

**CORPUS RUBENIANUM**  
**LUDWIG BURCHARD**

**PART X**

**THE ACHILLES SERIES**

**EGBERT HAVERKAMP BEGEMANN**



**ARCADE**

# CORPUS RUBENIANUM LUDWIG BURCHARD

AN ILLUSTRATED CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ  
OF THE WORK OF PETER PAUL RUBENS  
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BY THE LATE DR. LUDWIG BURCHARD  
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# THE ACHILLES SERIES

EGBERT HAVERKAMP BEGEMANN



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VOOR DE PLASTISCHE KUNSTEN  
VAN DE 16e EN DE 17e EEUW

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THE ACHILLES SERIES



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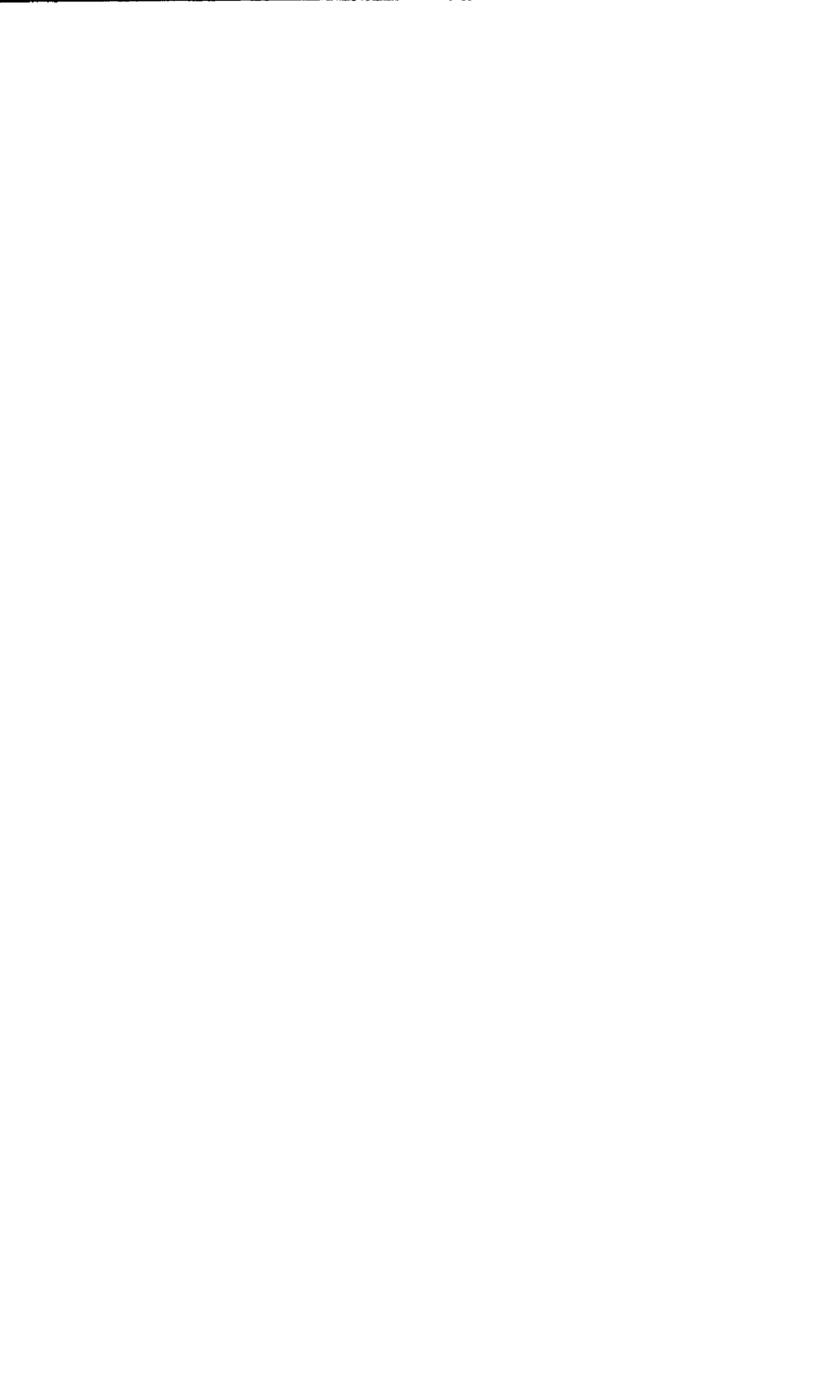
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## AUTHOR'S PREFACE

The *History of Achilles*, comprising eight oil sketches, eight modelli, and the tapestries for which Rubens painted them, is a comparatively small project compared with other series Rubens designed. Yet the excellence of the oil sketches and the modelli, and the sophistication of the artist's interpretation of the subject, make the series stand out as a major work. It was therefore a pleasure to accept the invitation to write this volume for the *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*.

The introductory essay deals with aspects of the entire series, the catalogue raisonné with data of the individual works. In the essay the subject matter of the series as a whole is described and analysed, with emphasis on the sources Rubens used and interpreted, an element that has not sufficiently been studied before. The framework, a distinctive feature of the entire series, also needed special consideration. The tapestries that have been preserved are remarkably few in number; those still in sets are enumerated here, individual tapestries in the catalogue. Oil sketches, modelli and cartoons are also discussed as series in the introduction, as individual works in the catalogue. For the sake of uniformity, the sequence established by Rooses and adopted in the other volumes of this *corpus*, beginning with the work of art for which the designs were made and retrogressing to preliminary studies, has here also been accepted. An effort has been made to review the various data, including previous literature, pertaining to the series as a whole as well as to its individual components, as extensively as possible. Completeness nevertheless could not be achieved.

When preparing the catalogue of the exhibition of oil sketches by Rubens in Rotterdam in 1953, I had the enlightening and stimulating experience of discussing various aspects of the work of Rubens with Ludwig Burchard. I have made an effort to implement his approach in this volume. Although Burchard's name usually is associated primarily with questions of authenticity and provenance, his interests in literature and classical antiquity were equally strong and I trust therefore that those paragraphs of the following study that are concerned with the literary background of the series are in keeping with those interests of his.

Burchard conjectured the existence of one or even two Aeneas series. At the outset it was planned that a discussion of these works should be included in

the present volume. However, as Burchard's hypothesis turned out to be without sound foundation, it seemed more appropriate to both the author and the editor to discuss the Aeneas material in Part XI of the *Corpus Rubenianum (Mythological Subjects)*.

I owe a debt of gratitude to various institutions and to numerous individuals. The "Nationaal Centrum voor de Plastische Kunsten van de XVI<sup>e</sup> en XVII<sup>e</sup> eeuw" in Antwerp and its staff, particularly Roger-A. d'Hulst, Frans Baudouin, Carl van de Velde and Hans Vlieghe, have been most helpful during all stages of the preparation of this volume; the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, and its director J.C. Ebbinghe Wubben generously provided new photographs of the oil sketches in its possession; the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie in The Hague, the Frick Art Reference Library in New York, the Yale University libraries in New Haven, and other libraries made their wealth of documentation available. Anne-Marie Logan assisted me effectively in countless ways during the writing of this study. I am also grateful to numerous colleagues for information and photographs: Rocío Arnáez y Pérez-Agote (Madrid), Sir Edmund Bacon (Norfolk), Maria van Berge (Paris), Walter Cahn (New Haven), Susan Clive (Nunnington Hall) and Richard Clive (London), Sarah Denny (London), Matías Díaz Padrón (Madrid), Mercedes Ferrero Viale (Turin), Wendy Hefford (London), Julius S. Held (Old Bennington), J. Richard Judson (Chapel Hill), George A. Kubler (New Haven), Maria José de Mendonça (Lisbon), Saskia Nijstad (Rotterdam), Milton Samuels and Robert Samuels Jr. (New York), Antoine Count Seilern (London), Ellen Sharp (Detroit), Edith Standen (New York), J. van Tatenhove (The Hague), Elizabeth Telford (Sarasota), An Zwollo (The Hague), and others.

Egbert Haverkamp Begemann

## I. THE QUESTIONS OF COMMISSION AND DATE

Neither the vast correspondence of Rubens nor other documents contain any reference to a commission of tapestries of this subject. The date of origin cannot be derived from similar evidence either. Yet it seems likely that Rubens designed the series for his father-in-law, the tapestry merchant Daniel Fourment, probably between 1630 and 1635.

Before considering the reasons for this supposition, older opinions should be reviewed briefly. Until 1934, when Marthe Crick-Kuntziger for the first time suggested that Rubens had made the designs for Fourment, they were believed to have been made either for King Charles I of England or for King Philip IV of Spain. John Smith was the first to state that the series had been commissioned by Charles I, and this was repeated with more or less caution by Van Hasselt (1840), Eugène Müntz (1881), Lafond (1902), Van Puyvelde (1939), and others.<sup>1</sup> It is not likely that the designs were made for Charles I, because not one of the sets of tapestries, preserved or known from documents, was woven at Mortlake, as one could have expected if that had been the case. The first to state that the series was made for Philip IV was d'Argenville, in 1762.<sup>2</sup> Although his statement was carelessly worded, it was readily taken over by others, probably because the presence of the modelli in Spain seemed to confirm a Spanish commission.<sup>3</sup> A commission by Philip IV actually had been ruled out by implication by Antonio Palomino, although no one paid attention to his statement. Palomino, who was apparently well informed about Rubens

<sup>1</sup> *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 250: "were painted for his royal patron, Charles I, for models to be worked in tapestry"; *Van Hasselt*, p. 290: "Peint par ordre de Charles Ier..."; E. Müntz, *La Tapisserie...*, Paris, 1881, p. 299; E. Michel, *Rubens, sa vie, son œuvre et son temps*, Paris, 1900, p. 444: "destinées à Charles Ier"; *Lafond*, 1902, p. 232: probably for Charles I, in spite of d'Argenville's statements (Lafond probably found it difficult to accept the Spanish patron without evidence to that effect because he knew Spanish art and patronage well). The error first appearing in *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, probably resulted from a misinterpretation of an ambiguous passage in J.F.M. Michel, *Histoire de la vie de P.P. Rubens*, Brussels, 1771, to which we shall return when reviewing the literature of the series of oil sketches.

<sup>2</sup> [A.J. Dezallier d'Argenville], *Abrégé de la vie des plus fameux peintres...*, III, nouvelle édition, Paris, 1762, p. 293: "Ses derniers ouvrages furent les cartons pour les tapisseries de Philippe IV, qui représentent le triomphe de la Religion & l'Hérésie abbatue; l'histoire de Decius consul, & celle d'Achille..."

<sup>3</sup> *Göbel*, 1923, p. 423: perhaps for the King of Spain.

and his works for the King, wrote at length about the artist in 1724 in his *El Parnaso Español*. In this work he grouped together those works which Rubens had made for Philip IV, but listed the Achilles series among "other sets of paintings and cartoons for famous tapestries", therefore clearly did not associate the series with Philip IV.<sup>4</sup> For other reasons, Rooses, who first had a slight preference for Charles I, later considered Philip IV the more likely patron.<sup>5</sup> Some hesitated between the two without taking sides, and others stated that it was not established who had commissioned the series.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, there seems to be no evidence supporting either of the older assumptions.<sup>7</sup>

Although it had been known since 1877 that Daniel Fourment and his firm owned the oil sketches of the Achilles series in 1643, the conclusion that the series therefore was designed for him was not drawn until 1934, by Marthe Crick-Kuntziger. Mrs. Crick could do so because she approached the question as a historian of tapestry weaving rather than of painting. Her supposition was later confirmed when E. Duverger published documents indicating that the firm also had owned the cartoons, which it sold in 1653.<sup>8</sup> If the tap-

<sup>4</sup> "Hizo otros juegos de cuadros, y cartones para otras célebres tapicerías..." (Antonio Palomino de Castro y Velasco, *El Parnaso Español Pintoresco Laureado...*, Madrid, 1724, ed. Aguilar, Madrid, 1947, p. 859).

<sup>5</sup> Rooses, III, pp. 41, 42; M. Rooses, *Rubens*, London, 1904, pp. 531, 532. The reason for Rooses to prefer Philip IV was his tentative identification of the Achilles tapestries with a tent sent by the Cardinal-Infant to the King of Spain on April 21, 1636, according to an entry in the diary of Philippe Chifflet in the Bibliothèque at Besançon (cf. A. Cañan, *Les Origines et la date du Saint-Ildéfonse de Rubens...*, *Mémoires de la Société d'Emulation du Doubs*, v<sup>ème</sup> série, IX, 1885, pp. 95, 96). Although the number of panels of this "tente de tapisserie d'or et de soye, dont les patrons estoient de Rubens" is not mentioned, it indeed may have been a set of the Achilles series woven for Philip IV or the Cardinal-Infant. This does not imply, however, that the series was designed for one or the other.

<sup>6</sup> E. Dillon, *Rubens*, London, [1909], pp. 174, 175: not certain whether Philip IV or Charles I; H.G. Evers, *Peter Paul Rubens*, Munich, 1942, p. 258, and H. Gerson, in H. Gerson and E.H. ter Kuile, *Art and Architecture in Belgium 1600 to 1800*, Harmondsworth, 1960, p. 93: not known who commissioned the series.

<sup>7</sup> H.C. Marillier, who knew the history of tapestry weaving in England thoroughly, also thought that no Achilles tapestries were woven at Mortlake, from which the conclusion could be drawn that the designs were not made for Charles I (cf. *Crick-Kuntziger*, 1934, p. 71).

<sup>8</sup> For Daniel Fourment's ownership of the sketches, see below, pp. 46, 47, for that of the cartoons, p. 68.

estries had been designed for a specific patron, the latter normally would have entrusted the cartoons to a weaver, not to a tapestry dealer like Fourment. Furthermore, since it is most unlikely that the Fourment firm by 1653 had obtained the cartoons from either Charles I or Philip IV, and since the firm owned the sketches as well as a set of tapestries in 1643, and probably also the modelli (as will be discussed later) it is most likely that Rubens designed the series for Daniel Fourment. As we know from the inventory of Fourment's estate drawn up in 1643, the firm owned a large number of modelli and cartoons. It owned them for the benefit of patrons who wanted to order tapestries, and of weavers to whom modelli or cartoons would be sent when an order had to be carried out. It is therefore not surprising to find modelli and cartoons by Rubens in possession of the Fourment firm. The family relationship—since December 6, 1630, Daniel Fourment was father-in-law of Rubens—does not need to have played part in the commission, although it may have.<sup>9</sup>

The supposition that Rubens designed the series for Daniel Fourment does not solve the question who took the initiative, and whether Fourment commissioned the series or whether Rubens made it spontaneously. Neither do we know who decided on the subject. Rubens, Fourment, an advisor, Gevartius? Although speculation seems attractive, such questions will have to remain unanswered.

When did Rubens sketch this series? There is no reason to think that any considerable amount of time elapsed between the oil sketches, the modelli and the weaving of the tapestries. Yet this closely knit group of objects does not provide any other data but "stylistic" features or aspects of execution for an answer to that question. No document, no written statement of any nature, no other related commission helps.

Opinions about the date of the series have varied widely, but recently a consensus seems to have been reached that places them in the first half of the 1630's. Some of the hypotheses made previously, ranging from the early 1620's to the end of the artist's life, although resting on "stylistic" similarities with dated works of the artist, at times were coloured by other considerations. Thus Marthe Crick-Kuntziger dated the series of oil sketches towards the end of the

<sup>9</sup> As stated above, Marthe Crick-Kuntziger was the first to suppose that Rubens designed the series for Daniel Fourment (*Crick-Kuntziger, 1934, p. 7*). Burchard agreed (*Burchard, 1950, p. 40*). J.S. Held (verbally) also favours this supposition.

artist's life, because of discrepancies in execution between individual sketches, but particularly because such a late date seemed to explain the addition of two tapestries after Jordaens as a completion of a series left unfinished by Rubens at the time of his death.<sup>10</sup> Burchard placed the series earlier than most other students, about 1625-27, therefore before *The Triumph of the Eucharist*, partly because such an early date would exclude a commission from the King of England, an opinion he sought to contradict. Later he agreed with others that a date after 1630 was more likely.<sup>11</sup>

Comparison of the oil sketches and modelli of the Achilles series on the one hand with oil sketches and modelli for other works of art on the other hand leaves no doubt about the place of this series in the work of Rubens. The execution of those sketches that are carried through in detail, particularly *Thetis Receiving Armour for Achilles from Hephaestus* (No. 4a; Figs. 31, 33, 35, 37), *The Wrath of Achilles* (No. 5a; Figs. 44, 46, 48) and *The Death of*

<sup>10</sup> A review of opinions of the most authoritative writers on Rubens reads as follows: Early 1620's: R. Oldenbourg, in *K.d.K.*, p. 463; ca. 1625-27: Burchard, 1950, p. 15; Haverkamp Begemann, 1953, p. 76; *Cat. Exh. Drawings and Oil Sketches by P.P. Rubens*, Cambridge - New York, 1956, under No. 37; ca. 1625-30: H. Thomson, *A History of Tapestry*, London, 1930, p. 285; soon after 1630: Rooses, III, p. 42 ("si... pour Charles I ... peu après son retour d'Angleterre"); Van Puyvelde, *Skizzen*, p. 40 (1630-32); Goris-Held, pp. 36 (about 1630), 53 (about 1630-32); C. Norris, *Rubens' Sketches at Rotterdam*, *The Connoisseur*, June, 1954, p. 28 (years immediately following 1630); J.S. Held, *Rubens, Selected Drawings*, I, London, 1959, p. 74 (soon after 1630); E. Haverkamp Begemann, *Rubens in Rotterdam, Apollo*, LXXXVI, July, 1967, p. 39 (about 1630-32); J.S. Held, *Rubens' Triumph of the Eucharist and the Modello in Louisville*, *J.B. Speed Art Museum Bulletin*, XXVI, 3, February, 1968; p. 4 (soon after 1630); d'Hulst, 1968, pp. 31, 100 (1630-32); J. Müller Hofstede, *Die Kunst des 17. Jahrhunderts (Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, IX)*, Berlin, 1970, p. 168 (soon after 1630); R.-A. d'Hulst, *Pieter Crijnse Volmarijn... (Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen..., Klasse der Schone Kunsten, XXXII, 1)*, Brussels, 1970, p. 122 (1630-32); ca. 1630-34: Brussels, 1937; ca. 1630-35: Lafond, 1902, p. 530; M. Rooses, *Rubens, op. cit.*, pp. 530 ("probably from 1630-35"), 532 ("about 1635"); W.R. Valentiner, *Gemälde des Rubens in Amerika, Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, XLVII, 1911-12, p. 264 and *The Art of the Low Countries, Studies*, Garden City-New York, 1914, pp. 190, 236; Göbel, 1923, p. 423 (ca. 1630-35); M. Jaffé, in *Cat. Exh. Jacob Jordaens*, Ottawa, 1968-69, p. 185 (not earlier than 1630, not later than mid 1630's); after 1630: H. Gerson, in H. Gerson and E.H. ter Kuile, *op. cit.*, p. 93; 1632-35: C. Sterling, in *Paris*, 1936, p. 133; 1630-35 or later: Stechow, 1965, n. 5; perhaps towards the end of the artist's life: Crick-Kuntziger, 1934, p. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Shortly after the exhibition of 1953-54 in Rotterdam, Burchard told me that he had second thoughts about the date 1625-27, and that a date soon after 1630 was more likely. He then also mentioned, and criticized, his earlier reasoning.

*Achilles* (No. 8a; Figs. 74, 77, 79, 81), has much more in common with sketches for the ceiling of the Banqueting House at Whitehall (Rotterdam, Brussels, and elsewhere),<sup>12</sup> executed between 1630 and 1635, *The Carrying of the Cross* (Amsterdam)<sup>13</sup> of 1634 and *The Martyrdom of St. Livinus* (Rotterdam),<sup>14</sup> probably of about 1633, than with any sketch Rubens made before his return from England in 1630. Those sections of the oil sketches that are summarily executed, and particularly *Achilles Vanquishing Hector* (No. 7a, Figs. 62, 64, 66, 68), have much in common with the preliminary sketch for *The Martyrdom of St. Livinus* (Brussels)<sup>15</sup> that preceded the more detailed sketch just mentioned. The oil sketches, although fully comparable in function to the modelli of *The Triumph of the Eucharist*<sup>16</sup> show a bolder, freer, and sometimes less careful handling of the brush than the latter, a difference that also indicates a later origin. Furthermore, the framework of the Achilles series is clearly a further stage of that of *The Triumph of the Eucharist*. Finally, from August 28, 1628, to April 6, 1630, Rubens was in Paris, Madrid and London (except for a few days when he was in Antwerp), and it is unlikely that he painted the series when he was on these diplomatic missions. For all these reasons he must have designed the Achilles series after 1630. How long after is difficult to establish with certainty. Some of the sketches for the decorations of the Torre de la Parada are similar in colour and execution to Achilles sketches, and it is dangerous to be dogmatic about a date *post quem non*. Yet it seems likely that the series was not designed later than about 1635.

<sup>12</sup> *d'Hulst*, 1968, Nos. 28-30, figs. 15, 16, 38.

<sup>13</sup> *d'Hulst*, 1968, No. 36, fig. 19.

<sup>14</sup> *d'Hulst*, 1968, No. 34, fig. 43.

<sup>15</sup> *d'Hulst*, 1968, No. 33, fig. 42.

<sup>16</sup> For *The Triumph of the Eucharist*, see the recent article clarifying many aspects of the series, by J.S. Held, *Rubens' Triumph of the Eucharist...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-22.

## II. THE SUBJECT AND ITS SOURCES

In *The History of Achilles* Rubens represented the life of the Greek hero from early youth to death in eight episodes. This was a most unusual subject, since through the Middle Ages and the Renaissance up to the time of Rubens artists had limited themselves to individual episodes of the life of Achilles in the context of the Trojan war and the romances that illustrated its legends, and occasionally had serialized his youth only. Not since classical antiquity had the life of Achilles been illustrated from beginning to end. This does not imply that the originality of the designs of Rubens is confined to the subject matter of the series as a whole. Some of the episodes had rarely been illustrated, one perhaps not at all, and those that had been illustrated were newly formulated by Rubens. Apparently Rubens designed the series without relying on previous representations of the subject. Parallels, however, are found in the older literature, and these should be investigated first in an effort to clarify the interpretation Rubens gave of the subject. A review of the artistic background, limited as it is, will follow, and finally the question what circumstances may have favoured the creation of such an unusual subject in art will be asked, although it can be answered only partially.

Here the subject matter of the series of eight tapestries and their corresponding oil sketches and modelli as a whole, or the plot of the story and the selection of episodes, will be reviewed first, with little attention to the subject matter of the individual episodes, which will be discussed at greater length in the catalogue. The plot of this biographical tale as painted by Rubens can be outlined in the words of those descriptions of the life of Achilles that were probably known to him, primarily the *Mythologiæ* by Natale Conti and the *Dictionarium* by Charles Estienne, as will be discussed below, and that were generally read at the time. Further sources of individual episodes will be discussed in the catalogue.

Thetis, immortal as a sea goddess, knew that Achilles, her son by Peleus, although king of the Myrmidons, was no more than human. She had learned from an oracle "that the child would surpass all his ancestors in glory, splendour and fame, but that he had a good chance to end his days in the first flowering of his years, and to be killed by treason by someone less valiant than he ... In order to ward off this fate, Thetis ... went to dip her son in the infernal river Styx; and by this means she made him invulnerable in every part of his body,



except in the sole of his feet, which she held while dipping him in the water”<sup>1</sup> (No. 1, *Achilles Dipped into the River Styx*). “Then he was entrusted to Chiron in Thessalia for his education, under whose guidance he learned the arts of warfare, and of music”<sup>2</sup> (No. 2, *Achilles Instructed by Chiron*). “... when Thetis foresaw that a war would result from Helena’s abduction by Paris, and that her son Achilles would be slain in it, she wanted to try to avoid his death by a clever scheme. Therefore, when he was still a boy she secretly removed him from Chiron’s cave when he was asleep, and took him to the island of Scyros, to the house of King Lycomedes. She gave him to Lycomedes, disguised in girl’s clothes, to serve him as a maiden among his other daughters, and instructed him not to reveal to anyone that he was male. But his being a man could not remain hidden for long from the maiden Deidamia, daughter of Lycomedes, and when the time came he slept with her, and she conceived by him and gave birth to a son, whom they later called Pyrrhus. For the sake of their love, however, she kept the sex of the young man hidden from others.

<sup>1</sup> Natale Conti (Natalis Comes), *Mythologiae sive explicationis fabularum libri decem*, first edition 1551, here translated from the expanded French translation by I. de Montlyard, *Mythologie ou Explication des fables ...*, Paris, 1627, p. 1010: “... pour sçavoir quelque chose de sa [=d’Achille] destinée, [Thetis] s’alla conseiller à l’Oracle de Themis, qui luy respondit, Que l’enfant surpasseroit la gloire, le splendeur & la renommée de tous ses devanciers; mais qu’il couroit fortune de finir les iours en la premiere fleur de ses ans, & d’estre occis en trahison par un de moindre valeur que luy, qui devoit susciter en Asie une longue & funeste guerre à l’occasion d’une belle Dame. Pour destourner cette destinee, Thetis estant de retour alla plonger son fils dedans le fleuve infernal de Styx; & par ce moyen le rendit invulnerable en toutes parties de son corps, excepté la plante des pieds qu’elle tenoit en le plongeant...”. Boccaccio describes the scene briefly, and mentions the heel as the vulnerable spot (“As soon as his mother had given birth to him, she carried him to the underworld, where, in order to make him invulnerable, she immersed him entirely in the waters of the Styx, except for his heel by which she held him”: “Quem cum peperisset mater, continuo ad inferos detulit & ut laborum patientem redderet, totum stygiis undis immersit, excepto calcaneo, quo illum tenebat.” *De Genealogia Deorum*, Basle, 1532, p. 307 [see below, n. 3]). Charles Estienne gives a similar account but does not name “the lower part of the foot” that remained vulnerable: Charles Estienne (Carolus Stephanus), *Dictionarium historicum...*, first edition, Paris, 1553. At least nine editions were published between 1553 and 1600. Here translated from the late edition published in Oxford, 1670, p. 17 (for quotation, see below, n. 8).

<sup>2</sup> Charles Estienne, *Dictionarium historicum* (see preceding footnote and for quotation footnote 8). Natale Conti (see preceding footnote) also relates the education of Achilles after the immersion in the Styx, so did also Boccaccio and most lexicographers.

But since the Greeks had joined forces against the Trojans, and because they had received an answer from the oracle that Troy could not be captured without Achilles, Ulysses was sent to look for him. When he heard that Achilles was secretly kept in woman's clothes among the daughters of Lycomedes, and in order to avoid abducting a woman instead of the young man, Ulysses once more thought out a trick. Dressed as a merchant, he placed trinkets in which maidens found great delight near the daughters of Lycomedes, and among the objects he placed a bow and quiver, reasoning that if Achilles was among them he would take the bow. And his idea worked. After Ulysses had recognized him, since he took the bow, he easily persuaded him to follow him into the war" <sup>3</sup> (No. 3, *Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes*). Rubens substituted a helmet for the bow, other authors a shield or a sword. "Achilles ... discovered by the cleverness of Ulysses, could not withdraw from the journey. Thetis, knowing her son's fate, therefore went to see Hephaestus, to beg him to forge him invincible armour, and so well wrought that no human hand, however strong, could pierce it ... Hephaestus made haste producing them for her: but he refused to let her have them unless he could first sleep with

<sup>3</sup> Giovanni Boccaccio, *De Genealogia Deorum Libri XV*, Book XII, Chapter LII. The edition here used was published in Basle, 1532, with annotations by Iacob Micyllus. The passage here translated is found on pp. 307, 308: "Tandem cum Thetis rapta à Paride Helena præ sagio cerneret bellum futurum & in eum Achillem filium periturum, ad eius si posset evitandam mortem consilio, clam illum adhuc impubem ex antro Chironis dormientem rapuit, & in Scyron insulam in domum Lycomedis regis detulit, & vestimentis puellaribus tectum atque prædoctum, ne se masculum cuiquam demonstraret, quasi virginem inter alias servandum tradidit Lycomedi. Verum Deidamiæ virgini Lycomedis filiæ diu eum masculum fore occultum, esse non potuit, cum qua tempore captato concubuit, & propter amoris commodum ipsa etiam iuvenis sexum occultuit, ex eo tamen concepit & peperit filium, quem Pyrrhum postea vocavere. Cæterum cum coniurassent in Troianos Græci, & responsum accepissent absque Achille capi Troiam non posse, ad eum exquirendum Ulysses missus est. Quem cum audisset in muliebri habitu apud filias Lycomedis clam teneri, ne loco iuvenis virginem auferrent, novam commentus est fraudem, cumque se in mercatorem finxisset, & iocalia, quibus se delectare virgines consuevere, filiabus Lycomedis apposuisset, inter ea circumposuit & pharetram, arbitratus Achillem, si illis immixtus esset, arcum sumpturum, nec defuit cogitationi successus. Quem postquam arcum trahentem cognovit, facile suasionibus induxit, ut se sequeretur in bellum...". Natale Conti also tells the events in a similar way, Charles Estienne's statement is a little shorter but also says the same (for text see below, n. 8).

her ..." <sup>4</sup> (No. 4, *Thetis Receiving Armour for Achilles from Hephaestus*). On his journey from Scyros to the Greek army before Troy, Achilles "... assembled an enormous booty, including the maiden daughter of a priest of Apollo, whom he gave to Agamemnon, and Briseis, whom he kept for himself. But when Agamemnon was ordered by the gods to return the girl to her father the priest, he took Briseis from Achilles. For that reason Achilles remained indignant for a long time, and refused to take up arms against the Trojans, not moved by anyone, neither by persuasion nor by prayer" <sup>5</sup> (No. 5, *The Wrath of Achilles*). Only after his friend Patroclus had died, did Achilles decide to take up his arms and resume the fighting. Agamemnon, knowing that the Greeks could not win without the support of Achilles, had promised him generous gifts to persuade him. Now the moment had come to give Achilles these gifts, which included Briseis. None of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors reports the event, undoubtedly because the medieval romances had left it out, but Rubens did include it in his series, basing himself directly on Homer's *Iliad* (No. 6, *Briseis Restored to Achilles*). Natale Conti continued: "... moved

<sup>4</sup> Natale Conti, *op. cit.*, p. 1011: "... ayant esté découvert par la subtilité d'Ulysse, il ne se peust exempter du voyage. Thetis doncque connoissant la necessité de son fils, s'en alla trouver Vulcan, luy priant de luy forger des armes invincibles, & de si bonne trempe, que bras humain, tant robuste fust-il, ne les peust percer, comme dit Philarche en ses contes fabuleux. Vulcan les luy depescha: mais il fit refus de les luy bailler que premierement il n'eust couché avec elle..." The reference to Phylarchus as a source probably refers to the following lines telling the story of the price Thetis had to pay, or at least promised to pay, because she ran away from Hephaestus after having put on the armour to try it out (Phylarchus' story is recorded by Pindarus and Tzetzes). Boccaccio places the episode of Thetis receiving armour after the death of Patroclus, in accordance with Homer, and omits the story of the conditions made by Hephaestus. In contrast, Charles Estienne parallels or follows Natale Conti, and lets the armour-scene follow the discovery of Achilles and precede the anger-scene (for quotation see below, n. 8).

<sup>5</sup> Boccaccio, *op. cit.*, p. 308: "... ægitque prædam ingentem, & inter alia virginem sacerdotis Apollinis filiam, quam Agamemnoni concessit, & Briseidam, quam æque ceperat sibi reservavit. Sanè cum iam iussu deorum oportuisset Agamemnonem sacerdoti natam restituere. Briseidam illi surripuit. Quamobrem indignatus Achilles diu stetit, nec arma adversus Troianos capere voluit ullius suasionem vel precibus." Natale Conti, in the translation by Montlyard, gives a similar account, but omits reference to the slave girl given to Agamemnon, and names the beloved of Achilles, Hippodamia, instead of Briseis (in both cases the daughter of Briseus). Charles Estienne is short and to the point: "Porro, in bello post multas res præclarissime gestas, adeo ab ereptam sibi ab Agamemnone Briseida indignatus est, ut aliquandiu bello abstinuerit, neque ullis precibus reduci potuerit" (*op. cit.*, p. 17).

at last by the death of his faithful friend and companion Patroclus, killed by Hector, Achilles returned to the battle-field and killed Hector ..." (No. 7, *Achilles Vanquishing Hector*). Finally having seen one day Polyxena, daughter of Priam, on the battlements of the walls of Troy, he fell in love with her; he made Priam understand through special messengers that he would carry arms in defence and preservation of Priam's state and his crown, if he would give him his daughter in marriage. Priam accepted these offers and demands, but when they met for this purpose in the temple of Apollo Thymbraeus, Paris, brother of the dead Hector, surreptitiously pierced that part of Achilles's foot that had not been immersed in the water of the Styx; from which he died ... <sup>6</sup> (No. 8, *The Death of Achilles*).

A selection of quotations from three authors, Boccaccio, Natale Conti and Charles Estienne may seem contrived, yet may be considered justified since they described the life of Achilles in similar terms, the last one borrowing from the second and both from the first. The story, as told first by Boccaccio and repeated, and somewhat changed and enlarged by Conti, was also retold by other writers, and may be considered generally known through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Another author who gave a similar synopsis of the life of Achilles is Raffaello Maffei in his encyclopædic *Commentarii Urbani*, first published in 1506 and often reprinted throughout the sixteenth century.<sup>7</sup> All writers started with the efforts of Thetis to make her son immortal (Montlyard added in the late edition of Conti a reference to her other methods in

<sup>6</sup> Natale Conti, *op. cit.*, p. 1013: "... en fain esmeu de la mort de son fidele amy & compagnon Patrocle occis par Hector il retourna au camp, & tua Hector... Finalement comme il eut un iour apperceu Polyxene fille de Priam sur les carneaux de la muraille, il en devint amoureux; si fit entendre à Priam par messagers exprés, que s'il luy vouloit bailler la fille en mariage, il porteroit les armes pour la défense & conservation de son Estat & de sa couronne. Les quelles offres & demandes Priam accepta; mais comme ils estoient assemblez pour cet effect au Temple d'Apollon Thymbree, Pâris frère d'Hector defunct luy transperça porditoirement avec une fleche, la partie du pied qui n'avait trempé dans l'eau Stygienne, dont il mourut...". Boccaccio gives a similar account, but stresses Hecuba's initiative and plays down Achilles's treason (for quotation, see *Catalogue Raisonné* under No. 8), Charles Estienne is very brief: "Occisus est tandem a Paride, dum conjugium cum Polyxena speraret..." (*op. cit.*, pp. 17, 18; see below n. 8).

<sup>7</sup> Raffaello Maffei Volterrano, *Commentariorum Urbanorum Libri 38*, Rome, 1506, pp. 477, 478. Maffei narrates the life of Achilles in the section "Philologia" rather than in the biographical section ("Anthropologia").

pursuit of this goal and to her inquiry at the oracle of Themis), proceeded to the education of Achilles by Chiron and his stay and subsequent discovery among the daughters of Lycomedes, all four included the episode of Thetis obtaining armour for Achilles from Hephaestus, the wrath of Achilles, Achilles slaying Hector, and all ended with the death of Achilles by the hand of Paris after having been lured to a temple to marry Polyxena. The main difference between the authors in the editions here quoted is the placement of the episode of Thetis receiving armour from Hephaestus: Boccaccio and Maffei placed it, in accordance with Homer, after the episode of Patroclus being killed wearing the armour of Achilles, but they mentioned the episode only in passing whereas Conti and Estienne made Thetis go to Hephaestus upon learning that Achilles had been discovered on the island of Scyros, and Conti elaborated in great detail on the event.<sup>8</sup> Conti and Estienne moved the episode back undoubt-

<sup>8</sup> The differences between the narrative of the life of Achilles given by the four authors can best be measured by comparing Maffei, Conti and Estienne with the earlier Boccaccio. Boccaccio describes or mentions the following events in this order: Thetis tries to make Achilles invulnerable by dipping him into the Styx; she entrusts him to Chiron; she sends him to the court of Lycomedes; Achilles fathers a son; Achilles discovered by Ulysses; Achilles conquers booty and Briseis; Agamemnon returns Chryseis and takes Briseis from Achilles; the anger of Achilles; Patroclus slain by Hector; Thetis fortifies Achilles mourning Patroclus, bringing him new armour made by Hephaestus; Achilles takes up arms and kills Hector; Achilles drags the body of Hector around Troy; Achilles slays Troilus; Hecuba devises a ruse to entrap Achilles by pretending that her daughter Polyxena will marry him; Achilles surreptitiously murdered in the temple of Apollo Thymbraeus; Achilles buried in the mountains of Sigeum. Maffei follows Boccaccio in the sequence of episodes, and also in the lack of emphasis on Thetis receiving armour from Hephaestus, the main difference being his relegating the reference to Deidamia's son to the end of the story when mentioning that Achilles had a son Pyrrhus. The account given by Natale Conti in the French edition of 1627 is remarkably similar, the most important addition being the tale of other efforts to make Achilles invulnerable, the consulting by Thetis of the oracle when Achilles was a small boy, Telephos cured by Achilles, and Achilles landing near Troy (Earlier editions are sparser in their elaborations). The most significant difference with Boccaccio is the placement of Thetis receiving armour and the related omission of Patroclus borrowing the armour of Achilles, and of his subsequent death by the hand of Hector. Charles Estienne gives a shorter recapitulation which is remarkably close to Rubens's series, the only difference being the omission of the return of Briseis. Because of this proximity the text is quoted here in full as it appears in the late edition of 1670 (pp. 17, 18), the only one presently at my disposal: "Achilles, Pelei & Thetidis filius, quem adhuc infantem mater stygiis undis immersit: quamobrem invulnerabilis toto corpore factus est, præterquam in ea pedis parte qua comprehensus ab ipsa fuerat dum ablueretur. Traditus est educandus Chironi Thessalo sub quo bellicis

edly because in the medieval romances the episode of Patroclus requesting Achilles to lend him his armour and that of its subsequent loss were omitted, which made the procurement of new armour superfluous. Furthermore, each of the authors included scenes that the other omitted, and subsequent editions of Conti's and Estienne's dictionaries further varied the story by omitting and adding details. But the plot as told by these writers is the same.

To conclude, the story as told by these authors presents a very close parallel to *The History of Achilles* as designed by Rubens. In the placement of the episode of *Thetis Receiving Armour* Rubens probably followed Conti and Estienne rather than Boccaccio and Maffei who both adhered to Homer, because the scene as depicted differs in many respects from Homer's text (see the catalogue), and above all because the rhythm of the series would be disrupted if the episode were placed after *The Wrath of Achilles*. We will return to this question below.

The most notable difference between the story as told in the dictionaries and the version painted by Rubens is the latter's inclusion of the episode of the return of Briseis to Achilles. All dictionaries (at least all those known to me) omit the scene. Perhaps wishing to balance the earlier episode of the separation of Achilles and Deidamia, Rubens reverted to Homer, and by interpreting the latter's text freely, he emphasized the reunion of Achilles with his beloved Briseis.

artibus, ac Musices exercitio proficerat [ref. to Statius and Ovid]... Hunc autem cum mater ex oraculo didicisset in expeditione Troiana periturum, si eo cum cæteris ducibus proficisceretur, iam adultum inter Lycomedis regis filias furtim occuluit, & ne proderetur, muliebri habitu eum induit: ubi cum aliquandiu delituisset, Deidamiam regis filiam vitavit, ex qua Pyrrhum suscepit [ref. to Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 13]. Postremo tamen ab Ulysse astu compertus, ad bellum ductus est. Troja enim absente Achille expugnari non potuit. Arma, quæ nulla humana vi penetrari possent, à Vulcano, Thetidis rogatu, illi fabricata sunt. Porro, in bello post multas res præclarissime gestas, adeo ob ereptam sibi ab Agamemnone Briseida indignatus est, ut aliquandiu bello abstinuerit, neque ullis precibus reduci potuerit. Verum Patrocli amici coniunctissimi morte permotus, denuo ad bellum profectus, Hectorum interfecit, quem mortuum, & curru alligatum, ter circum urbis muros raptavit (& hæc omnia in Patrocli ultionem) ac demum Priamo corpus vendidit [ref. to Virgil, *Aeneid*, I, Propertius 2, 8, Ennius, etc.]. Occisus est tandem à Paride, dum/conjugium cum Polyxena speraret, & in sigeo sepultus". Follow a discussion of the origin of the word "Achilles", and references to other legends about the efforts of Thetis to make Achilles immortal.

Did Rubens have these biographies of the Greek hero in mind when he designed his version? Before the question can be answered, other contemporary and sixteenth-century literature should be considered briefly. Other mythological manuals and dictionaries than the ones mentioned shortened the story or compressed it to a few episodes. The immersion in the Styx is omitted in the dictionary of Ambrogio Calepino, which includes all the other episodes of Rubens's series with the usual exception of the return of Briseis,<sup>9</sup> but in a dictionary that tried to clarify difficult aspects rather than provide a compendium of data, the *Elucidarius ... poeticus* by Torrentius, only the death of Achilles is commented upon,<sup>10</sup> whereas for the English speaking world, in the *Bibliotheca Eliothæ*, the story is reduced to references to the instruction by Chiron, the slaying of Hector and the treacherous slaying of the hero.<sup>11</sup>

It remains to be asked what the contemporary belletristic literature provided. In 1627, Vincent Borée published a play in Lyons, under the title *Achille victorieux*, the theme being the fight between Achilles and Memnon, each enamoured of Polyxena. In England, Thomas Powell wrote a poem in 1598 entitled *Loves Leprosie*, on the subject of the love of Achilles for Polyxena and his subsequent death at the hand of Paris. In Spain, no one less than Tirso de Molina (Fray Gabriel Téllez) wrote a mythological comedy, probably about

<sup>9</sup> Ambrogio Calepino (Ambrosius Calepinus), *Dictionarium multarum dictionum*, first edition 1502. Here used ed. Venice, 1542, folio 9<sup>vo</sup>, s.v. *Achilles* "[discourse about spelling]... Pelei & Thetidis filius, Chironi nutriendus datus est. Inter filias Lycomedis sub habitu muliebri absconditus ex Deidamia generat Pyrrhum. Indignatus contra Agamemnonem, post mortem Patrocli suscepit à Vulcano arma nova, Hectorum occidit, à Paride coniugium Polyxenæ sperans tandem occiditur, & in Sige sepelitur". That is all.

<sup>10</sup> Herman van Beek (Torrentius), *Elucidarius poeticus*, first published December, 1498, it was often reprinted through the sixteenth century. As late as 1644 a translation under the title "Elucidario poetico", without author's name, was added to Boccaccio's *Della Geneologia [sic] de gli Dei*, Venice, 1644. The short text on Achilles is a literal translation of the corresponding passage in earlier Latin editions.

<sup>11</sup> Sir Thomas Elyot, *Bibliotheca Eliothæ*, London, 1552, s.v. *Achilleus*: "... one of the most valiant capitaynes of the Grekes against Troye. He was sonne unto Peleus, in his chyldehode he was instructed of Chiron in deedes of armes and surgery. After, he slew the noble Hector, and Troylus his brother, the one sodeynely, the other cruelly, wherefore afterwarde, he by the sleight of quene Hecuba, was brought into the love of Polixena, and under the colour of mariage was sleyne by Paris..."

1611/12, with the story of Achilles at the court of Lycomedes as its central theme, turning it into a humorous farce.<sup>12</sup> Other aspects of the life of Achilles furnished the subject for other plays, poems and novels, but none of these works seem to have provided Rubens with material for his designs for *The History of Achilles*.<sup>13</sup>

The supposition that Rubens derived the outline of *The History of Achilles* from contemporary mythological manuals and dictionaries is supported by the absence of similar biographical treatment in classical literature. Not one of the sources included a coherent biographical or pseudo-biographical description of the life of the hero. Homer described in his epos only four of the eight episodes painted by Rubens, and he placed one of them (*Thetis Receiving Armour*) at a different moment in the story. Homer introduced Achilles when the fierce quarrel with Agamemnon erupted, and did not tell about the youth of Achilles, neither about his death. Later writers, particularly Dares and Dictys, pretending that they had been eyewitnesses of the Trojan war, added details to the life of Achilles among the numerous other tales about the war not recounted by

<sup>12</sup> Vincent Borée, *Achille Victorieux, au Sérénissime Prince Thomas de Savoye, Prince de Carignan*, Lyons, 1627. *Loves Leprosie* has not been available to me; its title and the nature of its subject are found in D. Bush, *Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry*, London, 1932. Tirso de Molina's comedy *Aquiles* has been reprinted in his *Obras dramáticas completas*, ed. by Blanca de los Ríos, I, Madrid, 1946, pp. 1907-1947, with an analysis (pp. 1887-1907) that includes references to other literary treatments of the subject which I have used here.

<sup>13</sup> The stay of Achilles at the court of Lycomedes of course provided a welcome theme for poets and other writers (Sir Thomas Browne, *Hydriotaphia*, 1658: "What song the Syrens sang, or what name Achilles assumed when he hid himself among women, though puzzling questions, are not beyond all conjecture"; I thank R.S. Sylvester for the quote). It provided the basic theme for the comedy of Cristóbal de Monroy y Silva, *El Caballero Dama*, for Pietro Metastasio's drama *Achille in Sciro* (1738) and for *Achille à Scyros* by Luce de Lancival (1784-1810), mainly based on the text of Statius. The death of Achilles as told by Dictys and Dares became the subject of *La Mort d'Achille* by Alexandre Hardy (fl. 1595-1631), and was combined with the fight over his arms by Isaac de Benserade (1613-91) in his *La Mort d'Achille, et la dispute de ses armes, Tragédie*, Paris, 1637. The great fabulist Jean de la Fontaine (1621-95) left an unfinished manuscript tragedy entitled *Achille*; the story begins with a dialogue between Briseis and Lydia, friend of Patroclus, that took place while Achilles refused to take up arms, and ends with Patroclus taking leave of Lydia wearing the armour of Achilles.



