drawing by L. Vorsterman (?), whereabouts unknown; 368 : 272 mm.; prov.: P. Crozat sale, Paris, 10 April 1741 et seqq., lot 823 (as *Rubens*); d'Argenville sale, Paris, 18 January 1779, lot 542 (as *Rubens*); Nourri sale, Paris, 24 February 1785, lot 845 (as *Rubens*); de Saint-Maurice sale, Paris, 6 February 1786, lot 416 (as *Rubens*), purchased by Paillet; London, Sir T. Lawrence (London, 1769-1830); S. Woodburn sale, London (Christie's), 4 June 1860 et seqq., lot 780 (as *Rubens*), purchased by Roupell; London, V. Koch; Dr. J. Hassan sale, London (Christie's), 24 March 1961, lot 22 (repr.; as *Rubens*); exh.: *One hundred original drawings by Sir P.P. Rubens collected by Sir Thomas Lawrence*, London, 1835, No. 81 (as *Rubens*); lit.: C. Blanc, *Le Trésor de la curiosité*, I, Paris, 1857, p. 28; *Rooses*, v, p. 164; (2) Engraving after (1) by L. Vorsterman, 1621 (Fig. 72; *V.S.*, p. 105, No. 100).

LITERATURE: Bellori, p. 225; G.J. Karsch, *Désignation exacte des peintures dans la galerie électorale de la résidence à Dusseldorf*, Düsseldorf, 1719, No. 190; J.G. van Gool, *De Nieuwe Schouburg der Nederlandsche Kunstschilders en Schilderessen*, The Hague, 1750, II, p. 545; De Blainville, *Travels through Holland, Germany, Switzerland, but especially Italy*, London, 1757, p. 60; *Catalogue des Tableaux qui se trouvent dans les Galeries du Palais de S.A.S.E. Palatine à Dusseldorff*, Düsseldorf, 1770, p. 19, No. 36; Michel, 1771, p. 302, No. 260; N. de Pigage, *La Galerie Electorale de Dusseldorf ou Catalogue raisonné et figuré de ses tableaux*, Basle, 1778, No. 260; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 53, No. 180; IX, p. 260, No. 68; R. Marggraff, *Die ältere K. Pinakothek zu München - Beschreibendes Verzeichnis*, Munich, 1865, No. 292; H. De Bruyn, *Trésor artistique des églises de Bruxelles*, Louvain, 1882, pp. 253, 254; F. von Reber, *Katalog der Gemäldesammlung der K. älteren Pinakothek zu München*, Munich, 1884, No. 726; *Rooses*, II, pp. 317-319, No. 468; v, p. 333; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 206; *K.d.K.*, p. 109.

St. Laurence, a deacon under Pope Sixtus II, suffered martyrdom at Rome in 258. According to legend he was put to death, after various other tortures, by being roasted on a gridiron (*Legenda Aurea*, I, cols. 736-755).

We see him here being thrust on to an iron grill by two torturers, while a third in the left foreground empties a basketful of wooden blocks on to the fire. Two helmeted officers, one on horseback, watch the scene from the left background. In the right background is a statue of Jupiter, and around its pedestal various figures, including a lictor and a priest urging the martyr to abjure his faith. Above, in the centre, a cherub holds out a martyr's crown.

The composition is clearly based on Titian's *Martyrdom of St. Laurence*, which exists in three somewhat different versions. Two paintings, one in the Jesuit church at Venice (*Tietze, Titian*, p. 209) and the other in the Escorial (*ibid.*, p. 258) may have been actually seen by Rubens. The third version is an engraving after Titian by Cornelis Cort (J.C.J. Bierens de Haan, *L'Œuvre gravé de Cornelis Cort*, The Hague, 1948, pl. 40).

Vorsterman's engraving after the here discussed painting (fig. 72) is dated 1621, and accordingly Rooses originally placed Rubens's work in around 1620 (*Rooses*, II, p. 318); later he changed his mind and suggested c. 1615 (*Rooses*, V, p. 333). This latter date has been generally accepted by critics other than Glück, who placed the work in about 1612. The composition and figures have the plastic and monumental quality and cool local colouring which are typical of the period around 1615.

The first mention of this picture is by Bellori, who states that it was in the Kapellekerk (Notre-Dame de la Chapelle) in Brussels. Nothing is known about how it was commissioned or paid for.

126a. STUDY OF TWO SEMI-NUDE MEN: DRAWING (Fig. 73)

Black chalk, heightened with body-colour; 540 : 445 mm. The sheet is composed of two pieces of paper pasted on a mount; left lower corner torn off; below to the right, the mark of the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (L. 1980).

Stockholm, Nationalmuseum. Inv. No. C. 865.

PROVENANCE: ? P. Crozat (Paris, 1665-1740); Count C.G. Tessin (Stockholm, 1695-1770); Royal Museum, Stockholm, 1734.

EXHIBITED: *Helsinki*, 1952-53, No. 35; *Dutch and Flemish Drawings*, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, 1953, No. 98; *Antwerp*, 1956, No. 43.

LITERATURE: *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 40, No. 89, repr.; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 108, 109, No. 64; II, pl. 64; J. Müller Hofstede, in *Master Drawings*, IV, 1966, p. 446.

On the left is a half-naked young man, facing right, kneeling on his left knee and holding a basket with both hands. His back and shoulders are partly turned towards the spectator. At the bottom of the sheet his right forearm and right hand are repeated in vague outline. On the right is another half-naked man, in left profile; his right arm is outstretched and his left arm bent at a right angle. Both figures are studies for the torturers in *The Martyrdom of St. Laurence* (No. 126; Fig. 71).

126b. THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. LAURENCE: RETOUCHE ENGRAVING (Fig. 72)

373 : 273 mm.; below, to the left, inscribed with brown ink: *Lucas Vorsterman sculpsit & excud. A° 1621.*

Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet. Inv. No. H.383.

PROVENANCE: Pieter Cornelis Baron van Leyden (1717-1788); purchased for the Rijksprentenkabinet, 1808.

The first state of the engraving of Rubens's altar-piece (No. 126; Fig. 71) made by Vorsterman in 1621. Several details are added with the pen, such as the vertical part of the chain hanging from St. Laurence's waist, the neck-piece of the helmet of the soldier on the extreme left, the upper part of the cherub's cloak and one or two curls of the mane of the horse on the extreme right. Burchard ascribed these retouches to Rubens himself, chiefly because he discerned Rubens's handwriting in the inscription below on the left which names Vorsterman as the engraver and which was done in the same ink as the retouches. This, however, does not seem evident to me after comparing the inscription with Rubens's autographs. On the contrary, the careful writing with its typical small letters seems closely to resemble the cursive parts of the text below Vorsterman's engravings, and I think it much more likely that the present text and the retouches are both by the latter's hand.

127. THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. LIVINUS (Fig. 74)

Oil on canvas; 413 : 347 cm.

Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. No. 375.

PROVENANCE: Jesuit Church, Ghent; sale "Tableaux qui ont appartenu aux Collèges des ci-devant Jésuites de Gand, Ipres, Courtray, Tournay et Bruges", Ghent, 5 May 1777, lot 1; purchased by the dealer Paillet, for the collections of King Louis XVI of France; exhibited in the Louvre (*Musée Central des Arts*) from 1792 until 1802; sent to the Brussels museum in the latter year.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 161 : 130 cm.; prov.: Germany, private collection, 1929; (2) Painting, Detroit, The Cloister Art Guild - St. Mary's; canvas, 90 : 70 cm.; (3) Painting (Fig. 78), whereabouts unknown; paper, mounted on canvas, 68 : 35 cm.; for references, see No. 127c; (4) Engraving by C. van Caukercken, 1657 (*V.S.*, p. 106, No. 108).

EXHIBITED: *Brussels*, 1910, No. 384; *Brussels*, 1965, No. 199 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Descamps, Vie*, p. 325; *Mensaert*, II, p. 48; *Descamps, Voyage*, pp. 245, 246; *Michel*, 1771, p. 191; *Catalogue des objets contenus dans la galerie du Muséum français*, 1793 (*Archives de l'Art français*, Paris, 1909, p. 393), No. 245; *Notice des grands tableaux... dont l'exposition provisoire aura lieu dans le Grand Salon du Musée*, Paris, 1801, No. 24; [G.J.J. Bosschaert], *Notice des tableaux exposés au Musée*, Brussels, 1811, No. 39; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 37, No. 107; E. Fétis, *Musées Royaux de peinture et de sculpture de Belgique, Catalogue descriptif et historique des tableaux anciens*, Brussels, 1865, No. 411; *Rooses*, II, pp. 319-321, No. 469; *Michel*, p. 493; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 362; *Dillon*, p. 170, pl. CCCCLXX; *K.d.K.*, p. 417; *Van Puyvelde*, p. 171; A.B. de Vries, *Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen*, in: *150 jaar Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Koninklijk Penningkabinet*, The Hague, 1967, pp. 57, 58; H. Vlieghe, *Rubens's Activity for the Ghent Jesuits*, *The Burlington Magazine*, CXI, 1969, pp. 427-435, repr.

The subject is taken from the *Vita Sancti Livini*, a biography of the Saint probably composed in the eleventh century by a monk of St. Bavo's Abbey at Ghent, and reproduced in J. Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum ordinis S. Benedicti*, II, (ed. princ., Paris, 1669), Mâcon, 1936, pp. 453-461. Livinus, a missionary from Scotland who preached the gospel in Flanders, is said to have been attacked by a band of godless men who cut out his tongue to feed it to their dogs, but were destroyed by lightning as a divine punishment: the event took place in what is today the village of Sint-Lievens-Esse in East Flanders.

Rubens's picture shows the criminal act of the brigands and also their punishment. The Saint in his episcopal robes is seen kneeling in the left fore-

ground with his arms outstretched in an ecstatic gesture. Behind him, near the centre of the canvas, a man in a red cap holds out the Saint's tongue, in a pair of tongs, to two dogs which are leaping at it. In the lower left-hand corner is a half-naked man, tugging roughly at the Saint's beard. Beside him a third villain, with a knife between his teeth, holds Livinus by the waist and shoulders. These three do not seem to realize that the divine vengeance has already lighted on their comrades: six or seven men, including two on horseback, are being blasted by thunderbolts discharged by two wrathful angels, seen above on the right. Below them is a terrified foot-soldier, who seems to be making a defensive gesture with his left arm. Beside him, in the corner of the picture, we see the head of the man urging on the dogs to devour the Saint's tongue. Above, on the left, are angels bearing the martyr's palm and laurel wreath.

This animated composition may well be based on Titian's *Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr*, formerly in Santi Giovanni e Paolo at Venice, but now destroyed and known only from a print by Martino Rota (*Tietze, Titian*, p. 300). The centrifugal scheme and the figure running away in the right-hand corner are similar in the two works. Rubens may certainly have seen Titian's painting *sur place*, and he is known to have possessed a drawing made for or copied after it (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 56, No. 3). The myrmidon kneeling on the left occurred, in a slightly different attitude, in a much earlier painting of this type by Rubens, the Schleissheim *Martyrdom of St. Laurence* (No. 126; Fig. 71), which dates from around 1615. The rearing horse is a repetition of a motif often used by him in c. 1615-18, e.g. in *The Lion and Leopard Hunt* in the Gemäldegalerie at Dresden (*K.d.K.*, p. 113), *The Death of Decius Mus* in the Liechtenstein collection at Vaduz (*K.d.K.*, p. 146) and *The Destruction of Sennacherib* in the Alte Pinakothek at Munich (*K.d.K.*, p. 156). The naked man running away with outstretched arms in the background is inspired by an antique motif: the accentuated diagonal of his body and the arm prolonging it recall the famous "Borghese warrior", now in the Louvre, which Rubens may have seen in Rome (M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York, 1955, fig. 688).

The picture was painted for the Jesuit church of St. Livinus at Ghent, as we know from the inscription under Van Cauckercken's print of 1657: "Hanc Tutelaris sui S. Livini Martyris ac Pontificis jam a mille annis pro Christo passi tabulam in templo Societatis Jesu Gandavi a Petro Paulo Rubbenio coloribus olim expressam nunc a se æri incisam D.D. Cornelius van Cauckercken

1657". Eighteenth-century descriptions (see above) record that it was placed above the high altar. Since the publication of Rooses's *Œuvre* it has always been dated, on stylistic grounds, about 1635: it displays the light, delicate colouring and fluent brushwork characteristic of Rubens's *ultima maniera*. The date may be inferred more exactly still from a *Historia* of the Jesuit college at Ghent which is in the General State Archives at Brussels, and which describes the solemn celebrations in 1633 of the thousandth anniversary of St. Livinus's arrival in Flanders and of his martyrdom. On this occasion the then rector, Father Verreyken, gave orders for the expenditure of a sum of 5000 guilders, presented by the municipality of Ghent, on a silver reliquary bust of the Saint and seven large pictures of scenes from his life, sufficient in size to cover the entire left wall of the nave. The passage runs as follows: "1633. Millesimus hic annus fuit ex quo in Belgium venerat S. Levinus nostri templi patronus tutelarior et Gandensium Apostolus quoque in proximo huius Oppidi pago Martyrij Lauream est assecutus quare hac occasione utendum ratus p. Verreyken Collegii Rector subsidium a Senatu sollicitat quo augustius insolitum celebret iubilæum ipsa raritate sacrum ac venerandum decrevit is quinque florenorum millia ex ea summa quam ad collegii structuram civitas annuè pendit quibus ilico D. Caput longe humana statura maius ex argento expressam artificii certe manu et septem tabulæ potiora vitæ eiusdem sancti experimentis comparatæ ea amplitudine quæ lævum templi latus integre compleant octiduum celebritas tenuit magno sensu pietatis et populi affluxu" (published in H. Vlieghe, *op. cit.*, p. 435). It seems, however, that only six pictures were intended to cover the wall of the nave, which consisted of six bays (see the ground-plan in J. Braun, *Die belgischen Jesuitenkirchen*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1907, p. 34, fig. 8), namely the set of scenes from St. Livinus's life for which Gerard Seghers was paid in 1633 and which remained there intact until 1777 (catalogue of sale "Tableaux . . . Collèges des ci-devant Jésuites de Gand, etc.", *op. cit.*, lots 31-36; D. Roggen and H. Pauwels, *Het caravaggistisch œuvre van Gerard Zegers, Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, xvi, 1955-56, p. 259, n. 43); two of these canvases are still hanging in St. Peter's church at Ghent, see H. Vlieghe, *op. cit.*, figs. 16 and 17. The seventh painting, Rubens's *Martyrdom of St. Livinus*, never formed part of the series hung in the nave, the style of which is quite compatible with the date of the celebration. Rubens was also entrusted with another commission on this occasion: he provided a sketch for the silver bust mentioned in the *Historia* (H. Vlieghe, *op. cit.*, p. 432).

Rubens's *Martyrdom of St. Livinus* was exhibited on the high altar alternately with a *Nativity* by Theodoor van Loon and a *Descent from the Cross* by Gaspar de Crayer. These works were Nos. 6 and 5 respectively in the sale of former Jesuit property in Ghent on 5 May 1777; they have since disappeared without trace.

Cornelis van Cauckercken dedicated his engraving of Rubens's work to the municipality of Ghent, which, as already mentioned, had provided the necessary funds in 1633. There was probably a special reason for producing this engraving in 1657, viz. the discovery in the seventeenth century that the Saint had been martyred in 656–57 and not in 633, so that the millenary should really have been celebrated in the later year (H. Vlieghe, *op. cit.*, p. 435). This explains the phrase "a mille annis" in Van Cauckercken's inscription, already quoted.

127a. THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. LIVINUS: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 75)

Oil on panel; 57 : 37.5 cm.; trimmed to the left and right.

Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. No. 1139.

PROVENANCE: Sale, London (Christie's), 17 November 1902, lot 42 (as *Rubens, The Martyrdom of a Saint*); bought by Mr. Bragg; Lord Aberdare, London; E.W. Duits, London; Dr. Hans Schäffer, New York; W. Paech, Amsterdam; F. Lugt, Paris; sold by the latter to the Brussels Museum, 1952.

COPY: Painting (Fig. 76), whereabouts unknown; panel, 55 : 40.5 cm.; prov.: Paris, Art Market, 1939; sale, Paris (Drouot), 17 March 1971, lot 17 (repr.).

EXHIBITED: *Amsterdam*, 1933, No. 15 (repr.); *Detroit*, 1936, No. 46; *Helsinki*, 1952–53, No. 10 (repr.).

LITERATURE: A. Scharf, *The Rubens Exhibition in Amsterdam*, *Apollo*, 1933, p. 236, repr.; E. Greindl, *Deux esquisses du Martyre de saint Liévin par Rubens*, *Phoebus*, 1, 1946, pp. 23–28, fig. 1; E. Haverkamp Begemann, in *Cat. Exh. Rotterdam, 1953–54*, pp. 104, 105; *d'Hulst*, 1968, pp. 106, 107, No. 33, fig. 42.

This grisaille is the first of the known sketches for the altar-piece of the Jesuit church at Ghent. The arrangement of the figures differs considerably from that in the final work. Instead of stretching out his arms in an ecstatic gesture,

St. Livinus is seen in a state of collapse, leaning against the ruffian who is holding between his teeth the knife with which the Saint's tongue has been cut out. The man feeding the tongue to the dogs is wearing a smaller cap without plumes. The horsemen struck down by the divine wrath are on the extreme right instead of the left. Above, on the right, three angels are seen in the sky instead of two. One reason why Rubens altered the composition so completely may be that in the sketch Livinus was too inconspicuous compared to the man in the centre foreground who is throwing his tongue to the dogs. His customers may also have wanted him to present the Saint in a more dignified attitude and in the ecstatic pose characteristic of the Counter-Reformation style.

As may also be deduced from a copy, recently sold at Paris (Fig. 76), the present work has been trimmed at both its left and right sides.

127b. THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. LIVINUS: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 77)

Oil on panel; 84.5 : 59 cm.

Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen. No. 2515.

PROVENANCE: Prosper Crabbe, Brussels, sale, Paris, 12 June 1890, lot 48 (repr.); Charles Sedelmeyer, Paris, 1898; Rodolphe Kann, Paris; Fischer Gallery, New York; Baron Reitzer, Vienna; Stefan von Auspitz, Vienna; D.G. van Beuningen, Vierhouten; purchased by the Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, with the van Beuningen bequest, 1958.

EXHIBITED: *Exposition néerlandaise des beaux-arts*, Brussels, 1882, No. 158; *Brussels*, 1910, No. 384; *Drei Jahrhunderte vlämische Kunst*, Sezession, Vienna, 1930, No. 82 (repr.); *World Exhibition*, Antwerp, 1930, No. 251 (repr.); *Amsterdam*, 1933, No. 16 (repr.); *Paris*, 1936, No. 77; *Brussels*, 1937, No. 25 (repr.); *Meeſterwerken uit vier eeuwen*, Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, 1938, No. 176 (repr.); *Meeſterwerken uit de verzameling D.G. van Beuningen*, Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, 1949, No. 60; *Chefs-d'œuvre de la collection D.G. van Beuningen*, Petit Palais, Paris, 1952, No. 136; *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No. 99 (repr.); *Kunſtschatten uit Nederlandse verzamelingen*, Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, 1955, No. 158 (repr.); *Brussels*, 1965, No. 198 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Sedelmeyer Gallery, The third hundred of Paintings by Old Masters*, Paris, 1898, No. 164, repr.; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, v, 1900, p. 179; *Michel*, p. 493; *Les Arts*, 1903, 13, p. 6, repr.; W. von Bode, *La Collection Rod. Kann*, Paris, 1907, p. xvii, No. 24, repr.; W. Valentiner, *Gemälde des Rubens in Amerika*, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, xxiii, 1912, p. 271, No. 34; L. Fröhlich-Bumm, *Die Sammlung von*

Auspitz-Wien, Pantheon, v, 1932, p. 399; E. Greindl, *Deux esquisses du Martyre de saint Liévin par Rubens, Phœbus*, I, 1946, pp. 23-28; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, pp. 88, 89, Nos. 82-86, repr.; D. Hannema, *Catalogue of the D.G. van Beuningen Collection*, Rotterdam, 1949, No. 60, pl. 105, 106; *Museum Boymans-van Beuningen Rotterdam - Catalogus schilderijen tot 1800*, Rotterdam, 1962, No. 2515; E. Haverkamp Begemann, *Rubens in Rotterdam, Apollo*, LXXXVI, July 1967, p. 40; *d'Hulst*, 1968, p. 107, No. 34, fig. 43; *Museum Boymans-van Beuningen Rotterdam. Old Paintings 1400-1900. Illustrations*, Rotterdam, 1972, pp. 115, 220, repr.

This fairly detailed modello shows almost exactly the composition of the large altar-piece, including the pose, gestures and arrangement of most of the figures. The most noticeable difference is that the horseman struck by lightning on the right has been taken over from the grisaille into the modello, but does not appear in the final version. There are two other small divergences. The head of the horseman in the left background, under the angel bearing the martyr's palm, faces right in the sketch but left in the final version. The dog in the right foreground leaping at the martyr's tongue is to the left of the foot-soldier in the sketch, whereas in the final painting the soldier is partly in front of him.

127c. THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. LIVINUS (Fig. 78)

Body-colour on paper, retouched with the pen, mounted on canvas; 68 : 35 cm.; a large strip was cut off at the left.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: ? Sale "Tableaux qui ont appartenu aux Collèges des ci-devant Jésuites de Gand, Ipres, Courtray, Tournay et Bruges", Ghent, 5 May 1777, lot 62 (as *Jordaens*); A. Neuberger, London; Hazlitt Gallery, London, c. 1950; sale, Paris (Charpentier), 30 November 1956, lot 59 (repr.); *London (1956)*, p. 115, 220, repr.

EXHIBITED: *Chefs-d'œuvre oubliés*, Saarbrücken-Rouen, 1954, No. 34 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *The Burlington Magazine*, XCII, 1950, December, p. VII, repr.

Burchard in 1948 expressly ascribed this work to Rubens and believed it to be a study for the altar-piece in the Jesuit church at Ghent (No. 127; Fig. 74). He also thought that it might well be identical with the work sold together with the altar-piece in the sale of Jesuit possessions at Ghent on 5 May 1777, which

was described in the catalogue as follows: "62. Jordaens, L'Esquisse du Tableau de P.P. Rubens représentant le Martyre de St. Liévin, fort bien rendue. Papier collé sur bois. 2'1" x 1'8" [67.5:54 cm.]" At some later time a strip, about 19 cm. wide, was apparently cut off, thus accounting for the present narrow shape. Burchard considered that the attribution to Jordaens in the sale catalogue was a mistake, explicable by the fact that this artist executed many drawings in the same technique as the present work.

In support of his contention Burchard pointed out three or four differences between this work and the altar-piece in the former Jesuit church at Ghent, which suggested that this work was executed before the large canvas in the Brussels museum. He drew attention to the following details: (1) the clouds under the two avenging angels are different; (2) the two small angels above on the left are closer to the horse; (3) the halberdier's left hand only covers the horse's right forefoot; (4) the horse's ear is covered by its mane. In addition Burchard pointed out the resemblance in technique between this and other sketches by Rubens, such as *The Miraculous Draught of Fishes* in the National Gallery, London (G. Martin, *Three Working Sketches by P.P. Rubens, The Burlington Magazine*, CVIII, 1966, fig. 19, facing p. 239) which is executed in body-colour on paper. I do not, however, share Burchard's opinion. The present work is clearly part of a copy of the altar-piece now in Brussels (No. 127; Fig. 74). The divergences from the large painting are not great, and certainly do not rate as essential differences of composition. In both versions the individual figures occupy the same positions and display the same attitudes and gestures. Burchard's argument concerning the technique of this drawing is not convincing either. Several artists were in the habit of painting in oil on paper. Besides Jordaens, examples might be quoted of works attributable to Gaspar de Crayer (H. Vlieghe, *Gaspar de Crayer, sa vie et ses œuvres*, Brussels, 1972, I, Nos. A169, A189, A209; II, figs. 153, 175, 194).

128. ST. LUKE (Fig. 79)

Oil on panel; 63.5 : 49.5 cm.

Bremen, Ludwig Roselius-Haus. No. 1078.

PROVENANCE: Countess Janina Stadnicka, Warsaw; bought by Max Graubard, Warsaw, January 1930; bought by Ludwig Roselius, from Leo Stein, at the end of 1930.

LITERATURE: *Die Böttcherstrasse zeigt Gemälde und Plafiken ... aus der Ludwig Rose-lius-Sammlung*, Bremen, 1949, not paginated, repr.

Half-length portrait, in profile facing right.

The Evangelist—identified by his attribute, the ox, in the background on the right—is reading a book.

In 1930 Burchard was convinced of the authenticity of this panel, as is shown by the certificate he wrote on 20 January of that year in connection with its purchase by Max Graubard at Warsaw. Nevertheless the attribution is untenable. Dr. E.W. Mick recently informed me that he is preparing an article ascribing the work to the Dutch painter Jan van Teylingen (d. 1654).

129. ST. MAGDALEN REPENTANT (Fig. 82)

Oil on canvas; 205 : 157 cm.

Vienna, *Kunsthistorisches Museum*. No. 303.

