

CORPUS RUBENIANUM
LUDWIG BURCHARD
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SUBJECTS FROM HISTORY
IN TWO VOLUMES

- I TEXT & ILLUSTRATIONS
- II CATALOGUE & INDEXES

CORPUS RUBENIANUM
LUDWIG BURCHARD

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

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RUBENS SUBJECTS FROM HISTORY

BY ELIZABETH McGRATH

VOLUME I
TEXT & ILLUSTRATIONS

EDITED BY
ARNOUT BALIS



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CONTENTS

Author's Preface	page 7
Abbreviations	15
Introduction	
I Themes and Traditions	33
The Lessons of History (p. 33); Sacred and Secular History (p. 40); Sources of History (p. 43)	
II Rubens and his Books	55
III Morals and Meanings	68
Cassiodorus and the Sad Widower (p. 68) Decius Mus (p. 74); The Limits of Topical Reference (p. 81)	
IV The School of Philosophy	95
V Ovid and the <i>Art of Love</i>	113
Illustrations	133

For Emilie and Thomas McGrath

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THIS, THE THIRTEENTH PART of the *Corpus Rubenianum* Ludwig Burchard, is devoted to subjects from history. For the purposes of the catalogue these are taken to be illustrations of events (other than biblical and sacred) to which a specific date and location can be assigned, and which are recorded by some historical authority. The iconographic division of *History* is used for convenience, being already familiar from many *catalogues raisonnés*—notably, in the case of Rubens, the fundamental study (1886-92) by Max Rooses—rather than from any conviction that it encompasses one distinct category of Rubens's *oeuvre*. The question of how Rubens himself might have classed and distinguished some of the works included in the present book, and what 'historical' pictures—and history itself—meant for Rubens and his contemporaries, is considered in the introductory chapters which follow.

Rubens's great historical cycles (*Decius Mus*, *Constantine*, *Maria de' Medici*, *Henry IV*) are to be treated separately elsewhere. Thus, although some consideration is given in Volume I to Rubens's approach in devising such schemes (Chapter III), most of this book is devoted to individual compositions. In a few cases we know something of the patron or original context, as with the works designed for public buildings or palaces (for example Nos. 6, 42, 43, 46). Often, however, the intended recipient—if there was one—remains unknown. A number of Rubens's subjects belong within the tradition of exemplary stories, *exempla virtutis*. This helps to explain the preponderance of themes from ancient rather than post-classical history, for in Rubens's time it was the deeds of the Greeks and Romans that provided artists with the best historical 'examples'. *Rudolf of Hapsburg and the Priest* (No. 56; Fig. 214) is, however, a modern *exemplum*, painted for Philip IV. Interestingly too, it is presented with some humour, illustrating how an ostensibly moralizing subject did not always demand solemn treatment. A range of tone also characterizes Rubens's pictures of philosophers, from the almost saintly image of the dying Seneca (No. 54; Fig. 195) to the jocular *Diogenes seeking a True Man* (No. 12; Figs. 43, 44), a classical translation of a piece of Netherlandish proverbial wisdom, and the witty *Pythagoras advocating Vegetarianism* (No. 7; Fig. 31), which Rubens seems to have painted for his own house.

Consideration is given in the catalogue to two groups of works, both connected with tapestry cycles on the life of Romulus and both problematic.

Burchard had proposed Rubens as the author of a Romulus cycle recorded in several sets of seventeenth-century Flemish tapestries and a couple of sketches (Nos. 24-29). This series, however, does not seem to me to be the product of Rubens's invention. Burchard did not connect his proposed Romulus cycle with the sketches (Nos. 30-32) which actually constitute part of a quite different Romulus series. For he regarded these sketches as stories of Aeneas. The discovery of four cartoons (Figs. 83, 85, 88, 90) related to the sketches and (to date) two tapestries after the cartoons (Figs. 84, 94) has helped to confirm that the subject is indeed the story of Romulus. The question of the exact relationship of sketches to cartoons, which has exercised scholars over the last decade or so, remains unresolved; the arguments presented here suggest, however, that the designer of the cartoons was not the author of the sketches.

Of the other entries in the catalogue, none was unknown to Burchard, although the drawing of the *Fortitude of Scaevola* in the British Museum (No. 45; Fig. 161) was evidently not connected by him with Rubens, and the pictures listed here as Nos. 48 and 48b (Figs. 175, 176) were not definitely credited by him to Rubens's invention, as I consider they should be. But some works which I include, Burchard, like other scholars, classed under different subjects. The composition here entitled *The Seven Sages disputing over the Tripod* (No. 1; cf. Figs. 1-2), for example, was identified as *Paul and Barnabas at Lystra*, while the drawing of *Alcibiades interrupting the Symposium* (No. 11; Fig. 41) was called *The Triumphant Horatius* and that of the *Triumph of Alexander* (No. 16; Fig. 63) he thought of as *Triumphant Roma*. The drawing in Bayonne which is usually entitled *The Death of Creusa*, but which Burchard suggested might illustrate Portia, is identified here as *Nero contemplating the Corpse of Agrippina* (No. 53; Fig. 188). As for No. 13 (Fig. 51), Burchard called this *Sophonisba*; but, as most scholars now agree, the heroine is undoubtedly Artemisia.

Some themes I have defined more specifically than Burchard did: for example *Pythagoras advocating Vegetarianism* (No. 7; Fig. 31) and *The Vindication of Tuccia* (No. 51; Fig. 185). One subject, *St Ambrose and Theodosius* (No. 55; Fig. 204), should properly have been elsewhere, not because it has a new title but because the protagonist is not really the Emperor Theodosius, as Burchard thought, but rather Ambrose; indeed the painting was probably for an altarpiece dedicated to the saint. However, since this was realized only after the completion of *Saints* (Vol. VIII, 1 and 2), it remains, as a second-best, with Theodosius and with *History*.

Certain pictures which might have appeared here, under *History*, will be treated in other sections of the *Corpus Rubenianum: The Recognition of Philopoemen*, a large part of which is a giant still life, in *Genre, Still Life and Interiors* (XVII), *The Apotheosis of the Duke of Buckingham* in *Allegories* (XII). *Alexander wielding the Thunderbolt*, Rubens's 'reconstruction' of the ancient painting by Apelles, will be discussed under *Architecture* (XXII) along with the other decoration of Rubens's house, while *The Hunt of Alexander*, identified from copies by Arnout Balis, was included in his volume on *Hunting Scenes* (XVIII, 2). The depictions of Hapsburg marriages and of the voyage and victory of the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand from Rubens's decorations for the Entry of Ferdinand in 1635 featured in John Rupert Martin's book on the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* (XVI). A late editorial decision transferred the painting of *Mars and Rhea Silvia* and its preliminary sketch, both in Liechtenstein, to the forthcoming volume on the Decius Mus cycle (XIII, 2). The reason for the transfer was that tapestries based on the Liechtenstein composition were included from an early date (1625) in weavings of the Decius Mus series, and it was assumed that this could not have happened without Rubens's approval. Yet I am convinced that, even if Rubens indeed sanctioned the arrangement, he initially intended the scene of the seduction of Rhea Silvia to serve as the introduction to a Romulus cycle which for some reason was abandoned before 1625. Accordingly the composition is discussed at some length in the present book, in the fifth chapter of Volume I and in the remarks preliminary to the Romulus cycle; it is also relevant to No. 24, a design plainly derived from Rubens's Liechtenstein painting.

As for Rubens's political allegories, in some sense these are almost all historical; but normally a clear distinction can be drawn between scenes from history presented with some allegorical embellishment (cf. Nos. 42, 43, 44) and allegories about historical events. (Admittedly, Rubens himself confused these categories in the Medici cycle, but this can be considered something of a special case, connected with the artist's difficulties in dealing with the delicate political events from recent history which Maria de' Medici wanted him to portray.) Obviously too the paintings and drawings which are copies after the works of other artists belong to the volumes which will deal with *Copies*.

Inevitably, such divisions involve compromises, and sometimes rather academic distinctions. The accident of his celebration by a poet seems to have helped consign Aeneas to the category of myth in most modern catalogues and iconographic handbooks, and thus excludes him from the present book; whereas the supposedly historical Romulus (being principally

recorded in Livy and Plutarch) appears here. Yet, as will emerge, Rubens used Ovid's poetic versions of Romulus's story just as much as any historian's account. Indeed the genesis and treatment of Rubens's painting of the (mythical) *Rape of the Leucippides* (Fig. 125) is too closely linked to his compositions of the abduction of the Sabines to be omitted from consideration here, and is discussed in Chapter V of Volume I. Again, if Joan of Arc, today sanctified, was properly classed by Burchard as an historical character, Rubens's painting of her (No. 57; Fig. 221) only marginally qualifies as an historical scene rather than an idealized portrait—since it probably shows her praying on a specific occasion. In another case, a body of material which it might have been desirable to treat together has fallen into different categories. For while the *Death of Seneca* is catalogued here (Nos. 54, 54a, 54b), the copies after the ancient statue (dealt with in Vol. XXIII: *Copies after the Antique*) are not, nor are the illustrations to the volumes of Lipsius's edition of Seneca (included in *Book Illustrations and Title-pages*), nor the 'portraits' of Seneca (which will feature in Vol. XIX). That these images are obviously interconnected will be clear from my discussion of the *Death of Seneca* itself. Finally, the *Portrait of Seneca* in the Plantin-Moretus Museum (Fig. 200) actually shows the philosopher, blue-lipped, at the point of death, as in the 'historical' painting in Munich (No. 54; Fig. 195). But Burchard reasonably classed it with portraits of philosophers, since it was painted as the companion to a bust of *Plato* (*text ill.* 28).

The *Corpus Rubenianum* Ludwig Burchard accords a number to each individual composition by Rubens; preparatory designs have an associated number, designated by a suffix (a, b, etc.). Copies are grouped together in a list which is ordered by medium, and chronology. It has to be said that the complexities of the arrangements in Rubens's workshop occasionally put this scheme under something of a strain. Sometimes the designated original of a painting might be a work executed almost entirely by assistants (as in the case of No. 2, or No. 48); at other times a good studio replica, which may in fact have been sold by Rubens as an example of his work, finds itself simply listed among the copies, even if it features first in the list (see, for example, under No. 4, No. 13, No. 34 and No. 46 in the present book; see also No. 54). In such cases, the situation is clarified as far as possible in the text.

A basic principle of the *Corpus* is that all items which were accepted as works of Rubens by Burchard are accorded a catalogue number. In a few cases (e.g. No. 2a, Fig. 9; No. 2b, Fig. 10; No. 14, Fig. 54; No. 19, Fig. 72; No. 33a, Fig. 114; No. 46b, Fig. 165; No. 57, Fig. 221) I feel that paintings that he

was inclined to call originals should rather be classed as copies, while some designs should not in my opinion be attributed to Rubens's invention at all (No. 9, Fig. 35; No. 23, cf. Fig. 76; No. 52, Fig. 187, as well as the Romulus series mentioned above: Nos. 24-29; Figs. 99-100, 103, 106-110). These disagreements often reflect the fact that new information has come to light since the death of Burchard. Altogether I have found the judgements and comments in Burchard's notes an invaluable guide, and I hope that this book may serve as some kind of testimony to my appreciation of his meticulous scholarship.

To friends and colleagues there are very many debts of gratitude. The *Corpus Rubenianum* is a collective enterprise, and the staff at the Rubenianum and the Nationaal Centrum voor de Plastische Kunsten van de 16de en de 17de eeuw in Antwerp have been unfailingly encouraging and helpful. Carl Van de Velde, Marc Vandeven, Hans Vlieghe and especially Nora de Poorter all assisted me at various times and in various ways, practical and intellectual, as did the late Rogier d'Hulst, for so long the guiding spirit of the Corpus. Frans Baudouin was particularly generous in commenting on some passages in draft. So too was Paul Huvenne, who over the years has not only engaged in countless Rubensian debates, but, with the cheerful collaboration of Greet Vinck, has provided moral as well as scholarly support. Most of all, however, I thank Arnout Balis, who undertook the editing of this volume and made a great number of important suggestions as well as detailed corrections; he rescued me from some ill-formed notions and helped to clarify others, and was always ready with constructive comment and criticism. I have learned a lot from working with him, both about Rubens and about the artists in his entourage, and I hope something of this is reflected in the text which follows.

Among museum curators who generously provided photographs and information I particularly thank the late Hugh Macandrew, Rocío Arnáez, Susan Barnes, Sylvie Béguin, William Griswold, the late Hans Mielke, Sir Oliver Millar, Joe Rishel, Matías Díaz Padrón, Wolfgang Prohaska and Amalyah Zipkin. Christopher Brown was especially helpful, arranging for special slides and x-rays to be taken of various works. So too was Konrad Renger, who also commented on a number of entries. Others who gave me ideas, references, arguments, hints and corrections are Svetlana Alpers, Reinhold Baumstark, Ellinoor Bergvelt, Ladislav Bugner, Margaret Carroll, Brigid Cleaver, Guy Delmarcel, Zirka Filipczak, Christoph Frank, David Freedberg, Rosalind Ingrams, Michael Koortboijan, David Kunzle, Erika

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Three other friends provided consistent support and scholarly input: Jean Michel Massing who came up with answers to the most unlikely questions from his encyclopaedic store of knowledge, Fiona Healy who shared information and enthusiasm, and Kristin Belkin who encouraged me in this project from the start.

Some of the material in this book, particularly the Introduction, was part of two series of lectures that I delivered in 1989-90. I am grateful to David Davies and John White for the invitation to give the first series, the Durning Lawrence Lectures at University College, London, and to Francis Haskell and Christopher White for inviting me to expand this into the Slade Lectures in Oxford. The interest and encouragement of these scholars was certainly an important spur towards my initial goalpost of Rubens's birthday of 1990 for the completion of the first draft of the manuscript. Rubens is now a few years older; but the by-product of the delay in publication is that I have had the benefit of a critical reading by two friends who might not otherwise have seen the text in advance. One was David Jaffé, who brought a flow of new thoughts and material—pictures and documents. The other was Paul Taylor, who read through the whole book and made characteristically stimulating and incisive suggestions as to both form and content. Their enthusiasm was a great help in revising the text for publication. So too was the friendly co-operation of Elly Miller, who supervised the production of the

book, and Clare Reynolds, whose careful attention to the final text expunged errors and inconsistencies. Those that remain can be attributed firmly to me.

Rubens has been a presence in my life since I first studied art history at the University of Glasgow. I would like to acknowledge here a long-standing debt to Hamish Miles and to the late Andrew MacLaren Young for directing me towards him. And I thank all those good friends who have not only tolerated my association with Rubens but provided advice and encouragement over the years, often in ways they may not realize: Marilyn Perry in particular, Gen Doy, Emily Allardyce, Graham Andrews, Tim Bleach, Sheila Korn, Mushtaq Hussein, Harmke Kamminga, Christine van Meeteren, Monika Smith, Sascha Sugiyama, and Avinash Puri, whose philosophical perspective brought intellectual insights as well as practical benefits. Finally I thank my parents, who will perhaps be even more gratified than I will be to see this book appear in print. I dedicate it to them.

28 June 1996

ABBREVIATIONS

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ABBREVIATIONS

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- Antwerp, 1956* *Tekeningen van P.P. Rubens*, Rubenshuis, Antwerp, July—August 1956.
- Antwerp, 1977* *P.P. Rubens. Paintings, Oilsketches, Drawings*, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, June—September 1977.
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- King's Lynn, 1960* *Oil Sketches and Smaller Pictures by Sir Peter Paul Rubens*, Guildhall of St George, King's Lynn, 1960.
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I. Themes and Traditions

The Lessons of History

FOR RUBENS'S AGE, as for the ancient Romans, history was principally valued for the lessons it taught. It was, in Cicero's much-quoted phrase, *magistra vitae*—a guide to living, a mistress in life;¹ and Livy's history of Rome presented itself in a famous preface as a series of examples and warnings from which the reader could profit.² Pagan history may offer different lessons from those of scripture, but as with the Bible it is the moral that counts. For the late sixteenth-century painter and writer Giovanni Battista Armenini, history was the first of all profane subjects in art; in his treatise of 1587 he particularly recommended the works of ancient historians to artists, for they would find them full of true stories that provided excellent and profitable examples.³

And examples (*παράδειγματα: exempla*) were what was required. History supplied exemplary figures (*clarae mulieres* as well as *virii illustres*)⁴ with exemplary lives or, more commonly, one notable exemplary deed, in some cases almost proverbially associated with a virtue—the Justice of Trajan, the Chastity of Lucretia, the Continenence of Scipio, the Fortitude of Scaevola. The

1. Cicero, *De oratore* II.9. History *magistra vitae* is personified on the title-page to Walter Raleigh's *History of the World* of 1614. See M. Corbett and R.W. Lightbown, *The Comely Frontispiece. The Emblematic Title-page in England 1550-1660*, London—Henley—Boston, 1979, pp. 128-135, with Ben Jonson's explanation. Justus Lipsius expanded on the definition to call history 'vitae...magistra, et civilis atque moralis Philosophiae speculum aut exemplum': P. Burman, *Sylloge epistolarum a viris illustribus scriptarum*, Leiden, 1727, p. 301. On the popularity of Cicero's concept in the Renaissance and its eclipse with the Enlightenment see R. Koselleck, 'Historia Magistra Vitae' in *Vergangliche Zukunft. Zur Semantik geschichtlicher Zeiten*, Frankfurt, 1979, pp. 38-66. (I thank Michael Fend for this reference.) See also generally Curtius, *Latin Middle Ages*, 1953, pp. 57-61.
2. Livy, *Ab urbe condita* I, preface, esp. 9-11. Livy's message is underlined for example in the introduction to the Dutch translation of 1597: history praises the good and condemns the bad, presenting virtuous exemplars such as Scipio and Charles V. See *De Roomsche Historie oft gesten...uit het Hoogduits...*, Leiden, 1597, fol. iiiiv. Cf. Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica* I.i; Polybius, *Historiae* XII.25b; also I.35. See also P. Burke, 'A Survey of the Popularity of Ancient Historians, 1450-1700', *History and Theory*, V, 1966, pp. 135-152, on the reputations of various historians as moralists.
3. 'Et circa alle materie profane buonissimi sono i libri, i quali trattano dell'istorie Romane, come di cose che sono vere, & piene d'esempi ottimi, & profittevoli...': Armenini, *Precetti*, 1587, p. 209; cf. Bialostocki, *Doctus Artifex*, 1984, p. 20. See also Lomazzo, *Scrutti*, ed. Ciardi, 1974, II, p. 299.
4. Cf. in particular Petrarch's *De viris illustribus* and Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus*.

exemplum already had a standard form and definition in antiquity: 'the citation of some deed or saying of the past with the definite name of its author'.⁵ The name of the 'author', the person involved, was important, since it helped establish authenticity. For *exempla* deserved to be remembered and propounded because they were true. As the scholastic philosopher John of Garland put it, 'an example is a saying or deed of some real person which is worthy of imitation' ('*exemplum est dictum vel factum alicuius autentice persone dignum imitatione*').⁶ The habit of citing *exempla*, developed in antiquity and elaborated in the Middle Ages, pervades Renaissance literature. The accumulation of names and deeds can almost become a mode of argument, as Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* vividly illustrates. It is also a staple of Renaissance art, in both public and private settings. Secular saints, the heroes of history process in order in street pageants and painted *trionfi*, and line the walls of Renaissance palaces and town halls.⁷ From the start they are identified not just by inscription but often by their distinguishing emblem or gesture, their attribute, usually a reference to their famous act or story: Scaevola with the hand he burned to prove his courage (*text ill.* 1),⁸ Tuccia with the sieve which she carried full of water to vindicate her chastity,⁹ Portia with a handful of the coals she swallowed in an exemplary suicide,¹⁰ Camillus with his banner,¹¹ Charondas with his sword,¹² Tiberius

5. See *Ad Herennium* IV.49.62: '*exemplum est alicuius facti aut dicti praeteriti cum certi auctoris nomine propositio*'.

6. See Curtius, *Latin Middle Ages*, 1953, p. 60, n. 71.

7. For the tradition of *uomini famosi* see M.M. Donato, 'Gli eroi romani tra storia ed "exemplum". I primi cicli umanistici di Uomini Famosi' in *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana* (Biblioteca di storia dell'arte, II, 2), ed. S. Settis, Turin, 1985, pp. 97-152, with earlier literature.

8. Scaevola's story is told under No. 46. For Ghirlandaio's fresco see n. 54 below.

9. As in Jacopo del Sellaio's *Triumph of Chastity* (*text ill.* 3) in the Museo Bandini, Fiesole (*Schubring, Cassoni*, 1915-23, I, pp. 307-308, no. 373; II, pl. LXXXVII). Cf. F.A. Yates, *Astraea. The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century*, London—Boston, 1975, pp. 112-113 and pl. 15; M. Warner, *Monuments and Maidens. The Allegory of the Female Form*, London, 1985, pp. 242-243 and fig. 68, and further under No. 52.

10. For example in the painting by Girolamo di Benvenuto from an early 16th-century Siense set of famous women (V. Tátrai, 'Il Maestro della storia di Griselda e una famiglia senese di mecenati dimenticata', *Acta Historiae Artium*, XXV, 1979, pp. 27-66, esp. pp. 47-49, fig. 19) and in the Florentine *Intermezzi* of 1589 where she represented conjugal love: *de' Rossi, Apparato*, 1589, p. 30. She also features, about to eat the coals, among the Nine Loyal Pagan Women in the woodcut of 1531 by Erhard Schön (*text ill.* 11); for this print see n. 94 below.

11. In Ghirlandaio's fresco in the Palazzo Vecchio (*text ill.* 1). See Guerrini, *Pittura di storia*, 1985, p. 74, n. 47, pointing out that this attribute derives from Vergil, *Aeneid* VI.825: *signa referentem*; this phrase is quoted in connection with Camillus in Dante's *Monarchia* (II.v.12), which seems to have been important for Ghirlandaio's cycle: cf. Chapter III, n. 37.

12. As in the *Triumph of Justice* from a Brussels tapestry series of the *Triumph of the Virtues* of c.1535, where he actually falls upon it. See Bennett, *Cat. Exh. Tapestry*, 1976 no. 21, repr.

Gracchus with the male snake that he killed to save his wife (*text ill. 6*),¹³ even Marcus Curius Dentatus with a turnip, an allusion to the story of his proverbial frugality and incorruptibility,¹⁴ or (once) Masinissa with elephants' tusks, recalling an instance of his religious observance.¹⁵

The famous act is sometimes illustrated in an accompanying narrative scene. This may be placed beneath the figure concerned, much in the way that a characteristic *storia* appears below the image of each saint on an altarpiece.¹⁶ Alternatively, it is illustrated in the background, as in the Griselda Master's *Tiberius Gracchus* (*text ill. 6*) or Goltzius's muscular series of heroes (*text ill. 7*).¹⁷ Increasingly the stories take over. Indeed, in depictions of Petrarchan *Trionfi* from the fifteenth century onwards, the occupants and companions of the different allegorical cars, supposedly participants in each 'triumphal' progress, are sometimes shown in the process of performing the deed that led the poet (or his artistic commentators) to include them. Thus Samson sleeps as Delilah cuts his hair, while Tuccia rushes by with her brimming sieve.¹⁸ Here the figure's attribute has been elaborated into what is essentially a narrative illustration.