Homer. In the popular Trojan legends in the Middle Ages these earlier sources were expanded and modified, yet apparently no description or outline of the entire life of Achilles was written, at least none is known to this writer.<sup>14</sup>

For a survey of the life of Achilles, Rubens therefore had to revert to the classical dictionaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>15</sup> They were very well known, were continuously reprinted and expanded. The two quoted above, the *Dictionarium* by Estienne and the *Mythologiae* by Conti, were most frequently used. As mentioned above, their description of the life of Achilles is undoubtedly based on the corresponding section of Boccaccio's *Genealogy of the Gods*, which is closer to the classical sources and to writers like Dictys or Dares than many of the entries of the later dictionaries. Rubens may have

<sup>14</sup> For Achilles in classical literature, see C. Fleischer, s.v. *Achilleus* in W.H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, 1, 1, Leipzig, 1884-1886, cols. 11-66, and additions to it in Pauly-Wissowa. For an excellent introduction to the enormous subject of the Trojan war in art and literature, see M.R. Scherer, *The Legends of Troy in Art and Literature*, New York-London, 1963, with very useful bibliographies and lists of works of art. A large and useful catalogue of subjects of the Trojan legends in classical literature (not in medieval literature) with references to sources is found in the two volumes of Charles Vellay, *Les Légendes du cycle Troyen*, Monaco, [1957].

<sup>15</sup> None of those who wrote on the Achilles series (including this writer in 1953) recognized the significance of contemporary and sixteenth-century mythological literature as a source for the structure and choice of elements of the History of Achilles as a biographical series of episodes. The reason may have been that the classical sources of the individual scenes blocked access to the later literature. Silberman considered Conti as a source for individual scenes, but concluded that there was "no connection between Comes and Rubens" (*Silberman*, 1962, p. 58, n. 101). If this applies to the representation of details of episodes, Miss Silberman's supposition that Rubens composed the series as a whole solely from classical sources cannot be accepted. Since she wrote her study, it was shown that Conti provided the source for the episode *Thetis Leading the Boy Achilles to the Oracle* added to the series after a cartoon by Jordaens (*Stechow*, 1965, n. 10, suggested by E. Panofsky). For an introduction to mythological and historical dictionaries and their impact on literature and art in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see J. Seznec, *La Survivance des dieux antiques*, London, 1940 (translated as *The Survival of the Pagan Gods*, New York, 1953, and later editions), and also D.T. Starnes and E.W. Talbert, *Classical Myth and Legend in Renaissance Dictionaries...*, Chapel Hill, 1955. Basic for the study of classical mythology in the 16th and 17th centuries remains O. Gruppe, *Geschichte der klassischen Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte während des Mittelalters im Abendland und während der Neuzeit*, Leipzig, 1921 (= Supplement to W.H. Roscher, *op. cit.*).

known the *Genealogy of the Gods*, either in one of the Latin or Italian editions, or in the French translation published in Paris in 1531.<sup>16</sup>

Rubens deviated from the outline of the life of Achilles, as he found it in one of the ubiquitous dictionaries, not only by adding the episode of the return of Briseis, narrated by Homer, but also by applying his knowledge of a great number of classical and post-classical writers to the other episodes.<sup>17</sup> One text known to him was the *Achilleid*, the fragmentary life of Achilles written by Publius Papinius Statius (ca. A.D. 45-96), which gives the story of the youth of the hero to his return from the island of Scyros. The tale, lively and full of details, dwelling at length on the stay of Achilles among the daughters of Lycomedes, is reflected in one of the designs of Rubens (No. 3). The book was well known in the artist's circle, one of the most notable editions having been published in Antwerp in 1595, a second one in Leyden in 1616 by Johan Caspar Gevaerts (Gevartius), the same friend of Rubens who participated in the programme and publication of the decorations of the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, a third one by Emery Crucé in Paris in 1618.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Although Boccaccio's *De Genealogia Deorum libri XV* seems a likely source for Rubens, I have found no reference to it in connection with the Achilles series. The book, written in Latin and first printed in Latin (Venice, 1472), was often reprinted and translated (Latin: Reggio d'Emilia, 1481, etc.; Basle, 1511, 1532; French: Paris, 1498, 1551, 1578; Italian: Venice, 1547, 1554, 1574, etc. and as late as 1644). The life of Achilles, in the Latin edition by Micyllus of 1532 (Basle) on pp. 307-310, is found in the Italian translation by Giuseppe Betussi published in Venice in 1547 on folios 215, 216, in later editions of this same translation (Venice, 1554, 1574, and other years) on folios 200, 201 (in spite of the index still referring to folio 215). None of the French editions has been available to me.

<sup>17</sup> The classical, Homeric as well as post-Homeric, sources of the life of Achilles as represented by Rubens were first traced in detail, but not without errors, by *Collot*, 1852, and subsequently, in a sound although incomplete analysis, by *Goeler von Ravensburg*, 1882, pp. 143-147. Significant new contributions were made by Susan J. Silberman in her M.A. thesis on this very subject (*Silberman*, 1962). She corrected many errors in *Haverkamp Begemann*, 1953, which was written in haste (although that cannot be considered an excuse). The "contention that Rubens based each of the scenes on a classical text which he followed with the utmost rigor" (p. 5), however does not allow for influence of later literary texts or for Rubens modifying the data provided by these texts. The article by *Cocke*, 1971, duplicates findings and interpretations made by Silberman.

<sup>18</sup> J. Barnaert (Bernartius), *P. Statii Papinii opera quæ extant...*, Antwerp, 1595; Johan Caspar Gevaerts (Gevartius), *Publii Papinii Statii opera omnia...*, Leiden, 1616; Emery Crucé (La Croix, Emericus Cruceus), *Publeus Papinius Statius, opera*, Paris, 1618; a

A second classical text that probably provided Rubens with features for one of the episodes, that of *Achilles Instructed by Chiron*, is Philostratus the Elder's *Imagines* (for parallels with Rubens's scene, see the catalogue under No. 2). Rubens owned an edition of the book since May, 1614, a French translation, which probably was the one by Blaise de Vigenère published in Paris that same year.<sup>19</sup> That edition, in its extensive annotations, demonstrates the vast erudition of the classicists in Paris at the time. Although the imaginary descriptions by Philostratus the Elder and the Younger are not specifically concerned with the Trojan war, the episodes of the life of Achilles represented by Rubens, although not in any sequence, can be found dispersed through the book in a number of notes clarifying the text.

Finally, Rubens adhered closely to Homer's words in three of the eight episodes: *The Wrath of Achilles*, *Briseis Returned to Achilles*, and *Achilles Vanquishing Hector*. In the depiction of action as well as in setting and in other details, Rubens followed the text of the *Iliad*, well known to him from any of the many editions, whether in Greek, Latin or French. The close parallels and the occasional deviations are mentioned in the catalogue (particularly Nos. 5, 6 and

recent edition, useful for introduction, translation and bibliography is J. Méheust, *Stace, Achilléide, texte établi et traduit par...*, Paris, 1971. For Gevartius as classicist and his relationship to Rubens, see M. Hoc, *Le Déclin de l'Humanisme belge, Etude sur Jean-Gaspard Gevaerts...*, Brussels, 1922. Rubens and Gevaerts knew each other since 1619 (according to Hoc). In a letter of December 29, 1628 to Gevaerts, Rubens refers to "Papinian" and to a "commentary" of Gevaerts on him (R.S. Magurn, *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, Cambridge, Mass., 1955, p. 294); from the context it appears that Rubens was referring to a contemporary and to his correspondent's opinion of him rather than to Statius and Gevaert's edition of the *Achilleid*, as S. von Hoyningen-Huene MacRae interpreted the passage (*Rubens' Library* [M.A. thesis, Columbia University], New York, 1971, p. 120, under No. 286).

<sup>19</sup> *Les Images ou tableaux de platte peinture des deux Philostrates sophistes grecs et les statues de Calliste mis en français par Blaise de Vigenère... et representez en taille douce...*, Paris, 1614. The numerous French editions (1602, 1615, 1627, 1629) indicate that the book was well known to the French reading public. That Rubens owned a copy of the French edition of the *Imagines* since 1614 appears from the accounts of Balthasar Moretus (*Rubens-Bulletijn*, II, 1885, p. 189; S. van Hoyningen-Huene MacRae, *op. cit.*, No. 216). Silberman, 1962, p. 17, was the first to suppose that Rubens may have used the Paris edition of 1614. For representations of motifs from the *Imagines* (not only in the Renaissance) see the fine article by R. Foerster, *Philostrats Gemälde in der Renaissance*, *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XXV, 1904, pp. 15-48.

7). In some instances Rubens incorporated details described by Virgil, Ovid and others.

If Rubens adopted the outline of the life of Achilles as it was described in sixteenth-century mythological manuals and dictionaries, and used classical sources for details of the individual episodes, did he take advantage of previous illustrations, either of the entire life of the hero, or of certain episodes? Such earlier representations will be reviewed here briefly, although such a review necessarily must remain fragmentary.

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, the entire life of Achilles does not seem to have been illustrated in a sequence of episodes since classical antiquity.<sup>20</sup> A well known classical example is the marble band of the fourth century in the Museo Capitolino, in the Middle Ages enclosed in a marble panel in the Church of Sta. Maria in Araceli.<sup>21</sup> The sequence of episodes of the life of Achilles begins with his birth and ends with his dragging Hector around the walls of Troy. Equally well known is the bronze relief with scenes from the life of Achilles made to decorate a Roman triumphal chariot (Museo dei Conservatori, Rome). This relief of the third (?) century begins with the immersion of Achilles in the Styx and ends with two scenes infrequently represented: Paris, guided by Apollo, prepares himself to aim his arrow at

<sup>20</sup> For representations of Achilles in classical art, see W.H. Roscher, *op. cit.* The essayistic booklet by Annie Rivier, *La Vie d'Achille illustrée par les vases grecs; récits tirés de l'Illiade d'Homère et des poèmes cycliques...*, Lausanne, 1936, shows at a glance the great dissimilarity of the classical Greek choice of episodes of the life of Achilles and the conspicuous absence of a comprehensive series of such episodes; C. Robert's *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*, II, Berlin, 1890, does the same for sarcophagi, where *The Discovery of Achilles* was popular, usually combined with two of the hero's deeds. In Egypt, in the late hellenistic tradition, the subject of *The Abduction of Briseis* combined with *Achilles and Briseis are Host to Priam*, as represented on the bronze pala in the Galleria Doria (2nd half 5th century?) was popular (cf. A. Carandini, *La secchia Doria: una 'Storia di Achille' tardo-antica...* [Seminaro di archeologia e storia dell'arte greca e romana, Studi Miscellanei, IX], Rome, 1965). Silberman, 1962, also stressed the originality of the series.

<sup>21</sup> S. Reinach, *Répertoire de reliefs grecs et romains*, I, Ensembles, Paris, 1909, p. 177; H. Stuart Jones, *Catalogue of Ancient Sculptures... Museo Capitolino*, Oxford, 1912, pp. 45-149, pl. 9; M. Scherer, *op. cit.*, p. 238. The relief illustrates: *The Birth of Achilles*; *Achilles Dipped*; *Thetis Entrusting Achilles to Chiron*; *Chiron Instructing Achilles Hunting a Lion*; *Achilles and Deidamia*; *Achilles Discovered*; *Achilles Slaying Hector*; *Achilles Dragging Hector around the Walls of Troy*.

Achilles who is standing in front of the temple of Apollo, and Ajax retrieving the body of Achilles.<sup>22</sup> This illustration probably provides a closer parallel to the series designed by Rubens than other classical series, yet Rubens cannot have known it since it was only discovered in 1872. Even more recent is the discovery of a large wrought silver plate with scenes of the life of Achilles on its border and in the center. The scenes limited to the youth of Achilles, and based on the *Achilleid* of Statius, emphasize the instruction of Achilles by Chiron and his stay at the court of Lycomedes. The plate, found in December 1961, is considered to be a Roman work of the fourth century.<sup>23</sup>

If the parallel between classical serial representations of the life of Achilles and *The History of Achilles* designed by Rubens therefore is limited and does not give reason to suppose that Rubens was influenced by such series, medieval and Renaissance representations of the life of Achilles are utterly different. In spite of the great popularity of the legends of Troy apparently no literary or artistic sequence of episodes was composed illustrating the life of the hero. Individual scenes were included in representations of the war against Troy, but series were limited to the youth of Achilles. The *Achilleid* of Statius was popular reading, and was used for centuries in schools as a text for children to learn Latin, not surprisingly given its subject matter, lively narrative, and simple language.<sup>24</sup> A bronze bowl of the eleventh or twelfth century (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) illustrates the *Achilleid* in seven episodes, starting with Chiron teaching Achilles to play the lyre and ending with the departure

<sup>22</sup> S. Reinach, *op. cit.*, pp. 376-378; H. Stuart Jones, *Catalogue... of the Palazzo Conservatori*, Oxford, 1926, pp. 179-187, pls. 68-73; M. Scherer, *op. cit.*, p. 237. The relief illustrates: *Achilles Dipped into the Styx; Peleus Entrusting Achilles to Chiron; Chiron Instructing Achilles in Playing the Lyre; Chiron Instructing Achilles in Hunting; Ulysses and Diomedes Received by Lycomedes; Achilles Taking up a Shield upon Hearing Trumpet Blow; Patroclus Requesting and Receiving Arms from Achilles; Achilles Slaying Hector; Achilles Dragging the Body of Hector around the Walls of Troy; Priam Imploring Achilles to Return Hector's Body; Paris Guided by Apollo Taking up his Bow to Shoot; Ajax Retrieving the Body of Achilles.*

<sup>23</sup> The silver plate, very well preserved, is in the Römermuseum in Augst, Basel-Land (Switzerland). Cf. the *Katalog* published by the Museum, *Der spätrömische Silberschatz von Kaiseraugst/Aargau*, 3d ed., Augst, 1967. The selection of subjects seems medieval rather than classical (see also next footnote).

<sup>24</sup> For the popularity of the *Achilleid* in the Middle Ages and the educational use made of it, cf. P.M. Clogan, *The Medieval Achilleid of Statius...*, Leiden, 1968.

of Achilles from Scyros.<sup>25</sup> Although one would expect serial representations of the life of Achilles on *cassoni*, not one is known.

It seems, therefore, that Rubens did not use an existing series as example for his work. Furthermore, the individual episodes likewise seem largely independent of preceding representations of the same scenes.

While adopting the Renaissance summaries Rubens stressed various aspects of the life of Achilles by selecting certain and omitting other episodes. How did Rubens interpret the life of the hero in this series? Comparison of the series both with classical sources and with Boccaccio's "biography", or with that of Natale Conti, indicates that Rubens omitted scenes like *Patroclus Requesting Armour from Achilles*, *Hector Slaying Patroclus*, *Achilles Landing near Troy*, and particularly *Achilles Dragging the Body of Hector around the Walls of Troy*. Instead of emphasizing the heroic deeds of Achilles, and other warlike acts, he included the rare subject of *Briseis Returned to Achilles* and emphasized the youth of Achilles. Rubens apparently divided the series into two distinct groups of four episodes: the first four illustrate his youth and early manhood, with the protective love of his mother as the dominant factor, the second four his mature life with his love for others and its consequences as the *Leitmotiv*.<sup>26</sup> The first four illustrate the love of his mother, the care of his teacher, the protective disguise at the court of Lycomedes and his love of Deidamia, and finally his mother's last efforts to prevent him to be wounded in the war. The second set of four opens with his anger for the

<sup>25</sup> M. Prou, *Bassin de bronze du XI<sup>e</sup> ou du XII<sup>e</sup> représentant la jeunesse d'Achille*, *Gazette Archéologique...*, XI, 1886, pp. 38-43, pl. 5; C. Meyer, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XII, 1889, p. 249.

<sup>26</sup> Only Silberman, 1962 discussed the question whether the subject of *Thetis Receiving Armour for Achilles from Hephaestus* should precede or follow *The Wrath of Achilles* and placed it after the latter subject mainly because she assumed that Rubens based himself on Homer's text. Rooses placed it before *The Wrath of Achilles* (Rooses, III, pp. 36-48, Nos. 557-564bis, and in his *Rubens*, London, 1904, p. 530), others placed it after *The Wrath* (Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp. 250-253, Nos. 849-856, Collot, 1852, and Haverkamp Begemann, 1953), invariably without taking issue with the problem. As pointed out in the catalogue, there is no compelling internal evidence to connect the scene as represented by Rubens either exclusively with the later event as narrated by Homer or the earlier event as described by later writers, but the placement as here proposed, *i.e.*, before the *Wrath*, explains better the deviations from Homer's text and clarifies the rhythm of the sequence of episodes. Van Hasselt and Van Puyvelde, *Skizzen*, made no serious effort at establishing a sequence and neither the prints by Ertinger and Baron or early inventories give a clue as to the sequence.

sake of his beloved Briseis, continues with her return, and the only fighting scene, Achilles slaying Hector to revenge the death of his friend Patroclus. Finally, in the last episode, Achilles is entrapped by his love for the daughter of the king he had sought to defeat. Rubens therefore stressed two aspects: the inevitability of the hero's fate, and the paramount role played by love. Both themes are basic to the story of the hero as it was conceived in classical antiquity.

The sixteenth-century mythographers ended the story with a moral, and so did Boccaccio who, with reference to Fulgentius, pointed out that Achilles became the victim of "lustful love". Charles Estienne added a similar thought: " ... Strong men, however, very often are more readily destroyed by the temptation of lust than by the force of power". The same idea is implied in brief references to Achilles, like the one in Edmund Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calendar* of 1579, or in *Loves Leprosie*, mentioned above.<sup>27</sup> The idea that Achilles fell victim to his passions is implicit in the story, and beginning with Fulgentius that point was stressed over and over again. Did Rubens stress it? The final episode of the series does not indicate this emphasis. On the contrary, in order to convey the background and significance of the death of Achilles, Rubens bordered the scene with terms of Aphrodite and Apollo, and placed at the bottom the emblematic scene of a fox killing an eagle. By these devices Rubens stressed the power of love and the impact of the god that favoured Troy, forces that caused strength to be mastered by treachery and ruse. Rather than conveying a moral lesson as the Renaissance dictionaries had done, Rubens interpreted the scene in classical terms by emphasizing the effect of the gods on man.

This conclusion concerning the subject of the last episode can be applied to the series as a whole: accepting the outline of the life of Achilles as it was known to him from sixteenth-century and contemporary handbooks, Rubens made an effort to restore classical antiquity by applying his knowledge of the sources to individual episodes, while at the same time emphasizing the power of human passions and feelings, particularly the dominance of love.

<sup>27</sup> For the passage in the *Dictionarium* of Stephanus ("Fortes autem viri voluptatum illecebris potius quam vi externa saepissime obruuntur"), and its role as a source for Spenser, see D.T. Starnes and E.W. Talbert, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

The classical nature of the interpretation of man in *The History of Achilles* was most eloquently described by Eugène Delacroix. Fascinated by the tapestries belonging to the estate of King Louis Philippe, which were most likely the *editio princeps* (see below under *Tapestries*), he commented about *Briseis Restored*: "Rubens goes to the heart of the matter like Homer. It is the most notable feature of these tapestries", and about *Achilles Vanquishing Hector*: "Here is Homer, and more than Homer, because the poet makes me see Hector only with my mind's eye, but here I see him with my real eyes."<sup>28</sup>

As appears from the preceding paragraphs, when Rubens designed *The History of Achilles* he illustrated the life of Achilles in an independent series of episodes for the first time since classical antiquity. If we consider the rarity of the creation of new subjects in painting, the series of oil sketches and modelli assume the character of novel statements. The novelty of the series, however, should be seen in the context of the history of tapestries and tapestry weaving. In the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries many subjects were represented for the first time in that medium, and most of these subjects were never illustrated in painting. Probably spurred by the opportunity for sequences of representations of events for the decoration of large spaces, a large number of *vitæ* of historical, mythological and biblical personages were lifted from fables and scriptures, and formulated as independent stories in series of tapestries. Thus the "lives" of Alexander, David, Diana, Esther, Hercules, Jacob, Moses, Noah, Solomon, Trajan, Venus, Zenobia, and many others were represented in tapestries. Most of these histories never had been part of the repertory of subjects of paintings, neither were they absorbed in that repertory once they had been "invented" for tapestries. Rubens himself designed one

<sup>28</sup> About *Briseis Restored to Achilles*: "Que d'alambiquages, que de petites intentions les modernes auraient prodigués sur ce sujet ! Lui va au fait comme Homère... C'est le caractère le plus frappant de ces cartons"; about *Achilles Vanquishing Hector*: "... La tête d'Hector mourant est une de ces choses qu'on n'oublie jamais; elle est la plus juste de tous points et la plus expressive que je connaisse dans la peinture. La barbe simple et d'un modelé admirable. La manière dont la lance le frappe, ce fer déjà caché dans sa gorge, et qui y porte la mort, font frémir. Voilà Homère et plus qu'Homère, car le poète ne me fait voir son Hector qu'avec les yeux de l'esprit, et ici je le vois avec ceux du corps. Ici est la grande supériorité de la peinture: à savoir, quand l'image offerte aux yeux non seulement satisfait l'imagination, mais encore fixe pour toujours l'objet et va au delà de la conception." (*Journal*, ed. A. Joubin, 1, Paris, 1932, pp. 444-446).



series of tapestries illustrating the life of Decius Mus, a second one the life of Constantine, subjects that also never were painted for their own sake. Furthermore, as is evident from the many biographical series just mentioned, tapestries apparently were suitable for classical subject matter. The place of this series in the history of Flemish art is therefore closely linked to the medium for which Rubens designed it.

### *The Framework*

Rubens designed the framing devices of the Achilles tapestries specially for this series. He had not included any borders or framework in his first designs for tapestries (*The History of Decius Mus*, 1617, and *The History of Emperor Constantine*, 1622-23), and apparently left those details at that time to the weavers<sup>29</sup>. He changed this attitude towards the role of the framework in the designs for *The Triumph of the Eucharist* (1627-28), probably because he wished to introduce illusionistic effects and architectural details that varied from subject to subject.<sup>30</sup> In the Eucharist series he bordered the scenes with sturdy single or double columns of different designs, resting on pedestals connected by a plinth and supporting capitals connected by a cornice. The subjects themselves are not simply painted within these frames, but are depicted in two different illusionistic ways: either as taking place in the fictitious space behind this framework, or as represented on fictitious tapestries stretched between, behind and in front of the columns and plinths, and hanging from the cornices or supported by hovering putti.

The best known feigned tapestries of an older period were the four frescoes with scenes from the life of Constantine in the Sala di Costantino in the

<sup>29</sup> An exception is the egg-and-dart frame Rubens included in his design for *The War Trophies* of the Decius Mus series, Liechtenstein Collection, Vaduz (canvas, 289 : 126 cm.; reproduced in *Peter Paul Rubens, Aus den Sammlungen des Fürsten von Liechtenstein*, [Vaduz, 1974], No. 23, fig. XXIII, unfortunately without the painted frame).

<sup>30</sup> For the tapestries of the Eucharist series and the sketches and modelli for them, cf. E. Tormo y Monzó, *La Apoteosis eucarística de Rubens*, *Archivo Español de arte*, xv, 1942, pp. 1-26, 117-131, 291-315, with repr.; V.H. Elbern, *Die Rubensteppiche des Kölner Domes*, *Kölner Domblatt*, 1955, pp. 43-88; J.S. Held, *Rubens' Triumph of the Eucharist and the Modello in Louisville*, *Bulletin of the J.B. Speed Art Museum*, xxvi, 3, 1968, pp. 2-22.

Vatican, to a large extent depending on Raphael's designs, and executed between 1520 and 1524.<sup>31</sup> Rubens undoubtedly knew these frescoes and their illusionistic devices, and we may assume that he wanted to "improve" and intensify them in the Eucharist series. By adapting the device to tapestries, Rubens transferred the illusion to its own medium: the painted fictitious tapestries of the Sala di Costantino became in the Eucharist series fictitious tapestries within actual tapestries. As for scenes represented in the space behind the architectural frame, the illusion as devised by Rubens in the Eucharist series is intricate, and may have benefited from another example. The space is not simply framed by columns, it extends, and the figures acting in this space also extend on either side beyond these columns. Although Rubens may independently have conceived of the idea of continuing space and action behind and beyond columns, he also may have noticed it in the frieze of mythological scenes painted by Alessandro Peruzzi in the Sala delle Prospettive in the Farnesina in Rome.<sup>32</sup> That frieze is partitioned into a sequence of scenes by fictitious terms that seem to stand in front of the figures. Or, he may have thought of the woodcuts after Pieter Coecke van Aelst of *Ces Mœurs et fachons de faire de Turcz ...* of 1553 where views and scenes are bordered by terms of men and women in Turkish dress that are placed in front of the space and scenery depicted (which, however, do not continue beyond the terms). If Coecke made his designs with the hope that the Sultan would order tapestries from them, Rubens introduced into tapestry weaving a further developed

<sup>31</sup> The fictitious tapestries hang between fictitious sculptures on tall pedestals (that border fictitious niches), not partly behind or in front of architectural elements as in Rubens's Eucharist series. F. Hartt, who correctly drew attention to the effect of these frescoes on Rubens's *Triumph of the Eucharist*, considered the Achilles series equally dependent on them, probably because he misinterpreted the scenes in the Achilles series as fictitious tapestries (*Raphael and Giulio Romano, with notes on the Raphael School, The Art Bulletin*, xxvi, 1944, p. 67, n. 6). For a recent interpretation of the genesis of the frescoes in the Sala di Costantino, see J. Shearman, *Raphael's Unexecuted Projects for the Stanze, Festschrift Walter Friedländer zum 90. Geburtstag*, Berlin, 1965, pp. 158-180. A survey of wall painting in Italy in the sixteenth century is found in Catherine Dumont, *Francesco Salviati au Palais Sacchetti de Rome et la décoration murale italienne (1520-1560)*, Rome, 1973.

<sup>32</sup> For Peruzzi's frescoes see C.L. Frommel, *Baldassare Peruzzi als Maler und Zeichner (Veröffentlichungen der Bibliotheca Hertziana, Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte, xi, Beiheft)*, Vienna-Munich, 1967-68, Cat. No. 51, with reproductions and extensive bibliography.

variant of a device which Coecke had designed unsuccessfully for that purpose more than eighty years before.<sup>33</sup>

For the Achilles series, Rubens adopted some of the features of the framework of the Eucharist series, eliminated others, and introduced new ones. He kept the horizontal elements with cartouches and emblematic devices, but replaced the columns by painted terms.<sup>34</sup> Each term is painted to look like a plastered sculpture of wood or stone and consists of a torso on a square shaft tapering downward, resting on a pedestal and supporting a capital in the shape of a vase containing fruit or flowers. The function of these terms is more sophisticated than simply supporting a cornice, or marking the borders of the scenes. The terms, like the columns in some of the Eucharist scenes, are placed in front of the plinth rather than on it, and the capitals support an outcropping of the cornice rather than the cornice itself. In accordance with this placement in front of plinth and cornice, the pictorial space and sometimes figures and objects placed in it continue beyond the terms. On the outer sides of the terms space is bordered by vertical slats that run from plinth to cornice. These intricate structures of frames with terminal figures placed in front of them, which are more easily legible in the etchings by Ertinger and Baron than in the oil sketches, modelli or tapestries, are therefore intended as fictitious window frames through which the viewer sees events that are taking place beyond the frames; the terms heighten this illusion by being placed in front of the frame, and inside its outer vertical members.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> For the supposition that the designs of these woodcuts may have been intended for tapestries, see Georges Marlier, *La Renaissance flamande, Pierre Coeck d'Alost*, Brussels, 1966, pp. 55-74, and A.N. St. Clair, *The Image of the Turk in Europe*, New York, 1973, p. 27. Supports for the terms and cornices or other architectural elements resting on them may have been present in the original designs, and in that case were eliminated when the drawings were used for woodcuts.

<sup>34</sup> The word "term", although not attractive, is the most appropriate one for these figures consisting of a torso on a stone support (cf. E. Forssman, *Säule und Ornament, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis*, 1, Uppsala, 1956, p. 141). J.R. Martin used it throughout volume XVI of this *Corpus. Termini* (as used by Smith and others) or terminal figures are synonymous, and equally unattractive.

<sup>35</sup> One might wish to interpret the scenes depicted within the framework not as taking place in pictorial space, but as being represented as fictitious wall paintings. In that case the terms would stand in front of these frescoes. An argument against this interpretation is the absence of shadows that should be cast by pedestals and other elements of the framework on the surface of the simulated frescoes. In this series Rubens paid much attention to the light which in each episode falls from the same

The terms, however, are not merely decorative elements of fictitious frames, as the columns were in the Eucharist series. They represent deities and allegorical concepts that either emphasize certain aspects of the scenes they border, or stress the impact of the gods on the protagonists of the scenes, or simply clarify the subject. They vary from episode to episode, but in each case they are an integral part of the scene.

The duality of the terms, being physically parts of a frame while spiritually partaking in the events depicted, is emphasized by small details which seem playful efforts on the part of Rubens to integrate the two aspects, and to trick the viewer. Although the terminal figures in each instance are coloured off-white, therefore are meant to look like plastered sculptures, the attributes attached to them or placed against them (a garland, snakes, a club, etc.) are represented in their natural colours and therefore seem part of the same reality that is observed through the frame. Likewise, the emblematic objects in front of the plinths, usually placed between *cornucopiæ*, and the cartouches with putti and garlands, are also in natural colour, but seem to be on this side of the frame, therefore in our world.

Terminal figures like those appearing in the Achilles series were common, although in a different context, in prints of the latter half of the sixteenth century. Particularly Hans Vredeman de Vries and Cornelis Bos designed a great number of them.<sup>36</sup> Continuing that tradition, Rubens incorporated terms various times in his designs for title pages. One title page with two terms shows more than an accidental similarity with the frames of the Achilles series: the *Hermes* and *Athena* on the title-page of François Aguilon's *Opticorum Libri Sex* (1613) and in Rubens's drawing for it (Fig. 21) rest on similar shafts and also carry baskets on their heads that serve as capitals, and Athena holds her shield and lance as she does in the modello of *Achilles Discovered among*

direction on the framework and the scenes represented within the framework (from the left, in sketches and modelli, in *Achilles Dipped into the River Styx*, *Achilles Instructed by Chiron*, and *The Wrath of Achilles*, and from the right in the other subjects), but the framework never casts shadows on the scenes.

<sup>36</sup> For terms in sixteenth-century prints, see E. Forssman, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-148; for terms in the work of Cornelis Bos, cf. S. Schéle, *Cornelis Bos*, Stockholm, 1965, particularly Nos. 71, 80, 83-86 (repr.). Terms were frequently represented in model books like those of Hans Vredeman de Vries (Antwerp, 1560), Hugues Sambin (Lyons, 1572), Joseph Boillot (Langres, 1592) and Gabriel Kramer (Cologne, 1600).

*the Daughters of Lycomedes* (No. 3b, Fig. 23). Furthermore, they are incorporated in an architectural setting which shares many features with that of the Achilles series. Thus plinth and pedestals below, and cornice and capitals above are joined in similar ways, and the terms protrude in both instances.<sup>37</sup>

This similarity between the title page of 1613 and the framework of the individual subjects of the Achilles series is not merely formal. The functions of the terms are the same in both instances: they refer allegorically to and illuminate the central motif, which in the print is the title and by implication the subject of the publication, in the Achilles series an episode of the hero's life.<sup>38</sup>

Rubens thus transformed one aspect of tapestry designing that is peculiar to the medium and that had a long tradition: the relationship between scene and border. He apparently became increasingly interested in that aspect of tapestries in the course of his life. After first paying no attention to it, he introduced a distinctive new feature in the Eucharist series by making the framework an individual and vital part of each single tapestry. In the Achilles series, however, he went much further. Now he intensified the relationship between scene and frame by introducing a mutual dependence between them in subject matter and "message". In order to achieve this, Rubens borrowed a device from another medium, the print, and another type of work of art, the title page.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>37</sup> For the drawing, see *Rooses*, v, No. 1234; A.M. Hind, *Catalogue of Drawings by Dutch and Flemish Artists... in the British Museum*, II, London, 1923, pp. 16, 17, Rubens No. 34; G. Glück and M. Haberditzl, *Die Handzeichnungen von Peter Paul Rubens*, Berlin, 1928, p. 37, No. 72, repr.; for the print by Theodoor Galle, see *V.S.*, p. 193, No. 1, as well as H.F. Bouchery and F. van den Wijngaert, *P.P. Rubens en het Plantijnsche huis*, Antwerp, 1941, pp. 59, 60, fig. 28.

<sup>38</sup> Only Evers seems to have written, although briefly, about the similarity between title pages and tapestries designed by Rubens (H.G. Evers, *Rubens und sein Werk, Neue Forschungen*, Brussels, 1943, p. 181).

<sup>39</sup> The fictitious framework of the Achilles series was further developed and extensively elaborated in the series of *Months, Seasons and Elements* woven in 1650 by E. Leyniers and others after designs by Jan van den Hoecke and others for Archduke Leopold Wilhelm.

### III. THE OIL SKETCHES

Rubens painted these oil sketches for two purposes: to establish the design of the tapestries, and to give his assistant the example for the first stage of the modelli.<sup>1</sup>

In contrast to the earlier *Eucharist Series*, these sketches were not preceded by smaller and more summary sketches painted mainly in one tone. They fulfilled both the functions of preliminary drawing and first painted version. Thanks to the differences in degree of finish within individual sketches, and thanks to the range within the series as a whole from the summary preliminary sketch of *Achilles Vanquishing Hector* (No. 7a; Fig. 62) to the largely completed *Thetis Receiving Armour for Achilles from Hephaestus* (No. 4a; Fig. 31), the main steps of the artist's procedure can be reconstructed. On the off-white prepared panel Rubens quickly sketched the basic elements of the subject, particularly the main figures of the scene and the framework with the terms, in thin black outlines (with graphite?). Before they were covered by subsequent work, these preliminary drawings resembled quick compositional studies Rubens jotted down on paper with pen and ink, like those for *The Triumph of Maria de' Medici* or the *Last Communion of St. Francis*. He extended the rapidity of sketching to the framework for which he did not use a ruler as he had done in the small first sketches for the *Eucharist Series*. Subsequently he painted the sketch in quick and often bold and summary outlines with a rather broad brush in brown. With this brush he redefined the elements outlined in black and introduced background figures, elements of the setting and other details not yet included in the earlier study in black. At this stage, and with the same brush and medium, Rubens bordered the subject on all sides with straight lines, again without a ruler, leaving a narrow blank margin between the subject and the edge of the panel, a device he also used in oil sketches for prints. Probably partly simultaneously with the application of these broad brown lines, partly subsequently, Rubens introduced a greater degree of precision with a considerably finer brush in ochre or brick red, by redrawing parts of outlines of figures and costumes and by adding new details, in faces, hands, feet, and elsewhere. Finally he modeled flesh parts, draperies, and other areas in full detail with brushes and appropriate colours. The

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 57-60.

further he carried through the sketch, the more the various stages of the preliminary design were obliterated.

Comparison of the first drawing in black with the final result, where this is possible, demonstrates the remarkable certainty and decisiveness of Rubens as "inventor". As a rule he apparently established the composition and the essence of attitudes in the black preliminary drawing virtually definitively, and needed to change only minor details (for description of changes as far as these are noticeable, see under individual oil sketches in the catalogue). This is the more remarkable since Rubens depicted all the figures acting left-handedly in view of the reversal in the tapestries.

To the extent that the sketches served his assistant to copy the design on the large panels of the modelli for the first stage of their execution, they saved Rubens time and effort. Efficient and well organized as always, and as few other artists, Rubens avoided the unnecessary. After the assistant had transferred the basic features of the subject to the modelli, Rubens only needed to correct his work, or retouch and where necessary overpaint it to finish the paintings.

The authorship of the oil sketches is beyond question. They were executed entirely by Rubens himself. Because of the excellent state of preservation recently only minor retouchings have been necessary, mainly in *Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes* (No. 3a; Fig. 22).

Because of an initial confusion between these originals and copies of the sketches it was not until the beginning of this century that a consensus was reached concerning their authorship. Although Smith,<sup>2</sup> in 1830 and 1842, connected the sketches with the etchings by Baron, his main source of knowledge, and presumably for that reason considered them works by Rubens, the sketches became only widely known when they were shown at the momentous exhibition *Art Treasures of the United Kingdom* in Manchester in 1857. It was then also that the special nature of these oil sketches was recognized. George Scharf wrote in *The Manchester Guardian* about these "six bold sketches" that

<sup>2</sup> Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, Nos. 849–856. Except for Nos. 851 and 854, which Smith knew to be in Vernon's collection, he described the sketches on the basis of the prints after them. In the supplement to his *Catalogue Raisonné*, Smith listed under No. 38 the entire series of sketches as having been sold with Dr. Mead's collection in 1754 (Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, p. 251).

were "brought to light", Waagen and Thoré-Bürger wrote about their sketchy character and the latter commented on their monumentality.<sup>3</sup>

After having received this sudden attention the sketches receded to comparative oblivion. In 1890, Rooses described the subjects from the prints, and referred to the sketches formerly in Dr. Mead's collection and those in the collection of A.H. Smith-Barry as different sets of sketches, although he did suppose, on the basis of Waagen's description, that the latter probably were the original sketches.<sup>4</sup> In 1904, Rooses stated with certainty that those six were Rubens's originals, and that the two in Mr. Vernon's collection completed the series.<sup>5</sup>

Probably since the exhibition of the sketches in the Grafton Galleries in London in 1909/10 the opinion that the sketches in Lord Barrymore's collection were the original ones became generally accepted. Edward Dillon was still confused in 1909,<sup>6</sup> but Valentiner wrote in 1912 that almost everyone considered the sketches in Lord Barrymore's collection to be painted by Rubens.<sup>7</sup> By 1921 there was no doubt anymore: the *Klassiker der Kunst* volume stated that the "entire series" of original sketches was in Lord Barrymore's collection.<sup>8</sup>

Because of the lack of documentary evidence for the date of *The History of*

<sup>3</sup> [G. Scharf], *A Handbook of the Paintings by Ancient Masters in the Art Treasures Exhibition, Being a Reprint of Critical Notices Published in "The Manchester Guardian"*, London, 1857, p. 55; G.F. Waagen, *Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain* (supplement to and Vol. IV of *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*), London, 1857, p. 411 [not in the German edition of 1854]; W. Bürger, *Trésors d'art en Angleterre*, Paris, 1857, p. 197 ("les figures sont peintes avec une ampleur délibérée comme dans un tableau de 20 mètres"). The sketches were also mentioned in ephemeral publications, e.g. G.F. Waagen, *A Walk through the Art-Treasures Exhibition...*, London, 1857, p. 23 and W.B. Jerrold, *How to see the Art Treasures Exhibition*, Manchester, 1857, p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Rooses, III, pp. 40, 42 (the sketches in Dr. Mead's collection), 43 (Smith-Barry).

<sup>5</sup> M. Rooses, *Rubens*, London, 1904, p. 531. In 1903 he wrote that he had seen neither the Barrymore-Vernon, nor the Collot series (*De verzameling Pacully te Parijs, Onze Kunst*, II<sup>1</sup>, 1903, p. 122).

<sup>6</sup> E. Dillon, *Rubens*, London, [1909], p. 175 (six original sketches belong to Lord Barrymore, "and others are in Berlin").

<sup>7</sup> W.R. Valentiner, *Gemälde des Rubens in Amerika, Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, XLVII, 1911-12, p. 264; repeated in *The Art of the Low Countries, Studies*, Garden City-New York, 1914, p. 187.

<sup>8</sup> *K.d.K.*, p. 463. In fact, there were only six sketches.



*Achilles* in its entirety, the dating of the oil sketches has been discussed above, in conjunction with other factors that bear upon this question.<sup>9</sup>

### Support

At least four of the panels on which the oil sketches are painted carry on the reverse the initials MV in monogram, branded in the wood (Figs. 90–93).<sup>10</sup> Recently Gilberte Gepts attributed this monogram convincingly to Michiel Vriendt, panel maker and frame maker (“tafreelmaker” and “lijstmaker”).<sup>11</sup> Vriendt entered the St. Luke guild of Antwerp as a pupil in 1605, is mentioned there as master in 1615, and died in 1636 or 1637.<sup>12</sup> His initials, according to Gepts, are found on the panels of the portraits of *Isabella Brant* (London, Wallace Collection, ca. 1615–20) and *Caspar Gevartius* (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum, ca. 1627), of *The Defeat and Death of Maxentius* belonging to the series *The History of Constantine* (London, Wallace Collection, 1622–23), and of *Abraham and Melchisedech* of the series *The Triumph of the Eucharist* (Washington, National Gallery, 1627–28).<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, in 1626 the panel

<sup>9</sup> See above, pp. 17–19.

<sup>10</sup> The initials MV are found on *Achilles Dipped into the River Styx* (No. 1a, Fig. 90), *Achilles Instructed by Chiron* (No. 2a; Fig. 91), *Achilles Vanquishing Hector* (No. 7a; Fig. 92) and *The Death of Achilles* (No. 8a; Fig. 93). I could not find them on *The Wrath of Achilles* (No. 5a); the backs of *Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes* (No. 3a) and *Thetis Receiving Armour for Achilles from Hephaestus* (No. 4a) were not accessible. Gregory Martin was the first to notice the initials and to realize their significance; he communicated his finding to C. Van de Velde (5 May, 1965), who informed me.

<sup>11</sup> G. Gepts, *Tafereelmaker Michiel Vriendt, leverancier van Rubens, jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen, 1954–60*, pp. 83–87. The author does not mention the Achilles series. In the *Liggeren* the name of this panel and frame maker is also spelled Machiel, Machil, Michel, Vrient, Vrindt, Vrint, Vrindts, Frint. For the meaning of the word “tafreel” in connection with the art of painting, cf. L. De Pauw-De Veen, *De begrippen “schilder”, “schilderij” en “schilderen” in de zeventiende eeuw*, Brussels, 1969, particularly pp. 91–93, 95.

<sup>12</sup> P. Rombouts and T. van Lierus, *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven van het Antwerpsche Sint-Lucasgilde*, Antwerp–The Hague, n.d., I, p. 434; II, p. 89.

<sup>13</sup> It is not clear why the identification of the monogram with Michiel Vriendt is doubted in the entry for *Isabella Brant* in the sixteenth edition of *Wallace Collection Catalogues, Pictures and Drawings...*, London, 1968, p. 287, No. P30; the statement that the initials can be read also as MW does not apply to those on the panels of the Achilles series, and the assertion that “the monogram is that of the *doyen* responsible for seeing that this control mark [the arms of Antwerp] was imposed” is contradicted by the absence of the arms of Antwerp on panels provided with the initials.

maker was paid for having enlarged *The Assumption of the Virgin* in the Antwerp Cathedral by gluing on panel additions.<sup>14</sup> This list can be expanded with the two sketches of personifications of *Justice* and *Abundance* (formerly Earl of Malmesbury, Newham House; 1974 in the New York art market), made for tapestries that apparently were not executed.<sup>15</sup> One of these panels is also provided with the same monogram.

Rubens therefore seems to have directed himself often to Vriendt when ordering panels for oil sketches for tapestries. Vriendt was one of the few panel makers who is also mentioned as frame maker, and we wonder whether this combination of professions implies that his work as panel maker was of particularly high quality. Certainly the wood of the Achilles sketches has withstood the effects of time admirably. One other, less tentative and more significant conclusion can be drawn: if the initials of Michiel Vriendt were not used after his death, the panels must have been made before 1636–37.

On two panels the initials of Michiel Vriendt are accompanied by two hands, also branded in the panel, for the city of Antwerp (*Achilles Dipped into the River Styx* [No. 1a; Fig. 90] and *Achilles Instructed by Chiron* [No. 2a; Fig. 91]), and on one by these two hands and also by a small circle, the significance of which is not known (*Achilles Vanquishing Hector*, No. 7a; Fig. 92).

### Provenance

Although Rubens was not mentioned as their author, the "eight sketches painted on panel, *The History of Achilles*" listed in 1643 in the inventory of the tapestry dealer Daniel Fourment, father-in-law of Rubens, are probably the oil sketches now in Rotterdam and Detroit.<sup>16</sup> The word "sketches"

<sup>14</sup> P. Rombouts and T. van Lierus, *op. cit.*, I, p. 493.

<sup>15</sup> Dated ca. 1630 by M. Jaffé, and reproduced in *Unpublished Drawings by Rubens in French Museums*, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1965, 2, p. 177, figs. 3 and 4.

<sup>16</sup> "Acht schetsen op panneel geschildert d'histoire van Achilles". The inventory was drawn up between July 23 and August 11, 1643. For the inventory of Daniel Fourment, see *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 115, and *Denucé*, 1936, pp. 60–65. This inventory has been referred to often, for the first time by P. Génard, *P.P. Rubens*, Antwerp, 1877, pp. 412, 413. *Donnet*, 1898, pp. 93–95, published excerpts (in French translation) and wrote a brief but still valid comment on Fourment. For *Wauters*, 1878,

could refer also to modelli, but the location of these eight paintings in the parlour (“caemer”) rather than in the shop or the warehouse favours this supposition. In contrast to the shop and the warehouse that room contained furniture, paintings and other objects that do not seem to have been part of Fourment’s business as a dealer in tapestries and in anything else that was needed for the manufacture of tapestries. The room contained two chimney pieces, eight portraits or studies of heads, seven paintings brought from Naples, another painting representing ‘a battle’, a cembalo, twelve chairs, some jewels, and the eight subjects of *The History of Achilles* by Rubens. Modelli would be out of place in this room, whereas the presence of sketches that were of no further use for the business of the firm were perfectly appropriate.