PROVENANCE: Jacob de Wit sale, Amsterdam, 10 March 1754, lot 1; Paul Schukking; Count Nošitz, Prague; purchased from the latter by the Emperor Joseph II in 1786.

COPY: Engraving, published by L. Voršterman (*V.S.*, p. 116, No. 53).

EXHIBITED: *Meisterwerke aus Österreich*, Kunsthhaus, Zürich, 1946-47, No. 360.

LITERATURE: J. Rosa, *Gemälde der k.k. Gallerie*, II, Vienna, 1792, p. 34, No. 2; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 90, No. 290; *Partbey*, II, p. 422, No. 138; *Rooses*, II, p. 322, No. 470; *Vienna, Cat. Engerth*, No. 1161; H. Hymans, *Lucas Voršterman*, Brussels, 1893, p. 111, No. 80; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 207; *Dillon*, pl. CCIV; *K.d.K.*, p. 104; *Katalog der Gemäldegalerie*, Vienna, 1928, No 833; F. Bardou, *Le Thème de la Madeleine pénitente au XVIIème siècle en France*, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXI, 1968, p. 281; G. Heinz, *Das Bild der heiligen Maria Magdalena von Luca Cambiaso in der "Galeria" des Cavaliere Giambattista Marino*, *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, LXVII, 1971, p. 116, n. 26.

The penitent sinner is on the right of the picture, gazing sorrowfully towards heaven; her hands are crossed in a gesture of prayer and her right foot rests on an overturned jewel-box, symbolizing her detachment from earthly vanity. To the left is a woman in a black veil who may be intended for Martha, the

Magdalen's sister according to Western tradition; it is not clear, however, what her presence in the picture is meant to signify.

Opinions vary as to its date. Rooses and Rosenberg placed it in about 1620, Oldenbourg in about 1615. Glück, in the Vienna catalogue of 1928 (*loc. cit.*), suggested 1616. I should myself prefer the first of these dates. The figures have the strongly plastic character that marked Rubens's work after c. 1610 while the faces already show a tendency towards softer gradations of shadow, such as were characteristic of his later period. As Rooses suggested, this painting may be identical with the original of a "cöpye van een schilderye van Magdalena" ("copy of a picture of the Magdalen"), described in the inventory of Rubens's estate as being the sole property of Rubens and the children of his first marriage (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 72). It would follow from this that the original in question must have been painted before 1626, as Isabella Brant died in that year; while, on the other hand, the picture at Vienna is the only one of Rubens's still preserved representations of St. Magdalen that can be dated before 1626. It appears to me that considerable parts of it are the work of Rubens's studio.

Several painted copies of this work exist: (1) Formerly Kassel, Staatliche Gemäldegalerie, cat. 1888, No. 88, canvas, 192 : 148 cm.; (2) Formerly coll. A. Le Bermuth, Ohain, Brabant, canvas, 175 : 100 cm.; (3) Sale, Brussels, 12 November 1928, lot 184, panel, 64 : 41 cm. There are also partial copies: (1) Schwerin, Staatliches Museum, cat. 1882, No. 900, canvas, 101.5 : 73.5 cm.; (2) Formerly coll. Schaub-Koch, Luxembourg, canvas, 100 : 77 cm.; (3) Turin, Galleria Sabauda, cat. 1899, No. 270, canvas, 67 : 54 cm.; (4) Sale, London, Christie's, 20 May 1949, lot 139. All these copies, however, are not based on the original but on the anonymous engraving in the same direction as the Vienna painting, which was itself made from the reversed engraving published by Lucas Vorsterman. They have the hard quality and lack of nuance of the engraving; moreover, precisely like the latter they show the Magdalen with long lank hair instead of the curly hair in the painting.

130. ST. MAGDALEN REPENTANT (Fig. 81)

Oil on canvas; 215 : 285 cm.

Formerly in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin. Cat. No. 763 A; destroyed by fire 1945.

PROVENANCE: ? Estate of Herman de Neyt, Antwerp, 1642; Gerard Hoet sale, The Hague, 25 March 1760, lot 29; purchased for the collection of Frederick II, King of Prussia, Potsdam-Sanssouci; presented to the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin, by Emperor William II, 1906.

COPIES: (1) Painting after the figure of St. Magdalen (Fig. 80), Milan, Massimo Cassani; panel, 47.5 : 30 cm.; prov.: Vienna, J. Preyer; New York, W.A. Clark; Brussels, G. Neumans; sale, Brussels (Fiévez), 10 March 1927, lot 87 (repr.); M. La Borderie; sale, Lucerne (Fischer), 19 July 1927, lot 86; sale, Lucerne (Fischer), 21-27 June 1960, lot 2348 (repr.); sale, Lucerne (Fischer), 13-17 June 1961, lot 2031; lit.: *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 393 (as *Rubens*); Dillon, pl. cccc (as *Rubens*); Glück, 1933, p. 166; J. Müller Hofstede, *Neue Ölskizzen von Rubens, Städel Jahrbuch*, II, 1969, pp. 225-227, 240, fig. 32 (as *Rubens*); (2) Painting after the figure of St. Magdalen, Düsseldorf, Kunstmuseum, No. 164; canvas, 178.5 : 117.5 cm.; prov.: ? New York, Hermann Linde (*Rooses*, II, pp. 324, 325, No. 472, as *Rubens*); Berlin, R. Mosse; Berlin, Dr. Binder; presented to the Museum by the latter, 1947; lit.: *Kunstsammlungen der Stadt Düsseldorf. Sammlung Binder. Vermächtnisse Jernberg-Lindgens-Fedler*, Düsseldorf, 1949, p. 8, fig. 30; (3) Painting after the figure of St. Magdalen, Alost, A. Christiaens; canvas, 175 : 115 cm.; (4) Painting after the upper part of the body of St. Magdalen, Bordeaux, Musée des Beaux-Arts; canvas, 101 : 86 cm.; prov.: Duffour-Dubergier bequest, 1861; lit.: J. Guiffrey, *Antoine Van Dyck*, Paris, 1882, p. 251, No. 199c (as *A. van Dyck*); *K.d.K.*, *Van Dyck*, p. 543 (as a copy after *A. van Dyck*); (5) Etching after (1) by N. van den Bergh (*V.S.*, p. 117, No. 57).

EXHIBITED: *Gemälde älterer Meister in Berliner Privatbesitz*, Königliche Akademie, Berlin, 1883, p. 7, No. 16.

LITERATURE: M. Oesterreich, *Beschreibung der Königlichen Bildergalerie und des Kabinetts im Sans-Souci*, Potsdam, 1764, p. 75, No. 71; P. Terwesten, *Catalogus of Naamlyst van schilderyen, met derzelver pryzen*, III, The Hague, 1770, p. 224, No. 29; *Rooses*, II, p. 324, under No. 472 (as a copy); M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p. 299, No. 472; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 394 (as a copy, only retouched by Rubens); Dillon, pp. 186, 187, 192, pl. cccci; H. Posse, *Die Gemäldegalerie des Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums*, Berlin, 1911, No. 763A, repr.; *K.d.K.*, pp. 414, 471; *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Gemälde im Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum und Deutschen Museum*, Berlin, 1931, No. 763A; M. Bernhard, *Verlorene Werke der Malerei*, Munich, 1965, p. 20; J. Müller Hofstede, *Neue Ölskizzen von Rubens, Städel Jahrbuch*, II, 1969, pp. 225, 227, fig. 33.

According to a ninth-century story to be found in the *Legenda Aurea* (I, pp. 616-625), St. Mary Magdalen was one of the "three Marys" who, together

with her sister Martha, her brother Lazarus and Bishop Maximin, were set adrift in a boat without sails or rudder and eventually reached Marseilles; she converted the "pagan prince" and later withdrew to La Sainte Baume in Provence, to end her life in penance and mortification. A later legend tells of the saint's revelations to a certain Brother Elias: how for instance a spring gushed forth from the rock in answer to her prayer, and how angels set up a cross at the entrance to her cave, whereupon she beheld in a vision all the mysteries of the life of Christ (cf. L. Surius, *De probatis Sanctorum historiis*, Cologne, 1570-1575, IV, p. 302).

The picture shows St. Mary sitting in front of the cave and looking up ecstatically to heaven; she is using a garment as part covering for her nakedness. Her left foot rests on a skull around which a snake is curled, representing sin. To left and right of her are four angels: one points to the cross, two others hold rods and scourges, while the fourth displays a jar of ointment, the saint's emblem. To the left is a vista of a wooded landscape sloping down to the sea, on which a ship is sailing. Nearer the spot where the saint is sitting is the miraculous spring, with two deer close by.

The soft, plump figure and the delicate gradations of colour, light and shadow suggest a date in the 1630s.

The canvas, now lost, consisted of five pieces joined together. Burchard, following Rooses (in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, *loc. cit.*), thought that only the centre part, depicting the Magdalen herself, was by Rubens. However, as far as can be judged from a photograph I believe the remainder to have been Rubens's work also. It is possible that he first painted the Magdalen by herself and later enlarged the picture, perhaps at a patron's request; Oldenbourg, in suggesting this, drew attention to the existence of a certain number of clearly seventeenth-century copies of the centre portion (see above, COPIES). The picture may well be identical with "Een groot stuck, op doeck, wesende een Magdalena met engelen, gemaect door Rubbens" ("A large piece, on canvas, representing a Magdalen with angels, painted by Rubens"), recorded between 15 and 21 October 1642 among the bequests of Herman de Neyt of Antwerp (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 100). It may also be noted that in 1641 Herman de Neyt received from Rubens's estate, by way of compensation for some retouching that the painter's death had prevented him doing, a copy of a painting representing "Mary Magdalen dressed in red" (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 77).

131. ST. MAGDALEN IN ECSTASY (Fig. 83)

Oil on canvas; 295 : 220 cm.

Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts. Inv. No. P.64.

PROVENANCE: Franciscan Church, Ghent; seized by the French and brought to the Musée Central, Paris, 1794; sent to the newly founded Lille Museum by the French Government, 1801.

COPIES: (1) Painting, Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Inv. No. 7390; canvas, 250 : 140 cm; (2) Painting after the head of the angel looking heavenwards, whereabouts unknown; prov.: Prince Leopold of Prussia, sale, Lucerne, 23 August 1928, lot 291 (as *A. van Dyck*); (3) Engraving by P. de Baillieu (*V.S.*, p. 117, No. 62).

LITERATURE: *Descamps, Vie*, p. 325; *Mensaert*, II, p. 47; *Descamps, Voyage*, p. 243; *Michel*, 1771, pp. 192, 193; *Spruyt*, 1777, p. 149; *Spruyt*, 1789, p. 195; *Odevaere*, p. 330, No. 162; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 38, No. 109; *Clément de Ris*, I, p. 89; E. Reynart, *Catalogue des tableaux, bas-reliefs et statues... du Musée des tableaux de Lille*, Lille-Paris, 1872, No. 309; *Rooses*, II, pp. 326, 327, No. 474; *Dillon*, p. 218; *K.d.K.*, p. 273; *Knipping*, II, p. 108; F. Bardou, *Le Thème de la Madeleine Pénitente au XVII^e siècle en France*, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXI, 1968, p. 275, n. 4; A. Chatelet, *Cent chefs-d'œuvre du Musée de Lille*, Lille, 1970, p. 82, No. 33, repr.

According to legend, St. Mary Magdalen was caught up to heaven in ecstasy seven times a day (*Legenda Aurea*, I, col. 623). She is here seen supported by two angels who are about to reveal the heavenly vision. The space around the figures is somewhat dark, but they are brightly lit by a beam of celestial light from the upper right-hand part of the picture.

The painting was originally in the former Franciscan church at Ghent. There it was hung in the 1630s along with two other pictures by Rubens, *St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata* (I, No. 92; Fig. 161) and *St. Francis of Assisi Protecting the World from the Wrath of Christ* (I, No. 100; Fig. 173). In colouring it may be compared with *The Miracle of St. Justus* at Bordeaux, paid for in 1636 (No. 125; Fig. 69) which has the same greyish, fluid tonality.

132. ST. MARTIN OF TOURS DIVIDING HIS CLOAK: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 84)

Oil on panel; 36.5 : 49 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: Lord Cholmondeley, Houghton Hall, Norfolk; Madame L. Huguenin-Mangholz, Genève; bought by Antenor Patino from the Paris dealer L. Herner, 1954; sale, London (Sotheby's), 6 December 1972, lot 102 (repr.); Julian.

EXHIBITED: *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No. 3a (repr.).

LITERATURE: E. Haverkamp Begemann, *Rubens schetsen*, *Bulletin Museum Boymans*, v, 1954, pp. 21, 22, fig. 21; H. Vey, *Die Zeichnungen Anton van Dycks*, I, Brussels, 1962, p. 89, under No. 16; Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, I, p. 172; O. Millar, *The Tudor, Stuart and early Georgian Pictures in the Collection of H.M. the Queen*, London, 1963, p. 104, under No. 165 (as not by Rubens).

This picture represents the best-known scene in St. Martin's life, as related in the *Legenda Aurea*, II, col. 366. The young Roman officer Martinus, who had become a Christian while still a lad, was a model of charity and humility. One winter's day, riding through the city gate at Amiens, he came upon a naked beggar. At once he drew his sword, cut his cloak in half and gave the beggar one of the pieces. We see the Saint here on a white horse; the beggar, reaching towards the cloak, is in the left foreground; beside him, partly cut off by the edge of the picture, is a poor woman with a child, also begging for alms. To the right of the Saint are two of his companions, also on horseback. One, an older man with a long beard, is seen frontally; the other, a youth, faces left, his horse being seen from behind.

As Haverkamp Begemann (in *Cat. Exh. Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No. 3a) and Burchard and d'Hulst have pointed out, this painting must belong to the period immediately after Rubens's return to Antwerp from Italy. Haverkamp Begemann drew attention to the striking stylistic resemblance to other sketches of those years, e.g. *The Adoration of the Magi* at Groningen (*Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, fig. 6), *The Capture of Samson* at Chicago (*Evers*, 1943, fig. 66) and the *Philopoemen* in the Louvre (*Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, fig. 7). The oil modelli of this period are notable for their pastose and plastic effect, as are Rubens's large paintings at this date. An additional argument for dating the panel in about 1609-12 is furnished by Ludwig Burchard's discovery, underneath this study, of a sketch for the painting of *Ganymede* in Count Schwarzenberg's collection, at present on loan to the Zürich Museum (*K.d.K.*, p. 39) and generally dated in those years (Fig. 85; upside down).

A large painting from this sketch is not known to exist. However, Van Dyck

clearly made use of this composition, in reverse, in his early paintings of the same subject at Zaventem and Windsor (*K.d.K., Van Dyck*, pp. 24 and 25 respectively).

133. STUDY OF ANGELS, AMONG THEM PROBABLY ST. MICHAEL, STRIKING DOWN THE REBELLIOUS ANGELS: DRAWING (Fig. 88)

Black chalk, partially reinforced with ink; 304 : 232 mm. Inscribed by another hand in the right corner below: *Rubens*; below, right, also the mark of J. Richardson Sen. (*L.* 2183); in the left corner below, the mark of T. Lawrence (*L.* 2445).

The Hague, Collection of Mr. C.P. van Eeghen.

PROVENANCE: J. Richardson Sen. (London, 1665–1745); T. Lawrence (London, 1769–1830); H. de Kat, sale, Rotterdam, 4 March 1867, lot 234; J. de Clercq, Amsterdam, 1867.

EXHIBITED: *Amsterdam*, 1933, No. 91 (repr.); *Teekeningen van oude meesters behoorend tot de verzameling Mr. C.P. van Eeghen*, Museum Fodor, Amsterdam, 1935, No. 78; *Antwerp*, 1956, No. 81.

LITERATURE: *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p. 172.

Angels fighting devils; the battle takes place amid clouds. Above on the left, a devil is being struck down by two angels; he clings to the wings of one of them, but is thrust aside by the latter's left arm. Below this group, a naked angel is struggling with a naked devil; two similar pairs are seen on the right of the drawing. Above on the right is a shinbone of giant size compared to the other figures; its outline cuts across that of the shoulders of a fleeing male figure.

The style of these studies is that of Rubens's Italian period; the contours and shadows resemble those of the modello in the Louvre for *The Baptism of Christ*, executed in 1604–5 for the Santissima Trinità at Mantua and now in the Antwerp Museum (*Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, II, pl. 29). The violent movements of the figures, contorted and foreshortened *à la* Tintoretto, possess the markedly Italianate features characteristic of Rubens's style in 1600–8.

We do not know of any finished composition for which these preliminary studies were drawn. On the other hand, Rubens returned to this sheet many years later, when painting c. 1618–20 the thematically related "small" *Last*

Judgement, now at Munich (*K.d.K.*, p. 195): the motif of the angel throwing a man into hell, which is visible there on the right hand side, immediately above the centre of the composition, is a but slightly altered repetition of the motif of the naked angel struggling with a devil.

134. ST. MICHAEL STRIKING DOWN THE REBELLIOUS ANGELS

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 103 : 77.5 cm.; prov.: Grand Rapids, Michigan, L.V. Seydel, 1926; (2) Painting (Fig. 86), Mont-sur-Rolle (Switzerland), John Blondel; copper, 33.5 : 27.5 cm.; (3) Engraving by L. Vorsterman, 1621 (Fig. 87; *V.S.*, p. 1, No. 1); (4) Wood sculpture by a South German master, Seattle, Art Museum; 18 : 13 cm.; prov.: New York, M. Komor.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, I, p. 95, under No. 86.

The theme is based on *Revelation* 12, 7-9: "And there was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; . . . that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, . . . was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him."

St. Michael, fully armed, is in the upper part of the picture: he is striking down the devils with a thunderbolt in his right hand, while protecting himself with a shield held in his left and inscribed *Jahweh*. To the left, two angels are fighting devils with their bare hands. On the right are two more angels, one wielding a thunderbolt while the other attacks the dragon with a lance. The defeated demons form an inextricable coil of monstrous beings with human bodies and animal heads, tails or wings; through them winds the repulsive shape of the great dragon Satan. Below on the left are heads of grinning and roaring creatures, also half animal and half human.

The dense, crowded composition inevitably calls to mind Frans Floris's well-known painting of the same subject formerly in Antwerp cathedral, now in the Antwerp Museum (G. von der Oſten and H. Vey, *Painting and Sculpture in Germany and the Netherlands: 1500-1600*, Harmondsworth, 1969, pl. 255). Many of the principal figures, such as St. Michael, the angel with the lance and the coil of demons, are similarly arranged in both paintings; Floris's, which served Rubens as a model, also shows a group of angels and devils

fighting hand-to-hand, somewhat apart from the principal combat in the centre. As regards individual motifs, the impetuous figure of St. Michael is inspired by Giambologna's *Mercurius Medici* in the Bargello at Florence (E. Dhanens, *Jean Boulogne*, Brussels, 1956, pl. 34). The reeling and contorted forms of the demons are reminiscent of Giulio Romano's fresco *The Giants Buried under Pelion and Ossa* in the Palazzo del Te at Mantua (F. Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, II, New Haven, 1958, pl. 338), though in this case we cannot speak of a direct borrowing.

As regards the date of Rubens's work we have a *terminus ante quem* of 23 January 1619, when he mentions it as a "Cacciata di Lucifero" in a letter to Pieter van Veen regarding several compositions which were to be engraved by Lucas Vorsterman (*Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p. 200). Stylistic arguments suggest an earlier date than this: the composition is very similar to that of the "great" *Last Judgement* of 1615-16, now in the Alte Pinakothek at Munich (*K.d.K.*, p. 118). Several figures are literally repeated from that work, including St. Michael himself and the two angels on the left, who are seen in the Munich painting beside St. Michael on the extreme right. Rubens also used this figure of St. Michael for his ceiling painting of the same theme, executed in 1620 for the Jesuit church at Antwerp (a lost work, the sketch for which is in the Brussels Museum: *Martin, Ceiling Paintings*, pl. 16). The composition is unlike that of the 1622 *St. Michael Striking Down the Rebellious Angels*, now in the Alte Pinakothek at Munich (No. 135; Fig. 89), where the archangel is depicted in quite a different way.

The painting, which is now lost, but known from Vorsterman's engraving and a few other copies, may well have been executed for the Jesuit church at Lille. Bellori in 1672 records an altar-piece there, painted by Rubens, which sounds similar to the here discussed composition as engraved by Vorsterman: ". . . in Lilla entro la Chiesa de' PP. Gesuiti l'altra [tavola] di San Michele Arcangelo, eseguita con inventione, spirito e felicità di pennello. Impugna Michele lo scudo scintillante col nome di Dio, e con la destra vibra il fulmine, precipitando dal cielo Lucifero e gl'altri ribelli nelle fiamme infernali. Vi sono altri Angeli, che con l'haſta e col fulmine ancora percuotono que' demoni con volti mostruosi di fiere, in contrasegno della loro perdita bellezza" (*Bellori*, p. 226). In all probability the work was destroyed in the great fire which devastated the church on 9 October 1740: see P. Delattre, *Le Collège des Jésuites de Lille. Son incendie en 1740*, *Bulletin de la Société d'études de la Province*

de Cambrai, xxxvi, pp. 165–240. This is borne out by J.B. Descamps, who, in his account of 1769, says of the church interior: “il n’y a point de Tableaux, ni rien de curieux” (*Descamps, Voyage*, p. 20). Rubens’s painting and others in the church are, it is true, described by Descamps in his biographies of artists published in 1753 (*Descamps, Vie*, p. 326) and by G.P. Mensaert in his travel notes dated 1763 (*Mensaert*, II, p. 74); but this may be due to the authors having incorporated older information in these works without checking it.

135. ST. MICHAEL STRIKING DOWN THE REBELLIOUS ANGELS (Fig. 89)

Oil on canvas; 448 : 291.5 cm.

Munich, Alte Pinakothek. No. 306.

PROVENANCE: St. Peter’s church, Neuburg; transported to the church of the Benedictine Abbey, Hemau, very probably in or shortly after 1671; brought to the Düsseldorf Gallery by the Prince-Elector of the Palatinate, Johann-Wilhelm, before 1719; transported to the Hofgartengalerie, Munich, 1806; transported to the Alte Pinakothek in 1836, the year of its foundation.

LITERATURE: J. von Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie*, Nürnberg, 1675, p. 285; G.J. Karsch, *Désignation exacte des peintures dans la galerie de la résidence à Düsseldorf*, Düsseldorf, 1719, No. 162; J. van Gool, *De nieuwe Schouburg der Nederlantsche Kunst-Schilders en Schilderessen*, II, The Hague, 1750–51, p. 543; *Descamps, Vie*, p. 317; Z.C. von Uffenbach, *Merkwürdige Reisen...*, Ulm, 1753–54, III, pp. 742–744; *Michel*, 1771, p. 298, No. 11; N. de Pigage, *La Galerie Electorale de Dusseldorff ou Catalogue raisonné de ses tableaux*, Basle, 1781, No. 257; *Reynolds*, p. 221; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, p. 263, No. 80; *Parthey*, II, p. 423, No. 150; R. Margraff, *Die ältere K. Pinakothek zu München. Beschreibendes Verzeichnis*, Munich, 1865, No. 264; *Rooses*, I, pp. 94–96, No. 86; F. von Reber, *Katalog der Gemäldesammlung der K. Älteren Pinakothek zu München*, Munich, 1884, No. 736; T. Levin, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kunstbestrebungen in dem Hause Pfalz-Neuburg, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Niederrheins*, XIX, 1905, pp. 111–117; *Michel*, p. 193; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 208; *Dillon*, p. 126, pl. CLXXIII; *K.d.K.*, p. 241; A.M. Cetto, in *Cat. Exh. Kunstwerke der Münchner Museen*, Berne, 1949–50, pp. 73, 74, under No. 76; *Van Puyvelde*, pp. 125, 205; *Martin, Ceiling Paintings*, pp. 56, 140.

The composition falls clearly into an upper and a lower zone. In the former,

representing the heavens, we see St. Michael and four other angels, placed symmetrically to either side of him, engaged in combating the rebels. At the very top, in the centre, God the Father is seen with his left hand resting on a globe and his right hand raised in a gesture of command. The lower zone swarms with devils, represented as half men and half beasts, who are being thrust down into the abyss together with Satan, the great dragon. In this as in other versions of a subject he often treated, Rubens showed his debt to the altarpiece by Frans Floris, formerly in the cathedral at Antwerp and now in the Royal Museum there (G. von der Oſten and H. Vey, *Painting and Sculpture in Germany and the Netherlands: 1500-1600*, Harmondsworth, 1969, pl. 255). However, while the version of c. 1615-16 (No. 134; Figs. 86, 87) engraved by Vorsterman and now lost, reflected Floris's example chiefly in the compactness of the composition as a whole, the present work, which is of later date, is noteworthy for the borrowing of certain details: the upper part of St. Michael's body, with the head bent forward and the upraised right arm, and the angel seen in profile on the left, who is partly cut off by the edge of the picture. Both these motifs are too similar to those which occur in the same position in Floris's work for this to be a coincidence.