A parallel development affects saints and their emblems on Renaissance altarpieces, when, for example, Archangel Raphael's attribute of Tobias and the fish expands into a scene of a country walk, and the Virgin Annunciate

13. As in the painting by the Griselda Master in Budapest from a late 15th-century series celebrating conjugal virtues (Tátraí, *op. cit.* in n. 10 above, esp. pp. 29-32, figs. 3-5). For the story see below, Chapter III, at n. 6.
14. Valerius Maximus, *Dicta et facta* IV.iii.5: it appears as an emblem, with the motto *Inutile Marti lixarum vulgus*, on his shield in the cavalcade at Stuttgart in 1616: J.-A. Assum, *Warhaffte Relation und Historische Politischer Höfflicher Discours...*, Stuttgart, 1616, fol. 5; E. van Hülsen, *Repraesentatio*, Stuttgart, 1616, pl. 28 (repr. in *Stuttgarter Hoffeste*, eds. L. Krapf and C. Wagenknecht, I-II, Tübingen, 1979, I, pp. 416-417 and II, pl. 28).
15. At the *Intermezzi* of 1589; see *de' Rossi, Apparato, 1589*, p. 28, explaining that Masinissa had returned two enormous tusks, given as a present, when he realized they had been taken from the temple of Juno (cf. Valerius Maximus, *Dicta et facta* I.i.ext.2). Masinissa represented *Religio* along with a vestal.
16. As in Primaticcio's cupboard, for which see n. 28 below. For the *storie* beneath the figures in the Sala dei Giganti in Padua see Donato, *op. cit.* in n. 7 above, pp. 103-108; for the *fabule* which accompanied Titian's set of Emperors see C. Hope in [Cat. Exh.] *Splendours of the Gonzaga* (Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1981-82), eds. D. Chambers and J. Martineau, London, 1982, p. 190 and J.T. Martineau, *ibid.*, pp. 190, 191-192; also J. Shearman, *The Early Italian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, Cambridge etc., 1983, pp. 121-126, pls. 105, 106. For the tradition of *imagini* of saints and their corresponding *storie* see Hope, *Altarpieces, 1990*, pp. 535-571.
17. For the *Tiberius Gracchus* see n. 13 above. For Goltzius see *Bartsch*, III, 1854, pp. 34-35, nos. 94-103; *The Illustrated Bartsch*, ed. W. Strauss, III, New York, 1980, pp. 94-103; also *Hollstein (Dutch and Flemish)*, VIII, [n.d.], p. 36, nos. 161-170.
18. See, for example, V.M. Essling and E. Muntz, *Pétrarque: ses études d'art. son influence sur les artistes...*, Paris, 1902, pls. opp. pp. 159 and 150; also Yates, *loc. cit.* in n. 9 above.

acquires a room with furnishings to accommodate her angel Gabriel.¹⁹ This process can lead to incongruities when the traditional format of a group or collection of figures is still retained. In the case of a tapestry series of the Triumph of the Virtues made in Brussels c.1535, the notion of an advancing procession of a group of individual historical characters is effectively defeated. In the *Triumph of Fortitude* (text ill. 5), for instance, most of the exemplary characters are anchored in space by the accoutrements of their various stories: Judith with a fully-furnished tent and servant with bag as well as Holofernes's head; Jael with another tent, a peg from which is required to despatch Sisera; Scaevola with a Roman marble altar for his burning hand;²⁰ Tomyris with a large basin of blood for Cyrus's severed head;²¹ Alexander up a ladder propped against a city wall. Some even expire as we watch—the warrior Eleazer beneath King Antiochus's elephant and Cassius Scaeva under his bristling mass of spears.²² This development towards narrative reflects the increasing interest in and fashion for *istorie* in the Renaissance.²³ But it is often easier to represent an exemplary scene than to allude to it symbolically in an attribute. The curious characterization of some figures in the Florentine Intermezzi of 1589 illustrates this clearly. Here a number of virtues were represented in paired figures, male and female. Filial Duty (*Pietas*) had as its male representative *pius* Aeneas. He was laden with virtually his whole story: old father on the shoulder, son in one hand and a sword in the other, and somehow behind (attached to his back?), in the distance (*in Prospettiva*), a beautiful woman, obviously Creusa, the wife he lost in his flight from Troy.²⁴ Aeneas's female counterpart was a Roman woman who suckled her imprisoned and starving mother; by analogy she too bore her story, although decorum presumably ruled out an exact symmetry. She held a statue of herself feeding her mother, in effect a narrative scene of her noble deed.²⁵ Other figures had more conventional types of attribute. Thus Busa, a lady who offered hospitality to some ten thousand Roman soldiers after the battle of Cannae, held an open purse. But she then

19. See E.H. Gombrich, 'Tobias and the Angel' in *Symbolic Images*, London, 1972, pp. 26-30; *Hope, Altarpieces*, 1990.

20. For the story see under No. 46.

21. Cf. below, under No. 2.

22. See Bennett, *Cat. Exh. Tapestry*, 1976, no. 20, repr.

23. For this see notably Gombrich, *Segnatura*, 1972, pp. 85-101.

24. Aeneas, with father alone and burning city, is the very emblem of *pietas in parentes* for Alciati and others. See Henkel—Schöne, *Emblemata*, 1967-76, I, col. 1703, with examples.

25. *de' Rossi, Apparato*, 1589, pp. 29-31. This *exemplum* comes from Valerius Maximus, *Dicta et facta* Viv.7: *pietas in parentes* and is likewise mentioned in Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus*, chapter lxiii. For the Roman daughter, the original of *Caritas Romana*, see further under No. 18.

had to be given a small statue of *Liberalitas* to carry, evidently a necessary aid to identification, her emblem being inadequate for the purpose.²⁶

Allegorical figures were in fact regularly shown in the company of exemplary representatives. This is the case with the groups of ancient heroes painted by Perugino in the Collegio del Cambio in Perugia,²⁷ or again with the single figures on Primaticcio's cupboards for the Cabinet du Roi at Fontainebleau.²⁸ More often still, narrative scenes illustrating outstanding precedents of a particular virtue or concept are assembled beside or around a personification or allegory—justice, say (the judgements of Cambyses, Seleucus, Trajan) or continence (Antiochus and the priestess or, most famously, Scipio and the Spanish bride), or the vagaries of Fortune (the demise of Polycrates, or Cyrus, or Bajazet), theme of Petrarch's *De casibus*.²⁹ Here the personification defines the virtue involved and thereby also aids identification of the scene(s). Conversely, the small *exempla* painted in grisaille around the ceiling of the Sala del Collegio of the Palazzo Ducale in Venice would have clarified the meaning of Veronese's colourful personifications long ago, had they been large enough to be visible from below.³⁰

Sometimes, however, the underlying theme of a series of exemplary stories is only implied, and must be deduced from the context and the particular intersection of meaning that associates the subjects.³¹ For *exempla* are not necessarily fixed in meaning.³² In a similar way the intended typological reference of a group of Old Testament scenes—prefigurations of

26. *de' Rossi, Apparato*, 1589, pp. 30-31. The story occurs in Valerius Maximus, *Dicta et facta* IV.viii.2 (*de liberalitate*) and in Boccaccio, *De claris mulieribus*, chapter lxvii, as *de' Rossi* notes.

27. See *Guerrini, Valerio Massimo*, 1981, pp. 68-81, pls. 1-2.

28. For the drawings for these lost *armoires* see W. McAllister Johnson, 'Primaticcio's *Prudence Recovered*', *Master Drawings*, XI, 1973, p. 268 and pls. 20-24. *Prudence* was paired with Ulysses, *Justice* with Seleucus, *Fortitude* with Augustus and *Temperance* (probably) with Scipio. Each evidently had a small grisaille *histoire* beneath, presumably the relevant *exemplum*.

29. For example, the decoration by Beccafumi of the Town Hall of Siena (see notably *Guerrini, Valerio Massimo*, 1981, pp. 111-128), Pietro da Cortona's frescoes in the so-called Sala di Venere in the Palazzo Pitti (M. Campbell, *Pietro da Cortona at the Pitti Palace*, Princeton, 1977, esp. pp. 91-108, figs. 27-41; here the central scene is not a personification, but an allegory of the overall theme of continence in princes, showing the rejection of Venus in an adaptation of the Choice of Hercules), the Camera della Fortuna painted by Giovanni Boulenger and Pietro Galluzzi in the Palazzo Ducale at Sassuolo (L. Amorth, G. Bocolari, C. Roli Guidetti, *Residenze Estensi*, Modena, 1973, pls. 34, 35).

30. See C. Hope, 'Veronese and the Venetian Tradition of Allegory', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, LXXI, 1985, pp. 411-413, identifying the personifications. The frieze with *exempla* which borders the ceiling has never been reproduced.

31. See E.H. Gombrich, 'Aims and Limits of Iconology' in *Symbolic Images*, London, 1972, pp. 8, 12 on 'the principle of intersection'.

32. Cf. the comments in R.R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its beneficiaries*, edn Cambridge, 1977, pp. 272-275, with particular reference to Erasmus's *De rerum copia*.

the Eucharist, say, or Mary's virginity—is confirmed or even defined by their conjunction. The celebrated tale of Trajan and the Widow, for instance, widely depicted in town halls and law courts as the great *exemplum iustitiae*—the emperor stopped on his way to war to see justice done to a widow whose son had been killed by one of his soldiers³³—was presented by Dante in the *Purgatorio* as carved next to pictures of the Annunciation and David dancing before the Ark to teach a triple lesson not in justice but in humility, Trajan having humbled himself to attend to a widow's appeal.³⁴ The story of Tomyris submerging the head of Cyrus in a vessel of blood, another *exemplum* used by Dante,³⁵ this time as an instance of pride humbled (*text ill.* 8),³⁶ could also serve to illustrate (Tomyris's) just retribution or (Cyrus's) reversal of Fortune.³⁷ Rubens was probably well aware of this when he painted the picture now in Boston (No. 2; Fig. 8). Since it was almost certainly made for the Infanta Isabella, ruler of the Spanish Netherlands, we may suppose that the emphasis is on the action of Tomyris, heroic queen, exacting justified revenge on the great Persian emperor Cyrus for having brought about the death of her son. But the painting by the Master of Flémalle which was Rubens's main precedent (cf. Fig. 19) seems to have been taken, at least in the sixteenth century, as an image of Cyrus's bad end, an illustration of the maxim that you can call no man happy till he is dead.³⁸

Again, the story of Tuccia, who appears as a representative of chastity in Petrarch's *Trionfi*,³⁹ could feature in courtrooms as an *exemplum* of public judgement, through an ordeal—in this case a sort of 'trial by sieve'. It was illustrated as such in the Palazzo del Consiglio dei Nobili at Belluno painted by Pomponio Amalteo in 1529 and now known only from early nineteenth-century engravings (*text ill.* 4).⁴⁰ The intended context of Rubens's design of this subject (No. 51; Fig. 185) is unknown, but it could have accorded with either theme.

33. See esp. Lederle, *Gerechtigkeitsdarstellungen*, 1937, pp. 52-55; A.M. Cetto, *Der Berner Traian- und Herkinbald-Teppich*, Berne, 1966, *passim*; also De Ridder, *Gerechtigkeitsstaferelen*, 1989, pp. 38-47.

34. Dante, *Purgatorio* X.22-96. On Dante's use of *exempla* see Curtius, *Latin Middle Ages*, 1953, pp. 362-372.

35. Dante, *Purgatorio* XII.55-57.

36. The drawing by Federico Zuccaro from a series in Florence (Uffizi) shows Dante and Vergil contemplating the three images of humility from *Purgatorio* X while stepping on illustrations of the proud brought low from Canto XII: the death of Sennacherib at the hands of his son, of Cyrus at the hand of Tomyris and of Holofernes at the hand of Judith: *Purgatorio* XII.52-60 (A. Bassermann, *Dantes Spuren in Italien. Wanderung und Untersuchungen*, Munich, 1899, pp. 237-238, pl. 63; C. Gizzi, *Federico Zuccari e Dante*, Milan, 1993, pp. 195, 296-299, repr.).

37. See under No. 2.

38. See further under No. 2, at nn. 28 and 51.

39. See nn. 9 and 18 above.

40. See further under No. 51.

Tuccia is a completely obscure figure, unknown to history except for her one deed, even if she thereby made the sieve an unlikely emblem of chastity. And one feature of *exempla* is that they do not have to have a famous or even consistently virtuous person as protagonist. For, as the Roman orator Quintilian observed, an *exemplum* can be all the more striking if it is done by an undistinguished or inferior person, even a weak woman.⁴¹ Such examples too can inspire anyone. The courtesan Leaena, mistress of the tyrannocides Harmodius and Aristogeiton, who maintained silence under torture—even biting off her tongue for fear of betraying them⁴²—was painted by Holbein on the Hertenstein House in Lucerne (*text ill.* 9) along with the deeds of the noblest Romans—Camillus, Scaevola, Marcus Curtius and Lucretia.⁴³ As Boccaccio remarks in telling the story, noble spirits can be found in people of low class.⁴⁴

The Roman woman who suckled her mother in prison is similarly an *exemplum* of this type.⁴⁵ The title *Caritas Romana* (Roman Charity) was presumably applied to this subject because of the obscurity, indeed anonymity of the protagonists, and then transferred to the much more popular version of the story in which a Greek woman, Pero, feeds her imprisoned father, Cimon; although named, these are also two ordinary people, otherwise unknown to history.⁴⁶

In this way the characters in *exempla* may differ from the subjects of pictorial biographies, who are almost invariably ancient heroes, famous men

41. Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* V.xi.esp. 9-12. Cf. Erasmus's comment, 'Quod mulier imbecilla potuit, tu vir barbatus non poteris?': *Erasmus, Opera*, 1703-06, I, col. 94A (*De rerum copia*); also 'Hoc ausa est mulier, quid te virum oportet': *ibid.*, I, col. 388 (*De conscribendis epistolis*, on 'inequality of *exempla*'). For some virtues too, such as loyalty, the *exempla* are often of slaves. See *ibid.*, IV, col. 689 (*De lingua*).

42. According to Boccaccio, *De claris mulieribus*, chapter xlviii. Cf. for example Tertullian, *Apologeticus adversus gentes* L.533. Pliny, *Historia naturalis* VII.xxiii.87, implies the same in his comparison with Anaxarchus. For Leaena see also Plutarch, *De garrulitate* viii (*Moralia* 505D-F); Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* xiii; and for the statue of a (tongueless) lion supposedly erected to her in Athens see Pausanias, *Graeciae descriptio* I.23; Pliny, *Historia naturalis* XXXIV.viii.72.

43. See J. Rowlands, *Holbein. The Paintings of Hans Holbein the Younger*, Oxford, 1985, pp. 26-27, 217-218, no. L.1, pls. 141, 143; C. Müller, [Cat. Exh.] *Hans Holbein d. J. Zeichnungen* (Kunstmuseum, Basle, 1988), Basle, 1988, pp. 40-46 (no. 5, repr.) with details of the other decoration of the house (1517-18).

44. Boccaccio, *loc. cit.* in n. 42.

45. For this story see above, at n. 25.

46. Cimon is not the famous Athenian general of this name. Renaissance commentators already recognized that his name had probably been generated by a scribal error: in fact it should be Micon. See under No. 18, also n. 25 above. The *Ad Herennium* (n. 5 above) insists that the 'author' should be named, however, and anonymous *exempla* are relatively rare: see *Guerrini, Valerio Massimo*, 1981, p. 16, n. 16.

(usually princes and military leaders) who led famous lives.⁴⁷ In a sense such cycles represent a secular equivalent for the illustrated Lives of the Saints in churches, monasteries and cloisters. There is usually some attempt to include deeds that are stirring and edifying, although these reflect civic and courtly virtues, rather than religious ones.

Sacred and Secular History

Sacred and secular history was not in fact rigorously differentiated. Cycles of Old Testament kings and heroes decorated palaces and private houses, often in combination with the pictorial life of a figure from ancient history (or even mythology). The story of David in the Palazzo del Te in Mantua is an obvious example, as are the alternate rooms devoted to Old Testament and ancient heroes in the Palazzo Ricci-Sachetti in Rome.⁴⁸ Sixteenth-century Flemish tapestry series, so often devoted to the life of a hero of history, likewise reflect this catholic approach. As for *exempla*, the Bible furnished some of the most noteworthy for both public and private buildings: Susanna for Chastity, Solomon for Wisdom, Judith for Fortitude. An early series of prints by Goltzius, published by Philips Galle, gives each virtue and vice a suitable biblical exemplar, mostly from the Old Testament,⁴⁹ while a tapestry series made c.1670 in Bruges, with several compositions based on prints after Rubens, is devoted to *exempla* of Old Testament women: the counsel of Deborah (*Consilium Deborahae*—showing Jael who acted on Deborah's advice), the friendliness of Rebecca (*Affabilitas Rebeccaee*), the favour of Esther (*Gratia Esther*), the prudence of Abigail (*Prudentia Abigail*), the wisdom of the Queen of Sheba (*Sapientia Saba*), the courage of Judith (*Fortitudo Iudith*) and the chastity of Susanna (*Castitas Susanae*).⁵⁰ A contemporary Bruges series on the rewards of virtue mixes biblical with later Christian historical examples, this time involving men. Here we find, for instance, the chastity

47. See *Armenini, Precetti*, 1587, p. 177: 'Ma le Istorie che si sogliono fare nelle sale dei Principi, vengono meglio, di un Huomo solo che sia di gran valor stato, che di molti insieme...'. There are thus few Renaissance cycles on the lives of ancient women. The Artemisia series of tapestries for Catherine de' Medici is exceptional, and is in any case more of an allegorical life of Catherine in the guise of Artemisia than a genuine life of the ancient queen. For this see Chapter III, at nn. 79-80.

48. See *de Jong, Oudheid*, 1987, pp. 318-333.

49. *Bartsch*, III, 1854, pp. 31-33, nos. 77-92; *The Illustrated Bartsch*, ed. W. Strauss, III, New York, 1980, pp. 77-92.

50. E. Duverger in [Cat. Exh.] *Bruges et la tapisserie* (Gruuthuse and Memling Museums, Bruges, 1987), Bruges—Mouscron, 1987, eds. G. Delmarcel and E. Duverger, pp. 490-512, with earlier literature.

of Joseph, the devotion of Constantine and the humility of Rudolf of Hapsburg.⁵¹ The Nine Worthies for their part represent ancient, biblical and Christian history as a continuum, for they consisted of three Pagan, three Hebrew and three Christian figures,⁵² and Petrarch includes many old Testament as well as classical characters in his *Trionfi*, just as Dante does in the *Divina Commedia*.⁵³ In the Sala dei Gigli of the Palazzo Vecchio (*text ill.* 1, 2) in Florence, Roman republican heroes flank the city's patron saint, Zenobius,⁵⁴ who in turn serves with Dante, Petrarch and others as a historical 'representative' of the city in the celebrations of Florentine 'uomini famosi' in sixteenth-century pageantry.⁵⁵

Again, for Eleanor of Toledo's suite in the Palazzo Vecchio, decorated between 1561 and 1562, Vasari devoted the central painting of the ceiling of each room to a subject from Greek, Roman, Hebrew and Florentine history respectively. Illustrating the virtues of 'donne illustri',⁵⁶ they showed Penelope at her loom, Hersilia and the women making peace between the Romans and Sabines (*text ill.* 13),⁵⁷ Esther crowned by Ahasuerus and Gualdrada refusing to kiss the Emperor Otto IV.⁵⁸ Similarly, for the entry of Charles V and his son Philip into Ghent in 1549 the humanist Jan Oste devised a programme of five triumphal arches, each featuring a different

51. See Duverger, *loc. cit.*, pp. 493-497; also J. Versyp, *De Geschiedenis van de taputkunst te Brugge*, Brussels, 1954, pp. 102-103. For the last story see No. 56; Fig. 214.

52. See R.L. Wyss, 'Die neun Helden. Eine ikonographische Studie' in *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte*, XVII, 1957, pp. 73-106; H. Schroeder, *Der Topos der Nine Worthies in Literatur und bildender Kunst*, Göttingen, 1971.

53. Cf. nn. 18 and 34 above.

54. See N. Rubinstein, 'Classical Themes in the Decoration of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, L, 1987, pp. 29-43, esp. pp. 35-38, 41 and pls. 6, 11a-b. Similarly the earlier decorations in Siena had shown Judas Maccabeus and the Blessed Ambrogio Sansedoni as republican patriots near the Romans. See N. Rubinstein, 'Political Ideas in Siennese art: the Frescoes by Ambrogio Lorenzetti and Taddeo di Bartolo in the Palazzo Pubblico', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXI, 1958, pp. 179-207, esp. pp. 191-193.

55. See E. McGrath, 'Local Heroes: the Scottish Humanist Parnassus for Charles I' in *England and the Continental Renaissance. Essays in Honour of J.B. Trapp*, eds. E. Chaney and P. Mack, Woodbridge, 1990, pp. 257-270, esp. p. 266.

56. K. Frey, *Der literarische Nachlass Giorgio Vasaris*, I-III, Munich 1923-30, I, no. CCLII, p. 641; no. CCCLXIX, p. 669 (referring to the 'stanze delle damigelle'; also *Il Libro delle Ricordanze di Giorgio Vasari*, ed. A. del Vita, Arezzo, 1927, pp. 86-87 (Frey, *op. cit.*, II, p. 876); *Vasari, Opere*, ed. Milanesi, 1878-85, VII, p. 617 (Life of Stradanus), talking of the four rooms dedicated 'alla virtù delle donne' and (*ibid.*, pp. 699-700: Life of Vasari) with 'azioni di donne illustri greche, ebee, latine e toscane, a ciascuna camera una di queste'.

57. Vasari sometimes talks of 'the story of Hersilia' (e.g. Frey, *op. cit.*, I, no. CCLII, p. 641), sometimes simply of the Sabine women (e.g. Frey, *op. cit.*, II, p. 876, no. 276; *Vasari, Opere*, ed. Milanesi, 1878-85, VII, p. 617).

58. The subjects were mostly executed by Stradanus. See A. Lensi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, Milan—Rome,

architectural order (from Tuscan to Corinthian) and a tableau involving the delegation of power to a son from each of five eras of history—Hebrew, Greek, Roman, Frankish and Flemish.⁵⁹ Holbein's decorations for the Grossratsaal of the Town Hall of Basle also included biblical and classical *exempla*,⁶⁰ while the Lusthaus of Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria in the garden of the Residenz, Munich was adorned in the 1530s with paired stories of biblical and pagan heroines,⁶¹ as was the Goldene Saal in the Town Hall of Augsburg (where the small histories appeared between figures of pagan and Christian emperors).⁶²

Town halls often displayed biblical and classical *exempla* of justice together, especially since the *Judgement of Solomon* was virtually inevitable in this context.⁶³ In the *vierschaar* of the Amsterdam Town Hall, decorated in the 1650s, Artus Quellinus's marble relief of the *Judgement of Solomon* was flanked by his scenes of the justice of Brutus and of Seleucus,⁶⁴ and the whole

1929, pp. 188, 190, 216, 218, 220, 221 and pl. p. 216; *Allegri—Cecchi, Palazzo Vecchio, 1980*, pp. 195-212; R.A. Scorza, 'A "modello" by Stradanus for the "Sala di Penelope" in the Palazzo Vecchio', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXVI, 1984, pp. 433-437. For the tapestry decoration of these rooms see *Allegri—Cecchi, Palazzo Vecchio, 1980*, pp. 197-198, 202, 207, 212; also C. Adelson, 'The Decoration of Palazzo Vecchio in tapestry: the "Joseph" cycle and other precedents for Vasari's decorative campaigns' in *Giorgio Vasari. Tra decorazione ambientale e storiografia artistica*, ed. G.C. Garfagnini, Florence, 1985, pp. 163-72, *passim* and figs. 47, 48. The Sala di Ester had more stories of Esther; the Sala di Penelope seems to have complemented the painted frieze of scenes from the Odyssey with more of the 'story of Ulysses'; the Sala delle Sabine had *exempla* of virtuous Roman women; the Sala di Gualdrada featured scenes from Florentine history.

59. They were Solomon and David, Philip of Macedon and Alexander, Vespasian and Titus, Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, Thierry d'Alsace and his son Philip. See J.C. Calvete de Estrella, *El felicísimo viaje del muy alto y muy poderoso Príncipe Don Felipe*, edn Sociedad de bibliófilos españoles, I-II, Madrid 1930, I, pp. 279-302; also M. Lageirpe, 'L'entrée du Prince Philippe à Gand en 1549' in J. Jacquot ed. *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance. II: Fêtes et cérémonies au temps de Charles Quint*, Paris, 1960, pp. 297-306, esp. p. 302 and pls. XXII, XXIII; and J. Jacquot, 'Panorama des fêtes et cérémonies du règne', *ibid.*, p. 450.

60. The biblical examples belong to the second phase of the decorations (c.1530); the first part was executed in 1521-23. See Rowlands, *op. cit.* in n. 43 above, pp. 55-56, 220-222, no. L.6; pls. 159, 161-182; G. Kreytenberg, 'Hans Holbein d.J.—Die Wandgemälde im Basler Ratsaal', *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXIV, 1970, pp. 77-100.

61. See G. Goldberg, *Die Alexanderschlacht und die Historienbilder des bayerischen Herzogs Wilhelm IV. und seiner Gemahlin Jacobea für die Münchner Residenz*, Munich, 1983, *passim*; also pp. 61-62 on the Great Hall in the Elector's Palace at Munich, decorated in 1611-19 with paired biblical and pagan subjects.

62. On this decoration, now destroyed, see [Cat. Exh.] *Elias Holl und das Augsburger Rathaus* (Stadtarchiv, Augsburg, 1985), eds. W. Baer, H.-W. Krufft, B. Roeck, Regensburg, 1985, esp. pp. 80-81 (S. Michalski), pp. 240-252, 377-385 (S. Tipton) and pls. XI-XIII, XVI-XXIV.

63. See Lederle, *Gerechtigkeitsdarstellungen*, 1937, pp. 26-31; also W. Schild in *Recht und Gerechtigkeit im Spiegel der europäischen Kunst*, eds. W. Pleister and W. Schild, Cologne, 1988, pp. 149-171, esp. pp. 149-155.

64. See K. Fremantle, *The Baroque Town Hall of Amsterdam*, Utrecht, 1959, esp. pp. 81-83, fig. 85.

sculpted ensemble was set beneath a painting of the Last Judgement. In the case of Rubens's decorations for Brussels (discussed under No. 6), a picture of the *Judgement of Solomon* seems to have had as its pagan parallel the *Justice of Cambyses* (cf. Figs. 26, 24); between them, above the judgement seat, there may have hung a painting of the *Last Judgement*. The decorations are now lost, destroyed in the fire of 1695. But copies of the pendant *exempla* indicate that Rubens underlined the association of these two historical subjects by means of formal as well as iconographic analogies.