Daniel Fourment probably also owned the modelli, which in that case were in the shop (“winckel”), and which were not individually listed but pooled with other modelli or paintings in one of two other lots. It was customary to use modelli or “petits patrons” to give prospective clients an idea of tapestries they might wish to order, and it is therefore likely that the “schetsen” which Gerard van der Strecken and Jan van Leefdael bought from Peter Fourment in 1653 were the modelli rather than the oil sketches.<sup>17</sup>

We therefore lose the sketches from sight after 1643. They may be identical with “eight pieces of the History of Achilles” in the estate of Jean-Henry Gobelinus, canon of Sainte-Gudule in Brussels, inventoried after his death on July 23, 1681, but there is no certainty because the artist’s name was not

pp. 236, 237, with erroneous reference, see further, p. 83. Recently, E. Duverger published more details about the importance of the Fourment firm (*Aanteekeningen betreffende de tapijthandel van Daniël Fourment en van diens zoon en schoonzoon Peter Fourment en Peter Van Hecke de Jonge, Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis...*, XIX, 1972, pp. 48–76. From *Denucé, Konstkamers, loc. cit.*, and E. Duverger, *op. cit.*, p. 52, one may be tempted to conclude that the above mentioned works of art were listed together in Fourment’s 1643 inventory. This is not true: in fact C. Van de Velde found that in the original inventory (Antwerp, Stadsarchief, *Notariële Protocollen*, No. 1892) only “Acht geschilderde trognies op panneel” and “Een lanckwerpige schilderye op panneel voor de schouw staende wesende een Batalie” were mentioned on July 28, 1643, as hanging in the “Caemer” of Daniël Fourment’s house (the inventory mentioned above, p. 609). The other pieces, among them also the eight Achilles sketches, were only listed a fortnight later, on August 11, 1643; no specific location was given (the inventory mentioned above, p. 613).

<sup>17</sup> See further, pp. 61, 62.

mentioned, and the appraisal was low.<sup>18</sup> It is known that the goods of the estate of Gobelinus were sold soon after the inventory was drawn up, and if Rubens's sketches were indeed among them it would not be surprising that they are found again in Antwerp in 1691 in the estate of Joan Baptista Anthoine. It is most likely that "the history of Achilles consisting of eight small pieces, by Rubens" owned by Anthoine is indeed identical with Rubens's sketches because the valuation at 1200 guilders, established by the painters and amateurs ("lieffhebbers") Jan Erasmus Quellinus and Pieter van der Willige, was comparatively high.<sup>19</sup>

A little over thirty years later the sketches were in the collection of Dr. Richard Mead as we learn from the dedication of the prints which Bernard Baron made in 1724. Dr. Mead (1673-1754), who counted among his patients Horace Walpole, Alexander Pope, and King George II, established inoculation as a practice and was for many years the foremost physician of his day in London. He was also an accomplished classicist, and lectured and published on subjects like "The Position of Physicians in Rome and Greece". Dr. Mead had studied classical literature and antiquities in Utrecht under Graevius and medicine in Leyden, where he became acquainted with Boerhaave. He collected

<sup>18</sup> Inventory of Jean-Henry Gobelinus, drawn up July 23–August 1, 1681, Nos. 267–274: "Huiſt piéces [des fables d'Ovide] de l'hiſtoire d'Achilles... 400 fl." [the words "des fables d'Ovide" apparently were crossed out and replaced by "de l'hiſtoire d'Achilles"] (J. Vannérus, *La Galerie... Jean-Henry Gobelinus, Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles...*, XII, 1898, p. 328). Two paintings under the name of Rubens were also given comparatively low values: No. 114 "Le diluve; originel de Rubbens... 100 fl." (*Ibidem*, p. 324) and No. 278 "Ecce Homo; originel de Rubbens... 150 fl." (*Ibidem*, p. 328), and some oil sketches even lower ones: Nos. 159-160 "Deux ſchetsen de Rubbens... La pièce 20 fl." (*Ibidem*, p. 325), no. 166 "Un ſchets de Rubbens... 8 fl." (*Ibidem*, p. 325), and No. 281 "un deſſeing de Rubbens: le Sauveur avecq ſes apoſtres... 13 fl." (*Ibidem*, p. 328). Burchard thought the value of 400 guilders for "Huiſt piéces de l'hiſtoire d'Achilles" too low in comparison with 1200 guilders for the series in 1691 in Anthoine's estate to accept that the two sets were identical, and considered it possible that the Gobelinus set was the series of copies later (1798–1855) in the hands of Collot. The article by Vannérus provides also a biography of Gobelinus (J. Vannérus, *op. cit.*, pp. 313–319).

<sup>19</sup> Inventory of Joan Baptista Anthoine, drawn up March 28–April 10, 1691, [Nos. 139–146]: "De Hiſtorie van Achilles, beſtaende in acht ſtucckens, van Rubens, welcke ſtucckens te ſamen ſyn gewerdeert fl. 1200." (*Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, XXII, p. 83; M. Rooses, in: *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p. 301; *Denucé, Konſtkamers*, p. 359). Anthoine had died March 27, 1691.

books, manuscripts, statuary, coins and gems on a large scale, and also drawings and paintings. The death of Achilles by a poisoned arrow must have fascinated him particularly because he himself had done pioneering research on snake poisons, partly by means of dangerous experiments, and had written a treatise on the subject, *Mechanical Account of Poisons* (1702).<sup>20</sup> Dr. Mead owned the sketches by 1724 but when or from whom he acquired them is not known. Given the numerous contacts he maintained with scholars in various fields in the Netherlands he may have brought them to London from across the Channel. They were sold with his collection in London on 20-22 March 1754.<sup>21</sup> At that time, or sometime later, they became the property of Fulk Greville; forty years later, in 1794, they were sold with his collection.<sup>22</sup>

Six of the sketches entered the collection of John Smith Barry, Marbury Hall, Northwich, Cheshire, before 1814, when they were listed in a printed catalogue.<sup>23</sup> Waagen saw them at Marbury Hall between 1854 and 1857, in the bedroom of Mrs. Smith-Barry, and wrote: "All six are very spirited, but two especially, Achilles being bathed in the Styx, and Vulcan presenting the armour are, besides that, carefully executed in powerful colouring."<sup>24</sup> They remained

<sup>20</sup> For Dr. Mead see [W. Maty], *Authentic Memoirs of the Life of Richard Mead, M.D.*, London, 1755, D. Murray, *Museums, Their History and their Use ...*, 1, London, 1904, pp. 122-125, and the entry s.v. *Mead, Richard M.D.* by N[orman] M[oores] in *The Dictionary of National Biography...*, XIII, Oxford-London, 1917 ff., pp. 181-186.

<sup>21</sup> Sale, London (at Dr. Mead's house, Great Piazza, Covent Garden, by Mr. Langford), 20-22 March 1754, second day, lot 53: "Eight Pictures representing the History of Achilles, with a Frontispiece painted here" (£ 106.5, to Johnson according to a typescript copy in R.K.D., The Hague; I am grateful to An Zwollo for information). The lot was the last one of the second day, was therefore probably considered important by the auctioneer. The "frontispiece" added to the series undoubtedly was the portrait of Rubens surrounded by allegorical figures painted for Baron's title page to his series of etchings after the sketches. The portrait was still with the sketches in Fulk Greville's collection (see next footnote) but its present location is not known.

<sup>22</sup> London (Christie's), 18 November 1794, lot 49: "Rubens. Eight capital sketches of the life of Achilles, and one with his own portrait, by some other great master... Out of Dr. Mead's collection" (£ 57.15.0 to Sandilands). For the portrait of Rubens, see preceding footnote.

<sup>23</sup> *A Catalogue of Paintings, Statues, Busts, Etc. at MARBURY HALL, the seat of John Smith Barry, Esq., in the country of Cheshire*, London, 1814. The sketches apparently were not hung together, perhaps not even in one room, because they were not numbered consecutively.

<sup>24</sup> G.F. Waagen, *Art Treasures in Great Britain*, IV, London, 1857, p. 411 (not yet in the German edition of 1854).

at Marbury Hall for more than a century. To judge by the excellent condition of the sketches the owners took good care of them. The last owner, Arthur Hugh Smith-Barry, later the Rt. Hon. Arthur Hugh Smith-Barry, generously lent them to various exhibitions, thus making them known to a wide public and to many art historians. In 1902 he was created Baron Barrymore of Barrymore, Co. Cork; he died without issue in 1925. When his collection was sold in 1933 at Sotheby's,<sup>25</sup> the six oil sketches were acquired by Goudstikker in Amsterdam. That same year they were presented as a gift to the Boymans Museum by D.G. van Beuningen.

The complete set of eight sketches thus remained together until 1794. The two sketches that differed from the others in format, being wider than high (*Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes* [No. 3a; Fig. 22] and *Briseis Restored to Achilles* [No. 6a; Fig. 54]), were separated from the other six and appeared the next year (1795) in the sale of the collection of Sir Joshua Reynolds although they never had been in his collection, Sir Joshua having died in 1792 when the sketches were still in Fulk Greville's collection.<sup>26</sup> These two turned up in Rome, where they were bought by George John Vernon in 1829.<sup>27</sup> They remained together in the Vernon collection at Sudbury Hall,

<sup>25</sup> Sale, London (Sotheby's), 21 June 1933, lots 28-33, with reproductions (guineas 9.200 to Goudstikker). The illustrations reproduce the sketches before the panels were rejoined in *Achilles Instructed by Chiron* (No. 2a; Fig. 13) and *Thetis Receiving Armour for Achilles from Hephaestus* (No. 4a; Fig. 31). The introduction to the sale catalogue provides information on the history of the collection.

<sup>26</sup> Sale, London (Christie's), 11-14 March (postponed until 13-17 March 1795, first day, lot 95 (*Achilles Recognized among the Daughters of Lycomedes* [No. 3a; Fig. 22]), £ 13.2.6 and lot 96 (*Briseis Restored to Achilles*, called "The Death of Patroclus" [No. 6a; Fig. 54]), £ 11.11.0, both to "Marchi" (= bought in?). Reynolds cannot have owned them unless one supposes that he was co-owner of the series (for 1/4) with Fulk Greville. In that case it is curious that the entire series was put up for sale with the Fulk Greville estate, and not only four out of the six sketches. The two items in Sir Joshua Reynolds's sale are also mentioned in *The Burlington Magazine*, LXXXVII, 1945, p. 215, n. 17.

<sup>27</sup> According to Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp. 251, 252. Since this volume of Smith's *Catalogue Raisonné* was published in 1830, he must have been informed about Mr. Vernon's acquisition very shortly after it was made. The purchase is also mentioned in the catalogue of the sale of 16 April 1831 where the two sketches were put up for sale but apparently withdrawn or bought in: "the two preceding Pictures were purchased in Rome in 1829".

near Derby, until they were sold by auction in London in 1922.<sup>28</sup> There they were separated: *Briseis Restored to Achilles* was acquired by Henry Reinhardt and Son, the New York Gallery, either for Mr. and Mrs. Whitcomb in Detroit, or to be soon resold to them; it is now in the Detroit Institute of Art. *Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes* was acquired by Franz Koenigs, Haarlem. In 1948 it rejoined the six sketches in the Museum Boymans in Rotterdam from which it had been separated in 1794.

### Copies

In 1724 Bernard Baron made a series of etchings after the sketches, added a title print, and dedicated the series on this title print to Dr. Richard Mead, the owner of the sketches. The title page (Fig. 89) shows a portrait of Rubens, with Fama, Athena, a putto with chisel and hammer, and two terminal figures in the background. The title reads: "Achilles's Life Painted by Sr. Peter Paul Rubens and engraved by B. Baron - London 1724".<sup>29</sup> Baron reproduced the sketches with great care and much talent, and clarified many passages that are difficult to read in the originals. Bernard Baron, who was born in Paris in 1696, worked for and with Claude Dubosc in London in 1717.<sup>30</sup> Difficulties seem to have arisen between the two over this set of prints of the Achilles series and seem to have led to a law suit. Although only Baron's name appears on the prints, George Vertue, in reporting this conflict, referred to the prints as made jointly by Dubosc and Baron.<sup>31</sup> The omission of Dubosc's name therefore may have been related to the conflict.

The sketches were also copied in paintings on paper, of which four have been preserved in the collection of Sir Edmund Bacon (*The Wrath of Achilles*, *Briseis Restored*, *Achilles Vanquishing Hector*, *The Death of Achilles*). Comparison with the etchings by Baron shows that copies and etchings share details in which they differ from the oil sketches, such as a tassel hanging from a garland in *The Death of Achilles* (Figs. 72, 74 and 84), the expanded architec-

<sup>28</sup> Sale, London (Sotheby's), 14 June 1922, lots 62 and 63.

<sup>29</sup> *V.S.*, p. 218, No. 16.

<sup>30</sup> Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, London, [1888], p. 248.

<sup>31</sup> *Vertue Note Books*, vi, *The Walpole Society*, xxx, 1955, p. 190.

tural features outside the terms, and other small details. We can conclude that Baron made his etchings after these painted copies rather than directly from the oil sketches by Rubens. Probably the copies were specifically painted for Baron in order to introduce the clarity and definition that are apparent in the etching. This hypothesis finds a certain support in the knowledge of a painted modello for Baron's frontispiece, now lost, which accompanied the oil sketches in the sales of Dr. Mead's and Fulk Greville's collections.<sup>32</sup> It may have formed part of the same series of copies. One may wonder whether the quarrel between Baron and Dubosc in any way concerned these copies specifically made for the prints, and whether Dubosc could have painted them.<sup>33</sup>

Although dating from 1679, and therefore made earlier, the series of etchings by Franz Ertinger is mentioned only now, because the prints are far less sophisticated than those by Baron.<sup>34</sup> In one instance the etching seems closer to the corresponding modello than to the sketch, namely in *Achilles Vanquishing Hector* (Fig. 70), where two fighting roosters are included that are absent from the sketch (No. 7a; Fig. 62). The similarities between the prints and the sketches, however, outnumber the similarities with the modelli so markedly, that the sketches must have been the examples for Ertinger. For instance the print of *The Wrath of Achilles* (Fig. 50) omits the ring with chain near the lion at the bottom, also absent from the sketch (No. 5a; Fig. 46) although present in the modello (No. 5b; Fig. 47), and *Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes* (Fig. 27), like the oil sketch (No. 3a; Fig. 22), does not include the clothing over Achilles's leg, neither the mask and shield on the terms, which were added in the modello (No. 3b; Fig. 23). The print of *Achilles Vanquishing Hector* (Fig. 70), although corresponding to the modello (No. 7b; Fig. 63) because it includes the emblematic roosters,

<sup>32</sup> See above, pp. 48, 49.

<sup>33</sup> For details see *Catalogue Raisonné*, Nos. 5a, 6a, 7a and 8a. Two are pasted on panel, two on canvas. Three are known to me only from photographs, the fourth (*Achilles Vanquishing Hector*) was brought to my attention by J.S. Held. According to Sir Edmund Bacon (to whom I am grateful for the information) the sketches came to his family through Miss Beckett (Somerby Hall, near Gainsborough, Lincolnshire) who died in 1915.

<sup>34</sup> *V.S.*, pp. 217, 218, No. 15. Franz Ertinger was born in Weil, in Swabia (1640), worked in Antwerp and Paris, and died in Paris (1710). *Crick-Kuntziger*, 1934, p. 3, seems to have been the first to note the differences between the prints by Ertinger and the oil sketches.



differs from the same modello in another respect: figures in the background behind Achilles and also the lower part of the drapery flowing from his shoulders, although absent in the modello, are included as they are in the sketch (No. 7a; Fig. 62), and the two figures behind Achilles in *The Wrath of Achilles* (Fig. 50) are also present as they are in the sketch (No. 5a; Fig. 46). How then to explain the roosters in *Achilles Vanquishing Hector* (Fig. 70)? Since they differ in detail from those in the modello, Ertinger probably introduced them because he had seen them in a tapestry, or possibly in the modello.

The prints by Baron and Ertinger served early students of Rubens, first Mariette and later others, to know and describe Rubens's Achilles series (Michel, Smith, Van Hasselt, Rooses).<sup>35</sup>

Because of the detailed analysis of their subject matter by their one-time owner, a second series of painted copies, on canvas, has contributed much to a better knowledge of *The History of Achilles* in spite of the fact that they were recorded last in 1855.<sup>36</sup> Their support (canvas), the detailed descriptions, and a contemporary reference leave no doubt about their having been copies of the sketches. The series, complete except for *Achilles Vanquishing Hector*, was owned by Jean-Pierre Collot (1764–1852/55), probably from 1798 until his death shortly before March, 1855.<sup>37</sup> Having first served Napoleon for many years as purveyor of the army, Collot became director of the stock-exchange in Paris in 1821, a post which he kept until 1842. In spite of changing political conditions, Collot remained a “Bonapartiste” and expressed his allegiance in poems like “La Chute de Napoléon” (1841 and 1846) and

<sup>35</sup> P.-J. Mariette, *Abecedario*, ed. by A. de Montaiglon and P. de Chennevières, v, Paris, 1858–59, p. 116; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, Nos. 849–856; Van Hasselt, Nos. 641–643, 645–649; Rooses, III, Nos. 557–564.

<sup>36</sup> Collot, 1852. This second edition was printed by Firmin Didot, whereas an earlier edition had been printed by “Imprimeries de Lacrampe”. That earlier edition was dated to 1848 or 1849 by A. de Montaiglon and P. de Chennevières in their edition of Mariette's *Abecedario* (*loc. cit.*) on the basis of Collot's statement that his sketches formed part of the Barberini Collection in 1798 and that he owned them “depuis 50 ans”. Since the date of acquisition is not certain, the publication date of 1848–49 is hypothetical. Collot's pamphlet was used by Rooses, III, 42, 43 under Nos. 557<sup>bis</sup>–564<sup>bis</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> A brief biography of J.-P. Collot was published in R. d'Amat, *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, IX, Paris, 1961, p. 310 (entry by R. d'Amat). The few data on Collot that follow are taken from this entry.

“Prédications de Napoléon” (1849). He also wrote some treatises on classical philology.

Collot's interests in classical philology explain the extreme detail of his descriptions of the individual subjects and the wealth of references to classical sources, whereas the focus of philological studies at that time on classical antiquity itself accounts for his neglect of the sixteenth and seventeenth-century sources available to Rubens.

Collot's description of *Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes*, which does not mention the mask and the shield placed on the terminal figures in the modello (No. 3b; Fig. 23) but absent from the sketch (No. 3a; Fig. 22) and that of *The Wrath of Achilles* which makes a reference to the two figures barely visible behind Achilles in the sketch (No. 5a; Fig. 46) but absent from the modello (No. 5b; Fig. 47), indicate that his paintings were versions of the sketches, rather than of the modelli. The collector also mentioned that in 1798 his “sketches” were part of the gallery of the Palazzo Barberini in Rome. He acquired them at that time or shortly afterwards.

Collot's collection of paintings was put up for sale on March 29, 1855. To judge by the sale catalogue, the collection was far from distinguished. The Achilles series was sold for Ff. 10.255, “although the autorship was much doubted by many amateurs”, as an anonymous observer wrote.<sup>38</sup> One of the series was bought by Thibaudeau (*Achilles Instructed by Chiron*), the others were probably dispersed. It has not been possible to identify any of the existing copies on canvas with one of Collot's copies. Apparently no one who wrote later on these paintings had seen them, and Rooses specifically stated that he had not.<sup>39</sup>

### *Exhibitions*

Since the sketches belonged to private collectors until 1933, their appearance at exhibitions previous to the acquisition of six of them by the Museum in Rotterdam in that year provided the best opportunity for students to study them.

<sup>38</sup> *Art in Continental States, Paris, The Art-Journal, New Series, I, 1855, p. 166.* The sale of the paintings was also recorded by Charles Blanc, *Le Trésor de la Curiosité...*, II, Paris, 1858, p. 508, with prices, but without comment.

<sup>39</sup> M. Rooses, *De Verzameling Pacully te Parijs, op. cit.*, p. 122.

The exhibitions, and comments on the exhibitions, for a long time provided the main source of information concerning the sketches. The series of oil sketches, except two (*Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes* [No. 3a; Fig. 22] and *Briseis Restored to Achilles* [No. 6a; Fig. 54]), was exhibited a number of times since 1857: *Manchester, 1857*, Nos. 558–563 (provisionary catalogue: Nos. 567–572) as belonging to the late J. Smith Barry; *Dublin, 1872*, Nos. 132–137, as lent by A.H. Smith Barry; *London, 1879*, Nos. 152–154 and 159–161 as lent by A.H. Smith Barry; *London, 1899–1900*, Nos. 111–116 as lent by the Rt. Hon. A.H. Smith-Barry; *London, 1909–10*, Nos. 18–21 and 23, 24 as lent by Lord Barrymore; *London, 1912*, Nos. 1, 3, 5, 7, 11, 13; and *Amsterdam, 1933*, Nos. 18–23. All sketches, except one (*Briseis Restored to Achilles* [No. 6a; Fig. 54]), were exhibited in *Rotterdam, 1953–54*, Nos. 61–65, 67, 69. At other occasions elsewhere one, two or three sketches were exhibited.

### *Literature*

The literature concerning the individual sketches of the Achilles series, ranging from inventories and sale catalogues to monographs on the artist, is listed in the catalogue. Here a few remarks should be made about literature dealing with the series of sketches as a whole.

Although only by implication, Nicodemus Tessin was the first to write about the sketches in another context than an inventory. In his notes on his visit to Antwerp in the summer of 1687 he recorded that "... at Mr. Antonio's the Post Master we saw the best collection after the other one [of Duarte]... there were many paintings and sketches by Rubens...".<sup>40</sup> Tessin therefore saw the sketches of the Achilles series in the collection of Joan Baptista Anthoine. The first to list the eight sketches was J.F.M. Michel in his *Histoire de la vie de P.P. Rubens*, Brussels, 1771, pp. 322, 323. He described the "8 pièces qui désignent l'histoire d'Achille" from the prints by Ertinger and Baron, stated that they had served as designs for tapestries and mentioned that they were in England at that time. Since this description follows immediately references to those works which

<sup>40</sup> "Beijm Herren Antonio dem Post Meister haben wir das beste Cabinet darnach [nach dem von Duarte] gesehen... Von Rubens wahren dar viele Schilderijen undt schitzen, wie auch unter anderen eine schöne Copei nach einem Weibe von Titiano." (O. Sirén [ed.], *Nicodemus Tessin d.y.'s Studieresor*, Stockholm, [1914], p. 81).

Rubens had painted for King Charles I, and because Michel placed the Achilles sketches erroneously "dans une autre Maison royale", his text could be interpreted as implying that the Achilles series also was designed for Charles I. Smith probably read Michel this way, and thus made an error which would be repeated for more than a century. When he listed the sketches, mainly although not exclusively on the basis of the prints, in his *Catalogue Raisonné* (Nos. 849–856), he stated categorically that the series was made for Charles I. Van Hasselt in his listing of the sketches of 1840 followed Smith, taking over the comment that they were made for Charles I.<sup>41</sup> From then until the beginning of the present century, the most significant literature is found in exhibition catalogues and in statements commenting on the exhibitions (Rooses had not seen the sketches).

Since the sale of six sketches in London in 1933 and the exhibition at Goudstikker in the same year, the sketches often were referred to as a series, and in general terms: Hannema, 1933, pp. 1–4; D. Hannema, *Petrus Paulus Rubens in het Museum Boymans*, Rotterdam, [1934], pp. 6–12 (repr. of six); Crick-Kuntziger, 1934, pp. 2–12, 70, 71; Van Puyvelde, *Skizzen*, pp. 40, 41, 94, 95, figs. 67–69; H. G. Evers, *Peter Paul Rubens*, Munich, 1942, pp. 258, 358, 359; Burchard, 1950, pp. 13–17; *Jaarverslag 1955, Museum Boymans te Rotterdam*, Rotterdam, 1955. In 1953 the exhibition of Rubens sketches in Rotterdam provided an opportunity to list in catalogue fashion most of the data of the sketches as a series, and of seven of the individual sketches. Since then they were all discussed and reproduced in *d'Hulst*, 1968, and their subject matter was studied successfully in *Silberman*, 1962.

<sup>41</sup> *Van Hasselt*, pp. 290, 291, Nos. 641–643, 645–649.

#### IV. THE MODELLI

Modelli for tapestries in general had a dual purpose, and there is no reason to assume that those of the Achilles series were an exception: they were to serve as examples for the large cartoons to the size of the tapestries, and they were to be shown to prospective clients who might wish to order complete or partial sets of hangings. Accordingly the modelli of the Achilles series are enlarged "fair copies" of the sketches. In translation from sketch to modello details were added or more precisely formulated, colours, although corresponding with those in the sketches, were fully rendered throughout rather than partially indicated, and careful attention was paid to the frameworks. The architectural parts of these frameworks and the terms were painted in grey to look like plastered stone or wood, with only the sculptured decorative trim, fruit and flowers painted in gold colour. Also some changes were made, usually in order to increase space around the figures, to eliminate some details and to clarify others. In short, in the process of enlargement from sketch to modello, "the narrative became more rational and the rhythm less abrupt".<sup>1</sup>

Rubens's role as "inventor" or "designer" is beyond question, but who painted the modelli? There is no unanimity among Rubens students about this question. Rooses, who may have seen some of them and who certainly knew six of them in photographs or reproductions when he wrote about them first (in 1890), was of the opinion that they were painted by Theodoor van Thulden and retouched by Rubens.<sup>2</sup> Later, when he saw *Achilles Dipped into the River Styx* (No. 1b; Fig. 3), he modified his opinion to the extent that he substituted Erasmus Quellinus for Van Thulden, but he did not change his view

<sup>1</sup> J. Pope-Hennessy, *Rubens Sketches at Rotterdam, The Listener*, February 11, 1954, p. 266.

<sup>2</sup> *Rooses*, III, p. 40. By 1890 Laurent had made photographs of four panels in or formerly in the Pastrana collection (Nos. 1b-3b, 6b; Figs. 3, 14, 23 and 55), Vidal of the two in Pau (Nos. 4c and 7b; Figs. 30 and 63; all six were mentioned by *Rooses*, III, p. 42). A photograph of *Briseis Restored to Achilles* (No. 6b; Fig. 55) was exhibited in Antwerp in 1890 (*Rubens' werken in gravuur en fotografie*, Museum van Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, No. 516). The two now in Count Seilern's collection (Nos. 5b and 8b; Figs. 47 and 75) had been reproduced by 1890 in prints by Ramus for the catalogue of the Dreyfus sale. In 1895 (*Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, 1895, p. 274) Rooses referred to the modelli in the Pastrana collection as works on canvas painted by pupils. Dillon, in 1909, also referred to the modelli as being on canvas, and as "touched" by Rubens (E. Dillon, *Rubens*, London, [1909], p. 175).

of a collaboration between Rubens and one of his assistants.<sup>3</sup> Lafond first had a somewhat similar opinion: in 1888 he thought that the two modelli in Pau (Nos. 4c and 7b; Figs. 30 and 63) were not painted by Rubens, but rather by someone else after his sketches.<sup>4</sup> By 1902 he had changed his opinion, and considered them "originals painted by the master". Later in the same article he indicated that he saw a difference in quality between the figures, characteristic of Rubens, and the "relatively unimportant" terminal figures and other framing devices, but he did not mention assistance by others.<sup>5</sup> On the contrary, he tried to explain Rooses's assumption that Van Thulden had painted the modelli before Rubens retouched them by supposing that the attribution of his Flemish colleague in fact concerned the copies formerly in Collot's collection rather than the modelli.<sup>6</sup>

Ever since Rooses wrote that Van Thulden and Rubens painted the modelli, this opinion has been repeated. Only two significant changes were made: Valentiner agreed with Rooses that the modelli were painted by an assistant and retouched by Rubens, but he left the identity of that assistant open<sup>7</sup>; and Burchard considered Rubens as the sole painter responsible for the modelli.<sup>8</sup>

The differences of opinion between Valentiner and Burchard may have been caused to some extent by their being better acquainted with certain modelli than with others. In all likelihood Valentiner based his opinion mainly on the

<sup>3</sup> M. Rooses, *De verzameling Pacully te Parijs, Onze Kunst*, II<sup>I</sup>, 1903, p. 122 (about the modello *Achilles Dipped into the River Styx* [No. 1b; Fig. 3], then to be sold with the collection Pacully). In his monograph on Rubens he stated, as he had done earlier, that it was probably Van Thulden who assisted Rubens (*Rubens*, London, 1904, p. 531).

<sup>4</sup> P. Lafond, *A propos de deux tableaux du Musée de Pau attribués à Rubens, L'Art, Revue bi-mensuelle illustrée*, XLIV<sup>I</sup>, 1888, pp. 171, 172.

<sup>5</sup> Lafond, 1902, p. 235 ("peintures originales du maître"), 238 ("On peut... n'attacher qu'une importance relative à ces encadrements").

<sup>6</sup> Lafond, 1902, p. 235.

<sup>7</sup> W.R. Valentiner, *Gemälde des Rubens in Amerika, Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, XLVII, 1911-12, p. 265, and *The Art of the Low Countries, Studies*, Garden City-New York, 1914, pp. 189, 190 ("As Rubens himself retouched these pictures, they are so admirably effective in execution that only close study reveals the handiwork of pupils").

<sup>8</sup> Burchard, 1950, p. 16. Apparently Burchard also changed his opinion in the course of his studies. An early manuscript note by him gives the autorship of *Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes* in the Prado (No. 3b; Fig. 23) as "Rubens (Werkstatt)" for which he later substituted "Rubens eigenhändig".

modello of *Achilles Dipped into the River Styx*, which at the time of his writing was in the collection of Dr. Stillwell in New York (now in Sarasota) (No. 1b; Fig. 3). Burchard, when writing the catalogue of the Wildenstein exhibition of 1950, was very well acquainted with the modelli for *The Wrath of Achilles* (No. 5b; Fig. 47) and *The Death of Achilles* (No. 8b; Fig. 75) in the collection of Count Seilern in London and with the two modelli from Pau (Nos. 4c and 7b; Figs. 30 and 63). The modello in Sarasota (No. 1b; Fig. 3) differs from the other four in as much as the participation of more than one artist in its execution is more easily recognizable. The term at the left and other sculptural and architectural elements, as well as some background details of the modello in Sarasota (No. 1b; Fig. 3) were clearly painted by another hand and subsequently retouched by Rubens, whereas the modelli in Count Seilern's collection (Nos. 5b and 8b; Figs. 47 and 75) and in Pau (Nos. 4c and 7b; Figs. 30 and 63) seem to have been executed largely by Rubens, at least as far as the visible paint surface is concerned. Some architectural elements of the framing here also indicate a pedantic and unimaginative careful execution which probably is that of an assistant. The modelli in Madrid (Nos. 2b, 3b and 6b; Figs. 14, 23 and 55) are also the product of the same cooperation. *Achilles Instructed by Chiron* (No. 2b; Fig. 14) seems largely the assistant's work, retouched by Rubens mainly in the figures of Achilles and the centaur, *Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes* (No. 3b; Fig. 23) and *Briseis Restored to Achilles* (No. 6b; Fig. 55) show different degrees of participation by Rubens.

How was this cooperation carried out? One can only surmise. It is likely that the assistant painted the modelli in their entirety after the sketches, paying especial attention to the repetitive architectural details, and that Rubens completed and improved the figures and the rest of the scenery. Pentimenti in most of the modelli, particularly clearly in *Achilles Vanquishing Hector* in Pau (No. 7b; Fig. 63) and *Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes* in Madrid (No. 3b; Fig. 23) indicate that the modelli first were painted to correspond exactly to the oil sketches, and that Rubens changed details afterwards. Probably the same procedure was adopted here that had been used with so much success on the large canvasses of the Medici series, where also the assistant's work is discernible in less important areas, particularly architectural details, while his participation in the rest of the paintings seems to have been obliterated by Rubens's subsequent overpainting.

Who was the assistant? The two artists suggested by Rooses are likely candidates. Either Theodoor van Thulden or Erasmus Quellinus may have assisted Rubens. Both were young artists, born in 1606 and 1607 respectively, who already had established themselves in the early thirties. Quellinus became a master in the painters guild in Antwerp in 1633-34, Van Thulden had preceded him already in 1626. Between 1630 and 1632 either could have assisted Rubens in the execution of the modelli, Quellinus as pupil, Van Thulden as independent artist. Since Van Thulden was in Paris from 1632 to 1634 in order to paint scenes from the life of Jean de Matha for the Trinitarians (lost, but preserved in prints), Quellinus is a more likely candidate for that span of time. But they are certainly not the only two artists who could have had a share in the execution of the modelli. There were numerous other highly competent pupils.

#### *Provenance*

The eight modelli are listed for the first time in an inventory of part of the collection of the house of Pastrana.<sup>9</sup> The inventory is not dated, but since a painting by Corrado Giaquinto is listed, it probably was drawn up after that artist's visit to Spain in 1753.<sup>10</sup> The inventory apparently describes the collection as it was in 1800 or shortly before because the Rubens paintings listed are the same as those mentioned by Ceán Bermudez in that year as being in the collection of the House of Infantado,<sup>11</sup> which then was united with the house

<sup>9</sup> *Sentenach y Cabañas*, pp. 78-85. The inventory could not be traced by S. Alpers, *The Decoration of the Torre de la Parada (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, IX)*, Brussels-London-New York, 1971, p. 70.

<sup>10</sup> Burchard's hypothesis of this date *post quem* is found in S. Alpers, *op. cit.*, 1971, p. 71, and is briefly referred to in *Burchard*, 1950, pp. 15 and 17.

<sup>11</sup> S. Alpers, *op. cit.*, 1971, pp. 70, 71. Ceán added the reference to the Infantado collection in a footnote after the book which appeared in 1800 had gone to press (J. A. Ceán Bermudez, *Diccionario histórico de los más ilustres profesores de las bellas artes en España*, IV, Madrid, 1800, pp. 272, 273). The house of the Infantado was mentioned specifically and correctly as owner of the eight modelli in the sale catalogue of the collection of the Marqués de Salamanca, sale, Paris (Pilet, LeRoy, Febvre), 3-6 June 1867, under lot 105 ("Les six autres sont encore dans la galerie du duc de l'Infantado", which strictly speaking was not correct because since 1841 they belonged to the Duke of Pastrana) and under lot 106 (giving as provenance: "Galerie du duc de l'Infantado").



of Pastrana.<sup>12</sup> Although the modelli therefore were in the Infantado collection by the second half of the eighteenth century, it is not known when they entered the possession of the Pastrana or Infantado family. The statement that they had been in the family since “times immemorial”, and that they might have been given to the family by Philip IV or one of his successors, made by Lafond in 1902 and in 1909, probably is no more than an oral tradition, perhaps related to him by the last owner of the modelli, the Duquesa de Pastrana.<sup>13</sup> If the tradition is correct, the question remains when they were transferred to Spain.

Seventeenth-century practices of ordering and selling tapestries make it likely that the modelli were not immediately separated from the cartoons. According to existing rules specifically laid down May 24, 1658, concerning the “Pand” or central trading hall for tapestries in Brussels, clients could order tapestries on the basis of cartoons or “petit patrons” shown for this purpose.<sup>14</sup> In most instances the “petits patrons” that served as models for the large cartoons may be assumed to have been what presently are called “modelli”. A number of tapestry weavers owned cartoons and corresponding modelli, called “schilderijen”, “schetsen” or “schilderijen schetsen”. For example, in 1687 the estate of Cornelis de Wael included a set of ten tapestries representing *The History of Noah*, and also “thien schilderyen schetsen representerende *de Historie van Noé*”, as well as ten cartoons of the same set.<sup>15</sup> Therefore, when Jan van Leeftael and Gerard van der Strecken bought “the original design painted by Mr. Pedro-Paulo Rubbens, being the History of Achilles, consisting of eight

<sup>12</sup> According to Xavier de Salas (letter to Count Seilern), the Infantado and Pastrana titles were united in 1630 through the marriage of the eighth duchess of Infantado with the fourth duke of Pastrana. The titles continued united until 1841 (see below).

<sup>13</sup> Lafond, 1902, p. 235; Lafond, 1909-10, p. 126 (instead of Philip IV “or one of his successors” in 1902, Lafond wrote now: “Philip IV or Charles II”; Charles II died in 1700).

<sup>14</sup> For this statute, see Göbel, 1923, p. 337.

<sup>15</sup> Inventory of Cornelis de Wael, of August 4, 1687 : “... eene camer tapyten *de Historie van Noé*, bestaende in thien stucken, ses en half [ellen] diep... Item thien schilderyen schetsen representerende *de Historie van Noé*. Item de thien patroonen metten boort daertoe hoorende van *de Historie van Noé*...” (Denucé, 1936, pp. 113, 114). It should be noted that “patroon” here, as usually, means “cartoon”, while the word was also used for “design” or “invention” of a tapestry.

sketches and nine large pieces of paper" <sup>16</sup> it is likely that the eight "sketches" were the modelli rather than the smaller preliminary oil sketches. The modelli, more carefully executed, larger, and more detailed than the oil sketches, probably were considered more appropriate examples for the prospective clients than the sketches which certainly in instances like *Achilles Vanquishing Hector* were too summary for this purpose.

If the Van der Strecken-Van Leefdael firm had bought the modelli from Peter Fourment, the son of Daniel Fourment, the modelli should be part of the latter's estate. Furthermore, since the Fourment firm was the owner of Rubens's designs for the Achilles series, there is no reason to suppose that the modelli were in the workshop of the weavers. They needed only the cartoons. It is therefore likely that the eight modelli were among the "35 paintings as well as sketches, large as well as small, painted as [?] copies after the late Rubens, and some sketches by his own hand" which were entered immediately after the tapestries on the well-organized list of objects in the Fourment "shop", or among the "14 sketches of paintings on panel" (without name of artist) in the warehouse where also a number of cartoons were housed. <sup>17</sup> It certainly would be in keeping with the nature of modelli if they were kept with the tapestries, cartoons and other wares. What to think then of the "eight sketches painted on panel, the History of Achilles" listed as being in the "caemer" or parlour? This room differed in its contents markedly from the shop and the warehouse, and contained objects that seem to have been personal belonging rather than goods of the trade. It would be appropriate if these sketches were Rubens's smaller oil sketches, not needed any more for the "business". <sup>18</sup>

The modelli probably were sold by the weavers during the gradual decline of the tapestry weaving industry towards the end of the seventeenth and in the first half of the eighteenth century, but when is not known. As the cartoons

<sup>16</sup> See above, p. 47. All the documents recently published by Erik Duverger, including the detailed one of September 3, 1660 indicate that Van der Strecken and Van Leefdael owned only eight "schetsen".

<sup>17</sup> "35 soo schilderyen als schetsen soo groote als cleyne nae wylen Heer Ruebens van copyen geschildert ende sommige schetsen van syn eygen hant" which were kept "In den Winckel" (*Denucé*, 1936, p. 64) and "14 schetsen van schilderyen op paneel geschildert" in the "packhuys" (*Denucé*, 1936, p. 61).

<sup>18</sup> See above, pp. 46, 47.

probably were shipped to Spain about 1671/75, the modelli, of no practical use without the cartoons, may have been sold about the same time.

They reappear in the second half of the eighteenth century in the Infantado collection where they remained until the death of the last Duque del Infantado, when they passed by inheritance to the Dukes of Osuna and of Pastrana. This was pointed out for the first time in 1902 by Lafond. As was shown by Count Seilern more than fifty years later,<sup>19</sup> Lafond apparently was remarkably well informed. The thirteenth Duque del Infantado died on November 27, 1841, leaving his entailed estate to his great-nephew, who became Duque de Osuna, and his un-entailed estate to his natural son, who inherited the dukedom of Pastrana.<sup>20</sup> The Duke of Osuna thus became the owner of *The Wrath of Achilles* and *The Death of Achilles*, which both comparatively soon, certainly before 1867, passed into the collection of the Marqués de Salamanca.<sup>21</sup> They were sold by auction with other works of art from his collection and are now in the collection of Count Seilern in London (Nos. 5b and 8b; Figs. 47 and 75).

The other six modelli passed to the Duque de Pastrana in Madrid. In 1887 the dowager duchess presented two of the six, *Thetis Receiving Armour for Achilles from Hephaestus* (No. 4c; Fig. 30) and *Achilles Vanquishing Hector* (No. 7b; Fig. 63), as a gift to the museum in Pau in memory of her husband, who had died in Pau the previous year.<sup>22</sup> Shortly before 1888 (according to Rooses) the dowager duchess presented her residence in Madrid, with the paintings it contained, to the "Comunidad de las Religiosas del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús". The house was transformed into a boarding school for girls.<sup>23</sup> In May 1888 the collection of paintings was offered for sale "en bloc", but did

<sup>19</sup> *Lafond*, 1902, p. 235; *Lafond*, 1909-10, p. 126. Lafond may have received this information from his predecessor as *conservateur* of the museum in Pau, Charles le Cœur, who had accepted the modelli as a gift from the widow of the Duque de Pastrana.

<sup>20</sup> Information provided by the Marqués de Montana through Xavier de Salas to Count Seilern in or about 1952 and incorporated by the latter in *Seilern*, p. 59, n. 2.

<sup>21</sup> This is supported by the absence of these works from the sale of works of art from the Osuna collection in Madrid on 11 May 1896.

<sup>22</sup> *Lafond*, 1902, p. 236; *Lafond*, 1909-10, p. 126.

<sup>23</sup> *Rooses*, III, p. 40. The "Dames du Sacré-Cœur" and its "pensionnat de demoiselles", mentioned by Rooses must be the "Comunidad de las Religiosas del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús" and its "Colegio de niñas" in the Calle del Caballero in Madrid.

not find a buyer.<sup>24</sup> Either shortly before they were given to the school, or shortly afterwards, the paintings were offered as a gift to the Prado under the condition that they all would be exhibited. The Prado refused.<sup>25</sup> While the paintings were in the school, one of them was acquired by the Paris art dealer Emile Pacully.<sup>26</sup> That modello, *Achilles Dipped into the River Styx* (No. 1b; Fig. 3), is now in Sarasota. The three remaining modelli (Nos. 2b, 3b and 6b; Figs. 14, 23 and 55) were accepted by the Prado, with other paintings from the Pastrana collection, on 28 May 1889, probably after the condition that they be exhibited had been dropped.

### Copies

No set of painted copies of the modelli has been preserved, or is known to have been made.

### Literature

The indefatigable Ceán Bermudez was the first to refer in print to the modelli. He noted that the House of the Infantado in addition to the forty-six oil sketches by Rubens for the Torre de la Parada also owned "twelve paintings

<sup>24</sup> Also according to *Rooses*, III, p. 40. After the duchess had presented *Thetis Receiving Armour for Achilles from Hephaestus* (No. 4c; Fig. 30) and *Achilles Vanquishing Hector* (No. 7b; Fig. 63) to the Museum of Pau, a catalogue of her collection was printed and published under the following title: *Catalogue de la Galerie de tableaux de S.E. la Duchesse Douairière de Pastrana à Madrid*. The four remaining modelli for the Achilles series were listed there as Nos. 7, 28, 34 and 108. We may presume that this catalogue was intended for the unsuccessful sale effort of May, 1888.

<sup>25</sup> According to *Rooses*, v, p. 334, the unaccepted offer to the Prado was made in 1889; according to the catalogues of the Prado from 1945 through 1971 (under No. 2566) the three paintings were given by the duchess on May 29, 1887. This date however, probably refers to the refused initial offer, rather than to the final acceptance. In an earlier catalogue of the Prado (1933) no date of acquisition is mentioned, in the chronological list of gifts in the most recent catalogue (1971) the year 1889 is given for the Pastrana gift. The correct date of acceptance appears to be 29 May 1889 (see the reprint of Beroqui's article mentioned below in note 36, p. 75).

<sup>26</sup> *Lafond*, 1902, p. 236, n. 1, also mentions that the Dowager Duchess gave four modelli to a "convent" in Madrid and that "M. Pacully" (sic) acquired one from the convent, but he does not speak about the efforts to sell the collection or donate it to the Prado (also *Lafond*, 1909-10, p. 126).

by the painter himself".<sup>27</sup> From the inventory of the Pastrana collection, which then was united with the Infantado collection we know that these must have been a *Defeat of Sennacherib*, an *Elijah and the Angel*, a *Madonna and Sleeping Christ Child*, a painting with *Venus*, and the eight modelli of *The History of Achilles*. The first publication correctly referring to the paintings as "patrons" for tapestries is not a treatise on Rubens or a study of tapestries, but the sale catalogue where the two modelli were sold that are presently in Count Seilern's collection (Nos. 5b and 8b; Figs. 47 and 75). Those who wrote the sale catalogue of the collection of the Marqués de Salamanca (3-6 June, 1867) also knew that the series consisted of eight subjects, that Rubens was involved in their creation, and that the modelli all had belonged to the Duke of the Infantado. As usual, the well informed author of the catalogue remained anonymous.

Max Rooses was the first to be fully aware of the importance of the series and compiled the comparatively few data known to him.<sup>28</sup> Subsequently Lafond discussed the series of modelli in its entirety,<sup>29</sup> although he mentioned the three now in the Prado (Nos. 2b, 3b and 6b; Figs. 14, 23 and 55) only parenthetically. He rewrote his text in much abbreviated form for *Les Arts anciens de Flandre*,<sup>30</sup> and was now able to reproduce for the first time all the modelli except the two presently in Count Seilern's collection (Nos. 5b and 8b; Figs. 47 and 75). Lafond disagreed with Rooses in one significant respect: while Rooses thought in 1890<sup>31</sup> that the modelli were painted by Van Thulden and retouched by Rubens, Lafond considered them "peintures originales du maître".<sup>32</sup>

Since then many writers referred to the modelli as a series, often mentioning them only briefly, and frequently including works which did not belong to the original set. Rooses himself discussed the modelli briefly on more than one

<sup>27</sup> J.A. Ceán Bermúdez, *op. cit.*, IV, Madrid, 1800, pp. 272, 273.

<sup>28</sup> Rooses, III, p. 40.

<sup>29</sup> Lafond, 1902.

<sup>30</sup> Lafond, 1909-10.