The genesis of this painting is known in detail from an extensive correspondence dating from 1619-23. On 11 October 1619 Rubens wrote to Wolfgang Wilhelm, the Count Palatine, that he had been sent from Neuburg a design for the altar for which he was to execute a painting. He objected, however, to the proposed dimensions, specifically the absurdity, in his view, of the height being twice the breadth. He suggested that, to make more room for the painting, a column on either side of the allotted space should be done away with. As to the theme, he thought it very fine but also difficult, and he doubted whether a pupil could execute it to his (Rubens's) design; at all events he himself would have to retouch it very considerably. His words were: "Ho visto il disegno del Altare per santo Michele, il quale mi par bello e buono, eccetto che mi par esorbitante quella altezza di proportion dupla verso la larghezza. E perçio mi par soverchio di ciascuna parte quel mezzo pilaſtro eſteriore che occupa fuor di proposito rispetto la gran penuria di sito un pede e mezzo di spazio, il quale si potrebbe aggiungere alla pittura, che con queſto poco daiuto riuscirebbe molto più proportionata. E ben vero che quelli pilaſtri non farebbono mal effetto, anzi archirebbono lopera senza tal ſtrettezza di loco. Et perche Voſtra Altezza Serenissima che potra sopra cio farmi saper la volonta sua. Per

conto del soggetto di santo Michele, egli e bellissimo e difficillimo e perçio mi dubito che difficilmente si trovara fra li mei discepoli alcun sufficiente di metterlo bene in opera ancorche col mio disegno; in ogni modo sara necessario chio lo retocchi ben bene di mia mano propria." (*Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p. 227).

As Levin has shown from an extensive correspondence between the Count and Reyngodts, his agent in Brussels, there was some delay in starting to carry out the work. In a letter of 5 January 1621 from Neuburg the Count instructed Reyngodts to find out how it stood, and to ask Rubens to submit a design if he had not yet begun: "so hettet Ihr euch bei gemeltem Rubens mit negstem zu erkundigen, ob er damit ein Anfang gemacht habe, und da Ir auss seiner Andtwortt befindet, das noch nit damitt im Werkh seie, hettet Ir Ime folgens zu schreiben, das damit einhalten, und uns allein ein abreiss darob in umbra uberschicken wolle. Solte er aber albereidts damit im Werkh sein, konte es volnzogen..." (T. Levin, *op. cit.*, pp. 102, 103). Rubens accordingly sent an "abreiss", probably a black chalk or ink drawing. In another letter from Neuburg, dated 23 February 1621, Wolfgang-Wilhelm asked Reyngodts for further information. "Wir haben Euer Postscriptum neben dem Abriss in umbra des Ertz Engels St. Michael vom Rubens wol empfangen, unnd ist unser gnedigster Bevelch hiemit, das Ir Euch unverweilt dieses bey ernentem Rubens erkundiget, wan Er vermög des Abriss eine Taffell mitselbsthänden, oder allen von Ime revidirt zue machen, was Er für eines undt andre davor haben wölle, unnd wie balt Er sich getrauet damitt fertig zu werden, unnd Ir wisset uns seine Erklerung zue unser Nachrichtung zu berichten" (T. Levin, *op. cit.*, p. 103). Wolfgang Wilhelm was thus anxious to know whether Rubens intended to paint the picture himself or have it done by a pupil and retouch it; how much he would charge in either case, and how long he expected to take.

Rubens gave the desired information, and on 12 April the Count Palatine wrote from Vienna to his agent: "Was sonsten dess Pauli Rubens Erklerung wegen Verfertigung S. Michaels Taffell betrifft, vernehmen wir gern, dass Er selbige mit aigen Handen zu verfertigen ubernommen habe und wollen Ihme dafur die 1500 fl. brabantisch erlagen lassen, unnd ob wir es woll darfur halten, dass Ihne furhero albereith die Maass vonn der Lenge und Breite uberschickht haben, so wollen wir doch zue unnsrer gliebs Gott glucklicher Ankunfft zu Neuburg dieselbe nachmals wo nit zeitlicher ubersenden" (T. Levin, *op. cit.*, pp. 103, 104). Rubens was thus to do the work himself and receive 1500 guilders; the proposed measurements were communicated to him in a letter of 12 October

1621 (T. Levin, *op. cit.*, p. 104). The work was almost finished by 5 April 1622, on which date the Count wrote from Neuburg that "wir auch vernehmen, das gemelte Taffel des Ertz-Engels Michaels schier fertig" (T. Levin, *op. cit.*, p. 104). It was actually finished in May, and on the 31st of that month it was to be sent via Frankfort to Neuburg: "Undt euch mit negstern berichten, wohin die Taffel S. Michaelis ahm sichersten und besten von Frankfort höher hie hero zu bestellen sein möchte..." (T. Levin, *op. cit.*, p. 105).

The picture, however, took some months to arrive. By 16 February 1623 it had not yet reached Frankfort. Wolfgang Wilhelm hoped to receive it by Easter: "so wisset Ihr Vleiss zu haben und dasselbe so paldt nacher Coln ubermachen, damitt es mitt der Ostermess Gelegenheit von Collen auff nacher Franckfurtt Unseren Rhatt daselbst Melchioren Erasmo geliefert werde..." (T. Levin, *op. cit.*, p. 106). Finally the Elector wrote from Neuburg on 17 October 1623: it appears that the painting had by then got as far as Augsburg. "Sunsten khonnet Ihr dem Paulo Rubens auf seine fernere Nachfrag anzeigen, wie das Althar Gemahls von St. Michael zwar zue Augspurg aber noch nit alhie anglangt und wan uns dasselbe zukombt und besichtigt wollen ihme schon zuschreiben was uns davon beduncket" (T. Levin, *op. cit.*, p. 106).

As Levin has shown, this huge picture was most probably intended for the high altar of St. Peter's church at Neuburg, which was approaching completion at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The only other large church in the city, that of the Jesuits, seems to be ruled out, since Rubens had already, a short time before, painted to the Count Palatine's order three large altar-pieces for its high altar and side-altars: these are *The Great Last Judgement*, now in the Alte Pinakothek at Munich (*K.d.K.*, p. 118) and the two pendants now at Schleissheim, *The Nativity* (*K.d.K.*, p. 198) and *The Descent of the Holy Spirit* (*K.d.K.*, p. 199).

Sandrart informs us that in 1675 "zu Hemmau in Pfalz-Neuburgischen haben Ihr Hochfürstl. Durchl. [i.e. Philipp-Wilhelm, who succeeded his father Wolfgang-Wilhelm in 1653] an dem hohen Altarblat von seiner [i.e. Rubens's] Hand praesentirt, wie S. Michaël den Luzifer stürzet, so sehr fürtrefflich und hoch aestimirt wird..." Levin has pointed out that this no doubt refers to the Benedictine abbey church at Hemau, the only church of importance there, and that the picture was probably removed from Neuburg when St. Peter's was demolished in 1671: the church was later rebuilt and the high altar adorned with a *Martyrdom of St. Peter* by Sandrart, which still exists.

135a. ST. MICHAEL STRIKING DOWN THE REBELLIOUS ANGELS: DRAWING (?)

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

LITERATURE: T. Levin, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kunstbestrebungen in dem Hause Pfalz-Neuburg, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Niederrheins*, XIX, 1905, pp. 102, 103.

On Wolfgang-Wilhelm's request of 5 January 1621 Rubens sent him an "abreiss in umbra" of the St. Michael altar-piece for Neuburg (see No. 135). This "abreiss" was probably a black chalk or ink drawing.

136. ST. MICHAEL STRIKING DOWN THE REBELLIOUS ANGELS (Fig. 90)

Oil on canvas; 149 : 128 cm.

Castagnola near Lugano, Villa Favorita, Collection Thyssen-Bornemisza.

PROVENANCE: ? Church of the Carthusian "Hermitage" near Namur; G.L. Schamp sale, Ghent, 28 September 1776, lot 128; Schamp d'Aveschoot sale, Ghent, 14 September 1840 et seqq., lot 63; purchased by Fleith; sale M..., Paris, 9 February 1921, lot 39 (repr.; as *Studio of Rubens*); E. de Seyn, Brussels; K. Haberstock, Berlin.

EXHIBITED: *Sammlung Schloss Rohoncz*, Neue Pinakothek, Munich, 1930, No. 280; *Aus dem Besitz der Stiftung Sammlung Schloss Rohoncz*, Castagnola (Lugano), 1949, No. 217.

LITERATURE: R.-J. Heinemann, *Stiftung Sammlung Schloss Rohoncz*, Castagnola (Lugano), 1958, No. 362 (as *Rubens or his studio*); Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, I, p. 172, under No. 107; *Martin, Ceiling Paintings*, p. 58; [J.C. Ebbinge Wubben], in *The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection*, Castagnola (Lugano), 1969, I, No. 268; II, pl. 128.

The figure of St. Michael is in almost the same attitude as in the great canvas of c. 1622 in the Alte Pinakothek at Munich (No. 135; Fig. 89), but he has a thunderbolt in his right hand instead of a sword. To the left are two angels supporting him in the fight, one of whom also holds a thunderbolt in his right hand: this figure is a repetition of the St. Michael in the composition, engraved by Vorsterman, of c. 1615-16 (No. 134; Figs. 86, 87). The demon thrust down by St. Michael holds a burning torch in his left hand, identifying him as

Lucifer, and a writhing serpent in his right. On the extreme left, at the edge of the picture, a minor devil is desperately trying with both arms to stave off the angels' onslaught.

There is no agreement as to the dating of this work. Friedländer (quoted in *Cat. Exh. 1949*) places it in c. 1630, while Glück and Burchard prefer c. 1625. I myself share Ebbinge Wubben's view that it belongs to the last decade of Rubens's life. Like his other works of the 1630s it displays a light palette and an easy, fluent manner. The two angels on the left are very similar in type and attitude to those in the upper part of *The Martyrdom of St. Livinus* of 1633 in the Brussels Museum (No. 127; Fig. 74). The work may be identical with one seen in the Carthusian church near Namur by Mols, who writes of: "Un S.-Michel terrassant le démon; petit sujet sur l'autel à droite, dans l'église du Couvent de l'Ermitage, près de Namur" (published in *Rooses*, I, p. 97).

137. THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. PAUL

Oil on canvas; approximately 420 : 270 cm.

Formerly in the church of the Augustinian Priory Rood Klooster, near Brussels; destroyed by fire 1695.

COPY: Painting, whereabouts unknown; prov.: Augustinian Priory Rood Klooster, near Brussels; purchased for the church of the "Marolles", Brussels, on 20 May 1784; lit.: M. Thijs, *Het Rood Klooster te Oudergem, De Brabantse Folklore*, 195, 1972, p. 257.

LITERATURE: A. Sanderus, *Chorographia sacra Brabantiae*, Brussels, 1659, pp. 3, 12, 26; G. Frick, *Description de la ville de Bruxelles*, Brussels, 1743, p. 215; *Rooses*, II, pp. 332-334, No. 478; *Anecdota ex codicibus bibliographicis Johannis Gielemans*, Brussels, 1895, p. 280; F. Van Molle, *Nieuwe not's bij een verloren werk van P.P. Rubens*, *Revue Belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, XXI, 1952, pp. 127-133; H. Vlieghe, *De marteldood van de H. Petrus, een olieverfschets door Gaspar de Crayer*, *Bulletin Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*, XVII, 1965, p. 18; J.S. Held, *Jan van Boeckhorst as Draughtsman*, *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, XVI, 1967, p. 142.

It is known that in 1638 Rubens supplied a *Martyrdom of St. Paul* for the high altar of the church of the Augustinian priory of Rood Klooster near Brussels. As F. Van Molle has pointed out, the Rood Klooster chronicle (*Catalogus*

fratrum regularium cenobij Rubeevallis), begun by Gaspar Ofhuys (d. 1523) and continued by different monks down to the second half of the seventeenth century, informs us that in 1638 Rubens received from the Prior, Adriaan van der Reest, the sum of 1500 guilders for the painting in question: "Anno 1638 perfecit summum nostrum altare cum pictura decollationis S. Pauli, pro qua xv^o Renenses exolvit selectissimo pictori Reubbens Antwerpiensi" (quoted in F. Van Molle, *op. cit.*, p. 128, n. 2). Mols, following the previous account by G.J. Smeyers, says that in 1696 (actually 1695), when Louis XIV's troops were at the gates of Brussels, the picture was brought within the city walls for safety, first to St. Catherine's church and then to the chapel of St. Eligius, where it was unfortunately destroyed by French gunfire. Mols describes the picture in detail: "Hij knielde op eenen bergh met de ooghen hemelwaerts geslaegen; neven hem stont den beul, hem vast grypende. Achter den berg was het krygsvolk, waervan men de hoofden en een wynig van het lichaem sag. Voor den berg waeren verschyde vrouwen, sommige met kinderen, gereedt zynde om het vergoten bloet met doekken te omfangen; dese waeren een half lyf groote. Uyt den hemel quamen ook engels, die de croon ende den tak van de martelie afbragten. Dog alsoo het Frans leger ontrent Brussel zynde in 't jaer 1696, soo hebben de heeren van het gesydt klooster dese schilderye gevluht in de stad in de kercke van St Catharina, alwaer zy het zelve niet betrouwende het selve gevluht hebben in de capell van St Eloy alwaer het door bommen vernietigt is." ("He [i.e. St. Paul] was seen kneeling on a mound, with his eyes raised to heaven; the executioner stood beside him, grasping him firmly. Behind the mound were soldiers: their heads and a little of their bodies were visible. In front of the mound were women, some with children, carrying cloths to dip in the martyr's blood: these were shown half-length. Angels hovered in the sky with the martyr's crown and palm. When the French troops encompassed Brussels in the year 1696, the masters of the priory brought the painting into the city, to St. Catherine's church, and, thinking this not safe enough, to St. Eligius's chapel, where it was destroyed by the bombardment"; quoted in F. Van Molle, *op. cit.*, pp. 129, 130, n. 5).

The original marble surround of the altar was sold in 1786 to the church of Onze-Lieve-Vrouw-ten-Poel at Tirlemont (J. Laenen, *Etude sur la suppression des couvents par l'empereur Joseph II dans les Pays-Bas autrichiens*, Antwerp, 1905, pp. 33, 80), where it still is. Its shape indicates that the lost painting by Rubens was rounded at the top (F. Van Molle, *op. cit.*, p. 131, repr.).

137a. THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. PAUL: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 91)

Oil on panel; 38.5 : 25.5 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: R.S. Holford (London, 1808–1892); G.L. Holford sale, London (Christie's), 17–18 May 1928, lot 38; Scott and Fowles, New York; J.J. Kerrigan, New York; Charles E. Roseman, Cleveland Heights, Ohio; T. Mont, New York, c. 1963.

LITERATURE: G.F. Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, London, 1854, II, p. 200 (as *Van Dyck, The beheading of a saint*), *Rooses*, II, pp. 334, 335, No. 478, I; *K.d.K.*, p. 418; R. Benson, *The Holford Collection at Dorchester House*, Oxford, 1927, pl. CIV; W. Gibson, *The Holford Collection, Apollo*, VII, 1928, p. 198; *Goris-Held*, p. 36, No. 67; *Larsen*, p. 219, No. 92; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p. 311; H. Vlieghe, *De marteldood van de H. Petrus, en olieverfschets door Gaspar de Crayer*, *Bulletin Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*, XVII, p. 18, repr.; J.S. Held, *Jan van Boeckhorst as Draughtsman*, *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, XVI, 1967, p. 142.

In depicting the preparations for St. Paul's execution Rubens followed the account popularized by the *Golden Legend*: the Saint was blindfolded, at his request, by a pious woman named Plautilla (*Legenda Aurea*, I, col. 578). This scene occupies the centre of the composition: St. Paul kneels on a mound while Plautilla, on the left, is seen placing the cloth round his head. An executioner on the right bares the martyr's shoulder with his left hand, holding a sword in the other. On the extreme left are two Roman soldiers in full armour with lances. Various spectators occupy the foreground: from left to right we see a man praying, a mother with three children and another Roman soldier. Right in the background, behind the place of execution, is a Roman officer on horseback and beside him, on the extreme right, are seen the heads of two spectators, sketchily drawn. Three angels hover with the martyr's laurel wreath and palm. It can be seen that the composition was to have been rounded at the top: there is a trace of the original design in which the rounded part touched the upper edge of the panel. Later, however, Rubens flattened the curve and overpainted in dark tones the area between it and the panel edge.

It is very probable, and is generally supposed, that this sketch was intended as a modello for the lost painting that adorned the high altar of the church of the Augustinian priory of Rood Klooster near Brussels (No. 137). Its compo-

sition closely corresponds to Mols's description of the burnt altar-piece. The smooth execution of the sketch, with the touches of white suggesting light reflections, is typical of the oil modelli of Rubens's last period. The composition closely resembles that of *The Ascent of Mount Calvary* executed between 1634 and 1637, now in the Musées Royaux at Brussels (*K.d.K.*, p. 419): in both cases the main scene is, as it were, shut off from the spectator by a number of figures, some of them cut off by the lower edge of the panel, who are seen from behind and thus have a strong *repoussoir* effect. The motif of the soldier in the lower right-hand corner is repeated literally in the same position in *Christ on the Cross*, a painting of about 1635-40, now in the Toulouse Museum (*K.d.K.*, p. 420). The origin of this figure is the soldier in the upper right-hand part of Titian's *Address of General del Vasto*, a painting now in the Prado, which Rubens may have seen at Mantua or in Charles I's collection in London (*Tietze, Titian*, p. 383, pl. 136). The executioner, on the other hand, is a somewhat free repetition of the one in Rubens's much earlier *Martyrdom of St. Catherine* in the museum at Lille (I, No. 78; Fig. 133): in the present work he is less crowded by the surrounding figures.

138. THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. PAUL (Fig. 92)

Oil on canvas; 558 : 365 cm.

Aix-en-Provence, St. Magdalen's Church.

PROVENANCE: Dominican Church, Antwerp; taken to Paris, 1794; sent to St. Magdalen's Church, Aix-en-Provence, by the French Government, 1821.

LITERATURE: *De Wit*, pp. 57, 58 (as *T. Boeyermans*); *Berbie*, p. 61, No. 10 (as *T. Boeyermans*); *Mensaert*, I, p. 203 (as *T. Boeyermans*); *Descamps, Voyage*, p. 190 (as *T. Boeyermans*); *Odevaere*, p. 317, No. 45 (as *T. Boeyermans*); A. Michiels, *L'Art flamand dans l'Est et le Midi de la France*, Paris, 1877, pp. 510, 511 (as *G. de Crayer, The Martyrdom of St. Cyprian*); *Rooses*, II, pp. 332-334, No. 478; H. Pontier, *Catalogue du Musée d'Aix, Aix-en-Provence*, 1900, pp. 2, 403 (as *G. de Crayer, The Martyrdom of St. Blasius*); L. Van Puyvelde, *La Décollation de Saint Paul d'Aix en Provence, non de Rubens, mais de Boeyermans*, *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, XXVII, 1958, pp. 29-37, figs. 1-3; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p. 312; J.S. Held, *Jan van Boeckhorst as Draughtsman*, *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, XVI, 1967, p. 142 (as *School of Rubens*).

This composition derives directly from Rubens's picture of the same subject which was above the high altar in the church of the Rood Klooster until the end of the seventeenth century and can be judged today from the modello, formerly in the Roseman collection at Cleveland Heights (No. 137a; Fig. 91). It is in fact a pastiche of that altar-piece, enlarged on the right and below.

The work was attributed to Rubens by Burchard, having been ascribed to Theodoor Boeyermans (1620-78) in eighteenth-century accounts of the Dominican church of St. Paul at Antwerp, and subsequently to De Crayer after it was removed to Aix-en-Provence. Burchard believed that it was painted before 4 November 1637, the date of the death of Michiel Ophovius, who, according to the representation of arms on the keystone of the vault above the high altar, was responsible for the alteration and embellishment of the choir of the Dominican church. Burchard's attribution was opposed, without specific argument, by Van Puyvelde, who thought the old ascription to Boeyermans was correct. I am also of opinion that the old sources ought to be trusted in this case. Indeed, the stylistic features of this work, especially the precision and dryness of the drawing and the marked plasticity of the figures, are typical for the whole oeuvre of Boeyermans. Moreover, some of its motifs are actually to be found in Boeyermans's monogrammed *Martyrdom of St. Peter*, a painting that was executed in 1663 for St. Peter's church at Sint-Pieters-Lille near Herentals (F. Donnet and G. Van Doorslaer, *Inventaris der kunstvoorwerpen bewaard in de openbare gestichten der provincie Antwerpen*, Antwerp, 1900-1940, p. 892). This applies in particular to the soldier leaning on his lance and, in reverse image, the Roman commander on horseback, whose features are also similar to those in the Lille painting (Fig. 93). The date of 1670 on the marble border round the altar of St. Paul's church, executed by Pieter Verbruggen, must be regarded as the approximate date of Boeyermans's altar-piece. This was originally rounded at the top, but was enlarged to a rectangular shape after its removal from the church (see also Fig. 96).

The altar and the painting were presented to the church by the Antwerp bishop Ambrosius Capello, who paid an amount of money for them. In his hitherto unpublished will (14 March 1674) Capello made mention of several gifts to the Dominican church at Antwerp. These gifts also included "... den hoogen autae van marbar met de schilderij, den welken mij veele duysenden gekost heeft..." (Document preserved in the convent of the Dominicans at Ghent).

138a. THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. PAUL: DRAWING (Fig. 97)

Body-colour and brown wash over preliminary work in black and red chalk; partially arched at the top; 710 : 520 mm. Below, at the left, the mark of the collection of Sir Thomas Lawrence (L. 2445).

London, Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum.

PROVENANCE: Duc de Tallard sale, Paris, 1756, lot 406; J.D. Lempereur sale, Paris, 24 May 1773, lot 294; ? John, Viscount Hampden sale, London, 27 June 1827; Sir Thomas Lawrence (London, 1769-1830); Samuel Woodburn (London, 1786-1853); Sir Robert Peel (London, 1788-1850); bequeathed by the latter to the National Gallery, London; transferred to the British Museum, 1935.

COPY: Watercolour, Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre, No. 20.321; 432 : 318 mm.; lit.: *Lugt, Louvre, Ecole flamande*, II, 1949, p. 41, No. 1146, pl. LXIV.

EXHIBITED: *One hundred original Drawings by Sir P.P. Rubens collected by Sir Thomas Lawrence*, London, 1835, No. 83; *Winter Exhibition*, Royal Academy, London, 1879, No. 440 (as *Martyrdom of a Saint*).

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 330, No. 1247; G.F. Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, I, London, 1854, p. 415; *Rooses*, V, p. 165, pl. 390 (as not by Rubens); *National Gallery Trafalgar Square*, London, 1929, No. 853 e; A.E. Popham, *Drawings by Rubens and Van Dyck from the National Gallery, The British Museum Quarterly*, X, 1935, pp. 12, 13, No. 853 e; A.E. Popham, *A Handbook to the Drawings in the British Museum*, London, 1939, p. 63 (as *apparently an original work by Rubens*); *Lugt, Louvre, Ecole flamande*, II, 1949, p. 41, under No. 1146 (as *perhaps partially by Rubens*); L. Van Puyvelde, *La Décollation de saint Paul d'Aix-en-Provence, non de Rubens mais de Boeyermans, Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, XXVII, 1958, p. 36, fig. 6 (as *T. Boeyermans*); *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 309-313, No. 195; II, pl. 195; M. Jaffé, *Rubens as a Draughtsman, The Burlington Magazine*, CVII, 1965, p. 375; J.S. Held, *Jan van Boeckhorst as Draughtsman, Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, XVI, 1967, p. 142.

A study, undoubtedly by Boeyermans, for the Aix-en-Provence painting, which it closely resembles in composition. The chief differences in the drawing are as follows: There are three angels in the upper part instead of two; the soldier above on the extreme left is resting his hand on the end of a staff instead of holding a spear; the bearded groom below on the right is replaced in the altar-piece by a younger figure. The drawing also shows several pentimenti, notably

in the upper right zone, where two other positions were first tried for the executioner's right arm. Originally the arm and the sword pointed vertically downwards, then they were raised and finally were stretched out sideways as in the final version. To left and right are two lines parallel with the sheet's edge and forming, above, the beginning of a semicircle: these are clearly the outlines of a first design for the composition, with the downward-pointing sword. It is noteworthy that the narrower form of the scene with the arm pointing downwards is found in Rubens's painting of the same subject formerly in the Roseman collection at Cleveland Heights (No. 137a; Fig. 91). Thus the composition was originally even more closely based on Rubens's work.

The drawing has changed in appearance since it was first made, as it was cut into pieces which were then rejoined with narrow strips of paper between: the effect is to separate the figures and make the composition less crowded. It must originally have been higher and completely rounded at the top, whereas now the rounding begins only about 7 cm. from the edge. The original shape at the top becomes clear if the drawing is compared with a copy now in the Louvre (*Lugt, Louvre, Ecole flamande*, II, 1949, No. 1146, fig. LXIV) and also with the finished painting at Aix before it was enlarged from a rounded to a rectangular shape: see the engraving by Pieter II Verbruggen showing the high altar in the former Dominican church at Antwerp (Fig. 96). It thus appears that, at some unknown time, the upper part of the drawing was cut down to its present shape; this, however, was not chosen arbitrarily but coincides in part with the outlines of the first design for the composition.

139. THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. PETER (Fig. 98)

Oil on canvas; 310 : 170 cm.; arched at the top.

Cologne, St. Peter's Church.

LITERATURE: A. Gelenius, *Liber de admiranda magnitudine Coloniae Agrippinae*, Cologne, 1645, p. 407; Michel, 1771, pp. 260-265; Reynolds, pp. 224, 225; F.K.G. Hirsching, *Nachrichten von sehenswürdigen Gemälde- und Kupferstichsammlungen.. in Teutschland*, v, Erlangen, 1792, p. 352; Musée Central des Arts. *Notice des tableaux des écoles française et flamande, exposés dans la grande galerie*, Paris, 1801, No. 509; *Notice des tableaux exposés dans la galerie du musée*, Paris, 1814, No. 602; H.W. Williams, *Travels in Italy, Greece and the Ionian Islands*, Edinburgh, 1820, I, pp. 19-

21; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp. 111, 112, No. 377; A. Cunningham, *The Life of Sir David Wilkie*, III, London, 1843, p. 292; J.J. Merlo, *Nachrichten von dem Leben und den Werken kölnischer Künstler*, II, Cologne, 1852, pp. 373-382; *Parthey*, II, p. 422, No. 128; G.F. Waagen, *Die Gemäldesammlung in der Kaiserlichen Ermitage zu St. Petersburg*, Munich, 1864, p. 82; *Rooses*, II, pp. 341-344, No. 487; *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, pp. 177, 178, 211-213; *Michel*, pp. 556, 557; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 400; *Dillon*, p. 171, pl. CCCCLVIII; L. Haake, *Das Rubens-Bild "Kreuzigung Petri" und seine Schicksale, Beiträge zur kölnischen Geschichte*, I, 1914-15, pp. 348-363, repr.; *K.d.K.*, p. 421; *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Köln*, publ. by P. Clemen, II, 2, Düsseldorf, 1929, pp. 585, 589-592; O.H. Förster, *Kölner Kunstsammler*, Berlin, 1931, p. 48; *Evers*, 1942, p. 387; *Van Puyvelde*, p. 163; F. Grossmann, *Holbein, Flemish Paintings and Jabach*, *The Burlington Magazine*, XCIII, 1951, pp. 16, 17; F. Baudouin, *Recente aanwinsten van het Rubenshuis - II. Brieven van Rubens in het Rubenshuis bewaard*, Antwerpen, XI, 1965, pp. 70, 71; H. Vey, *Die Bildnisse Everhard Jabachs*, *Wältraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, XXIX, 1967, p. 186, n. 45; H. Vey, *Südniederländische Künstler und ihre kölnischen Auftraggeber*, *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen*, 1968, pp. 17, 19; J. Müller Hofstede, *Abraham Janssens. Zur Problematik des flämischen Caravaggismus*, *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, XIII, 1971, p. 268.

The story of St. Peter's crucifixion was widely known from the *Legenda Aurea* (I, col. 566). He is here seen being nailed head-downwards to the cross; four torturers and a Roman soldier in full armour are engaged in the gruesome work.

As Waagen pointed out, the composition of this work is undoubtedly related to Caravaggio's now lost painting of the same subject, executed in c. 1600-1 for Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome, a copy of which is in the Hermitage at Leningrad (W. Friedländer, *Caravaggio Studies*, Princeton, 1955, pl. 63). It is less easy to see the resemblance, claimed by Merlo and Rooses, to Guido Reni's version of the subject, painted in c. 1603 for the Chiesa delle Tre Fontane in Rome and now preserved in the Vatican Galleries (C. Gnudi and G.C. Cavalli, *Guido Reni*, Florence, 1955, pl. 12).

From a letter written by Rubens on 25 July 1637 to the Cologne painter Gortzius Geldorp, then in London, we learn that on behalf of a friend whose name is not mentioned, Geldorp entrusted Rubens with the commission to paint a scene from the life of St. Peter: he was allowed eighteen months for the task and could choose his own subject. His letter proposing the theme of the saint's martyrdom reads as follows: "Aengaende den tijdt, die soude moeten blijven gelimiteerd op een ander half jaer, om den vriendt met lust en commoditeyt te connen dienen: het subiect soude men beste kies en aghtervolgende de groote van het stuck, want sommige argumenten voegen haer beter in grote spatie en andere

in middelbaere, ofte clyne proportie. Togh als ick moeste kiezen ofte wenschen voor myn plesier eenigh subiect St. Peeter aengaende, het soude wezen syne cruysinghe met de voeten om hoogh, welck seer uysterlick en bequaem is om iedt extraordinar (noch naer myn vermoghen) af te maecken, niet te min ick reserve den keus aende behoefte van die het sal becoestighen, ende tot der tyt vor dat wy sullen de maete van het stuck sullen ghesien hebben..." ("Concerning the time, this should be limited to a year and a half, in order to serve your friend with pleasure and convenience. The subject would be best chosen in accordance with the size of the picture, for some themes are better suited to a large space and others to a small or medium one. However, if I were to choose for my own pleasure a scene concerning St. Peter, it would be his crucifixion head-downwards, a striking scene of which I could make something extraordinary according to my powers. Yet I reserve the choice of subject to him who will pay for the painting; I will wait until the size is determined"; *Rooses-Ruelens, op. cit.*, pp. 177, 178). The work that has come down to us shows that full attention was paid to Rubens's proposal. From another letter to Geldorp, dated 2 April 1638, it appears that Rubens then was making good progress: "Hebbende verstaen door Mons^r. van Lemens dat UE wel soude willen weten in wat staet is het werck dat ick door UE order van eenighen UE vriend tot Ceulen aenveyrd hebbe soo en hebbe ick niet willen laeten UE te aviseren hoe dat het alreeds seer gheavanceerd is met hope dat het sal rusciren een van de beste stucken die tot noch toe uyt myn hand ghegaen syn" ("Having heard from M. van Lemens that you wish to know the state of the work that you entrusted to me on behalf of your friend at Cologne, I must tell you that it is now well advanced and I hope it will turn out one of the best works of my hand"; *Rooses-Ruelens, op. cit.*, p. 211).

As Gelenius wrote in 1645, the plan to build a new altar to St. Peter in the church dedicated to him at Cologne was initiated by Everhard III Jabach, a city councillor and father of the art collector Everhard IV Jabach, who was to become celebrated in Paris. As the elder Jabach died on 23 May 1636, it is not certain whether he himself chose Rubens to paint the altar-piece; the decision may have been taken by his widow or, more likely still, by Everhard IV, who was in London at the same time as Geldorp and is no doubt the "friend" referred to in the correspondence. In any case, as Vey observed, the Jabachs may well have been influenced in their choice by the fact that Rubens was sentimentally attached to St. Peter's at Cologne: his father was buried there,

and it had been the artist's parish church in his early youth. In his letter of July 1637 to Geldorp he declared that he was "seer geaffectioneerdt voor de stadt Ceulen, om dat ick aldaer ben opgevoedt tot het thienste jaer myns levens" ("strongly affected towards the city of Cologne, where I lived until my tenth year"; *Rooses-Ruelens, op. cit.*, p. 177). It may also have been for this reason that they allowed him a free hand as to the subject. The dramatic scene of the martyrdom was eminently his own choice, as appears from further details concerning the history of the order. Arnold Meshov, the parish priest of St. Peter's, wrote on 18 April 1637 to Jabach junior in London that, while the artist was to be allowed to choose, he himself would have preferred a more didactic theme such as *The Rescue of St. Peter from the Waves*, *The Denial* or *The Delivery of the Keys*; this last was apparently the preference of Jabach's widow (Letter published in full by L. Ennen in *Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein*, xxv, 1873, pp. 225 et seqq.).

The picture had not been paid for at the time of Rubens's death. His widow subsequently received "van Joris Deschamps, twelf hondert guldenen eens, voor een stuck schilderye wesende St. Peeter, hem vercocht voor eenen man van Ceulen" ("from Joris Deschamps, twelve hundred guilders for a painting of St. Peter, sold to him for a man at Cologne"; *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 72, No. xxv): this Deschamps must have been a middleman between Rubens and the Jabachs. The picture must have been still in Antwerp at that time, as the new altar to St. Peter was not built until 1642: this appears from the inscription that the Jabachs caused to be carved, in that year, on the marble pedestal whereon the painting remained until 1896: D.O.M. IN MEMORIAM PIORVM PARENTVM EBERHARDI JABACHS SENATORIS COLONIENSIS, ÆDILIS HVIVS ECCLESIAE, ET ANNÆ REYTERS CONIVGVVM RELICTI GENERI, FILIÆ ET FILIVS POSVERVNT ANNO REPARATÆ SALVTIS 1642.

In 1716 the Elector Palatine, Johann Wilhelm, attempted in vain to acquire the painting for his collection at Düsseldorf (J. Merlo, *op. cit.*, p. 381). In 1794 the French troops removed it from St. Peter's church to Paris; it remained in the Louvre till 1815, when it was restored to St. Peter's. It hung above the high altar until 1896, and was then transferred to a side altar.

139a. THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. PETER: DRAWING (Fig. 99)

Black chalk and traces of brown ink, heightened with white body-colour; 457 : 335 mm.

Basle, *Kunstmuseum, Kupferstichkabinett*. Inv. No. U.IV.97.

PROVENANCE: Everhard IV Jabach (Cologne-Paris, 1610-1695); Pierre Crozat sale, Paris, 10 April-13 May 1741, lot 818-1; purchased by P.J. Mariette and sold by him to G.-M. Jabach; Johann-Jakob Faesch (Basle, 1732-1796).

COPY: Drawing by A. Watteau, Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, Inv. No. 1965/1865; 510 : 395 mm.; prov.: Pierre Crozat sale, Paris, 10 April-13 May 1741, lot 821-1 (as *Rubens*); purchased by Count C.G. Tessin; exh.: *Dialogue*, Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen, Dresden, 1970, No. 114 (repr.); lit.: *Rooses*, II, p. 344, under No. 487; v, p. 166; K.T. Parker and J. Mathey, *Antoine Watteau, Catalogue complet de son œuvre dessiné*, I, Paris, 1957, p. 45, No. 311, repr.

EXHIBITED: *Zeichnungen des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Kunstmuseum, Basle, 1973, No. 46 (repr.).

LITERATURE: P.J. Mariette, *Abecedario*, III, publ. by P. de Chennevières and A. de Montaignon, Paris, 1854-56, p. 2; *Van Puyvelde*, p. 215, n. 209; *Held*, I, p. 152 [C. Dittrich] in *Cat. Exh. Dialogue, op. cit.*, p. 88, under No. 114; T. Falk, in *Schweizerische Kunst- und Antiquitätenmesse*, Basle, 1973, pp. 13, 14, repr.

The martyrdom is here depicted in a very similar way to the large altar-piece at Cologne (No. 139; Fig. 98). The drawing is squared at the top, whereas the picture is rounded. The only other noteworthy difference is that the right hand of the fourth executioner from the left is partly visible in the drawing, while in the picture it is hidden by Peter's right leg. Above on the left are a few scrawls of uncertain purpose.

The precision of the drawing and its careful indications of light and shade suggest that it was a study for an engraving, which however was never executed. This was Mariette's opinion in his catalogue of the Crozat sale: ". . . le premier [sc. the present drawing] avoit été fait pour être gravé, c'est grand dommage qu'il ne l'ait pas été." Burchard thought that the engraver concerned might have been Jan Witdoeck, who engraved many of Rubens's works in the 1630s (e.g. I, No. 82, Fig. 143; II, No. 117, Fig. 60), and that the retouching in white was the painter's own work. This seems to me hard to determine in view of its fragmentary character. As Rubens himself was the publisher of engravings after his pictures, it may have been because of his death that the one representing the very late St. Peter altar-piece was not executed.

The drawing may have been among the large number that Jabach bought

from Rubens's estate in 1659, most of which later became French royal property. The copy by Watteau at Stockholm (see above) was certainly made during his stay at the *hôtel* of Pierre Crozat in Paris.

140-143. THE ALTAR OF ST. ROCH

140. ST. ROCH INTERCEDING FOR THE PLAGUE-STRICKEN (Fig. 102)

Oil on canvas; 412 : 258 cm.; arched at the top.

Alošt, St. Martin's Church.

COPIES: (1) Painting attributed to J. van Reyn, Dunkirk, St. Eligius's Church; lit.: *Descamps, Voyage*, p. 314; *Rooses*, II, p. 347; (2) Painting, Dresden, Gemäldegalerie, No. 998; panel, 56 : 35.5 cm.; prov.: collections of the former electors, afterwards kings of Saxony; lit.: *Katalog der staatlichen Gemäldegalerie zu Dresden*, Dresden-Berlin, 1930, No. 998; (3) Painting, Gaasbeek Castle; canvas, 51 : 37 cm.; lit.: G. Renon and M. Caesteels, *Ontdekkingsocht in de verzameling van het kasteel-museum van Gaasbeek, De Brabantse Folklore*, 1966, p. 135, repr.; (4) Painting, whereabouts unknown; 85 : 56 cm.; prov.: Alošt, private collection; lit.: R. Druwé, *Rubens' naamen jaartaltechniek*, Brasschaat, 1944, pp. 14, 15, fig. 3 (as *Rubens*); (5) Painting after the head of St. Roch, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 54 : 45 cm.; prov.: C. Cardon sale, Brussels (Fiévez), 27 June 1921 et seqq., lot 98 (repr.; as *Rubens*); sale, Brussels (Fiévez), 26 May 1930, lot 79 (repr.; as *Rubens*); L. Seyffers, Brussels; exh.: *Brussels*, 1910, No. 400; lit.: *Le Home*, 31 December 1910, p. 19, repr.; (6) Drawing by P. Pontius, Leningrad, Hermitage, Inv. No. 5522; 520 : 360 mm.; prov.: Count Cobenzl (Ljubljana, 1712 - Brussels, 1770); purchased from him by Empress Catherine II, the Great, 1768; exh.: *Rubens i ego sbkola v risunkakh i gravurakh*, Hermitage, Leningrad, 1940, No. 178; *Dessins flamands et hollandais du XVII^e siècle. Collections de l'Ermitage, Leningrad et du Musée Pouchkine, Moscou*, Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, 1972, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, 1972-73, and Institut néerlandais, Paris, 1973, No. 70 (repr.); lit.: M.V. Dobroklonsky, *Risunki Rubensa*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1940, No. 31, repr.; M.V. Dobroklonsky, *Risunki flamandskoy sbkoly XVII-XVIII vekov*, Moscow, 1955, No. 624; J. Kuznetsov, *Risunki Rubensa iz muzeev SSSR*, Leningrad-Moscow, 1965, No. 43; (7) Engraving after (6) by P. Pontius, 1626 (*V.S.*, p. 108, No. 133); (8) Engraving by C. Meyssens (*V.S.*, p. 109, No. 138); (9) Engraving by G. Audran (*V.S.*, p. 109, No. 137).

EXHIBITED: *Brussels*, 1910, No. 301; *Scaldis*, St. Peter's Abbey, Ghent, 1956, No. 88.

LITERATURE: A. Sanderus, *Flandria Illustrata*, II, Amsterdam, 1644, p. 496; Descamps, *Vie*, p. 326; Mensaert, II, pp. 5, 6; Descamps, *Voyage*, p. 35; Michel, 1771, pp. 188, 189; Reynolds, pp. 145, 146; Musée Central des Arts. *Notice des tableaux des écoles française et flamande, exposés dans la grande galerie*, Paris, 1801, No. 513; *Notice des tableaux exposés dans la galerie du Musée*, Paris, 1814, No. 599; Odevaere, pp. 330, 331, No. 165; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 42, No. 121; F. De Potter and J. Broeckaert, *Geschiedenis der stad Aalst*, III, Ghent, 1875, pp. 187-189; Rooses, II, pp. 344-348, No. 488; V, p. 334; E. Bonnaffé, *Documents inédits sur Rubens*, II, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1891, p. 387; M. Rooses, *Staat van goederen in het Herfhuis van Isabella Brant*, *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, 1896, p. 163; Michel, pp. 362, 363; Dillon, pp. 146, 210; *K.d.K.*, p. 274; P. Van Nuffel, *De schilderijen der Sint-Maartenskerk van Aalst*, Alost, 1935, pp. 20-24; *Van Puyvelde*, pp. 133, 208.

St. Roch, a native of Montpellier, lived in the fourteenth century. The oldest known biography of him, which dates from 1478, relates that he spent a long time in Italy, where he tended victims of the plague in several cities. He caught the plague himself and withdrew to a forest to die, but was miraculously succoured by a dog. He later returned to Montpellier, where he was taken for a spy and died in prison (F. Diedo, *Vita Sancti Rochi*, Venice, 1478; *AA. SS.*, August, III).

Rubens's painting shows the Saint on a rocky platform, with Christ appearing to him and pointing to a tablet held by an angel, bearing the legend ERIS/IN PESTE/PATRONUS. St. Roch is in his traditional pilgrim's garb; his dog is beside him on the left. In the lower foreground are seven victims of the plague, imploring the Saint's intercession with languishing looks and gestures.

The retable of which this painting forms a part was executed about 1623-26. The date 1623 is inscribed on the anvil of St. Adrian, one of the four statues of saints invoked against pestilence, which surmounted the altar frame (Fig. 100). Pontius's engraving of the painting was published in 1626. From the inventory drawn up on the death of Isabella Brant (20 June 1626) it appears that Rubens had already received 500 guilders from St. Martin's church: "Item ontfanghen van wegen de groote kerck van Aelst de somme van guld. V^c" ("Item received from the great church at Alost the sum of V^c florins"; M. Rooses, *Staat van goederen...*, *loc. cit.*), which must be connected with the St. Roch retable.

The altar was erected on behalf of the Alost Brotherhood of St. Roch. Already in 1619 its members borrowed a sum of 800 guilders in order to cover the costs (F. De Potter and J. Broeckaert, *op. cit.*, p. 189).

From 1794 to 1814 this painting, with its two predella panels (Nos. 141, 142; Figs. 104, 105) was in the Musée Central des Arts in Paris.

140a. ST. ROCH INTERCEDING FOR THE PLAGUE-STRICKEN: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 101)

Oil on panel; 64.5 : 49.5 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: Purchased from a private collection at Brussels by Hermann von Mumm, Frankfort (Main), 1882; Arthur von Mumm, Frankfort (Main); sale, Frankfort (Main), 31 May 1934, lot 90 (repr.); Hinrichsen and Lindpaintner, Berlin, 1935; M.W.W. Astor, London, 1937; Gösta Steinmann, Stockholm, 1947; sale, New York (Parke-Bernet), 20 May 1971, lot 45.

EXHIBITED: *Frankfurter Privatbesitz*, Frankfort (Main), 1925, No. 181 (repr.).

Compared to the final version (No. 140; Fig. 102), the composition of this work is broader. More space is left between the group of plague-victims and the edge of the panel. The scene is not rounded at the top; the pillar on the right does not appear in the Aloſt version, and the position of some figures is also different. The kneeling Saint points with his left hand to the sufferers, whereas in the finished work this hand is laid on his breast. Christ's left arm is outstretched, instead of hanging down as in the Aloſt picture. There is more space in the present version between St. Roch on the one hand and Christ and the angel on the other. The angel is fully visible, whereas in the final version he is partly hidden behind the Saint. The dog is here seen on the right, lying behind his master, while in the final painting he is on the left. There are also differences in the attitudes of the victims, especially the ghostly figure in a shroud, on the extreme right, who is here seen with his left arm outstretched, while in the final version he is holding it against his body.

140b. ST. ROCH INTERCEDING FOR THE PLAGUE-STRICKEN: OIL SKETCH

Oil on panel.

Whereabouts unknown.

COPY: Painting (Fig. 103), whereabouts unknown; canvas, 86 : 69 cm.; prov.: Brussels, G. Dulière.

This sketch, which can only be judged from a copy, belongs, as regards the evolution of the composition, between the sketch formerly in the Mumm collection (No. 140a; Fig. 101) and the final version.

The composition of the copy is very similar to that of the work at Alost; however, the position of Christ's left arm, the left arm of St. Roch and that of the figure in the shroud correspond to those in the sketch from the Mumm collection.

141. ST. ROCH FED BY A DOG (Fig. 104)

Oil on panel; 68 : 97 cm.

Alost, St. Martin's Church.

COPIES: (1) Painting, Leningrad, Hermitage, Inv. No. 125; 70 : 100 cm.; (2) Painting, Alost, F. Van Essche; 70 : 120 cm.; prov.: Alost, P. Van Nuffel, 1935; lit.: P. Van Nuffel, *De schilderijen der Sint-Maartenskerk van Aalst*, Alost, 1935, p. 21.

EXHIBITED: *Brussels*, 1910, No. 301; *Scaldis*, St. Peter's Abbey, Ghent, 1956, No. 89.

LITERATURE: *Descamps, Vie*, p. 326; *Mensaert*, II, p. 5; *Descamps, Voyage*, p. 35; *Michel*, 1771, p. 189; *Musée Central des Arts. Notice des tableaux des écoles française et flamande exposés dans la Grande Galerie*, Paris, 1801, No. 514; *Odevaere*, p. 331, No. 167; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 42, No. 123 (as *An Angel healing St. Roch of the Plague*); *Rooses*, II, p. 346, No. 489; *Dillon*, p. 210; P. Van Nuffel, *De schilderijen der Sint-Maartenskerk van Aalst*, Alost, 1935, p. 22.

The predella of the retable consists of two panels. The left-hand one shows the plague-stricken Saint sitting at the edge of a forest; a dog brings him bread, and he thus miraculously escapes death.

The execution of this panel is to be ascribed to Rubens's studio.

142. THE DEATH OF ST. ROCH (Fig. 105)

Oil on panel; 68 : 97 cm.

Alost, St. Martin's Church.

EXHIBITED: *Brussels, 1910, No. 301; Scaldis, St. Peter's Abbey, Ghent, 1956, No. 90.*

LITERATURE: *Descamps, Vie*, p. 326; *Mensaert*, II, p. 5; *Michel, 1771*, p. 189; *Descamps, Voyage*, p. 35; *Musée Central des Arts. Notice des tableaux des écoles française et flamande, exposés dans la grande galerie, Paris, 1801, No. 515; Odevaere*, p. 331, No. 168; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 42, No. 124; *Rooses*, II, pp. 346, 347, No. 490; *Dillon*, p. 210; P. Van Nuffel, *De schilderijen der Sint-Maartenskerk van Aalst, Alost, 1935*, p. 22.

The right-hand panel of the predella shows the last moments of the Saint. He is seen on the right in his death-agony, leaning against a wall of his dungeon, while an angel appears to conduct him to heaven. Two other prisoners look on from the left.

The right-hand part of this scene, with the dying Saint, recalls, in reverse, Raphael's *Liberation of St. Peter* in the Stanza d'Eliodoro in the Vatican (*K.d.K., Raffael*, pp. 97, 100). The sharp contrast between the dark cell and the supernatural light surrounding the angel is also reminiscent of Raphael's technique in that fresco.

Like the left-hand panel, this was executed not by Rubens but by his studio.

143. THE HOLY VIRGIN HOLDING THE INFANT CHRIST (Fig. 106)

Oil on canvas; c. 150 : c. 70 cm.; arched at the top.

Alost, St. Martin's Church.

EXHIBITED: *Brussels, 1910, No. 301.*

LITERATURE: *Descamps, Vie*, p. 326; *Mensaert*, II, p. 6; *Descamps, Voyage*, p. 35; *Rooses*, II, p. 347, No. 491; *Dillon*, p. 210; P. Van Nuffel, *De schilderijen der Sint-Maartenskerk van Aalst, Alost, 1935*, p. 22.

The Virgin stands upright, with the Child on her left arm and a sceptre in her right, symbolizing her dignity as Queen of Heaven. She stands on a globe, signifying her triumph over sin and death.

This picture was placed in the tabernacle over the St. Roch retable; it is

much damaged, but of better quality than the two paintings in the predella of that altar-piece (Nos. 141, 142; Figs. 104, 105). Considerable parts of it, such as the Virgin's face and the Child Jesus, seem to be Rubens's own work.

It may be wondered why a picture of the Madonna should have been painted for St. Roch's altar, which was in the left transept and not on the side of the church traditionally reserved for Our Lady. The explanation may lie in the Virgin's role of intercession with her Son, in this case for the benefit of sufferers from the plague.

144. ST. SEBASTIAN (Fig. 107)

Oil on canvas; 153 : 118 cm.

Rome, Galleria Corsini. Inv. No. 388.

PROVENANCE: Cardinal Neri Corsini (1685-1770); purchased by the Italian government from Prince Tommaso Corsini, 1884.

COPY: Painting, whereabouts unknown; 140 : 104 cm.; prov.: London, Appleby Bros.; London, J. Weitzner; sale, London, 24 June 1970, lot 67, repr. (as *Rubens*); lit.: M. Jaffé, *Van Dyck's Antwerp Sketchbook*, London, 1966, I, pl. XVI; II, p. 221 (as *Rubens*).