Sources of History

For secular history there was of course no Bible. Even for ancient Roman stories 'modern' works such as Petrarch's *Trionfi* were just as important as Livy. In his treatise of 1587, Armenini recommends for ancient history first and foremost Plutarch, then Livy, Appian, Valerius Maximus, 'gli huomini Illustri del Petrarca' and 'le donne illustri del Boccaccio'.⁶⁵ But from the point of view of the basic subject-matter of Renaissance art, two ancient authors are particularly significant. Plutarch provided the principal inspiration for biographical cycles—indeed for the very idea of the genre—and Valerius Maximus presented exemplars of virtue, *exempla*, true stories worthy of imitation.⁶⁶

The influence of Plutarch's *Lives* on literature, from Petrarch and Boccaccio to Shakespeare, is familiar enough to students of the Renaissance, as is their availability in translation, first into Latin and then into the vernacular—notably by Amyot in French.⁶⁷ In *Il Cortegiano* Castiglione's Count, arguing the value of letters as well as arms for the courtier, considered that reading the lives of Caesar, Alexander, Scipio and Hannibal would inspire even the mean-spirited to greatness and glory.⁶⁸ And for the late sixteenth-century art theorist Lomazzo, pictures of the battles and triumphs of Caesar,

65. Armenini, *Precetti*, 1587. Cf. de Jong, *Oudheid*, 1987, p. 115.

66. Cf. de Jong, *Oudheid*, 1987, p. 112.

67. The *Vitae* were translated into Latin by different scholars before 1470 (Bolgar, *op. cit.* in n. 32 above, p. 435; also pp. 522-523 for vernacular versions); the first Latin edition of the *Lives* was published at Venice in 1516 (*Guerrini, Pittura di storia*, 1985, p. 85). North's English translation, like the Dutch one published at Delft in 1644, relied on Amyot's of 1559.

68. B. Castiglione, *Il Libro del Cortegiano* I.xliiii (ed. B. Maier, Turin, 1969, pp. 159-161). Cf. de Jong, *Oudheid*, 1987, p. 24, also quoting Dolce to the same effect. See also the comments of Claudio Tolomei, recommending the deeds of Julius Caesar to his namesake, Giulio de' Medici (Clement VII) in a letter of 12 December 1529: *De le lettere di M. Claudio Tolomei lib. sette*, Venice, 1547, fols. 12v-14.

Scipio and so on were spurs to honour and fame.⁶⁹ Such 'great' lives illustrated and fostered the quality of *megalopsychia* (*magnanimitas*), greatness of spirit, a quality admired in the Renaissance as an attribute of successful princes and rulers. It is accordingly in palaces rather than civic buildings that we find most of the depictions of famous lives.⁷⁰

Plutarch is somewhere behind most Renaissance decorative cycles of the lives of famous men.⁷¹ It is no accident that the historical subjects of sixteenth-century pictorial biographies, whether in paint or in tapestry, almost invariably coincide with one of Plutarch's *Lives*—Alexander, for instance,⁷² Romulus,⁷³ Camillus,⁷⁴ Fabius Maximus,⁷⁵ or Octavian⁷⁶—even if individual scenes are then taken from or influenced by other historians and writers.⁷⁷ Two exceptions might seem to be Cyrus and Scipio, both represented in a number of sixteenth-century decorative cycles; for Plutarch wrote no life of

69. G.P. Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scultura et architettura*, Milan, 1584, VI, xxv (in Lomazzo, *Scritti*, ed. Ciardi, 1974, II, p. 299). Cf. de Jong, *Oudheid*, 1987, p. 25. It was with this in mind that Antoine de Laval in 1600 recommended glorious deeds from French history as more elevated and 'manly' subjects than fables for royal galleries; see J. Thuillier, 'Peinture et politique: une théorie de la galerie royale sous Henri IV', *Études d'art français offertes à Charles Sterling*, eds. A. Châtelet and N. Reynaud, Paris, 1975, pp. 175-205.

70. The Life of Scipio of 1544 in the Palazzo Capitolino in Rome is exceptional, and may have been chosen because of specific references to the Capitol. See Guerrini, *Pittura di storia*, 1985, pp. 91-92.

71. See Guerrini, *Pittura di storia*, 1985, pp. 83-93; R. Guerrini, 'Plutarco e la cultura figurativa nell'età di Paolo III: Castel Sant'Angelo, Sala Paolina' in *RACAR. Revue d'art canadienne*, XII, 2, 1985, pp. 179-187.

72. E.g. the series in Castel Sant'Angelo, for which see n. 71 above; or the tapestry cycle made at Brussels c.1590, for which see P. Junquera de Vega and C. Herrero Carretero, *Catálogo de tapices del Patrimonio Nacional. I: Siglo XVI*, Madrid, 1986, no. 35, pp. 248-262, all repr. in colour.

73. Among many there is the Carracci cycle in the Palazzo Magnani, Bologna (Figs. 92, 93)—which, as we shall see (below, esp. under No. 34), was an important influence on Rubens. It used to be assumed that the literary source was Livy, but, as has been noted, it actually derives from Plutarch. See J.M. Brown, 'A Ludovico Carracci Drawing for the Palazzo Magnani', *The Burlington Magazine*, LIX, 1967, p. 713; A.W.A. Boschloo, *Annibale Carracci in Bologna. Visible Reality in Art after the Council of Trent*, The Hague, 1974, II, pp. 192-193; A. Stanzani in *Emiliani, Storie di Romolo*, 1989, esp. p. 173; also further under Nos. 30, 32, 34.

74. For Salviati's cycle (*text ill.* 22) see Chapter III, pp. 84-85.

75. For the cycle by Francesco da Siena at Grottaferrata, painted for Fabio Colonna, see Chapter III, at n. 15; for that by Daniele da Volterra (c.1538) in the Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne see A.W. Boschloo, 'Il fregio dipinto nei palazzi romani del Rinascimento', *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome*, XLIII, 1981, pp. 129-141; de Jong, *Oudheid*, 1987, pp. 312-314, under no. 13.

76. For the Brussels tapestry series of c.1560 see Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero, *op. cit.* in n. 72 above, no. 51, pp. 314-324, repr. in colour.

77. Cf. E. Duverger, 'Voruntersuchungen zur Literatur als Inspirationsquelle für flämische Bildteppichkunst des 17. Jahrhunderts' in *Wort und Bild in der niederländischen Kunst und Literatur des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, eds. H. Vekeman and J. Müller Hofstede, Erfstadt, 1984, pp. 104-109.

Cyrus, and his life of Scipio is lost. But Cyrus was at least famous for having been presented as a model ruler by Xenophon in his *Cyropaedia*, as Claudio Tolomei noted, in a letter of 1543, remarking that this exemplary figure was in reality a cruel man who came to a bad end.⁷⁸ Tolomei had earlier observed that Scipio had taken Cyrus as an example to follow in his own life, a point particularly underlined by Castiglione.⁷⁹ As for Scipio himself, as Guerrini has observed, a life of Scipio was composed by the scholar Domenico Acciaiuoli and then included with the Latin Plutarch from 1516, thus supplementing the defect.⁸⁰ The humanist cult of Scipio, reflected in Castiglione's *Courtier*, demanded the creation of such a convenient *vita*.

For *exempla* the principal source was a book not much read today, but an indispensable compendium for the Renaissance, the *Dicta et facta memorabilia* written by Valerius Maximus, a teacher of rhetoric at the time of Tiberius.⁸¹ In his *De ratione studii*, Erasmus, underlining the importance of exemplary stories in education, singles out Valerius Maximus for mention; as we have seen, he was one of the authors recommended to artists by Armenini.⁸² The great merit of this book was that it arranged the stories, numbered for ease of reference and divided into Roman and foreign ('external') cases, under appropriate headings of mostly moralizing themes. It aimed thus to supply handy examples for orators on all kinds of subjects. A particular advantage was that the stories were short, pointedly concise, and written in fairly undemanding Latin. Valerius Maximus was on many Renaissance school curricula.⁸³ He spawned many imitations, which expanded the scope of the virtues concerned, providing new Christian categories and a modern supplement.⁸⁴ (Fregoso's compendium, published in 1509, and Justus Lipsius's

78. See Tolomei's letter of 6 June 1543 to Giulio de' Landi: *Lettere* (as in n. 68), fol. 72v; cf. Z. Wazbinski, 'L'idée de l'histoire dans la première et la seconde édition des *Vies de Vasari*' in *Il Vasari, storiografo e artista. Atti del congresso internazionale nel IV centenario della morte*, Florence, 1974, pp. 6-7.

79. Tolomei's letter of 12 December 1529 to Cardinal ?Giulio de' Medici: *Lettere* (as in n. 68), fol. 13; Castiglione, loc. cit. in n. 68. This derives ultimately from Cicero, *Disputationes tusculanae* II.xxvi.62 and esp. *Ad Quintum fratrem* I.i.(viii) 23. For the particular appeal of the history of Cyrus see n. 125 below. In the 17th-century the dependence on Plutarch diminishes, and we find cycles on Zenobia, for example, or Semiramis, or Marcus Aurelius.

80. Guerrini, *Pittura di storia*, 1985, p. 92.

81. For the *fortuna* of this book see D.M. Schullian, 'Valerius Maximus' in *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum*, eds. F.E. Cranz and P.O. Kristeller, V, Washington, 1984, pp. 287-403. The last English translation of Valerius Maximus was published at London in 1678.

82. *Erasmus, Opera*, 1703-06, I, col. 524B-D; for Armenini see text at n. 65 above.

83. See P.F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300-1600*, Baltimore—London, 1989, pp. 256-258, 262; Holcroft, *Exempla*, 1976, pp. 39-40, 87, pointing out that he was a basic textbook along with Justin and Florus.

84. See, for example, Schullian, op. cit. in n. 81 above, pp. 294-296; Holcroft, *Exempla*, 1976, esp. pp. 41, 75.

Monita et exempla politica, published in 1601, were certainly the most important for Rubens.)⁸⁵ Valerius's stories were almost tailor-made for translation into images. Indeed at one point in his chapter on filial devotion (V.iv.ext.1) he remarks that he has seen a picture of one of his subjects, Cimon and Pero, the story of the starving old man suckled by his pious daughter—a point which is convincing enough since paintings of this theme, one even inscribed with moralizing verses, have been found in Pompeii.⁸⁶ Valerius's text was the basis for many Renaissance iconographic programmes for town halls and public buildings, and even for private houses.⁸⁷ It is certainly more important than has been suspected. There has been some discussion, for example, of why in the burgomasters' chamber of the Amsterdam Town Hall Govert Flink and Ferdinand Bol painted (respectively) the stories of Dentatus refusing the gifts of the Samnites while sticking to his turnips and Fabricius resisting Pyrrhus's bribes and refusing to be cowed by his elephants.⁸⁸ The primary reason was surely that they appear side by side in Valerius's chapter on abstinence and present lessons in integrity that are particularly appropriate for public officials.⁸⁹ This too was why they had been illustrated together by Jörg Breu II (*text ill.* 12) around the chimney of a burgomaster's house in Augsburg in 1544. Here the artist showed Dentatus actually cooking the turnips, which was appropriate enough at this fireplace.⁹⁰ In this case the inscription may be based on a translation of Plutarch

85. For Rubens's use of Fregoso and Lipsius see Chapter III, nn. 8, 9. They had probably been familiar handbooks from his youth: Fregoso, for example, is cited by Joannes Bochius as the source for the arch of Fortuna Muliebris (probably designed by Van Veen when Rubens was in his workshop) for the entry of Albert and Isabella to Antwerp in 1599: *Bochius, Narratio, 1602*, p. 242. Interestingly, Lipsius is recommended along with Livy and Tacitus as a prime historical source for artists (under his first heading: *Historia del Mondo*) by Scaramuccia (L. Scaramuccia, *Le finenze de pennelli italiani*, Pavia, 1674, pp. 195-196; cf. *Bialostocki, Doctus Artifex, 1984*, p. 10).

86. See under No. 18, at nn. 14-16.

87. See, notably, Roberto Guerrini's analysis of Beccafumi's painted ceilings for the Palazzo Bindi Sergardi and the Town Hall of Siena (*Guerrini, Valerio Massimo, 1981*, pp. 83-128).

88. See A. Blankert, *Kunst als Regeringszaak in Amsterdam in de 17e eeuw*, Amsterdam, 1975, esp. pp. 11-26, figs. 5, 6 and 7; also idem, *Ferdinand Bol (1616-1680), Rembrandt's Pupil, Doornspijk, 1982*, pp. 42-46, 112 and pl. 26 and B, fig. 34; cf. also figs. 35-36, 45. Both paintings are dated 1656 and were accompanied by Dutch verses.

89. Blankert (*loc. cit.*) refers to Plutarch (*Pyrrhus* 20), and other classical texts which were certainly consulted by the artists or their advisers, but the choice of subject was evidently determined by Valerius Maximus, *Dicta et facta* IV.iii.5-6 (*de abstinentia et continentia*). A Dutch translation of Valerius by Conradus Mirkinus was published at Rotterdam in 1614 (Schullian, *op. cit.* in n. 81 above, p. 300). Also important was the fact that the two stories appear as the first examples in Plutarch's *Romanorum apophthegmata* (*Moralia* 194E-195B); they likewise appear side by side in Erasmus's *Apophthegmata: Erasmus, Opera, 1703-06*, V, col. 254.

90. For these grisaille murals, accompanied by a Latin and German inscription, from the house of the burgomaster Marx Pfister, destroyed in 1944, see K. Löcher in [Cat. Exh.] *Welt im*

(though the Augsburg murals were destroyed in the war and the photos available are not very clear). But a sixteenth-century fresco on the façade of the Palazzo Quadrio in Mazzo (Valtellina) had a large part of Valerius's text actually copied out beside the image of the Continnence of Scipio.⁹¹

Valerius is documented as being used for a decorative programme as early as 1378 in the Town Hall at Nuremberg, along with Plutarch and Aulus Gellius.⁹² He also provided the subjects for many paintings in seventeenth-century picture galleries, as well as for numerous products of decorative art, especially maiolica and prints.⁹³ Erhard Schön's woodcut series of 1531 of Nine Loyal Romans and Nine Loyal Pagan Women (*text ill.* 11) were chosen from Valerius by Hans Sachs whose accompanying verses begin in both cases with a fulsome acknowledgement to 'Herr Valerius Maximus, Der gross Hystoriographus'.⁹⁴ Later narrative prints too were often published with inscriptions which not only point to a moral, but specifically allude to Valerius.⁹⁵ The print by Schelte à Bolswert after Rubens's *Continnence of Scipio* (No. 49c, Copy 4; Fig. 182) included a precise reference to Valerius Maximus, while that by Pontius after his *Tomyris and Cyrus* (No. 3, Copy 1; Fig. 14) featured Tomyris's words of condemnation, which provide some justification for her retribution.⁹⁶

Such inscriptions are particularly common on prints illustrating the story of Cimon and Pero, presumably because otherwise the virtuous character of this subject might not have been understood (or appreciated by the censor). For example Wierix's *Cimon and Pero* has a Latin explanation of the

Umbruch, II, Augsburg, 1980, p. 25 (repr. p. 24); Blankert, op. cit., p. 18, fig. 11. Blankert also notes that both stories are illustrated in A. Bocchi's *Symbolicae Quaestiones*, Bologna, 1556.

91. For this text, known from an earlier transcription, since the fresco itself has largely perished, see R. Togni, *Pittura a fresco in Valtellina*, Sondrio, 1974, p. 112: the form of words makes it clear that Valerius was the source. For some examples of the importance of Valerius for palace decoration in 16th-century Rome see *de Jong, Oudheid*, 1987, pp. 112-113, nos. 7, 6 and 13. Many 16th-century villas of the Veneto are similarly decorated with scenes from Valerius Maximus. The account of the 1589 Intermezzi at Florence refers to Valerius for the exemplary figures: *de' Rossi, Apparato*, 1589, pp. 29-31; cf. n. 26 above.

92. See *Lederle, Gerechtigkeitsdarstellungen*, 1937, p. 10.

93. See notably A. Pigler, 'Valerius Maximus és az újkori képzőművészetek', *Hommage à Alexis Petrovics*, Budapest, 1934, pp. 87-108 (summary, *ibid.*, pp. 213-216: 'Valère Maxime et l'iconographie des temps modernes').

94. These are the first lines to the *Neun getrewsten Römer mit yhren wunder getrewen thaten* sheet; the first line on that of the women is 'Valerius der gross geschicht schryber'. For these prints see W.L. Strauss, *The Illustrated Bartsch*, XIII, Commentary, New York, 1984, pp. 291-293, nos. 1301.151, 152, repr.

95. For example Boyvin's print after the *Catanian Brothers* from the Galerie of Fontainebleau has the caption: *Hoc pietatis opus*. Then the story is explained in a couplet. See J. Levron, *René Boyvin*, Angers, 1941, pl. IV.

96. See Valerius Maximus, *Dicta et facta* IX.x.ext.1 (*de ultione*); also under No. 2.

'pious' subject under the caption: *Filia patrem suam Cimona pietate servavit* ('The daughter saving her father by her filial devotion') which is accompanied by the very precise reference: *Val. Max. Lib. 5 Ca.4 II. 8*.⁹⁷ Other prints commonly refer to the theme of the chapter in which Valerius includes the story, namely *pietas*.⁹⁸

One of Rubens's favourite themes was *Cimon and Pero*.⁹⁹ He certainly would have responded to the challenge to rival the ancient painting mentioned by Valerius Maximus (although, as is pointed out below, he could not have known any actual Roman illustrations of the subject). In his first version, the painting in St Petersburg (No. 18; Fig. 69), it seems likely that he was influenced by earlier Renaissance treatments of the theme in prints, such as that by Hans Sebald Beham (Fig. 77) which shows the bearded Cimon sitting on the ground, or the more discreet version on the printer's mark of de Bonte (*text ill.* 10) which contains reference to loving one's parents, and the familiar citation of Valerius Maximus. When Rubens's painting was published in a print by Cornelis van Cauckerken (No. 18, Copy 7; Fig. 70), it too contained an inscription which explained the moral of the story, while also pointing to the paradoxical inversion of roles it involves. Translated, this reads: 'Now you see what real love is. The devoted child gives her milk to a father pitifully oppressed by hunger and hard chains, and this great love is said to have gained life for Cimon. Thus daughter became parent to her father'. And the image was dedicated to its (then) owner, Carel van den Bosch, Bishop of Bruges, who was evidently proud of possessing this striking illustration of filial piety. He may well have recalled that the humanist Vives had recommended the subject in his *Domus*, a dialogue published as an exercise in Latin in 1539, in which a boy is directed to a painting of this exemplary story, which he has read in Valerius Maximus; there the accompanying inscription runs along similar lines.¹⁰⁰ However,

97. *Mauquoy-Hendrickx, Wierix, 1978-82*, II, p. 295, no. 1648, pl. 223.

98. For example the print by Giulio Bonasone dated 1542 after Rosso's stucco at Fontainebleau: 'Quo non penetrat, aut quid non excogitat pietas? Quae in carcere servandi patris novam rationem invenit'. This inscription is in fact the introduction to the example of the Roman woman who fed her imprisoned mother (Valerius Maximus, *Dicta et facta* Viv.7), for which see nn. 25 and 46 above; also under No. 18. For the print see S. Massari, *Giulio Bonasone*, Rome, 1982, I, no. 5, figs. 5a-b. For instances where inscriptions were added to prints of erotic subjects to provide an essentially spurious justification or present them as negative *exempla* see McGrath, *Susanna*, 1984, pp. 78-80.

99. See Nos. 18-22.

100. *Joannis Ludovici Vivis Valentini opera omnia*, I, Valencia, 1782, reprinted London (The Gregg Press), 1974, pp. 330-334 (*Linguae latinae exercitatio*): 'JOCUNDUS: Quid hoc est rei? Vetulus suggens papillam feminae. VITRUVIUS: Non legisti exemplum hoc apud Valerium Maximum, titulo de pietate? JOC.: Legi, quid dicit illa? VITR.: "Nondum tantum rependo, quan-

even if Rubens's treatment of the subject is both sensitive and decorous, the erotic undertones must have been perfectly evident to him, as to contemporary viewers, familiar as they were with the motif of ill-matched lovers—particularly old men with young women. It is significant that, like most artists of the period, Rubens showed no interest in the alternative story in which a Roman daughter suckles her mother.¹⁰¹

Rubens would have found nothing strange in giving sensual appeal to a moralizing subject. The fact that a theme can be classed as an *exemplum* does not necessarily mean that it is treated with high seriousness. This is true even in the case of biblical subjects. The story of Susanna, a great example of chastity, had long been for artists the opportunity for the illustration of a beautiful young naked woman defending herself from two lascivious old voyeurs—or worse—a theme which has an even more obvious connection with the idea of unequal lovers than that of Pero. Some artists indeed lost sight of Susanna's modesty altogether in their enthusiastic display of her charms to Elders and potential viewers.¹⁰² Rubens cared too much about the meaning of the subject to do this. The sensuality of the scene is cheerfully acknowledged, but as an essential element in the impact of the illustration of the story. Thus it was perfectly possible, and consistent, for Rubens to present his images of Susanna with two quite different morals, one about chastity, one about inappropriate love.

Rubens in fact did just this. For when in 1620 he dedicated Vorsterman's print after a *Susanna and the Elders* (text ill. 14)¹⁰³ to Anna Roemer Visscher, the virtuous Dutch poetess whose work he admired, he presented Susanna as 'this outstanding example of modesty' (*rarum hoc Pudicitiae exemplar*).¹⁰⁴ The moral was obviously suitable, indeed virtually inevitable in the context. But in 1624, for Pontius's print after a *Susanna* of equally determined chastity (text ill. 15),¹⁰⁵ Rubens this time offered a more jocular and secular moral

tum accipi." JOC.: Quid ille? VITR.: Iuvat genuisse...' ('BOY: What sort of subject is this? An old man feeding at the breast of a woman. VITRUVIUS: Haven't you read this *exemplum* in Valerius Maximus, in his chapter on *pictas*? BOY: Yes, but what is she saying? VITR.: "I have not yet paid back all I was given by him." BOY: What is his response? VITR.: He is pleased to have fathered her...').

101. Cf. nn. 98, 25 and 46 above; also under No. 18.

102. Cf. the comments of E.J. Sluijter in 'Venus, Visus en Pictura', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, XLII-XLIII, 1991-92, pp. 337-396, esp. pp. 356, 376.

103. *V.S.*, p. 10, no. 84; *d'Hulst—Vandenven, Old Testament*, 1989, no. 62, copy; fig. 162; cf. K. Renger in *Cat. Exh. Göttingen etc.*, 1977, pp. 99-101, no. 67.

104. See McGrath, *Susanna*, 1984, pp. 73-90, esp. pp. 81, 84-85 and fig. 11; cf. *d'Hulst—Vandenven, Old Testament*, 1989, p. 212, under no. 62 and pp. 209-210, under no. 61.