<sup>31</sup> Rooses, III, p. 40.

<sup>32</sup> Lafond, 1902, p. 235.

<sup>33</sup> M. Rooses, *De verzameling Pacully te Parijs*, *op. cit.*, p. 122; *Id.*, *Rubens*, *op. cit.*, p. 531.

occasion.<sup>33</sup> Edward Dillon, in his ineffective book on Rubens of 1909, thought that the modelli were on canvas, correctly referred to two as being in Pau, but believed that the others were lost.<sup>34</sup> In his article of 1912, W. R. Valentiner, dealing with the various versions of scenes of the Achilles series in American collections, discussed the entire Achilles series of tapestries and related works briefly.<sup>35</sup> Shortly afterwards, in his articles that are fundamental for the early history of collecting of Flemish painting in Spain, Pedro Beroqui mentioned the series as a whole and specifically the three modelli in the Prado.<sup>36</sup> In 1921, in the volume of the *Klassiker der Kunst*, Oldenbourg and the editors of his manuscript reproduced only one modello (No. 3b; Fig. 23), indicating that it was on the Berlin art market although it actually was (and still is) in the Prado in Madrid, and referred only in the briefest terms to the entire series of "Vorlagen"<sup>37</sup>.

Only in 1950, when the two panels from the Museum at Pau (Nos. 4c and 7b; Figs. 30 and 63) were exhibited at Wildenstein's in London, was the series of modelli discussed again in its entirety by L. Burchard in the catalogue published on that occasion.<sup>38</sup> The two panels were shortly afterwards, in 1953, included in the exhibition of oil sketches in Rotterdam, and their most significant data were summarized in the catalogue of that exhibition.<sup>39</sup> Count Seilern catalogued the two modelli in his collection (Nos. 5b and 8b; Figs. 47 and 75).<sup>40</sup> Since 1955 the modelli have not been discussed as a series.

<sup>34</sup> E. Dillon, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

<sup>35</sup> W.R. Valentiner, *Gemälde des Rubens in Amerika*, *op. cit.*, pp. 263-271; he erroneously stated that one of the modelli was on the Berlin art market. Repeated, with minor changes, in W.R. Valentiner, *The Art of the Low Countries, Studies, op. cit.*, pp. 189, 190.

<sup>36</sup> P. Beroqui, *Adiciones y correcciones al Catálogo del Museo del Prado - Escuela Flamenca*, *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellana de Excursiones*, xv, 1917, pp. 392, 393. The various installments of this article were gathered in a reprint, with new pagination.

<sup>37</sup> *K.d.K.*, p. 464.

<sup>38</sup> Burchard, 1950, pp. 15-17.

<sup>39</sup> Haverkamp Begemann, 1953, p. 78, and Nos. 66, 68.

<sup>40</sup> And made a significant correction in the provenance of the modelli (see the relevant catalogue entries).

## V. THE CARTOONS

In contrast to the cartoons for the tapestries of *The History of Decius Mus* and *The Triumph of the Eucharist*, which were painted on canvas, the support of those for *The History of Achilles* was paper.<sup>1</sup> We know this from a statement made in 1658 concerning their acquisition five years earlier by Gerard van der Strecken and Jan van Leefdael. On March 12, 1658, Hendrick Lenaerts stated that on April 28, 1653, he had bought from Peter Fourment, for the account of the two weavers, "the original design painted by Mr. Pedro-Paulo Rubbens being *The History of Achilles* consisting of eight sketches and nine large works on paper".<sup>2</sup> The material of the cartoons was mentioned also by Van der Strecken and Van Leefdael themselves on November 23 of the same year when they stated that about six years earlier they had bought from Peter Fourment "ung patron paint sur papier estant originel du Sieur Pierre Paulo Rubens representant l'Histoire d'Achille...".<sup>3</sup> About that same time this acquisition was confirmed twice more, without reference to the support.<sup>4</sup> From one

<sup>1</sup> Max Rooses apparently was the first to mention the possible existence of such large cartoons made after the modelli (*De verzameling Pacully te Parijs, Onze Kunst*, II<sup>1</sup>, 1902, p. 122).

<sup>2</sup> "... Sieur Hendrick Lenaerts... verclaert... dat hij attestant voor rekeninghe van [Gerard van der Strecken and Jan van Leefdael] den 28 April 1653 gecocht heeft alhier van Sieur Peeter Forment... den origineelen patroon geschildert by Mynheer Pedro-Paulo Rubbens synde de Historie van Achilles, bestaende in acht schetsen ende negen grootte stucken pampieren...". (*Duverger*, 1971, pp. 157, 158). The word "patroon" is here used in the sense of "design" rather than "cartoon". It is not clear why there were nine cartoons, rather than eight, or ten (or eleven, including Jordaens's designs); for the "schetsen" (Rubens's designs), see pp. 46-51.

<sup>3</sup> *Duverger*, 1970, pp. 98, 99, document VII; "patron" here means both "design" and "cartoon".

<sup>4</sup> On November 23, 1658, Hendrik van Hoorenbeeke stated that about six years ago Peter Fourment had sold the "debucho y patron original del Señor Pedro Paolo Rubens", therefore "sketch and cartoon", to Hendrick Lenaerts (*Duverger*, 1970, p. 99, document VIII); on December 12, 1658, the Antwerp dealer François de Smit stated, among other things: "... el Señor Pedro Fourment vendio el dicho dibujo original del Pintor Pedro Pablo Ruebens a Enrique Lenarts, el qual lo compro en compania de los dichos tapiceros cada uno por la tercia parte, que la entrego el dicho debucho. Y el afirmante sabe muy bien que ningun otro tapicero desde la dicha venta hizo fabricar el dicho dibujo sino los dichos Gerardo van der Strecken y Juan van Leefdael...". (*Duverger*, 1970, pp. 99, 100, document VIII). The word "dibujo" in this case is equivalent to "design".

of these statements (December 5, 1658) it appears that the ownership at that time was shared by Van der Strecken, Van Leefdael and Lenaerts, each for one third, and that no tapestries had been woven by other manufactories than that of Van der Strecken and Van Leefdael since the time that they had acquired the designs. Finally, in 1660 the cartoons were mentioned once more by Van der Strecken and Van Leefdael, with the "schetsen" and with two additional cartoons by Jordaens.<sup>5</sup>

Peter Fourment undoubtedly had inherited the cartoons from his father Daniel Fourment. It surprises therefore, that they are not mentioned in the inventory of the latter's estate among the other cartoons that belonged to his firm and that were kept in the warehouse. The reason may be sought in the circumstance that the set of tapestries woven from these cartoons, although present in the shop of Fourment at the time of his death, was not yet paid for, and therefore probably had been completed only shortly before. The cartoons therefore may have been still with the weavers, as Duverger supposed.<sup>6</sup>

In analogy to cartoons on paper made by other artists, particularly Jordaens,<sup>7</sup> we may assume that they were made with body colour, perhaps with some water colour, black chalk and other media, on paper of the same size as the tapestries to be woven from them. Without even a fragment preserved, it seems futile to speculate about the degree of Rubens's participation in the execution of the cartoons. Yet an hypothesis may be ventured. The reference in the contemporary statement mentioned above to "den origineelen patroon geschildert by... Rubbens" does not imply that Rubens painted the cartoon himself, because "patroon" should be read here as "design" rather than "cartoon", and a second

<sup>5</sup> The two weavers stated on September 3, 1660 that the "... patroonen van tapyten met hunne respectieve schetsen, passtucken, boorden, appendentiën ende dependentiën... naementlyk: Acht stucken met acht schetsen gemaectt bij d'Heer Rubens saliger ende noch twee passtucken door Jordaens gemaectt alles representerende de Historie van Achilles..." (Duverger, 1971, pp. 158, 159). In these instance "patroonen" refers to "cartoons".

<sup>6</sup> Duverger, 1971, p. 157.

<sup>7</sup> Two intact cartoons by Jordaens are in the Museum in Arras (on loan from the Louvre), cf. F. Lugt, *Musée du Louvre, Inventaire général des dessins des écoles du Nord, Ecole flamande*, 1, 1949, Nos. 718 and 733; R.-A. d'Hulst, *De tekeningen van Jacob Jordaens*, Brussels, 1956, Nos. 98 and 99. Both are as large as the tapestries for which they were made (300:522 cm. and 305:428 cm.), and were executed mainly with body colour on paper.



reference to the set of cartoons as "a 'patron' painted on paper being original of... Rubens" also should be interpreted as referring to the invention rather than the execution. The cartoons for *The Triumph of the Eucharist* were painted by one or more pupils or assistants, then retouched and corrected by Rubens, particularly in the flesh parts of the principal figures and in striking highlights.<sup>8</sup> It is likely that Rubens's participation in cartoons on paper, which was less durable and less costly a material than canvas, was less rather than more substantial than in the cartoons on canvas of the *Eucharist* series. Furthermore, at that time cartoon painting was a profession carried out by specialists.<sup>9</sup> It therefore may be assumed that others executed the cartoons, and that Rubens touched them here and there, since he hardly could refrain from doing so.

The cartoons were mentioned in 1660, for the last time. There is sufficient evidence to suppose that they were sold to Spain and lost at sea shortly afterwards. According to a tradition recorded by F. Mols among his notes presently in the Royal Library in Brussels, a "History of Ulysses" with the cartoons of the same subject was sent to Spain by the "comte de Monterey, gouverneur général des Pays-Bas", and perished at sea. As appears from another reference in these same notes "Ulysses" was an error and should read "Achilles". The "comte de Monterey" must have been Juan Domingo de Haro Sotomayor, seventh Count of Monterey, who was governor of the Netherlands from 1671-1675, under Carlos II. The loss of the cartoons at sea between 1671 and 1675 is confirmed by the absence of any tapestries or references to tapestries that were woven from the cartoons after the 1670's.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> M. Jaffé, *Rubens' Sketching in Paint*, *Art News*, May 1953, pp. 34-37, 64-67.

<sup>9</sup> Göbel, 1923, pp. 421, 423.

<sup>10</sup> The manuscripts by Mols in the Royal Library in Brussels, apparently indices to a lost catalogue of Rubens's works, include in ms. 5726 the following passage: "102. L'Histoire d'Ulisse, avec les Cartons pour les faire en tapisserie ont été envoyés en Espagne par le Comte de Monterey ([footnote:] alors gouverneur des Pays-Bas), et sont peris en mer. *Ibidem* [= *Rubenianum*, I. pars]. p<sup>a</sup> 131. T.2. p<sup>a</sup> 74." This reference is complemented by a second one in ms. 5725, fol. 90: "132-139. La Suite de l'Histoire d'Ulisse en 8 morceaux (*Ibidem* p<sup>a</sup> 131) ou plus tôt d'Achille." (For both passages I thank H. Vlieghe, who found and transcribed them). *Wauters*, 1878, p. 241, seems to have paraphrased the first passage when he wrote about Rubens's "L'Histoire d'Ulisse avec les cartons ayant servi de modèles...", and Rooses seems to have interpreted it further (from the manuscript or from Wauters's book) when he listed "l'Histoire d'Ulisse en tapisserie, avec les cartons de Rubens, ayant servi de modèles..."

(*Rooses*, III, p. 46). Both Wauters and Rooses referred to the passage as being in Mols, Vol. II, p. 131, where in fact it does not appear. Mols was not the only one to confuse Ulysses with Achilles: George Vertue referred twice to Bernard Baron's Achilles series as a Ulysses series (*Vertue Note Books*, VI, *The Walpole Society*, XXX, 1955, pp. 190, 193), and an anonymous annotator, in obvious reference to the Achilles sketches, annotated the first quoted statement in the Mols manuscripts as follows: "On prétend que les Esquisses originales existent encore en Angleterre, où elles ont été gravées". Both the series of oil sketches and modelli of the Achilles series having been preserved, the "History of Achilles" sent to Spain by the Count of Monterrey must have been a set of tapestries. Göbel, not aware of the late date of this presumed loss of the cartoons, questioned whether Mols's statement agreed with the facts because "the large cartoons of the well known Rubens series always remained with the manufactory" (*Göbel*, 1923, p. 424). J.Q. van Regteren Altena, on the basis of the text in Rooses, made a cautious, but unconvincing effort to connect the "Ulysses series" mentioned by Mols with water colours after Primaticcio attributed to Rubens (*Rubens en de Galerie d'Ulysse*, *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, I, 1953, p. 13).

## VI. THE TAPESTRIES

The last complete set of eight tapestries was broken up in 1931.<sup>1</sup> Four panels of that set, which in all likelihood was the first edition and certainly was of very high quality, now belong to the Ducal Palace in Vila Viçosa in Portugal, whereas the location of the other four is not known. Not one of the many later sets has been preserved complete, the largest set comprising only five panels, being a late edition with other frames than those designed by Rubens (Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire). In spite of the considerable number of complete and partial sets woven, not only partial sets are rare, but only few individual panels have been preserved, and most of these do not include the frames which Rubens designed as integral parts of each subject.<sup>2</sup> The large size of the tapestries, the perishable nature of their materials, particularly of the wool, and the limited interest in tapestries among art historians and collectors, all these factors have contributed to the disappearance of so many tapestries of the Achilles series.

It is now very difficult to imagine a complete set of eight tapestries with the framing devices as Rubens intended them to be. Each tapestry of such a set would be more than four meters high, the total width approximately thirty-five meters, the figures actual size. The first and the last to convey his impressions of a complete set was no other than Eugène Delacroix. At great length he wrote in his diary about the set of the presumed *editio princeps* that would be dispersed in 1931. Delacroix saw it at the sale of tapestries from the estate of Louis-Philippe, King of France, on January 26, 1852. He was deeply impressed, and returned the next day to see once more "les tapisseries sublimes de la *Vie d'Achille*". He commented on their colours, on the garlands, terms and emblematic objects framing the scenes, and particularly on the expression of sentiments and the representation of actions. He characterized Agamemnon in *The Wrath of Achilles* as "superb in his indignation mixed with fear", wrote that Apollo in *The Death of Achilles* shows Paris the heel of Achilles with "a gesture that avenges the entire Trojan war", and that the figure supporting the dying Achilles "turns towards his murderer with an expression of regret that

<sup>1</sup> See below under *Sets of Two or More Panels: ? Editio Princeps*.

<sup>2</sup> See below under *Sets of Two or More Panels: Later Editions*, and for individual tapestries, the *Catalogue Raisonné*.

seems to say 'How did you dare to destroy Achilles?'" Delacroix was particularly impressed by the "incomparable verve" of these tapestries: "Here Rubens does not *seek* and above all he does not *improve*. When he tries to chasten the form [in paintings] he loses this momentum and this freedom which give unity and action... Rubens was like a craftsman who does what he knows best, without endlessly trying to introduce improvements. He worked with what he knew, and consequently was not embarrassed to show his thoughts..."<sup>3</sup> This "verve" is confirmed by a comparison between the tapestries and the first designs Rubens made for them, the oil sketches which were unknown to Delacroix: the differences in design are incidental.

The first tapestries of this series to come off the loom were unusual in more than one respect. Earlier in this study it has been pointed out that the life of Achilles never before had been represented in a series of tapestries, and that the framing devices were original as well. Here brief attention should be paid first to some characteristics of these tapestries that are inherent to their medium, and subsequently to tapestries after designs by others added to the series; finally the various sets that have become known will be listed.

When Rubens wanted to vary the framing devices of each tapestry according to the subject matter represented, he could not leave these details to the weavers as had been customary, but had to design them himself. He introduced this procedure for the tapestries of *The Triumph of the Eucharist* (1628), after having disregarded the frames of *The History of Decius Mus* (1617) and of *The History of Constantine* (1622-23).

The original framing devices of the tapestries of the Achilles series appear to have found little appreciation. The first documented commission for a set of this subject, dating from October 7, 1642, stipulated that the

<sup>3</sup> E. Delacroix, *Journal*, ed. A. Joubin, 1, Paris, 1932, p. 444: "... l'Agamemnon, superbe dans son indignation mêlée de crainte..."; p. 445: "... Apollon qui le [Achille] lui [Paris] montre avec un geste qui venge toute la guerre de Troie"; p. 443: "Ici il [Rubens] ne cherche pas et surtout il n'améliore pas. En voulant châtier la forme il perd cet élan et cette liberté qui donne l'unité et l'action..." and p. 447: "Le parti pris et certaines formes outrées montrent que Rubens était dans la situation d'un artisan qui exécute le métier qu'il sait, sans chercher à l'infini des perfectionnements. Il faisait avec ce qu'il savait, et par conséquent sans gêne pour sa pensée." Delacroix had not only good things to say about the Achilles series: "*Achille à cheval sur Chiron* m'a paru ridicule: il est comme au manège et a l'air d'un cavalier du temps de Rubens" (*ibidem*, pp. 443, 445) and he found the small bow of Paris in *The Death of Achilles* (Fig. 72) ridiculous (p. 445).

figures at the sides had to be replaced by twisted columns, and that the top and bottom border be changed as well.<sup>4</sup> Similar requests are found frequently in the documents: in 1656 the Antwerp dealer Gaspard Rodrigues Passarino also requested twisted columns ("colonnas salimonicas"), in 1659 another Antwerp merchant, Jacques Suares ordered a set with borders "like the one usually made in tapestries of the *History of Cleopatra*", and in 1664 a similar request was made by Carlos Vincque, but he specified that the borders be the same as in a set of *The History of Constantine* which he had been shown.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, among the tapestries that have been preserved, versions with the borders as designed by Rubens are outnumbered by versions with different borders. A set of three panels with borders consisting of twisted columns and woven in the manufactory of Van der Strecken and Van Leefdael actually forms part of the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen at Kassel (Fig. 60). In one instance Rubens's frame was accepted, yet modified to look like a flower border (three tapestries at Nunnington Hall, *Achilles Dipped into the River Styx*, *Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes* (Fig. 20) and *The Wrath of Achilles*. This was achieved by adding further garlands at the top and by winding such copious garlands around the terms, which were reduced in size, that the terms blend with fruit and flowers. Obviously all those who substituted new frames for those designed by Rubens misunderstood completely the artist's intentions and deprived the scenes of an integral feature.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> See below, under *Sets of Two or More Panels: Later Editions*, No. 1. The requirements for the borders were the following: "Item las dichas tapicerias en lugar de cenefas de los lados ande tener columnas retorcidas con mas azul que pajico en cima de las cornijas dellas, y en las pedestales algunos mascarones o niños abracados desnudos, en lo alto tarjetas que las abracen niños y en ellas los tiempos del año o otra cosa muy vistosa en lobaxo sus mascarones en medio de algunos lacos" (*Duverger*, 1971, p. 164).

<sup>5</sup> For the sets commissioned by Passarino, Suares, and Vincque, see below, under *Sets of Two or More Panels: Later Editions*, respectively Nos. (7), (12) and (16).

<sup>6</sup> When Jordaens adopted Rubens's terminal figures of the Achilles series for his own designs for a series of *Proverbs*, he combined them with a cloth draped between them as used by Rubens in *The Triumph of the Eucharist* (cf. also drawing *Wie het Gevaar bemint zal er in vergaan*, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet; R.-A. d'Hulst, *De tekeningen van Jakob Jordaens*, Brussels, 1956, fig. 152; compare also Jordaens's drawing of two terms in Uppsala, R.-A. d'Hulst, *op. cit.*, fig. 153). The framing of *Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes* including the terms was taken over from the cartoon or modello (not from the oil sketch) for a tapestry of *David and Abigail* probably after a design by Rubens, in the Bob Jones University Collection at Greenville (*Duverger*, 1971, pp. 121-125, fig. 1).

The enframement was not the only feature of the tapestries that Rubens dictated to the weavers. Rather than submitting himself to particular requirements of the weaving technique, he also forced their hand with his colours and painterly effects. This can be concluded from the colours of the oil sketches and the modelli, and from some of the extremely high prices paid for sets of the Achilles series. As an example has been mentioned the contract made in January 1662 between Carlos Vincque and the firm of Van der Strecken and Van Leefdael (see below, under *Sets of Two or More Panels*, No. 13). With his designs for series of tapestries Rubens transformed the art of tapestry in Flanders, and exercised a decisive influence on younger generations.<sup>7</sup>

As I wrote before, it has not been established with certainty which tapestry manufactory was the first to weave hangings after these designs. We do not know either whether Rubens was involved in the choice of the weavers of the *editio princeps*. It seems likely that Daniel Fourment as owner of the sketches and cartoons was free to accept a bid from any weaver who met his conditions. Recently Erik Duverger has proposed with the support of weighty arguments that a complete set of eight tapestries of which one is signed D. Eggermans F may be considered the first edition.<sup>8</sup> For the weaving of this set of tapestries, of which four are in the Paço Ducal at Vila Viçosa in Portugal (Figs. 19, 29, 52 and 72), whereas the location of the other four is not known, gold thread was used, which is absent from all preserved versions, and which is mentioned only in two of the numerous sets described in contracts specifying the materials to be used.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, this set seems closer in its details to the modelli than any other one.

The work of Eggermans is not sufficiently known to permit a dating of this

<sup>7</sup> For a brief but valid analysis of Rubens's impact on the art of tapestry weaving, see H. Schmitz, *Bildteppiche, Geschichte der Gobelinwirkerei*, Berlin, [1919], pp. 246–252, and Göbel, 1923, pp. 422–427. Jordaens in particular developed further Rubens's framing devices (Göbel, 1923, p. 425). J.S. Held, *Drawings and Oil Sketches by Rubens from American Collections*, *The Burlington Magazine*, xcVIII, 1956, p. 123, commented on the similarity of colour in oil sketch and tapestry in the case of *Briseis Restored to Achilles*.

<sup>8</sup> Duverger, 1971, pp. 154–157, fig. 21 (tapestry of *Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes* by D. Eggermans); see also below, under *Sets of Two or More Panels: ? Editio Princeps*.

<sup>9</sup> Duverger, 1971, p. 152; see below, under *Sets of Two or More Panels: Later Editions*, Nos. (11) and (12).

set on the basis of a comparison with other hangings made in his shop, but if we assume that it is an early set it probably predates the first documented one of 1642, and by implication was woven under the supervision of Daniel Eggermans the Elder, who died in or about 1643 and who, incidentally, had debts to the Fourment firm.<sup>10</sup>

Jan Raes and his shop also wove sets of the Achilles tapestries before the cartoons were sold by the Fourment firm to Van der Strecken and Van Leefdael (1653). This appears from the contract of October 7, 1642 between Jan Raes in Brussels and the Antwerp merchant Antonio de Paz for a set of *The History of Achilles* combined with a set of *The History of Alexander*.<sup>11</sup> A set of five panels and one individual panel of *The Wrath of Achilles* woven in his shop have been preserved.<sup>12</sup> The chronology of the tapestries woven in the manufactory of the Raes family is not clear, it is not even certain whether there were two or three members by the name of Jan Raes.<sup>13</sup> Certainly Jan Raes II or III was still active in 1650, but how much longer is not known, and the date *ante quem* for these hangings therefore remains to be established. Another member of the family, Frans Raes, who certainly belonged to a younger generation, apparently had access to the cartoons and wove at least one set in his shop, if the attribution made to him by Marthe Crick-Kuntziger and others on the basis of the borders is correct.<sup>14</sup> The coats of arms and a will make it possible to date this set between 1655 and 1669, and this time span can be narrowed down to 1659-1669 if we believe, as we must, that François de Smit spoke the truth on December 1658 when he declared that since April 28,

<sup>10</sup> See E. Duverger, *Aantekeningen betreffende de tapijtbandel van Daniël Fourment en van diens zoon en schoonzoon, Peter Fourment en Peter van Hecke de Jonge, Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis...*, XIX, 1972, p. 59.

<sup>11</sup> See below, *Sets of Two or More Panels: Later Editions*, No. (1).

<sup>12</sup> The set of five is in Santiago de Compostela (one of them is after Jordaens); see *Sets of Two or More Panels: Later Editions*, No. (22). *The Wrath of Achilles* is in Arnhem (No. 5 [3]; Fig. 43).

<sup>13</sup> *Crick-Kuntziger*, 1934, p. 6 (two members of the family are called Jan, the youngest one still active in 1649); *Duverger*, 1970, p. 79 (perhaps a Jan Raes III existed); Jarmila Blažková, in J. Blažková and E. Duverger, *Les Tapisseries d'Octavio Piccolomini et le marchand anversois Louis Malo*, St-Amandsberg (Ghent), 1970, p. 23 (Jan Raes active in 1650).

<sup>14</sup> See below, under *Sets of Two or More Panels: Later Editions*, No. (24). Five of the set belong to the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire at Brussels, a sixth was destroyed in the 18th century.

1653, no other shop but the one of Van der Strecken and Van Leefdael had woven tapestries after these cartoons.<sup>15</sup> Because of the similarities in borders, it is possible that two other sets were also woven in the shop of Frans Raes.<sup>16</sup>

Undoubtedly the largest number of sets, complete ones and partial ones, were woven by the firm of Gerard van der Strecken and Jan van Leefdael in Brussels, one of the leading manufactories in the Netherlands at the time. Particularly in the 1650's and 1660's this shop produced numerous sets as we learn from documents recently published by Erik Duverger. A number of panels woven by this firm has been preserved, although not one complete set.<sup>17</sup>

Willem van Leefdael (active 1656-1685), son of Jan van Leefdael, wove at least one panel, and so did Gerard van der Strecken's son-in-law Gerard Peemans. Finally, one panel is signed by Jan-Frans van den Hecke, who therefore also must have had access to the cartoons.<sup>18</sup>

Since none of these tapestries is dated, it cannot be established with certainty when the last set was woven.<sup>19</sup> The last commission known from the sources was given in 1664. Gerard Peemans was "privileged" on October 15, 1665,

<sup>15</sup> Duverger, 1970 p. 100 and Duverger, 1971, p. 158.

<sup>16</sup> See below, under *Sets of Two or More Panels: Later Editions*, Nos. (29) and (30). It is possible that these two sets are in fact one and the same. This ornamental border apparently was invented for *verdure* tapestries woven for Octavio Piccolomini (J. Blažková, *op. cit.*, p. 47; cf. also M. Ferrero Viale, *Tapisseries flamandes inédites en Italie, Artes Textiles*, VII, 1971, p. 72).

<sup>17</sup> See below, under *Sets of Two or More Panels: Later Editions*, Nos. (5)-(13), (16)-(21), and Cat. Nos. 3 (1, 2), 5 (1), 7 (1) and 8 (1).

<sup>18</sup> See Cat. No. 5 (2): Willem van Leefdael, Cat. No. 8 (3): Gerard Peemans and Cat. No. 1: Jan-Frans van den Hecke.

<sup>19</sup> A set of at least nine tapestries representing the life of Achilles woven as late as 1740-1744 by the Van der Borght firm in Brussels is sometimes referred to as woven after Rubens's designs. They are not. The series includes other subjects and the designs of those subjects that it has in common with Rubens's set are totally different. They seem to have been made by a French artist of the second half of the seventeenth century. The following sets are known: (A) Nine tapestries, Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André; woven by Jan-Frans and Pieter van der Borght in Brussels (ca. 1740); prov.: bought by Edouard André from Vail, 1874; lit.: Lafond, 1902, p. 234; Musée Jacquemart-André, *Catalogue Itinéraire*, 2nd ed., Paris, [1913], Nos. 1147-1151 [and four not numbered]; P. Clamorgan, in *Les Arts*, XVI, No. 190, 1920, pp. 17 (repr. of No. 1147, *Achilles Dipped into the River Styx* [not after Rubens]), 18, and 23 (repr. of No. 1150, *Achilles Protected by Thetis* [not after Rubens]); J. Casier and P. Bergmans, *L'Art ancien dans les Flandres...*, II, Brussels-Paris, 1921, p. 127 (as after Rubens); (B) Seven tapestries, Sweden, Royal Collection; woven by Jan and Frans van der Borght, 1744 [according to receipt of weavers preserved in Royal archives];



and worked until about 1705, Jan-Frans van den Hecke from 1660 until 1695.<sup>20</sup> Their careers therefore leave quite a latitude for the dating of these hangings, but they also imply that the last versions may have been woven no later than in ca. 1665–70. As has been discussed above, the cartoons probably perished at sea between 1671 and 1675. The preserved hangings and documented commissions therefore don't contradict the supposition that the cartoons disappeared at that time.

One aspect of the tapestry series of *The History of Achilles* should be reviewed here briefly, namely the expansion of the series with two or three full size subjects, and with smaller "passtucken".

Although Rubens had planned no more than eight subjects, the series soon was enlarged to ten or perhaps even eleven panels. Series of tapestries were not inviolable: parts of a series and individual panels could be ordered or bought, and designers accordingly lent the individual subjects sufficient autonomy for them to be seen in any combination or individually. A series also could be expanded if space or special circumstances demanded it. As a matter of fact, Daniel Fourment and his firm owned in 1643 a set of ten tapestries of the Achilles series which apparently just had been woven because the weavers had not yet been paid.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, three tapestries of three different subjects all appear to have been made to enlarge the series. The three subjects are *Thetis Leading the Boy Achilles to the Oracle*, known in two weavings (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts [Fig. 86] and Turin, Palazzo Reale), *The Marriage Feast of Peleus and Thetis*, preserved in a unique panel in Turin, Palazzo Carignano, (Fig. 85) and *The Young Achilles and Pan*, also known only in one weaving

lit.: *Musée Jacquemart-André, Catalogue Itinéraire, op. cit.*, under No. 1151; J. Casier and P. Bergmans, *op. cit.*, Brussels-Paris, 1921, p. 127; *Göbel, 1923*, p. 399; (C) Ten tapestries, present whereabouts unknown; woven by Frans van der Borgh; with border imitating gilded frame, at top centre an eagle crowned with a king's crown, holding a sword in the right, a coat of arms in the left claw; prov.: Paris, Dealer G. R. Hamot (ca. 1893-1903); lit.: *Göbel, 1923*, p. 399; (D) Ten tapestries, present whereabouts unknown; woven for Empress Maria Theresa; prov.: sold at Christie's, London, 1913; lit.: *Göbel, 1923*, p. 399; (E) Six tapestries, Liechtenstein Collection; woven by Frans van der Borgh; exh.: Vienna, 1880; lit.: *Göbel, 1923*, p. 399; (F) More than one tapestry, in 1923 belonging to the city of Paris; lit.: *Göbel, 1923*, p. 399.

<sup>20</sup> *Wauters, 1878*, p. 341.

<sup>21</sup> See below, under *Sets of Two or More Panels: Later Editions*, No. (2).

in the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela (Fig. 87). Certainly the first two and probably all three were woven after designs by Jordaens.<sup>22</sup>

Not mentioned in any of the classical sources, the unusual subject of *Thetis Leading the Boy Achilles to the Oracle* is narrated by Natale Conti.<sup>23</sup> In the late and free translation into French by Montlyard (1627) the story of Achilles, traditionally beginning with his being dipped into the river Styx, is preceded by the account of Thetis going to the oracle of Themis and asking to be informed about the future of her son. This episode is illustrated here, although the boy Achilles should be younger than he is depicted, and Jordaens thus took liberties in representing the subject. One of the two weavings of this subject by Gerard van der Strecken, in the Boston Museum (Fig. 86), has a border which consists of elements from tapestries and modelli belonging to the series which it was meant to expand. The terminal figure flanking the scene in the tapestry to the Left (Athena) was taken from *Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes*, either from the modello (No. 3b; Fig. 23) or the cartoon (No. 3c), the term at the right (Hercules) from *Achilles Vanquishing Hector* (No. 7b or 7c; Fig. 63), the putti with garlands decorating the cornice at the left from *Briseis Restored to Achilles* (No. 6b or 6c; Fig. 55), at the

<sup>22</sup> Valentiner discussed and reproduced the Boston tapestry as belonging to the series (*Gemälde des Rubens in Amerika, Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, XLVII, 1911-12, p. 264, fig. 2), and so did Hunter, 1913. Marthe Crick-Kuntziger was the first to suppose that two tapestries were added to Rubens's series to "complete" it and that these were woven after designs by Jordaens (*Thetis Leading the Boy Achilles to the Oracle and The Young Achilles and Pan; Crick-Kuntziger*, 1934, pp. 8-10, 70, 71). This supposition has been accepted and repeated by many subsequent writers on the subject. M. Jaffé, in *Cat. Exh. Jacob Jordaens*, Ottawa, 1968-69, pp. 234, 235, under No. 279, supposed that not these two tapestries, but the former one and *The Marriage Feast of Peleus and Thetis* were the two added by Jordaens.

<sup>23</sup> The modello by Jordaens for this tapestry is in the Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio. See Viale Ferrero, 1956; Stechow, 1965, and the literature cited there; Cavallo, 1967, No. 35 with literature; and M. Jaffé, *op. cit.*, under Nos. 192 and 279. For the passage in Montlyard/Conti, 1627, see above, p. 21, n. 1. Stechow (*loc. cit.*) correctly referred to Conti as the source for Jordaens, but to a different passage (and was followed by Jaffé). Stechow used a Latin edition published in Paris in 1605 (simultaneously by three different publishers, cf. J. Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods*, New York, 1953, p. 279) which does not include the specific reference to this event. The older edition instead combines the prophecy of Kolchas that the Trojan war could not be won without Achilles with the oracle that had predicted the death of Achilles in that war. In that case Jordaens would have taken greater liberties than he actually did.

right from *Thetis Receiving Armour for Achilles from Hephaestus* (No. 4c or 4d; Fig. 30). The terminal figures have lost the meaningful relation to the subjects they bordered in Rubens's designs.

The second subject, *The Young Achilles and Pan*<sup>24</sup>, is not found in any classical source. If Jordaens designed it, which is likely, he took even greater liberties here than in the preceding subject. The only known version of this tapestry, in the Cathedral at Santiago (Fig. 87), shares the borders consisting of unusual terms on twisted columns with other panels of the same set, and therefore was meant to complement the other scenes which all were woven by Jan Raes.

The third tapestry, in the Palazzo Carignano in Turin (Fig. 85),<sup>25</sup> represents the subject most appropriate to open a series illustrating the life of Achilles. The wedding of Achilles's parents marked the beginning of the sequence of events leading to the Trojan war and eventually to Achilles's death. The tapestry was possibly woven for Duke Carlo Emanuele II on the occasion of his wedding in 1663, but may have been designed earlier. The tapestry, of the same height as others for the Achilles series (465 cm.), has a border modelled on those designed by Rubens. The terminal figures in this case are not taken over from Rubens, but are specifically designed for the subject, at the left, Hymen winged and holding a torch, at the right a goddess of fertility with a torch. But as far as the wedding itself is concerned, Jordaens relied heavily on Rubens's sketch of the same subject in the Chicago Art Institute. A drawing by Jordaens preparatory to the cartoon and tapestry was found by Jaffé in Orléans.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> See Crick-Kuntziger, 1934; Stechow, 1965; and M. Jaffé, *op. cit.*

<sup>25</sup> Viale Ferrero, 1956, pp. 70, 71; M. Jaffé, *op. cit.*, under No. 192; M. Ferrero Viale, *Essai de reconstitution idéale des collections de tapisseries flamandes ayant appartenu à la Maison de Savoie au XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *Het Herfsttij van de Vlaamse Tapijtkunst*, Brussels, 1959, pp. 269–300. Although Mercedes Viale Ferrero first (1956) was of the opinion that this tapestry and others of the same set in Turin might have been bought for Maria Cristina di Savoia, "Madama Reale", in 1643–44, later (1959), after further study of documentary data, she thought it more likely that they were bought in 1663.

<sup>26</sup> For the drawing in Orléans, its relationship to Rubens, for the tapestry for which it was made, and Maria Cristina's commission, see M. Jaffé, *op. cit.*, under No. 192 (the Orléans drawing), No. 73 (the Oberlin modello) and No. 279 (the *Oracle* tapestry). The tapestry is reproduced in M. Jaffé, *op. cit.*, fig. xxxv, Rubens's sketch in Chicago in M. Jaffé, *op. cit.*, fig. xxxiv, the drawing from Orléans on p. 352 of M. Jaffé, *op. cit.* Rubens made the sketch for one of the paintings in the Torre de la Parada which

Two of these additions may have been made together, perhaps for one specific commission, because in 1660 Jan van Leefdael, Gerard van der Strecken and H. Lenaerts owned eight cartoons with eight "sketches" by Rubens, and "two additional pieces made by Jordaens all representing the History of Achilles".<sup>27</sup> The third additional cartoon apparently was not kept with the others. Since no two preserved additional tapestries originally belonged to the same set, it cannot be established which two of the three subjects were added at the same time.

It would be wrong to suppose that these tapestries were meant to "complete" Rubens's set. It was common to add pieces to sets for specific purposes or spaces, between windows, overdoors and elsewhere, and the term for Jordaens's cartoons for two of the additional subjects used in the statement of 1660 just referred to bears this out: they are called "passtucken", literally "fitting-pieces", and therefore were considered additions or supplements for a specific commission rather than completing elements. The cartoons by Jordaens apparently were kept by the weavers and reused, also in instances where not all eight designs by Rubens were incorporated.

One additional small panel is known that was made specifically for a piece of wall left uncovered by a set of the Achilles series (Fig. 88). In 1893 Charles M. Ffoulke acquired, from an unknown source, a panel that made the impression of being cut out of a larger tapestry, although it was complete with original borders. Achilles, in a red mantle, as in the Achilles series properly, is represented kneeling, perhaps in reference to the last scene of the series, a page is holding his helmet. Two terms of the same size as those in tapestries of the series frame the subject. They are only partially represented, undoubtedly because of the small size of the hanging (228.5:111.5 cm.). The terms, Mars

was executed by Jordaens, see H. Vlieghe, *Jacob Jordaens's Activity for the Torre de la Parada*, *The Burlington Magazine*, cx, 1968, p. 265, and S. Alpers, *The Decoration of the Torre de la Parada (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, ix)*, Brussels, 1971, Nos. 48, 48a.

<sup>27</sup> *Duverter*, 1971, pp. 158, 159: "Den derden september 1660 compareerden Sieurs Jan van Leefdael ende Geeraert van der Strecken... diewelcke verclaerden... aengaende de naergeroerde patroonen van tapyten met henne respectieve schetsen, passtucken,, boorden, appendentiën ende dependentiën onder hen comparanten beruſtende naementlyck: Acht ſtucken met acht schetsen gemaect bij d'Heer Rubens saliger ende noch twee passtucken door Jordaens gemaect alles representerende de *Historie van Achilles...*".

and a female figure without attributes, are freely copied from those of *The Death of Achilles* (No. 8b or 8c; Fig. 75) (Mars) and *Briseis Restored to Achilles* (No. 6b or 6c; Fig. 55; where the term represents Concord). Designer and weaver are unknown, and so is, unfortunately, the present location of this "passtuck".<sup>28</sup>

*Sets of Two or More Panels: ? Editio Princeps*

Eight panels; woven by Daniel Eggermans (the Elder ?) in Brussels; prov.: estate of King Louis-Philippe, sale, Domaine de Monceaux (Maître Bonnefons de Laviaille), 28 January 1852, lot 17 (high 400 cm., wide 330, 330, 525, 475, 390, 600, 460, 390 = 3500 cm.; weaver not mentioned); according to Delacroix with terminal figures; sale, Paris (Drouot), 27-29 April 1931, lot 1-8 (woven by Eggermans, with gold thread, high 400 cm., wide 320, 310, 530, 455, 400, 570, 450, 385 = 3420 cm.). Four of these were acquired shortly before 1954 by the Casa de Bragança for the Paço Ducal at Vila Viçosa, Portugal (*Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes* [Fig. 19], according to Niclausse 400:530, reduced to 500 cm.; *Thetis Receiving Armour for Achilles from Hephaestus* [Fig. 29], 400:455 cm.; *Briseis Restored to Achilles* [Fig. 52], 400:570 cm.; *The Death of Achilles* [Fig. 72], 400:385 cm.), two were later sold in Paris, 19-21 January 1970 (*Achilles Dipped into the River Styx*, 400:320 cm.; *Achilles Vanquishing Hector*, 400:450 cm.); the whereabouts of these two and the remaining two (*Achilles Instructed by Chiron*, 400:310 cm., and *The Wrath of Achilles*, 400:400 cm.) are unknown. The tapestry of *Thetis Receiving Armour for Achilles from Hephaestus* in Vila Viçosa is signed D·EGGERMANS·F., *The Death of Achilles* is signed D·E. The supposition that the set sold in Paris in 1931 is the same as the one formerly in the collection of the King of France rests on the following considerations: both were complete sets of the same height and approximately the same length, both included terminal figures, both were of excellent quality. Juliette Niclausse states that

<sup>28</sup> The tapestry is described and reproduced, as anonymous and without reference to the Achilles series, in Charles M. Ffoulke, *The Ffoulke Collection*, New York, 1913, p. 163. The illustration in Fig. 88 is taken from the reproduction on p. 162 of Ffoulke's book.

the four at Vila Viçosa formerly belonged to King Louis-Philippe; although these four are undoubtedly identical with those sold in Paris in 1931, Niclausse does not mention this provenance. The author, Conservateur des Manufactures de Gobelins, commented on the fine weaving in wool and silk with silver, partially coloured in large surfaces "en grisaille" lending the tapestries "great distinction". The colours, in the present condition, are subdued, the design highly sophisticated. The hanging of *Achilles Discovered* is skillfully restored at the left and right edges. Lit. : E. Delacroix, *Journal* [January 26-February 1, 1852], ed. A. Joubin, I, Paris, 1932, pp. 443-447, III, 1932, p. 92 (set ex-King Louis-Philippe, seen by Delacroix at the Monceaux sale; total length erroneously given as 2750 cm. by Joubin); *Collot*, 1852, p. 2 (on the same set, as "faible copie"); *Rooses*, III, p. 41 (reference to the Monceaux sale); *Lafond*, 1902, p. 234 (reference to the Monceaux sale, with erroneous total length as 2750 cm.); Juliette Niclausse, *Descrição das quatro tapeçarias adquiridas pela Fundação da Casa de Bragança, Ocidente*, XLVI, 1954, pp. 35, 36 (with illustration of *Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes*; I am grateful to Maria José de Mendonça, Lisbon, for having brought this article to my attention); *Duverger*, 1971, pp. 154-157 (considers this set, on the basis of the sale catalogue, Paris, 1931, and knowledge of the tapestries in Vila Viçosa, for the first time as the *editio princeps*, with reproduction of *Briseis Restored to Achilles*).

#### *Sets of Two or More Panels: Later Editions*

(1) Twelve (?) panels, whereabouts unknown; contracted on October 7, 1642, to be woven by Jan Raes in Brussels for the Antwerp merchant Antonio de Paz, with a set of tapestries representing the history of Alexander. The total of 18 tapestries, high 5 1/2 "anas" (= ca. 385 cm.), were intended for two rooms and a bedroom. The Achilles set, said to consist of twelve pieces which possibly included narrow supplementary pieces, had to be completed by the end of April, 1643, the Alexander set by August of the same year. It was specified that the borders at the sides would consist of twisted columns, with masks and putti at their bases, and that the borders at the top would include escutcheons held by putti and decorated with the seasons or other subjects. In spite of the

reference to twelve scenes and the absence of Rubens's name, it is likely that the series was the one that is the subject of this study. Because of the unusual combination of an Achilles series with an Alexander series it is likely that both sets are identical with two sets of eight tapestries each listed in the inventory of June 19, 1647 of the Almirante de Castilla, Don Juan Alfonso Enriquez de Cabrera who had died February 7, 1647. Under No. 10 are listed eight "paños de Alejandro Magno, dibujo de Rubens, de lana y seda", high six anas (= ca. 420 cm.), in total 312 [square] anas, evaluated at a total of 46.800 Reales. The inventory states that the title was wrong: "No es de Alejandro Magno como dice el inventario, sino de Fábulas de Héctor y Achilles, y de Paris y Acheronte, y otras diosas". The second series is listed under No. 8 of the same inventory: "ocho paños, dibujo de Rubens, de lana y seda; es la historia de Alejandro Magno, y nueva de Bruselas", also 6 "anas" (= ca. 420 cm.) high, with a total of 379 1/4 square "anas", evaluated at 53.095 Reales. The similar measurements, and the reference to the second set as being a "new one from Brussels" support the supposition that these are the ones ordered by Antonio de Paz. Lit.: C. Fernandez Duro, *El Ultimo Almirante de Castilla*, Madrid, 1903, p. 186 (inventory of Enriquez de Cabrera); *Duverger*, 1971, pp. 150, 164, document 1 (on the contract).

(2) Ten panels, whereabouts unknown; weavers unknown; woven in 1643. Mentioned in the inventory of the tapestry dealers Daniel Fourment, Peter Fourment and Peter van Hecke, drawn up July 23, 1643 after the death of the former: "Een caemer tapitserye de Historie van Achilles wesende thien stucken sesse ellen diep houdende tsaemen... [blank] ellen die noch ter tyt niet te boecken staet overmits men metten tapitsier daeraff noch niet gerekent en heeft". This means that the tapestries, each ca. 414 cm. high, were not yet entered in the books of the firm because the weaver, who is not named, had not yet been paid. Lit.: *Wauters*, 1878, pp. 236, 237 (Fourment's inventory mistaken for that of Rubens; although this error is corrected on pp. 346, 347, it found its way into many later publications that state that Rubens owned such a set); *Denucé*, *Konstkamers*, p. 114; *Denucé*, 1936, p. 63; *Stechow*, 1965; *Duverger*, 1971, pp. 150, 151.

(3) Eight panels, whereabouts unknown; weaver unknown; woven in or before 1648. Bought July 31, 1648 by D. Luis de Benavides, Carillo y Toledo, Marqués de Fromista y Caracena, Conde de Pinto, Lieutenant governor of the Netherlands, from the firm of Peter Fourment and Peter van Hecke, according

to a statement made by Hendrick van Hoorenbeecke on November 23, 1658. For the first time Rubens is mentioned as designer ("Historia de Achilles del debucho y patron original del Señor Pedro Paulo Rubens..."). Lit.: *Duverger*, 1970, pp. 99, 100, document VIII; *Duverger*, 1971, p. 150.