EXHIBITED: *I Fiamminghi e l'Italia*, Groeninge Museum, Bruges, Palazzo Barberini, Rome, Palazzo Ducale, Venice, 1951, No. 53 (repr.); *100 opere di Van Dyck*, Palazzo dell' Accademia, Genoa, 1955, No. 6 (repr.; as *Van Dyck*); *Dipinti fiamminghi di collezioni Romane*, Palazzo Barberini, Rome, 1966, p. 36, fig. 31.

LITERATURE: F. Titi, *Descrizione delle Sculture, pitture ed architetture esposte in pubblico a Roma...*, Rome, 1763, p. 37; G. Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, L, Venice, 1851, p. 305; J. Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone*, Basle, 1855, p. 794; D. Armengaud, *Les galeries publiques de l'Europe : Rome*, Paris, 1856, p. 318; *Rooses*, II, p. 350 (as *A. Van Dyck*); Bergeret and Frago, *Voyage d'Italie*, Paris, 1895, p. 264; *Michel*, p. 119; *K.d.K., Van Dyck, ed. Schaeffer*, p. 431 (as *A. Van Dyck*); F.M. Haberditzl, *Studien über Rubens, Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XXX, 1912, p. 259; R. Oldenbourg, *Studien zu Van Dyck, Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, IX, 1914-15, pp. 234-236 (as *A. Van Dyck*); F. Hermanin, *Catalogo della R. Galleria d'Arte Antica*, Bologna, 1924, p. 28, No. 225; A. de Rinaldis, *La Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica in Roma*, Rome, 1932, pp. 6, 7, 36; *Glück*, 1933, pp. 18, 19, 155, 275, 276; L. Burchard, *Nachträge*, in *Glück*, 1933, pp.

375, 409; M. Delacre, *Le Dessin dans l'œuvre de Van Dyck*, Brussels, 1934, p. 199 (as not by Rubens nor Van Dyck); Evers, 1942, p. 143; Evers, 1943, pp. 151, 202; Van Puyvelde, *Rome*, pp. 153, 154, pl. 61; C. Norris, in *The Burlington Magazine*, xcv, 1953, p. 108; O. Millar, *Van Dyck at Genoa*, *The Burlington Magazine*, xcvi, 1955, p. 313; L. Van Puyvelde, *Van Dyck à Gênes*, *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, xxiv, 1955, p. 44; Held, I, p. 98; Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, I, pp. 54, 110.

The *Acta* of St. Sebastian, wrongly attributed to St. Ambrose, are the source for the well-known legend of this young Roman officer and martyr, which was popularized by Jacopo de Voragine (*Legenda Aurea*, I, cols. 170, 171). He is said to have been a centurion whom the emperor Diocletian, in 287, sentenced to be shot with arrows; as he did not die of his wounds, he was then put to death by clubbing.

The martyr is here seen after the shooting; according to the legend he was released and cared for by a widow named Irene, but in this picture he is being tended by four angels, who are freeing him from the tree to which he was bound, drawing the arrows out of his body and bathing his wounds. The source of this iconography is not known; it is found in a woodcut of 1512 by Hans Baldung Grien (*Cat. Exh. Hans Baldung Grien*, Karlsruhe, 1959, p. 262, No. 61, repr.). On the left is seen the Saint's breastplate, a motif probably of Italian origin: it occurs in the same position and with the same emphasis in Titian's picture of the Saint, formerly in the Barbarigo collection at Venice and now in the Hermitage (*Tietze, Titian*, pl. 265).

Rubens's painting undoubtedly belongs to his Italian period, and may be compared with the study for *The Baptism of Christ*, a drawing of about 1604 now in the Louvre (*Held*, II, pl. 12): a naked youth in the centre of the drawing resembles the figure of St. Sebastian, notably in the small size of the head, characteristic of the painter's Italian years. It is hard to see why Van Puyvelde dated the painting around 1610-12, or to accept his suggestion that this is the *St. Sebastian* that Rubens offered to Dudley Carleton in 1618. The dimensions of the latter do not agree with those of the painting at Rome, but they are approximately the same as those of the Berlin version (No. 145; Fig. 108), which is thus much more likely to be the one recorded in 1618.

145. ST. SEBASTIAN (Fig. 108)

Oil on canvas; 200 : 128 cm.

Berlin-Dablem, Staatliche Museen. No. 798-H.

PROVENANCE: ? Offered for sale by Rubens to Sir Dudley Carleton, 28 April 1618; Philip Hill sale, London (Christie's), 26 January 1811, lot 49; H.A.J. Munro of Novar, sale, London (Christie's), 1 June 1878, lot 95; bought there for the Berlin gallery.

EXHIBITED: 120 *beroemde schilderijen uit het Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum te Berlijn*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, 1950, No. 92 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 222, No. 788; G.F. Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, II, London, 1854, p. 136; W. Frost and H. Reeve, *Catalogue of the Paintings... in the Collection of the late Hugh Andrew Johnstone Munro of Novar*, London, 1865, p. 42, No. 12; *Rooses*, II, pp. 349-351, No. 492; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 32; *Dillon*, pl. LVII; H. Posse, *Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Die Gemäldegalerie des Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums*, Berlin, 1911, No. 798-H, repr.; *K.d.K.*, p. 48; *Oldenbourg*, 1922, p. 122, repr.; E. Kieser, *Die Bekehrung des Paulus bei Rubens, Der Cicerone*, XIX, 1927, p. 660, n. 1; *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Gemälde im Kaiser Friedrich Museum und deutschen Museum*, Berlin, 1930, No. 798-H; *Glück*, 1933, pp. 158, 161, 276; *Evers*, 1942, pp. 143-147, repr.; *Van Puyvelde*, pp. 116, 117; C. Norris, in *The Burlington Magazine*, XCV, 1953, p. 108.

The Saint is here seen immediately after the shooting; the arrows have not yet been removed from his body. A bow and quiver are seen in the left foreground; the left background is filled by a leafy wood and the right background by a hilly landscape.

Kieser pointed out the close resemblance to Mantegna's composition of the same subject, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum at Vienna (E. Tietze-Conrat, *Mantegna. Paintings - Drawings - Engravings*, London, 1955, p. 200, pl. 35): the original destination of this work is not known, but Rubens may have seen it in Venice. His own work is very nearly a reversed version of Mantegna's. It was first assigned by Rosenberg to Rubens's Italian period, but Oldenbourg later dated it about 1612. A more probable date would seem to be about 1615, in view of the cool flesh-tints and the plastic way in which the Saint's muscles are suggested.

Rooses identified this painting with "Un S. Sebastiano ignudo de mia mano" which Rubens offered to Dudley Carleton for 300 guilders on 28 April 1618 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p. 137), and this is quite probable in view of the dimensions indicated in Rubens's letter, viz. 7 by 4 feet or approximately the size of the painting now in Berlin. The style is very similar, as regards composition and

plasticity, to that of *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, also offered to Dudley Carleton in 1618 and now in the National Gallery at Washington (M. Jaffé, *Some recent Acquisitions of Seventeenth-Century Flemish Paintings, Report and Studies in the History of Art*, III, 1969, fig. 1). The figures of naked youths have a similar languishing expression; as regards *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, Erkinger Schwarzenberg has recently shown that this derives from the Hellenistic type known as "Alessandro morente" (*The Portraiture of Alexander the Great in seventeenth-century Italy and France, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXII, 1969, p. 400).

146-149. THE TRIPTYCH OF ST. STEPHEN

146. THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. STEPHEN (Fig. 112)

Oil on canvas; 437 : 280 cm. A strip of approximately 10 cm. was added underneath; just above the seam, the coat of arms of the grandprior Cassiodore de Monchaux and the date 1761.

Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts. No. 91.

PROVENANCE: Church of the Benedictine Abbey of Saint-Amand-les-Eaux near Valenciennes; deposited, as "propriété nationale" in the newly erected Museum of Valenciennes, 1793; temporarily removed to the church of Saint-Géry at Valenciennes, between 1804 and 1834.

COPY: Painting, Louvain, St. Peter's Church; c. 430 : c. 280 cm.

EXHIBITED: *Geborgene Kunstwerke aus dem besetzten Nordfrankreich*, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes, 1918, No. 311 (repr.); Paris, 1936, No. III.

LITERATURE: Bellori, pp. 224, 225; Michel, 1771, p. 363; Clément de Ris, I, p. 64; Rooses, II, pp. 245-248, No. 410; A. Pinchart, *Correspondance artistique du comte de Cobenzl, Compte rendu de la Commission royale d'histoire*, 4me série, XI, 1883, pp. 207-211, 269, 270; M. Hénault, *Histoire d'un tableau, le Martyre de Saint-Etienne par Rubens, Réunion des Sociétés des Beaux-Arts*, XXX, 1906, pp. 256-280; J. Warichez, *Tribulations de deux tableaux de Rubens*, Tournai, 1910, p. 19; K.d.K., p. 158; *Catalogue illustré et annoté des œuvres exposées au Palais des Beaux-Arts de la ville de*

Valenciennes, Valenciennes, 1931, No. 91, repr.; *Knipping*, I, p. 181; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 146, 147; W. Friedländer, *Early to full Baroque, Cigoli and Rubens*, in *Festschrift für Ludwig Heydenreich*, Munich, 1964, pp. 81, 82, fig. 18; I. Jošt, *A newly discovered Painting by Adam Elsheimer*, *The Burlington Magazine*, cviii, 1966, p. 6, fig. 5; H. Vlieghe, *Artus of Antoni de Bruyn ? Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen*, 1969, p. 171; *Baudouin*, 1972, p. 62, fig. 33.

St. Stephen, one of the seven deacons appointed by the Apostles, was stoned to death outside Jerusalem: he had accused the Jewish high priests and scribes of resisting the Holy Spirit, and was alleged to have prophesied that Christ would destroy Jerusalem and change the customs ordained by Moses (*Acts* 6:13, 14; 7:51, 58-60).

The painting conforms closely to the Biblical story. Stephen, in a deacon's robes, is seen kneeling while his persecutors throw stones at him from every side. As described in the *Acts*, they have laid down their clothes at the feet of the young Saul, later the Apostle Paul, who is seen in the lower right-hand part of the picture. On the left we see the heads of two elders who are watching the execution with looks of hatred. Above, on the right, God the Father is seen sitting amid clouds, with the Son standing beside him. This faithfully represents St. Stephen's vision immediately before his death: "But he, being full of the Holy Ghost, looked up steadfastly into heaven, and saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God" (*Acts*, 7:55). Three angels descend from heaven bearing the martyr's crown and palm. In the left background are some pseudo-antique buildings, evidently representing Jerusalem.

As *Knipping* and Friedländer showed, this composition is based on *The Martyrdom of St. Stephen* painted in 1597 by Cigoli for the church of the Montedomini convent at Florence: this is now in Pitti Palace (W. Friedländer, *op. cit.*, fig. 17), and Rubens may have seen it when visiting the city. The grouping of the figures in his painting is much the same, but in reverse. The motif of the man kicking St. Stephen is a notable borrowing from Cigoli.

No documents have been preserved concerning the commissioning of the altar-piece, a triptych of which the present canvas formed the centre. Bellori first mentions it "nell'Abbadia di Santo Amante", which he erroneously places in Antwerp. The abbey church of Saint-Amand near Valenciennes certainly possessed relics of St. Stephen; according to Father Rudemare, who described the side-panels in 1791, they were preserved in "l'autel dédié à la Vierge" (J. Desilve, *Nicolas du Bois, 66me abbé de Saint-Amand, Mémoires historiques*

de la Société d'Agriculture etc. de Valenciennes, VII, 1899, p. 397). The centre piece was relined in 1740 by the Lille painter Gilles Desfontaines (J. Warichez, *loc. cit.*), and was again relined in 1761, when the painting was enlarged by a strip of about 10 cm. at the bottom. The date 1761 was painted in above the seam, as was the coat of arms of the grand prior Cassiodore de Monchaux, at whose direction the relining was carried out by the painter Cardinael (A. Pinchart, *op. cit.*, pp. 207, 269, 270).

The stylistic qualities of the triptych, the cool local colouring and plasticity suggest a date around 1615-20. The kicking man reappears on Rubens's *Scourging of Christ*, one of the fifteen *Mysteries of the Rosary* executed by various artists for the Antwerp Dominican church about 1618 (*K.d.K.*, p. 87). While the work was still in Rubens's studio it had some influence on his fellow-artists, as may be seen from the adoption of two motifs by Artus de Bruyn in his *Mocking of Christ*, another one of the fifteen *Mysteries of the Rosary* in the Dominican church. The motifs in question, borrowed by de Bruyn in reverse, were the seated figures of Saul in the centre panel and that of the scribe in the left-hand panel (H. Vlieghe, *op. cit.*, fig. 1).

146a. THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. STEPHEN: OIL SKETCH

Oil on panel; approximately 74 : 56 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 110), Brussels, Royal Palace; canvas, 74 : 56 cm.; prov.: Jacob de Wit, sale, Amsterdam, 27 November 1754, lot 6 (as *Rubens*), bought by Johann Thomas Richter; Johann Thomas Richter sale, Leipzig, 1810, lot 158 (as *Rubens*); J.C. Lampe sale, Leipzig, 17 May 1819 et seqq., lot 142 (as *Rubens*); purchased before 1823 by Prince Leopold of Sachsen-Coburg-Gotha, future King of the Belgians; exh.: *Pictures by Sir Joshua Reynolds with a Selection from the Italian, Spanish, Flemish and Dutch Schools*, British Institution, London, 1823, No. 100 (as *Rubens*); lit.: *Nachricht von Richters Portrait, Leben und Kunstsammlung*, in *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste*, XVIII, 2, Leipzig, 1776, p. 314 (as *Rubens*); *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 59, under No. 165 (as *Rubens*); *Rooses*, II, p. 248 (as *Rubens*); S. Heiland, *Two Rubens Paintings rehabilitated*, *The Burlington Magazine*, CXI, 1969, pp. 422, 426, 427, fig. 13 (as ? *Rubens*); (2) Etching by J.F. Oeser (Fig. 111; *V.S.*, p. 97, No. 21).

There are few differences of importance between this sketch, which is lost but can be judged from the above-mentioned copies, and the finished work at Valenciennes (No. 146; Fig. 112). Some should, however, be noted. The kneeling Saul, below on the right, does not stretch out his right arm but rests it on his knee; in place of the corpulent old man on the right behind Saul there is a younger figure; instead of three angels, only one is seen descending from heaven with the attributes of martyrdom.

146b. STUDY OF A HEAD OF A YOUTH: DRAWING (Fig. 113)

Black chalk with touches of body-colour; 340 : 270 mm. Fully mounted. In the left corner below, the mark of Czar Paul I (L. 2061); in the right corner below, monogrammed by another hand: *A.V.D.*

Leningrad, Hermitage. Inv. No. 5888.

PROVENANCE: Count Cobenzl (Ljubljana, 1712 – Brussels, 1770); purchased from him by Empress Catherine II, 1768.

EXHIBITED: *Rubens i ego shkola v risunkakh i gravurakh*, Hermitage, Leningrad, 1940, No. 160; *Dürer – Picasso*, Hermitage, Leningrad, Pushkin Museum, Moscow, 1967, No. 60; *Kiallitas a Leningrad Ermitazs legszebb rajzarbol*, Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, 1970, No. 101; *Dessins flamands et hollandais du XVII^e siècle. Collections de l'Ermitage et du Musée Pouchkine*, Moscow, Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, 1972, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, 1972–73, and Institut néerlandais, Paris, 1973, No. 81 (repr.).

LITERATURE: M.V. Dobroklonsky, *Risunki Rubensa*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1940, No. 9 (as ? *Rubens*); M.V. Dobroklonsky, *Risunki flamandskoy shkoly XVII-XVIII vekov*, Moscow, 1955, No. 117 (as ? *A. van Dyck*); A.A. Sidorov, *Risunki starykh masterov*, Moscow, 1959, No. 88 (as *A. van Dyck*); J. Müller Hofstede, in *Master Drawings*, IV, 1966, p. 449; J. Kuznetsov, *Risunki Rubensa iz muzeev SSSR*, Leningrad-Moscow, 1965, No. 14, repr. on cover.

This drawing, which was not known to Burchard, was recognized by Kuznetsov as an original preliminary study for the head of the dying St. Stephen in the central canvas of the Valenciennes triptych (No. 146; Fig. 112).

146c. THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. STEPHEN: DRAWING (Fig. 114)

Black and red chalk, brown ink, brown wash and water-colour; 476 : 322 mm. The mark of Czar Paul I in the left corner below (L. 2061).

Leningrad, Hermitage. Inv. No. 5510.

PROVENANCE: ? A. de la Live de Jully (Paris, 1725-1779); Count Cobenzl (Ljubljana, 1712 - Brussels, 1770); purchased from him by Empress Catherine II, 1768.

COPY: Engraving by P.-J. Tassaert (*V.S.*, p. 97, No. 20).

EXHIBITED: *Musée de l'Ermitage - Dessins de maîtres anciens*, Hermitage, Leningrad, 1926, No. 108; *Akvarel XVI-XIX vekov*, Hermitage, Leningrad, 1937, No. 52; *Rubens i ego sbkola v risunkakh i gravurakh*, Hermitage, Leningrad, 1940, No. 9; *Antwerp, 1956*, No. 61a; *Dürer - Picasso*, Hermitage, Leningrad, Pushkin Museum, Moscow, 1967, No. 67; *Kiallitas a Leningrad Ermitazs legszebb rajzarbol*, Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, 1970, No. 100; *Meisterzeichnungen aus der Eremitage in Leningrad, dem Puschkin-Museum und der Tretjakow-Galerie in Moskau*, Albertina, Vienna, 1972, No. 59 (repr.); *Dessins flamands et hollandais du XVII^e siècle. Collections de l'Ermitage, Leningrad et du Musée Pouchkine*, Moscou, Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, 1972, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, 1972-73, and Institut néerlandais, Paris, 1973, No. 89 (repr.).

LITERATURE: G.F. Waagen, *Die Gemäldesammlung in der Kaiserlichen Eremitage zu St. Petersburg*, Munich, 1864, p. 320; *Ermitage Impérial, Collection des Dessins*, St. Petersburg, 1867, No. 339; A. Pinchart, *Correspondance artistique du comte de Cobenzl, Compte rendu des séances de la commission royale d'histoire*, 4e série, XI, 1883, pp. 207-211; *Rooses*, II, p. 248; V, p. 162, No. 1354, pl. 338; *Michel*, p. 244, pl. XVIII; N. Makarenko, *Khudozhestvennie sokrovishcha imp. Ermitazha*, Petrograd, 1916, p. 227; T.W. Muchall-Viebrook, *Flemish Drawings of the Seventeenth Century*, London, 1926, No. 12; M.V. Dobroklonsky, *Einige Rubens-zeichnungen in der Eremitage*, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, LXIV, 1930-31, pp. 33-35, repr.; M.V. Dobroklonsky, *Graficheskoe nasledie Rubensa, Iskustvo*, 1935, p. 142; M.V. Dobroklonsky, *Risunki Rubensa*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1940, No. 13, repr.; M.V. Dobroklonsky, *Risunki flamandskoy sbkoly XVII-XVIII vekov*, Moscow, 1955, No. 634; M. Varshavskaya, *P.P. Rubens*, Moscow, 1958, No. 53; *Gosudarstvenni Ermitazh-Grafika*, Leningrad-Moscow, 1961, No. 50; J. Kuznetsov, *Risunki Rubensa iz muzeev SSSR*, Leningrad-Moscow, 1965, No. 13, repr.

This drawing faithfully reproduces the composition of the central part of the

Valenciennes triptych (No. 146; Fig. 112). Only the figures in the upper part and the architecture in the background are somewhat less elaborated. It is not known when the water-colouring was added: as the colours are not the same as in the painting, the artist was presumably unacquainted with the latter.

It is not clear why Rubens executed this drawing, which he must have done shortly after completing the altar-piece. It seems most probable that it was for the purpose of an engraving, which for some reason was never made. From the technical point of view it is very similar to other drawings that were used as models for prints. Mention may be made in particular of two drawings used between 1617 and 1620 for engravings by Michel Lasne: *The Holy Family with St. John the Baptist*, in the British Museum (*Held*, II, pl. 153), and *St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Infant Christ*, formerly in the Mathey collection in Paris (I, No. 95a; Fig. 168).

In 1766 the present drawing was in the possession of Count Cobenzl, the Austrian plenipotentiary in Brussels. In June of that year Cassiodore de Monchaux, the grand prior of the abbey of Saint-Amand-les-Eaux, had drawings made of the side panels of Rubens's triptych of St. Stephen by Louis-Joseph Watteau. He presented these to Cobenzl, who could thus supplement his original drawing of the centre panel with drawings of the side ones (A. Pinchart, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-211); they are now also in the Hermitage (Fig. 115). In January 1763 Cobenzl corresponded with the French collector De la Live de Jully about a Rubens drawing which he called "la plus belle pièce de ma collection des dessins" (A. Pinchart, *op. cit.*, *Compte rendu des séances de la commission royale d'histoire*, 4^{me} série, XII, 1884, p. 30). Burchard and d'Hulst (*Cat. Exb. Antwerp*, 1956, *loc. cit.*) sought to identify this drawing with the present one, but in the absence of corroboration it seems preferable to regard the connection with De la Live de Jully as unproven.

147. THE DISPUTE BETWEEN ST. STEPHEN AND THE JEWISH ELDERS AND SCRIBES (Fig. 116)

Oil on panel; 400 : 126 cm.

Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts. No. 91.

PROVENANCE: Church of the Benedictine Abbey of Saint-Amand-les-Eaux near Valenciennes; deposited as "propriété nationale" in the newly erected Museum of Valenciennes,

1793; temporarily removed to the church of Saint-Géry at Valenciennes, between 1804 and 1834.

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 115) by L.-J. Watteau, 1766, Leningrad, Hermitage, Inv. No. 6300; prov.: Brussels, Count Cobenzl; lit.: A. Pinchart, *Correspondance artistique du Comte de Cobenzl, Compte rendu des séances de la Commission royale d'histoire*, 4me série, XI, 1883, pp. 207-211.

EXHIBITED: *Kunstwerke aus dem besetzten Nordfrankreich*, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes, 1918, No. 311 (repr.); Paris, 1936, No. III.

LITERATURE: Bellori, pp. 224, 225; Clément de Ris, I, pp. 64, 65; Rooses, II, p. 246, No. 411; A. Pinchart, *Correspondance artistique du Comte de Cobenzl, Compte rendu des séances de la Commission royale d'histoire*, 4me série, XI, 1883, pp. 207-211, 269, 270; J. Desilve, *Nicolas du Bois, 66me abbé de Saint-Amand, Mémoires historiques de la Société d'Agriculture, etc. de Valenciennes*, VII, 1899, p. 397; M. Hénault, *Histoire d'un tableau, le Martyre de Saint Etienne par Rubens, Réunion des Sociétés des Beaux-Arts*, XXX, 1906, pp. 256-280; *K.d.K.*, p. 158; *Catalogue illustré et annoté des œuvres exposées au Palais des Beaux-Arts de la Ville de Valenciennes*, Valenciennes, 1931, No. 91, repr.; H. Vlieghe, *Artus of Antoni de Bruyn ? Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen*, 1969, p. 171; Baudouin, 1972, p. 62, fig. 33.

This inner side of the left-hand panel of the St. Stephen triptych shows the Saint disputing with the Jerusalem elders and scribes.

A supernatural light shines about the head of St. Stephen, whose face the Jews saw "as it had been the face of an angel" (*Acts* 6:15). His audience, here seen on the right, "were cut to the heart, and they gnashed on him with their teeth" (*Acts* 7:54).

The head of the scribe on the extreme right, like the figure of the young Saul in the central composition of the altar-piece (No. 146; Fig. 112), was adopted in reverse by Artus de Bruyn in his *Mocking of Christ* in St. Paul's church at Antwerp, executed a short time after the triptych (H. Vlieghe, *op. cit.*, p. 170, fig. 1).

148. THE ENTOMBMENT OF ST. STEPHEN (Fig. 117)

Oil on panel; 400 : 126 cm.

Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts. No. 91.

PROVENANCE: Church of the Benedictine Abbey of Saint-Amand-les-Eaux near Valenciennes; deposited as "propriété nationale" in the newly erected Museum at Valenciennes, 1793; temporarily removed to the church of Saint-Géry at Valenciennes, between 1804 and 1834.

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 115) by L.-J. Watteau, 1766, Leningrad, Hermitage, Inv. No. 6300; prov.: Brussels, Count Cobenzl; lit.: A. Pinchart, *Correspondance artistique du Comte de Cobenzl, Compte rendu des séances de la Commission royale d'histoire*, 4me série, XI, 1883, pp. 207-211.

EXHIBITED: *Kunstwerke aus dem besetzten Nordfrankreich*, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes, 1918, No. 311 (repr.); *Paris*, 1936, No. 111.