105. *V.S.*, p. 11, no. 90; *d'Hulst—Vandenven, Old Testament*, 1989, no. 63, copy 2; fig. 165. In fact it is almost identical to the composition engraved earlier by Michel Lasne (*V.S.*, p. 11, no. 93;

with a quotation from Ovid's *Amores* (I.ix.4): *Turpe senilis amor* ('an old man in love is disgusting'). The lesson here places the image within the familiar Northern Renaissance artistic tradition of the ridiculous spectacle of elderly lust. It is its relationship to this popular proverbial theme of unequal love that gives so many paintings of *Susanna and the Elders* a special piquancy. Rubens's picture indeed seems to invite this interpretation with the cupid on Susanna's fountain,¹⁰⁶ and the two herms of satyrs behind the lustful Elders.¹⁰⁷ In the same way the *Samson and Delilah* that Rubens painted for Nicolaas Rockox c.1609¹⁰⁸ proclaimed itself to be a lesson in the dangerous power of love by the inclusion of the statue of Venus and Cupid in the background.¹⁰⁹ This moral was then underlined in the inscription to Jacob Matham's print of c. 1614, dedicated to Rockox (*text ill.* 16).¹¹⁰ Comparing Samson's fate to Hercules's subjection to Omphale—a favourite topic of ancient epigrams which talk of the hero of a thousand battles being brought low by love—it warned against the wiles of women.¹¹¹ It was as a victim of Cupid that Samson had appeared in Petrarch's *Triumph of Love* and in Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff*, and Rubens, who assimilated Samson to Hercules in his art,¹¹² probably had the association of the themes of their humiliation by love consciously in his mind. Pero and Delilah he probably

d'Hulst—Vandenven, Old Testament, 1989, no. 61, copy 5; fig. 160 with a dedication to Anna Visscher identical to that used on the Vorsterman print. Cf. *McGrath, Susanna, 1984, p. 85.*

106. Cf. *Held, Sketches, 1980, I, pp. 266-267, no. 179 and 321-322, no. 233.*

107. *McGrath, Susanna, 1984, pp. 84-85 and fig. 12.*

108. *d'Hulst—Vandenven, Old Testament, 1989, no. 31, fig. 72.*

109. C. Brown, *Rubens. 'Samson and Delilah'* (National Gallery Booklet, Exh. 1983), London 1983, esp. pp. 10-11. It has been suggested that Rubens's statue of Venus and Cupid is there because Delilah is a whore (*Held, Sketches, 1980, I, p. 431; cf. d'Hulst—Vandenven, Old Testament, 1989, p. 109, under no. 31*), but this seems unnecessarily explicit, especially when the presence of the old woman as Delilah's companion already implies the same. In his imaginary painting of Samson and Delilah, Gérard de Lairese includes a statue of Venus (representing Astaroth) to allude to the moral: *Lairese, Schilderboek, 1740, II, pp. 89, 91, 95: VIII, chapter ix.*

110. *V.S., p. 6, no. 41; d'Hulst—Vandenven, Old Testament, 1989, no. 31, copy 1; fig. 73.*

111. The inscription runs: *Qui genus humanum superavit robore Sampson| Femineis tandem vincitur insidiis.| Sic et feminea vis Herculis arte doloque| Occidit. o summis sexus inique viris* ('Samson who surpassed the world in strength is finally conquered in a feminine trap. So too the force of Hercules succumbed to a woman's craft and guile. Oh you female sex, baneful to the greatest of men!'). On the theme of the fatal power of women, see e.g. *Knipping, Iconography, 1974, I, pp. 46-47* (referring to the Old Testament series engraved by P. Galle in 1610 which even includes Judith). For the topic in general see R. Pigeaud in *Saints and She-devils. Images of Women in the 15th and 16th centuries*, edn London 1987, pp. 47-52; E. Muller and J.M. Noël, *ibid.*, pp. 143-145 (on Judith).

112. See notably T. Buddensieg, 'Simson und Delilah von Peter Paul Rubens', *Festschrift für Otto von Simson zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. L. Grisebach and K. Renger, Frankfurt—Berlin—Vienna, 1977, pp. 328-345.

likewise associated, this time as protagonists in contrasting *exempla* of the effects of female love.¹¹³

For Rubens, as for other artists, the degree of seriousness of his treatment of a theme might depend very much on its intended context. For instance the story of how Rudolf of Hapsburg, the future Emperor Rudolf I, gave up his horse to a priest carrying the sacrament to a sick man, one of Rubens's few themes from medieval history, is an *exemplum virtutis* from the chapter on religion in Justus Lipsius's *Monita et exempla politica*, as Rubens certainly knew.¹¹⁴ It is also a story about Hapsburg devotion to the Eucharist, and as such is sometimes even represented by modern writers as a religious theme.¹¹⁵ Hence the obvious humour in Rubens's painting of the subject (No. 56; Fig. 214) has been judged unexpected, even indecorous. Rubens almost certainly made this picture for Philip IV of Spain, who kept it in his bedroom in the Alcázar, where, at least at the end of his life, it hung near the *Garden of Love*, and was perhaps regarded by the king as not strikingly different in tone. The tale of Rudolf's piety and its reward was a favourite with the Hapsburg family, and Philip II had loved to tell and retell it, no doubt embellishing it with interesting detail. For Philip IV, a passionate horseman, Rubens made of it a picture which celebrates both Hapsburg religion and Hapsburg equestrian skill and, at the same time, turns wittily on class distinctions between horses as well as their riders.¹¹⁶

Some humour was also derived from horses in Rubens's paintings of the escape of Cloelia (Nos. 47, 48, 48b; Figs. 170, 171, 173-176). The story of the Roman maiden who, after being sent with several companions as hostage to Lars Porsenna, evaded the Etruscan guards and swam across the Tiber back to Rome, was for Valerius Maximus a case of heroic fortitude second only to the endurance of Scaevola (cf. Nos. 45, 46; Figs. 161, 163); but Renaissance artists had already used it to make much of the swimming. By simply exploiting some elements present in the different ancient accounts of the story—the association of Cloelia with a horse, and the reference in Plutarch and Dionysius of Halicarnassus to the fact that the young women made their escape while bathing, since for modesty's sake they had been allowed to do this unguarded—Rubens made it a wonderful excuse for the depiction of a party of naked young women and horses, a sight to delight

113. See under No. 18, *ad finem*.

114. It was used to exemplify humility in the late 17th-century Bruges tapestry series of the virtues rewarded, for which see n. 51 above.

115. See under No 56.

116. See under No. 56 (Fig. 214). For Rubens's illustration of class distinctions among the Sabine women in his pictures of the *Rape of the Sabines* and *Reconciliation of the Sabines* see Nos. 40, 42, 43.

as much as to instruct spectators. Whether or not he remembered Boccaccio's remark that this was Cloelia's first horse-ride, Rubens introduced a number of diverting illustrations of the maidens' inexpert attempts to mount their steeds. As a result the Netherlandish humanist Hooft, trying to compose an epigram about the earlier painting (No. 47; Fig. 170), had some difficulty in reconciling his reactions with the supposed exemplary intention.¹¹⁷

For the artist himself and for many contemporary spectators familiar with Italianate conventions of painting, there would have been no problematic contradiction between the moral lesson of Cloelia's story and the attractive nudity and amusing behaviour of the heroine's companions—any more than it would have seemed odd that in 1617 Rubens recommended to a potential client, Dudley Carleton, as 'a most delightful picture, and full of many very beautiful young girls', a painting he had done with the help of his 'best pupil' (Van Dyck) of Achilles discovered after he had been dressed as a girl and hidden among the daughters of King Lycomedes.¹¹⁸ After all, as we saw, the scene of the biblical Susanna was for Rubens both a moral *exemplum* and a pretext for painting a beautiful naked woman (*text ill.* 14, 15). This was certainly understood by some of the artist's patrons; the same Carleton requested that the *Susanna* Rubens was sending him should be pretty enough to enamour even old men.¹¹⁹ Certain other biblical themes too, as Rubens in turn explained to this English Protestant, are to be understood as somewhere between the sacred and the secular.¹²⁰ This was the case with the *Expulsion of Hagar* that he was painting for Carleton, a picture that he had earlier referred to as a *galanteria*, a phrase which may simply mean a decoratively attractive trifle, but which seems also to imply a certain mild eroticism.¹²¹ He would no doubt have talked of some of the paintings in this volume in a similar light-hearted way if, like the *Expulsion of Hagar*, they had been intended as private cabinet pictures.

Rubens's last surviving composition on the theme of Cyrus and Tomyris (No. 5; Fig. 17) illustrates just how radically a subject could be transformed in tone, even genre, for a particular setting. Shortly before he died, the artist

117. See under No. 47, at nn. 11 and 24.

118. '...quadro vaghissimo e pieno de molte fanciulle bellissime': *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, II, p. 137, letter of 28 April 1618 to Carleton, doc. CLXVI; *Magurn, Letters, 1955*, p. 61, no. 28.

119. 'La Susanna hà da esser bella per innamorar anco li Vecchij...': *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, II, p. 165, letter of 22 May 1618 from Carleton to Rubens, doc. CLXXI.

120. '...nè sacro ne profano per dir così benche cavato della sacra scrittura...': *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, II, p. 170, letter of 26 May 1618 to Carleton, doc. CLXXIV.

121. *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, II, p. 150, letter of 12 May 1618 to Carleton, doc. CLXVIII.

evidently received a commission from a collector with a taste for sensational themes of violence, Gaspar Roomer, a Flemish merchant resident in Naples. The result was the splendid painting published by Burchard and now in Edinburgh showing *The Feast of Herod*, delivered in 1640.¹²² For this sumptuous scene, which includes the gruesome detail of Herodias pricking the dead saint's tongue with her fork,¹²³ Rubens adapted a motif he had already used for the horrific *Banquet of Tereus*, in which a deluded father kicks over the table in shock and disgust.¹²⁴ But the artist at some stage evidently thought of painting a *Tomyris and Cyrus* for Roomer. For the sheet with the drawing for the Salome composition has on its reverse a sketch of Tomyris watching Cyrus's head being submerged in the vessel of blood. Here the subject which Rubens had painted as an *exemplum* of female resolution, probably for Archduchess Isabella (No. 2; Fig. 8), is transformed into a gory scene of a woman and a decapitation, something that would appeal to his patron. That Rubens eventually decided instead on the feast of Herod for Roomer may be because this story involves a more shocking illustration of female involvement in beheading, combining as it does outrage on a saint with a notorious erotic element.

But whether treated decorously or gruesomely, whether an *exemplum* of virtue or of the bad end of a tyrant, the theme of Cyrus and Tomyris evidently attracted Rubens as an exotic Middle Eastern subject, which allowed for extravagant and grandiose costume, ornament and architecture. This too was what led him to turn to the stately oriental dramas of Veronese for inspiration for his paintings of the theme (No. 2; Fig. 8 and No. 4; Fig. 23). That the tale of Cyrus was generally held to have some such appeal for artists and patrons is made clear in a discussion of the 1560s about the commissioning of a series of tapestries on the life of Cyrus for Francesco de' Medici. Francesco himself considered that the subject would give scope for all sorts of extravagant detail to entertain the eye of the viewer (*dilettare la vista*).¹²⁵

122. L. Burchard, 'Rubens' "Feast of Herod" at Port Sunlight', *The Burlington Magazine*, XCV, 1953, pp. 383-387.

123. This is based ultimately on St Jerome, *In Rufinum* III.2, as Burchard noted (loc. cit., p. 384, n. 2). For the visual tradition see Pigler, *Barockthemen*, 1974, I, pp. 482-483.

124. See Alpers, *Torre*, 1971, no. 57, fig. 182.

125. See Scorza, *Borghini*, 1987, pp. 152-155; also pp. 341-343 for the relevant documents, including the scheme of subjects proposed by Francesco's artistic adviser, Vincenzo Borghini; also J. Kliemann, 'Vincenzo Borghini 1565: Ärger mit Friedrich Susstris und ein Programm für Stradanos Kyrusteppiche' in *Begegnungen—Festschrift für Peter Anselm Riedl* (Heidelberger kunstgeschichtliche Abhandlungen, XX), Worms, 1993, pp. 116-123. For the series see also C. Adelson in [Cat. Exh.] *Palazzo Vecchio: committenza e collezionismo mediceo* (Palazzo Vecchio, Florence, 1980), Florence, 1980, pp. 74-75; only one tapestry survives (repr. p. 76; cf. Kliemann, op. cit., fig. 3). For the letter of the Florentine scholar Giovan Battista Adnani, advising

After all, even in the cases where the subject was prescribed for him, Rubens was setting out to create pictures that would give him an opportunity to display his talents to the best advantage. He accordingly thought of exemplary and historical subjects, like other themes, first and foremost in terms of what would make an attractive and interesting painting. This is true for his illustrations both of the themes familiar in Renaissance art and of those which were completely novel, chosen by him to suit a specific situation or commission, or simply for fun. It is worth recalling too how when Goltzius wrote to an educated friend, Jan de Weely, in 1605 to ask for some suggestions for Old Testament themes that he might paint, he specified 'cheerful' stories that would look nice in pictures ('vrolycke historien...die in Schilderie liefelijk staen').¹²⁶

Alberti had advised artists to apply to learned men for ideas for secular pictures, and a number of painters as different as Botticelli, Dürer, Vasari, Heemskerck and Mola appear to have done so, to more or less good effect. There are also learned illustrations of historical themes, with clever humanist details which may have been worked out in collaboration with, rather than simply imposed on, the artist. But Rubens could be his own 'humanist adviser'; for him the process of pictorial invention involved no separation between choice of subject-matter and the artistic expression of it. He was the embodiment of what Bellori hoped for when he recommended the painter himself to be learned.¹²⁷ Indeed in his life of Rubens Bellori described him as precisely this:

He had natural gifts, a quick wit, wide-ranging intelligence, noble and well-read in the good authors of history and of poetry, so that he could both invent subjects and illustrate them with the most telling and appropriate features; he was very good at actions and in them expressed, indeed brought to life, the movements of the body and the motions of the soul.¹²⁸

Francesco against such 'barbarian themes' (*cose barbare*) see A. del Vita, 'Lo Zibaldone di Giorgio Vasari', *Il Vasari*, VII, 1935, pp. 106-111; also C. Hope, 'Artists, Patrons and Advisers in the Italian Renaissance' in *Patronage in the Renaissance*, eds. G.F. Lytle and S. Orgel, Princeton, 1981, pp. 334-336.

126. See A. Blankert in *Cat. Exh. Gods, Saints and Heroes, 1980-81*, pp. 28-29 and n. 79.

127. See G.P. Bellori, *Descrizione delle immagini dipinti da Raffaello d'Urbino nel Palazzo Vaticano, e nella Farnesina alla Lungara*, edn Rome 1751, pp. 62-63.

128. 'Ebbe egli natural dono, spirito vivo, ingegno universale, nobile e coltivato nella letteratura di buoni autori d'istoria, e di poesia, ond'era capace d'invenzioni e sapeva spiegare i soggetti con le parti più proprie, e più opportune; era efficace all'azzioni, ed in esse esprimeva, e animava li moti, e gli affetti': Bellori, *Vite*, ed. Borea, 1976, p. 267.

II. Rubens and his Books

A NUMBER OF Renaissance artists had some learning and some books. A few had quite well-stocked libraries—Pietro da Cortona, for example, and Velázquez, who owned numerous works on mathematics and architecture.¹ Indeed the painter of the *Hilanderas* had two copies of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, one in Spanish and the other Dolce's Italian translation, and this may even tell us something about how he arrived at his brilliant conception of the story of Minerva and Arachne, since the woodcut which accompanies the section with the story in Dolce's book shows three spinning women.² Velázquez was unusual in having had two Latin books in his library, Pliny's *Natural History* and a simple dictionary of mythology, the *Elucidarius poeticus*;³ otherwise all his books were in Spanish or Italian. Even more unusual is the case of the painter Rosso Fiorentino, whom Vasari tells us tried to learn Latin before going to France to work for François I,⁴ a claim which can be verified since among the possessions he left behind in Arezzo in 1531 was a Latin grammar (Perotti's *Rudimenta grammatices*), along with a copy of Castiglione's *Courtier*, from which he presumably hoped to learn court manners.⁵ But even when artists owned classical texts they were usually translations. The apes scrambling among the rocks in Giulio Romano's *Fall of the Giants*, the result of a mistranslation in an Italian paraphrase of the

1. For the subject in general see Bialostocki, *Doctus Artifex*, 1984, pp. 11-22. For Velázquez's library see F.J. Sánchez Cantón, 'La librería de Velázquez', *Homenaje ofrecido a Menéndez Pidal*, III, Madrid, 1925, pp. 379-406; for that of Cortona see K. Noehles, *La chiesa dei SS. Luca e Martina nell'opera di Pietro da Cortona*, Rome, 1970, pp. 4 and 365-367, doc. 166.

2. L. Dolce, *Le trasformazioni*, edn Venice, 1568, fol. 59. This actually illustrates the story of the daughters of Minyas. An iconographic connection with Velázquez's painting has already been suggested by D. Angulo Iníguez ('Las Hilanderas. Sobre la iconografía de Aracne', *Archivo Español de Arte*, XXV, 1952, pp. 81-83, fig. 12) but the artist's ownership of the book is not noted there, nor that the story of Arachne is contained in the chapter that is headed by this woodcut.

3. Both works were, however, available in translation, the latter at least in Italian (H. Torreninus, *Elucidario poetico*, trans. O. Toscanella, Venice, 1565); possibly it was these vernacular translations that the artist had.

4. Vasari, *Opere*, ed. Milanesi, 1878-85, V, p. 166.

5. See G. degli Azzi, 'Documenti su artisti aretini e non aretini lavoranti in Arezzo', *Il Vasari*, IV, 1931, pp. 64-66; the grammar, referred to as 'uno Sepontino' (Perotti was Archbishop of Siponto) is identified in E.A. Carroll [Cat. Exh.], *Rosso Fiorentino: Drawings, Prints and Decorative Arts* (National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1987-88), Washington, 1987, pp. 25, 29 and 35, n. 74. I thank Monique Kornell for this reference.

Metamorphoses, illustrate how the 'painters' bible' was usually a vernacular version of Ovid's book.⁶

Of all artists of the period Rubens probably had the best classical education and the best classical library. He came from a well-read family. His brother Philip, a favourite pupil of Justus Lipsius, was a distinguished antiquarian and philologist whose career was cut short by his death in 1611.⁷ Rubens's first artistic association with a book was the collaboration on his brother's *Electa* of 1608, for which he designed the illustrations and probably contributed to the argument; many more projects involving the illustration and publication of books followed.⁸

From 1613 Rubens regularly supplied illustrations and title-pages for works published by his friend Balthasar Moretus, director of the Plantin Press in Antwerp. He chose to be paid not in cash but in books ordered through the Plantin shop. Unfortunately, there is no inventory extant of the artist's books, although we know that one was taken when his son Albert, a promising classical scholar, inherited them.⁹ Since Rubens did not hesitate

6. In Giovanni dei Bonsignori's paraphrase (first printed Venice, 1497) a conjectural reading of *Metamorphoses* I, 162 was perhaps behind the statement that apes were born from the blood of the giants. See B. Guthmüller, *Studien zur antiken Mythologie in der italienischen Renaissance*, Weinheim, 1986, pp. 117-141, esp. pp. 121-130. The *Metamorphoses* was characterized as the 'Schilders Bybel' by Karel van Mander, in the preface to his *Wlegghingh op den Metamorphosis* (fol. 4v), included in the *Schilder-boeck* of 1604. See H. Miedema, *Karel van Mander: Den gront der edel vry schilder-const*, I-II, Utrecht, 1973, II, p. 643.

7. On Philip Rubens see now Morford, *Stoics*, 1991, esp. pp. 14-51.

8. See Judson—Van de Velde, *Title-pages*, 1978 esp. I, pp. 25-40; for Rubens's role in the publication of the magnificent five-volume edition of Hubert Goltzius's studies on numismatics see *ibid.*, I, pp. 334-336, with further references. For the *Palazzi di Genova* see [Cat. Exh.] *Rubens e Genova* (Palazzo Ducale, Genoa, 1977-78), Genoa, 1977, esp. pp. 59-84 (I. M. Botto). As we shall see (below, under No. 54) he provided both intellectual and artistic matter for the edition of Lipsius's *Works of Seneca* published by Balthasar Moretus in 1615.

9. There is at least an inventory of Albert's library, made at his early death in 1654, but we cannot assume simply that the older books in this were inherited from his father: see McRae, *Library*, 1971, p. 1; P. Génard 'Het laatste testament van P. P. Rubens', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, 1896, p. 133; also P. Arents 'De Bibliotheek van Pieter Pauwel Rubens. Inleiding tot de bibliographie', *Noordgouw*, I-IV, 1961, pp. 162-165. Only one actual volume, a *Lives of the Artists* by Karel Van Mander, is said to exist with Rubens's *ex libris*. The book, published at Alkmaar in 1603 and in the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, bears the inscription: 'ex libris pet^o p...^o Rubens' and has marginal notes. But these are not now thought to be in Rubens's hand. See McRae, *Library*, 1971, p. 127, no. 305. Most frustratingly, mystery surrounds the artist's copy of the 1568 edition of Vasari's *Vite*, with annotations attributed to Rubens himself. Michael Jaffé kindly informed me that he was told some 25 years ago that such a volume was in the possession of the Cavendish family at Holker Hall earlier this century; supposedly it was lost in a fire. Cf. M. Jaffé, 'Rubens as a collector of Drawings. I', *Master Drawings*, II, 1964, p. 383; Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, 1977, pp. 46, 111 n. 1. But I found in an unmarked file in the Warburg Institute (from the papers of Otto Kurz) a transcript of what appears to be an account of this volume from a German sale catalogue. The volume had a dedication to Rubens from Gevar-

to rework and correct the drawings by earlier artists which he owned, we need hardly suppose that he was too respectful to his books to write in them, or at least record his ownership. But for the present our knowledge of the artist's library must depend on other sources.

First of all, there are the letters he wrote to and received from his friends and correspondents, some of them the most learned men of Europe. From these we learn that Rubens, whose political awareness of course increased with his work as a diplomat from the early 1620s, avidly read topical and satirical tracts and pamphlets, as well as the more general and theoretical treatments of political issues. He read news sheets and (even before the Medici cycle and his experience of the French court) took the *Mercure François*, the annual digest of court and public events published in Paris.¹⁰ Rubens was equally interested in contemporary religious controversies. A committed but tolerant Catholic, he often asked his correspondents for books by Protestants and heretics banned or at least difficult to obtain in the Spanish Netherlands.¹¹ In a letter of 1623 Rubens reveals that he has read the 'manifesto' by the founder of the Rosicrucians, by which he probably meant the Dutch translation of the *Fama Fraternitatis* published in Amsterdam in 1617. He uses its alchemical imagery to make some appropriately ironical comments on the movement, calling it a fake philosopher's stone.¹²

Of all the interests which Rubens shared with his educated contemporaries it was, of course, classical antiquity, its literature, its monuments and its art that he read up on most thoroughly and systematically, making it his business to get hold of all the latest studies and editions of ancient texts. In

tius, and had previously belonged to Theodoor Galle. Since Galle died in 1635 and Rubens is referred to in the dedication as Lord of Steen it was probably in this year that Gevartius gave his friend the book. Yet it would be surprising if Rubens did not already possess a copy of Vasari.

10. The first occurrence in the Plantin list is for 28 June 1617 (*Rooses, Moretus, 1883*, p. 192: '1 Mercure françois 8^o po. [=parchment binding] 4 vol. ... fl. 9-10').
11. In 1626, for example, Rubens had to ask for a second copy of Juan de Mariana's book criticizing the Jesuits, since he had lent his original one to a Jesuit friend, Andreas Schottus, whose father superior had promptly confiscated it 'with a stern reprimand' *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, III, pp. 433-437, letter of 2 April 1626 to Valavez, doc. CCCXCVIII; cf. *Magurn, Letters, 1955*, p. 133, no. 81. This time he would prefer a Spanish to a French copy, presumably because he wanted the original text.
12. *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, III, pp. 228-231, letter of 10 August 1623 to Peiresc, doc. CCCXLV; cf. *Magurn, Letters, 1955*, p. 93, no. 53. Magurn, following Rooses and Ruelens, suggests (p. 450) that this book was the *Chymische Hochzeit Christiani Rosenkreuz* of 1616 by Johann Valentin Andreae, but since Rubens refers to Rosicrucians in Amsterdam and to a 'manifesto', and since it is unlikely that he would have wanted a work in German, the Dutch translation of the *Fama* is the best candidate. For the movement see F.A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, London—Boston, 1972.

many cases these books would have been recommended or lent to him by his many scholarly friends and acquaintances, who had a considerable influence on Rubens's reading. He himself often mentions how he has seen this or that book at the house of Rockox or Gevartius, two of his closest friends in Antwerp. It was for Gevartius that he asked about manuscripts of the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius in the Escorial in 1628 and talked to a few scholars there, although he shrank from the idea of attempting any collation of the Greek text: he is, he explains, not really up to this academically, and has been very ill with gout, and besides 'time, and my ways and habits of life draw me away in another direction'.¹³ But sometimes he was the first to report on a new work of scholarship, as for example with the publication of the ancient inscriptions in the Arundel collection, the *Marmora Arundeliana* by John Selden, which he saw in London in 1629; in great excitement he writes immediately to Pierre Dupuy and then to Peiresc, adding that he only wishes the author, whose *De diis Syriis* he admired, had kept out of politics and in his study. (Selden, a Protestant and Parliamentarian, was then in prison.)¹⁴ In the letter to Peiresc, Rubens mentions that Cotton and Boswell have shown him a manuscript which supplements the gaps in Niccolò Alemanni's edition of Procopius; he suspects that the Italian scholar omitted the passages through prudishness. The edition in question was that published at Lyons in 1623 of the *Anecdotes* or *Secret History*, the so-called 'ninth' book of Procopius's *Histories*, which deals with the debaucheries of Justinian and Theodora, and Rubens had discussed it already with Dupuy and Peiresc, as well as a response to it, the 'Defence of Justinian against Alemanni' by Thomas Rivius. This latter treatise Rubens had found both excellent in style (its Latin being 'Ciceronian, without any affectation') and well-argued, although he himself, on the one hand, would be prepared to believe practically anything of princes and, on the other hand, wishes more gallantly that Rivius had defended Theodora as well as Justinian.¹⁵ Yet if Rubens had views about the Latinity of the authors he read (as he obvi-

13. '...tempus et vitae ratio et institutum alio avocant...' He also apologizes for the letter not being written properly in Latin (in fact it lapses alternately from Dutch into Latin and vice versa), pleading illness and incapacity: *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, V, pp. 14-21, letter of 29 December 1628 to Gevartius, doc. DLXVI; *Magurn, Letters, 1955*, pp. 293-296, no. 181.