(4) Eight panels, whereabouts unknown; weaver unknown. Bought November 2, 1648, by the Count of Peñeranda (probably Don Gaspar de Bracamonte y Guzmán, Conde de Peñeranda) from the firm of Peter Fourment and Peter van Hecke, according to a statement made by Hendrick van Hoorenbeecke on November 23, 1658. Lit.: *Duverger*, 1970, pp. 99, 100, document VIII; *Duverger*, 1971, p. 151.

(5) Eight panels, whereabouts unknown; the weavers Gerard van der Strecken and Jan van Leefdael in Brussels contracted on April 30, 1653, to make for the Antwerp dealer Carlos Vincque "een camere tapisserie representerende de Historie van Achilles naer den patroon van Rubbens ende bestaende in acht stucken". It was stipulated that the tapestries should be of the same quality as others woven previously, also in Brussels, for Peter Fourment and Peter van Hecke, therefore probably by other weavers. Lit.: *Duverger*, 1971, pp. 151, 165, document II.

(6) Eight panels, whereabouts unknown; woven by Gerard van der Strecken and Jan van Leefdael in Brussels, in or shortly before 1656. Sold in April 1656 by the Antwerp tapestry dealer François de Smit to Count Fuensaldaña. Lit.: *Duverger*, 1970, p. 100, document VIII; *Duverger*, 1971, p. 151.

(7) Eight panels, whereabouts unknown; contracted January 15, 1656, to be woven by Gerard van der Strecken and Jan van Leefdael in Brussels for the Antwerp dealer Gaspar Rodrigues Passarino. Rubens is mentioned as designer; special features for the borders were requested. Lit.: *Duverger*, 1971, pp. 151, 166, document III.

(8) Eight panels, whereabouts unknown; woven by Gerard van der Strecken and Jan van Leefdael in Brussels about 1656. The set, which was bought from the tapestry dealer François de Smit at Antwerp, was sent to Frankfurt by Don Alonso de Cardenas. Lit.: *Duverger*, 1971, p. 151.

(9) Eight tapestries, whereabouts unknown; woven by Gerard van der Strecken and Jan van Leefdael in Brussels in or shortly before 1657. Bought in October, 1657 by Louis Malo from the tapestry dealer François de Smit in Antwerp and sent by him to Venice. Rubens is mentioned as designer. Lit.: *Duverger*, 1970, pp. 86, 98-100; *Duverger*, 1971, p. 151.



(10) Seven panels, whereabouts unknown; contracted on November 23, 1658 by Gerard van der Strecken and Jan van Leefdael in Brussels for Louis Martini in Antwerp. According to the contract the weavers promised to deliver within nine months "eene caemere tapisserye, Brussels werck, van de Historie van Achilles naer den principaelen patroon geschildert by d'Heer Pietro-Paulo Ruebens." Best materials were specified. It is not known which subject was lacking. The total length of the seven tapestries was planned to be 51 "ellen" (= ca. 35.20 m.). Lit.: *Duverger*, 1970, pp. 100, 101, documents VII and IX; *Duverger*, 1971, pp. 151, 152, 167, 168, document IV.

(11) Eight (?) panels, whereabouts unknown; woven by Gerard van der Strecken and Jan van Leefdael in Brussels; in December 1659 referred to as in the possession of the Antwerp tapestry merchant Joris Romboudts (see next item). Lit.: *Duverger*, 1971, p. 152.

(12) Six panels, whereabouts unknown; contracted on December 30, 1659 to be woven by Gerard van der Strecken and Jan van Leefdael in Brussels "naer den originelen patroon van d'Heer Pietro-Paulo Ruebens" for the merchant Jacques Suares in Antwerp. It was specified that the borders were to be similar to those of a *History of Cleopatra*, and that the tapestries should be worked with gold and silver thread, and in general should be of equally good quality as another set of the *History of Achilles* in possession of the Antwerp tapestry dealer Joris Romboudts. Five of the subjects are named ("daer Achilles gedoodt wordt", "daer ditto Achilles bekent wordt onder de Virgines Festales", "daer hy met het hair getrocken wordt", "daer hy gedoopt wordt", and "daer ditto Achilles leert rijden op den Centaurus"). Lit.: *Duverger*, 1971, pp. 152, 168, 169, document V.

(13) Eight panels, whereabouts unknown; contracted January 16, 1662 by Gerard van der Strecken and Jan van Leefdael in Brussels to be finished by July 1662 "naer den origineelen patroon van wylen d'Heer Rubbens" for the Antwerp merchant Carlos Vincque. Detailed requests for special materials are made. These requests indicate, according to Göbel, that a special effort was made to render the colours of the paintings faithfully. Already Donnet called the price of 70 florins per square yard "enormous". Lit.: *Donnet*, 1898, pp. 114, 115; *Göbel*, 1923, p. 387; H. Thomson, *A History of Tapestry*, London, 1930, p. 399; *Duverger*, 1971, pp. 152, 169, 170, document VI.

(14, 15) Two sets of eight panels, whereabouts unknown, contracted May 5, 1662 by Jacomo de Vergines for the Antwerp merchant Hendrick Lenaerts, one

to be completed within six, the other one within six to seven months. Lit.: *Donnet*, 1898, p. 115; *Göbel*, 1923, p. 604; H. Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 399; *Duverger*, 1971, p. 170, document VII.

(16) Ten panels, whereabouts unknown; high 5 1/4 "ellen", total length 56 "ellen" (362 : 3864 cm.); contracted June 3, 1664, by Gerard van der Strecken and Jan van Leefdael in Brussels for the Antwerp dealer Carlos Vincque to be finished within six months. It is stipulated that the borders at the sides and at the top should be similar to those of a set of *The History of Constantine* shown to Vincque; the bottom border apparently had to be omitted. Lit.: *Duverger*, 1971, pp. 170-172, document VIII.

(17) Four panels, three of which in Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, one, *Briseis Restored to Achilles*, formerly (1934) in the collection of Edward S. Stearns, New York; woven by Gerard van der Strecken and Jan van Leefdael (*The Wrath of Achilles*, 340 : 350 cm.; *Achilles Vanquishing Hector*, 340 : 418 cm., inscribed I-V-LEEFDAEL [Figs. 60, 61]; *Briseis Restored to Achilles*, 350 : 560 cm., whereabouts unknown [Fig. 53] and *The Death of Achilles*, 340 : 375 cm., inscribed G-VANDEN-STRECKEN; with twisted columns instead of terminal figures, cartouches with Latin inscriptions at the top, without framing device at the bottom. Prov.: Château d'Eu, sale, Paris (Drouot), 16 February 1907 (all four); Frankfurt, Collection Passavant; Berlin, Firm of Hess and Rom, May 1930 (all four); also reported, probably erroneously, to have belonged to the Duke of Orléans and to King Charles I of England; exh.: Hess and Rom, Berlin, 1930; lit.: *Göbel*, 1923, pp. 387, 388; *Göbelin-Ausstellung bei Hess & Rom, Archiv für angewandte Kunst, Illustrierte Blätter für Raumausstattung*, VII, 1930, pp. 18, 19 (with reproductions of *Achilles Vanquishing Hector* and *The Death of Achilles*); *Crick-Kunztiger*, 1934, p. 71; *Cavallo*, 1967, p. 128; *Chronique des Arts*, February, 1970, p. 28, No. 136 (with reproduction of *The Death of Achilles*).

(18) ? panels, Spain, private collection ("una histórica familia"); woven by Gerard van der Strecken and Jan van Leefdael. Lit.: E. Tormo y Monzó and F.J. Sanchez Cantón, *Los Tapices de la Casa del Rey N[uestro] S[eñor]...*, Madrid, 1919, pp. 129, 141, 142; *Göbel*, 1923, p. 388.

(19) Two panels, Turin, Palazzo Reale, probably woven by Gerard van der Strecken and Jan van Leefdael (*The Wrath of Achilles*, 470 : 212 cm., with borders at the top and at the bottom, but without terms, and *Achilles Vanquishing Hector*, 470 : 440 cm., with border with terms). Prov.: probably acquired for

the Collections of the Dukes of Savoy in Turin before 1665; lit.: *Crick-Kuntziger*, 1939, p. 144 (*Achilles Vanquishing Hector*); *Viale Ferrero*, 1956, pp. 67-71; *Cavallo*, 1967, p. 128.

(20) Three panels, Jerez de la Frontera, Private Collection; probably woven by Jan van Leefdael (*Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes*, reduced to square format by deletion of one figure on either side; *Briseis Restored to Achilles* and *The Death of Achilles*); sophisticated borders consisting, at the sides of vases and garlands of flowers, fruit and putti, at the bottom of garlands of flowers and fruit on either side of a landscape, at the top of similar garlands on either side of a cartouche with Latin caption; the border is the same as of No. 3(1), although somewhat simplified. Lit.: *Marillier*; *Cavallo*, 1967, pp. 128, 129.

(21) Two panels, whereabouts unknown, woven by Jan van Leefdael (*Achilles Dipped into the River Styx* and *Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes*). Prov.: Cobham, Surrey, Hatchford Park, Sir Henry B. Samuelson, sale, London (Phillips, Son and Neale), 20 March 1924, lot 763 and 764; lit.: *Marillier*; *Crick-Kuntziger*, 1934, p. 71; *Cavallo*, 1967, p. 127.

(22) Five panels, Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral; woven by Jan Raes (*Achilles Dipped into the River Styx* [Fig. 1]; *Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes*; *The Wrath of Achilles*; *Thetis Receiving Armour for Achilles from Hephaestus*; and, after Jordaens, *The Young Achilles and Pan* [Fig. 87]; exh.: *Exposición Histórico-Europea*, Madrid, 1892-93, No. 149 (*Achilles Dipped into the River Styx*) and No. 150 (*The Wrath of Achilles*); lit.: *Bosquejo de la Exposición Histórico-Europea...*, Madrid, [1892], p. 30; E. de Molènes, *Exposition historique de Madrid 1892-1893*, Paris, 1894, p. 178; *Crick-Kuntziger*, 1934, pp. 70, 71 (with reproduction of *The Young Achilles and Pan*); [Juan Contreras] Marqués de Lozoya, *Santiago de Compostela: La Catedral*, [Barcelona, 1965], pl. 94 (colour reproduction of the room including *Achilles Dipped into the River Styx*, *Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes*, and *Thetis Receiving Armour for Achilles from Hephaestus*); *Stechow*, 1965; *Cavallo*, 1967, pp. 127, 128.

(23) Two panels, Turin, Palazzo Reale, woven by Frans Raes (*Achilles Instructed by Chiron*, 400 : 380 cm., and *The Death of Achilles*, 400 : 400 cm.); ornamental borders; prov.: probably acquired for the Collections of the Dukes of Savoy in Turin before 1665; lit.: *Crick-Kuntziger*, 1939, p. 144, fig. 12; *Viale Ferrero*, 1956, pp. 67-71; *Cavallo*, 1967, pp. 127, 128.

(24) Six panels, five of which in Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire; probably woven by Frans Raes (*Achilles Dipped into the River Styx*, 423 : 362 cm.; *Achilles Instructed by Chiron*, 423 : 255 cm. [Fig. 10]; *The Wrath of Achilles*, 423 : 376 cm. [Fig. 42]; *Briseis Restored to Achilles*, 416 : 593 cm.; and *The Death of Achilles*, 418 : 390 cm.; one destroyed in the 18th century); border of fruits and flowers instead of the terminal figures of the sketches and modelli; attribution to Frans Raes proposed by Crick-Kuntziger on basis of similarity of border with signed tapestries, and accepted by Duverger. Prov.: woven for the Milanese merchant Giacomo-Antonio de Carena, for the "saletta maggiore" of his house on the Meir in Antwerp, the former residence of Alonzo de Espinosa, which he had bought in 1649 (Later the house is called the Hôtel Van Sufteren-Dubois, presently Huis Oosterrieth. Made after 1655 since on December 30, 1655, De Carena was ennobled and given the right to carry the coat of arms woven into the tapestry, and before March 9, 1669 because mentioned in De Carena's will of that date); Hôtel Van Sufteren-Dubois sale, Antwerp, 18 January 1875, where acquired by the Belgian State. Lit.: [A. Siret, P. Génard and E. ter Bruggen], *Notices sur les riches tapisseries flamandes provenant de l'Hôtel van Sufteren-Du Bois d'Anvers* [Louvain, 1874] (ill. with original photographs); *Wauters*, 1878, pp. 238-240; *Donnet*, 1898, pp. 32-34; *Rooses*, III, p. 41; *Lafond*, 1902, pp. 233, 234; J. Destrée and Van der Ven, *Tapisseries des Musées Royaux*, Brussels, 1910 (with reproduction of *Achilles Dipped into the River Styx* and *Achilles Instructed by Chiron*); *Hunter*, 1913 (with reproductions of the same tapestries); *Göbel*, 1923, p. 423; *Denucé*, *Konstkamers*, pp. 259, 260 (will of Carena, 1669); *Crick-Kuntziger*, 1934, pp. 10-12 (with reproduction of *The Wrath of Achilles*, fig. 4); *Crick-Kuntziger*, 1939 (with reproduction of *Achilles Instructed by Chiron*, fig. 11); *Ferrero Viale*, 1956, p. 70; *Cavallo*, 1967, pp. 127, 128; *Duverger*, 1970, p. 72; M. Ferrero Viale, *Tapisseries flamandes inédites en Italie*, *Aries Textiles*, VII, 1971, p. 72.

(25) Eight panels, whereabouts unknown; weaver(s) unknown; when sold in the spring of 1666 to Andreas Everaerts in Antwerp, this set was stated to have been worn, therefore probably woven some time before this date; shipped to Spain. Lit.: *Duverger*, 1971, pp. 171, 172, document IX.

(26) Eight panels, whereabouts unknown; weaver(s) unknown; (*Thetis Leading the Boy Achilles to the Oracle* (after Jordaens); *Achilles Dipped into the River Styx*; *Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes*; *Thetis*

*Receiving Armour for Achilles from Hephaestus; The Wrath of Achilles, Briseis Restored to Achilles; Achilles Vanquishing Hector; and The Death of Achilles*); all ca. 414 cm. high, and respectively ca. 380, 380, 550, 414, 483, 621, 483 and 449 cm. wide, with a total length of ca. 37.60 m., valued at 12 florins the square yard (total 3.930 florins); March 10, 1673, described to Count Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach as being in Antwerp (?). Lit.: F. Menčík, *Dokumente zur Geschichte der kaiserlichen Tapezerei-Sammlung aus dem gräf. Harrachschen Archive, Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses...*, XXX, 1911-12, pp. XXXVII, XXXVIII, No. 20268; M. Jaffé, in *Cat. Exh. Jacob Jordaens*, Ottawa, 1968-69, p. 235.

(27) Eight panels, whereabouts unknown, weaver(s) unknown; all ca. 414 cm. high, and ca. 362, 414, 483, 500, 552, 621, 690, 759 cm. wide, valued at 16 florins the square yard; between 1673-77 recorded (as *after Jordaens*) as available in a statement sent to count Harrach in Spain (see preceding entry). Lit.: F. Menčík, *op. cit.*, p. XXXVIII, No. 20270<sup>2</sup>.

(28) Eight panels, whereabouts unknown; weaver(s) unknown; all ca. 380 cm. high, with a total length of ca. 36.60 m. priced at 14 florins a square yard (total 4.081 florins); reported to count Harrach on March 31, 1679 as available for acquisition in Brussels or Antwerp (see two preceding entries). Lit.: M. Menčík, *op. cit.*, p. XL, under No. 20277.

(29) Six panels, whereabouts unknown; weaver(s) unknown (*Achilles Dipped into the River Styx; Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes; The Wrath of Achilles, Briseis Restored to Achilles; Achilles Vanquishing Hector*, on smaller format; and *The Death of Achilles*); all ca. 414 cm. high, and respectively 380, 535, 430, 638, 140, 430 cm. wide; border of flowers, fruits, etc. Prov.: in the eighteenth century as the property of the Taviel family in Lille, deposited with the magistrate in Lille, returned to the owners prior to 1871; lost by 1871; lit.: J. Houdoy, *Les Tapisseries de haute-lisse...*, Lille, 1871, p. 77; *Wauters*, 1878, p. 238; *Lafond*, 1902, p. 234; *Göbel*, 1923, p. 482; *Cavallo*, 1967, p. 127, 128.

(30) Five or six panels, whereabouts unknown, weaver(s) unknown (*Achilles Dipped into the River Styx; Achilles Instructed by Chiron; Thetis Receiving Armour for Achilles from Hephaestus; Briseis Restored to Achilles; Achilles Vanquishing Hector* and *The Death of Achilles*); borders of flowers, fruits, garlands, putti, etc. Prov.: Paris, Mme V<sup>o</sup> H. Braquenié, sale, Paris (Drouot), 15-16 December, 1902, lot 172 (without *Briseis Restored to Achilles*; as after

Van Thulden); lit.: *Wauters*, 1878, p. 240 (without *Achilles Vanquishing Hector*); *Rooses*, III, p. 41 (without *Achilles Vanquishing Hector*); *Lafond*, 1902, p. 234 (lists six tapestries).

(31) Three panels, Helmsley, Yorkshire, Nunnington Hall; weaver(s) unknown; reduced version (*Achilles Dipped into the River Styx*, 317.5 : 183 cm.; *Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes* [Fig. 20], 302 : 427 cm., and *The Wrath of Achilles*, 300 : 300 cm.); borders consisting of reduced terms incorporated in garlands; lit.: *Marillier; Cavallo*, 1967, p. 127.

(32) Eight panels, whereabouts unknown; weaver(s) unknown; prov.: Venice, Ferdinando Carlo, Duke of Mantua (listed in an inventory of 1709 as "Arazzi grandi 8, instoriati con figure, rappresenta gli Achilli, tessuti con poco oro, disegno del Rubens."); lit.: A. Luzio, *La Galleria dei Gonzaga venduta all' Inghilterra nel 1627-28 ...*, Milan, 1913, p. 318.

# CATALOGUE RAISONNE





## 1. ACHILLES DIPPED INTO THE RIVER STYX: TAPESTRY

Approximately 400 : 320 cm.

For panels of this subject belonging to sets of two or more, see pp. 81–90, Fig. 1. The following panel does not belong to a known set: whereabouts unknown; woven by Jan Frans van den Hecke (inscribed I.F.V.H.); 381 : 322 cm.; borders of vases with flowers, festoons of flowers and fruit, peacocks and other birds; prov.: sale, London (Christie's), 28 June 1923, lot 118, purchased by L. Harris; lit.: *Marillier; Crick-Kuntziger, 1934, p. 71; Cavallo, 1967, p. 127.*

Thetis, as a nymph herself immortal, knew that her son was vulnerable since he was the child of a mortal father, Peleus, king of the Myrmidons. She therefore attempted to make him immortal, according to some by treating him with fire, according to others by immersing him in the Styx, the river of the underworld. In the latter case she made him invulnerable except in the heel by which she held him, or according to other legends, except for the soles of his feet.

Rubens has represented Thetis standing on the rocky border of the river, in the gloom of the underworld, "penchée sur le Styx où elle trampe galamment le petit héros qu'elle tient par le talon".<sup>1</sup> One of the three Fates (probably Lachesis, who assigns to man his doom), holding a distaff, assists Thetis by dispelling the darkness with a torch. In the background Charon conveys the dead across the Styx. Fiery flames emerge from behind the hills in the distance. A castle, probably of Hades, enveloped by clouds, stands on the hills.

Rubens has framed the scene at the sides by simulated sculptured terms of Hades and Persephone, who ruled over the souls of the dead. The god of the underworld is identified by the pitchfork with which he used to drive the shades into the lower world, his wife Persephone by the half-moon in her hair. In front of the bottom plinth the watchdog of the underworld, Cerberus, is depicted with one head sleeping, one watching, and the third one barking. In front of the cornice at the top is a cartouche between two bat wings and garlands of thistles, pomegranates, and other fruit.

In Homer's *Iliad*, Achilles, though half-divine, is fully mortal, but some later poets made him invulnerable except for his heel. The first to mention the immersion in the Styx and the partial success of the treatment was Statius. Two separate references in his *Achilleid* complement each other: first, when questioning Chiron about the well-being of her son, Thetis tells him about her nightmarish visions: "Is it not with reason that my sleep is troubled ...

often – ah, horror! – seem to take my son down to the void of Tartarus, and dip him a second time in the springs of Styx”.<sup>2</sup> Later, urging Achilles to disguise himself in woman’s clothes for his own safety, Thetis includes among her arguments: “... if for thy sake I endured the earth and an inglorious mate, if at the birth I fortified thee with the stern waters of the Styx – ay, would I had wholly! – take these safe robes awhile, they will in no wise harm thy valour”.<sup>3</sup>

Since Rubens seems to have derived details from the *Achilleid* for *Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes* (see below), he may have had these passages in mind when painting the present subject. Yet, other authors also had mentioned or described the scene and the resulting partial vulnerability of Achilles, particularly Fulgentius.<sup>4</sup> As *Silberman*, 1962 suggested, these may well have been known to Rubens. Furthermore, Boccaccio and later mythographers start the life of Achilles with a short description of the scene, which probably was known to Rubens as well.<sup>5</sup>

Rubens’s depiction of the underworld in the background of this scene is directly based on Virgil’s *Aeneid*. Behind Thetis is the road that “leads to the waters of Tartarean Acheron”,<sup>6</sup> in the distance is Charon who “unaided poles the boat”<sup>7</sup> and who “in his murky craft convoys the dead”.<sup>8</sup> “Hither rushed all the throng, streaming to the banks; mothers and men and bodies of high-souled heroes, their life now done, boys and unwedded girls...; thick as the leaves of the forest that at autumn’s first frost dropping fall... They stood, pleading to be the first ferried across, and stretched out hands in yearning for the farther shore. But the surly boatman takes now these, now those, while others he thrusts apart, back from the brink”.<sup>9</sup>

No similar representation of the subject in art is known on which Rubens might have based his interpretation. A drawing catalogued under the name of Baccio Bandinelli in the Cabinet of M. Paignon Dijonval<sup>10</sup> included eight figures according to the author, Bénard (who in the entry attributed the drawing to Giulio Romano), and therefore probably differed considerably from Rubens’s work. Apparently his work had no marked following, since later representations differ basically. Gerard de Lairesse’s painting of the same subject in Potsdam<sup>11</sup> is entirely different (the river Styx is represented by means of a personification), and so are two tapestries of the subject, woven in the first half of the eighteenth century in Brussels, one by Jodocus de Vos, where the event takes place in a summer landscape, with eight figures (ca. 1725),<sup>12</sup> the other by the Van der Borcht family (ca. 1740).<sup>13</sup>

- 1 Thoré-Bürger, *Trésors d'Art en Angleterre*, Paris, 1857, p. 197.
- 2 "... non merito trepidus sopor...?... saepe ipsa—nefas!—sub inania natum / Tartara et ad Stygios iterum fero mergere fontes./..." (Stattius, *Achilleid*, I, 129, 133, 134; transl. J.H. Mozley [*Loeb Classical Library*]).
- 3 "... si terras humilemque experta maritum / te propter, si progenitum Stygos amne severo / armavi,—totumque utinam!—, cape tuta parumper / tegmina nil nocitura animo..." (Stattius, *op. cit.*, I, 268-271).
- 4 "Denique Achillem natum velut hominem perfectum mater in aquas intiguit Stigias, id est: durum contra omnes labores munit; solum ei talum non tigit" (Fulgentius, *Mythologiae*, 3, 7).
- 5 "Achilles a matre tinctus in Stygem Paludem toto corpore invulnerabilis fuit, excepta parte qua tentus est manu matris" (Servius Grammaticus, in *P. Virgilii Opera, cum Servii... Commentariis...*, *Aeneid*, VI, 57 ff.).
- 6 Virgil, *Aeneid*, VI, 295; this and later quotations from Virgil, transl. H.R. Fairclough (*Loeb Classical Library*).
- 7 "ipse ratem conto subigit" (Virgil, *op. cit.*, VI, 302).
- 8 "ferruginea subvectat corpora cumba" (Virgil, *op. cit.*, VI, 303).
- 9 "Huc omnis turba ad ripas effusa ruebat, / matres atque viri, defunctaque corpora vita / magnanimum heroum, pueri innuptaeque puellae / ...; quam multa in silvis autumni frigore primo / lapsa cadunt folia... / Stabant orantes primi transmitters cursum / tendebantque manus ripae ulterioris amore. / Navita sed tristis nunc hos accipit illos, / ast alios longe submotos arcet arena." (Virgil, *op. cit.*, VI, 305-316).
- 10 *Cabinet de M. Paignon Dijonval*, Paris 1810, No. 31.
- 11 G. Eckardt, *Die Gemälde in der Bildergalerie von Sanssouci*, Potsdam, 1965, No. 60.
- 12 Göbel, 1923, pl. 353.
- 13 *Les Arts*, XVI, 190, 1920, p. 17 (repr.); see also above, pp. 76, 77, n. 19. For further later examples, see A. Pigler, *Barockthemen*, II, Budapest, 1956, p. 261.

**1a. ACHILLES DIPPED INTO THE RIVER STYX: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 2)**

Oil on panel; 43 : 36.5 cm. — *Verso*: the brands (Fig. 90) of Antwerp (two hands partly visible) and of the panel maker Michiel Vriendt (MV). Probably slightly trimmed at the top.

Rotterdam, *Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*. Inv. No. 1760.

PROVENANCE: Daniel Fourment, Antwerp, until June 1643; ? Jean-Henry Gobelius, Brussels, until July 1681; Joan Baptista Anthoine, Antwerp, until March 1691; Richard Mead, by 1724, until 1754; Fulk Greville, until 1794; John Smith-Barry, Marbury Hall, Northwich, Cheshire, by 1814; A.H. Smith-Barry; Lord Barrymore, sale, London (Sotheby's), 21 June 1933, lot 28 (repr.); Goudstikker, Amsterdam; presented by D.G. van Beuningen to the Museum, 1933.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 46 : 40 cm.; prov.: Rome, Palazzo Barberini, 1798; J.-P. Collot, sale, Paris (Drouot), 29 March 1855, lot 20, No. 1 (as

Rubens); lit.: *Collot*, 1852, pp. 5-11 (as *Rubens*); C. Blanc, *Le trésor de la curiosité*, II, Paris, 1857, p. 508; *Rooses*, III, pp. 42, 43, No. 557<sup>bis</sup>; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 45 : 36 cm.; prov.: Dresden, Max Ritter, 1922; Berlin, Richard von Kühlmann; Theodor Bauer, sale, Berlin, 12 May 1929, lot 85; lit.: *Van Puyvelde, Skizzen*, p. 94 (as *minderwertige skizzenhafte Kopie*); (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 45 : 36.5 cm.; prov.: Paris, Eugène Rodrigues, by 1924, sale, Paris (Drouot), 28-29 November 1928, lot 205, pl. XXXIII; Paris, art market, 1958; lit.: *Van Puyvelde*, 1939, p. 94 (wrong measurements, as "Karton"); (4) Etching by Franz Ertinger, 1679 (Fig. 8; *V.S.*, p. 217, No. 15, 1); (5) Etching by Bernard Baron, 1724 (Fig. 9); *V.S.*, p. 218, under No. 16).

EXHIBITED: *Manchester*, 1857, No. 558 (provisional catalogue, No. 568); *Dublin*, 1872, No. 132; *London*, 1879, No. 159; *London*, 1899-1900, No. 111; *London*, 1909-10, No. 18; *London*, 1912, No. 1; Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1933; *Amsterdam*, 1933, No. 18 (repr.); *Paris*, 1936, No. 74; *Brussels*, 1937, No. 85; *London*, 1950, No. 12; *Helsinki*, 1952-53, No. 15; *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No. 61; *Braunschweig*, 1956, No. 1 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Catalogue Marbury Hall*, 1814, [p. 3], No. 57; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp. 250, 251, No. 849 (from the etchings by Ertinger and Baron); *Van Hasselt*, p. 290, No. 641; *Hannema*, 1933, p. 3, repr.; *Pantheon*, XI, 1933, p. 199; *Van Puyvelde, Skizzen*, pp. 40, 41, 94, 95, fig. 67; *Burchard*, 1950, pp. 13-15, No. 12; *Haverkamp Begemann*, 1953, p. 78, No. 61; *Rotterdam, Cat.* 1962, No. 1760; M. Jaffé, in *Encyclopedia of World Art*, XII, 1966, New York a.o., fig. 335; *d'Hulst*, 1968, pp. 100, 101, No. 20, fig. 34; *Cocke*, 1971, fig. 51.

Entirely executed by Rubens. A pentimento indicates that the right leg of Achilles originally was bent less sharply, and was stretched out farther.<sup>1</sup>

Painted on two horizontal boards joined just above the centre, the joint leaving hardly any trace on the surface of the painting. A narrow blank margin borders the scene on all sides except at the top. Its absence here probably indicates that the panel was slightly trimmed at the top.

<sup>1</sup> First noted by C. Müller Hofstede, in *Cat. Exh. Braunschweig*, 1956, under No. 1.

## 1b. ACHILLES DIPPED INTO THE RIVER STYX: MODELLO (Figs. 3-7)

Oil on panel; 109 : 89.5 cm.

*Sarasota, Florida, The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art*. No. 221.

PROVENANCE: ? Daniel Fourment, Antwerp, until June 1643; ? Peter Fourment, Antwerp, until 28 April 1653; ? Gerard van der Strecken, Jan van Leefdael, Hendrick Lenaerts, Brussels; ? Kings of Spain; Dukes of Infantado, Madrid (inventory Pastrana c. 1753-1800, as *La noche cuando immortalizaron a Aquiles*), until 27 November 1841; Duke of Pastrana, Madrid; Duchess of Pastrana, Madrid; Comunidad de las Religiosas del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús, Madrid, c. 1887; Emile Pacully, sale, Paris (Georges Petit), 4 May 1903, lot 28 (pl. xxvi); John E. Stillwell, sale, New York (Anderson Galleries), 1-3 December 1927, lot 224 (repr.), purchased by Kleinberger Galleries for William R. Hearst, New York, William R. Hearst; returned to Kleinberger, 1929, in payment for another painting; purchased from Kleinberger by Ringling, 5 February, 1930.

COPY: Painting with variations, without terms, Lund, Sweden, I.G. Bruszt; canvas, 43 : 37 cm.

EXHIBITED: *Art tells the Story*, The Denver Art Museum, Denver, 1953 (not numbered).

LITERATURE: Rooses, III, p. 40 (as *Van Thulden, retouched by Rubens*); v, p. 334; E. Müntz, P. Leprieur, a.o., *Collection Pacully*, Paris [n. d., in or before 1902], p. 14, 15, pl. 27; Lafond, 1902, pp. 236, 237, pl. 26 (as *Rubens*); M. Rooses, *De verzameling Pacully te Parijs, Onze Kunst*, II<sup>I</sup>, 1903, pp. 122, 123, repr. (as *Rubens* [the figures of Thetis and Achilles] and *Erasmus Quellinus* [the rest]); *Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 79; Lafond, 1909-10, pp. 125-129, repr. (as *Rubens*); M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, v, 1910, p. 301; W. R. Valentiner, *Gemälde des Rubens in Amerika, Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, XLVII, 1911-12, pp. 265, 271, No. 27; W. R. Valentiner, *The Art of the Low Countries, Studies*, Garden City-New York, 1914, pp. 190, 236, No. 27; *K.d.K.*, p. 464 (as a modello [*Vorlage*] for a tapestry made in Rubens's studio); *Van Puyvelde, Skizzen*, p. 94 (as *Werkstattreplik*); W. R. Valentiner, *Rubens' Paintings in America, The Art Quarterly*, IX, 1946, p. 164, No. 114 (as *studio of Rubens*); *Goris-Held*, p. 53, No. A. 78 (as a school replica of the sketch, c. 1630-32); W. E. Suida, *A Catalogue of Paintings in the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota*, 1949, pp. 195, 196, No. 221, repr.; *Burchard*, 1950, p. 16, under No. 13; *Haverkamp Begemann*, 1953, p. 78, under No. 61; *Seilern*, pp. 58, 59; J. A. Gaya Nuño, *Pintura Europea perdida por España, de Van Eyck a Tiepola*, Madrid, 1964, No. 106, pl. 46; *d'Hulst*, 1968, p. 101, under No. 20.

The modello differs from the oil sketch (No. 1a; Fig. 2) in numerous details, e.g.: the number of small figures in the distance has been reduced; the costume of the fate holding the torch (probably Lachesis) has been simplified, and removed from the left breast; the left contour of the right term has been changed. Furthermore, the figures of Lachesis and Thetis have been somewhat enlarged, resulting in a clarification of the relationship between the main

figures and the background; the distribution of light in the sky and on the water has been changed.

The visible surface of this modello seems largely the work of Rubens himself. Pentimenti in various areas indicate that the first stage of the modello resembled the oil sketch more closely than the final version. Thus the silhouette of the term at the right and the drapery of Lachesis first were virtually identical with the corresponding sections of the oil sketch, the same applies to the capital resting on the fruit basket above the left term, and the borderline of her costume over her shoulder. Some details, like the bats in the sky have been redefined. If these corrections were made by Rubens in a design transferred by an assistant (Van Thulden ?) from the oil sketch, as seems likely, most of the surface may be considered Rubens's work. The background figures, the mountains, much of the term at the left probably is uncorrected assistant's work. Clearly recognizable is Rubens's hand also in details like the fire in the sky at the left and the light emanating from the torch, and the heads of the dogs.

Painted on four vertical boards (cradled). The joint of the two central boards and numerous cracks on either side of this joint have caused damages and losses down the centre of the painting, *e.g.* in the neck, shoulders and arm of Thetis and the baby Achilles. Thus the pearl necklace of Thetis has disappeared almost entirely.

#### 1c. ACHILLES DIPPED INTO THE RIVER STYX: CARTOON

? Body colour on paper; approximately 400 : 320 cm.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

PROVENANCE: Daniel Fourment, Antwerp, until June 1643; Peter Fourment, Antwerp, until 28 April 1653; ? Gerard van der Strecken, Jan van Leefdael, Hendrick Lenaerts, Brussels, at least until 1660; presumably lost at sea between 1671 and 1675, during transport to Spain.

#### 2. ACHILLES INSTRUCTED BY CHIRON: TAPESTRY

Approximately 400 : 350 cm.

For panels of this subject belonging to sets of two or more, see pp. 81-90, Figs. 10-12. The following panel does not belong to a known set: whereabouts unknown; weaver(s) unknown; prov.: London, Lady Miller; lit.: *Marillier; Cavallo, 1967, p. 127.*

Peleus had entrusted the education of his son Achilles to the centaur Chiron. In contrast to other centaurs, Chiron, son of Cronos and the sea nymph Philyra, was a wise and gentle creature, "the most righteous one of the centaurs", the protector and instructor of children, and the teacher of many of the most celebrated heroes of Greece. Aesculapius himself was instructed by him in the arts of healing and hunting, and even Apollo was said to have been taught by Chiron, and so was Jason. Achilles was instructed by Chiron in the art of healing<sup>1</sup>, to perform on the lyre<sup>2</sup> and, of course, to ride and hunt.<sup>3</sup> According to tradition Hesiod wrote a book of the "Precepts of Chiron" for the instruction of Achilles.<sup>4</sup>

Rubens has represented the centaur Chiron giving Achilles a riding lesson. Achilles holds a crop in his left and turns his head towards his rider. At one side are two hunting dogs and a lyre hanging from a tree (rather than a cithara because in classical antiquity the former was considered the most suitable instrument for musical training). In the distance Mount Pelion, where Chiron and the other centaurs lived.

Rubens framed the scene at the sides by simulated sculptured terms of Aesculapius and one of the musical muses, probably either Terpsichore or Erato<sup>5</sup>. Aesculapius, with a snake wound around a stick, alludes to the art of medicine, the muse with a lyre or a cithara<sup>6</sup> to music.<sup>7</sup> In front of the plinth at the bottom are a dead bird, a hare or a rabbit, a hunting trumpet, bow and arrows, and a bird catcher's net, referring to the art of hunting. The plants in the right bottom corner may be medicinal herbs. At the top is a cartouche between garlands of flowers.

This depiction of the scene has so much in common with the description (or pseudo-description) made by Philostratus of a painting of this subject in his *Εἰκόνες* (*Imagines*) that there can be little doubt that Rubens based his design mainly on that text<sup>8</sup>: "... for Chiron is teaching Achilles to ride horseback and to use him exactly as a horse, and he measures his gait to what the boy can endure, and turning around he smiles at the boy when he laughs aloud with enjoyment, and all but says to him, 'Lo, my hoofs paw the ground for you without the use of spur; lo, I even urge you on; the horse is a spirited animal and gives no ground for laughter. For although you have been taught by me thus gently the art of horsemanship, divine boy, ... some day ... you shall take many cities and slay many men, you merely running and they trying to escape you.' Such is Chiron's prophecy for the boy ...".<sup>9</sup>

Earlier in the same "description" Philostratus wrote about the fawn and the hare as the spoils of the boy, and their contrast to the cities and ranks of men Achilles would conquer later; he wrote that Chiron nourished him on milk and honey. "Already the boy has a frowning brow and an air of spirited haughtiness, but these are made gentle by a guileless look and by gracious cheeks that send forth a tender smile. The cloak he wears is probably his mother's gift; for it is beautiful and its colour is sea-purple with red glints shading into a dark blue".<sup>10</sup> Philostratus also mentions the fatherly kindness of Chiron, the gentle expression in his eyes, and the lyre "through whose music he (Chiron) has become cultured".

In his interpretation of Chiron's instruction of Achilles, Rubens stressed the gentle aspect of the centaur, as Philostratus did. In Statius's *Achilleid*, when asked to recount his days with Chiron, Achilles brags about his exploits as a pupil of the man-beast, emphasizing the speed of his riding, the fierceness of his fights, the wildness of the animals hunted, adding that Chiron did not allow him to hunt the easy animals and the safe ones. The tale contrasts sharply with Philostratus's description.

When painting Chiron and Achilles, Rubens undoubtedly also had in mind a Roman copy of a lost Hellenistic bronze, the best known marble version being "the Borghese centaur", in the Louvre. In this sculpture the bearded centaur also turns around and looks at the cupid he is giving a ride. Rubens knew the sculpture well, because he had made at least six drawings after it, five of which are known from copies among the drawings of the "Rubens cantoor" in the print room in Copenhagen (Nos. III, 13-17),<sup>11</sup> while a sixth drawing is in the Pushkin Museum in Moscow as a work of Rubens.<sup>12</sup> The similarities between Chiron and the sculptured centaur as copied by Rubens is not limited to the motif of riding and turning around, but is also found in the voluminosity of the man-beast and in the position of the upper parts of the rear and front leg closest to the viewer. The motif was also adopted in *Nessus and Deianira* from Rubens's studio, in Hanover,<sup>13</sup> and in related versions.

The instruction and education Achilles received from Chiron was represented quite frequently in the seventeenth century and later. Usually the instruction in arrow-shooting was the preferred theme, rather than riding centaur-back. Giuseppe Maria Crespi painted the instruction in arrow-shooting (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum), and so did Donato Creti (Bologna, Palazzo Comunale), and Jean-Baptiste Regnault in 1783 in the painting he submitted



for his reception to the Académie.<sup>14</sup> Delacroix made a drawing of the same subject in 1862 although he had seen and admired six years previously a tapestry of the series after Rubens's designs.<sup>15</sup>

- <sup>1</sup> Mentioned by Homer, *Iliad*, xi, 631, and with much detail by Statius, *Achilleid*, ii, 159–163.
- <sup>2</sup> Ovid, *Faсти*, v, 385, 386; see also Statius, *op. cit.*, i, 187, 188.
- <sup>3</sup> Statius, *op. cit.*, ii, 94–167.
- <sup>4</sup> Χείρωνος Ὑποθήκαι; cf. on Chiron and his educational talents the instructive article by W.R. Dawson, *Chiron the Centaur, Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, iv, 1949, pp. 267–275.
- <sup>5</sup> As Silberman, 1962 proposed.
- <sup>6</sup> As proposed by Collot, 1852, p. 16.
- <sup>7</sup> The term with the string instrument is less likely to be interpreted as Euterpe, as Collot, 1852 (*loc. cit.*) thought, or as Calliope, proposed by Lafond, 1909–10, p. 127, or as Apollo, an interpretation found on Baron's etching (Fig. 18) and accepted by Smith and Crick-Kuntziger.
- <sup>8</sup> Silberman, 1962, p. 17, and independently M.R. Scherer, *The Legends of Troy in Art and Literature*, New York-London, 1963, p. 41, pointed out this proximity.
- <sup>9</sup> "... διδάσκει ὁ Χείρων τον Ἀχιλλέα ἰππάζεσθαι καὶ κεχρηῆσθαι αὐτῷ ὅσα ἵππῳ, καὶ συμμετρεῖται μὲν τὸν δρόμον εἰς τὸ ἀνεκτὸν τῷ παιδί, καγχάζοντι δὲ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἤδεσθαι προσμειδιᾷ μεταστρεφόμενος καὶ μόνον οὐχὶ λέγει "ἰδοῦ σοι κροαίνῳ ἄπληκτος, ἰδοῦ καὶ ἐπικελεύομαί σοι · ὁ ἵππος ὄξυς ἄρα καὶ ἀφαιρεῖ γέλωτα. λαγαρῶς γάρ μοι ἵππασθεῖς, θεῖε παῖ, καὶ τοιῶδ' ἵππῳ πρέπων ὀχῆσῃ ποτὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Σάνθου καὶ Βαλίου καὶ πολλὰς μὲν πόλεις αἰρήσεις, πολλοὺς δὲ ἀνδρας ἀποκτενεῖς, θέων ὅσα, καὶ συνεκφεύγοντας". ταῦτα ὁ Χείρων μαντεύεται τῷ παιδί ..." (Philostratus, *Imagines*, ii, 2, 5; transl. A. Fairbanks [Loeb Classical Library]).
- <sup>10</sup> "... ἐπισκύνιον τε καὶ θυμοειδὲς φρύαγμά ἐστι μὲν ἤδη τῷ παιδί, πρᾶννει δὲ αὐτὸ ἀκάκῳ βλέμματι καὶ παρειᾷ μάλα ἴλεω καὶ προσβαλλούσῃ τι ἀπαλοῦ γέλωτος. ἢ χλαμὺς δέ, ἣν ἀμπέχεται, παρὰ τῆς μητρὸς οἶμαι · καλὴ γὰρ καὶ ἀλιπόρφυρος καὶ πυραυγῆς ἐξαιλάττουσα τοῦ κυανῆ εἶναι; ..." (Philostratus, *op. cit.*, ii, 2, 2; transl. A. Fairbanks).
- <sup>11</sup> The classical centaur mentioned as source for Chiron by E. Kieser, *Antikes im Werke des Rubens, Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, N. F., x, 1933, p. 130; Roeses had noted it, according to Kieser; the Copenhagen drawings are mentioned by G. Falck, *En Rubenselevs Tegninger, Kunstmuseets Aarskrift*, iv, 1918, p. 73, by Kieser and by V.H. Miesel, *Rubens' Study Drawings after Ancient Sculpture, Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1963, p. 324, with reproductions of two of them, figs. 18 and 19.
- <sup>12</sup> Y. Kuznetsov, *Drawings by Rubens from the Museums in the USSR* [in Russian], Moscow, 1965, No. 7, pl. 1; the connection between the Moscow drawing and Rubens's Chiron has been noted by W. Stechow, *Rubens and the Classical Tradition*, Cambridge, Mass., 1968, p. 28, repr.
- <sup>13</sup> See Y. Kuznetsov, *loc. cit.*
- <sup>14</sup> Now in the Louvre, Paris; already Collot, 1852 (p. 18) mentioned it in comparison with Rubens.
- <sup>15</sup> The drawing in the Louvre, Paris, reproduced by H. Voss, M. von Boehn, W. Bruhn, *Homers Ilias... mit einer Einleitung "Homer in der Kunst"...*, Berlin, [1939], p. 104. For further references to other representations of the subject in the seventeenth century, see A. Pigler, *Barockthemen*, ii, Budapest, 1956, p. 262.

2a. ACHILLES INSTRUCTED BY CHIRON: OIL SKETCH (Figs. 13, 15)

Oil on panel; 43 : 36.5 cm. — *Verso*: the brands (Fig. 91) of Antwerp (two hands partly visible) and the panel maker Michiel Vriendt (MV).

*Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*. Inv. No. 1760a.

PROVENANCE: Daniel Fourment, Antwerp, until June 1643; ? Jean-Henry Gobelinus, Brussels, until July 1681; Joan Baptista Anthoine, Antwerp, until March 1691; Richard Mead, by 1724, until 1754; Fulk Greville, until 1794; John Smith-Barry, Marbury Hall, Northwich, Cheshire, by 1814; A.H. Smith-Barry; Lord Barrymore, sale, London (Sotheby's), 21 June 1933, lot 29 (repr.); Goudstikker, Amsterdam; presented by D.G. van Beuningen to the Museum, 1933.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 46 : 40 cm.; prov.: Rome, Palazzo Barberini, 1798; J.-P. Collot, sale, Paris (Drouot), 29 March 1855, lot 20, No. 2 (as *Rubens*), purchased by Thibaudeau; lit.: *Collot*, 1852, pp. 13–18 (as *Rubens*); C. Blanc, *Le trésor de la curiosité*, II, Paris, 1857, p. 508; *Rooses*, III, pp. 42, 43, No. 558<sup>bis</sup>; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 45.5 : 36.5 cm.; prov.: sale "Colonel Wyatt Turnor and others" (anonymous section), London, 4 December 1931, lot 54, purchased by Thorn; (3) Drawing, Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins; brush in light and darker brown ink, 167 : 151 mm.; lit.: F. Lugt, *Musée du Louvre, Inventaire général des dessins des écoles du Nord, Ecole flamande*, II, Paris, 1949, No. 1162, pl. LIX; O. Benesch, in *Kunstchronik*, VII, 1954, p. 202 (as *Jordaens*); (4) Drawing, whereabouts unknown; pen and brush and grey ink, 315 : 460 mm.; prov.: sale, Amsterdam (R.W.P. de Vries), 26–27 June 1928, lot 251; (5) Etching by Franz Ertinger, 1679 (Fig. 17; *V.S.*, p. 217, No. 15, 2); (6) Etching by Bernard Baron, 1724 (Fig. 18; *V.S.*, p. 218, under No. 16).