LITERATURE: *Bellori*, pp. 224, 225; *Clément de Ris*, I, pp. 65, 66; *Rooses*, II, pp. 246-248, No. 412; A. Pinchart, *Correspondance artistique du Comte de Cobenzl, Compte rendu des séances de la commission royale d'histoire*, 4e série, XI, pp. 207-211, 269, 270; J. Desilve, *Nicolas du Bois, 66me abbé de Saint-Amand, Mémoires historiques de la Société d'Agriculture, etc. de Valenciennes*, VII, 1899, p. 397; M. Hénault, *Histoire d'un tableau, le Martyre de Saint Etienne par Rubens, Réunion des Sociétés des Beaux-Arts*, XXX, 1906, pp. 256-280; *K.d.K.*, p. 158; *Catalogue illustré et annoté des œuvres exposées au Palais des Beaux-Arts de Valenciennes*, Valenciennes, 1931, No. 91, repr.; [A. Seilern], *Flemish Paintings and Drawings at Princes Gate*, 56, London, 1955, p. 46 under No. 23, fig. 17; *Held*, I, p. 109; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 146, 147; *Bandouin*, 1972, p. 62, fig. 33; J. Müller Hofstede, *Abraham Janssens. Zur Problematik des flämischen Caravaggismus, Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, XIII, 1971, p. 271, n. 209.

The inner side of the right-hand panel shows the entombment of St. Stephen, concerning which we are only told in *Acts* 8:2 that the Saint was carried to his burial by "devout men". The Golden Legend gives a fuller account: we read there that he was buried by Gamaliel and by Nicodemus, the Pharisee who had helped to bury Jesus (*Legenda Aurea*, I, col. 81). Rubens evidently followed this version. The panel shows the body, draped in a shroud, being carried by four men to a burial-vault. On the left is Gamaliel, an aged man with a long grey beard (*Legenda Aurea*, I, col. 695). On the right is a middle-aged man wearing a costly robe and a turban: this is evidently Nicodemus, who is similarly represented in different versions of *The Descent from the Cross* and *The Entombment of Christ* (cf. *K.d.K.*, pp. 76, 89, 90). It is characteristic that the diagonal posture of the body and the drooping right arm recur almost literally

in an *Entombment of Christ*, a composition of the 1630s known only from a print by Witdoeck and some copies (cf. *inter alia*, *K.d.K.*, p. 448). In the background is a group of four mourning women; one of them, here bearing St. Stephen's dalmatic, is also to be seen in *The Entombment* of 1615-16 in Saint-Géry's church at Cambrai (*Held*, I, fig. 34).

149. THE ANNUNCIATION (Fig. 118)

Oil on two panels; each 400 : 126 cm.

Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts. No. 91.

PROVENANCE: Church of the Benedictine Abbey of Saint-Amand-les-Eaux near Valenciennes; deposited as "propriété nationale" in the newly erected Museum at Valenciennes, 1793; temporarily removed to the church of Saint-Géry at Valenciennes between 1804 and 1834.

EXHIBITED: *Kunstwerke aus dem besetzten Nordfrankreich*, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes, 1918, No. 311 (repr.); *Paris*, 1936, No. III.

LITERATURE: *Bellori*, pp. 224, 225; *Clément de Ris*, I, pp. 63, 64; *Rooses*, II, p. 247, No. 413; A. Pinchart, *Correspondance artistique du comte de Cobenzl, Compte rendu des séances de la commission royale d'histoire*, 4me série, XI, 1883, pp. 269, 270; M. Hénault, *Histoire d'un tableau, le Martyre de Saint Etienne par Rubens, Réunion de la Société des Beaux-Arts*, XXX, 1906, 3, pp. 256-280; *K.d.K.*, p. 159; *Catalogue illustré et annoté des œuvres exposées au Palais des Beaux-Arts de la ville de Valenciennes*, Valenciennes, 1931, No. 91, repr.

The scene covers the two outer panels. The left-hand panel depicts the Blessed Virgin at the moment when she conceives by the Holy Spirit. She holds her kerchief in place with her left hand, while with her right she draws the train of her garment across her body. The attitude is a variant of the antique "Pudicitia" motif. At the top of the picture are two angels scattering flowers. The flowers may here be related to the cult of St. Stephen: according to St. Augustine, reported by the *Legenda Aurea* (I, cols. 81, 82), flowers laid on the Saint's altar acquired a miraculous healing power. On the right-hand panel the Archangel Gabriel is seen pointing with his right hand to the Holy Spirit. He

is surrounded by six small cherubs: the face of one of these, below on the right, is obliquely drawn and is repeated in *St. Francis of Assisi Receiving the Infant Christ* at Dijon, dated 1618 (I, No. 96; Fig. 169).

Under No. 146 I have made mention of the priest Rudemare describing the side-panels of the triptych on Our Lady's altar in the abbey church. This location of the altar-piece may explain why the here discussed outer panels represent the Annunciation.

150-152. THE ALTAR OF ST. TERESA OF AVILA FROM THE DISCALCED CARMELITES AT BRUSSELS

150. THE TRANSVERBERATION OF ST. TERESA OF AVILA (Fig. 119)

Oil on canvas; 261.5 : 180 cm.

Formerly, Asscher and Welker, London; destroyed by fire 1940.

PROVENANCE: Church of the Discalced Carmelites, Brussels; ? Hastings Elwin sale, London (H. Phillips), lot 193 (as *The Inspiration of a Female Saint*); sale of pictures said to have been "consigned from the continent", London (Christie's), 23 May 1812, lot 99; A. Delahante sale, London (H. Phillips), 2 June 1814, lot 42; Mrs. Cumming, London; sale, London (Christie's), 28 July 1933, lot 126; Asscher and Welker, London, 1938.

COPIES: (1) Etching by F. Deroy (Fig. 120; *V.S.*, p. 118, No. 69); (2) Engraving by A. Cardon, 1792 (*V.S.*, p. 118, No. 70).

LITERATURE: B. de Monconys, *Journal des Voyages*, II, Lyons, 1666, p. 98; *Mensaert*, I, p. 7; *Descamps, Voyage*, p. 97; *Reynolds*, p. 147; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp. 50, 51, No. 142; *Rooses*, II, p. 356, No. 494; G. Redford, *Art Sales*, I, London, 1888, p. 112; A. Graves, *Art Sales*, III, London, 1921, p. 116; *Oldenbourg*, 1922, p. 113; E. Kieser, *Antikes im Werke des Rubens, Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, X, 1933, p. 121; *Knipping*, I, p. 213; C. Emond, *L'Iconographie carmélitaine dans les Anciens Pays-Bas Méridionaux*, I, Brussels, 1961, pp. 157, 158.

The vision here depicted is described by the saint herself in chapter XXIX of her autobiography (*The Life of St. Teresa of Jesus of the Order of Our Lady*

of *Carmel*, written by herself, ed. D. Lewis, London, 1911, pp. 266, 267). One night Christ appeared to her in the company of a beautiful angel, who carried a long arrow the iron tip of which was in flames. Suddenly he pierced her heart with it, and she felt herself consumed by the love of God.

The picture shows the scene after the miracle. An angel, standing near the centre, has just plucked the burning arrow from Teresa's heart. The saint is kneeling on the left, with an expression of ecstasy on her face; both hands are clasped to her breast where the arrow struck it. She is in such a state of transport that she has to be supported by a second angel, seen on the extreme left. The half-naked figure of Christ stands on the right in an attitude of calm benediction. The monumentality and strong plastic effect of the figures is due in large measure to classical inspiration: as Kieser pointed out, Christ's attitude is based directly on a copy of Polyclitus's *Doryphorus*, perhaps the one that is now in the Uffizi at Florence and may have come there from the Villa Medici in Rome (G.A. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi - Le Sculture*, Rome, 1958, fig. 9a).

Until the end of the eighteenth century the picture adorned the altar to St. Teresa in the church of the Discalced Carmelites in Brussels. This is clearly established, above all by the etching by F. Deroy: this bears the inscription "Gravé d'après le tableau Original qui est dans l'Eglise des R.R.P.P. petites Carmes à Bruxelles" (Fig. 120). J.F.M. Michel wrote in 1771 that it "part des gracieuses mains d'Alexandre, duc de Bournonville, et de Dame Ernestine Françoise, Princesse d'Arenberg son épouse, qui firent poser cette pièce dans l'autel de marbre, construit à leurs frais à la gauche du chœur..." It may have been this passage which led Rooses to suppose that Alexandre de Bournonville—who was born in 1616 and thus cannot have commissioned the painting himself—became the owner of the whole altar at some time between 4 May 1656, when he married Ernestine de Ligne-Arenberg, and 11 October 1663, the date of her death, and that he presented it to the Carmelites. Another reason which led Rooses to think that the de Bournonvilles acquired and donated the whole retable was that the duke, in his will dated 6 February 1666, directed that his remains should be buried in the family vault under St. Teresa's altar. The true facts, however, are shown by a hitherto unpublished agreement of 14 February 1663, preserved in the State Archives in Brussels, between the provincial and definitors of the Discalced Carmelites of the Southern Netherlands, on the one hand, and Alexandre de Bournonville on the other (*Brussels, Archives Générales du Royaume, Archives ecclésiastiques du Brabant*, No. 11550). From

this it appears that the duke presented to the convent church in Brussels "un bel Autel de marbre d'Italie blancq et noir avec la Statue de Nostre Ste Mère Térèse posée dans une niche au haut du dt. Autel, le bas ayant une ancienne et belle peinture de Rubens que le dt. Seig.^r et Prince a fait nettoyer et rajuster en un quadre de bois doré, et travaillé, le dt. Autel étant marqué de ses armes, et de celles de son Illuſtre Comp.^{ne} ...". In return for this gift the Brussels Carmelites undertook to remember the duke and duchess especially in their prayers and to permit them and their descendants to be buried in a family vault before St. Teresa's altar. The document thus shows that the Bournonvilles had Rubens's altar-piece restored and enclosed in a new frame of marble and gilded wood, but not, as Rooses supposed, that they acquired and presented the picture itself.

Rooses was certainly right in believing that the altar-piece was originally destined for the first church of the Brussels Discalced Carmelites, which was completed and consecrated in 1614 but had to be rebuilt in 1652 owing to faulty construction. The strongly classical composition, plastic effect and cool local colouring indicate that *The Transverberation* and the one predella painting that has survived (No. 152; Fig. 121) were painted about the middle of the second decade of the century, i.e. at the time of, or very soon after, the consecration of the Order's first church in 1614. At the top of the painting marks prove that at one moment the canvas had been fixed in a rounded frame. This is also suggested by Deroy's etching (Fig. 120).

151. THE ENTOMBMENT OF ST. CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA

Oil on panel; approximately 62.5 : 90.5 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: Church of the Discalced Carmelites, Brussels; purchased from their convent by the Brussels painter Nicolas Emmanuel Péry (Alost, 1736 - ? Brussels, after 1775); taken to St. Petersburg by the latter c. 1756, but still in his possession after his return to Brussels, c. 1771.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, II, pp. 355, 356, No. 496; *Knipping*, I, p. 213.

Mols writes as follows concerning this and the following work both originally in the predella of the St. Teresa altar-piece in the church of the Brussels Discalced Carmelites: "twee stukskens, ook van Rubens gemaekt, het een verbelde St. Teresia knielende voor de H. Geest in de gedaante van eene duyf het andere was de H. Catharina onthoofd zynde die vervoert wordt van de Engelen naer den berg Sinay, maer dat jammer is ons land en heeft deze juwelen niet mogen behouden, mits dese onvoorsigtige vaeders sonder imand van de konst te raeden te gaen de selve hebben overgelaeten aen sekeren histori schilder van Brussel genaamt Perij om dat hij voor hun iets gewerkt had, denwelken voorleden jaer met dese stukken en zyne andere konst gerijst is naer Moscovien om synen woon te nemen in Petersbourg" ("two paintings, also by Rubens, one representing St. Teresa kneeling before the Holy Spirit, who is in the form of a dove; the other shows St. Catherine, after her beheading, being taken by angels to Mount Sinai. Alas, these jewels did not remain in our country, as thoughtless monks, without consulting any artist, presented them to one Pery, an historical painter of Brussels who had done some work for them, and who, last year, took them and the rest of his art possessions to Muscovy, intending to dwell in St. Petersburg"); a note adds: "Cet artiste a demeuré plus de 15 ans en Moscovie, demeure actuellement 1771 à Bruxelles, il possède encore ces deux morceaux qu'il garde plus soigneusement que les pommes d'or des Hespérides" (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, No. 5733).

It is not particularly surprising that the predella of the altar-piece dedicated to St. Teresa of Avila should have St. Catherine as its subject. The latter was always especially venerated by the Carmelites of the Southern Netherlands, and we know that a hermitage directly adjoining the Brussels convent of the Discalced was under her protection (C. Emond, *L'iconographie carmélitaine dans les anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux*, I, Brussels, 1961, pp. 218, 219).

We have no information as to what this picture looked like or what part of the predella it occupied. We may, however, suppose that it was to the left under the central scene, which would fit in with the fact that St. Teresa faces left in the companion picture at Rotterdam (No. 152; Fig. 121).

As regards the provenance of this work, Rooses states that it was successively in the collections of Van Slingeland at Dordrecht (1785), Harritz in London (1810) and Edward Gray (1830). He has, however, confused its fate with that of *A Dead Child Carried to Heaven by Angels*, a picture wrongly attributed to Rubens and now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford (cat. No. 378).

152. ST. TERESA OF AVILA'S VISION OF THE DOVE (Fig. 121)

Oil on panel; 62.5 : 90.5 cm.

Rotterdam, *Museum Boymans-van Beuningen. Stichting Willem van der Vorm.*

PROVENANCE: Church of the Discalced Carmelites, Brussels; purchased from their convent by the Brussels painter Nicolas Emmanuel Péry (Alost, 1736 - ? Brussels after 1775); taken to St. Petersburg by the latter c. 1756, but still in his possession after his return to Brussels, c. 1771; Dr. F. Rothmann, Berlin, 1932; private collection, Switzerland c. 1933-34; purchased by W. van der Vorm, Rotterdam, probably in 1936.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, II, p. 355, No. 495; *Knipping*, I, p. 213; D. Hannema, *Beknopte catalogus schilderijen en beeldhouwwerk, Museum Boymans*, Rotterdam, 1937, No. 388a; D. Hannema, *Beschrijvende Catalogus van de schilderijen uit de kunstverzameling Stichting Willem van der Vorm*, Rotterdam, 1962, No. 71.

St. Teresa's autobiography describes a vision that she had on the eve of Pentecost: she had withdrawn to meditate on the feast, when she saw above her head a dove, larger than life-size; its wings consisted of little shells which emitted a brilliant light (*The Life of St. Teresa of Jesus of the Order of Our Lady of Carmel, written by herself*, ed. D. Lewis, London, 1911, pp. 377, 378).

St. Teresa, wearing the habit of her Order, kneels on the right. On the left, on a small round table, are an open book, a crucifix and a skull. The dove, with a cloud beneath, is seen at the top of the picture. In the background is a large stone door.

This picture may be based on the engraving of the same theme which forms part of a work published in 1613 and edited by Adriaan Collaert and Cornelis Galle: *Vita B. Virginis Teresiae a Iesu ordinis carmelitarum excalceatorum pie restauratricis* (C. Emond, *L'iconographie carmélitaine dans les anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux*, II, Brussels, 1961, fig. 69); in the engraving, the saint is sitting on a chair instead of kneeling, but her face, seen in profile and gazing up to heaven, shows a more than casual resemblance in the two works.

153. ST. TERESA OF AVILA'S VISION OF THE DOVE (Fig. 124)

Oil on panel; 97 : 63 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: Prince de Ligne; Steyaert (Bruges) sale, Paris, 14 March 1843, lot 48; Alphonse Oudry sale, Paris, 16-17 April 1869, lot 59; purchased by a certain Sano; purchased by Francis Cook in 1879 from J.C. Robinson; Sir Frederick Cook; Sir Herbert Cook, Doughty House, Richmond, Surrey; E. W. Fattorini, Bradford; Mrs. W.J. Roach, Shipley.

COPIES: (1) Fragment of a *Studio of a Painter*, painting (Fig. 123) by David Teniers the Younger, Somerley, Earl of Normanton; canvas, 68 : 81 cm.; lit.: S. Speth-Holterhoff, *Les Peintres flamands de cabinets d'amateurs au XVIIème siècle*, Brussels, 1957, pp. 131, 132, pl. 54; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 77.5 : 52 cm.; prov.: sale, London (Christie's), 18 July 1952, lot 134; (3) Painting, Vilvoorde, Convent of the Discalced Carmelites; lit.: J. de la Croix, *L'Iconographie de Thérèse de Jésus, docteur de l'église, Ephemerides Carmeliticæ*, XXI, 1970, pp. 244, 245; (4) Engraving by P. van Schuppen (Fig. 122; *V.S.*, p. 118, No. 66).

EXHIBITED: *Autumn Exhibition of Pictures by Old Masters*, T. Agnew and Sons, London, 1944, No. 21; *London, 1950*, No. 4; *Flemish Art 1300-1700*, Royal Academy, London, 1953-54, No. 202.

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 292, No. 1022; IX, p. 335, No. 340; *Dillon*, p. 231; *Catalogue of the Paintings in the Cook Collection*, II, 1914, No. 50 (as probably Rubens's workshop); *Catalogue of the Pictures at Doughty House*, 1932, p. 36, No. 339; *Old Masters at Messrs. Agnew's, The Burlington Magazine*, LXXXV, 1944, p. 309, fig. D; C. Norris, *Rubens in Retrospect, The Burlington Magazine*, XCIII, 1951, p. 7; J. de la Croix, *L'Iconographie de Thérèse de Jésus, docteur de l'église, Ephemerides Carmeliticæ*, XXI, 1970, pp. 244, 245, fig. 28.

A vertically-shaped variant of the painting of the same subject at Rotterdam (No. 152; Fig. 121); it must have been painted at about the same time.

The work is seen in a *Studio of a Painter* by David II Teniers (Fig. 123), painted about 1650. Pieter van Schuppen made an engraving after it (Fig. 122), in Antwerp to judge from the address: "Pet. Verschypen [sic] sculpsit. Math. Antonius excudit Antwerpiaë." This must have been after 1651, when Van Schuppen became a master in the guild of St. Luke, and before 1655, when he departed for Paris (U. Thieme and F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, xxx, Leipzig, 1936, p. 343). We may thus suppose that the painting was still in the Southern Netherlands around the middle of the century, perhaps in an Antwerp collection.

154. ST. TERESA OF AVILA WRITING UNDER DIVINE INSPIRATION (Fig. 127)

Oil on panel; 65 : 71 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: ? Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, Brussels, 1659; J.J. Chapuis (Brussels; died 1865; the seal of this collector on the reverse side of the painting); purchased by B.J. Wassermann, Buenos Aires, 1916.

COPY: Painting (Fig. 128), showing the same scene enlarged at the four sides, Brussels, Convent of the Carmelite Nuns.

LITERATURE: M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, 1896, p. 211; T. Rauch, *Die ehrw. Anna von Jesus und Rubens, Die Christliche Kunst*, XXXI, 1934-35, p. 54; J. de la Croix, *L'Iconographie de Thérèse de Jésus, docteur de l'église, Ephemerides Carmeliticæ*, XXI, 1970, p. 245, fig. 30.

A bust of the saint writing in a book with a quill pen and looking up towards a ray of divine light, above left.

The saint's attitude and the individualization of her features are based on the prototype done from life by Fray Juan de la Miseria (J. de la Croix, *op. cit.*, pp. 227-233, figs. 1-15).

Burchard saw this painting and thought it a good one. As far as can be judged from a photograph, the brushwork is somewhat loose, suggesting a date in the 1630s. The painting may be identical with "Ein Brusstpildt von Ohlfarb auf Holcz die heil. Teresia, welche in der rechten Handt ein Schreibfedern und in der linken ein offenes Buech hatt. In einer schwartz glatten Ramen, hoch 3 Span 9 Finger [about 80 cm.] undt auch so braith. Original von Peter Paul Rubens", which was in the possession of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Austria in 1659 (A. Berger, *Inventar der Kunstsammlungen des Erzherzogs Leopold Wilhelm von Österreich, Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, I, p. cxix, No. 86); in that case it must have been somewhat reduced in size.

We may wonder whether this picture is a fragment of a once much larger work. A base for this hypothesis may be found in the existence of an anonymous seventeenth century copy hanging in the Brussels Convent of Carmelite Nuns; this painting exactly repeats the here discussed work, but enlarged to a full-length representation of the saint (Fig. 128).

155. ST. TERESA OF AVILA INTERCEDING FOR BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA (Fig. 125)

Oil on canvas; 193 : 139 cm.

Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten. No. 299.

PROVENANCE: Church of the Discalced Carmelites, Antwerp; seized by the French in 1794 and sent to the Musée Central, Paris; restored to Antwerp, 1815, and exhibited in the Royal Museum there.

COPIES: (1) Painting, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. No. 17.190.19; panel, 61.5 : 49.5 cm.; prov.: prince P.-F. de Rubempré sale, Brussels, 1 April 1765, lot 66 (as *Rubens*); sale, Amsterdam, 6 March 1769, Appendix, lot 1 (as *Rubens*); purchased by Van Diemen; G. Braamcamp sale, Amsterdam, 31 July 1771, lot 195 (as *Rubens*); purchased by J. van Saceghem; J. van Saceghem sale, Ghent, 2-3 June 1851, lot 51 (as *Rubens*); purchased by T. Patureau; T. Patureau sale, Brussels, 20-21 April 1857, lot 27 (as *Rubens*); Leopold II, King of the Belgians; J. Pierpont Morgan; presented by the latter, 1917; lit.: *Spruyt*, 1789-91, p. 209 (as *Rubens*); *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp. 22, No. 76, 188, No. 662 (as *Rubens*); *Rooses*, II, p. 353, under No. 493; *W. Valentiner, Rubens' Paintings in America, The Art Quarterly*, IX, 1946, p. 167, No. 115 (as *Rubens*); *Goris-Held*, p. 53, No. A73, pl. 3; *Larsen* p. 218, No. 88 (as *Rubens*); C. Bille, *De Tempel der Kunst of Het Kabinet van den Heer Braamcamp*, Amsterdam, 1961, I, p. 128; II, pp. 47, 116, No. 195; E. Panofsky, *Problems in Titian, mostly iconographic*, New York-London, 1969, p. 41n; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 66 : 48 cm.; prov.: J. Mayhew; Marquis of Stafford; London, Bridgewater House, Lord Ellesmere; lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 188, No. 663; *Catalogue of the Bridgewater Collection of Pictures belonging to the Earl of Ellesmere at Bridgewater House*, London, 1851, No. 264 (as *Rubens*); *Rooses*, II, p. 353; (3) Painting after the lower part, Vienna, Akademie der bildenden Künste, No. 649; panel, 25.5 : 34 cm.; prov.: Count Lamberg-Sprinzenstein, Vienna; lit.: R. Eigenberger, *Die Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der bildenden Künste in Wien*, Vienna, 1927, pp. 342, 343, No. 649 (as *Rubens*); II, pl. 88; (4) Painting after the lower part, whereabouts unknown; prov.: Woronzow sale, Florence, 23 April 1900, lot 518; (5) Drawing after several figures by P. Ykens, New Haven, The Yale University Art Gallery; 244 : 204 mm.; prov.: John Perceval, *First Earl of Egmont (1683-1748)*; presented to the Gallery, 1957; lit.: E. Haverkamp-Begemann and A.-M.-S. Logan, *European Drawings and Watercolors in the Yale University Art Gallery, 1500-1900*, New Haven-London, 1970, I, No. 638; (6) Engraving by S. a Bolswert (*V.S.*, p. 118, No. 67); (7) Etching after (1) by P. Spruyt (*V.S.*, p. 118, No. 67).

EXHIBITED: *Tableaux recouverts...*, Musée, Antwerp, 1816, No. 41.

LITERATURE: *De Wit*, p. 105; *Berbie*, p. 51, No. 4; *Descamps, Vie*, p. 323, *Descamps, Voyage*, p. 181; *Michel*, 1771, p. 87; *Reynolds*, pp. 168, 169; *Notice des tableaux exposés dans la Grande Galerie*, Paris, 1801, No. 493; *Notice des tableaux exposés dans la Galerie du Musée*, Paris, 1814, No. 596; *Odevaere*, p. 318, No. 59; *Smith, Catalogue Raisoné*, II, p. 22, No. 75; *Rooses*, II, pp. 351–354, No. 493; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p. 342; *Dillon*, p. 169, pl. CCCXCIV; *K.d.K.*, p. 339; C. Emond, *L'Iconographie carmélitaine aux anciens Pays-Bas*, I, Brussels, 1961, pp. 168, 230, 247, 278; E. Panofsky, *Problems in Titian, mostly iconographic*, New York-London, 1969, p. 41n.; H. Vlieghe, *Het verslag over de toestand van de in 1815 uit Frankrijk naar Antwerpen teruggekeerde schilderijen*, Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen, 1971, p. 277.

In the tenth chapter of her *Book of Foundations* St. Teresa relates how Christ appeared in a vision to inform her that her prayers had secured the release from Purgatory of a priest, Bernardino de Mendoza.

The saint is here seen kneeling before Christ. Below, a pool of fire with two men and two women in it suggests Purgatory. One of them, on the extreme left, is being set free by an angel; this is undoubtedly Mendoza. The fact that it is he and not one of the other souls who were released from Purgatory on account of St. Teresa's prayers, as she herself tells us, is made clear by the inscription under the engraving made after this picture by Schelte a Bolswert: "Exstimulat CHRVS DNS S.M. TERESIAM vt opem ferat animæ D. BERNARDINI MENDOZY, ignibus purgatorij detentæ, quæ postea ope s. TERESIÆ liberata fuit".