14. See *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, V, pp. 147-151, letter of 8 August 1629 to Pierre Dupuy, doc. DCXV; pp. 152-159, letter of 9 August 1629 to Peiresc, doc. DCXVI; *Magurn, Letters, 1955*, p. 321, no. 195; p. 322, no. 196. Cf. *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, V, p. 41, letter of 12 May 1629 from Jacques Dupuy to Gevartius, doc. DXXVIII, and p. 190, letter of 2 September 1629 from Peiresc to Dupuy, doc. DCXXVIII.

15. *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, IV, pp. 434-436, letter of 22 June 1628 to Pierre Dupuy, doc. DLV; *Magurn, Letters, 1955*, pp. 270-271, no. 172; *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance,*

ously did), he usually expressed them politely and with a reserve appropriate to his status as an interested amateur. And often when he recommends to his correspondents a book he has just read on some scholarly subject—ancient medicine, say, or astronomy—he does so by also citing the good opinion of more expert readers.¹⁶ When the matter concerns images his comments are much less circumspect. Jean Jacques Chifflet's treatise on the shroud of Besançon and ancient burial customs, whose argument depends on iconographic evidence, is recommended unequivocally, even though it was certainly controversial.¹⁷ In this case Rubens himself had provided not only information but a drawing of a dead child in a winding sheet from an Early Christian sarcophagus he himself owned, having brought it back from Rome.¹⁸ In fact Rubens was regarded by his erudite contemporaries as an expert (if not *the* expert) on classical iconography. (Peiresc constantly sends him iconographic problems—anything from a drawing of a sarcophagus or a tripod to a gem with a winged womb, and confidently predicts that Rubens will 'baptize' any puzzling subject.)¹⁹ Still, even if we often get glimpses in the letters of Rubens approaching books as an artist, on the whole the correspondence can tell us very little about how, if at all, Rubens's reading influenced his own painting. This is not surprising, given that the correspondents to whom Rubens writes about books are not expecting to hear about his art. Rubens sometimes mentions in passing that a book he is sending is one for which he has made the title-page, but no reactions are recorded on the part of his correspondents.

There is, however, in the Plantin-Moretus Museum in Antwerp a document that is more revealing for the relationship of Rubens's books to his art. This is the list of invoices for books and the binding of books sent to Rubens by Moretus over the period from 1613 until the artist's death. This list has

1887-1909, IV, pp. 437-440, letter of 6 July 1628 to Pierre Dupuy, doc. D1VI; *Magurn, Letters*, 1955, p. 273, no. 174.

16. To take two examples involving books by friends, G. Wendelinus's *Loxus, seu de obliquitate solis* (edn Antwerp, 1626) is described as 'of its kind...highly praised' ('viene lodato in quel genere...': *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, IV, pp. 251-252, letter of 6 May 1627 to Pierre Dupuy, doc. XDVIII; *Magurn, Letters*, 1955, p. 179, no. 107) while Ludovicus Nonnius's *Diaeteticon sive de re cibaria libri IV* (Antwerp, 1626) is said to be 'considered a good book, in the opinion of our doctors' (*Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, IV, p. 291, letter of 12 August 1627 to Dupuy, doc. DXI; *Magurn, Letters*, 1955, p. 195, no. 119).
17. *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, III, pp. 313-319, letter of 26 December 1624 to Valavez, doc. CCCLXVI; *Magurn, Letters*, 1955, p. 100, no. 59.
18. J.J. Chifflet, *De linteis sepulchralibus Christi Servatoris crisis historica*, Antwerp, 1624, pp. 170-171. For this see H. Brunsting, 'Romeinse sarcofaag uit Rubens' verzameling' in *Hermeneus*, XLIX, 1977, pp. 198-201; also *Van der Meulen, Antique*, 1994, II, pp. 162-163, no. 142; III, figs. 272-274.
19. See D. Jaffé, *Rubens and his friends. Some additions to the correspondence of Rubens*, forthcoming.

been known to Rubens scholars since Max Rooses published it nearly a century ago and identified a number of the items;²⁰ it was also used by Susan McRae in her unpublished study of 1971 on Rubens's library.²¹ It can, however, be exploited further. It not only supplements information in the letters but has the particular value of providing dates of acquisition. It also provides in almost all cases some details about size, place of publication, publisher, price or binding which allow us to identify the precise editions Rubens owned, something that is especially useful for the classical texts with their different modern commentaries.²²

The first entry, for 17 March 1613, presents a sample: this is a diverse collection of works only one of which is a Plantin book (Occo's *Numismata*, an unillustrated study of Roman coins of 1579);²³ the others must have been ordered from different publishers abroad, and perhaps bought by Moretus at the Frankfurt fair. There are two books on the history of Naples (one in Italian by Giovanni Battista Caraffa, published at Naples in 1572, the other the Latin version of Pandolfo Collenuccio's *History of Naples*, published at Basle in the same year), Giovio's lives of famous men, the *Elogia virorum illustrium* (Basle, 1575-77), Aldrovandi's big and expensive three-volume works on birds (*Ornithologia*, Bologna 1599-1603) and Gesner's more modest *De serpentibus*, in an edition of 1587, as well as a new edition of Philippe de Commines's *Memoires* published at Rouen, and the latest edition of Rosinus's *Antiquitates romanae*, the antiquarian compendium by a German scholar printed at Geneva in 1611.²⁴ Also included in the bill of 17 March 1613 is an item for the binding only of Goropius Becanus's *Hermathena*, that monumental and eccentric work of Antwerp scholarship of the previous generation, dealing with hieroglyphs and the supposed (Flemish) origin of language. This book, published by Plantin in 1580, presumably needed rebinding, and Rubens may well have had it for years.²⁵ Some of the books are newly published, so that their acquisition need have no special point other than their relevance to Rubens's general interests. Others are much older, which suggests that in some instances at least Rubens sought them

from the Warburg Institute, letter of 16 August 1624 from Peiresc to Rubens.

20. Rooses, *Moretus*, 1883.

21. McRae, *Library*, 1971.

22. Since Rooses did not attempt to identify the particular editions of Rubens's classical texts, I have given the details for the books discussed here.

23. The reference ('1. Numismata Oconis in 4^{to}...fl. 2-10') could apply to the quarto edition published at Augsburg in 1601, but it is more likely to be the Plantin edition of 1579, as Rooses supposed.

24. These works were all identified by Rooses: *Rooses, Moretus*, 1883, pp. 187-188.

25. '1 Becanus Hermathena in-f^o pro ligatura...fl. 0-18': *Rooses, Moretus*, 1883, p. 188.

out with a specific purpose.²⁶ Aldrovandi's works on animals, including insects and sea creatures, Rubens bought one after the other over the next three years, perhaps because he could not afford all these costly books at once. It was in these years that Rubens's workshop began to produce quantities of hunt scenes and pictures involving animals, so the animal lore in these volumes must have been invaluable, although the crude woodcuts are remote indeed from Rubens's convincingly lifelike animals.²⁷ Aldrovandi's encyclopaedia may have been consulted on everything from hippopotamus feet²⁸ to the feeding habits of the great spotted woodpecker, useful for his *Finding of Romulus and Remus* (No. 34; Fig. 117), from Pythagoras's reasons for rejecting beans (cf. *Pythagoras advocating Vegetarianism*, No. 7; Fig. 31) to ancient Roman military insignia (cf. the pictures of *The Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines*, Nos. 41, 43), included because they depict birds and animals. As for Giovio's book on the lives of famous men, Rooses already pointed out that Rubens used its illustrations as models for a series of portraits which were commissioned by Balthasar Moretus himself in 1613, and are still in the Plantin Museum.²⁹ Rubens may well have bought the Giovio with this project in mind, even if he was probably interested to read the lives. And it is tempting to think that the acquisition of Philippe de Commines's memoirs was related to his work on Burgundian figures for the *Costume Book* which scholars now agree was made around 1613.³⁰

A similar pattern emerges from other entries in the list. There are books which, like the volumes of Rosinus and Occo, seem to document Rubens's enthusiasm for antiquarian matters: Pancirolus's *Memorabilia nove reperta et*

26. In fact the least obvious items in the first entry, the books on Naples (a place which, as far as I know, Rubens never visited) can be elucidated, I think, by a passage in a letter of 23 September 1627 to Pierre Dupuy (*Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, IV, p. 309, doc. DXVII). Thanking Dupuy for sending him a French translation of a book on the troubles in Naples ('la congiura degli baroni di Napoli contra il re Ferdinando'), he says how delighted he is *at last* to receive this work which he had read when he was in Italy (in the original Italian) but had ever since looked for everywhere without success. Since the book Rubens read in Italy must have been *La Congiura de' Baroni del Regno di Napoli contra il Re Ferdinando primo, raccolta del S. Camillo Portio*, published at Rome in 1565, the two Naples history books on the list for March 1613 may have been bought in an attempt to find the 1565 one, or, more probably, reflect the same interest as the original book.

27. On these see notably Balis, *Hunting Scenes*, 1986, esp. pp. 70-83.

28. See A. Balis, 'Hippopotamus Rubenii: een hoofdstukje uit de geschiedenis van de zoölogie' in *Feestbundel bij de opening van het Kolveniershof en het Rubenianum*, Antwerp, 1981, pp. 127-142.

29. Rooses, *Moretus*, 1883, p. 188. For the portraits, mostly executed by the studio, see M. Rooses, *Catalogue of the Plantin-Moretus Museum*, edn Antwerp, 1921, pp. 30-32, nos. 4-7, 9-11; *Jaffé, Rubens*, 1989, pp. 190-191, nos. 225-229 (omitting *Cosimo de' Medici* and *Pope Nicolas V*).

30. See Belkin, *Costume Book*, 1978, *passim*; Held, *Drawings*, 1986, pp. 95-97.

antique deperdita,³¹ Alexander ab Alexandro's *Dies geniales*, on ancient festivals and customs,³² Boissard's *Antiquitates*,³³ numerous works on coins and gems. These were presumably bought for general reference but no doubt on occasion provided information useful for particular paintings. Rosinus's chapter on *devotio*, for example, was surely consulted in connection with the cycle of Decius Mus³⁴ and his material on vestals for *The Vindication of Tuccia* (No. 51; Fig. 185) and *Mars and Rhea Silvia* (Fig. 101).³⁵ The palladium in this latter painting rests on an altar with sphinxes which is a variation on examples illustrated in Boissard's compendium, for instance that in the Cesi collection.³⁶ Here the sphinxes are probably symbolic: they suggest the mystery surrounding the palladium, obscure token of the promise of empire, *arcanum imperii pignus*,³⁷ as well as being appropriate to Minerva, who, like them, represents the conjunction of *robur et prudentia*.³⁸ Similarly the books on history as well as geography and natural history would have been purchased for their general interest—and this is especially likely in the case of newly published works—but then at different times would have contributed something to Rubens's art. That most essential of Renaissance compendia, Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica* (Rubens had the Lyons edition of 1610) must have been well used. The artist bought a copy and had it bound in 1615, then had it rebound, in better material, in 1620.³⁹

Rubens also bought the latest editions of classical texts. Alemanni's edition of the scurrilous *Secret History* of Procopius was ordered as soon as it

31. Bought 2 May 1616: *Rooses, Moretus, 1883*, p. 190 (not identified). The Latin title and the reference to a 2-volume 8^o edition makes it clear that it was the Salmuth translation of Guido Panciroli's original Italian published at Hamburg in 1612.

32. Bought 9 February 1615. This was probably, as Rooses supposed, in the edition of Frankfurt, 1595: *Rooses, Moretus, 1883*, p. 190.

33. J.J. Boissard, *Romanae urbis topographia et antiquitates*, Frankfurt, 1596-1602, bought 23 May 1614: see *Rooses, Moretus, 1883*, p. 189, identifying the book.

34. See Chapter III, at n. 48.

35. For this painting see Chapter V, pp. 114-116.

36. Boissard, *op. cit.* in n. 33, III, pl. 77; cf. IV, pl. 75, V, pl. 81 for other examples.

37. This is how Gevartius describes the palladium: *Gevartius, Pompa, 1641*, p. 90. Rubens, I believe, used sphinxes (on an altar) to allude to the element of mystery needed for good *imprese*, or personal devices, in his design for the title-page to Petrasancta's *Symbola Heroica* (Judson—*Van de Velde, Title-pages, 1978*, I, pp. 287-290, no. 69; II, fig. 234), as well as in his *Triumph of Faith* (*text ill.* 31; cf. below, Chapter IV, text at n. 20).

38. The sphinxes on the Fuggers' Arch for the entry of Ferdinand in 1635 are interpreted this way, on the authority of the Neoplatonist Synesius: *Gevartius, Pompa, 1641*, p. 161; cf. *ibid.*, p. 88, on Minerva.

39. 9 February 1615: '1 Pierii Hieroglyphica f^o. Lugduni po. 1610...fl. 9-00'; 22 August 1620: 'Binsel van 1 Hieroglyphica f^o regal filel...fl. 3-00' (*Rooses, Moretus, 1883*, pp. 190, 193).

came out, in 1623.⁴⁰ The Gruter edition of Cicero, published at Hamburg in 1618-19, sent for binding in 1624,⁴¹ was obviously purchased for its new commentary, for Rubens surely already owned a copy of Cicero's works. Rubens's acquisition of Greek texts is especially interesting. Alemanni's Procopius had, along with the Greek, a parallel Latin translation. The obvious conclusion might be that it was the Latin that Rubens read (he was certainly very competent in both reading and writing Latin), with at most only a glance here and there at the Greek equivalent. But there is good evidence that at least by the 1620s Rubens was reasonably proficient at Greek, even if he was not up to collating the Marcus Aurelius manuscripts in the Escorial in 1628. For the book lists reveal that Rubens made an effort to learn Greek in the later 1610s, presumably under the influence of his humanist friends both in Antwerp and abroad. In February 1615 he bought together a whole series of classical texts, along with the Valeriano and Alexander ab Alexandro, and contented himself on this occasion mostly with Latin translations of the Greek authors.⁴² There was a small Latin-only edition of the *Lives of the Philosophers* by Diogenes Laertius, a similar Herodotus (in Valla's translation) and a similar *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates (probably the translation published at Vicenza in 1610).⁴³ There was a Pausanias in Greek and Latin (evidently the translation and edition of Xylander, probably as published at Hannover in 1613),⁴⁴ but then no Latin-only texts of Pausanias were actually available. Certainly the small Latin translations were cheap (a few stuivers each) and easy to come by. Besides, in the same invoice was a copy of the commentary on Ezechiel by Villalpando and Prado (Rome 1596-1604), a sumptuous illustrated book in two volumes dealing, notably, with the supposed architecture of the Temple of Solomon and

40. '0 Procopii historiae liber 9 fol. ... fl. 0-00': *Rooses, Moretus, 1883*, p. 197. Evidently it was unobtainable. For the later correspondence about this book see text at n. 15 above.

41. '1 Ligature de Ciceronis opera p. Gruterus po. ... fl. 2-00': *Rooses, Moretus, 1883*, p. 198. This is Cicero, *Opera*, eds. J.G. and J. Gruter, Hamburg (Froben), 1618-19.

42. He had purchased Philostratus's *Imagines* in French the previous year, on 23 May 1614: '1. Philostrate Images, Vies et oeuvres in-8^o, 3 voll. po. ... fl. 8-15' (*Rooses, Moretus, 1883*, p. 189). Being in octavo and in 3 volumes this cannot be the famous illustrated edition of Blaise de Vigenère, as is sometimes thought, but rather the edition published at Tournon (Michel), 1611, which includes the Lives of Apollonius and of the Sophists.

43. *Rooses, Moretus, 1883*, p. 190: '1 Diogenes Laertius in-16^o po. ... fl. 0-11' = (probably) edn Lyons (Gryphius), 1592; at any rate the size indicates that it must be a Latin-only edition, which would have had A. Traversari's translation; '1 Herodotus latine 8^o po. Francf. ... fl. 1-00' = Herodotus, *Historiae*, tr. L. Valla, Frankfurt, 1595; '1 Aphorismi Hippocratis 16^o po. ... fl. 0-09' = (probably) Hippocrates, *Aphorismi*, ed. F. Oclerius, tr. N. Leoniceus, Vicenza, 1610.

44. '1 Pausanias graeco-latinus fol. po. ... fl. 7-10' (*Rooses, Moretus, 1883*, p. 190) : (probably) Pausanias, *Graeciae Descriptio*, ed. G. Xylander, tr. R. Amasaes, Hannover, 1613.

costing 66 florins,⁴⁵ on which Rubens may have spent his entire book budget. But we find that the following summer, in 1616, he invested in Constantinus's Greek-Latin lexicon, a revision of Etienne's famous dictionary (probably in the Geneva 1592 edition),⁴⁶ and evidently set to work to improve his Greek, perhaps starting with the Pausanias. By 1623 when he ordered his Procopius, he had acquired, in 1620, a Greek-Latin Polybius (in Casaubon's edition), Josephus and Dio Cassius,⁴⁷ probably also the *Philosophical Dissertations* of Maximus of Tyre edited by Heinsius,⁴⁸ and finally, in June 1622, a Greek-Latin Thucydides and a similar Herodotus, the latter presumably replacing the Latin translation he had bought in 1615.⁴⁹ Since this Greek Herodotus was almost certainly the edition published at Frankfurt in 1618 which had the same Latin translation as Rubens's earlier one (Valla's), it is likely that Rubens now wanted to read the original Greek.

Herodotus's account of Egypt, in the second book of the *Histories*, was certainly of particular interest to Rubens, since sometime before 1624 he had obtained an Egyptian mummy; and in 1622 he would presumably have been debating the subject of winding sheets with Chifflet for his work on ancient burial customs.⁵⁰ Yet just when he bought the new Herodotus, Rubens must have been working on the final stages of his *Justice of Cambyses* (No. 6; cf. Figs. 24-25) for the Brussels Town Hall, and the story is told in detail by the Greek historian. Indeed, in the same year or early in the next, he designed the splendid *Tomyris and Cyrus* (No. 2; Fig. 8), another theme from Herodotus. I find it hard not to see a connection, even if the artist had plenty of

45. '1 Villalpandus in Ezechielem f^o voll. po. ... fl. 66-00' (Rooses, Moretus, 1883, p. 190) = J.B. Villalpandus and H. Pradus, *In Ezechielem*, Rome, 1596-1604.

46. 1 July 1616: '1 Lexicon Constantini f^o po. ... fl. 12-00' (Rooses, Moretus, 1883, p. 191) = (probably) R. Constantinus, *Lexicon Graecolatinum*, Geneva (Vignon and Staer), 1592; the first edition was published in 1573, but it does not include Constantinus's name on the title-page.

47. 22 August 1620: '1 Polybius Casaubonis f^o horen...fl. 11-00' = Polybius, *Historiae* ed. and tr. I. Casaubon, Frankfurt (Wechel), 1619; '1 Josephi opera f^o gr.-lat. horen...fl. 10-00' = Flavius Josephus, *Opera quae extant*, Geneva, 1611; '1 Dion Cassius f^o gr.-lat. ... fl. 9-00' = (probably) Dio Cassius, *Historia Romana* ed. J. Leunclavius, Hannover, 1606. For the list see Rooses, Moretus, 1883, p. 193.

48. 26 November 1624: '1 Binsel van Maximus 4^o h. ... fl. 0-10' (Rooses, Moretus, 1883, p. 198). It is most reasonable to identify this with Maximus Tyrius, *Dissertationes Philosophicae* ed. and trans. D. Heinsius, Leiden, 1614. For it can hardly be an edition of Valerius Maximus, who would be abbreviated as Valerius, and whose *Dicta et facta memorabilia* was not available in any quarto edition. Presumably Rubens bought it some time before 1624.

49. 28 June 1622: '1 Herodotus Halicarnassensis f^o gr.-lat. h. ... fl. 8-10' = (probably) Herodotus, *Historiae* ed. G. Jungermannus, Frankfurt, 1618; '1 Thucydides f^o gr.-lat. h. ... fl. 7-00' = Thucydides, *De bello peloponnesiaco libri octo*, trans. L. Valla, Frankfurt, 1594. For these items see Rooses, Moretus, 1883, p. 195.

50. For this book see text at n. 18 above. For the mummy see Van der Meulen, *Antique*, 1994, I, p. 29, n. 12, text ill. 27.

independent reasons for being attracted to this unusual subject,⁵¹ and even if his approach to the text was in no way archaeological, his only concession to the barbarity of the Scythian tribe being the maidservant's leopard-skin skirt—an incongruous feature surely meant to be amusing.

There are still more obviously direct connections between book purchases and pictorial projects, notably the acquisition of de la Cerda's recent edition of Vergil along with a new edition of Servius and an illustrated Ovid just as Rubens was embarking on the paintings for the Torre de la Parada,⁵² and the binding together of illustrated accounts of triumphal entries at the time he was working on the Medici cycle.⁵³ From the point of view of his pictures of ancient history, certain items are particularly important. In February 1620, for example, he bought the *Annales ecclesiastici* of Cardinal Cesare Baronio (Baronius), that monumental fourteen-volume work on Early Christian history which had been published by the Plantin press at Antwerp between 1597 and 1617.⁵⁴ Rubens refers to this book at different times in his correspondence, but I suspect that he bought it at this moment because he was already contemplating undertaking the tapestry series on the life of the Emperor Constantine, and Baronius's history was just the thing he needed for it.⁵⁵

At this period Rubens seems to have made a special effort to collect works of ancient historiography. Later that year he bought good editions of Ammianus Marcellinus, Dio Cassius—the Greek-Latin edition already mentioned, along with the *Jewish Antiquities* of Josephus and Isaac Casaubon's edition and translation of Polybius.⁵⁶ By 1621, when he bought Sylburgius's extensive three-volume collection of the works of the minor Roman historians (*Historia Romana*), published at Frankfurt between 1588 and 1590,

51. See Chapter I, at n. 125, and under No. 2.

52. 14 January 1637: '1 Virgilius de la Cerda fol. 3 voll. ... fl. 16-00' = Vergil, *Opera*, ed. J.L. de la Cerda, Cologne, 1628; '1 Virgilius Servii 4^o. Genevae. ... fl. 3-00' = Vergil, [*Opera*] ... *Et in ea Mauri Servii Honorati... commentarii*, Geneva (Chouet) 1636; '1 Ovidii metamorphoses 16^o cop. ... fl. 4-00' = evidently a small illustrated Ovid with engravings as Julius Held has pointed out (*Held, Sketches*, 1980, I, pp. 254-255), though it proves rather hard to identify; Held's candidate (a Dutch edition published at Antwerp 1608) has woodcuts rather than engravings. For the items see *Rooses, Moretus*, 1883, pp. 205-206.

53. 6 October 1623: '1 Introitus Alberti et Ernesti f^o binsel = J. Bochiuss, *Historica Narratio Profec-tionis et Inaugurationis...Alberti et Isabellae...*, Antwerp, 1602 and J. Bochiuss, *Descriptio publicae gratulationis...in adventu Sereniss[imi] Principis Ernesti...*, Antwerp, 1595. For these items see *Rooses, Moretus*, 1883, p. 197.

54. '1 Annales Baronii f^o 14 voll. horen. ... fl. 98-12' (*Rooses, Moretus*, 1883, p. 193).

55. Cf. *Held, Sketches*, 1980, I, p. 70.

56. 22 August 1620: '1 Ammianus Marcellinus 4^o horen ... fl. 3-10' (*Rooses, Moretus*, 1883, p. 193) = (probably) Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae*, ed. F. Lindenbrogius, Hamburg, 1609. For the others see n. 47 above.

along with the compendious commentaries (also in three large volumes) by the humanist Pighius on Roman historians, a work edited by the Antwerp Jesuit Schottus, Rubens must have had the works of all known chroniclers of ancient Rome.⁵⁷ It seems very probable that the sudden impulse to collect the entire corpus of ancient historiography relates to Rubens's intentions to plan cycles on themes from ancient history, as well as to a desire to build up his library.