EXHIBITED: *Manchester*, 1857, No. 559 (provisional catalogue, No. 567); *Dublin*, 1872, No. 134; *London*, 1879, No. 160; *London*, 1899–1900, No. 112; *London*, 1909–1910, No. 19; *London*, 1912, No. 3; Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1933; *Amsterdam*, 1933, No. 19 (repr.); *Rotterdam*, 1953–54, No. 62; *Braunschweig*, 1956, No. 2 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Catalogue Marbury Hall*, 1814, [p. 3], No. 61; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 251, No. 850 (from the etchings by Ertinger and Baron); *Van Hasselt*, p. 290, No. 642; *Hannema*, 1933, p. 3, repr.; *Van Puyvelde, Skizzen*, pp. 40, 41, 95; F. Lugt, *Musée du Louvre, Inventaire général des dessins des écoles du Nord, Ecole flamande*, II, Paris, 1949, under No. 1162; *Haverkamp Begemann*, 1953, p. 79, No. 62; *Rotterdam, Cat.* 1962, No. 1760a; M.R. Scherer, *The Legends of Troy in Art and Literature*, New York-London, 1963, p. 41; *d'Hulst*, 1968, p. 101, No. 21, fig. 35; W. Stechow, *Rubens and the Classical Tradition*, Cambridge, Mass., 1968, p. 28.

Entirely executed by Rubens. The preliminary drawing in black is visible in various areas, e. g. in the body of the horse above the hind legs. The joint of the two horizontal boards on which the sketch is painted is visible just under the knee of Achilles. There are no damages along this joint. A narrow blank margin borders the scene on all sides.

2b. ACHILLES INSTRUCTED BY CHIRON: MODELLO (Figs. 14, 16)

Oil and panel; 110 : 88 cm. — *Verso*: the brand of Antwerp (two hands and a circle of curved lines attached to it [an anchor ?]).

*Madrid, Prado*. No. 2454.

PROVENANCE: ? Daniel Fourment, Antwerp, until June 1643; ? Peter Fourment, Antwerp, until 28 April 1653; ? Gerard van der Strecken, Jan van Leefdael, Hendrick Lenaerts, Brussels; ? Kings of Spain; Dukes of Infantado, Madrid (inventory Pastrana c. 1753–1800 as “[original] de Rubens ... del Centauro que significa *El Dia*”) until 27 November 1841; Duke of Pastrana, Madrid; Duchess of Pastrana, Madrid; Comunidad de las Religiosas del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús, Madrid, c. 1887; accepted for the Prado in May 1889.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 111 : 99 cm.; prov.: ? Tourcoing, François Dervaux, c. 1890; Paris, Jean Schmit, between 1933 and 1940; ? Switzerland, private collection, 1956; sale (“on the instruction of M.E. Summers, Esq.”), London (Sotheby’s), 8 June 1966, lot 168 (as *Rubens*), purchased by Flavell; exh.: *Cinq siècles d’art, Exposition Universelle et Internationale*, Brussels, 1935, No. 195 (wrongly identified with the modello in the Prado); lit.: *Rooses*, III, p. 40; (2) Painting, Los Angeles, Louis Warschaw; canvas, 110.5 : 90 cm.; lit.: [M. Mojzer], *The Warschaw Collection, Los Angeles, California*, Budapest, 1971, No. 82, repr. [as *Studio of Rubens*]; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 104 : 86.4 cm.; prov.: sale, London (Christie’s), 14 July 1961, lot 47 (as *Rubens*).

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, III, p. 40 (as *Van Thulden, retouched by Rubens*); v, p. 334; *Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 79; *Lafond*, 1909–10, repr. (as *Rubens*); *Prado, Cat. 1933*, No. 2454 (as *Rubens and Van Thulden*); *Haverkamp Begemann*, 1953, p. 79, under No. 62; *Seilern*, pp. 58, 59; *Prado, Cat. 1963*, No. 2454 (as *Rubens*); *d’Hulst*, 1968, p. 101, under No. 21.

The modello differs from the oil sketch (No. 2a; Figs. 13, 15) only in minor details, *e. g.*: the range of mountains in the distance at the left is made up of two rather than three individual mountains; the space between Achilles’s back and the tree behind him has been reduced; the left front leg of Chiron is placed less far behind the pedestal of the term.

This modello probably is largely the work of an assistant. Rubens seems to have limited his repainting to the human parts of the centaur and to the head and hands of Achilles, and to certain details of the terms and the landscape (*e. g.* the head of the term at the left, the leaves of the trees directly behind

the back of Achilles). The attributes of both terms are painted in their natural colours, the fringe of the garment of the term at the right is in gold.

Painted on four vertical boards.

## 2c. ACHILLES INSTRUCTED BY CHIRON: CARTOON

? Body colour on paper; approximately 400 : 350 cm.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

PROVENANCE: Daniel Fourment, Antwerp, until June 1643; Peter Fourment, Antwerp, until 28 April 1653; Gerard van der Strecken, Jan van Leefdael, Hendrick Lenaerts, Brussels, at least until 1660; presumably lost at sea between 1671 and 1675, during transport to Spain.

## 3. ACHILLES DISCOVERED AMONG THE DAUGHTERS OF LYCOMEDES: TAPESTRY

Approximately 400 : 550 cm.

For panels of this subject belonging to sets of two or more, see pp. 81–90 (Figs. 19, 20). The following panels do not belong to known sets : (1) San Francisco, M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, No. 1950.35; woven by Jan van Leefdael (inscribed I. V. LEEFDAEL); 366 : 518 cm.; the borders are the same as of the hanging at Jerez de la Frontera (see p. 87, under No. 20), but with omission of one of the three putti at the left and at the right, and with cartouche in bottom border instead of landscape; text in cartouche at the top: VESTE PVELLARI / LATITANS DETECTUS / ACHILLES; prov.: Gift of Catherine D. Wentworth, 1950; (2) Antwerp, Town Hall; woven by Jan van Leefdael (inscribed I. V. [L]); enlarged version, 495 : 607 cm.; enlargement mainly obtained by increasing the distance between Ulysses and Achilles; borders consisting of garlands of flowers, supported by one putto each at left and right, with cartouche at the top, same caption as on (1), and cartouche with landscape at the bottom; prov.: Brussels, H. Fierens, 1949; Antwerp, Georges Moorhamers, 1959; (3) Antwerp, N.V. De Schutter; weaver(s) unknown; c. 400 : 550 cm.; borders consisting of garlands, vases with flowers and cornucopiae, supported by putti and griffins, with cartouches at the top and at the bottom, representing landscapes; prov.: purchased in 1959.

Knowing that her son would die in the war with Troy, Thetis decided to hide him until the end of the war on the island of Scyros at the court of King Lycomedes, who had daughters only. As Statius wrote in his *Achilleid*, she

therefore took him away from Chiron, to whom he had been sent for his education, and urged him to dress in woman's clothes. Achilles refused at first, but consented when he saw Deidamia, one of the king's daughters. When King Lycomedes also agreed that "the sister of Achilles" should stay with his daughters, Thetis's scheme seemed to succeed. The secret love of Achilles for Deidamia, which she reciprocated, was only known to Deidamia's nurse, who also helped her to hide her ensuing pregnancy. The Greeks, however, could not vanquish the Trojans without their bravest hero. Upon learning his hiding place from the seer Calchas, Diomedes and Ulysses set out for the Court of Lycomedes. Since they could not find Achilles they devised a ruse to make him reveal his identity: they included weapons among the jewels and other feminine gifts they presented to the king's daughters.

Rubens depicted how "Achilles Hiding in Girl's Clothes, is Discovered" as the caption reads on the tapestry of the presumed *editio princeps* at Vila Viçosa (VESTE / PVELLARI / LATITANS / DETECTVS / ACHILLES; Fig. 19). Achilles dons a helmet instead of paying attention to the jewels and other gifts placed in a basket in front of the women, while at the same time looking towards his beloved Deidamia. She is fully aware of the implications of his action, fixes her gaze on him and does not pay the least attention to the gifts. Two of her sisters attend her, a third one kneels and selects a gift, but turns around, distracted by the dramatic change in the behaviour of Achilles. Two other sisters are absorbed in a mirror they found among the gifts. At the other side of the group, Diomedes observes the success of the mission he and Ulysses had set out to accomplish, and realizes that Achilles is found. Ulysses is bewildered, stretches one hand towards Achilles, turns his head and looks at a point in the distance (particularly clear in the modello), while making a vague gesture with his other hand. He seems to think already of the next step, of leaving the island and joining the fighting warriors, or he may anticipate the trumpet blow that in a moment will rally the men to the ship and frighten the true daughters of Lycomedes, or, finally, he may give a sign to the trumpeter Agyrtes, who in that case is outside the group of figures depicted, to wait just a moment before sounding the trumpet.<sup>1</sup>

Rubens has framed the scene at the sides by simulated sculptured terms representing "Cunning"<sup>2</sup> and Athena, in her role of protectress of the Greeks, and perhaps also as personification of "Wisdom". "Cunning" is identified by a fox, painted in colour and therefore partaking in the scene rather than *en*

*grisaille* and as part of the sculpture, and also by a mask (in the modello and the tapestry, but not in the oil sketch); Athena by her helmet, aegis, and owl at the base (also in colour), and by her shield and lance (also only in the modello and the tapestry). In front of the plinth is an altar shaped pedestal with (in the modello and the tapestry) a burning heart, or heart shaped object on top of it; in front of the top cornice is a cartouche between garlands and two putti on either side.

The discovery of Achilles marks the beginning of the Greek hero's involvement in the fighting and thereby of the last phase of the war against Troy. Rubens was fully aware of these implications of the event and conveyed them, yet he stressed the consequences of Achilles's action for Deidamia and their relationship. Deidamia looks him in the eyes and has as little interest in the jewels as he. Furthermore, Deidamia and Achilles are the principal figures in the composition, Deidamia's sisters on one side and Ulysses and Diomedes on the other are subordinated to them. In allusion to the implications of Achilles's discovery, Rubens has placed the scene in a courtyard, with the palace on one side of Achilles, the sea in the distance on the other.

Thetis's efforts to hide Achilles at the court of Lycomedes, his experiences among the daughters of the king, and his discovery are narrated with lively details by Statius in his *Achilleid*.<sup>3</sup> Hyginus gives a shorter version, without mentioning Deidamia's pregnancy or sorrow.<sup>4</sup> Boccaccio also narrates the story briefly, leaving out Diomedes (and also the trumpet blow).<sup>5</sup>

Rubens did not represent exactly any of these versions. He has placed the action in a courtyard rather than in a room (Statius), he has made Achilles choose a helmet rather than a lance (Statius) or bow (Boccaccio), and he has referred to Deidamia's sorrow in this scene, while Statius placed it later. Ulysses, in wide coat and turban, is probably represented as merchant, in accordance with Natalis Comes<sup>6</sup>, Boccaccio, and others. Rubens's representation of the event, however, is closer to Statius's version than to any other, and the former probably was Rubens's source.

The frequent representations of the subject on Roman sarcophagi differ significantly from Rubens's scene. The only similarity is the central position of the standing Achilles, but this is not sufficient ground to suppose that Rubens borrowed the motif.<sup>7</sup>

Earlier, Rubens had represented the same subject with a different emphasis, and closer adherence to the text of Statius. In the painting in the Prado<sup>8</sup>

Achilles pulls a sword (not in Statius), while the shield mentioned by Statius is conspicuously placed in the foreground, and Ulysses speaks to Achilles: "[Ulysses] quickly went to [Achilles's] side and whispered: 'Why dost thou the grandson of the sky and sea...'.<sup>9</sup> Here Rubens (and an assistant) emphasized Achilles looking towards Ulysses, and interpreted Deidamia as demurely surprised. Rubens expressed the same thoughts in the preliminary oil sketch which differs in details from the painting (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge).

The subject was often treated by artists of the seventeenth century, particularly in Italy, but also in the Netherlands. When Van Dyck painted the subject, which was often copied by others, he based himself on Rubens's earlier painting in the Prado which he probably helped execute rather than on this episode of the Achilles series.<sup>10</sup> To the numerous examples listed by A. Pigler<sup>11</sup> should be added, in this context, a drawing after Quellinus in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung in Munich<sup>12</sup>, and an oil sketch attributed to Rubens in the sale Coll. Pook, Van Pee and others, The Hague, 23 May, 1747, lot 6.

<sup>1</sup> Ulysses is not directing himself to Diomedes, urging him to remain silent in order not to reveal himself, as *Collot*, 1852, p. 21, thought; J.S. Held, in a lecture in Princeton in November, 1973, is said to have suggested that Ulysses asked the trumpeter to postpone his call.

<sup>2</sup> Rather than the muse Thalia, as *Lafond*, 1909-10, p. 127 thought.

<sup>3</sup> Statius, *Achilleid*, I, 819-960.

<sup>4</sup> *Fabulae*, 96.

<sup>5</sup> *De Genealogia Deorum*, XII, 52.

<sup>6</sup> Natale Conti (Natalis Comes), *Mythologiae sive explicationis fabularum libri decem*, IX, 1.

<sup>7</sup> For the Sarcophagi, cf. C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*, II, Berlin, 1890, pp. 21-54, pls. VI-XX; for a "gewisse Zusammenhang" with Rubens, cf. E. Kieser, *Antikes im Werke des Rubens*, *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, N. F., X, 1933, p. 124.

<sup>8</sup> *K.d.K.*, p. 130.

<sup>9</sup> "Tunc acer Ulixes / admotus lateri summissa voce: 'quid haeres ? / scimus', ait, 'tu semiferi Chironis alumnus, / tu caeli pelagique nepos ...'" (Statius, *op. cit.*, I, 866-869).

<sup>10</sup> *Van Dyck, Des Meisters Gemälde*, ed. by G. Glück, *Klassiker der Kunst*, XIII, 2nd ed., Stuttgart-Berlin, 1931, p. 264.

<sup>11</sup> *Barockbremen*, II, Budapest, 1956, pp. 263-266.

<sup>12</sup> W. Wegner, *Die niederländischen Handzeichnungen des 15.-18. Jahrhunderts (Kataloge der Staatlichen Graphischen Sammlung München)*, Berlin, 1973, I, p. 119, No. 848, II, pl. 124.

3a. ACHILLES DISCOVERED AMONG THE DAUGHTERS OF LYCOMEDES: OIL SKETCH  
(Figs. 22, 24)

Oil on panel; 45.5 : 61.5 cm.

Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen. Inv. No. 2310.

PROVENANCE: Daniel Fourment, Antwerp, until June 1643; ? Jean-Henry Gobelinus, Brussels, until June 1681; Joan Baptiſta Anhoine, Antwerp, until March 1691; Richard Mead, by 1724, until 1754; Fulk Greville, until 1794; Sir Joshua Reynolds, sale, London (Christie's), 13-17 March 1795, lot 95, purchased by Marchi; private collection or art dealer, Rome, by 1829; George-John Vernon, sale, London (Christie's), 16 April 1831, lot 26 (as *Rubens "a bold finished study"*), apparently withdrawn or bought in; Baron Vernon, Sudbury Hall, near Derby, sale, London (Sotheby's), 14 June 1922, lot 62 (repr.); P. & D. Colnaghi, London; F. Koenigs, Haarlem; Dienst voor 's Rijks verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen (on loan to the museum since 1948).

COPIES: (1) Painting (without the enframement), Philadelphia, The Philadelphia Museum of Art, Inv. No. W. 02-1-10; panel, 35.5 : 50 cm.; prov.: ? Ghent, Thomas Loridon de Ghellinck, sale, Ghent, 3 September 1821 et seqq., lot 15; Paris, Abbé Gosselin; Paris, Charles Sedelmeyer, 1902; Philadelphia, W.P. Wilstach, since 1902; lit.: *Catalogue d'une... collection de tableaux... le Cabinet de Monsieur T. Loridon de Ghellinck... à Gand*, Ghent, n. d. [c. 1780], pp. 139, 140, No. 403; W. R. Valentiner, *Gemälde des Rubens in Amerika, Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, XLVII, 1911-12, pp. 264, 265, 271 (as a school repetition); W. R. Valentiner, *The Art of the Low Countries, Studies*, Garden City-New York, 1914, pp. 188, 189, 236, No. 28; [M. W. Brockwell and A. E. Bye], *Catalogue of the W. P. Wilstach Collection, Memorial Hall*, Philadelphia, 1922, pp. 107-109, No. 269; *Goris-Held*, p. 53, No. A77; [H. G. Gardiner], *Checklist of Paintings in the Philadelphia Museum of Art*, Philadelphia, 1965, p. 60; (2) Painting (without the enframement), 18th century, Göttingen, Kunstsammlung der Universität; copper, 40.5 x 54.5 cm.; prov.: J. W. Zschorn, bequeathed to the University in 1795 (as *Rubens*); lit.: J.F. Fiorillo, [Cat. of the Collection], Göttingen, 1805, No. 33 (as *Van Dyck oder vielmehr Diepenbeeck*); E. Waldmann, [Cat. of the Collection], Göttingen, 1905, No. 33 (as *imitator of Rubens*); W. Stechow, *Katalog der Gemäldesammlung der Universität Göttingen*, Göttingen, 1926, No. 151 (as copy); (3) Painting (without the enframement), Upper Hartfield, Sussex, Donald A. Lander; (4) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 47 : 60 cm.; prov.: Rome, Palazzo Barberini, 1798; Paris, J.-P. Collot, sale, Paris (Drouot), 29 March 1855, lot 20, No. 3 (as *Rubens*); lit.: *Collot*, 1852, pp. 19-24 (as *Rubens*); C. Blanc, *Le trésor de la curiosité*, 11, Paris, 1857, p. 508; *Rooses*, III, pp. 42, 43, No. 559<sup>bis</sup>; (5) Painting, ? Santa Barbara, private collection, 1959; copper, 36 : 50.5 cm.; prov.: ? London, T. Berry; (6) Etching by



Franz Ertinger, 1679 (Fig. 27; *V.S.*, p. 217, No. 15, 3); (7) Etching by Bernard Baron, 1724 (Fig. 28; *V.S.*, p. 218, under No. 16).

EXHIBITED: *Pictures by Italian, Spanish, Flemish, Dutch and French Masters*, British Institution, London, 1835, No. 101; *Amsterdam*, 1933, No. 24 (repr.); *Helsinki*, 1952-53, No. 16; *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No. 63.

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 251, No. 851; *Van Hasselt*, p. 290, No. 643; *Beeldende Kunst*, XXI, 1934-35, pl. 75; *Van Puyvelde, Skizzen*, pp. 40, 41; *Jaarverslag Museum Boymans*, 1948, p. 5; *Burchard*, 1950, p. 14, under No. 12; *Haverkamp Begemann*, 1953, pp. 79, 80, No. 63; *Rotterdam, Cat.* 1962, No. 2310; *Stechow*, 1965, fig. 3; *d'Hulst*, 1968, pp. 101, 102, No. 22, fig. 11.

This sketch is less well preserved than the others in Rotterdam and Detroit. There are some damages along the horizontal joint of the two boards on which it is painted, and the narrow unpainted horizontal margins bordering the scene at the top and at the bottom were reduced when narrow wooden slats were joined to the panel at the time it was cradled. The surface is slightly abraded, and some dark accents have been strengthened. Otherwise the sketch is entirely executed by Rubens. The horns of plenty and the small altar between them have been indicated only summarily.

**3b. ACHILLES DISCOVERED AMONG THE DAUGHTERS OF LYCOMEDES: MODELLO**  
(Figs. 23, 25, 26)

Oil on panel; 107 : 142 cm.

*Madrid, Prado*. No. 2455.

PROVENANCE: ? Daniel Fourment, Antwerp, until June 1643; ? Peter Fourment, Antwerp, until 28 April 1653; ? Gerard van der Strecken, Jan van Leeftael, Hendrick Lenaerts, Brussels; ? Kings of Spain; Dukes of Infantado, Madrid (inventory Pastrana c. 1753-1800), until 27 November 1841; Duke of Pastrana, Madrid; Duchess of Pastrana, Madrid; Comunidad de las Religiosas del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús, Madrid, c. 1887; accepted for the Prado in May 1889.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 110 : 142 cm.; prov.: Marchioness of Thomond (born Palmer); Mme B[rooks], sale, Paris (Drouot), 16-18 April 1877, lot 64; sale [coll. Sinnett, Osmaston, for account of Mr. Brooks], Paris (Drouot), 4 June 1879, lot 33 (as *Rubens*); Alexis Schoenlank, sale, Cologne, 26-29 April 1896, lot 157

(repr.); Berlin, Alfred Meyer, 1906; Vienna, Count Clam-Gallas (as *Van den Hoecke*); lit.: *Rooses*, III, p. 40; T. von Frimmel, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XIX, 1896, p. 243 (as *rather dry copy*); M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, v, 1897, p. 78; W. R. Valentiner, *Gemälde des Rubens in Amerika*, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, XLVII, 1911-12, p. 265 (as belonging to the series from the Collection Pastrana); (2) Painting, without the borders, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 172.5 : 243.5 cm.; prov.: Newton Abbot, J.J. Dessain (shortly before 1946); Bover Tracey, South Devon, Mrs C. V. [?]. Ferguson, 1946; sale, London (Sotheby's), 18 April 1957, lot 39 (as *Rubens*); (3) Drawing, London, H. M. Calmann, 1953; red and black chalk, 218 : 330 mm.; prov.: Peart, Collection Udny.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, III, p. 40 (as *Van Thulden, retouched by Rubens*); v, p. 334; Sentenach y Cabañas, p. 79; *Lafond*, 1909-10, pp. 125-129, repr. (as *Rubens*); *K.d.K.*, pp. 227, 464 (erroneously as in the trade; example for tapestry); *Prado, Cat. 1933*, No. 2455 (as *Rubens and Van Thulden*); *Haverkamp Begemann*, 1953, p. 80, under No. 63; *Seilern*, pp. 58, 59; *Prado, Cat. 1963*, No. 2455 (as *Rubens*); *d'Hulst*, 1968, p. 102, under No. 22.

This modello differs more noticeably from the corresponding oil sketch (No. 3a; Figs. 22, 24) than the other modelli. The terminal figure at the left has been provided with a mask, the one at the right with a shield and lance, Achilles's lower front leg and knee are nude, the capital of the round column in the left background has been omitted, the second putto from the left near the cornice at the top has received a leg that protrudes beyond the garland, the *cornucopiae* at the bottom have been defined more accurately, a string of pearls has been draped over the edge of the basket, and a burning red object in the shape of a heart has been placed on the altar between the horns of plenty.

Pentimenti visible to the naked eye indicate that in the modello Achilles's skirt at first covered his front leg as it does in the sketch and that the drapery of the term at the right was complete before the shield was added. Furthermore, the perspective of the pedestals of both terms was changed in order to bring the vanishing point closer to the viewer. These pentimenti indicate that the modello corresponded more closely to the sketch before Rubens introduced alterations. Underdrawing is visible in various places, e. g. in the right arm of Achilles.

The surface of this modello seems to have been executed almost entirely by Rubens himself. Particularly well painted are the kneeling woman in yellow dress in the left foreground and the woman in white (Deidamia) standing in front of her. Only in the architectural parts of the terms at the sides and in the

background at the left the hand of an assistant seems recognizable. The terminal figures, and particularly the shield on the term at the right seem to have been painted by Rubens. The emblems of the terms (mask, fox, shield) are painted in their natural colours (the mask in red). The modello consists of five horizontal boards.

3c. ACHILLES DISCOVERED AMONG THE DAUGHTERS OF LYCOMEDES: CARTOON

? Body colour on paper; approximately 400 : 550 cm.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

PROVENANCE: Daniel Fourment, Antwerp, until June 1643; Peter Fourment, Antwerp, until 28 April 1653; Gerard van der Strecken, Jan van Leefdael, Hendrick Lenaerts, Brussels, at least until 1660; presumably lost at sea between 1671 and 1675 during transport to Spain.

4. THETIS RECEIVING ARMOUR FOR ACHILLES FROM HEPHAESTUS: TAPESTRY

Approximately 400 : 450 cm.

For panels of this subject belonging to sets of two or more, see pp. 81-90 (Fig. 29). The following panel does not belong to a known set: Sarasota, Florida, The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art; possibly woven by Jan van Leefdael and/or Gerard van der Strecken since the outer guard decorated with bead and reel is similar to those of *The Wrath of Achilles* (Fig. 41) and *Thetis Leading the Boy Achilles to the Oracle* (Fig. 86), in Boston, yet not part of same set; 376 : 455 cm.; with complete enframing, including terms and, on the outer side of terms, vertical slats known from oil sketches and modelli but omitted in other tapestries; in spite of these features probably rather late weaving; condition imperfect; the lower outer guard presumably containing name or initials of weaver is lost; prov.: bought by John and Mable Ringling from an unknown source; lit.: [M. Murray], *Ca'd'zan: Ringling Residence, Sarasota*, n. d. [c. 1961], pp. 10, 11.

According to Homer, Thetis went to Hephaestus to request new armour for Achilles as replacement for the armour that was lost to the Trojans when Patroclus wearing it was slain by Hector. Homer narrates the event at length, and describes in great detail the shield made by Hephaestus. This, however, was not the only version of the episode. In the medieval romances Patroclus is not wearing Achilles's armour, the latter therefore is not lost to the Trojans,

and the entire episode is omitted. <sup>1</sup> The Renaissance dictionaries include Thetis's request to Hephaestus, but place it at a different moment in the life of Achilles. Natale Conti tells his readers that Thetis went to Hephaestus to ask him to make armour for Achilles as soon as she realized that Achilles had been discovered by Ulysses. In the French translation of 1627, the passage reads in part: "... ayant été découvert par la subtilité d'Ulysse, il ne se peust exempter du voyage. Thetis donque connoissant la nécessité de son fils, s'en alla trouver Vulcan, luy priant de luy forger des armes invincibles ...". <sup>2</sup> Charles Estienne places the episode also immediately after the discovery and before the anger of Achilles against Agamemnon erupted ("Postremo tamen ab Ulysse astu compertus, ad bellum ductus est. Troja enim absente Achille expugnari non potuit. Arma, quae nulla humana vi penetrari possent, à Vulcano, Thetidis rogatu, illi fabricata sunt."). Although the caption of the tapestry of the presumed *editio princeps* in the Paço Ducal at Vila Viçosa (Fig. 29) simply says that "The Loving Mother Orders Arms for her Son from Vulcan" (ALMA A MVLCIBERO / GENITRIX NATO/ IMPERAT ARMA), it is likely, as discussed in the introduction, that Rubens has represented this earlier episode rather than the later, Homeric one.

Rubens has represented Thetis stepping ashore, receiving from Hephaestus a large shield, assisted by a putto and Charis, the wife of Hephaestus. Hephaestus, handing over the shield, is partly seated on a stone support. An assistant brings a harness, in the distance two men are working at an anvil. Behind Thetis a triton receives a helmet from a putto.

Rubens has framed the scene at the sides by means of simulated sculptured terms of Hera (with peacock, in colour), and Zeus (with eagle, also in colour, holding lightning in his beak). The greatest of the Olympian gods and his spouse emphasize the godly nature of Hephaestus's smithy and of Achilles's armour, as Hades and Persephone are framing the underworld in the first scene. In front of the bottom plinth is an anvil with a small burning object on it, between a great number of tools appropriate to the craft of Hephaestus. In front of the cornice at the top is a cartouche between garlands of branches and fruit with a putto on either side.

In some details of the scene, Rubens has adhered to the Renaissance authors relating the event, in others he has followed Homer. The setting is in accordance with Natale Conti and others who place Hephaestus on a volcanic island, where he dwells and works in caves. According to Homer, on the contrary,

Hephaestus had built himself a "house..., imperishable, decked with stars, preeminent among the houses of the immortals, wrought all of bronze...". The putto, standing between Thetis and Hephaestus, probably refers to the tale that Hephaestus did not give Thetis the armour until she had promised she would be at his service ("... il fit refus de les luy bailler que premierement il n'eust couché avec elle"; Thetis agreed, but tricked the crippled Hephaestus by putting on the armour and running off). Her being partly undressed may also be interpreted in the same vein (both the putto and the latter feature had puzzled Collot as being un-homeric).

The second woman, on the other hand, probably Charis the wife of Hephaestus, is more in keeping with Homer's text than that of the lexicographers. According to Homer, Charis greeted Thetis upon her arrival while Hephaestus was busy at work. Although Homer does not mention Charis again at the time Hephaestus delivered the armour, her presence in Rubens's design therefore does not contradict Homer. Homer gives Charis the epithet "with bright head-band" (λιπαροκρήδεμνος), and Thetis "with beautiful tresses" (καλλιπλόκαμος), which Rubens translated into paint by giving Charis a head-band in her hair and Thetis long blond hair falling over her back. The pieces of armour are also in accordance with Homer: Hephaestus made a shield, a harness, and a helmet, and also leg-armour. Hephaestus never made offensive weapons, and their absence in Rubens's representation is in keeping with this tradition.<sup>3</sup> The simplicity of the shield, however, contradicts the elaborate decorations brilliantly described by Homer.

The scene in the left background, a putto handing a helmet to a triton, is mentioned neither by Homer nor by later authors, it seems. In the modello the creature has a distinct tail, and his front legs seem to end in webbed feet, there is therefore no reason to think that he might be Chiron.<sup>4</sup>

As stated above, although details of the scene as represented by Rubens do not unequivocally identify it as either the earlier or the later episode in the life of Achilles, the balance and rhythm of the series is enhanced by its placement before *The Wrath of Achilles* rather than after it.<sup>5</sup>

In designing this episode, Rubens does not seem to have used a visual prototype.

<sup>1</sup> M. R. Scherer, *The Legends of Troy in Art and Literature*, New York-London, 1963, p. 75.

- <sup>2</sup> Natale Conti (transl. by L. de Montlyard), *Mythologie ou explication des fables...*, Paris, 1627, p. 1011.
- <sup>3</sup> See on Hephaestus in classical literature M. Delcourt, *Héphaïstos ou la légende du magicien*, Paris, 1957.
- <sup>4</sup> As *Collot*, 1852, p. 36 thought in reference to Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, v, XIX, 7-9; this interpretation, wrongly accepted by *Haverkamp Begemann*, 1953, under No. 65, was also correctly rejected by *Silberman*, 1962, p. 28.
- <sup>5</sup> See above, p. 26.

4a. THETIS RECEIVING ARMOUR FOR ACHILLES FROM HEPHAESTUS: OIL SKETCH  
(Figs. 31, 33, 35, 37)

Oil on panel; 45 : 51.5 cm.

*Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*. Inv. No. 1760c.

PROVENANCE: Daniel Fourment, Antwerp, until June 1643; ? Jean-Henry Gobelinus, Brussels, until July 1681; Joan Baptista Anthoine, Antwerp, until March 1691; Richard Mead, by 1724, until 1754; Fulk Greville, until 1794; John Smith-Barry, Marbury Hall, Northwich, Cheshire, by 1814; A. H. Smith-Barry; Lord Barrymore, sale, London (Sotheby's), 21 June 1933, lot 30 (repr.); Goudstikker, Amsterdam; presented by D. G. van Beuningen to the Museum, 1933.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 47 : 52 cm.; prov.: Rome, Palazzo Barberini, 1798; Paris, J.-P. Collot, sale, Paris (Drouot), 29 March 1855, lot 20, No. 5 (as *Rubens*); lit.: *Collot*, 1852, pp. 31-37 (as *Rubens*); C. Blanc, *Le trésor de la curiosité*, II, Paris, 1857, p. 508; *Rooses*, III, pp. 42, 43, No. 560<sup>bis</sup>; (2) Painting, Mugswell, Surrey, H. J. Hyams; for references, see under No. 4b; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 44 : 52 cm.; prov.: Brussels-Paris, François Nieuwenhuys, sale, Paris (Drouot), 28 April 1881, lot 19; sale, Brussels (Galerie Atrium), 27 May 1833, lot 121 (repr.); sale, Paris ("sur saisie"), 1935; Paris, G. Renard (1960); (4) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 49.5 : 54.5 cm.; prov.: Zürich, private collection; (5) Painting, after the sketch (?) without the borders, whereabouts unknown; prov.: Waukesha, Wisconsin, Ludlow Estate, 1942 or shortly before; (6) Etching by Franz Ertinger, 1679 (Fig. 39; *V.S.*, p. 218, No. 15, 4); (7) Etching by Bernard Baron, 1724 (Fig. 40; *V.S.*, p. 218, under No. 16).

EXHIBITED: *Manchester*, 1857, No. 562 (provisional catalogue, No. 572); *Dublin*, 1872, No. 133; *London*, 1879, No. 152; *London*, 1899-1900, No. 113; *London*, 1909-10, No. 20; *London*, 1912, No. 11; National Gallery, Edinburgh, 1933; *Amsterdam*, 1933, No. 20; *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No. 65, fig. 55.

LITERATURE: *Catalogue Marbury Hall*, 1814, No. 9 (as *The Cyclops forging the Armour for Achilles*); *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 252, No. 853 (from the etchings by Ertinger and Baron); *Van Hasselt*, p. 291, No. 647; *Hannema*, 1933, p. 4, repr.; *Van Puyvelde, Skizzen*, pp. 40, 41; *Burchard*, 1950, p. 16, under No. 13; *Haverkamp Begeermann*, 1953, pp. 81, 82, No. 65, fig. 55; *Rotterdam, Cat.* 1962, No. 1760c; *d'Hulst*, 1968, p. 102, No. 24, fig. 13; R.-A. d'Hulst, *Pieter Crijnse Volmarijn... (Mededelingen van de Kon. Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen..., Klasse der Schone Kunsten, XXXII, 1)*, Brussels, 1970, pp. 12-14, fig. 9; *Cocke*, 1971, fig. 50.

Entirely executed by Rubens. The artist has paid much attention to detail, particularly in the case of the two female figures.

While painting this sketch Rubens shortened the legs of the putto handing the helmet to the triton.

Painted on three horizontal boards with virtually no damages along the joints. The surface is in excellent condition except for slight abrasions in the upper part of the term at the left and the pedestal of the term at the right.

**4b. THETIS RECEIVING ARMOUR FOR ACHILLES FROM HEPHAESTUS (Fig. 32)**

Oil on canvas; 45.5 : 58 cm.

*Mugswell, Surrey, Collection of H. J. Hyams.*

PROVENANCE: ? [M. Lenglier], sale, Paris (Le Brun), 24 April 1786 et seqq., lot 53; Kleinberger, Paris, 1895; Agnew's, London, 1928; Alfred Dietrich and A. Rofe, Moreton in Marsh (temporarily on loan to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1951-56), sale, London (Sotheby's), 8 July 1959, lot 50 (repr.), purchased by J. Whitney; Hallsborough, Ltd., London, 1959.

EXHIBITED: *Italian and Dutch Masters*, Agnew's, London, 1938.

LITERATURE: M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, 1896, pp. 273, 274 (as *Rubens*).

Burchard's attribution to Rubens cannot be accepted by the present writer.

**4c. THETIS RECEIVING ARMOUR FOR ACHILLES FROM HEPHAESTUS: MODELLO (Figs. 30, 34, 36, 38)**

Oil on panel; 108 : 125 cm.

*Pau, Musée des Beaux-Arts. Inv. No. 417.*

PROVENANCE: ? Daniel Fourment, Antwerp, until June 1643; Peter Fourment, Antwerp, until 28 April 1653; Gerard van der Strecken, Jan van Leefdael, Hendrick Lenaerts, Brussels; ? Kings of Spain; Dukes of Infantado, Madrid (inventory Pastrana c. 1753–1800 as *Jupiter and Vulcan*), until 27 November 1841; Duke of Pastrana, Madrid (Inv. No. 64); Dukes of Pastrana, Madrid; presented to the Museum in Pau, 1887.

COPIES: (1) Painting, Novi Sad, Gradski muzej, collection Dr. Branko Ilić; canvas, 110 : 133 cm.; prov.: Antwerp, Sam Hartveld, 1924; sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), 17–18 May 1926, lot 109, fig. 18 (as *Werkstatt ... Rubens*); lit.: G. Gamulin, *Jedna Kопija po Rubensu, Perifil, Zbornik Radova za Povijest Umjetnosti*, 1965–66, pp. 121–123, fig. 1; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 111 : 127 cm.; prov.: London (?), Dudley Wallis, 1950; London (?), D. Reeder, 1951; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 106.5 : 124.5 cm.; prov.: sale, London (Christie's), 4 May 1951, lot 135.

EXHIBITED: London, 1950, No. 13; Rotterdam, 1953–54, No. 66, fig. 56.

LITERATURE: *Roses*, III, p. 40 (as *Van Thulden, retouched by Rubens*); P. Lafond, *A Propos de deux tableaux du Musée de Pau attribués à Rubens, L'Art, Revue bi-mensuelle illustrée*, XLIV, 1888, pp. 171, 172, repr. (as *after Rubens*); C. Le Cœur and E. Picot, *Musée de la ville de Pau, Notice et catalogue*, Pau, 1891, No. 129; *Lafond*, 1902, pp. 232–238, pl. 27 (as *Rubens*); *Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 79; *Lafond*, 1909–10, pp. 125–129, repr. (as *Rubens*); E. Dillon, *Rubens*, London, [1909], p. 175; *Burchard*, 1950, pp. 15, 16, No. 13 (as *Rubens*); *Seilern*, pp. 58, 59; *Haverkamp Begemann*, 1953, No. 66, fig. 56; [Françoise Debaisieux], *Ville de Pau, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Catalogue sommaire des œuvres exposées*, Pau, 1954, p. 33; J. Pope-Hennessy, *Rubens Sketches at Rotterdam, The Listener*, 11 February 1954, p. 266; J. A. Gaya Nuño, *Pintura Europea perdida por España, de Van Eyck a Tiepolo*, Madrid, 1964, No. 107, pl. 47; *d'Hulst*, 1968, p. 102, under No. 24.

The modello differs from the oil sketch (Figs. 31, 33, 35, 37) primarily in the formation of the rock above Thetis. Whereas in the sketch shrubs and branches protrude from the outcropping towards the left, in the modello no such vegetation is included. Furthermore, the borderline of the rock is different. Rubens also introduced more light in the smithy behind the back of the attendant standing directly behind Vulcan.

This modello is largely executed by Rubens. The hand of the assistant is almost exclusively visible in the architectural parts of the terminal figures. At the right bottom corner the separation of pedestal and ground under Vulcan's foot clearly coincides with the separation of hands.

Painted on five horizontal boards.



#### 4d. THETIS RECEIVING ARMOUR FOR ACHILLES FROM HEPHAESTUS: CARTOON

? Body colour on paper; approximately 400 : 450 cm.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

PROVENANCE: Daniel Fourment, Antwerp, until June 1643; Peter Fourment, Antwerp, until 28 April 1653; Gerard van der Strecken, Jan van Leefdael, Hendrick Lenaerts, Brussels, at least until 1660; presumably lost at sea between 1671 and 1675, during transport to Spain.

#### 5. THE WRATH OF ACHILLES: TAPESTRY

Approximately 400 : 390 cm.

For panels of this subject belonging to sets of two or more, see pp. 81-90. The following panels do not belong to known sets : (1) Boston, Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 41); woven by Jan van Leefdael (signed I.V. LEEFDAEL); 414 : 391 cm.; with complete enframement including terms; prov.: Munich, dealer; Washington, D.C., Charles M. Ffoulke; New York, French and Co.; Boston, George R. White; Boston, Mrs. Harriet J. Bradbury; bequeathed by Mrs. Bradbury, 1930; exh.: *Tapestries Lent by Charles M. Ffoulke*, Art Institute, Chicago, 1896, No. 32; *Tapestries Belonging to Mr. Charles M. Ffoulke*, The Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art, Philadelphia, 1896, No. 20; lit.: C.M. Ffoulke, *The Ffoulke Collection of Tapestries*, New York, 1913, pp. 27, 28, 128, 131; *Hunter*, 1913, pp. 138-140, repr.; G.L. Hunter, *The Practical Book of Tapestries*, Philadelphia-London, 1925, p. 154; *Annual Report, Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, 1930, p. 85; P. Ackerman, *Tapestry the Mirror of Civilization*, New York-London-Toronto, 1933, pl. 27; *Crick-Kuntziger*, 1934, p. 8; *Viale Ferrero*, 1956, p. 6; *Cavallo*, 1967, pp. 122-129, No. 36, pl. 36; (2) Whereabouts unknown; woven by Willem van Leefdael; 370 : 380 cm.; latin inscription in top border, bottom border not woven, terms present; prov.: Brussels, F. Empain (1913); exh.: *Exposition universelle et internationale ... L'Art Ancien dans les Flandres (Région de l'Escaut)*, Ghent, 1913, No. 2385; lit.: J. Casier and P. Bergmans, *L'Art Ancien dans les Flandres (Région de l'Escaut)*, II, Brussels-Paris, 1921, pp. 127, 128, pl. 194, fig. 296; *Göbel*, 1923, p. 388; *Crick-Kuntziger*, 1934, p. 8; *Cavallo*, 1967, p. 128; (3) Arnhem, Gemeentemuseum (Fig. 43); 395 : 415 cm.; woven by Jan Raes (signed IAN RAES); since the framework differs markedly from sketch and modello, probably a late work of one of the two or three members of this family of weavers by the name of Jan; lit.: C. Norris, in *The Burlington Magazine*, LXII, 1933, p. 230, n. 12; *Crick-Kuntziger*, 1934, pp. 4-7, fig. 2; *Cavallo*, 1967, p. 128; exh.: *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No. 119.

The quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon, between the most valiant fighter and the mighty commander of the Greeks, opens Homer's *Iliad*, and is in its consequences the main subject of the epic. Although the Trojan war had lasted for nine years, the Greeks had made little progress in conquering Troy. Then a pestilence ravaged the Greek army. The seer, Calchas, revealed that Agamemnon himself had brought this upon the Greeks, since he had refused to return Chryseis to her father Chryses, priest of Apollo. When the father's request and generous offers had been to no avail, Apollo revenged his priest by sending the plague. To put an end to the disaster, Agamemnon finally agreed to return Chryseis, but not without demanding that Briseis, the beloved of Achilles, be given him instead.

Rubens followed Homer's text almost *verbatim*. Agamemnon threatens to take Briseis from Achilles's tent, Achilles is enraged: "... the anger came on Peleus' son, and within / his shaggy breast the heart was divided in two ways, pondering / whether to draw from beside his thigh the sharp sword, drawing / away all those who stood between and kill the son of Atreus, / or else to check the spleen within and keep down his anger. / Now as he weighted in mind and spirit these two courses / and was drawing from its scabbard the great sword, Athene descended / from the sky. For Hera, the goddess of the white arms sent her, / who loved both men equally in her heart and cared for them. / The goddess standing behind Peleus' son caught him by the fair hair, / appearing to him only, for no man of the others saw her. / Achilles in amazement turned about, and straightway / knew Pallas Athene and the terrible eyes shining." <sup>1</sup>

Rubens had framed the scene at the sides by simulated sculptured terms of a blinded male figure, chained and accompanied by a burning torch, personifying "Blind Fury" (*Furor Caecus*), and of a woman with snakes in her hair (in the oil sketch) and torn clothes, a snake wound around the base, personifying "Discord" (*Discordia*). "Blind Fury" is chained in reference to Achilles being restrained by Athena. In front of the bottom plinth lies a lion chained to a heavy iron ball <sup>2</sup> and in the modello and tapestry chained once more to a ring attached to the plinth, referring to Achilles's strength restrained by Athena; in front of the top cornice is a cartouche between garlands and putti. <sup>3</sup>

In those tapestries that are provided with captions the scene is appropriately said to represent: ABSTINET A / FERRO ABACIDES / RETINENTE MINERVA. In accordance with Homer's text, Rubens represented Achilles drawing his sword and

Athena appearing behind Achilles and only to him, and pulling him by his hair. Achilles is turning and looking at the goddess, startled by the sight of her eyes. Agamemnon is seated on a throne, ready to stand up and repulse Achilles if he would attack him. The old and wise Nestor, standing next to the throne and mounting its steps with one foot, takes Agamemnon by the arm and tries to calm him down; Diomedes, partly hidden by the term, looks at Achilles with apprehension and fear for his impending action against their commander. The old man barely visible behind Nestor may be his servant Eurymedon.<sup>4</sup> Diomedes is similar to the same figure in *Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes* and Nestor wears the same red cloak and grey costume under it as in *Briseis Restored to Achilles*.

The heads of three more figures present in the sketch were painted out by Rubens in the modello and do not appear in the tapestries: the heads of two men standing in the background visible between Achilles's shoulders and Athena's arm (perhaps the old Phoenix who educated Achilles at his father's court, and Achilles's friend Patroclus) and the head of a third figure barely visible between Diomedes and the term behind him (possibly Stenelus, companion of Diomedes).<sup>5</sup>

The two terminal figures are also found in *The Temple of Janus*, one of the arches of the festive decorations in honor of Cardinal-Infant Ferdinand in Antwerp in 1635.<sup>6</sup> *Furor Caecus* is holding a torch, *Discordia* is described under reference to *Aeneid*, VI, 281, 282: "... Discordia demens / Vipereum crinem vittis innexa cruentis" ("... savage Strife, her snaky locks entwined with bloody fillets"). The interpretation of the one term as "Fury", found in the caption to Baron's print, is therefore correct.<sup>7</sup>

In formulating this scene Rubens followed, to some extent, the painting he had designed himself more than ten years earlier and that was executed with the assistance of a pupil, *Mucius Scaevola before Porsenna*, now in the Museum in Budapest.<sup>8</sup> Particularly the disposition of the figures on the throne and the man facing him, and the attitude of the figure on the throne, are similar.