In painting this picture Rubens clearly remembered his altar-piece of about twenty years earlier, *The Transverberation of St. Teresa of Avila* (No. 150; Fig. 119). The composition is a kind of paraphrase of that work in reverse image. The attitude of the two main figures in the present work also closely resembles that in *The Perpetual Intercession of the Virgin Mary*, an altar-piece painted by Titian in about 1554 for the collegiate church of Medole near Mantua (*Tietze, Titian*, p. 217). It seems clear that Rubens was inspired by Titian's well known work, which he could have seen, and perhaps felt the need to study, during his stay at the Gonzaga court.

Rubens's painting was originally on the altar in the left transept of the former church of the Discalced Carmelites at Antwerp. It formed a pendant to *The Education of the Virgin*, an altar-piece of the same dimensions which is now likewise in the Antwerp Museum (*K.d.K.*, p. 338). As regards its date we have a *terminus post quem* of 1627, when the convent and church of the Discalced

Carmelites were rebuilt (J.C. Diercxsens, *Antverpia Christo nascens et crescens*, VII, Antwerp, 1773, pp. 181, 182). In any case it is clear that both paintings belong to the 1630s: they display the delicate colouring and soft gradations of tone that are characteristic of Rubens's last years.

155a. ST. TERESA OF AVILA INTERCEDING FOR BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA:
OIL SKETCH (Fig. 126)

Oil on panel; 44 : 36 cm.

Lier, Museum Wuyts-van Campen-Caroly.

PROVENANCE: T. Loridon de Ghellinck sale, Ghent, 3 September 1821 et seqq., lot 102; Schamp d'Aveschoot sale, Ghent, 14 September 1840 et seqq., lot 84; purchased by Jacques-Joseph Wuyts, Antwerp, who, in 1887, bequeathed the sketch to the town of Lier.

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1950, No. 5; *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No. 84.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, II, p. 363, under No. 493 (as a copy); H. Hymans, *Correspondance de Belgique, Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1893, pp. 78, 79; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1900, p. 175; *d'Hulst*, 1968, p. 106, No. 32, fig. 40.

This oil sketch, in grey tones with a few suggestions of colour, shows the composition somewhat extended on all four sides as compared with the finished painting at Antwerp. Apart from this there are minor differences in the hands and attitudes of the figures. St. Teresa beats her breast with both hands instead of with one; the head of the second figure from the left, at the bottom of the sketch, is turned to the right instead of to the left; the uppermost of the two cherubs on the left points with both arms towards the head of Christ, and not towards the souls in Purgatory as in the painting.

156. THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. THOMAS (Fig. 130)

Oil on canvas; 382 : 254 cm.

Prague, Národní Galerie. No. 482.

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

COPY: Engraving by J. Neeffs (Fig. 131; V.S., p. 110, No. 144).

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

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 52, No. 147; *Rooses*, II, pp. 357-359, No. 498; *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg*, p. 436; *Dillon*, p. 171, pl. CCCCXLVII; *P. Bergner, Katalog der Gemälde-Galerie im Künstlerhause Rudolfinum zu Prag*, Prague, 1912, No. 522; *K.d.K.*, p. 423; *Knipping*, I, p. 182; *Van Puyvelde*, p. 163; *Národní Galerie v Praze. Sbíрка Starého Umění*, Prague, 1955, No. 482; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p. 148, under No. 89.

According to an old tradition which also figures in the *Legenda Aurea* (I, cols. 49-59), the Apostle Thomas received a divine command to go to India, where he was executed, after destroying an idol, by a king named Gondophorus.

In the left foreground the dying apostle collapses at the foot of a stone cross, to which he clings with his right arm. Two tormentors are striking at him with swords, two more with a dagger and a lance respectively, while a fifth is stoning him. In the right background is a Pantheon-like temple and, in front of it, a spiral pillar surmounted by an idol. Five hovering angels carry the martyr's attributes of a palm and laurel wreath.

This work, together with *St. Augustine at the Seashore*, was delivered in 1639 for the high altar of the Augustinian church of St. Thomas at Prague (see I, No. 67; Fig. 118).

A comparison with the engraving by Neeffs shows that the painting in its present form has been cut down on all four sides, especially on the right where, according to the engraving, there were originally two more men stoning the apostle. This may have happened in about 1730, when new rococo frames were made for both pictures and when, as we have seen, that of St. Augustine was altered in size.

156a. THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. THOMAS: RETOUCHEDED COUNTERPROOF OF ENGRAVING (Fig. 131)

507 : 438 mm.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes. Inv. No. c.10502.

PROVENANCE: P.-J. Mariette (Paris, 1694-1774); purchased from the latter's estate in 1775, by Hugues-Adrien Joly, then keeper of the "Cabinet des Estampes" of the French king.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, II, p. 359, under No. 498.

In this counterproof of the engraving by Jacob Neeffs after the Prague altarpiece (No. 156; Fig. 130), the light parts are retouched with white body-colour and the dark parts with brown wash. Burchard believed that the retouching was done by Rubens himself, but as there is no sufficient basis for comparison I prefer to regard this as undecided.

157. ST. THOMAS AQUINAS

Whereabouts unknown.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 129), Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, No. 712 (as *Rubens, St. Dominic*); canvas, 69 : 54.5 cm.; prov.: Antwerp, Commissie voor Openbare Onderstand; lit.: *Goris-Held*, p. 48, under No. A34; (2) Painting, Narbonne, Musée des Beaux-Arts, No. 627; canvas, 42 : 33 cm.; lit.: *Goris-Held*, p. 48, under No. A34; (3) Painting, Sarasota, Florida, The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, No. 224 (as *Rubens*); panel, 47.5 : 39 cm.; prov.: sale, Paris (Drouot), 31 January 1912, lot 52 (as *Rubens*); sale, Paris (Drouot), 13 February 1914, lot 95 (as *Rubens*); Paris, Alvin-Beaumont, 1925; Genoa, Ernesto Bertollo, 1926; purchased from the latter by Julius Böhler, Munich, 1926; exh.: *Rubens*, Schaeffer Galleries, New York, 1944; lit.: W.R. Valentiner, *Rubens' Paintings in America, The Art Quarterly*, IX, 1946, p. 156 (as *Rubens, Head of a Monk*); *Goris-Held*, p. 48, No. A 34 (as *Head of a Young Monk*); W.E. Suida, *A Catalogue of Paintings in the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, 1949*, No. 224, repr. (as *Rubens, Portrait Head of a Young Monk*).

This painting can only be judged from copies. One of these, in the Antwerp Museum, shows part of a white habit in addition to the black mantle, thus indicating that the picture is of a Dominican saint. This copy is also the only one to display a star on the saint's breast, a characteristic attribute of St. Thomas Aquinas. The head in this picture is also seen on the extreme right of *St. Ambrose Barring the Emperor Theodosius from Milan Cathedral*, a work painted shortly before 1620 and now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum at Vienna (*K.d.K.*, p. 191).

The unknown original may be identical with a "St. Thomas van Aquinen van Rubens" mentioned in 1640 in the accounts of the art firm of Matthijs Musson at Antwerp (J. Denucé, *Na P.P. Rubens, Bronnen voor de geschiedenis van de Vlaamsche Kunst*, v, Antwerp, 1949, p. 3).

158. THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. URSULA AND HER COMPANIONS: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 134)

Oil on canvas; 78 : 105 cm.

Mantua, Galleria di Palazzo Ducale. No. 142.

PROVENANCE: Monasterio di Sant' Orsola, Mantua; transported to the newly founded local museum, originally in the Ginnasio at Mantua, during the occupation by the French at the end of the eighteenth century.

LITERATURE: L. Ozzóla, *Pitture inedite nella quadreria del Palazzo Ducale di Mantova, Emporium*, LII, 1946, pp. 190, 193, figs. 5 and 6; J. Pope-Hennessy, *Recent Research, The Burlington Magazine*, LXXXIX, 1947, p. 166; L. Ozzóla, *La Galleria di Mantova, Palazzo Ducale*, Mantua, 1953, No. 142, figs. 134, 135; E. Haverkamp Begemann, in *Cat. Exh. Rotterdam, 1953-54*, p. 45, under No. 14; M. Jaffé, *Rubens in Italy: Rediscovered Works, The Burlington Magazine*, C, 1958, pp. 412, 415, 421, fig. 4; J. Müller Hofstede, *Some early Drawings by Rubens, Master Drawings*, II, 1964, pp. 7-9, fig. 3; J. Müller Hofstede, *Aspekte der Entwurfszeichnung bei Rubens, in Stil und Überlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes*, III, Berlin, 1967, p. 123; M. Jaffé, *A Sheet of Drawings from Rubens' Italian Period, Master Drawings*, VIII, 1970, pp. 48, 49.

The legend illustrated here is that of St. Ursula, daughter of a supposed king of Britain, who, together with her suite of eleven thousand virgins, several bishops and Pope "Cyriacus", was murdered by the Huns at Cologne on the way to England, where she was to have married the king's son Aethereus (*Legenda Aurea*, II, pp. 297-302).

The composition falls clearly into two more or less equal halves, with Ursula and her maidens suffering martyrdom on the left while the pope and bishops are being executed on the right, in front of a tower. Christ appears in the sky, opening his arms wide in a gesture of welcome to the martyrs; around him are angels with the usual attributes of martyrdom. In the far background on the extreme right, some vague structures suggest the architecture of Cologne.

Ozzóla, who discovered this sketch, stated that it came from the Ursuline convent at Mantua. It is quite possible that Rubens painted it for the convent: its style is that of his Mantua period. In particular, the restless composition with its violent light-effects *à la* Tintoretto may be compared with one of his chief works of that period, *The Transfiguration*, painted with two other canvases in 1604-5 for the choir of the Jesuit church of the Santissima Trinità at Mantua (*K.d.K.*, p. 15). We also know that Margarita Gonzaga, the sister of Duke Vincenzo, had a new convent built in 1603 for the Ursulines of Mantua, having herself entered the order a few years after the death of her husband Alfonso II of Este, the last duke of Ferrara (*Rooses-Ruelens*, I, p. 157). It has thus been supposed since Ozzóla made known his discovery that the work is a sketch for a painting for the new convent, which for some reason was never executed. *A Martyrdom of St. Ursula* was in fact painted in 1615-16 for the Ursuline convent at Mantua by Lodovico Carracci (A. Luzio, *La Galleria dei Gonzaga*, Milan, 1913, p. 128); this has disappeared, but it may be the work for which the drawing of the same subject at Windsor Castle was executed (H. Bodmer, *Lodovico Carracci*, Burg bei Magdeburg, 1939, fig. 109).

Müller Hofstede, followed by Jaffé, regarded a drawing in the Boymans-van Beuningen Museum at Rotterdam as a rough sketch for the present composition. However, there is no clear connection between the scenes of fighting in that sketch (J. Müller Hofstede, *Some early Drawings*, *op. cit.*, fig. 3) and the St. Ursula story, and I therefore do not think it appropriate to discuss it here.

159. THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. URSULA AND HER COMPANIONS: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 132)

Oil on panel; 49 : 39 cm.

Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. No. 393.

PROVENANCE: Braamcamp sale, Amsterdam, 31 July 1771 et seqq., lot 197; purchased by J. van Saceghem, Ghent; J. van Saceghem sale, Brussels, 2-3 June, 1851, lot 53; purchased for the Brussels Museum.

COPIES: (1) Drawing (Fig. 133) after several figures by A. van Dyck, London, British Museum; prov.: part of Van Dyck's Italian sketch-book, 1621-27 (f° 13 v); Sir Peter Lely (1618-1680); Hugh Howard (1675-1737), from whom the sketch-book probably came into the possession of William, Duke of Devonshire (1665-1725), the founder of

the collection at Chatsworth; S.W. Reynolds (1773-1835); G.J. W. Agar Ellis, Baron Dover (1797-1833); purchased by C. Fairfax Murray, 1893; Herbert F. Cook; restored by the latter to the Devonshire Collection at Chatsworth; from there purchased by the British Museum; lit.: G. Adriani, *Anton van Dyck. Italienisches Skizzenbuch*, Vienna, 1940, p. 32, No. 13v, fig. 13v; (2) Etching by F. Spruyt (*V.S.*, p. 119, No. 72).

EXHIBITED: *Loan Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art*, Royal Academy, London, 1927, No. 269 (repr.); *Paris*, 1936, No. 66; *Brussels*, 1937, No. 33; *Brussels*, 1953, No. 35; *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No. 14 (repr.); *Brussels*, 1965, No. 201 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Spruyt*, 1789-91, p. 209; *Smith*, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp. 182, 183; *Roses*, II, pp. 359, 360, No. 499; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p. 110; *Dillon*, pl. CLXXXI; *K.d.K.*, p. 234; C. Janson, *L'Influence de Tintoret sur Rubens*, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1938, p. 81; G. Adriani, *Italienisches Skizzenbuch*, Vienna, 1940, p. 32, under No. 13 v; *Van Puyvelde*, *Esquisses*, pp. 70, 71, No. 22, fig. 22; C. Norris, *Rubens' Sketches at Rotterdam*, *The Connoisseur*, June, 1954, pp. 26-28; *Held*, I, p. 130, under No. 79; C. Bille, *De Tempel der Kunst of Het Kabinet van den Heer Braamcamp*, Amsterdam, 1961, I, p. 128; II, pp. 47, 116, No. 197; *d'Hulst*, 1968, p. 94, No. 10, fig. 5; *Martin*, *Ceiling Paintings*, p. 161; M. Jaffé, *Rediscovered Oil Sketches by Rubens*, III, *The Burlington Magazine*, CXII, 1970, pp. 435, 436, fig. 6; J.Q. van Regteren Altena, *Het vroegste werk van Rubens*, *Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België*, XXXIV, 2, 1972, p. 19, fig. 40; *Baudouin*, 1972, pp. 131, 132, fig. 23.

In this later version of the martyrdom of St. Ursula and her companions, the composition is much more compact and dramatic than in the painting at Mantua (No. 158; Fig. 134). Ursula is seen just before being put to death: a soldier on the left is about to stab her with a dagger, while another, to the right behind her, has lifted his sword for a deadly blow. Several of the saint's companions are seen around and in front of her; some have already been murdered, others are aghast at their impending fate.

Stylistically this work belongs to the period between about 1615 and 1620. The composition shows a strong resemblance to the *Hunting Scenes* of the same period, the scheme being dominated by the men rushing in from all sides towards their victims in the centre. There is also a close resemblance to the central part of the contemporary St. Stephen triptych at Valenciennes (No. 146; Fig. 112). As regards detail, there are striking coincidences with other paintings between the dates indicated. The dead woman stretched out at the bottom of the picture is a repetition of a figure in the lower part of *The Death of Decius*

Mus in the cycle at Vaduz (*K.d.K.*, p. 146); while the fierce man on the left, clutching at Ursula's clothes with his outstretched left arm, recurs in the *Boar-hunt* at Marseilles (*K.d.K.*, p. 115).

This work was copied in Van Dyck's sketchbook (Fig. 133) during his stay in Italy (1621-27), and must thus have been in Italy at an early date. There is no evidence that it was executed on a large scale, nor is it clear who commissioned the work. It may be, as Burchard thought, that the sketch is a second design for the altar of the Ursuline convent at Mantua (cf. No. 158); in that case neither design was executed, the altar-piece being finally painted by Lodovico Carracci. But perhaps we should think of Genoa rather than Mantua: Van Dyck spent most of his Italian years there, and Rubens received a Genoese commission even after his return to the Netherlands, viz. the altar-piece of *The Miracles of St. Ignatius of Loyola* for the Jesuit church (No. 116; Fig. 46). As Martin points out, a pentimento in the grisaille sketch at Oxford for *The Flight of St. Barbara* suggests that Rubens may originally have based that composition on *The Martyrdom of St. Ursula* (Martin, *Ceiling Paintings*, fig. 163).

A work that certainly derives from the present one is a *Martyrdom of St. Ursula* now in private hands in London; Jaffé (*op. cit.*, p. 435, fig. 5) attributed this to Rubens, but I find it hard to share his opinion.

160. THE ENTHRONIZATION OF A HOLY BISHOP

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) Drawing (Fig. 138), Antwerp, Rubenianum, Ludwig Burchard papers; 305 : 220 mm.; (2) Etching by P. Soutman (Fig. 139; *V.S.*, p. 65, No. 12).

LITERATURE: Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 297, No. 1066; *Rooses*, II, p. 199, No. 377; J. Rosenberg, *Federzeichnungen von Rubens im Berliner Kupferstichkabinett, Berliner Museen*, XLVII, 1926, p. 86; L. Burchard, *Skizzen des jungen Rubens, Sitzungsberichte der kunsthistorischen Gesellschaft Berlin*, October 1926-May 1927, p. 4, No. 30.

A bishop is seated on a throne in the middle of the picture; he is bearded, faces the spectator and holds his hands together in the attitude of prayer. The enthronement is taking place in close accord with the regulations of the *Ponti-*

ficale Romanum (cf. *Sacre d'un évêque selon le Pontifical Romain, avec notes et traduction*, Paris-Tournai-Rome, n.d., pp. III et seqq.). Three mitred bishops perform the ceremony: two of them place a mitre on the new bishop's head, while the third, the actual *Consecrator*, stands on the right holding a crozier. Only one of the bishops is beardless. There are three or four deacons, one of whom, in the left foreground, holds an open Gospel. The scene is of course a church sanctuary, and above the altar is a painting of the *Descent of the Holy Spirit*.

It has not been possible to identify the bishop, who is also a saint. In view of the subject of the altar-piece, Burchard wondered if it might be a saint who became a bishop at Whitsuntide. This suggestion, however, has led to nothing, and in my view the Pentecostal scene should be interpreted in a more general, typological sense: the bishop is the successor to the Divine mission conferred on the Apostles at Whitsun.

The symmetrical composition here followed by Rubens is of early date: it is already found in fifteenth-century works on the same theme.

It is not known whether Rubens's original was a painting or a design for Soutman's etching; but there are some facts which enable us to date the work approximately. The year 1624, when Soutman left Antwerp, may probably be regarded as a *terminus ante quem*; and one detail suggests that the lost original was executed then or shortly before. The two bishops on the right (the left in Soutman's etching) are remarkably similar to Saints Amandus and Floribertus in the upper left-hand part of *The Conversion of St. Bavo* executed in 1623, in the cathedral at Ghent, which is dedicated to this Saint (I, No. 72; Fig. 123).

160a. THE ENTHRONIZATION OF A HOLY BISHOP: DRAWING (Fig. 136)

Pen and brown ink; 272 : 213 mm. Left corners torn away.

Berlin-Dablen, Print Room of the Staatliche Museen. Inv. No. 12246.

PROVENANCE: Matthias Merian the Younger (Basle, 1621 – Frankfort (Main), 1687); Königliche Bibliothek, Berlin, 1780; Akademie der Künste, Berlin, 1814; purchased for the Print Room, 1831.

LITERATURE: J. Rosenberg, *Federzeichnungen von Rubens im Berliner Kupferstich-*

kabinett, Berliner Museen, XLVII, 1926, pp. 85–87, fig. 1; L. Burchard, *Skizzen des jungen Rubens, Sitzungsberichte der kunsthistorischen Gesellschaft Berlin*, October 1926–May 1927, p. 34, under No. 30; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 88, No. 78, pl. 78; E. Bock and J. Rosenberg, *Zeichnungen niederländischer Meister im Kupferstichkabinett Berlin*, Berlin, 1930, I, p. 250, No. 12246; II, pl. 180; H. Konow, *Eine Zeichnungssammlung aus dem Besitz Matthäus Merians d. J., Berliner Museen*, LXI, 1940, p. 62.

This damaged pen drawing represents a first stage in the preparation of No. 160 (Figs. 138, 139).

In contrast to the final version, which is frontal and symmetrical, the figures are disposed obliquely in relation to the picture surface. The kneeling deacon appears in the drawing as well as in the final composition; here however he is shown more to the right. The principal figure and the consecrator are clean-shaven, while the assisting bishop on the right is bearded; in the final version, as we saw, this is the other way about.

160b. THE ENTHRONIZATION OF A HOLY BISHOP: DRAWING (Fig. 137)

Pen and brown ink; 145 : 258 mm. Lower left corner cut off and replaced by a *blanco* strip. Fully mounted. Below, on the right, a mark of the Louvre (L. 2207).

Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre. Inv. No. 20193.

PROVENANCE: Confiscated from French émigrés at the end of the eighteenth century.

LITERATURE: *Michel*, p. 149, repr.; J. Rosenberg, *Federzeichnungen von Rubens im Berliner Kupferstichkabinett, Berliner Museen*, XLVII, 1926, pp. 85, 86, fig. 3; L. Burchard, *Skizzen des jungen Rubens, Sitzungsberichte der kunsthistorischen Gesellschaft Berlin*, October 1926–May 1927, p. 4, under No. 30; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 38, No. 77, pl. 77; *Lugt, Louvre, Ecole flamande*, II, 1949, p. 13, No. 1011, pl. xv.

A preliminary study, in a fragmentary condition, for the central part of the enthronization scene. The principal figure and the bishops surrounding him are in three-quarter length; of the deacons, here two in number, only the heads are visible. This drawing is, however, considerably closer to the final version (No. 160; Figs. 138, 139) than the sketch discussed above, now in Berlin (No. 160a; Fig. 136). As in the definite version, the scene is strictly frontal; the faces and clothing are more carefully drawn than in the other sketch.

As in the Berlin drawing, the saint and the consecrator are clean-shaven and the two bishops placing the mitre are bearded. A fifth bishop is seen on the right beside the consecrator; on the extreme left are the heads of two monks.

161. THE MARTYRDOM OF TWO SAINTS (?): DRAWING (Fig. 135)

Pen and brown ink on grey paper; 342 : 323 mm.-*Verso*: below on the left, mark of the Museum Boymans (L. 1857).

Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen. Inv. No. Rubens 2.

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

EXHIBITED: *Tentoonstelling van Oud-Vlaamsche Kunst*, World Exhibition, Antwerp, 1930, No. 457; *Amsterdam*, 1933, No. 89 (repr.); *Antwerp*, 1956, No. 61 (as *The Stoning of a Martyr* [*? St. Catherine*]).

LITERATURE: *Catalogus van teekeningen in het Museum te Rotterdam*, Rotterdam, 1852, No. 823; *Beschrijving der teekeningen in het Museum te Rotterdam*, Rotterdam, 1869, No. 700; *Rooses*, II, p. 248, under No. 413; V, p. 239, No. 1456; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 49, No. 146, repr. (as *The Martyrdom of St. Catherine*); D. Hannema, *Petrus Paulus Rubens in het Museum Boymans*, Rotterdam, 1933, p. 13, No. 13, repr. (as *The Martyrdom of St. Catherine*); M. Jaffé, *Rubens in Italy: Rediscovered Works*, *The Burlington Magazine*, C, 1958, p. 412, n. 7; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 145-148, No. 88; II, pl. 88 (as *The Stoning of St. Stephen*); M. Jaffé, *Rubens as a Draughtsman*, *The Burlington Magazine*, CVII, 1965, p. 380; J. Müller Hofstede, in *Master Drawings*, IV, 1966, p. 449.

On the right of this rapid sketch, a group of men are stoning a woman; one of them is standing on her with his left foot. On the left, behind her, is a second group, one member of which is pulling the woman by the hair. Below on the left three men are apparently committing some violent act against a fourth, lying on his right side; this figure seems to be moustached and to be wearing an exotic kind of plume. It is even possible that they are flaying him: this is suggested by his attitude and by the object in the mouth of the man kneeling on the extreme left, which resembles a knife. Above is a very sketchy figure, no doubt the traditional angel descending from heaven with the attributes of martyrdom.

This scene has been the object of many interpretations. Glück, Haberditzl and Hannema thought it was a *Martyrdom of St. Catherine*, while Burchard and d'Hulst considered it to be a rough sketch for the St. Stephen triptych at Valenciennes (Nos. 146-148; Figs. 112, 116, 117). In their view, the "female" figure is in fact St. Stephen, while the man lying on the ground represents the saint at the time of his burial by Gamaliel and Nicodemus, a scene depicted on one of the side panels of the Valenciennes altar-piece (No. 148; Fig. 117). I do not find this view convincing, and it was not accepted by Müller Hofstede. It is certainly difficult to determine what the sketch exactly represents, but it seems clear that it depicts the simultaneous execution of two martyrs.

Cursory as the drawing is, it may be linked chronologically with the scenes of martyrdom executed by Rubens between about 1615 and 1620. The man sitting on the extreme left and the helmeted soldier near him occur in the same position and in similar attitudes in *The Martyrdom of St. Laurence* at Schleissheim (No. 126; Fig. 71), while the attitude of the female saint is very like that of St. Laurence in the same work. The man on the right, stoning and kicking her at the same time, recurs in *The Martyrdom of St. Stephen* at Valenciennes (No. 146; Fig. 112).