Similarly, as we shall see, there is a direct connection between a number of novel subjects Rubens had painted earlier and the collection of books on philosophers, ancient history and so on, which he bought in February 1615. Besides the Latin Herodotus, Hippocrates, Diogenes Laertius and the Greek-Latin Pausanias, there was an Aulus Gellius,⁵⁸ as well as the Valeriano and Alexander ab Alexandro.⁵⁹ It was just at this period that Rubens composed some half-length pictures which relate to ancient philosophers and historical *exempla*: *The Seven Sages disputing over the Tripod* (No. 1; cf. Figs. 1-2), *The Devotion of Artemisia* (No. 13; Figs. 51-52); *Diogenes seeking a True Man* (No. 12; Figs. 43, 44). He presumably consulted Aulus Gellius for the story of Artemisia, and Diogenes Laertius was the principal literary source for the two pictures of philosophers. But Rubens must have been attracted to these novel pictorial subjects because he was at the time particularly interested in devising half-length scenes on popular moralizing themes which would use his fund of 'character heads', studies of exotic types, particularly old men. These stories about seven philosophers humbly refusing the title of 'wisest of men', a Near Eastern queen astonishing her courtiers with her conjugal devotion and a disgruntled critic of mankind puzzling the people of Athens fitted his purpose nicely. As half-length scenes involving instructive debates, the philosopher pictures in particular can be associated both stylistically and thematically with some New Testament themes (the *Tribute Money*, and *Christ and the Adulteress*)⁶⁰ which may well have been classed by Rubens in the same category. *Christ and the Adulteress* indeed is very similar in composition to the picture of the Sages, while the device of the boys grasping the column at the left is repeated in *Diogenes seeking a True Man*. As Oldenbourg

57. 8 May 1621: '1 Historiae romanae script. f^o 3 voll. h. ... fl. 18-00 = *Historiae romanae scriptores latini minores*, ed. F. Sylburgius, Frankfurt (Wechel), 1588-90 (identified by Rooses); '1 Annales Pighii f^o 3 voll. h. ... fl. 17-00 = S.V. Pighius, *Annales romanorum, qui commentarii vicem supplent in omnes veteres historiae romanae scriptores*, ed. A. Schottus, Antwerp, 1599-1615. For these items see Rooses, *Moretus*, 1883, p. 194.

58. 9 February 1615: '1 Aulus Gellius in-16^o fr. Crisp. po. ... fl. 0.17' (Rooses, *Moretus*, 1883, p. 190) = (perhaps) Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, Lyons (Gryphius), 1585.

59. For these see nn. 43, 32 and 39 above.

60. K.d.K., ed. Oldenbourg, 1921, pp. 55, 54; Jaffé, *Rubens*, 1989, p. 197, nos. 260, 261 (cf. 262).

observed with reference to the two New Testament scenes, these compositions were devised with particular regard to the participation of the studio—it being relatively easy for pupils to deal with half-length figures, and adapt the studies of heads available as models in the studio.

If then Rubens read texts that were inaccessible to his fellow artists and found in them new subjects, or new ways to depict old themes, he did so as an artist, with an eye to what would be visually striking or suitable. Significantly, Rubens's most erudite and specifically literary references can seem the least pedantic. *Mars and Rhea Silvia* (Fig. 101) ingeniously adapts a detail from Ovid's account in the *Fasti* of how the vestal's garland of white wool slipped from Rhea's head as she slept through her ravishing.⁶¹ Similarly, the subject of *Pythagoras advocating Vegetarianism* (No. 7; Fig. 31), from the rarely illustrated fifteenth book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, must have struck him as ideal for a work of collaboration with the fruit- and vegetable-specialist Frans Snyders. As for *Alcibiades interrupting the Symposium* (No. 11; Fig. 41), a unique illustration of a passage from a Platonic dialogue, he seems to have drawn this because he was at the time (during his first years in Italy) especially interested in gesture and expression, and saw the scene from the *Symposium* in these terms. At the same time, however, the artist conveys something of the affectionate banter recorded by Plato, just as his *Mars and Rhea Silvia* captures the tone of Ovid's *Fasti* and his *Pythagoras* reflects the idyllic solemnity of the opening of the last book of the *Metamorphoses*. For Rubens, texts were something to inspire visual wit and invention, not to suppress and contain it. If a motif seemed to him to come to life in pictorial terms, Rubens might borrow it; he might also adapt it appropriately to a new context to capture the spirit, rather than the letter of the classical texts he had read.

61. See Chapter V, p. 116 below.

III. Morals and Meanings

Cassiodorus and the Sad Widower

RUBENS'S APPROACH TO PAINTING historical subjects, both cycles and individual scenes, is well illustrated in two letters about two proposed commissions for pictures. We have only Rubens's side of the correspondence, so that the questions to which he is responding must be reconstructed. In addition the paintings were not to be made by him, but by an unknown French artist; Rubens was simply giving advice on the subject-matter. For this reason the discussion has not been much considered in connection with Rubens himself. But it gives an important insight into his views of good subjects from history and their proper treatment. It also illustrates both Rubens's easy familiarity with classical sources and the sort of books he might turn to for help with choosing pictorial themes, at least when there was nothing which immediately came to mind as appropriate. Finally, it brings up an issue of particular interest to art historians today, namely the extent to which a historical subject might be chosen to fit the patron's circumstances, the question of topical reference and personal allusions in both individual paintings and in decorative cycles.

The enquiry to Rubens came from Pierre Dupuy, one of his regular French correspondents. He had evidently asked for two quite different things: firstly a good theme for a series of pictures about a royal favourite honourably pensioned off, and secondly the subject for a single painting centred on a sorrowing widower. The intended recipient(s), or patron(s) of the commissions seem(s) to have been a man, or two men, in just these situations. In a letter of 10 June 1627 Rubens wrote:

I have given some little thought to the subjects for painting indicated by you in your last letter, but I don't yet feel satisfied, there being, as I already wrote to you, very few examples of such favourites. With regard to Alexander, I believe Hephaestion died before him, but Craterus survived him; of these Plutarch says that they were his two principal favourites, and that he loved Hephaestion more but gave Craterus more honour. But for a really fortunate favourite who both survived his prince a long time and ended his life at the summit of honour and in great prosperity, I find no equal to Cassiodorus; he, having enjoyed continual favour for many years in the service of King Theoderic, lived on some 35 years after him, highly regarded and revered by everyone and extending his life almost up to a whole century, finally retired into a monastery which he had founded and there died in supreme tranquil-

lity of spirit. But with regard to conjugal love, I find many great examples, but not with those circumstances that you outline, and I would rather have a true story than some poetic tale such as that of Orpheus. I beg you to grant me a little more time to be able to think of something better.¹

Just what the ‘circumstances’ were which Dupuy had indicated is more evident from the next letter, in which Rubens is also less circumspect about his opinions, particularly about the subject relating to conjugal love. On 25 June he writes:

I am ashamed of my total lack of ingenuity (*sterilità d’ingegno*) in not being able to find more appropriate subjects for the themes of the pictures set out by you, for so far I don’t find anything more appropriate than that of Cassiodorus. But it is up to you to inform me in more detail whether this seems to you a good idea, so that then they will be able to choose from that story the most notable points and the painter who is going to do the work will make designs for the division of the scheme in accordance with the spaces to be filled, and it seems to me Cassiodorus alone, say, would be sufficient to provide material for three or more pictures. As for conjugal love, so far among a great number of examples *Conjugum commorientium* [of spouses dying together] for love I find few *quae faciant ad rem nostram* [which serve our theme]. If you really think about it, you will find in Valerius, Pliny and Fulgosius and other authors quite a few more examples of extreme charity on the part of wives towards their husbands than of the opposite; and if there are indeed some, they are all tragedies reflecting the violence of their times. *Sed aut qui super ipsum uxoris cadaver ferro incu[m?]ibat aut rogo insilet, aut in serpente se ipsum jugulat* [But someone who would fall on a sword over the very corpse of his wife or leap onto her pyre or who cuts his own throat], Tiberius Graccus, say, [such cases] do not have the least similarity with the case you propose, which is in itself very unpromising (*fredissimo*), having to represent, without any obvious external signs, a widower sad and praise-

1. ‘Ho pensato qualche pocho a gli soggetti di pittura da V. S. accennati nella sua precedente, non mi trovo pero ancora sodisfatto, sendo di tali favoriti, come io scrissi gia a V. S., pochissimi essemj; y toccante Alessandro, credo che Ephestione mori prima di lui, ma gli sopravvisse Cratero, de’ quali Plutarcho dice esser stati gli duoi principali suoi favoriti et che amava piu Ephestione, ma honorava davantagio Cratero. Ma per un favorito felicissimo et che sopravvisse longissimamente al suo principe et fini la vita al colmo d’honore et ogni prosperita, io non trovo par a Cassiodoro, il quale havendo servito in perpetua gratia molti anni il Re Theodorico, duro doppo lui qualche 35 anni, stimato e riverito di tutti et estendendo la sua vita quasi fino ad un secolo intiero, si ridusse finalmente in un monasterio da se fundato et ivi mori con somma tranquillita d’animo. Ma per conto del amor conjugale, io trovo molti et grandi essemj, ma non con quelle circonstanze da V. S. accennate, et io vorrei piu tosto una storia vera che qualche favola poetica come quella d’Orpheo. La supplico mi conceda un poco di tempo ancora per potersi pensar meglio’. *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, IV, pp. 272-276, esp. p. 273 (doc. DIV); cf. *Magurn, Letters, 1955*, p. 188, no. 113; p. 475. My translation is adapted from Magurn’s.

worthy *in conjugii memoria* [in the memory of his marriage]—which can scarcely be shown in a picture. It would differ with some scene of more striking action (*attione*) such as that of the moor Rahun Benxamut (in Lipsius, in his *Exempla Politica*, p. 199) who with great show of courage rescued his wife when she was carried off by the Portuguese, or of that Neapolitan who, when thrown into the sea, did not let go of the pirate craft which had carried off his wife until he was taken aboard, in order to endure a wretched servitude with her rather than live a free man apart from her. But all this doesn't suit the subject you proposed, and so it has to be thought about with more deliberation...²

Rubens's advice may well have been followed. But I have not been able to discover any series of French paintings on the subject of Cassiodorus, or any single picture illustrating a widower in mourning. Nor can I say who the retired royal favourite might have been, and whether he was identical with the sad widower.

With regard to the proposed scene of conjugal love it is, however, evident that the idea had been to show a nice ancient *exemplum* involving a man sadly but stoically lamenting his wife. Orpheus, who followed Eurydice even to the Underworld, had been the first devoted widower to come to mind.³ Rubens politely but firmly dismisses this suggestion, since a mytho-

2. 'Mi vergogno della mia sterilità d'ingegno di non poter trovar soggetti più propri sopra gli argomenti delle pitture da V. S. accusata, perchè sin adesso io non trovo cosa più propria che di Cassiodoro, ma tocca a V. S. di accusarmi più particolarmente se questo gli pare a proposito, che poi di quella storia si potranno eleggere i punti più rimarchevoli, e ne farà il ripartimento in disegno, secondo la capacità de' vani, il pittor che farà l'opera, et al parer mio, un Cassiodoro solo sarebbe bastante per dar soggetto a tre quadri et davantaggio. Del amor conjugale sin adesso fra gran quantità d'esempi *conjugum commorientium* per amore, trovo pochi, *quae faciunt ad rem nostram*, et se V. S. lo considera bene, troverà appresso Valerio, Plinio e Fulgoso ed altri autori più assai esempi d' estrema carità delle mogli verso gli lor mariti, che non al contrario, e se pur si trovano alcuni, tutti sono tragedi et secondo la violenza di quelli tempi. *Sed aut qui super ipsum uxoris cadaver ferro inculm?ibat aut rogo insilet, aut in serpente se ipsum jugulat*, un T. Graccus, non hanno alcuna similitudine col caso da V. S. proposto, il quale è fredissimo da se, y senza alcuna apparenza esteriore deve rappresentar un viduo dolente et laudabile *in conjugii memoria*, ch' apena pò apparer in pittura. Come farebbe qualche attione di maggior relieve, qual fu de Rahun Benxamut (*Apud Lipsium, in Exempla politicis*, p. 199) moro, che con molta bravura recuperò la moglie rapita de Portugesi, o di quel Napoletano che essendosi buttato in mare non abbandonò la fusta piratica ch' emportava la sua moglie sin che vi fosse menato dentro, per servir una miserabil servitù con essa, piuttosto che viver libero a parte. Ma tutto questo non quadra al soggetto da V. S. proposto, et perciò bisogna pensarci più maturamente'. *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, IV, pp. 276-282, esp. pp. 277-278 (doc. DV); cf. *Magurn, Letters, 1955*, p. 190, no. 114; p. 475. Again I have benefited from Magurn's translation, without following it exactly.
3. In fact his is the first story listed in the *Sette libri de cathaloghi...*, published by Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari at Venice in 1552 under the heading 'Cathalogo di que mariti, et di quelle mogli che sopra gli altri si sono teneramente amati' (pp. 288-293), but this is not really an *exempla*

logical subject is not really appropriate to the purpose: it is history, not fable, that provides the best exemplary models. This, as we have already seen, was the view of Quintilian;⁴ and Erasmus allowed that myths might occasionally be acceptable if they are not far-fetched but sound like true stories, for *exempla* must be true.⁵ Rubens then observes that there are few celebrated historical instances of the devotion of husbands to wives—women being more often inclined to self-sacrifice—and even the cases he cites do not, as he realizes, involve stoical widowers. He points out, however, that the kind of theme wanted would in fact make a very boring picture, and it is easy to see what he means.

Here Rubens is acting as an iconographic adviser who has been given a specific, and rather restrictive brief. The case is not easy, which is why he first put it off. Evidently nothing immediately occurred to him. But to oblige his friend he made an effort and turned to his books. First he tried the obvious source, the chapter on marital love in Valerius Maximus: IV.vi (*de amore coniugali*); here he would have found, as the first example, the devotion of Tiberius Gracchus Maior.⁶ This in turn probably led him to Pliny's *Natural History*, where the same story of Gracchus is included as an example of *pietas*, loyalty, and love of children. In both Valerius and Pliny, all the examples of the devoted men involve suicides committed at the death of a beloved wife, which explains Rubens's phrase, partly borrowed from the discussion of Marcus Plautius, who fell on his sword on the very pyre of his spouse.⁷ Having checked the ancient sources, he turned to the modern compendia of Fregoso (Fulgosius), in the Latin translation of C. Gilinus,⁸ and Justus Lipsius, using, as we know from the page reference given, the

collection, rather a list of motifs for writers etc. which starts with mythological cases and then proceeds to those from ancient and modern history.

4. Loc. cit. Chapter I, n. 41.

5. See Erasmus, *De rerum copia* in *Erasmus, Opera*, 1703-06, I, cols. 90E-94B; cf. Holcroft, *Exempla*, 1976, pp. 74-76. There are in fact some myths in Valerius Maximus's collection: see Guerrini, *Valerio Massimo*, 1981, p. 27, n. 46, and a few mythological stories, such as that of Icarus, have an obvious moral point, even for Ovid, but myths are rarely recommended as *exempla*.

6. Tiberius Gracchus found two serpents and in response to a prediction killed the male one so that his wife, rather than he, would live. See Pliny, *Historia naturalis* VII.xxxvi.122; Cicero, *De divinatione* I.xviii.36; II.xxix.62; also Plutarch, *Tiberius Gracchus* 2-3. He had been shown before as an exemplary figure of marital devotion, for instance by the Griselda Master (*text* ill. 6) (cf. Chapter I, n. 13) and in the 1589 Florentine *Intermezzi*, where he carried a Cupid (*amorino*) as did his companion, Portia, who also held burning coals. See Chapter I, n. 10.

7. The phrase *stricto ferro incubuit* would have been familiar to him from the much more famous description of the death of Thisbe over the body of Pyramus in Ovid, *Metamorphoses* IV.163: *incubuit ferro*.

8. B. Fregoso, *Factorum dictorumque memorabilium libri IX*, III, 6 (edn Antwerp, 1565, p. 309).

latest edition of 1625.⁹ In fact the lively subject of the moor who saved his wife is the only one of Lipsius's examples of *Caritas in coniugales* which involves a man (and even it concludes with the wife starving herself to death when her husband is later killed in battle).¹⁰ That of the Neapolitan is the last of the modern examples from Fregoso.¹¹ Clearly these two subjects at least struck him as having artistic possibilities, as well as being appropriate in a general way to the theme, even if he seems to have had little conviction that he would persuade the patron to accept them. For Rubens a good *exemplum* has some kind of narrative interest.

As for the question of a cycle about a royal favourite who reached the height of honour, Rubens obviously thought at once of Alexander and Hephaestion.¹² But later, probably when he re-read Plutarch, he realized that in some ways it was Craterus who corresponded more closely to the situation required, since he received more official marks of recognition. The allusion in the letter of 10 June to Alexander loving Hephaestion more, but particularly honouring Craterus specifically recalls the words of Plutarch. Neither alternative fitted what was apparently a further 'circumstance', that the favourite should have retired. Exactly why he lighted instead upon Cassiodorus, the sixth-century monk and secretary of Theodoric, is not clear. He perhaps thought of him because the proposed scheme of decoration was for a library, and Cassiodorus had been responsible for the copying and preservation of so many ancient texts. I have found no evidence that Cassiodorus is cited in any *exemplum* book. Rubens, who had read extensively in Baronius's *Annales ecclesiastici*, probably remembered him from this. There is no single passage in Baronius from which Rubens could have derived the account he gives of the career of Cassiodorus, and, although some phrases suggest that he had turned again to the seventh volume of the *Annales*,¹³ and possibly the Life which forms the introduction to the

9. This may well have been for the convenience of his correspondent, since Rubens would certainly have already owned a copy of this book, first published in 1601. See *Monita et exempla politica. Libri duo qui virtutes et vitia Principum spectant*, Antwerp, 1625, p. 199.

10. Cf. Lipsius, *Opera*, 1675, IV, pp. 309-310.

11. Fregoso, op. cit. in n. 8, III, 6 (*de Neapolitani regni quodam accola*), edn Antwerp, 1565, pp. 309-310.

12. They provided the second foreign example in Valerius Maximus's chapter on the bond of friendship (*Dicta et facta* IV.vii.ext.2), though Rubens probably needed no help to recall their story.

13. Cf. C. Baronius, *Annales ecclesiastici*, I-XIV, Antwerp, 1597-1617, esp. VII, pp. 512-516 (for retirement) and p. 476 (for his age; a reference to a book written in his 93rd year). E.g. p. 513A-B: '...Qui igitur a tempore Theodorici Amali Regis usque ad Vitigem itidem Italiae Regem, apud ipsos Gothorum Reges florentissime vixit, summis semper honoribus auctus; exaturatus ad nauseam usque continuatione amplissimorum magistratum...'

edition of the works of Cassiodorus published at Geneva in 1609 and subsequently in 1622,¹⁴ it seems to be a genuine summary of what the artist recalls, rather than a crib from one or more books. What the 'three or more' subjects were that Rubens thought might make good pictures I cannot say, but they underline how as an artist-iconographer he thought first and foremost of what would look good in a picture. Here a comparison might be drawn with the kinds of programmes for historical cycles devised by scholars in the sixteenth century. The fairly unthinking way in which the cycle of Fabius Maximus painted by Francesco da Siena for Fabio Colonna at Grottaferrata was derived from the Latin Plutarch published at Venice in 1516—two episodes from each page, inscriptions from the marginal headings—shows how mechanical, or at least literary might be the role of the humanist adviser in such a situation.¹⁵ Not surprisingly the inscriptions to the pictures turn out to be more memorable than the paintings themselves.¹⁶ Giovo's programme of 1540 for a lost cycle on the deeds of Charles V is much more subtle and sophisticated, but even so is clearly the work of a literary man.¹⁷ Giovo wanted to chose subjects that would exemplify the emperor's virtues and would be 'enlivened' in corresponding Latin inscriptions composed by himself. In fact Giovo's subjects—The Defeat of the Turks at Vienna, The Capture of Tunis, The Coronation by the Pope at Bologna, The Investiture at Milan—are perfectly acceptable artistically, even if the last two seem rather repetitive. But for Giovo, choosing worthy themes that would suit resounding inscriptions was the fundamental process, and one that was quite separate from the subsequent question of their artistic expression, which was the job of the painter involved.¹⁸ True, Vincenzo Borghini's scheme for a series of tapestry designs on the story of Cyrus by Stradanus shows a clear awareness of what themes would suit large or small compositions.¹⁹ There are certainly cases where a close relationship existed between artist and adviser, and decorative schemes were worked out by both in collaboration. But with Rubens as iconographer, form

14. Cassiodorus, *Opera*, ed. P. Brossaeus, I-II, Geneva, 1609, I, unpaginated preface.

15. Guerrini, *Pittura di storia*, 1985, pp. 84-87.

16. Some of the captions which refer to specific virtues (e.g. *Fides*, *Astutia*) suggest that *exempla* are also intended.

17. See J. Kliemann, 'Il pensiero di Paolo Giovo nelle pitture eseguite sulle sue "invenzioni"' in *Paolo Giovo. Il Rinascimento e la memoria*, Como, 1985, pp. 204-205, 221-223. The scheme was for the façade of the house of Tomaso Cambio in Naples.

18. The emphasis on the subjects being honourable was particularly conditioned by the fact that Giovo considered that some of the stories chosen for the triumphal arches erected to the emperor in his progress through Italy had caused offence and scorn (Kliemann, *op. cit.*, p. 222).

19. For this scheme see *Scorza, Borghini, 1987*, pp. 152-155 and 341-343.

and content were not separate considerations. This is even more clear when Rubens is devising both cycles and individual paintings of his own.

Decius Mus

The story of Decius Mus is particularly interesting as it was Rubens's first cycle on a historical subject and his first design for a tapestry series.²⁰ In a letter of 12 May 1618 to the Englishman, Dudley Carleton, who wanted a set of Brussels tapestries, Rubens mentions with some pride his own 'cartoni molto superbi', very fine cartoons, that he has just done for 'some Genoese gentlemen'—the term is rather vague.²¹ In fact the contract of the tapestry weavers was with a Genoese businessman, Franco Cattaneo, who ordered two sets of slightly different size, at least one of which must have been for someone else; indeed he may have been acting as the agent for both sets.²² This is not therefore a case where we can talk of an *editio princeps*, or primary set, made specifically for a single patron or location. This seems to make it more probable that the theme and treatment of the individual subjects was the responsibility of Rubens himself.

It has always been recognized that the story follows the sequence of events in Book VIII (vi-x) of Livy's *History of Rome*. Publius Decius Mus, one of the two consuls for the year 340 BC, at the time of the Latin war, having learned from an apparition that the army whose commander was killed in battle would prevail, vows himself to the gods of the underworld and then plunges into the thick of the fighting where he perishes, having inspired his troops to victory (*text ill.* 19, 20). It has always been recognized too that Rubens enjoyed using the story to illustrate Roman military and religious customs, exploiting his profound knowledge of ancient ritual and art to make this the most learned tapestry series ever produced. Thus he adapted the ancient Roman motif of the address to the troops (*adlocutio*) for the first

20. For the series see *Held, Sketches, 1980*, I, pp. 21-30; II, pls. 1-5; R. Baumstark in *Cat. Exh. New York, 1985-86*, pp. 338-355; also J. Duverger, 'Aantekeningen betreffende de patronen van P. P. Rubens en de tapijten met de geschiedenis van Decius Mus', *Gentse Bijdragen*, XXIV, 1976-78, pp. 15-42.

21. '...e ancora ho fatto alcuni cartoni molto superbi a requisitione d'alcuni Gentilhuommi Genovesi li quali adesso si mettono in opera': *Roses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, II, p. 150, letter of 12 May 1618 to Carleton, doc. CLXVIII; *Magurn, Letters, 1955*, p. 63, no. 29. Carleton was taking these tapestries as part exchange for a collection of ancient sculptures.

22. See *Held, Sketches, 1980*, I, p. 21; Baumstark in *Cat. Exh. New York, 1985-86*, pp. 338-339; also Duverger, op. cit. in n. 20, pp. 17-18, pointing out that there is no reason to identify one of the clients as Niccolò Pallavicini.

scene of Decius explaining the dream to his soldiers (*text ill.* 19), a formula for animal sacrifice familiar from sarcophagi for the decision from the omens, the statue of Mars Ultor for Decius departing into battle. At the same time he also enjoyed reworking themes that had attracted Renaissance artists before him. The *adlocutio* scheme had already been used by Raphael in the Sala di Costantino, while the scene with Decius and the omens makes conscious reference to one of the most famous designs ever made for a tapestry series, Raphael's *Sacrifice at Lystra*, which had been inspired by the same ancient source—although here Rubens corrected a mistake made by Raphael, and showed the ox having its *vitta* or sacrificial wreath removed before its sacrifice.²³ Leonardo's lost *Battle of Anghiari*, of which Rubens's drawing (Fig. 227) is by far the most evocative record,²⁴ was of course fundamental to the battle scene (*text ill.* 20). The richly detailed compositions in fact expand considerably on the spare text of Livy. The funeral of Decius is entirely Rubens's invention, not being described in Livy at all.²⁵ At the same time Rubens also alters the story in some important respects, not least by omission.²⁶ That he should have dropped the whole episode of the rash bravery of the son of Decius's fellow-consul Manlius Torquatus and his awful punishment by his father—proverbial for its severity²⁷—is natural enough. The initial apparition he may have left out simply because he thought it out of character with the rest of the cycle. As for the matter of Decius accepting his fate after his wing of the army (rather than that of Manlius) has given way in battle, this may have seemed to Rubens hard to convey effectively in a picture and liable to detract from the impact of the final combat and death of Decius (*text ill.* 20). But it seems very strange that Rubens should have omitted all reference to Decius's fellow-consul Manlius, except in the last picture, in which Rubens introduces him to conduct the obsequies.²⁸ Both consuls after all received the same ominous apparition

23. See Baumstark, *loc. cit.*, p. 343.

24. See Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, 1977, pp. 29-30, fig. 54. Frank Zöllner has recently argued that this is not, as is usually thought, a partial copy, but a retouched drawing after the final state of Leonardo's fresco: 'Rubens Reworks Leonardo: "The Fight for the Standard"' in *Achademia Leonardi Vinci*, IV, 1991, pp. 177-190. The idea that it is a drawing retouched by Rubens was already proposed by Anne-Marie Logan: see K. Renger in *Kunstchronik*, XXXI, 1978, p. 143. See also under No. 58, at n. 30.