The subject of "The Wrath of Achilles" is rarely represented in art. No immediate antecedent to Rubens's depiction of it is known. A Roman mosaic of the first century represents Agamemnon seated, Achilles at the point of attacking him, and Athena holding him back by his hair, also in accordance with Homer's text.<sup>9</sup>

- <sup>1</sup> “ ἦος ὁ ταῦθ' ὤρμαινε κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν, / ἔλκετο δ' ἐκ κολεοῖο μέγα ξίφος, ἦλθε δ' Ἀθήνη / οὐρανόθεν· πρὸ γὰρ ἦκε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη, / ἄμφω ὁμῶς θυμῷ φιλέουσά τε κηδομένη τε. / στῆ δ' ὄπιθεν, ξανθῆς δὲ κόμης ἔλε Πηλεΐωνα / οἷω φαινομένη· τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐ τις ὄρατο. / θάμβησεν δ' Ἀχιλεὺς, μετὰ δ' ἐτράπετ', αὐτίκα δ' ἔγνω. / Παλλάδ' Ἀθηναίην· δεινὴ δὲ οἱ ὅσσε φάανθεν” (Homer, *Iliad*, I, 193–200; transl. R. Lattimore).
- <sup>2</sup> First observed by C. Müller Hofstede, in *Cat. Exh. Braunschweig*, 1956, under No. 3.
- <sup>3</sup> They are not frightened by the event they witness as Collot, 1852, p. 28, thought.
- <sup>4</sup> Collot, 1852, p. 28.
- <sup>5</sup> All three identifications proposed by Collot, 1852, p. 28.
- <sup>6</sup> See J.R. Martin, *The Decorations for the Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, xvi)*, Brussels-London-New York, 1972, pl. 82.
- <sup>7</sup> C. Müller Hofstede, *loc. cit.*, interpreted the figure as “Blind Vengeance”.
- <sup>8</sup> *K.d.K.*, p. 151.
- <sup>9</sup> M.R. Scherer, *The Legends of Troy in Art and Literature*, New York-London, 1963, fig. 42; for later representations, see A. Pigler, *Barockthemen*, II, Budapest, 1956, p. 266.

#### 5a. THE WRATH OF ACHILLES: OIL SKETCH (Figs. 46, 48)

Oil on panel; 44 : 44 cm.

*Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen. Inv. No. 1760b.*

PROVENANCE: Daniel Fourment, Antwerp, until June 1643; (?) Jean-Henry Gobelinus, Brussels, until July 1681; Joan Baptista Anthoine, Antwerp, until March 1691; Richard Mead, by 1724, until 1754; Fulk Greville, until 1794; John Smith-Barry, Marbury Hall, Nortwich, Cheshire, by 1814; A.H. Smith-Barry; Lord Barrymore, sale, London (Sotheby's), 21 June 1933, lot 31 (repr.); Goudstikker, Amsterdam; presented by D.G. van Beuningen to the Museum, 1933.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 47 : 47 cm.; prov.: Rome, Palazzo Barberini, 1798; J.-P. Collot, sale, Paris (Drouot), 29 March 1855, lot 20, No. 4 (as *Rubens*); lit.: Collot, 1852, pp. 25–29 (as *Rubens*); C. Blanc, *Le trésor de la curiosité*, II, Paris, 1857, p. 508; *Rooses*, III, pp. 42, 43, No. 561<sup>bis</sup>; (2) Painting, Norfolk, Sir Edmund Bacon; paper on panel, 46 : 48 cm.; (3) Drawing, Oslo, Nasjonalgalleriet; red and black chalk, 424 : 389 mm.; (4) Drawing, whereabouts unknown; pen and brown ink with brown wash, heightened with white on bluegreen paper, 170 : 170 mm.; prov.: Duval, sale, Amsterdam (Muller), 22–23 June 1910, lot 322 (as *Rubens*), purchased by Rijkens; (5) Etching by Franz Ertinger, 1679 (Fig. 50; *V.S.*, p. 218, No. 15, 5); (6) Etching by Bernard Baron, 1724 (Fig. 51; *V.S.*, p. 218, under No. 16).

EXHIBITED: *Manchester*, 1857, No. 560 (provisional catalogue, No. 569, as *The Contest Between the Kings*); *Dublin*, 1872, No. 135 (as *Achilles Discovered ...*); *London*, 1879, No. 161; *London*, 1899-1900, No. 115; *London*, 1909-10, No. 21; *London*, 1912, No. 5; *Oxford*, 1933; *Amsterdam*, 1933, No. 21; *Brussels*, 1937, No. 86 (repr.); *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No. 64; *Braunschweig*, 1956, No. 3 (repr.); *Le siècle de Rubens*, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, 1965, No. 227 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Catalogue Marbury Hall*, 1814, [p. 1, No. 5a]; *Smith*, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp. 251, 252, No. 852 (from the etchings by Ertinger and Baron); *Van Hasselt*, p. 290, No. 645; *Hannema*, 1933, p. 3, repr.; *Crick-Kuntziger*, 1934, pp. 2, 3, fig. 1; *Van Puyvelde*, *Skizzen*, pp. 40, 41, 95, fig. 68; *Haverkamp Begemann*, 1953, pp. 80, 81, No. 64; *Seilern*, pp. 58, 59, fig. 31; *Rotterdam, Cat.* 1962, No. 1760b; *Cavallo*, 1967, pp. 26, 28, 122-125, fig. 16; *d'Hulst*, 1968, p. 102, No. 23, fig. 12.

Entirely executed by Rubens. The function of the ropes at the top left is not clear. In the modello (No. 5b; Fig. 47) they are defined as ropes keeping a velum in place. Baron and Ertinger omitted the ropes in their prints (Fig. 50).

Painted on two horizontal boards. The sketch is in excellent condition. A narrow blank margin borders the scene on all sides.

#### 5b. THE WRATH OF ACHILLES: MODELLO (Figs. 47, 49)

Oil on panel; 106 : 108 cm.

*London, Collection of Count Antoine Seilern.*

PROVENANCE: ? Daniel Fourment, Antwerp, until June 1643; ? Peter Fourment, Antwerp, until 28 April 1653; ? Gerard van der Strecken, Jan van Leefdael, Hendrick Lenaerts, Brussels; ? Kings of Spain; Dukes of Infantado, Madrid (inventory Pastrana 1753-1800 as [*Un Asuntio*] de *Mucio Excebola*), until 27 November 1841; Duke of Osuna, Madrid; Marques of Salamanca, first sale, Paris (Pilet, Le Roy, Febvre), 3-6 June 1867, lot 105 and second sale, Paris (Drouot), 25-26 January 1875, lot 67; A. Dreyfus, sale, Paris (Georges Petit), 29 May 1889, lot 109; Vicomte de Lyrot, Paris.

COPY: Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 106 : 106 cm.; prov.: Berlin-Grunewald, H. Kaven, sale, Berlin (Lepke), 22 March 1917, lot 66 (repr.); sale, Berlin (Lepke), 27 October 1925, lot 86 (repr.); ? sale, Berlin (Lepke), 23 March 1926, lot 44 (repr.); Basle, Dr. R.; sale, Amsterdam (Mak van Waay), 17-19 December 1935, lot 57 (repr.); Frankfurt, private collection [? Ephraim]; lit.: [M.J. Binder], *Die Sammlung*

*Heinrich Kaven, Berlin-Grunewald*, Berlin, 1909, No. 66, pl. 24; *K.d.K.*, pp. 228, 464 (wrongly as "Vorlage" for tapestry); *Van Puyvelde, Skizzen*, p. 95.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, III, p. 40 (as *Van Thulden, retouched by Rubens*); v, p. 334; *Lafond*, 1902, pp. 235, 236 (as *Rubens*); *Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 79; *Lafond*, 1909-10, p. 127; *Van Puyvelde, Skizzen*, p. 95; *Burchard*, 1950, p. 16, under No. 13 (as *Rubens*); *Haverkamp Begemann*, 1953, p. 80, under No. 64; *Seilern*, pp. 58-60, No. 31, pls. LXVI-LXIX; C. Norris, [Review of *Seilern*], *The Burlington Magazine*, xcvi, 1955, p. 397; *d'Hulst*, 1968, p. 102, under No. 23; [A. Seilern], *Corrigenda and Addenda to the Catalogue of Paintings and Drawings at 56 Princes Gate London SW 7*, London, 1971, p. 29.

The modello differs from the oil sketch (No. 5a; Figs. 46, 48) mainly in the following details: the two heads of figures standing behind Achilles, visible between Achilles's shoulder and Minerva's arm, have disappeared; a large ring and chain have been added behind the lion at the bottom; the light surrounding the head of Minerva has been strengthened; the head of a background figure at the very left next to the term has been eliminated.

Only the architectural elements of the terminal figures, namely the pedestals and the capitals, and the cartouche seem to be primarily the work of an assistant. Apart from these details, the surface seems to be virtually the work of Rubens himself, covering the paint which the assistant had applied to the panel on the basis of the oil sketch. *Pentimenti* indicate that Rubens changed the hand of Athena pulling Achilles by the hair, and her drapery close to Achilles's back. Although difficult to ascertain without the help of X-rays it is likely that in this area the modello at first included the two faces visible between Achilles's shoulders and Athena's arm in the oil sketch, and the hand between his back and Athena's knee also present in the sketch.

Painted on five horizontal boards.

## 5c. THE WRATH OF ACHILLES: CARTOON

? Body colour on paper; approximately 400 : 390 cm.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

PROVENANCE: Daniel Fourment, Antwerp, until June 1643; Peter Fourment, Antwerp, until 28 April 1653; Gerard van der Strecken, Jan van Leefdael, Hendrick Lenaerts,

Brussels, at least until 1660; presumably lost at sea between 1671 and 1675; during transport to Spain.

## 6. BRISEIS RESTORED TO ACHILLES: TAPESTRY

Approximately 400 : 550 cm.

For panels of this subject belonging to sets of two or more, see pp. 81–90, Figs. 52, 53. The following panels do not belong to known sets: (1) Whereabouts unknown; weaver(s) unidentified; 418 : 570 cm.; prov.: Unidentified Princely Collection, sold with the collection of Archduke Ludwig, Vienna (Dorotheum), 14–22 November 1921, lot 216 (repr., pl. 29); with terms, and caption *ÆACIDES THALAMO SE IVNGIT DEIDAMIÆ*; lit.: *Marillier; Cavallo, 1967, p. 128*; (2) Whereabouts unknown; fragment, left half including tent and Briseis; prov.: Anklam, Coll. Frau von Beningsen (perhaps the same fragment as one described by *Marillier*, as “the single group without accessories” and as being in hands of “Margraf, Berlin”); (3) Raby Castle; according to *Marillier* “a crude version” of *Briseis Restored to Achilles*; lit.: *Marillier*.

Moved by the death of Patroclus, Achilles decided to set aside his wrath against Agamemnon, to revenge Patroclus, and to resume the fighting. He immediately addressed his men, rallying them to fight. Hearing the news, Agamemnon offered Achilles the gifts he had promised him before if he would take up his arms. The gifts included tripods, cauldrons, horses, and also Briseis.

Rubens has represented the moment when Briseis is returned to Achilles, who rushes towards her to greet her. The old Nestor gently guides Briseis towards Achilles, while Ulysses, lifting his arm, oversees the transfer of the gifts and the return of Briseis; two men place a tripod and various golden vessels in front of Achilles. From one side three horses are brought by a page; in the background four women, one carrying a basket with clothes, move towards Achilles. At the other side two women bemoan the dead Patroclus lying in Achilles's tent.

Rubens has framed the scene by means of simulated sculptured terms representing Hermes, with winged hat and caduceus,<sup>1</sup> and the personification of “Concord” (*Concordia*), crowned with laurels, and with a wreath of laurel or olive leaves (in colour) surrounding two clasped hands (in the modello [No. 6b; Fig. 55] and tapestries [Figs. 52, 53]; two joined hands in the oil sketch [No. 6a; Fig. 54]). On a pedestal in front of the plinth are placed a

palm branch and a caduceus between two horns of plenty; in front of the top cornice is a cartouche between garlands and two putti on either side.

Although in essence following Homer's text <sup>2</sup>, Rubens has deviated in details. He has included the presents enumerated by Homer, reducing them in number: "No sooner was the order given than the thing had been done. / They brought back seven tripods from the shelter, those Agamemnon / had promised, and twenty shining cauldrons, twelve horses. They brought back / immediately the seven women the work of whose hands was / blameless, and the eighth of them was Briseis of the fair cheeks"; <sup>3</sup> the weeping women near Patroclus's body were also mentioned by Homer. <sup>4</sup> The most significant differences between Rubens's interpretation and Homer's text is the omission of Agamemnon's offering and oath to the effect that he had not "laid hand on the girl Briseis" <sup>5</sup> for which Rubens substituted the affectionate welcome and greeting by Achilles. Homer does not refer to Achilles's feelings for Briseis or to any action on his part expressing his pleasure about her return, but rather describes him as mourning the death of Patroclus and as eager to start fighting the Trojans. <sup>6</sup> In the terms and objects of the enframement, however, Rubens stressed the significance of the peace concluded between Agamemnon and Achilles, and the importance of Agamemnon's gift for the agreement reached.

In one of his letters to Peiresc, Rubens discussed at great length various types of "tripods", among them the one he painted here: "[the ancients] made a combination of the *lebes* [*λέβης*, *chaudron* in French, a "basin"] and tripod, much like our iron and bronze pots with three feet. But the Ancients gave it the most beautiful proportions and, in my opinion, this was the true tripod mentioned by Homer and other Greek poets and historians ...". <sup>7</sup>

Although Collot's interpretation of the subject as representing King Priam coming to Achilles with his daughter Polyxena in order to obtain from him the body of his son Hector could seem plausible if one combines the appropriate passages of Homer's *Iliad* and of the *Diary of the Trojan War* by Dictys, and if one interprets the subject outside the context of the Achilles series, his reasoning <sup>8</sup> is contradicted by the contemporary interpretation of the subject as "Briseis Returned with Gifts Appeases Achilles" in the caption (REDDITA / CVM DONIS BRISEIS / PLACAT ACHILLEM) of the tapestry of the presumed *editio princeps*, now in Vila Viçosa (Fig. 52), and by other seventeenth-century references. Thus, when Count Harrach was notified, on March 10, 1673, about the availability of a tapestry of this subject, it was described as follows: "il



suo miglior amico Patroclus li viene presentato morto et la sua dama Diadema [read: Briseis] li viene presentata ... o restituita et percio [Achilles] risolve disimbarcarsi ... et cosi se ne torna di novo al armata de Greci ...".<sup>9</sup> This tapestry may have carried the caption *ÆCIDES THALAMO SE IVNGIT DEIDAMIÆ*, stating that "Achilles Joins Deidamia in Marriage", as found on one of the tapestries in 1930 at Hess and Rom in Berlin (Fig. 53). "Deidamia" must stand for "Briseis" because the body of Patroclus in the tent would be entirely out of place in case of a meeting between Achilles and Deidamia. Briseis, in medieval romances, had been confused with Chryseis and Hippodamia, and the author of the caption therefore had no easy task. Furthermore, the old man guiding the young woman wears the same red cloak and grey costume as Nestor in *The Wrath of Achilles*, has similar features that are not particularly regal, and therefore is more likely to be interpreted as Nestor than as king Priam. Finally, the rhythm of the series requires that this subject, which is wider than high and which is of the same format as *Achilles Discovered*, be placed before *Achilles Vanquishing Hector* (lacking in Collot's series of painted copies) rather than following it. For all these reasons, the subject must be "Briseis Restored to Achilles".

No earlier representations of the return of Briseis, neither in classical nor in medieval or Renaissance art, are known to this writer. This scene was also left out from the medieval romances, and was not included by Boccaccio or later lexicographers in their versions of Achilles's life either. Rubens seems to have been the first to represent the subject.

<sup>1</sup> "Iuvenili habitu, petasatus, et caducifer", "as a young man, ready to travel, and carrying the caduceus", as a similar Hermes is described by Gevartius in the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, Antwerp, [1641-42], p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, XIX, 243-281.

<sup>3</sup> "ἀντίκ' ἔπειθ' ἄμα μῦθος ἔην, τετέλεστο δὲ ἔργον · / ἔπτα μὲν ἐκ κλισίης τρίποδας φέρον, οὓς οἱ ὑπέστη, / αἰθωνας δὲ λέβητας ἑίκοσι, δώδεκα δ' ἵππους · / ἐκ δ' ἄγον αἰψα γυναῖκας ἀμύμονα ἔργα ἰδυίας / ἔπτ', ἀτὰρ ὄγδοάτην Βρισηίδα καλλιπάρηον". (Homer, *Iliad*, XIX, 242-246; transl. R. Lattimore).

<sup>4</sup> *Iliad*, XIX, 300.

<sup>5</sup> *Iliad*, XIX, 261.

<sup>6</sup> Goeler von Ravensburg, 1882 was the first to stress this difference.

<sup>7</sup> Letter of August, 1630; R.S. Magurn, *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, Cambridge, Mass., 1955, p. 365; cf. *Cat. Exh. Drawings and Oil Sketches by P.P. Rubens ...*, Cambridge-New York, 1956, p. 33.

<sup>8</sup> Collot, 1852, pp. 39-43.

<sup>9</sup> *Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XXX, 2, 1911-12, pp. XXXVII, XXXVIII.

6a. BRISEIS RESTORED TO ACHILLES: OIL SKETCH (Figs. 54, 56)

Oil on panel; 45 : 67.2 cm.

*Detroit, The Detroit Institute of Arts. Inv. 53.356.*

PROVENANCE: Daniel Fourment, Antwerp, until June 1643; ? Jean-Henry Gobelinus, Brussels, until July 1681; Joan Baptista Anthoine, Antwerp, until March 1691; Richard Mead, by 1724, until 1754; Fulk Greville, until 1794; Sir Joshua Reynolds, sale, London (Christie's), 13-17 March 1795, lot 96, purchased by Marchi; private collection or art dealer, Rome, by 1829; George John Vernon [bought in Rome, 1829], sale, London (Christie's), 16 April 1831, lot 27 (as *Rubens*), apparently withdrawn or bought in; Baron Vernon, Sudbury Hall, near Derby, sale, London (Sotheby's), 14 June 1922, lot 63 (repr.); Henry Reinhardt & Son Galleries, New York; purchased from the latter by Mr. Edgar B. Whitcomb, 1926-27; bequeathed by Mr. and Mrs. Whitcomb to the Detroit Institute of Arts, 1953.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 42 : 70 cm.; prov.: Rome, Palazzo Barberini, 1798; Paris, J.-P. Collot, sale, Paris (Drouot), 29 March 1855, lot 20, No. 6 (as *Rubens, Le rachat du cadavre d'Hector*); lit.: *Collot, 1852*, pp. 39-43 (as *Rubens, Rachat du corps d'Hector*); C. Blanc, *Le trésor de la curiosité*, II, Paris, 1857, p. 508; *Rooses*, III, pp. 42, 43, No. 562<sup>bis</sup>; (2) Painting, Syracuse, New York, The Syracuse University Art Collection; canvas, 44.4 : 66.6 cm.; prov.: Adrian Hope, sale, London (Christie's), 30 June 1894, lot 97 (repr.; as *An Illustration to Euripides, Tragedy of Alceſtis*); New York, Jacob H. Schiff, sale, New York (American Art Association, Anderson Galleries), 7-9 December 1933, lot 75 (repr.), purchased by Scott & Fowles; sale, New York (Parke-Bernet), 15 April 1953, lot 63 (repr.); Mrs. C. Michael Paul; presented by the latter to Syracuse University, 1961; lit.: *Daily News*, 2 July 1894; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, 1895, pp. 211, 212; W.R. Valentiner, *Gemälde des Rubens in Amerika, Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, XLVII, 1911-12, pp. 264, 265, No. 29, fig. 3 (as a studio replica); W.R. Valentiner, *The Art of the Low Countries, Studies*, Garden City-New York, 1914, pp. 188, 236 (No. 29); *K.d.K.*, pp. 227 bottom, 464 (as *Vorlage* for a tapestry made in the studio); *Art News*, 2 December 1933 (repr.); W.R. Valentiner, *Rubens Paintings in America, The Art Quarterly*, IX, 1946, p. 164 (as a school repetition); *Goris-Held*, p. 36, under No. 70; E. Duverger, *Literatuuroverzicht betreffende de geschiedenis der textielkunsten in de Nederlanden, Artes Textiles*, V, 1959-60, p. 221; L. and A.K. Schmeckebier, *The Syracuse University Collection, 1964, Painting, Drawing, Sculpture*, Syracuse, New York, [1964], p. 59, repr. (as *Rubens*); (3) Painting, Norfolk, Sir Edmund Bacon; paper on canvas, 47 : 69 cm.; (4) Painting (without the enframement), 18th century, Göttingen, Kunstsammlung der Universität; copper, 40.5 : 54.5 cm.; prov.: J. W. Zschorn, bequeathed to the University in 1795 (as *Rubens*);

lit.: J.D. Fiorillo, [Catalogue of the Collection], Göttingen, 1805, No. 34 (as *Van Dyck oder vielmehr Diepenbeeck*); E. Waldmann, [Cat. of the Collection], Göttingen, 1905, No. 32 (as by imitator of *Rubens*); W. Stechow, *Katalog der Gemäldesammlung der Universität Göttingen*, Göttingen, 1926, No. 150; (5) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 42 : 63.5 cm.; prov.: sale, London (Christie's), 9 July 1948, lot 127; (6) Painting (without the borders), probably 17th century, whereabouts unknown; panel, 48 : 63.5 cm.; prov.: London, P. & D. Colnaghi & Co., 1934; sale, London (Sotheby's), 27 October 1943, lot 140; (7) Painting (without the borders), ? Italian 18th century, Jerusalem, Bezalel National Museum; panel, 29 : 39 cm.; prov.: London, Marshall Spink, November 1943; (8) Painting, whereabouts unknown; prov.: Hart Davies, sale, London (Coxe), 28 May 1814, lot 4 (as *Rubens, The Death of Germanicus*), purchased by Col. Napier; (9) Drawing, whereabouts unknown; pen and brown ink, 292 : 395 mm.; prov.: London, Clifford Duit, 1964 (as *Van Thulden*); (10) Drawing (without the borders), ? Italian 17th century, whereabouts unknown; black and red chalk; prov.: London, Leo Franklyn, February 1955; (11) Etching by Franz Ertinger, 1679 (Fig. 58; *V.S.*, p. 218, No. 15, 6); (12) Etching by Bernard Baron, 1724 (Fig. 59; *V.S.*, p. 128, under No. 16).

EXHIBITED: *Pictures by Italian, Spanish, Flemish, Dutch and French Masters*, British Institution, London, 1835, No. 95 (as *The Death of Ulysses*); *Loan Exhibition from Private Collections*, The Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, 1926, No. 33; *Exhibition of Old and Modern Masters*, The Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, 1927, No. 54; *Sixty Paintings and Some Drawings by Peter Paul Rubens*, The Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, 1936, No. 45 (repr.); *World's Fair*, New York, 1939, No. 330; *Masterpieces of Art*, The Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, 1941, No. 50; *Peter Paul Rubens*, Schaeffer Galleries, New York, 1942, No. 23 (repr.); *Rubens and Van Dyck*, Los Angeles County Museum, Los Angeles, 1946, No. 33; *Paintings and Sculptures given by Edgar B. Whitcomb and Anna Scripps Whitcomb*, The Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, 1954, pp. 61, 62; *Drawings and Oil Sketches by P.P. Rubens from American Collections*, The Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, and The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 1956, No. 37, pl. xxv.

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, No. 854; *Van Hasselt*, p. 290, No. 646; W. Heil, *The Edgar B. Whitcomb Collection in Detroit*, *Art in America*, XVI, 1927-28, p. 50, fig. 4; W. Heil, *Catalogue ... Collection ... Whitcomb* [MS., 1931], pp. 19-23; *Van Puyvelde, Skizzen*, pp. 40, 41; W.R. Valentiner, *Rubens' Paintings in America*, *The Art Quarterly*, IX, 1946, p. 164, No. 113; *Goris-Held*, p. 36, No. 70, pl. 86; *Burchard*, 1950, p. 14, under No. 12; [E.P. Richardson], *Catalogue of Paintings and Sculpture given by E.B. Whitcomb and A. Scripps Whitcomb to the Detroit Institute of Arts*, Detroit, 1954, pp. 60-63; *The Art Quarterly*, XVII, 1954, p. 182 (repr.); J.S. Held, *Drawings and Oil Sketches by Rubens from American Collections*, *The Burlington Magazine*, xcVIII, 1956, p. 123; *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, XLIII, 1964, pp. 54, 58, repr.

This sketch, entirely painted by Rubens, is carefully executed in all details, including the framing devices at the top and at the bottom. The black underdrawing is visible in various areas, e. g. the contour of the upper right leg of Nestor can be seen through the red drapery, and some of the outlines of the costume of Briseis can also clearly be read. Changes introduced by Rubens while painting the sketch are found in the putto at upper left, who first extended lower; in the hoof of the left foot of the horse towards the left, which also first extended lower; and in the body of Achilles, which first extended further to the left.

Painted on two horizontal boards, and a vertical strip of wood of a width of c. 37 mm. at the right.

6b. BRISEIS RESTORED TO ACHILLES: MODELLO (Figs. 55, 57)

Oil on panel; 106 : 162 cm.

*Madrid, Prado.* Inv. No. 2566.

PROVENANCE: ? Daniel Fourment, Antwerp, until June 1643; ? Peter Fourment, Antwerp, until 28 April 1653; ? Gerard van der Strecken, Jan van Leefdael, Hendrick Lenaerts, Brussels; ? Kings of Spain; Dukes of Infantado, Madrid (inventory Pastrana c. 1753-1800), until 27 November 1841; Duke of Pastrana, Madrid; Duchess of Pastrana, Madrid; Comunidad de las Religiosas del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús, Madrid, c. 1887; presented to the Prado in or shortly after 1889.

COPIES: (1) Painting, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, Inv. No. 51.2981; canvas, 112.5 : 164 cm.; prov.: Marchioness of Thomond (born Palmer); Mme B[rooks], sale, Paris (Drouot), 16-18 April 1877, lot 65; sale [coll. Sinnett, Osmaston, for account of Mr. Brooks], Paris (Drouot), 4 June 1879, lot 34 (as *Rubens*); Budapest, Museum Georg Rath; since 1951 in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest; exh.: [*Paintings from Private Collections, House of Artists*], Budapest, 1888, No. 326 (as *Studio of Rubens*); lit.: *Roses*, III, p. 40; G. Frimmel, *Kleine Galeriestudien*, I, Vienna, 1892, p. 259 (as *sketch by Rubens*); G. Gombosi, in *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, XLIII, 1929, p. 281; G. Gombosi, in *A Műgyűjtő - Der Kenner*, V, 1931, pp. 101, 102; A. Pigler, *Katalog der Galerie alter Meister*, Budapest, 1967, pp. 598, 599, No. 51.2981; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 101.5 : 136 cm.; prov.: a village in Norfolk; London, A. Fell (1954).

LITERATURE: *Roses*, III, p. 40 (as *Van Thulden, retouched by Rubens*); v, p. 334; *Lafond*, 1902, p. 234 (as "*L'Entrevue d'Achille et de Polyxène*" or "*Briséis rendue à Achille*", or perhaps "*Achille et Déidamie*"); *Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 79; *Lafond*, 1909-10, pp. 125-129, repr. (as "*Briséis ...*" by *Rubens*); *Prado, Cat. 1933*, No. 2466 (as *Rubens and Van Thulden* [?]); *Museo del Prado, Catálogo de los cuadros*, Madrid, 1945, No. 2566 (as *Rubens and Van Thulden*); *Seilern*, pp. 58, 59; *Prado, Cat. 1963*, No. 2566 (as *Rubens*).

The modello differs from the oil sketch (No. 6a; Figs. 54, 56) only in minor details; *e. g.* in the modello the sails of the ship near Briseis have been extended farther to the left, and in the wreath on the term at the right the two hands, which in the sketch are represented as the joined hands of one person, have been changed to clasping hands of two persons.

There are few minor pentimenti: *e. g.* the knee of the kneeling man was considerably larger; Nestor's hand resting on the side of Briseis was first placed a little higher, and a second basket was painted at the top left. The wreath with the clasped hands within it and the wreath crowning the term at the right are painted in natural colours, the wings of Mercury, his staff and the fringe of his garment in gold.

To a large extent the surface is executed by Rubens. Particularly the figure of Briseis, the two men with presents in front of her and the old man behind her (Nestor), as well as Achilles himself, the putti and garlands at the top and the *cornucopiae* at the bottom seem largely painted by Rubens. The background figures of Patroclus and the two mourning women at the far right in the tent, as well as the rigging of the ships, the profile heads to the left of Briseis, and some of the architectural elements seem largely the work of the assistant. Rubens himself, however, seems to have painted the terms.

Painted on six horizontal boards.

#### 6c. BRISEIS RESTORED TO ACHILLES: CARTOON

? Body colour on paper; approximately 400 : 550 cm.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

PROVENANCE: Daniel Fourment, Antwerp, until June 1643; Peter Fourment, Antwerp, until 28 April 1653; Gerard van der Strecken, Jan van Leefdael, Hendrick Lenaerts,

Brussels, at least until 1660; presumably lost at sea between 1671 and 1675, during transport to Spain.

## 7. ACHILLES VANQUISHING HECTOR: TAPESTRY

Approximately 400 : 450 cm.

For panels of this subject belonging to sets of two or more, see pp. 81-90, Figs. 60, 61.

The war between the Greeks and the Trojans culminated in the fight between Achilles and Hector. Achilles, in the splendid armour Thetis had brought him, had thrown his spear at Hector, but Hector avoided it adroitly by crouching. Hector tried to pierce Achilles with his own spear, but hit Achilles's shield. Achilles lost his spear, and so did Hector. Athena now intervened, caught Achilles's spear and returned it to him. Hector, not having a second spear, looked for help from his brother Deiphobos, but in vain. Hector "knew the truth inside his heart, and spoke aloud: / '... the gods have summoned me deathward. / ... it was Athena cheating me ... and there is no way out. So it must long since have been pleasing / to Zeus ... But now my death is upon me. / Let me at least not die without a struggle, inglorious, / but do some big thing first, that men to come shall know of it".<sup>1</sup>

Rubens has represented the end of the battle between Achilles and Hector according to Homer's text: "... as [Achilles] eyed to discover some path to his beautiful body. / All other parts were encased in the beauteous bronze of his armor, / arms that he took as his spoils when he slew the mighty Patroclus; / Only his throat was exposed, at the spot where the collar-bones border / Shoulder and neck - at the point where the tacking of life is the quickest. / There then as Hector charged, with his spear the godlike Achilles / Thrust, and clear through the delicate neck went the point of the javelin / ... Down he crashed in the dust ...".<sup>2</sup>

"In a Clash of Arms Achilles Vanquishes Hector", the caption says on those tapestries of this subject that carry a caption (HECTOR CONGRESSVS / CERTAMINE VICIT / ACHILLES). Athena, who masterminded Achilles's victory, hovers over the fighting heroes, directing the hand of Achilles.<sup>3</sup> In the modello (No. 7b; Fig. 63) Athena, as goddess, is clearly separated from the heroes by

being enveloped in a cloud. In accordance with Homer, Rubens has placed the scene in front of the walls of Troy. In front of a gate is a group of armed men that gesture and seem to want to come to the help of Hector; the figures on top of the gate also seem armed men.<sup>4</sup> In the distance behind Achilles four horses (clearly defined in the modello [Fig. 69]) with a chariot and a charioteer are ready to drag Hector's body around the walls of Troy.

Rubens has framed the scene at the sides by simulated sculptured terms of Ares, "Paludatus et galeatus" ("with commander's cloak and helmet", as a similar term is described in the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*)<sup>5</sup> and with a sword and two spear blades (in colour) leaning against the foot of the term, and Heracles with club (in colour) and lion skin (the tail hanging down on the foot of the term). Ares, as god of war, and Heracles, the only mortal hero to be admitted to the Olympus, thus frame the battle that marks the victory of the Greeks over the Trojans.

In the oil sketch (No. 7a; Fig. 62) two *cornucopiae* flank a pedestal in front of the plinth. In the modello (No. 7b; Fig. 63) and the tapestries these have been replaced by two fighting roosters. In front of the cornice at the top is a cartouche between two garlands of leaves and two putti that look with concern at the fight beneath them.

<sup>1</sup> "Ἐκτωρ δ' ἔγνω ἦσαν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ φώνησέν τε · / ... θεοὶ θάνατόνδε κάλεσαν · / ... ἐμὲ δ' ἐξαπάτησεν Ἀθήνη. / οὐδ' ἀλέη· ἢ γάρ ῥα πάλαι τό γε φίλτερον ἦεν Ζηνί... νῦν αὐτὲ με μοῖρα κιχάνει. / μὴ μὰν ἀσπουδί γε καὶ ἀκλειῶς ἀπολοίμην, / ἀλλὰ μέγα ῥέξας τι καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι". (*Iliad*, xxii, 296, 297, 299, 301, 303-305; transl. R. Lattimore).

<sup>2</sup> "... εἰσορόων χροῖα καλόν, ὅπη εἴξειε μάλιστα. / τοῦ δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τόσον μὲν ἔχε χροῖα χάλκεα τεύχεα, / καλά, τὰ Πατρόκλοιο βίην ἐνάριξε κατακτάς · / φαίνετο δ' ἢ κληίδες ἀπ' ὤμων αὐχέν' ἔχουσι, / λαυκανίην, ἵνα τε ψυχῆς ὤκιστος ὄλεθρος · / τῆ ῥ' ἐπὶ οἱ μεμαῶτ' ἔλασ' ἔγχει δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς, / ἀντικρὺ δ' ἀπαλοῖο δι' αὐχένος ἦλυθ' ἀκωκῆ. / οὐδ' ἄρ' ἀπ' ἀσφάραγον μελήϊ τάμε χαλκοβάρεια, / ὄφρα τί μιν προτιείποι ἀμειβόμενος ἐπέεσσιν. / ἤριπε δ' ἐν κονίῃς · ὁ δ' ἐπεύξατο δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς". (*Iliad*, xxii, 321-330; transl. W.B. Smith and W. Miller, New York, 1944).

<sup>3</sup> Rather than handing the new spear to Achilles, as *Silberman*, 1962, p. 33, supposed.

<sup>4</sup> Rather than Andromache, Hector's wife, and her son Astyanax, as interpreted by *Lafond*, 1902, p. 237.

<sup>5</sup> C. Gevartius, *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi...*, Antwerp, [1641-42], p. 88.

7a. ACHILLES VANQUISHING HECTOR: OIL SKETCH (Figs. 62, 64, 66, 68)

Oil on panel; 44 : 51.5 cm.—*Verso*: the brands (Fig. 92) of Antwerp and the panel maker Michiel Vriendt (mv).

*Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*. Inv. No. 1760d.

PROVENANCE: Daniel Fourment, Antwerp, until June 1643; ? Jean-Henry Gobelinus, Brussels, until July 1681; Joan Baptista Anthoine, Antwerp, until March 1691; Richard Mead, London, by 1724, until 1754; Fulk Greville, until 1794; John Smith-Barry, Marbury Hall, Northwich, Cheshire, by 1814; A.H. Smith-Barry; Lord Barrymore, sale, London (Sotheby's), 21 June 1933, lot 32 (repr.); Goudstikker, Amsterdam; presented by D.G. van Beuningen to the Museum in 1933.

COPIES: (1) Painting (top and bottom clipped), whereabouts unknown; ? paper on canvas, 34 : 50 cm. (originally 35 : 52 ?); prov.: A. Wegrath; Lederer; sale, Vienna (Künstlerclub), 17 February 1892, lot 301; Bratislava, Enea Lanfranconi, sale, Cologne (Heberle), 21–23 October 1895, lot 169, purchased by Charles Sedelmeyer, Paris; Charles Sedelmeyer, sale, Paris 3–5 June 1907, lot 45; sale, Brussels (Fiévez), 19–20 July 1926, lot 95 (as Rubens, "*Sujet mythologique*"); Brussels, Mme Ingeborg Prippe de Brun (c. 1930); lit.: T. von Frimmel, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xx, 1897, p. 140 (as seriously damaged); M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, iv, 1896, p. 273; v, 1897, pp. 74, 77; *Van Puyvelde, Skizzen*, p. 95; (2) Painting, Norfolk, Sir Edmund Bacon; paper on panel; (3) Etching by Franz Ertinger, 1679 (Fig. 70; *V.S.*, p. 218, No. 15, 7); (4) Etching by Bernard Baron, 1724 (Fig. 71; *V.S.*, p. 218, under No. 16).

EXHIBITED: *Manchester*, 1857, No. 561 (provisional catalogue, No. 570); *Dublin*, 1872, No. 136; *London*, 1879, No. 153; *London*, 1899–1900, No. 114; *London*, 1909–10, No. 23; *London*, 1912, No. 7; National Gallery, Edinburgh, 1933; *Amsterdam*, 1933, No. 22 (repr.); *Brussels*, 1937, No. 87; *Rotterdam*, 1953–54, No. 67, fig. 57.

LITERATURE: *Catalogue Marbury Hall*, 1814, [p. 1], No. 4; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp. 252, 253, No. 855 (from the etchings by Ertinger and Baron); *Van Hasselt*, p. 291, No. 648; *Hannema*, 1933, p. 4, repr.; *Van Puyvelde, Skizzen*, pp. 40, 41, 95, fig. 69; *Burchard*, 1950, p. 17, under No. 14; *Haverkamp Begemann*, 1953, p. 82, No. 67, fig. 57; R. van Luttervelt, *Dutch Museums*, London, 1960, repr. facing p. 134; *Rotterdam, Cat.* 1962, No. 1760d; R.T. Coe, *The Sacrifice of Abraham by Rubens: more Michelangelo Sources, The Nelson Gallery and Atkins Museum Bulletin*, IV, 8, 1967, p. 15; *d'Hulst*, 1968, pp. 102, 103, No. 25, fig. 14; *Cocke*, 1971, fig. 49.

Entirely executed by Rubens. This sketch is more summarily painted than any other of the series. Here the ground is visible virtually everywhere, and many



of the figures and objects are only indicated in outline. The preliminary drawing in black is clearly visible in many areas. It indicates that Rubens first had placed the right lower leg of Hector farther to the left, in two different positions. The two *cornucopiae* on either side of a small altar in front of the plinth at the bottom are only vaguely suggested.

Painted on two horizontal boards, with virtually no damages at the joint. In other respects the condition of the painting is also excellent, with no losses or abrasions to account for. A narrow blank margin borders the scene on all sides.

7b. ACHILLES VANQUISHING HECTOR: MODELLO (Figs. 63, 65, 67, 69)

Oil on panel; 108 : 125 cm.

*Pau, Musée des Beaux-Arts.* Inv. No. 418.

PROVENANCE: ? Daniel Fourment, Antwerp, until June 1643; ? Peter Fourment, Antwerp, until 28 April 1653; ? Gerard van der Strecken, Jan van Leefdael, Hendrick Lenaerts, Brussels; ? Kings of Spain; Dukes of Infantado, Madrid (inventory Pastrana c. 1753-1800), until 27 November 1841; Duke of Pastrana, Madrid (Inv. No. 70); Duchess of Pastrana, Madrid; presented to the Museum in Pau, 1887.

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1950, No. 14; *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No. 68, fig. 58.

LITERATURE: *Roses*, III, p. 40 (as *Van Thulden, retouched by Rubens*); P. Lafond, *A Propos de deux tableaux du Musée de Pau attribués à Rubens*, *L'Art, Revue bimensuelle illustrée*, XLIV, 1888, pp. 171, 172, repr. (as *after Rubens*); C. Le Cœur and E. Picot, *Musée de la Ville de Pau, Notice et catalogue*, Pau, 1891, No. 130; *Lafond*, 1902, pp. 232, 238, pl. 28 (as *Rubens*); *Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 79; E. Dillon, *Rubens*, London, [1909], p. 175; *Lafond*, 1909-10, pp. 125-129, repr. (as *Rubens*); *Burchard*, 1950, pp. 16, 17, No. 14 (as *Rubens*); *Haverkamp Begemann*, 1953, No. 68, fig. 58 [Françoise Debaisieux], *Ville de Pau, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Catalogue des œuvres exposées*, Pau, 1954, p. 33; J. Pope-Hennessy, *Rubens Sketches at Rotterdam*, *The Listener*, 11 February 1954, p. 266; *Seilern*, pp. 58, 59; J.A. Gaya Nuño, *Pintura Europea perdida por España, de Van Eyck a Tizpolo*, Madrid, 1964, No. 108, pl. 48; *d'Hulst*, 1968, p. 103, under No. 25.

Comparison with the oil sketch (No. 7a; Figs. 62, 64, 66, 68) shows that various changes have been introduced. Most significant are the following: Minerva is

clearly depicted as enveloped by a cloud; the altar shaped object at the bottom centre has been replaced by two fighting roosters; the *cornucopiae* have been reversed, worked out in detail and shown to contain palm and laurel branches.

A number of *pentimenti* can be seen with the naked eye: the red drapery flowing from Achilles's shoulders first extended farther down behind Achilles's back, and a few small figures in the same area were covered by sky and a distant gate; under the upper parts of the fighting roosters the outline of an altar-shaped object is visible; the figures standing on top of the gate in the distance to the right originally were taller; the horn of plenty in the left bottom corner first was placed differently. All these *pentimenti*, except the one in the horn of plenty at the left bottom corner, conform with the corresponding details in the sketch. The modello, therefore, was virtually an unchanged enlargement of the oil sketch before Rubens altered details.

The visible surface of this modello seems to have been executed almost entirely by Rubens himself. Only in the architectural parts of the terms and in the cornice the hand of an assistant seems recognizable.

Painted on four horizontal boards.

#### 7c. ACHILLES VANQUISHING HECTOR: CARTOON

? Body colour on paper; approximately 400 : 450 cm.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

PROVENANCE: Daniel Fourment, Antwerp, until June 1643; Peter Fourment, Antwerp, until 28 April 1653; Gerard van der Strecken, Jan van Leefdael, Hendrick Lenaerts, Brussels, at least until 1660; presumably lost at sea between 1671 and 1675, during transport to Spain.

#### 8. THE DEATH OF ACHILLES: TAPESTRY

Approximately 400 : 390 cm.

For panels of this subject belonging to sets of two or more, see pp. 81-90, Fig. 72.

The following panels do not belong to known sets: (1) Whereabouts unknown; weaver(s) unidentified; prov.: Sale, Milan, May 1939, purchased by a collector outside Italy; lit.: A. Pettorelli L., *Appunti su un arazzo rappresentante 'La Morte di Achille', Salsomaggiore illustrata*, xxxiv, 11, November 1939, pp. 1-5, repr.; *Crick-Kuntziger*, 1939, p. 142; *Cavallo*, 1967, p. 128; (2) Rome, Collection Del Drago; without borders; lit.: *Marillier*; *Cavallo*, 1967, p. 128; (3) Antwerp, Rubenshuis (Fig. 73); woven by Gerard Peemans; 410 : 427 cm.; with complete enframements including terms; prov.: Antwerp, Henri Fester estate; presented to the Rubenshuis in 1945 through Robert Fester; lit.: F. Baudouin, *Rubens House, A Summary Guide*, 5th. ed., Antwerp, 1971, p. 24.

The violent death of Achilles at the hands of Paris and Apollo was predicted twice in the *Iliad*, first by his horse Xanthos ("yet still for you there is destiny to be killed in force by a god and a mortal"),<sup>1</sup> later by the dying Hector, whose last words warned Achilles to be careful, for he, Hector, might become the gods' curse upon him "on that day when Paris and Phoebus Apollo destroy you in the Scaean gates ...".<sup>2</sup> Homer, however, did not narrate Achilles's death. According to later writers who provided the details that Homer had omitted, Achilles was treacherously murdered in the temple of Apollo Thymbraeus near the Trojan walls, where he had gone unarmed to marry Polyxena, daughter of Priam and Hecuba who instigated the murder and thereby revenged the death of their sons Hector and Troilus, who had been killed by Achilles.

"Achilles Falls Right in Front of the Altar, Pierced by the Treachery of Paris" (FRAUDE CADIT PARIDIS / MEDIAS TRANSFIXVS / AD ARAS), as the caption reads on the tapestry of the presumed *editio princeps* in the Paço Ducal at Vila Viçosa (Fig. 72) or "Thus Achilles Dies, Felled by an Arrow of Paris" (SIC MORITVR / PARIDIS DEIECTVS / CUSPIDE ACHILLES) as written on a later weaving of the same subject, now in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen at Kassel<sup>3</sup>. Aided by Apollo who pointed out where to aim, Paris, son of King Priam, shot an arrow through Achilles's foot. Apparently Achilles was kneeling when the arrow, which presumably was poisoned, entered through the sole of his foot. Rubens represented the moment when Achilles tries to stand up, but fails, and has to be supported by a bearded companion who has a wreath in his hair (probably Ulysses). The high priest behind the altar and a third man are greatly agitated by the event.

Rubens has framed the scene at the sides by simulated sculptured terms of Aphrodite, accompanied by a winged putto carrying a quiver, and Apollo

with quiver and arrows suspended around his neck and a fierce snake wound around the base of the term. Aphrodite alludes to Achilles's fatal love for Polyxena, whereas Apollo is present because, in contrast to the majority of the gods who favoured the Greeks, he had stood on the side of the Trojans all through the war, and because he now finally dealt a mortal blow to the Greek hero, thus revenging the death of his son Tenes, who had been killed by Achilles at Tenedos. In front of the plinth a fox is killing an eagle, emblem of the "destruction of ye hero by treachery & cunning" (caption on Baron's etching); in front of the top cornice is a cartouche between garlands and a putto on either side.