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA TO PART VIII,
VOLUME I

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

Addendum: under PROVENANCE: sale, Brussels (Palais des Beaux-Arts), 9 March 1953, lot 79 (repr., as *St. Matthew*).

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

Addendum: under COPIES: (4) Engraving by P. Clouwet, 1649 (*V.S.*, p. 95, No. 9).

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

Corrigendum : This painting is in the possession of Mrs. Ira Spanierman, New York, to whom I am much obliged for informing me of its present whereabouts. I have not had an opportunity of seeing this work. However, the colour transparency which Mrs. Spanierman sent me was of outstanding quality and obliged me to reconsider my doubts as to Rubens's personal contribution to the execution of this painting. Having judged it from a photographic document of incomparably better quality than the one on which I had to rely when writing the entry for part I of the present volume, I am now convinced that it is entirely by Rubens's own hand.

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

Addendum: EXHIBITED: *Meisterwerke aus Österreich*, Kunsthhaus, Zürich, 1946-47, No. 92.

81. ST. CECILIA PLAYING THE VIRGINALS

Addendum: under COPIES: (1) Now at Greenville, South Carolina, The Bob Jones University Collection.

Corrigendum: under COPIES: (2) lit.: *Goris-Held*, p. 52, No. A. 64 instead of *Goris-Held*, p. 52, No. A. 64 (as *Rubens*).

84. ST. CECILIA (Fig. 145)

Addendum: under PROVENANCE: Stolen from the Museum on 10 February 1972.

102. THE LAST COMMUNION OF ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI (Fig. 178)

Addendum : The receipt dated 27 May 1619 is a document now belonging to Mrs. van de Werve, Hovorst Castle, Viersel (Antwerp province), Belgium.

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1. Rubens, *The Miracles of St. Francis of Paola*, oil sketch (No. 103a). Dresden, Gemäldegalerie



2. Rubens, *The Miracles of St. Francis of Paola*, oil sketch (No. 103b). Munich, Alte Pinakothek



3. Rubens, *The Miracles of St. Francis of Paola*, oil sketch (No. 103c)
Winchcombe, Sudeley Castle, Coll. Mrs. G. Dent-Brocklehurst



4. X-radiograph of detail of Fig. 2



S. FRANCISCVS DE PAVLA, ORDINIS MINIMORVM FVNDATOR.

Honora Medicum propter necessitatem. Eccl. 38.
Eert den Medecijn-meester om den noot. Koch. 38.

5. A. Lommelin, *The Miracles of St. Francis of Paola*, engraving (No. 103b)



6. Rubens, *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier* (No. 104). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



7. Rubens, *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier*. oil sketch (No. 104a).

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



8. After Rubens, *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier* (No. 104a).
Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen



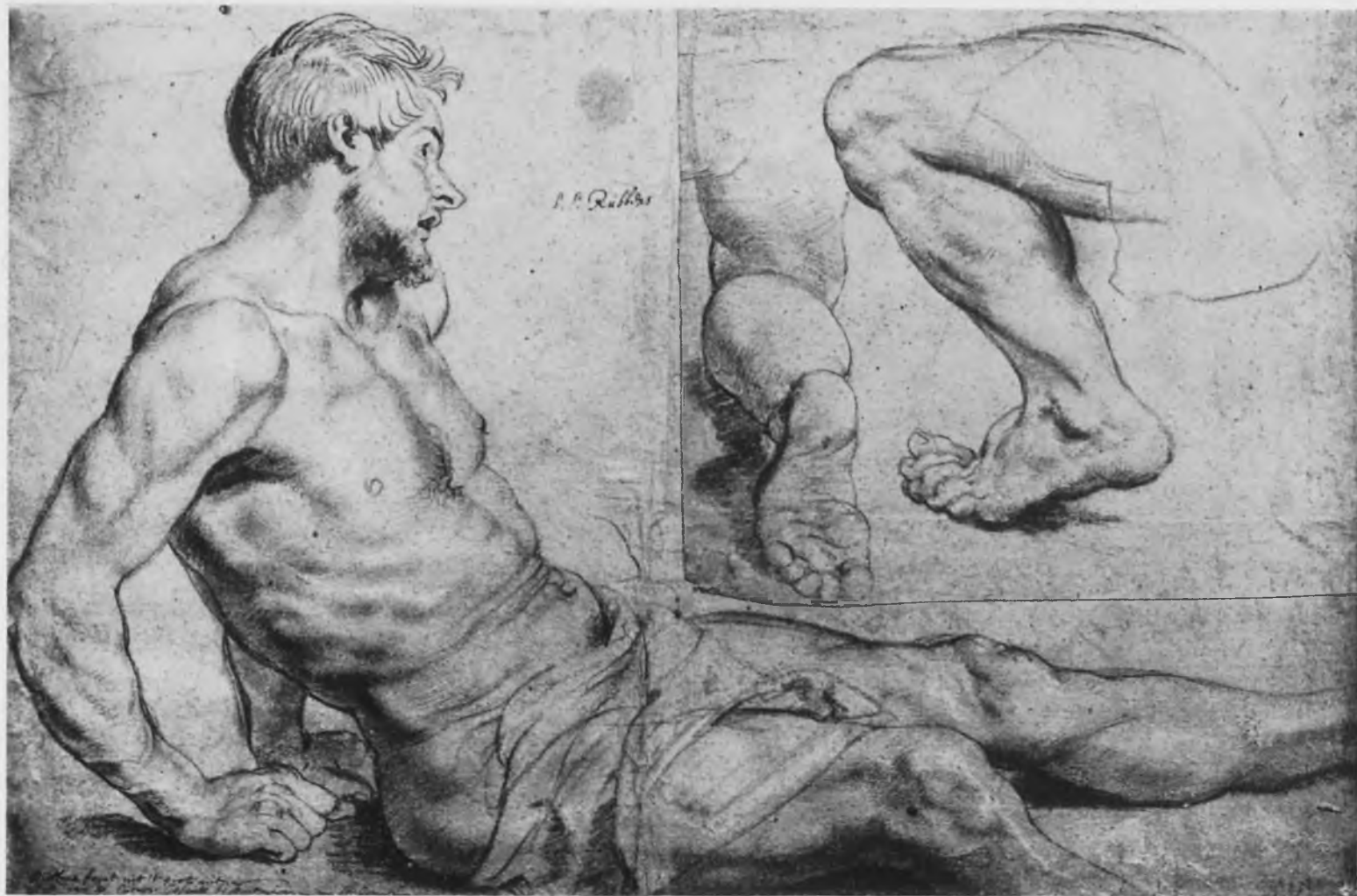
9. Rubens, *Study of a Youth Wrapped in a Cloak, Turned to the Left*, drawing (No. 104f). Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum



10. Rubens, *Study of a Man with a Broad-Brimmed Hat*, drawing (No. 104b).
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum



11. Rubens, *Drapery Study for St. Francis Xavier Preaching*, drawing (No. 104C).
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum



12. Rubens, *Study of a Nude Man Raising his Body from a Recumbent Position*, drawing (No. 104e). London, Victoria and Albert Museum



13. Rubens, *Study of a Blind Man Stretching his Arms forward*, drawing (No. 104d). Vienna, Albertina



14. After Rubens, *Study of the Head and Right Hand of a Woman*, drawing (No. 104g). Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts



15. ? Retouched by Rubens, *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier*, drawing (No. 104h). Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre



16. M. van der Goes, *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier*, engraving (No. 104h)



17. Rubens, *St. George Slaying the Dragon* (No. 105). Madrid, Prado



18. Rubens, *St. George Slaying the Dragon*, drawing (No. 105a).
Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre



19. After Rubens, *St. George Slaying the Dragon*, drawing (No. 105). Leningrad, Hermitage



Es mit Reiter sein Drig im Grotte Rind N. Bala 1699

20. W. Pannells, *St. George Slaying the Dragon*, etching (No. 105)



21. Rubens, *The Martyrdom of St. George* (No. 106). Bordeaux, Musée des Beaux-Arts



S BARBARA

PP Rubens inv

L. Vorsterman del.

22. St. Barbara, engraving (publ. by L. Vorsterman; No. 107)



23. Rubens, *St. Gregory the Great Surrounded by Other Saints* (No. 109).
Grenoble, Musée des Beaux-Arts



24. Rubens, *St. Gregory the Great Surrounded by Other Saints*, drawing (No. 109a).
Farnham, Coll. Wolfgang Burchard



25. Rubens, *St. Gregory the Great Surrounded by Other Saints*, oil sketch (No. 109d).
Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen



26. ? Rubens, *St. Gregory the Great Surrounded by Other Saints* (No. 109e).
Siegen, Museum des Siegerlandes



27. Rubens, *Study of a Woman Saint*, drawing (No. 109b).

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art



28. Rubens, *Bust of St. Domitilla*, oil sketch (No. 109c). Bergamo, Accademia Carrara



29. J.B. de Wit, *St. Gregory the Great Surrounded by Other Saints*, engraving (No. 109f)



30. Rubens, *St. Gregory the Great Surrounded by Other Saints*, oil sketch (No. 109g).

London, Coll. Count Seilern



31. Rubens, *St. Helena* (No. 110). Grasse, Chapel of the Municipal Hospital



32. J. Callot, *St. Helena*, etching (No. 110)



33. Rubens, *The Mocking of Christ*, drawing (No. 111a).

Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum



34. Rubens, *The Mocking of Christ* (No. 111). Grasse, Chapel of the Municipal Hospital



35. After Rubens, *The Raising of the Cross* (No. 112). Grasse, Chapel of the Municipal Hospital



36. Rubens, *St. Ignatius of Loyola* (No. 113).

Warwick Castle, Coll. of the Earl of Warwick



37. Rubens, *St. Francis Xavier* (No. 114).

Formerly London, Asscher and Welker, now lost



P. P. Bolswert fecit. *S. a. Bolswert del. pin. gravavit.*

S. IGNATIVS DE LOIOLA Societatis IESV auctor obiit anno M. D. LVI. aetatis suae LXV. confirmata Societatis XVI. constituta Praeuijs XII. municipalis in vita et post illum duras paupertatis, carceris, comitali morbo laborans, febribus insistentes, variis morbis, vulneribus, amonibus, tentationibus, oppressis, mortaliq; sibi ac vite resti tunc variis, frequentibus, calidissimis vitiis illis, cruciatu et lacrimarum dono inter primos numerandus a SS. D. N. Greg. XV. P. 1622. 12. Martii in Sanctorum numerum relatus.

ILL^{mo} AC REVERENDISS. DOMINO D. IACOBO BOON ARCHIEPISCOPO MECHLINIENSI BELGICAE PRIMATI.
© ET S. A. BOLSWERT FRATRE DD. C.

38. S. a Bolswert, St. Ignatius of Loyola, engraving (No. 113)



39. S. a Bolswert, *St. Francis Xavier*, engraving (No. 114)



40. Rubens, *The Miracles of St. Ignatius of Loyola* (No. 115). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



41. Rubens, *The Miracles of St. Ignatius of Loyola*, oil sketch (No. 115a).

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



42. After Rubens, *The Miracles of St. Ignatius of Loyola* (No. 115a).

Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen



43. Rubens, *Studies of Heads and an Arm*, drawing (No. 115b). Leningrad, Hermitage



44. M. van der Goes, *The Miracles of St. Ignatius of Loyola*, engraving (No. 115c)



45. ? A. van Dyck, *The Miracles of St. Ignatius of Loyola*, drawing (No. 115c).
Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre



46. Rubens, *The Miracles of St. Ignatius of Loyola* (No. 116). Genoa, Sant' Ambrogio



47. After Rubens, *The Miracles of St. Ignatius of Loyola* (No. 116a).
London, Dulwich College Picture Gallery



48. Rubens, *The Triptych of St. Ildefonso*, opened (No. 117). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



49. Rubens, *St. Ildefonso Receiving the Chasuble from the Virgin in the Presence of Archduke Albert and the Infanta Isabella*, oil sketch (No. 117b). Leningrad, Hermitage



50. Rubens, *St. Ildefonso Receiving the Chasuble from the Virgin* (No. 117).

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



51. Rubens, *Archduke Albert with his Patron St. Albert of Louvain* (No. 117).
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



52. Rubens, *The Infanta Isabella with her Patron St. Elizabeth of Hungary* (No. 117).
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



53. Detail of Fig. 50



54. Rubens, *Study of a Head of a Woman Turned to the Left*, drawing (No. 117d).

Vienna, Albertina



55. Rubens, *Study of a Head of a Woman Turned to the Right*, drawing (No. 117c).
Vienna, Albertina



56. Rubens, *Study of a Head of a Woman Looking Downward*, drawing (No. 117e).
Vienna, Albertina



57. Rubens, *The Infanta Isabella with her Patron St. Elizabeth of Hungary*, drawing (No. 117a).
Amsterdam, Gemeentemusea



58. C.-H. Watelet, *Four Female Figures*, etching (No. 117f)



59. J. Witdoeck, retouched by Rubens (?), *St. Ildefonso Receiving the Chasuble from the Virgin*, engraving (No. 117g). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes



60. J. Witdoeck, *St. Ildefonso Receiving the Chasuble from the Virgin*, engraving (No. 117g)



61. Rubens, *The Holy Family under the Apple-Tree with St. John the Baptist, Elizabeth and Zacharias* (No. 118). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



62. Rubens, *The Holy Family under the Apple-Tree with St. John the Baptist, Elizabeth and Zacharias*, oil sketch (No. 118a). Present whereabouts unknown



63. Rubens, *St. Ives of Tréguier, Defender of Widows and Orphans* (No. 119).

Detroit, The Detroit Institute of Arts



64. Rubens, *St. Jerome in the Robes of a Cardinal* (No. 122). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



65. Rubens, *St. Jerome in his Study* (No. 120). Potsdam-Sanssouci, Bildergalerie



66. Rubens, *St. Jerome in the Wilderness* (No. 121). Dresden, Gemäldegalerie



67. After Rubens, *St. Joseph and the Infant Christ*, drawing (No. 124).

Present whereabouts unknown



68. St. Joseph and the Infant Christ, engraving (publ. by J. Donck; No. 124)



69. Rubens, *The Miracle of St. Justus* (No. 125). Bordeaux, Musée des Beaux-Arts



70. Rubens, *The Miracle of St. Justus*, oil sketch (No. 125a). Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum



71. Rubens, *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* (No. 126). Schleissheim, Schloss



72. L. Vorsterman, retouched by Rubens (?), *The Martyrdom of St. Laurence*, engraving (No. 126b).
Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet



73. Rubens, *Study of Two Semi-Nude Men*, drawing (No. 126a). Stockholm, Nationalmuseum



74. Rubens, *The Martyrdom of St. Livinus* (No. 127). Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts



75. Rubens, *The Martyrdom of St. Livinus*, oil sketch (No. 127a).

Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts



76. After Rubens, *The Martyrdom of St. Livinus* (No. 127a). Present whereabouts unknown



77. Rubens, *The Martyrdom of St. Livinus*, oil sketch (No. 127b).

Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen



78. ? Rubens, *The Martyrdom of St. Livinus* (No. 127c).

Present whereabouts unknown



79. ? Rubens, *St. Luke* (No. 128). Bremen, Ludwig Roselius-Haus



80. After Rubens, *St. Magdalen Repentant* (No. 130).
Milan, Coll. Massimo Cassani



81. Rubens, *St. Magdalen Repentant* (No. 130). Formerly Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich-Museum, now lost



82. Rubens, *St. Magdalen Repentant* (No. 129). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



83. Rubens, *St. Magdalen in Ecstasy* (No. 131). Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts



84. Rubens, *St. Martin of Tours Dividing his Cloak*, oil sketch (No. 132). Present whereabouts unknown



85. X-radiograph of Fig. 84



86. After Rubens, *St. Michael Striking down the Rebellious Angels* (No. 134).

Mont-sur-Rolle, Coll. J. Blondel



87. I. Vorsterman, *St. Michael Striking down the Rebellious Angels*, engraving (No. 134)



88. Rubens, *Study of Angels, among them probably St. Michael, Striking down the Rebellious Angels*, drawing (No. 133). The Hague, Coll. C.P. van Eeghen



89. Rubens, *St. Michael Striking down the Rebellious Angels* (No. 135).

Munich, Alte Pinakothek



90. Rubens, *St. Michael Striking down the Rebellious Angels* (No. 136).
Caŝagnola (Lugano), Villa Favorita, Coll. Thyssen-Bornemisza



91. Rubens, *The Martyrdom of St. Paul*. oil sketch (No. 137a). Present whereabouts unknown



92. T. Boeyermans, *The Martyrdom of St. Paul* (No. 138).

Aix-en-Provence, St. Magdalen's Church



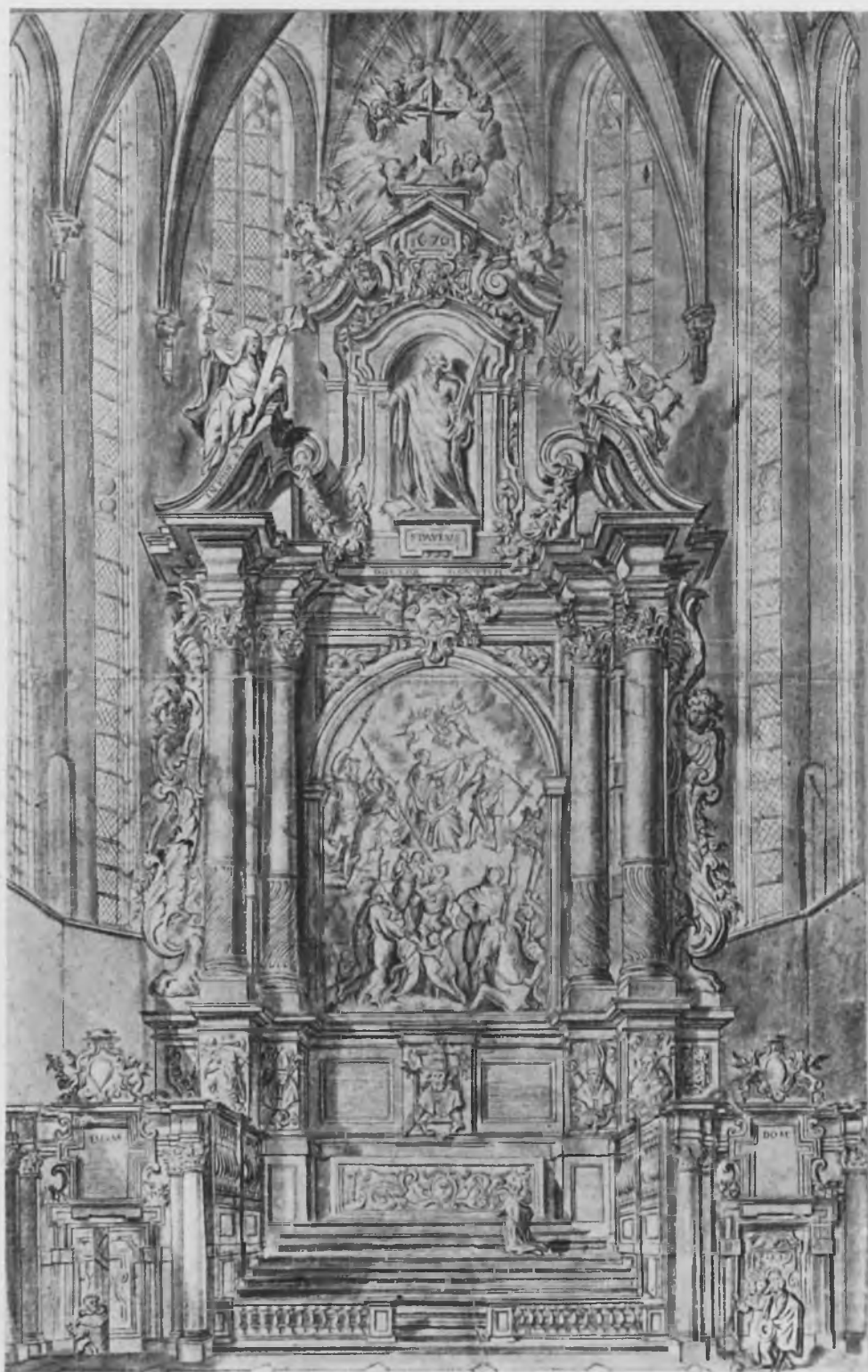
93. T.Boeyermans,
The Martyrdom of St. Peter (detail).
Sint-Pieters-Lille, St. Peter's Church



94. Detail of Fig. 92



95. Detail of Fig. 92



96. P. Verbruggen the Younger, *The High Altar of the Dominican Church at Antwerp*, drawing. Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet



97. T. Boeyermans, *The Martyrdom of St. Paul*, drawing (No. 138a). London, British Museum



98. Rubens, *The Martyrdom of St. Peter* (No. 139). Cologne, St. Peter's Church



99. ? Retouched by Rubens, *The Martyrdom of St. Peter*, drawing (No. 139a).

Basle, Kunstmuseum, Kupferstichkabinett



100. *The Altar of St. Roch. Alošt, St. Martin's Church*



101. Rubens, *St. Roch Interceding for the Plague-Stricken*, oil sketch (No. 140a).

Present whereabouts unknown



102. Rubens, *St. Roch Interceding for the Plague-Stricken* (No. 140).
Alošt, St. Martin's Church



103. After Rubens, *St. Roch Interceding for the Plague-Stricken* (No. 104b).

Present whereabouts unknown



104. School of Rubens, *St. Roch Fed by a Dog* (No. 141). Alošt, St. Martin's Church



105. School of Rubens, *The Death of St. Roch* (No. 142). Alošt, St. Martin's Church



106. Rubens, *The Holy Virgin Holding the Infant Christ* (No. 143).
Alošt, St. Martin's Church



107. Rubens, *St. Sebastian* (No. 144). Rome, Galleria Corsini



108. Rubens, *St. Sebastian* (No. 145). Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen



109. Rubens, *The Triptych of St. Stephen*, opened. Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts



110. After Rubens, *The Martyrdom of St. Stephen* (No. 146a).
Brussels, Royal Palace



111. J.F. Oeser, *The Martyrdom of St. Stephen*, etching (No. 146a)



112. Rubens. *The Martyrdom of St. Stephen* (No. 146).

Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts



113. Rubens, *Study of a Head of a Youth*, drawing (No. 146b). Leningrad, Hermitage



114. Rubens, *The Martyrdom of St. Stephen*, drawing (No. 146c). Leningrad, Hermitage



115. L.-J. Watteau, *The Entombment of St. Stephen.* — *The Dispute between St. Stephen and the Jewish Elders and Scribes*, drawing (Nos. 147–148). Leningrad, Hermitage



116. Rubens, *The Dispute between St. Stephen and the Jewish Elders and Scribes* (No. 147). Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts



117. Rubens, *The Entombment of St. Stephen* (No. 148). Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts



118. Rubens, *The Annunciation* (No. 149). Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts



119. Rubens, *The Transverberation of St. Teresa of Avila* (No. 150).

Formerly London, Asscher and Welker, now lost



120. F. Deroy, *The Transverberation of St. Teresa of Avila*, etching (No. 150).



121. Rubens, *St. Teresa of Avila's Vision of the Dove* (No. 152).
Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen



S. TERESIA

122. P. van Schuppen, *St. Teresa of Avila's Vision of the Dove*, engraving (No. 153)



123. D. Teniers the Younger, *The Studio of a Painter* (detail). Somerley, Coll. Earl of Normanton



124. Rubens, *St. Teresa of Avila's Vision of the Dove* (No. 153).

Present whereabouts unknown



125. Rubens, *St. Teresa of Avila Interceding for Bernardino de Mendoza* (No. 155).
Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten



126. Rubens, *St. Teresa of Avila Interceding for Bernardino de Mendoza*, oil sketch (No. 155a).
Lier, Museum Wuyts-van Campen-Caroly



127. Rubens, *St. Teresa of Avila Writing under Divine Inspiration*
(No. 154). Present whereabouts unknown



128. After Rubens, *St. Teresa of Avila Writing under Divine Inspiration* (No. 154).
Brussels, Convent of the Carmelite Nuns



129. After Rubens, *St. Thomas Aquinas* (No. 157).

Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten



130. Rubens, *The Martyrdom of St. Thomas* (No. 156). Prague Národní Galerie



131. J. Neeffs, retouched by Rubens (?), *The Martyrdom of St. Thomas*, counterproof of engraving (No. 156a). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes



132. Rubens, *The Martyrdom of St. Ursula and her Companions*, oil sketch (No. 159).
Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts



133. A. van Dyck, *Figures from the Martyrdom of St. Ursula and her Companions*, drawing (No. 159). London, British Museum



134. Rubens, *The Martyrdom of St. Ursula and her Companions*, oil sketch (No. 158). Mantua, Galleria di Palazzo Ducale



135. Rubens, *The Martyrdom of Two Saints (?)*, drawing (No. 161).
Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen



136. Rubens, *The Enthronization of a Holy Bishop*, drawing (No. 160a).
Berlin, Print Room of the Staatliche Museen



137. Rubens, *The Enthronization of a Holy Bishop*, drawing (No. 160b). Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre



138. After Rubens, *The Enthronization of a Holy Bishop*, drawing (No. 160). Antwerp, Rubenianum



139. P. Soutman, *The Enthronization of a Holy Bishop*, etching (No. 160)