25. Here he would have been helped, for example, by the chapter in the manual by Rosinus (*Rosinus, Antiquitates*, 1663, pp. 460-465: V.xxxix). For this book see below, at n. 48.

26. Cf. Baumstark, *loc. cit.*, p. 341.

27. For the proverb *Manliana imperia* from Erasmus's *Adagia* see Erasmus, *Opera*, 1703-06, II, cols. 392F-393D. For the story see Livy, *Ab urbe condita* VIII.vii.

28. There is also the scene usually called the *Consuls and Senators*, which is recorded in a sketch in St Petersburg (M. Varshavskaya, *Rubens' Paintings in the Hermitage Museum* [Russian],

which they then reported together to the legates and tribunes. And until a late stage both were preparing themselves equally for self-sacrifice.

It has not been satisfactorily explained why Rubens chose Decius Mus for a cycle of tapestries. Rubens's interest in Stoicism has been cited, and Decius called a Stoic hero.²⁹ It is true that his case is discussed by Seneca, as an illustration of how fortitude might be considered preferable to patient endurance, the supreme Stoic virtue.³⁰ But there were many other early Roman heroes approved in Stoic writings whose deeds could have been similarly treated and would equally have allowed a recreation of antique customs and rituals. Moreover, neither Plutarch nor any other ancient writer ever wrote a biography of Decius—and as we saw, the existence of an ancient biography was usually the determining factor in the selection of heroes of historical cycles. Indeed Livy's text on Decius is not even particularly detailed, which was why Rubens was free to invent so much in his cycle.³¹

Before Rubens, Decius Mus had been depicted only rarely and in the context of a collection of exemplary heroes or stories—in the Sala dei Gigli of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, for instance (*text ill.* 2),³² in the Dürer school decorations of 1521 of the Town Hall of Nuremberg,³³ and as the historical scene attached to Piety on the ceiling of the Sala del Collegio in the Palazzo Ducale in Venice.³⁴ For Decius is famous for just one thing: his self-sacrifice for the Roman republic.³⁵ He is the fifth of Valerius Maximus's eight Roman examples of *pietas erga patriam*, next to his son, number six,

Leningrad, 1975, p. 242, appendix, no. 2, repr., as *Studio of Rubens*) and is sometimes included in tapestry cycles. I am not convinced that this composition is by Rubens, or that it formed part of the original scheme. But it seems to show representative senators entrusting the two consuls Decius and Manlius with the military command on the Capitol (the balustrade in the foreground being almost a reproduction of that on the 16th-century Palazzo Senatorio). Both consuls carry batons of authority and Manlius holds a small statue of Roma bearing a Victory.

29. This is particularly stressed in the recent study by Morford: *Morford, Stoics*, 1991, pp. 195-203.

30. Seneca, *Epistles* lxxvii.8-10. Cf. *Morford, Stoics*, 1991, p. 202.

31. Florus, *Epitome* l.xiv seems to be simply taken from Livy. Cf. Plutarch, *Parallela* xviii (*Moralia* 310A-B).

32. See Chapter I, n. 54.

33. See E.W. Braun in *Reallexikon*, III, 1954, cols. 1121-22, *s.v. Decius Mus* (attributing them to Erhard Schön); M. Mende, *Das alte Nürnberger Rathaus*, I, Nuremberg, 1979, pp. 266-270, nos. 297-304 and figs. 125, 126, 127b; here the ceremony of *devotio* takes place in the background of the scene of Decius attacking the enemy singlehandedly. See also *passim* for the reconstruction of the whole cycle, now destroyed. For the related almanac woodcut of 1531 attributed to Schön see Strauss, *op. cit.* in Chapter I, n. 94, pp. 532-533, no. 1301.293.a-l.

34. See Hope, *op. cit.* in Chapter I, n. 30, p. 411, n. 2.

35. His action gave rise to a Renaissance proverb, *Decianum sacrificium*. See *Adagia, id est proverbiorum [etc.] ... collectio absolutissima in locos communes digesta*, Frankfurt, 1646, p. 260; it there appears under the heading *Fortitudo* and is attributed to Budaeus.

who imitated his father's action in a later emergency, dedicating himself to death for the sake of the army.³⁶ That he should have been one of the six Roman heroes of the republic painted by Ghirlandaio in the Palazzo Vecchio (*text ill.* 1, 2) reflects a cumulative fame attained from constant invocation, either singly or in the company of his son, in the roll-call of brave republicans following his inclusion as prime exemplar of *amor patriae* in Vergil's famous catalogue in the sixth book of the *Aeneid*.³⁷ St Augustine too had singled him out for praise in his influential chapter in the *City of God* on the good Romans who sacrificed themselves for the republic.³⁸ Petrarch, underlining a point made by Cicero and Seneca, judged him a particularly efficacious example (*efficax exemplum*) since his action induced his own son to emulate him. Cicero even claimed that a grandson carried the custom into a third generation.³⁹ But he was always less a character than a name. Rubens alone brought this shadowy figure to life.

In his account of his tapestry designs in a letter of 26 May 1618 to Carleton, Rubens talks of the 'storia di Decius Mus Console Romano che si devovò per la vittoria del Popolo Romano', the story of Decius Mus, the Roman Consul who sacrificed himself [vowed himself to death] for the victory of the Roman people.⁴⁰ The phrase suggests both that Rubens feels the need to explain exactly what the 'storia' of Decius is, and also that the 'storia di Decius Mus' consists only and precisely in this act, his vowing himself to death to gain the Roman victory. It is thus unlike most previous tapestry histories of any hero—Camillus, say, or Scipio, Romulus or Pompey—which consist of the life, or all the famous deeds of the character concerned. It is indeed unlike the life of Constantine which Rubens himself later designed (*text ill.* 21), and referred to as the *vita* of that emperor. Rubens's cycle of Decius is not in any sense a life of Decius, about whom, as we have noted, nothing is known beyond his exemplary deed. It is simply an extended illustration of this deed, his 'story', which uses Livy (and other

36. Valerius Maximus, *Dicta et facta* V.vi.5-6. Cf. Livy, *Ab urbe condita* X.xxvii-xxix.

37. *Aeneid* VI esp. 823-825; see the comments in Guerrini, *Pittura di storia*, 1985, p. 74, n. 47. Cf. the list of heroes in Vergil, *Georgics* II.169-170. Dante's *Monarchia* seems to have been relevant here too, since it characterizes the Decii as *sacratissimale victimale*, and the *titulus* to Ghirlandaio's Decius talks of him as *victima*. See Dante Alighieri, *Monarchia* II.v.15 (ed. P. G. Ricci, Verona, 1965, p. 189; cf. pp. 5 and 25 on the study of the *Monarchia* in the Florentine Quattrocento). See also n. 39 below.

38. *Civitas dei* V.xviii. Cf. Morford, *Stoics*, 1991, pp. 202-203.

39. Petrarch, *Epistolae de rebus familiaribus* VI.iv.8-9, also using Dante's term *victima*, not found in any classical source (F. Petrarca, *Le familiari*, ed. and trans. U. Dotti, I, 2, Urbino, 1974, pp. 667, 669; cf. Holcroft, *Exempla*, 1976, pp. 34-35). Cf. Cicero, *De finibus* II.xix (61); *Disputationes tusculanae* I.xxvii.89 and II.xxiv.59; Seneca, *Epistles* lxvii.9.

40. Rooses—Ruelens, *Correspondance, 1887-1909*, II, p. 171, doc. CLXXIV.

sources on Roman customs) essentially to supplement the brief narrative in Valerius Maximus's chapter on patriotic self-sacrifice. It is, in other words, the story of the *pietas erga patriam* of Decius. This helps to explain the variations from Livy's text and, in particular, why it was inappropriate to include the other consul, Manlius, even though he appears side by side with Decius in much of Livy's narrative.⁴¹ Rubens appears to have started not, as is usually thought, from the idea of giving us a slice of painted history from an obscure part of Livy, but with the intention of bringing alive Decius's exemplary 'story', and in so doing he represented it, not, as usually, within a single picture, but in a series of five different episodes.

This scheme is not entirely without precedent. The story of Scaevola's fortitude or Virginia's chastity is sometimes illustrated in a narrative sequence on the front of a *cassone* or on the page of a manuscript.⁴² Similarly, the famous scenes of justice painted by Dirk Bouts (*The Justice of Otho*) and Gerard David (*The Justice of Cambyses*) for the town halls of Louvain and Bruges respectively are multi-part *exempla*.⁴³ A late sixteenth-century print cycle such as that by Goltzius on the story of Lucretia is also analogous, even if this is not really concerned so much with Lucretia's exemplary deed as with the tragic drama of Tarquin and Lucretia.⁴⁴ Rubens would surely have known this, and possibly even some such parallel as the series of tableaux presented to Charles V and his son Philip at Louvain in 1549 on the story of Alexander and the High Priest.⁴⁵ This was represented in four scenes, and explicitly presented as an *exemplum* to the young prince, a lesson in piety and clemency.⁴⁶

41. He is also included by Valerius Maximus in his chapter *de somniis*, in which he praises their joint trust in the apparition (*Dicta et facta* I.vii.3).
42. For a *cassone* with the story of Scaevola in three episodes, see under No. 46, n. 24. For a MS of Valerius Maximus of 1475 attributed to Fouquet, where the story of Virginia, for example, is shown in three scenes see Guerrini, *Pittura di Storia*, 1985, pp. 48-49 and fig. 41.
43. For these pictures, painted in 1473-75 and 1498 respectively, see *De Ridder, Gerechtigheidsstaferelen*, 1989, pp. 47-62, nos. 4 and 5, figs. 13-16. Four different episodes are shown on Bouts's pair of pictures and three on David's two paintings. For these latter see below, under No. 6 at n. 4.
44. Bartsch, III, 1854, pp. 35-36, nos. 104-107; *The Illustrated Bartsch*, ed. W. Strauss, III, New York, 1980, pp. 104-107. A series of tapestries is recorded in the inventory of Daniel Fourmont in 1643 as: 'die Historie des Tarquinius Superbus und der Lucretia' in no less than 12 pieces (Göbel, *Wandteppiche*, 1923-34, I, i, p. 452). Cf. *ibid.*, I, i, p. 551 for a series from the atelier of David Rufelaer (b.1589).
45. The ultimate source of this story is Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitates iudaicae* XI.viii.
46. The priest refused to pay tribute, but Alexander refrained from besieging Jerusalem when he met him, being overcome by *pietas*. The accompanying inscription urges the prince to *pietas* and *clementia*: '...Tanta erat in rege hoc pietas, clementia tanta, / Quas tu virtutes magne Philippe cole. / Ardua si placeat virtus, si principe digna, / Has decet in primis principi inesse

It would seem then that Rubens arrived at the idea of illustrating the self-sacrifice of Decius Mus because he wanted a good story of republican *amor patriae*, and realized that this particular example would give him the opportunity to display his knowledge of Roman military customs and religious rituals.⁴⁷ He probably started by selecting him from the examples in the relevant chapter in Valerius Maximus (*de pietate erga patriam*) and then turned to Livy for more details. He would have been aware that Livy's description of the ritual by which Decius vows himself to the gods of the underworld is the fullest account that survives of the ancient magical custom of personal *devotio*. As such it occupies almost the entire chapter on this practice in Rosinus's scholarly handbook of antiquities, a book that Rubens had bought in 1613 and evidently consulted regularly.⁴⁸ As a republican, Decius was perfectly suitable for a cycle which was to appeal to 'Genoese gentlemen'. But there may be a further reason why Rubens chose Decius for his Genoese clients.

In the scene of Decius explaining his dream (*text ill.* 19) the hero's helmet appears propped up next to his shield beside the podium. On it is an image of the wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, derived from the group which accompanies the ancient figure of the Tiber which Rubens had already used as the basis for a splendid painting (No. 34; Fig. 117). As far as I know, there is no visual record of an ancient helmet with this kind of decoration. The motif derives from a literary source, the eleventh Satire of Juvenal, from a passage in which the poet comments that in the severe and spartan days of the early republic, before the Romans had acquired a taste for Greek luxuries and when they still ate out of plain Tuscan pots, they used any silver they had to decorate their armour. Indeed the troops would melt down every precious metal *objet d'art* they captured to make horse trappings; in particular they would fashion metal helmets embossed with relief figures of the wolf and twins.⁴⁹ For his stern early Roman series with its stern republican hero, Decius, Rubens obviously recalled these lines of Juvenal and made of

viro'. See Calvete de Estrella, *op. cit.* in Chapter I, n. 59, I, pp. 231-233; also Jacquot, 'Panorama' (*op. cit.* in Chapter I, n. 59), p. 449.

47. A letter of 1618 from Rubens to Frans Sweertius about a figure of Isis owned by William Camden gives a vivid picture of the level of the artist's interest and expertise in ancient rites and sacrifices at this date (*Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, II, pp. 124-127, letter of February-March 1618 to F. Sweertius, doc. CLXII; *Magurn, Letters, 1955*, p. 58, no. 26).

48. See Chapter II, text at n. 24: the book was bought on 17 March 1613; the edition is specified as that published at Geneva in 1611: J. Rosinus, *Antiquitates Romanae*, Geneva (Chouet), 1611. For the chapter on *devotio* see *Rosinus, Antiquitates, 1663*, p. 751 (X.xv). For modern literature on *devotio* see *Morford, Stoics, 1991*, pp. 198-199.

49. Juvenal, *Satires* xi.90-109, esp. 100-107.

them an appropriate emblem.⁵⁰ Juvenal was one of Rubens's favourite authors; he quotes him extensively in his letters,⁵¹ and mottoes from the tenth Satire urging acceptance of what life brings and strength and tranquillity of mind were carved on the screen separating garden and courtyard in his house, on tablets held up, appropriately, by pairs of satyrs (*text ill.* 38).⁵² It was I think a passage from another poem by Juvenal which helped determine his very choice of the old republican Decius for his theme.

Even as a boy Rubens seems to have been impressed by the eighth Satire, since he wittily inscribed its opening words, *Stemmata quid faciunt?*—what good are coats of arms, i.e. high titles?—on his copy of *Death and the Knight* from Holbein's *Dance of Death*.⁵³ Juvenal's eighth Satire takes up with vehemence the theme of Horace's sixth, that people of low birth can be more truly noble than aristocrats—the theme that inspired Holbein himself to paint Leaena on the Hertenstein House (*text ill.* 9).⁵⁴ Both authors cite the case of Decius, a man of humble origins but a great patriot who sacrificed himself for the republic. Juvenal makes a particular point of him, in conjunction with his son: 'The Decii had plebeian souls, plebeian names: yet to the gods of the underworld and to mother earth their sacrifice alone sufficed to save all the legions, all the army, all the youth of Rome; the Decii themselves were worth more than all the host they saved'.⁵⁵ That Decius was no

50. On the frontispiece to the 1615 edition of J. de Bie's *Numismata* appears an image of Roma wearing a helmet similarly decorated with the wolf and twins (R.W. Scheller, *Nicolaas Rockox als Oudheidkundige*, Antwerp, 1977, pp. 65-66, n. 112, pl. 22); this seems to support the attribution of the design to Rubens himself. As Scheller notes, an ancient head of Roma with a helmet decorated with the wolf and twins is illustrated in S. Reinach, *Recueil de têtes antiques idéales ou idéalisées*, Paris, 1906, pp. 77-78; pls. 96-97. But I know no evidence that this sculpture, now in the Louvre, was known in Rubens's time; the helmet may be a 19th-century restoration, and it seems in any case iconographically unrelated to Rubens.

51. Cf. Belkin, *op. cit.* in n. 53 below, p. 247.

52. The verses, still present on the restored house, are Juvenal, *Satires* x.347-348, 350: *Permites ipsis expendere numinibus quid/ conveniat nobis rebusque sit utile nostris./ Carior est illis homo, quam sibi* and 356-357, 360: *orandum est, ut sit mens sana in corpore sano. / Fortem posce animum, mortis terrore carentem./ nesciat irasci, cupiat nihil.* For illustrations of these and the satyrs attributed to Hans van Mildert, in their state before the present restoration of the house, see R.J. Tijs, *P. P. Rubens en J. Jordaens. Barok in eigen huis*, Antwerp, 1984, pp. 136, 137, 172. I see no reason to suppose that Rubens must have had the inscriptions set up after the death of Isabella Brant, as Tijs suggests (p. 132). For satyrs symbolizing satire see also Chapter IV, n. 49.

53. See K.L. Belkin, 'Rubens's Latin Inscriptions on his copies after Holbein's *Dance of Death*', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, LII, 1989, pp. 245-250, esp. p. 247 and pls. 55c-d.

54. For Leaena see Chapter I, text at nn. 42-44. For the influence of the 8th Satire on Ben Jonson, Molière and Corneille, see G. Highet, *Juvenal the Satirist*, edn Oxford, 1962, pp. 212-213; for its later popularity see pp. 219-220, 227, 272, n. 1. For its currency in the Middle Ages see Curtius, *Latin Middle Ages*, 1953, pp. 179-180.

55. Juvenal, *Satires* viii.255-258: 'Plebeiae Deciorum animae, plebeia fuerunt/ nomina: pro totis legionibus hi tamen et pro/ omnibus auxiliis atque omni pube Latina/ sufficiunt dis infernis

aristocrat, but a *homo novus*, may have been a factor in his inclusion among Ghirlandaio's heroes in the Sala dei Gigli (*text ill.* 1, 2).⁵⁶ It may well have been important for Rubens, and for this tapestry series which was destined particularly for Genoa, a city which was not just a republic, but one in which the *nouveaux riches* had taken charge and were decorating their new palaces.

The Limits of Topical Reference

It seems then that Rubens's choice of the story of Decius Mus for his 'Genoese gentlemen' had a special point, rather in the way that the example of the devoted husband, discussed above, should have had for the grieving widower. It had, in other words, a particular decorum. This is not to say that the Decius series has some cryptic double meaning, any more than to suppose that the widower's picture was to mirror exactly his personal circumstances. Rubens makes it quite clear that the subject was to serve as an *exemplum*. His aim was to find an edifying ancient precedent that would look good in a picture and offer inspiration and encouragement of a sort that was especially appropriate. In a similar way the *exempla* of integrity and abstinence painted by Breu in the Augsburg burgomaster's house (*text ill.* 12) and later by Flinck and Bol in the Burgomasters' Chamber of the Amsterdam Town Hall provided lessons of particular relevance to public officials.⁵⁷ Again, in the Stanza dell'Incendio of the Vatican, deeds by popes called Leo (Leo III and IV) which seemed to characterize the virtues most important to the papacy were depicted by Raphael for Leo X. That pope wished to find his personal models in the actions of previous Leos (in honour of whom he had chosen his papal name).⁵⁸ Similarly, it would seem, the lady painted by Lorenzo Lotto with the drawing of Lucretia (*text ill.* 17) wished us to know that she took the ancient heroine, who was almost certainly her namesake, as her particular exemplar.⁵⁹ It is not really the case (as is sometimes said) that she is boasting of her chastity; the picture is not an allegory of her situation but a representation of her aspirations. She

terraeque parenti;/ pluris enim Decii, quam quae servantur ab illis'. Cf. Horace, *Satires* I.vi.19-21.

56. Rubinstein, 1987 (op. cit. in Chapter I, n. 54), p. 37, n. 73. Decius was the first of his family to hold a consulship.

57. Cf. Chapter I, text at n. 89.

58. See *Hope, Aspects of Criticism*, 1988, pp. 1-10 esp. pp. 5-7 for a convincing analysis of the histories in the Stanze as *exempla*.

59. C. Gould, *The Sixteenth-Century Italian Schools* (National Gallery Catalogues), London, 1975, pp. 137-138, no. 4256.

displays the image of Lucretia's suicide while pointing to a paper bearing the dying words with which the Roman matron justified her action for posterity: 'And no unchaste woman will use Lucretia as her example in continuing to live'.⁶⁰ These words, which went some way towards accommodating pagan morality to a Christian context, allowed a Renaissance wife to proclaim her allegiance to the ancient model of conjugal virtue, and apparently, in the case of Lotto's picture, to invite others to do the same.

In fact we know of few cases where historical subjects in paintings were chosen not as *exempla* but as allegories, to refer in some manner to current events or to the personal situation of a patron or intended viewer.⁶¹ As might be expected, it is in the temporary decorations for triumphal entries, whose aim was to celebrate and appeal for favours to visiting rulers, that most cases of historical scenes with allegorical reference are found. Here too the intended analogies are almost invariably made very clear, either by supplying characters with modern portrait heads (so that it is obviously the *new* Alexander, Scipio, Constantine who is being celebrated), or by showing the historical scene and its modern analogy side by side, or at least by including explanatory speeches and inscriptions. This is the case with the historical pageants at Bruges in 1515,⁶² or with the entry of the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand into Ghent in 1635 when a triumphal arch was decorated with paintings which paralleled achievements of Charles V (on the front) with feats by different heroes of antiquity (on the reverse) (*text ill.* 18). Significantly, this glorification of Ferdinand's illustrious ancestor was then actually presented as a series of *exempla* for the new governor. The central painting on the first side showed Ferdinand next to Charles V, who directed his attention to the pictures of the imperial achievements below: the accompanying inscription, borrowed from Vergil, (*Disce nepos virtutem ex me*) made it obvious that Charles was inviting Ferdinand to emulate him, just as he supposedly had been inspired by the earlier deeds of the Romans.⁶³

60. The quotation is probably from Livy (*Ab urbe condita* l.viii.10: 'Nec ulla deinde impudica Lucretiae exemplo vivet'), though it could also be from Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus* (xlvi.7: 'Nec ulla deinceps impudica, Lucretiae vivet exemplo'). Cf. E. Muller and J.M. Noël, 'Humanist views on art and morality' in *Saints and She-devils* (op. cit. in Chapter I, n. 111), pp. 141 and 157, n. 28. See further, *ibid.*, pp. 141-143 on Renaissance views of Lucretia.

61. See Gombrich, op. cit. in Chapter I, n. 31, pp. 18-19; *Hope, Aspects of Criticism*, 1988, p. 7.

62. See S. Anglo (ed.), *La tryumphante Entrée de Charles... en Bruges 1515*, Amsterdam—New York, 1973, esp. pp. 22-32.

63. For this arch see G. Becanus, *Serenissimi principis Ferdinandi...introitus in...Gandavum*, Antwerp 1636, pp. 40-52. The paired subjects are Charles V defeating Francis I at Pavia/Marcellus dedicating the spoils to Jupiter Feretrius; Charles V with the German princes/Drusus subjugating Germania; Charles V capturing Africa/The Triumph of Scipio. An allegorical stage also illustrated Charles's virtues (pp. 62-68). See also C. Van de Velde and H. Vlieghe,

Even in triumphal entries and festive pageantry the aim, at least in principle, is often not so much to glorify as to instruct, to present images that will fire the ruler or visitor to suitable action. In the case of historical subjects, these will be *exempla*. Thus at Brussels in 1578, Archduke Matthias was greeted with a scene of Marcus Curtius plunging into the flaming abyss, the classic *exemplum* of self-sacrifice for the people—and precedent for Decius Mus's personal *devotio* (in the context of Matthias's wavering commitment to the Netherlands, a rather optimistic model).⁶⁴ As we have seen too,⁶⁵ the four tableaux illustrating the story of Alexander and the high priest at Louvain in 1549 presented Prince Philip with an example of the piety and clemency that he should cultivate—one that certainly seems bold after Charles V's recent treatment of the Pope.⁶⁶

At any rate, when historical scenes occur in pageantry, whether as *exempla* or as compliments, associated with events in the life of a modern figure, they present themselves as a series of quite diverse stories from different periods, like the scheme for the arch at Ghent in 1635, or sometimes even a haphazard mixture of history with mythological and biblical subjects.⁶⁷ There is an obvious reason for this, as Vincenzo Borghini, a man with practical experience in the matter, noted in 1565; it is simply too difficult to find the required precedents or virtues all exemplified in a single figure.⁶⁸ Moreover, the resulting diversity of theme not only makes for variety; it actually indicates clearly that exemplary virtues and precedents are involved (rather than simply the events in a heroic *vita*). We never find in a pageant a whole cycle devoted to the deeds of Alexander, say, or Camillus, or Constantine. Art historians disregard this when they choose to see political and personal significance as the rationale for such cycles in Renaissance permanent decorations—frescoes or tapestries—interpreting individual episodes as allegories of particular events in life of the patron of the work.⁶⁹

Stadsversieringen te Gent in 1635 voor de Blijde Intrede van de Kardinaal-Infant, Ghent, 1969, pp. 39, 49-62 and pls. 3-4, 39-55.