As for Rubens's sources for his version, the legend that Achilles was killed by Paris, aided by Apollo in the temple of Apollo where he had been lured under the pretext that he was going to marry Polyxena, was repeated frequently since in the fourth-century Servius Grammaticus had told the story in his commentary on Virgil's *Aeneid*: "... [Achilles] had made arrangements to accept his beloved Polyxena as bride in the temple; and he was killed treacherously by Paris, who was hiding behind an image. It is therefore thought that Paris directed his arrows while Apollo held him, and he directed them well, straight at the only vulnerable spot".<sup>4</sup> Boccaccio, in his *De Genealogia Deorum*, summarized earlier legends (in the edition of 1532 Servius is referred to as a source) and provided the basic narrative for future writers: "Perturbed by sorrow and fearing for her other sons and her country if Achilles would live long, Hecuba with feminine craftiness devised a trap to take his life. She knew that Achilles was in love with Polyxena, because when he had seen her at the time of a truce, she had pleased him, and therefore, by means of a messenger, she promised him that Polyxena would be given him in marriage if he would refrain from fighting. When Achilles had agreed, an arrangement was made according to which he would come secretly, at night and alone, to the temple of Apollo Thymbraeus situated close to the walls of Troy, where he would find her with her daughter, and where he would marry her. Out of love for Polyxena, and longing for her, Achilles entered the temple at night, in good faith, unarmed and alone in accordance with the agreement. Immediately emerging from a hiding place, Paris, since he was well versed with the bow, aimed his arrow at the heel of Achilles, and wounded him and killed him ...".<sup>5</sup>

Undoubtedly Rubens knew either the version of Servius himself, or that of Boccaccio or of one of the later mythological dictionaries. The story of Natale

Conti's *Mythologiae* <sup>6</sup> is similar to Boccaccio's version, and so are numerous other versions, which differ only in details.

The story that Achilles was vulnerable only in his soles, rather than in his heel, is found in medieval legends (see next paragraph), and also in Natale Conti's *Mythologiae*. The French translation by Montlyard of 1627 states specifically that Thetis left him vulnerable in the soles, later, in the commentary, Achilles is said to have been vulnerable in heel and sole. The vulnerability of the soles is probably the result of a "contamination" of the legend of the dipping in the river Styx with another legend, according to which Thetis made Achilles invulnerable by covering him entirely with ambrosia, from top "iusqu'à la plante des pieds", <sup>7</sup> then putting him under burning coal during the night.

The motif of Achilles being shot in the sole when praying is a logical sequence to the one substituting the sole for the heel, since the best marksman may be hard put to shoot someone through the sole in another position. It is found in medieval versions of episodes of the Trojan war, particularly in Spain, e. g. in the *General Estoria* by Alfonso el Sabio, the *Libro de Alexandre*, and in the *Sumas de Historia Trojana* written in the fourteenth century by the otherwise unknown Leomarte. <sup>8</sup> The latter wrote: "some stories say that Achilles as he entered the temple reached the sanctuary before anyone appeared and started to pray and that Paris killed Achilles by a poisoned arrow through the sole of the foot". <sup>9</sup> But the story was not limited to Spanish medieval legends: in the commentary to the French edition of the supplement which Philostratus Minor had added to his grandfather's *Imagines*, Blaise de Vigenère wrote that "Boccace en sa genealogie des Dieux... met que s'estant mis a genoux devant l'autel pour faire sa prière, Paris qui estoit caché en aguet luy tira droit un coup de flesche à la plante du pied, dont il expira sur le champ". <sup>10</sup> Although Boccaccio does not give this version of the legend, at least not in the Latin and Italian editions available to this writer, De Vigenère's text indicates that Rubens's version of this motif was part of a literary tradition.

The wreaths crowning the heads of Ulysses (?) and the priest may have been placed there by Rubens in reference to the planned marriage ceremony, although in that case Achilles should have had a wreath as well. Philostratus Minor wrote that "Achilles was not killed in full armour, when he prepared himself for the wedding: and a garland was placed on his head, as in the case of a newly wed". <sup>11</sup>

The triangular altar at which Achilles intended to pray is similar in its shape and its decorations to the one in the painting *Mucius Scaevola before Por-senna*, designed by Rubens more than ten years previously (Budapest, Museum).<sup>12</sup>

A painting of the same subject by Erasmus Quellinus was listed by G. Hoet and P. Terwesten.<sup>13</sup> Its present location, unfortunately, is not known.

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, XIX, 416, 417.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, XXII, 358–360.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 86, under No. (17).

<sup>4</sup> "... qui [Achilles] cum amatam Polyxenam, ut in templo acciperet, statuisset; insidiis Paradis post simulacrum latentis occisus est. Unde & fingitur quod tenente Apolline, Pari direxit tela: & bene direxit quasi ad solum vulnerabilem locum"; Servius Grammaticus, *P. Virgilii Maronis Opera, cum Servii ... Commentariis ...*, Venice, 1542, ad *Aeneid*, VI, 57 ff. Servius's Commentary was first established as a source of Rubens by Silberman, 1962, and by Cocke, 1971, from which the above quotation; neither refer to the later reception of Servius's text.

<sup>5</sup> "Quo dolore commota Hecuba, superstitionibus timens & patriae, si longum vivat Achilles, astu foemineo insidias in vitam eius tetendit. Noverat autem eum Polyxenam diligere, eo quod illi induciarum tempore visa placuisset, & iccirco per intermedium sponndit illi nuptias suas, si à praeliis abstineret. Cui cum assensisset Achilles, in talem compositionem irum est, ut clam solus nocte veniret in templum Tymbrei Apollinis, quod ferè secus muros Illi erat, & ibidem eam cum filia inveniret, eamque desponsaret. Quod amans, & cupiens Achilles credens iuxta compositum inermis, & solus nocte templum intravit. In quem evestigio Paris insidiis prosiliens, cum esset arcu doctissimus sagitta eius calcaneum petit atque vulneravit, eumque ..." (Boccaccio, *De Genealogia Deorum*, ed. Micyllus, Basle, p. 308).

<sup>6</sup> Natale Conti [transl. by L. de Montlyard], *Mythologie ou explication des fables...*, Paris, 1627, p. 1013.

<sup>7</sup> *Id.*, *ibid.*, p. 1009.

<sup>8</sup> For these examples of this version of Achilles's death, cf. *Excidium Trojae*, ed. by E. B. Atwood and V. K. Whitaker, Cambridge, Mass., 1944, pp. XXXIV, XXXV, XL, XLVI, 66.

<sup>9</sup> Edited by A. Rey, in *Revista de Filologia Española*, XV, 1932, p. 247.

<sup>10</sup> *La Suite de Philostrate*, in *Les Images ou tableaux de platte peinture des deux Philostrates ... Mis en Français par Blaise de Vigenère...*, Paris, 1614, p. 827.

<sup>11</sup> In the same French translation, Paris, 1614, p. 821: "Car il ne fut pas mis à mort estant équipé de ses armes, ains[i] en pourpoint, comme il se cuidoit aller fiancer : & lui mit-on une guirlande sur la teste, ainsi qu'à un nouveau marié".

<sup>12</sup> See also above, p. 119.

<sup>13</sup> *Catalogus of naamlijst van schilderijen met derzelver prijzen*, III, The Hague, 1770, p. 92, No. 67.

8a. THE DEATH OF ACHILLES: OIL SKETCH (Figs. 74, 77, 79, 81)

Oil on panel; 44 : 45.5 cm.—*Verso*: the brand (Fig. 93) of the panel maker Michiel Vriendt (MV).

*Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*. Inv. No. 1760e.

PROVENANCE: Daniel Fourment, Antwerp, until June 1643; ? Jean-Henry Gobelinus, Brussels, until July 1681; Joan Baptista Anthoine, Antwerp, until March 1691; Richard Mead, London, by 1724, until 1654; Fulk Greville, until 1794; John Smith-Barry, Marbury Hall, Northwich, Cheshire, by 1814; A.H. Smith-Barry; Lord Barrymore, sale, London (Sotheby's), 21 June 1933, lot 33 (repr.); Goudstikker, Amsterdam; presented by D.G. van Beuningen to the Museum in 1933.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 48 : 48 cm.; prov.: Rome, Palazzo Barberini, 1798; Paris, J.-P. Collot, sale, Paris (Drouot), 29 March 1855, lot 20, No. 7 (as *Rubens*); lit.: *Collot, 1852*, pp. 45–49 (as *Rubens*); C. Blanc, *Le trésor de la curiosité*, II, Paris, 1857, p. 508; *Rooses*, III, pp. 42, 43, No. 564<sup>bis</sup>; (2) Painting, Norfolk, Sir Edmund Bacon; paper on canvas, 46 : 47 cm. (Fig. 76); (3) Painting, Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, No. 785A; canvas, 45 : 45.5 cm.; prov.: A. Thiem; acquired from the latter, 1904; lit.: H. Posse, *Die Gemäldegalerie des Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums*, II, Berlin, 1911, p. 344, No. 785A, repr.; *K.d.K.*, pp. 229, 464 (as *Studio copy*); *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Gemälde im Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum und Deutschen Museum*, Berlin, 1931, No. 785A; (4) Drawing, whereabouts unknown; pen and brown ink, with brown wash, heightened with white, on blue-green paper, 170 : 170 mm.; prov.: Duval, sale, Amsterdam (Muller), 22–23 June 1910, lot 322 (as *Rubens*), purchased by Rijkens; (5) Etching by Franz Ertinger, 1679 (Fig. 83; *V.S.*, p. 218, No. 15, 8); (6) Etching by Bernard Baron, 1724 (Fig. 84; *V.S.*, p. 218, under No. 16).

EXHIBITED: *Manchester*, 1857, No. 563 (provisional catalogue, No. 571); *Dublin*, 1872, No. 137; *London*, 1879, No. 154; *London*, 1899–1900, No. 116; *London*, 1909–10, No. 24; *London*, 1912, No. 13; National Gallery, Edinburgh, 1933; *Amsterdam*, 1933, No. 23; *Brussels*, 1937, No. 87a; *Rotterdam*, 1953–54, No. 69; *Anvers, ville de Plantin et de Rubens*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1954, No. 406; *Braunschweig*, 1956, No. 4 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Catalogue Marbury Hall*, 1814, [p. 1], No. 7; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 253, No. 856 (from the etchings by Ertinger and Baron); *Van Hasselt*, p. 291, No. 649; *Hannema*, 1933, p. 4, repr.; *Van Puyvelde, Skizzen*, pp. 40, 41; *Haverkamp Begemann*, 1953, p. 83, No. 69; *Seilern*, pp. 58, 59, fig. 32; J.Q. van Regteren Altena, in *Openbaar Kunstbezit*, II, 1958, No. 17, repr.; *Rotterdam, Cat.* 1962, No. 1760e; *Stechow*, 1965, fig. 4; *d'Hulst*, 1968, p. 103, No. 26, fig. 36; *Cocke*, 1971, fig. 52.

Entirely executed by Rubens. The artist paid much attention to detail, in the figures as well as the setting, and also in the borders including the terminal figures. The preliminary drawing in black is visible in many areas. This under-drawing in the terminal figure of Venus and its pedestal at the left indicates that Rubens first had planned the term of Apollo with the snake on this side before placing it at the right. A narrow blank margin borders the scenes on all sides.

Painted on two horizontal boards; no damage along the joint. The entire sketch is in excellent condition.

**8b. THE DEATH OF ACHILLES: MODELLO (Figs. 75, 78, 80, 82)**

Oil on panel; 107 : 108 cm.

*London, Collection of Count Antoine Seilern.*

PROVENANCE: ? Daniel Fourment, Antwerp, until June 1643; ? Peter Fourment, Antwerp, until 28 April 1653; ? Gerard van der Strecken, Jan van Leefdael, Hendrick Lenaerts, Brussels; ? Kings of Spain; Dukes of Infantado, Madrid (Inventory Pastrana, 1753-1800 as [*Un Asunto*] de *Mucio Excebol*a), until 27 November 1841; Duke of Osuna, Madrid; Marquess of Salamanca, Madrid, first sale, Paris (Pilet, Le Roy, Febvre), 3-6 June 1867, lot 106, purchased by Gonzales, and second sale, Paris (Drouot), 25-26 January 1875, lot 68; A. Dreyfus, sale, Paris (Georges Petit), 29 May 1889, lot 110; Vicomte de Lyrot, Paris.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, III, p. 40 (as *Van Thulden, retouched by Rubens*); V, p. 334; *Lafond*, 1902, p. 236 (as *Rubens*); *Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 79; *Lafond* 1909-10; *Burchard*, 1950, p. 16, under No. 13 (as *Rubens*); *Haverkamp Begemann*, 1953, p. 83, under No. 69; *Seilern*, pp. 58, 59, 61, No. 32, pls. LXX-LXXIII; C. Norris, [Review of *Seilern*], *The Burlington Magazine*, xcvi, 1955, p. 397; *d'Hulst*, 1968, p. 103, under No. 26; [A. Seilern], *Corrigenda and Addenda to the Catalogue of Paintings and Drawings at 56 Princes Gate London S.W.7*, London, 1971, p. 29.

The main difference between this modello and the oil sketch (No. 8a; Figs. 74, 77, 79, 81) is found in the legs of the putti holding the garlands at the top. The putto at the right has received two new legs (the one he had in the sketch was first introduced in the modello but subsequently painted out), the one at the left received one leg in addition to the one he already had in the sketch.





The visible surface seems to have been painted almost entirely by Rubens, presumably over the work of his assistant. Only in the architectural elements below the terminal figures, in the capitals above them, and in the cartouche the assistant's work seems visible. Some minor pentimenti can be seen: a foot of the putto to the right protruding under the garland was painted out; the term at the right was broader towards the left from the shoulder down as far as the protruding border of her garment; Achilles's shoulder under the priest's hand first was larger; the bends in Paris's bow were shallower and the bow was shorter towards the top.

Painted on four horizontal boards.

8c. THE DEATH OF ACHILLES: CARTOON

? Body colour on paper; approximately 400 : 390 cm.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

PROVENANCE: Daniel Fourment, Antwerp, until June 1643; Peter Fourment, Antwerp, until 28 April 1653; Gerard van der Strecken, Jan van Leefdael, Hendrick Lenaerts, Brussels, at least until 1660; presumably lost at sea between 1671 and 1675, during transport to Spain.

ADDENDUM

After this catalogue had been set, three drawings in Christ Church, Oxford, were brought to my attention by Mrs. A.-M. Logan. They are copies in red chalk, squared in red chalk and traced for transfer, of *Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes* (no. 1795; 390 : 578 mm.; no. 1381 of the forthcoming catalogue of drawings at Christ Church by J. Byam Shaw), *The Wrath of Achilles* (no. 1794; 392 : 405 mm.; Byam Shaw no. 1380), and of *Achilles Vanquishing Hector* (no. 1793; 388 : 458 mm.; Byam Shaw no. 1379). It remains to be established for what purpose these copies after the oil sketches were made.

## INDEX I : COLLECTIONS

This index lists all the extant tapestries, modelli and oil sketches made by Rubens, his assistants and tapestry weavers for the Achilles Series. Copies after the modelli and oil sketches have also been included. The works are listed alphabetically according to place.

### ANTWERP, RUBENSHUIS

- G. Peemans, tapestry after Rubens :  
The Death of Achilles, Cat. 8, 135,  
fig. 73

### ANTWERP, FIRM N.V. DE SCHUTTER

- Anonymous, tapestry after Rubens :  
Achilles Discovered among the Daugh-  
ters of Lycomedes, Cat. 3, 104

### ANTWERP, TOWN HALL

- J. van Leefdael, tapestry after Rubens :  
Achilles Discovered among the Daugh-  
ters of Lycomedes, Cat. 3, 104

### ARNHEM, GEMEENTEMUSEUM

- J. Raes, tapestry after Rubens :  
The Wrath of Achilles, Cat. 5, 75,  
117, fig. 43

### BERLIN-DAHLEM, STAATLICHE MUSEEN

- Anonymous, painting after Rubens :  
The Death of Achilles, Cat. 8a, 139

### BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

- J. van Leefdael, tapestry after Rubens :  
The Wrath of Achilles, Cat. 15, 117,  
fig. 41

### BRUSSELS, MUSÉES ROYAUX D'ART ET D'HIS- TOIRE

- ? F. Raes, tapestry after Rubens :  
Achilles Dipped into the River Styx,  
Cat. 1, 88

- ? F. Raes, tapestry after Rubens :  
Achilles Instructed by Chiron, Cat. 2,  
88, fig. 10

- ? F. Raes, tapestry after Rubens :  
The Wrath of Achilles, Cat. 5, 88,  
fig. 42

- ? F. Raes, tapestry after Rubens :  
Briseis Restored to Achilles, Cat. 6,  
88

- ? F. Raes, tapestry after Rubens :  
The Death of Achilles, Cat. 8, 88

### BUDAPEST, SZÉPMŰVÉSZETI MÚZEUM

- Anonymous, painting after Rubens :  
Briseis Restored to Achilles, Cat. 6b,  
128

### DETROIT, THE DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS

- Rubens, oil sketch :  
Briseis Restored to Achilles, Cat. 6a,  
50, 51, 55, 123, 126-129, figs. 54,  
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### GÖTTINGEN, KUNSTSAMMLUNG DER UNI- VERSITÄT

- Anonymous, painting after Rubens :  
Achilles Discovered among the Daugh-  
ters of Lycomedes, Cat. 3a, 108

- Anonymous, painting after Rubens :  
Briseis Restored to Achilles, Cat. 6a,  
126, 127

### HELMSLEY, YORKSHIRE, NUNNINGTON HALL

- Anonymous, tapestry after Rubens :  
Achilles Dipped into the River Styx,  
Cat. 1, 90

- Anonymous, tapestry after Rubens :  
Achilles Discovered among the Daugh-  
ters of Lycomedes, Cat. 3, 90, fig.  
20

- Anonymous, tapestry after Rubens :  
The Wrath of Achilles, Cat. 5, 90

### JEREZ DE LA FRONTERA, PRIVATE COL- LECTION

- ? J. van Leefdael, tapestry after Rubens :  
Achilles Discovered among the Daugh-  
ters of Lycomedes, Cat. 3, 87

- ? J. van Leefdael, tapestry after Rubens :  
Briseis Restored to Achilles, Cat. 6, 87

- ? J. van Leefdael, tapestry after Rubens :  
The Death of Achilles, Cat. 8, 87

### JERUSALEM, BEZALEL ART MUSEUM

- Anonymous, painting after Rubens :  
Briseis Restored to Achilles, Cat. 6a,  
127

### KASSEL, STAATLICHE KUNSTSAMMLUNGEN

- J. Van Leefdael, tapestry after Rubens :  
Achilles Vanquishing Hector, Cat. 7,  
86, figs. 60, 61

- G. van der Strecken, tapestry after Ru-  
bens :

## COLLECTIONS

- The Death of Achilles, Cat. 8, 86, 135
- G. van der Strecken and/or J. van Leefdael, tapestry after Rubens :  
The Wrath of Achilles, Cat. 5, 86
- LONDON, H. M. CALMANN  
Anonymous, drawing after Rubens :  
Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes, Cat. 3b, 110
- LONDON, LADY MILLER  
Anonymous, tapestry after Rubens :  
Achilles Instructed by Chimon, Cat. 2, 98
- LONDON, COUNT ANTOINE SEILERN  
Rubens and assistant, modello :  
The Wrath of Achilles, Cat. 5b, 52, 54, 57, 59, 63, 65, 66, 121, 122, figs. 47, 49  
Rubens and assistant, modello :  
The Death of Achilles, Cat. 8b, 57, 59, 63, 65, 66, 140, 141, figs. 75, 78, 80, 82
- LOS ANGELES, LOUIS A. WARCHAW  
Anonymous, painting after Rubens :  
Achilles Instructed by Chiron, Cat. 2b, 103
- LUND, I. G. BRUSZT  
Anonymous, painting after Rubens :  
Achilles Dipped into the River Styx, Cat. 1b, 97
- MADRID, PRADO  
Rubens and assistant, modello :  
Achilles Instructed by Chiron, Cat. 2b, 57, 59, 64-66, 103, 104, figs. 14, 16  
Rubens and assistant, modello :  
Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes, Cat. 3b, 41, 52, 54, 57-59, 64-66, 109-111, figs. 23, 25, 26  
Rubens and assistant, modello :  
Briseis Restored to Achilles, Cat. 6b, 57, 59, 64-66, 123, 128, 129, figs. 55, 57
- MUGSWELL, SURREY, H. J. HYAMS  
? Rubens, painting :  
Thetis Receiving Armour for Achilles from Hephaestus, Cat. 4b, 114, 115, fig. 32
- NORFOLK, SIR EDMUND BACON  
Anonymous, painting after Rubens :  
The Wrath of Achilles, Cat. 5a, 51, 120  
Anonymous, painting after Rubens :  
Briseis Restored to Achilles, Cat. 6a, 51, 126  
Anonymous, painting after Rubens :  
Achilles Vanquishing Hector, Cat. 7a, 51, 132  
Anonymous, painting after Rubens :  
The Death of Achilles, Cat. 8a, 51, 139, fig. 76
- NOVI SAD, GRADSKI MUZEJ  
Anonymous, painting after Rubens :  
Thetis Receiving Armour for Achilles from Hephaestus, Cat. 4c, 116
- OSLO, NASJONALGALLERIET  
Anonymous, drawing after Rubens :  
The Wrath of Achilles, Cat. 5a, 120
- OXFORD, CHRIST CHURCH COLLEGE  
Anonymous, drawing after Rubens :  
Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes, Cat. 3a, 141  
Anonymous, drawing after Rubens :  
The Wrath of Achilles, Cat. 5a, 141  
Anonymous, drawing after Rubens :  
Achilles Vanquishing Hector, Cat. 7a, 141
- PARIS, MUSÉE DU LOUVRE, CABINET DES DESSINS  
Anonymous, drawing after Rubens :  
Achilles Instructed by Chiron, Cat. 2a, 102
- PAU, MUSÉE DES BEAUX-ARTS  
Rubens and assistant, modello :  
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Rubens and assistant, modello :  
Achilles Vanquishing Hector, Cat. 7b, 52, 57-59, 63, 64, 66, 130, 131, 133, 134, figs. 63, 65, 67, 69

## COLLECTIONS

- PHILADELPHIA, THE PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM OF ART  
 Anonymous, tapestry after Rubens :  
 Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes, Cat. 3a, 108
- RABY CASTLE  
 Anonymous, tapestry after Rubens :  
 Briseis Restored to Achilles, Cat. 6, 123
- ROME, DEL DRAGO  
 Anonymous, tapestry after Rubens :  
 The Death of Achilles, Cat. 8, 135
- ROTTERDAM, MUSEUM BOYMANS-VAN BEUNINGEN  
 Rubens, oil sketch :  
 Achilles Dipped into the River Styx, Cat. 1a, 45, 46, 95-98, fig. 2  
 Rubens, oil sketch :  
 Achilles Instructed by Chiron, Cat. 2a, 45, 50, 102, 103, figs. 13, 15  
 Rubens, oil sketch :  
 Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes, Cat. 3a, 43, 45, 50-52, 54, 55, 108-110, figs. 22, 24  
 Rubens, oil sketch :  
 Thetis Receiving Armour for Achilles from Hephaestus, Cat. 4a, 18, 42, 45, 50, 114-116, figs. 31, 33, 35, 37  
 Rubens, oil sketch :  
 The Wrath of Achilles, Cat. 5a, 18, 45, 52-54, 119-122, figs. 44, 46, 48  
 Rubens, oil sketch :  
 Achilles Vanquishing Hector, Cat. 7a, 19, 42, 45, 46, 52, 53, 131-134, figs. 62, 64, 66, 68  
 Rubens, oil sketch :  
 The Death of Achilles, Cat. 8a, 18, 19, 45, 139, 140, figs. 74, 77, 79, 81
- SAN FRANCISCO, M. H. DE YOUNG MEMORIAL MUSEUM  
 J. van Leefdael, tapestry after Rubens :  
 Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes, Cat. 3, 104
- SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA, PRIVATE COLLECTION  
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens :  
 Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes, Cat. 3a, 108
- SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA, CATHEDRAL  
 J. Raes, tapestry after Rubens :  
 Achilles Dipped into the River Styx, Cat. 1, 87, fig. 1  
 J. Raes, tapestry after Rubens :  
 Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes, Cat. 3, 87  
 J. Raes, tapestry after Rubens :  
 Thetis Receiving Armour for Achilles from Hephaestus, Cat. 4, 87  
 J. Raes, tapestry after Rubens :  
 The Wrath of Achilles, Cat. 5, 87
- SARASOTA, FLORIDA, THE JOHN AND MABLE RINGLING MUSEUM OF ART  
 Rubens and assistant, modello :  
 Achilles Dipped into the River Styx, Cat. 1b, 57-59, 64, 96-98, figs. 3-7  
 ? J. van Leefdael and/or G. van der Strecken, tapestry after Rubens :  
 Thetis Receiving Armour for Achilles from Hephaestus, Cat. 4, 111
- SYRACUSE, NEW YORK, THE SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY COLLECTION  
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens :  
 Briseis Restored to Achilles, Cat. 6a, 126
- TURIN, PALAZZO REALE  
 F. Raes, tapestry after Rubens :  
 Achilles Instructed by Chiron, Cat. 2, 87  
 F. Raes, tapestry after Rubens :  
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### CORRIGENDUM

The inventory numbers of the Christ Church drawings mentioned in the *Addendum* on p. 141 are wrong : for "1381" read "1379", for "1380" read "1381", and for "1379" read "1380".

# PLATES





1. J. Raes, *Achilles Dipped into the River Styx*, tapestry (No. 1). Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral



2. Rubens, *Achilles Dipped into the River Styx*, oil sketch (No. 1a).

Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen

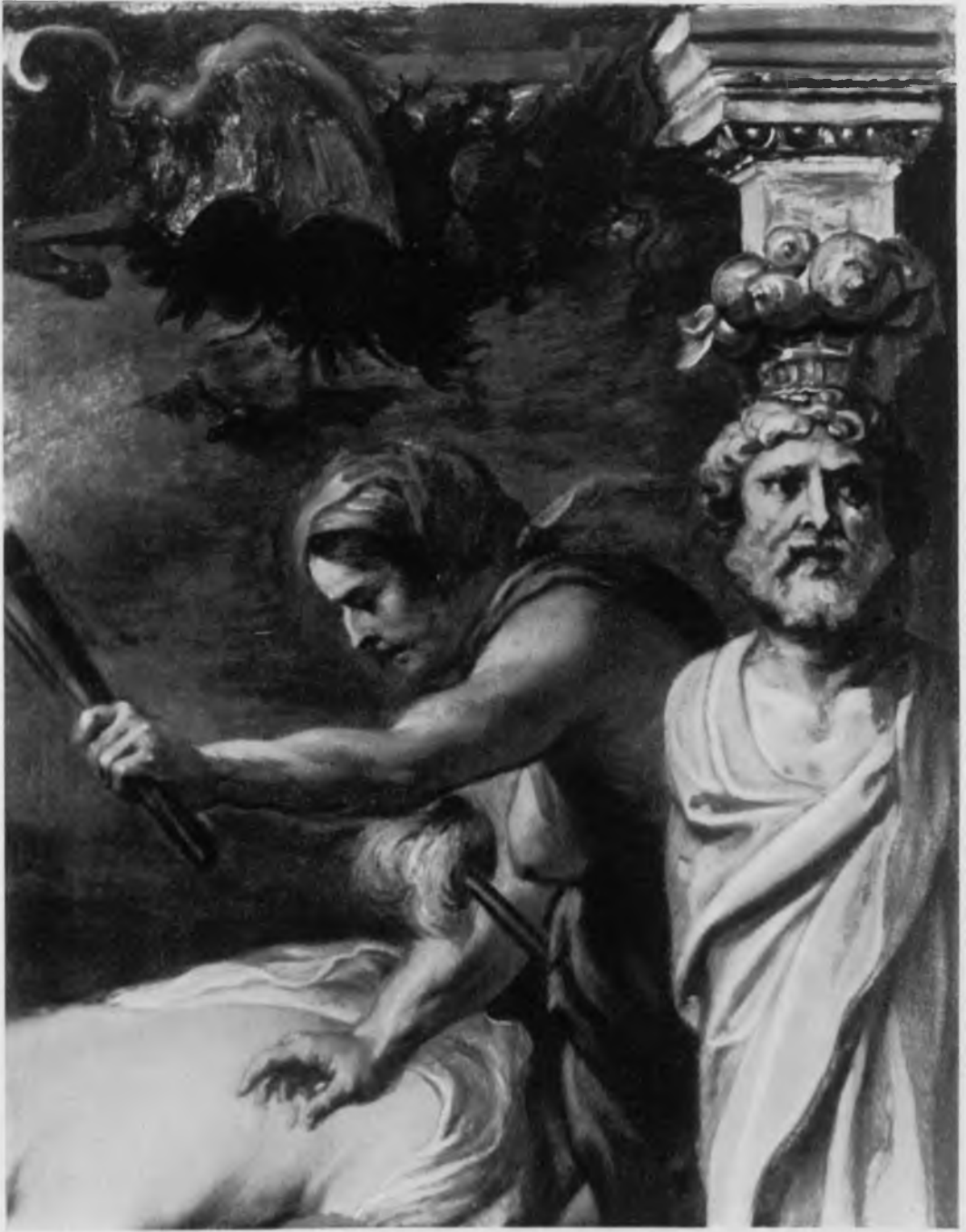


3. Rubens and Assistant, *Achilles Dipped into the River Styx*, modello (No. 1b).  
Sarasota, The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art



4. Detail of Fig. 3





5. Detail of Fig. 3



6. Detail of Fig. 3



7. Detail of Fig. 3



8. F. Ertinger, *Achilles Dipped into the River Styx*, etching (No. 1a)





10. ? F. Raes, *Achilles Instructed by Chiron*, tapestry (No. 2).

Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire





11. Detail of Fig. 10



12. Detail of Fig. 10



13. Rubens, *Achilles Instructed by Chiron*, oil sketch (No. 2a).  
Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen





14. Rubens and Assistant, *Achilles Instructed by Chiron*, modello (No. 2b). Madrid, Prado



15. Detail of Fig. 13



16. Detail of Fig. 14



17. F. Ertinger, *Achilles Instructed by Chiron*, etching (No. 2a)





19. D. Eggermans, *Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes*, tapestry (No. 3). Vila Viçosa, Paço Ducal





20. *Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes*, tapestry (No. 3).  
Helmsley, Nunnington Hall



21. Rubens, *Title-Page for F. Aguilonius, Opticorum libri sex*, drawing.  
London, British Museum



22. Rubens, *Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes*, oil sketch (No. 3a).

Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen





23. Rubens and Assiſtant, *Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes*, modello (No. 3b). Madrid, Prado



24. Detail of Fig. 22



25. Detail of Fig. 23



26. Detail of Fig. 23



27. F. Ertinger, *Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes*. etching (No. 3a)



ACHILLES DETECTUS.

Achilles inter Lycomedis natus, sub puellarum cultu latens, ab Ulysses detectus. In diversis vasis suppellectilis mulieribus parum parum, virtutisquam Ulysses etiam admittit necesse genere: hoc statim arripuit, admodum levia speculorum, unaqueque aliquid secum ferens, quod sibi magis placere, ille virginitate obliqua, unaqueque, quae quae induit, Ulysses interim, aditans raris, suum dolum non caruisse, hoc est, suum triumphum, opus vigilans, in altissimis, vituperis, et nocentia, utriusque, depone, in dicitur.

ACHILLES DISCOVERED.

Achilles, long unknown in disguise, is discovered by Ulysses among the daughters of Lycomedes, till Ulysses found him out, who among several women's toys had privately seen of it, and which he afterwards took upon a necklace another, a staff, such some thing which she valued most. He, to the great amazement of them all, chanced out a helmet, and put it on his head. Ulysses silently applauds himself upon this discovery; whose multiplicity of cunning are represented on each side of a picture by an Owl, &c. for

28. B. Baron, Achilles Discovered among the Daughters of Lycomedes, etching (No 3a)





29. D. Eggermans, *Thetis Receiving Armour for Achilles from Hephaestus*, tapestry (No. 4).  
Vila Viçosa, Paço Ducal



30. Rubens and Assistant, *Thetis Receiving Armour for Achilles from Hephaestus*, modello (No. 4c).  
Pau, Musée des Beaux-Arts



31. Rubens, *Thetis Receiving Armour for Achilles from Hephaestus*, oil sketch (No. 4a).

Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen





32. After Rubens, *Thetis Receiving Armour for Achilles from Hephaestus* (No 4b).

Mugswell, Surrey, Coll. H.J. Hyams



33. Detail of Fig. 31



34. Detail of Fig. 30



35. Detail of Fig. 31



36. Detail of Fig. 30



37. Detail of Fig. 31





38. Detail of Fig. 30



39. F. Ertinger, *Thetis Receiving Armour for Achilles from Hephaestus*, etching (No. 4a)





ACHILLES ARMED.

Thetis armaturam ipsam a Vulcanus in laboribus hinc creavit, impetraverat Achilli gerendam recipi. Columna altera Jovis alicuius filium, amullem altera Junonem pavorem filio. Fabulae in hanc Art. in laboribus cum operibus adhibentibus, et Capite delectans et TRITONI galeam peripetis amant in eis reliquias, et genus fabulis impellex cunctis oro.

ACHILLES ARMED.

Thetis armaturam ipsam Vulcanus in laboribus hinc creavit, impetraverat Achilli gerendam recipi. Columna altera Jovis alicuius filium, amullem altera Junonem pavorem filio. Fabulae in hanc Art. in laboribus cum operibus adhibentibus, et Capite delectans et TRITONI galeam peripetis amant in eis reliquias, et genus fabulis impellex cunctis oro.

40. B. Baron, *Thetis Receiving Armour for Achilles from Hephaestus*, etching (No. 4a)



41. J. van Leefdael, *The Wrath of Achilles*, tapestry (No. 5). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts



42. ? F. Raes, *The Wrath of Achilles*, tapestry (No. 5). Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire



43. J. Raes, *The Wrath of Achilles*, tapestry (No. 5). Arnhem, Gemeentemuseum



44. Detail of Fig. 46



45. Detail of Fig. 47



46. Rubens, *The Wrath of Achilles*, oil sketch (No. 5a).

Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen





47. Rubens and Assistant, *The Wrath of Achilles* modello (No. 5b). London, Coll. Count Seilern



48. Detail of Fig. 46





49. Detail of Fig. 47



50. F. Ertinger, *The Wrath of Achilles*, etching (No. 5a)





52. D. Eggermans, *Briseis Restored to Achilles*, tapestry (No. 6). Vila Viçosa, Paço Ducal



53. G. van der Strecken, *Briseis Restored to Achilles*, tapestry (No. 6). Present whereabouts unknown



54. Rubens, *Briseis Restored to Achilles*, oil sketch (No. 6a). Detroit, The Detroit Institute of Arts





55. Rubens and Assistant, *Briseis Restored to Achilles*, modello (No. 6b). Madrid, Prado



56. Detail of Fig. 54





57. Detail of Fig. 55



58. F. Ertinger, *Briseis Restored to Achilles*, etching (No. 6a)



ACHILLES PACATUS.

Achilles occisum Patroclum delecta et amicum Briseidem tibi multis etiam muneribus celsissimum accipit. Quapropter Graeci et Argentinorum conciliatus, bella secesserunt, et amicitiam castam ululati flant. Columnis imaginis Amantiae et Menestri hinc inde adpunguntur Tabulae plantarum Achillis renorium Graecorumque clavis, unum, Caduceus et ramus oleaginis inter hinc et inde ornantur, exornant.

ACHILLES RECONCILED.

Achilles having avenged the death of Patroclus is reconciled to his beloved Briseis with many presents. Achilles being reconciled to the Greeks & Argentinians the wars are ceased the murd'rs of his friend. On one pillar is the picture of Amantia, on the other that of Menestri, in middle Achilles's tent is the Grecian fleet, at the bottom, a Caduceus and an olive branch between two. Cornu-copia's



60. J. van Leefdael, *Achilles Vanquishing Hector*, tapestry (No. 7). Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen



61. Detail of Fig. 60



62. Rubens, *Achilles Vanquishing Hector*, oil sketch (No. 7a). Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen





63. Rubens and Assiřtant, *Achilles Vanquishing Hector*, modello (No. 7b). Pau, Musée des Beaux-Arts



64. Detail of Fig. 62





65. Detail of Fig. 63



66. Detail of Fig. 62



67. Detail of Fig. 63



68. Detail of Fig. 62



69. Detail of Fig. 63



70. F. Ertinger, *Achilles Vanquishing Hector*, etching (No. 7a)





*W. B. Baron Pinx.*

**ACHILLES ULTOR.**

Achilles Patrocli ultor, Minerva profecto, Hectoris hasta  
 trucidat; Trojans hinc percussis, inde Graecis plaudentibus  
 Minervam sua comitantur acrius, Mars ab hac parte galea  
 videns et gladio cineris, Heracles ab illa, amictus Leonina  
 pelle cum clava spargitur.

*W. B. Baron Sculpit. Lith.*

**ACHILLES REVENGING.**

Achilles under the protection of Pallas, slays Hector through  
 and avenges Patroclus's death. The Trojans are amazed, the  
 Greeks all by victory. Minerva is seen attended by her bird upon  
 the left; Mars with his helmet & spear, on the other; Heracles with  
 his lion's skin and club.

71. B. Baron, *Achilles Vanquishing Hector*, etching (No. 7a)



72. D. Eggermans, *The Death of Achilles*, tapestry (No. 8). Vila Viçosa, Paço Ducal





73. G. Peemans, *The Death of Achilles*, tapestry (No. 8). Antwerp, Rubenshuis



74. Rubens, *The Death of Achilles*, oil sketch (No. 8a).

Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen



75. Rubens and Assistant, *The Death of Achilles*, modello (No. 8b). London, Coll. Count Seilern



76. After Rubens, *The Death of Achilles* (No. 8a). Norwich, Coll. Sir Edmund Bacon



77. Detail of Fig. 74



78. Detail of Fig. 75



79. Detail of Fig. 74



80. Detail of Fig. 75





81. Detail of Fig. 74



82. Detail of Fig. 75



83. F. Ertinger, *The Death of Achilles*, etching (No. 8a)



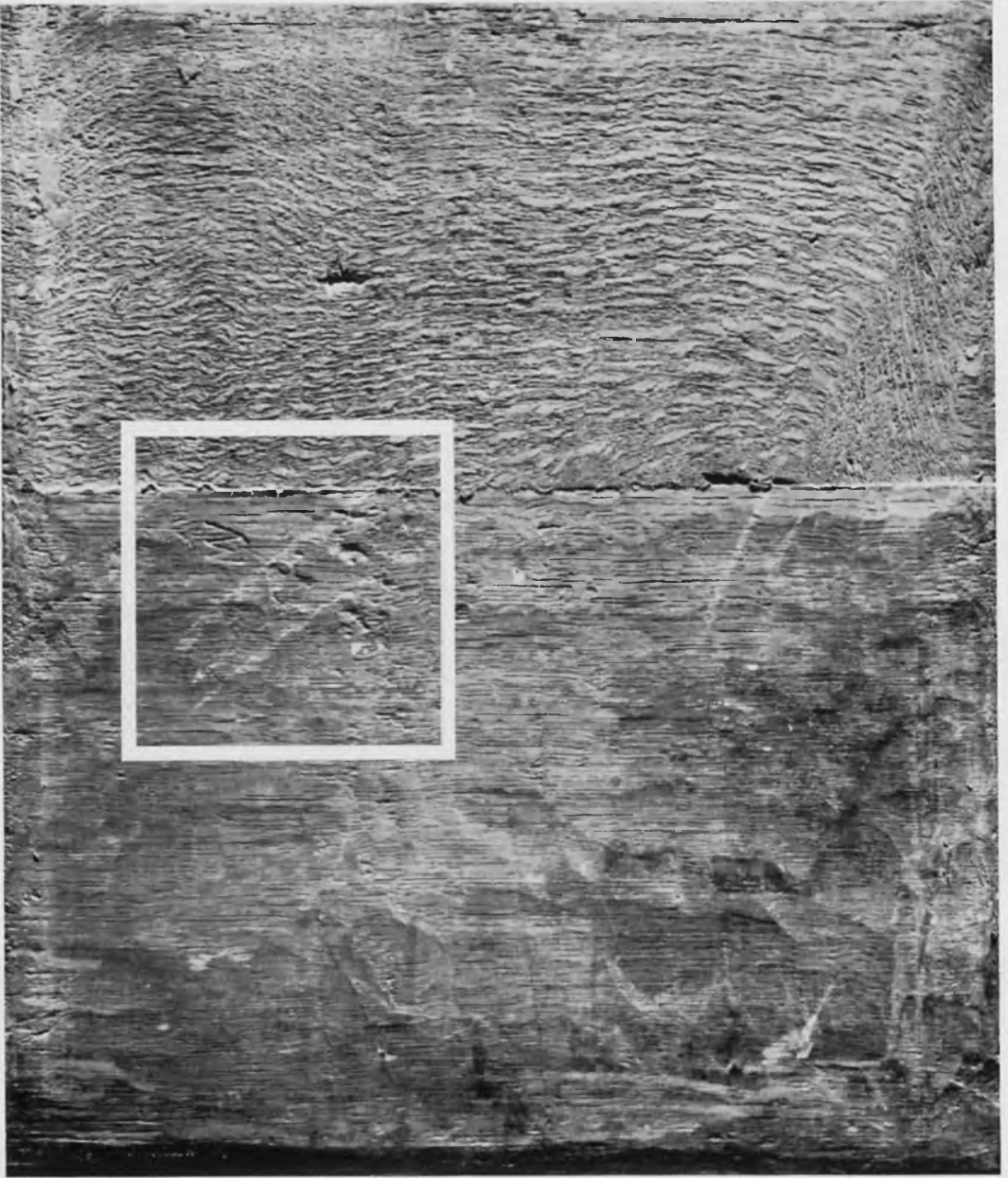




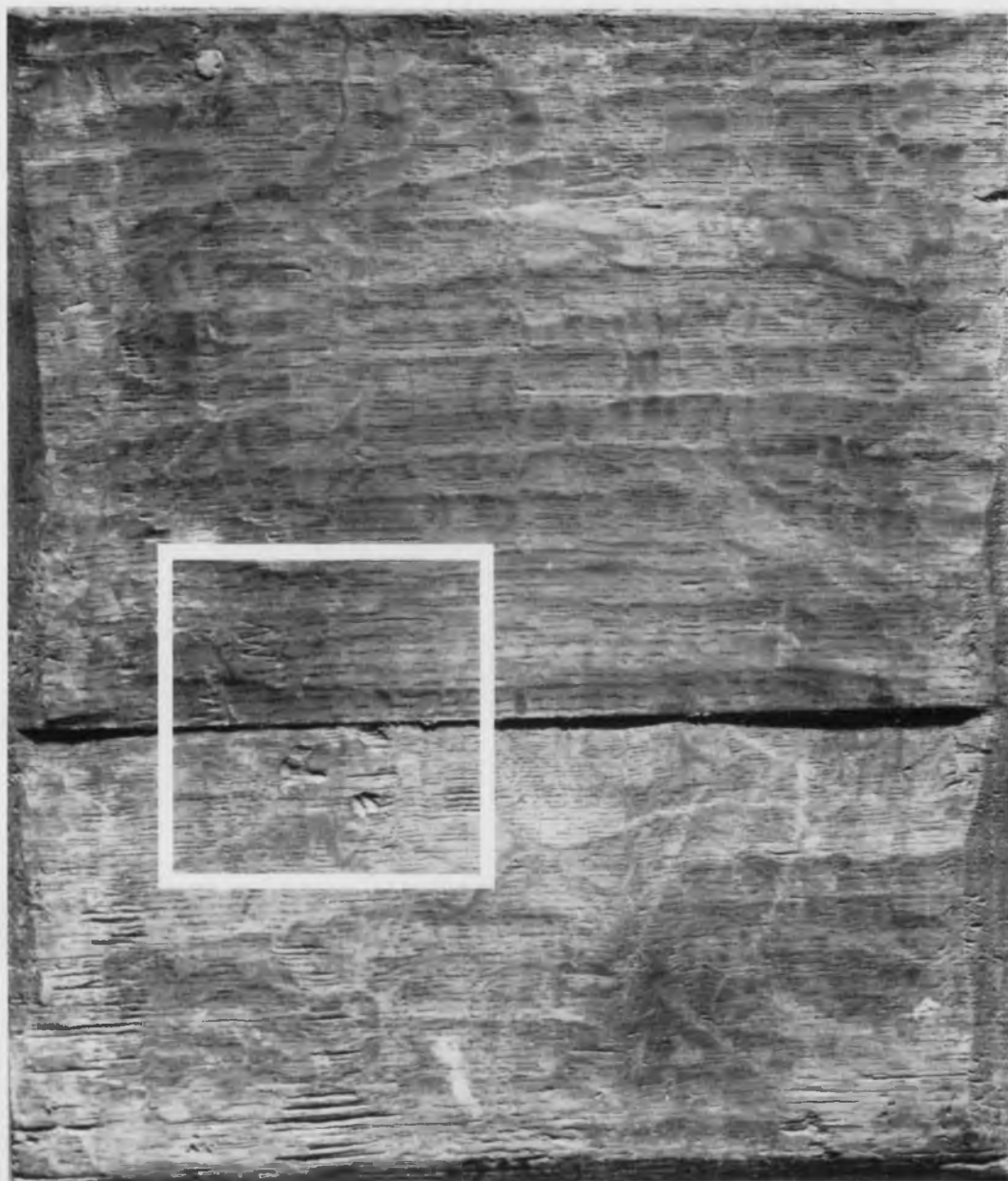
85. G. van der Strecken, *The Marriage Feast of Peleus and Thetis*, tapestry. Turin, Palazzo Carignano



86. G. van der Strecken, *Thetis Leading the Boy Achilles to the Oracle*, tapestry.  
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts



90. Verso of Fig. 2



91. Verso of Fig. 13