64. J.B. Houwaert, *Sommare beschrijvinge van de triumphelyke Incomst van den...Aertshertoge Matthias binnen...Brussel...*, Antwerp, 1579, pp. 90-92, pl. p. 91.

65. See text at nn. 45 and 46 above.

66. Cf. Jacquot, 'Panorama' (op. cit. in Chapter I, n. 59), pp. 449-450.

67. See n. 63 above. The same is true of Richelieu's programme of historical scenes which were paralleled with battles won by Louis XIII during the ministry of the Cardinal (for which see B. Vignier, *Le chateau de Richelieu, ou l'histoire des dieux et des heros de l'antiquité*, Saumur, 1676, pp. 96-126; cf. W.R. Crelly, *The painting of Simon Vouet*, New Haven—London, 1962, p. 102).

68. See *Scorza, Borghini*, 1987, p. 91.

69. Most recently a reading of this type has been proposed for the Carracci frescoes of Romulus and Remus in the Palazzo Magnani, Bologna: A. Stanzani in *Emiliani, Storie di Romolo*, 1989, pp. 170-192.

Such an interpretation has been provided, for example, for the cycle of tapestries on Constantine that Rubens designed in 1622 (*text ill.* 21).⁷⁰ Yet, even if the general theme may have had a particular aptness to its prospective patron, the specific meanings suggested are less than convincing, nor, as I shall indicate, is it appropriate to look for others.

At this point it is worth recalling the artist's comments on the Cassiodorus series that he proposed for the retired royal favourite. Here Rubens found a theme or rather a character that seemed to him to have a special decorum, or suitability, to the patron and his situation, so that it would have a special interest for him. Rubens then selected as the episodes to be painted this story's 'most notable points', evidently looking to how the chosen theme could be represented most effectively in the number of spaces available to be filled. There is no suggestion that he was trying to find scenes that had any kind of allegorical parallel or personal reference to the life of the patron. After all, the result was to be a series of pictures that would be recognizable as, and appropriately illustrate, the life of Cassiodorus (a quite novel subject), not that of the contemporary retired favourite.

Some such procedure surely conditioned the choice and artistic treatment of the cycle of Camillus (*text ill.* 22) painted by Salviati in the Sala dell'Udienza in the Palazzo Vecchio between 1543 and 1547. The theme was given to the artist by the patron, Duke Cosimo. He evidently felt a special empathy with the ancient Roman patrician who was first censured and exiled for overstepping republican conventions but later in time of trouble was elected dictator, recalled to save Rome, and vindicated.⁷¹ Clearly the Duke found an inspiring model in the career of the ancient hero, who neatly combined aristocratic and republican qualities in a way likely to appeal to the Medici, who had managed to transmute Florentine republicanism into an effective aristocracy. This does not mean, however, that the frescoes themselves are actually a covert allegorical glorification of events in Cosimo's life.⁷² The cycle showed the story of Camillus, and so individual scenes were evidently chosen to illustrate the great and stirring events in the life of the ancient hero. This is how Vasari seems to see it in his detailed account in the *Life of Salviati*,⁷³ and this is, I believe, the implication of the letter of 1543

70. See text at n. 84 below.

71. See I.H. Cheney, *Francesco Salviati (1510-1563)*, Ph.D. diss. New York University, 1963, I, pp. 162-189, esp. pp. 162-163; II, pp. 359-374, 644-649; also *Allegri—Cecchi, Palazzo Vecchio*, 1980, pp. 32-47.

72. This is suggested in Cheney, op. cit., esp. II, pp. 370-73; *Allegri—Cecchi, Palazzo Vecchio*, esp. p. 44.

73. *Vasari, Opere*, ed. Milanesi, 1878-85, VII, pp. 22-25.

requesting that the painter should be provided with 'all the notable feats (*opere notabili*) of Camillus'.⁷⁴ Significantly too, *Camillus and the Schoolmaster* and the *Arrival of Juno Moneta* were also *exempla* from Valerius Maximus.⁷⁵ Salviati's Camillus is not so much a figure of Cosimo as a figure for him, an encouraging exemplar for the Duke. The striking allegorical figures and emblems which are included in the room (cf. *text ill.* 22) were presumably meant to underline the lessons that Camillus's life can provide—and that the course of Medicean history had also underlined: that favour and fortune are inconstant and variable, that even the greatest men are subject to envy, that prudence demands waiting for and snatching the right moment.⁷⁶ Camillus's feats have a particular relevance to the Medici, but they also present lessons of general application, as was appropriate for a permanent decoration of a public room. If a glorification of Cosimo's own deeds had been wanted this could simply have been painted, as it was, extensively, by Vasari and his assistants elsewhere in the Palazzo Vecchio.

This is not to say that the pictures would not have been used on appropriate occasions to make compliments to Cosimo, or some other member of the Medici family. Vasari himself showed how this could be done in his account of his mythological frescoes in the Palazzo Vecchio in his dialogue, the *Ragionamenti*:⁷⁷ here he first explains to Duke Cosimo's son, Francesco de' Medici, what each scene represents, and then, in many cases, offers a further allegorical meaning, flattering to the Duke and his family. This *senso nostro*, 'meaning for us', as he calls it, is clearly an optional extra included for the entertainment and instruction of the prince, not something programmed into the pictures, or part of their intended meaning; with a different audience it would have been suitably altered or even omitted altogether. He himself has alternatives available. And he confesses too that someone more capable than him might contrive a better analogy than he has done; after all this is not really his job as the artist.⁷⁸ What Vasari painted were scenes from the stories of the different pagan deities, one god for each room,

74. Letter of 9 October 1543 from the Duke's secretary to Pierfrancesco Riccio instructing him to give to Salviati 'tutte le opere notabili di Camillo, adciò possa farne un schizzo per S. Ex.^a, e così li piacerà exeguire'. See Cheney, *op. cit.*, II, p. 645, doc.14; *Allegrì—Cecchi, Palazzo Vecchio, 1980*, p. 47.

75. Valerius Maximus, *Dicta et facta* VI.v.1 (*de iustitia*); I.viii.3 (*de miraculis*).

76. It seems interesting that this is the way Camillus is characterized by Valerius Maximus—ready to endure envy, prepared to bide his time until the opportune moment, able to conquer himself—in *Dicta et facta* IV.i.2 (*de moderatione*).

77. Published in *Vasari, Opere*, ed. Milanese, 1878-85, VIII, pp. 5-225.

78. For Vasari's disarming admission see E. McGrath, "Il senso nostro": the Medici Allegory applied to Vasari's mythological frescoes in the Palazzo Vecchio' in *Giorgio Vasari. Tra deco-*

taken from Boccaccio's *Genealogy of the Gods* in a fairly obvious way—which explains why the *birth* of the god is often the central scene—with attention to the episodes that were important and capable of pictorial treatment. Similarly the Camillus cycle includes the obvious and significant episodes in the life of the ancient hero, to create a series that makes perfect sense as a straightforward history of the *opere* of Camillus, leaving the business of the application of any subsequent personal or topical allegory to the ingenuity of individual courtiers.

The contrast is very noticeable with the one case we know of an ancient life which was designed to make allegorical reference to that of a modern figure, namely the Suite d'Artémise, devised in 1562 by the apothecary Nicolas Houel to flatter Catherine de' Medici. Houel meant his drawings (no less than 59) to be used for tapestries, and some of them were, but only for later queens, Maria de' Medici and Anne of Austria.⁷⁹ In this series the original events are freely emended to make a life of Artemisia that is really that of Catherine transparently 'disguised' as the ancient queen—or rather the two queens, since Houel's Artemisia is a conflation of the ally of Xerxes and the wife of Mausolus.⁸⁰ For example, a great number of episodes are devoted to Artemisia, as a widow, training her son, Lygdamis. These are entirely fictional as far as either of the ancient queens is concerned; they relate only to Catherine and her son, Charles IX. Events are consistently doctored or invented to make them fit the situation of the modern 'equivalent'. Such doctoring is typical when ancient stories are depicted as allegorical parallels. For after all the ancient episode almost always features unwanted aspects or entails unfortunate implications.⁸¹ Catholic priests

razione ambientale e storiografia artistica, ed. G.C. Garfagnini, Florence, 1985, pp. 117-134, esp. pp. 133-134.

79. For the Houel and Caron series see M. Fenaile, *État général des tapisseries de la manufacture des Gobelins*, I, Paris, 1923, pp. 108-212; also, with further bibliography, J. Coural and M.-H. Babelon in [Cat. Exh.] *L'école de Fontainebleau* (Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1972-73), Paris, 1972, pp. 357-363 and U. von Haumeder, *Antoine Caron. Studien zu seiner 'Histoire d'Artémise'*, Inaug. Diss. Heidelberg, 1976; E.A. Standen, *European post-medieval Tapestries and related Hangings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1985, I, pp. 268-274. Many of the drawings are reproduced in J. Ehrmann, *Antoine Caron, peintre des fêtes et des massacres*, Paris, 1986, figs. 30-68. As many as 74 scenes were projected.

80. This confusion was common in the Renaissance, and had been made by Vitruvius (*De architectura* II.8).

81. For some examples, mostly involving mythological stories see E. McGrath, 'Tact and topical reference in Rubens's "Medici Cycle"', *The Oxford Art Journal*, III, 1980, pp. 11-17, esp. pp. 14-15; also McGrath, *op. cit.* in n. 78, pp. 117-118. Cf. the comments of J. Montagu, 'The Painted Enigma and French Seventeenth-Century Art', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXI, 1968, pp. 307-335, esp. pp. 327-329. Even the learned Paolo Giovio was unable to come up with a pair of satisfactory ancient analogies for two episodes in the lives of Cosimo il

used to be warned when preaching to be careful with analogies: *Omnes analogiae claudicant*, 'analogies always limp'—in other words, make imperfect parallels. Renaissance artists and courtly advisers were evidently only too aware of this and of the need to edit and modify history in drawing analogies. Thus we can be fairly certain that a pictorial cycle which consists of the famous and standard episodes from the life of a hero or heroine was not intended to function as a series of specific allegories, whatever meanings may sometimes have been applied after the fact.

Rubens's Constantine series is immediately recognizable as a life of the emperor—the artist himself talked of it simply as the *vita* of Constantine—and it includes famous and appropriate scenes from this: the Battle of the Milvian Bridge, the emblem of Christ appearing to Constantine, the Entry into Rome, the Baptism of Constantine, Constantine and Helena with the True Cross.⁸² Rubens said he made the tapestry designs 'per servizio di' Louis XIII, who was presumably therefore somehow associated with them, probably because he was patron of the tapestry workshop that commissioned them.⁸³ But the argument that the Constantine series encoded a contemporary political allegory and a criticism on the part of Louis XIII of the policy of his mother, Maria de' Medici,⁸⁴ surely involves a misunderstanding of how such cycles were constructed. It certainly is interesting that Rubens showed the double marriage of Constantine and Licinius as a single event (*text ill.* 21), thus inviting the possibility of a comparison with the double marriage of Louis (with Anne of Austria) and his sister (with Philip IV) in 1615, but the fact that Licinius was subsequently Constantine's enemy, and is quite unequivocally shown as such in the series—which includes his defeat in a striking battle scene—means that Rubens can hardly have expected an identification of Constantine with Louis and Licinius with the Spanish king to be assumed for the cycle.⁸⁵ When Peiresc explained Rubens's

Vecchio and Lorenzo de' Medici respectively for the Medici villa at Poggio a Caiano: the scene of Caesar receiving a gift of animals involves a fabrication. See Hope, *Aspects of Criticism*, 1988, p. 7; also Scorza, *Borghini*, 1987, pp. 189-190.

82. For the series see D. DuBon, *Tapestries from the Samuel H. Kress Collection at the Philadelphia Museum of Art*, London, 1964; *Held, Sketches*, 1980, I, pp. 65-85; II, pls. 40-52.

83. DuBon (op. cit., pp. 5, 9) suggests that Rubens's series was commissioned by Marc de Comans and François de La Planche; *Held, Sketches*, 1980, I, p. 68 that it was a joint venture between Rubens and de La Planche.

84. See J. Coolidge, 'Louis XIII and Rubens. The Story of the Constantine Tapestries', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., LXVII, 1966, pp. 271-292.

85. Coolidge in fact recognizes this difficulty, and surmounts it by inventing a greater one. For he suggests (op. cit., esp. pp. 284-285) that Louis XIII, the supposed deviser of the programme, might have meant the scene of the double marriage as a criticism of the policy of dynastic alliances, which do not prevent war. This interpretation, which makes Louis condemn his

first four cartoons on the artist's behalf to an assembly of French courtiers he gave no hint that anything but a straightforward exposition of the deeds of Constantine was in the artist's mind.⁸⁶ The idea of a tapestry series on Constantine was, I suspect, Rubens's and was principally inspired by a famous artistic precedent, Raphael's *Sala di Costantino* in the Vatican with its paintings made as fictive tapestries. This was also the model taken by Pietro da Cortona when he invented several scenes to supplement Rubens's narrative after the first tapestries were presented by Louis XIII to the Barberini.⁸⁷ As the first Christian emperor, Constantine was perfectly appropriate for the French king, *rex Christianissimus*, although if Rubens thought of Constantine as a figure with special meaning for Louis XIII, this was surely because his father, Henri IV, had likewise been a heroic ruler celebrated for a religious conversion.⁸⁸ As with the Cassiodorus cycle and the Medicean Camillus, this would then be the case of a hero with particular relevance to the prospective patron as an *exemplum*. Clearly, however, Rubens's scenes of Constantine were not painted as they were in order to function as allegories of other events—deeds of Henri, Louis or anyone else. Quite possibly the tapestries were indeed interpreted on particular occasions in some such way. As a good courtier Rubens might himself have been able to contrive some suitably topical reading if required. But he would probably have seen this as a job quite separate from his initial task as the artist.⁸⁹

own marriage and imply an intention to fight his brother-in-law, Philip IV, is hardly likely to have occurred even to the most anti-Spanish of Louis's courtiers. Otherwise Coolidge's political reading of the Constantine cycle bears the marks of a rationalization after the fact, involving internal inconsistencies—with Constantine sometimes representing Louis and sometimes his father Henri IV. For a critical discussion of his arguments see J. Thuillier and J. Foucart, *Rubens' Life of Marie de' Medici*, New York, 1969, p. 98; also Held, *Sketches*, 1980, I, pp. 65-70.

86. Cf. Held, *Sketches*, 1980, I, pp. 84-85.

87. See A. Nesselrath in [Cat. Exh.] *Raffaello in Vaticano* (Braccio di Carlo Magno, Vatican City, 1984-85), Milan, 1984, pp. 194, 196-197, no. 72.

88. Cf. Marrow, *Maria de' Medici*, 1982, p. 47; also J.R. Martin, 'The Barberini Tapestries at Philadelphia', *Art Quarterly*, XXVIII, 1964, pp. 515-517, although I would not therefore want to see the *The Baptism of Constantine* as a 'cryptic allusion' to Henri's conversion.

89. Here the documented case of an earlier attempt to turn a tapestry life of Constantine into a contemporary political allegory seems instructive. At Lille in 1549 three tapestries of Constantine were displayed on a temporary stage for the reception of Charles V and Prince Philip. The transfer of power from Constantius to his son Constantine was naturally interpreted as a reflection of Charles's forthcoming abdication in favour of Philip, theme of so many other tableaux during this royal progress (for example at Ghent: see Chapter I, at n. 59); but this was the only subject that could really be made to fit: the victory over Maxentius was simply presented as an *exemplum* to Philip, as an encouragement to fight the heretics, while Constantine's instruction in the Catholic faith by SS. Helena and Sylvester had to become a reflection of the Catholic education of Prince Philip. See Calvete de Estrella, op. cit. in Chapter

Several of Rubens's single paintings in this volume have been given specific topical and political interpretations which I likewise believe Rubens is unlikely to have had in mind. The Boston *Tomyris and Cyrus* (No. 2; Fig. 8), for example, has been connected with a particular phase of Archduchess Isabella's belligerence against the Dutch, and the Louvre picture of this subject (No. 4; Fig. 23) as well as the lost *Scaevola* for the Alcázar (No. 46; cf. Fig. 163), have been elaborately accommodated into the supposed political programmes of the rooms in which they hung in the seventeenth century. *The Vindication of Tuccia* (No. 51; Fig. 185) has even been represented as an allegory of Maria de' Medici's innocence, a rejected design for the Medici cycle.⁹⁰ In all of these cases the subjects are familiar *exempla*, not of course for this reason necessarily simple or fixed in meaning—Tomyris's revenge as we saw can illustrate a lesson either in fate or retribution,⁹¹ and Rubens invariably interprets his subjects with wit and subtlety—but therefore not really appropriate vehicles for specific topical propaganda. It is significant that the subjects for Cardinal Richelieu's gallery which were to have a personal and contemporary meaning were unusual and obscure, quite outside the canon of *exempla* or other standard historical themes.⁹²

Rubens's painted *exempla* of course often have a particular relevance, a decorum, either to their patron or their setting. The propriety of *The Justice of Cambyses* (No. 6; cf. Fig. 24) to the Town Hall of Brussels is obvious. Tomyris, a queenly widow and a *femme forte*, could have provided an encouraging model for Archduchess Isabella. Pythagoras with his fruit and vegetables (No. 7; Fig. 31) was probably for Rubens's dining room. *The Rape of the Sabines* (No. 40; Fig. 127) may even have celebrated a marriage. But, like the proposed picture for the disconsolate widower, these paintings are also, and primarily, inspiring stories of general interest and application.

The case of Rubens's *Devotion of Artemisia* (No. 13; Fig. 51) is particularly interesting here. This work—or a studio version—seems to have belonged to Louise de Coligny, widow of William I of Orange, and to have had pride of place in her cabinet, among the portraits of her family, in the Huys op het Noordeinde in The Hague.⁹³ It is recorded there in 1632, by which time it had passed into the collection of her son, the Stadholder Frederik Hendrik, Prince of Orange. In this context it seems to have had appropriate exemplary

1, n. 59, I, pp. 375-376. Only three tapestries are mentioned; possibly the rest of the series was not used since no suitable parallels could be extracted.

90. For all of these theories see under Nos. 2, 4, 46 and 51 below.

91. See Chapter I, p. 38.

92. For these see n. 67 above.

93. For the argument see under No. 13.

effect. For it surely influenced the Princess of Orange, Amalia van Solms, in her well-known association—even identification—with Artemisia, insisted on in both literary and visual propaganda after the death of her husband in 1647. The Huis ten Bosch became her Mausoleum, a new wonder of the Netherlands, if not of the World; and she acquired for it her own picture of the ancient heroine, by Honthorst, which she likewise installed as a chimney-piece.⁹⁴ It is tempting to suppose that Rubens's illustration of the *Devotion of Artemisia* had made an impact on Amalia and been perceived as an encouraging marital model long before the death of Fredrik Hendrik. At any rate the fact that three versions of this composition appear to have been produced in Rubens's studio (No. 13, Copies 1 and 2; Figs. 52 and 53, as well as No. 13; Fig. 51) suggests that the artist here found a subject with a general appeal as an instance of a devoted spouse. It was indeed as a prime exemplar of enduring marital love that Artemisia had been presented to the Archdukes Albert and Isabella when, newly wed, they arrived at Antwerp in 1599.⁹⁵

Another group of letters—this time to Rubens, so that we must infer the artist's replies—helps to illuminate the whole question of the extent to which Rubens's contemporaries might have looked for particular meanings in historical paintings as well as the dangers they perceived in doing so. It also helps to show why certain clear exemplary themes and familiar heroic figures were repeatedly favoured by different patrons. In May 1622 Peiresc wrote to Rubens asking his advice on the proposed decoration of the cupola above the portal of Maria de' Medici's Luxembourg Palace. The queen had ordered eight statues for the pedestals from the sculptor Guillaume Berthelot, and wanted them to show celebrated women. Maria probably recalled the four 'donne illustri' with which Vasari had decorated the apartments of Eleanora of Toledo in the Palazzo Vecchio.⁹⁶ She particularly liked taking queens of the past as role models, and had declared at the start of her regency that she intended to imitate Blanche of Castile, mother of St Louis, a figure who appears repeatedly in panegyrics composed for her.⁹⁷ Moreover, in a letter of instruction to her daughter Henrietta Maria on the occasion of her marriage in 1625, she cited a list of famous queens as

94. On Amalia van Solms and the Oranjezaal as Mausoleum see T.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'De woonvertrekken in Amalia's Huis in het Bosch', *Oud Holland*, LXXXIV, 1969, pp. 57-58 and n. 55; H. Peter-Raupp, *Die Ikonographie des Oranjezaal*, Hildesheim, 1980, esp. pp. 183-186. For Honthorst's painting see under No. 13, at n. 20.

95. See further under No. 13, at n. 35.

96. See Chapter I, at n. 56.

97. See Marrow, *Maria de' Medici*, 1982, pp. 65-66; Thuillier and Foucart, op. cit. in n. 85, p. 17.

examples for her.⁹⁸ Presumably then she specifically requested royal ladies for the Luxembourg cupola.

As Peiresc explains to Rubens, Berthelot and the Abbé de St Ambroise had asked for his advice about whom to include and he had come up with Olympias, mother of Alexander the Great, Berenice, mother of Philadelphus, Livia, wife of Augustus, Mammaea, mother of Severus, St Helena, mother of Constantine, St Clotilda, wife of Clovis, Bertha, mother of Charlemagne and the inevitable Blanche of Castile—'tutte Regine, molto illustri, moglie et madri di principi grandi'.⁹⁹ He wanted Rubens's opinion on this, and especially about how to show Olympias, for he had thought of using the head-dress she had on the Gonzaga cameo in Mantua (*text ill.* 24) and perhaps showing her carrying a *patera* and with a serpent at her feet, as he had seen her represented 'in diverse medaglie'. Here Peiresc was evidently referring to Roman contorniates, or cast medallions, often inscribed *Olympias Regina* (*text ill.* 23), which show her reclining and feeding the serpent at the foot of her bed.¹⁰⁰ But could Rubens think of any better and more distinctive attribute for her to hold? And could he send a copy of the *dissegno* of the Mantuan cameo, as he had promised already, perhaps done by 'Sr. Michele' or a more reliable painter. If Rubens, however, had reservations about 'publishing' the costume on the ancient cameo in this way, he himself would try to find something else from an ancient coin for Berthelot.¹⁰¹

98. Marrow, loc. cit., citing F. Duffo, *Marie de Médicis à sa fille Henriette de France, reine d'Angleterre* (1625), Lourdes, 1936.

99. Bertha was one of the queens whom Maria later recommended to her daughter: see text at n. 98.

100. For examples see A. Alföldi, *Die Kontorniaten*, Budapest, 1943, pp. 102-103 and pls. III, IV, X, XII, XIII, XIV, XXX, XXXII, XXXIII, XXXVII, XXXIX, XL, XLV, XLVII, LV, LVIII. Also D.J.A. Ross, 'Olympias and the Serpent', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXVI, 1963, pp. 17-21 and pl. 6a.

101. *Roses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, II, pp. 416-417, letter of 26 May 1622 from Peiresc to Rubens, doc. CCLX. See also Marrow, *Maria de' Medici*, 1982, pp. 22, 53, 66. Peiresc may have been thinking of an objection on the part of the Gonzaga family to the iconography of their cameo being broadcast. For although he indicates that Rubens already has a drawing of it, presumably made by him while in Mantua, the artist makes no mention of this in his letter of 9 September 1627; here Rubens thanks Pierre Dupuy for a drawing after the gem (albeit badly done) and expresses his great appreciation of the ancient cameo, observing that he actually held it in his hands while in Mantua, and adding that he would like to obtain a cast (*Roses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, IV, pp. 302-305, doc. DXV; *Magurn, Letters*, 1955, pp. 200-201, no. 123. Cf. *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, 1975, pp. 42, 57). The way in which this cast was made, in the presence of a Gonzaga agent who ensured that no more than one was produced (*ibid.*, pp. 88-89; letter of Peiresc to P. Dupuy, 3 October 1627: P. Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres de Peiresc*, I-VII, Paris 1888-98, I, p. 394), illustrates how chary collectors were about the duplication of their gems. Possibly Rubens's drawing had been made illicitly. Peiresc's description incidentally confirms Nancy de Grummond's identification of the cameo

Rubens's reply is not preserved, but from Peiresc's next letter it is evident that he suggested more ancient queens, including Semiramis, Dido and Artemisia. This last might have seemed the obvious candidate, as Maria was a widow. He also criticized some of Peiresc's suggestions as being rather inauspicious. Peiresc for his part explains that although Artemisia might seem ideal, and was indeed one of the first they thought of, the very fact that her fame rests on her monument to her dead husband makes her problematic. Maria had never shown any interest in raising the tomb for Henri, so that the inclusion of Artemisia would, it was felt, present the opportunity for criticism and malicious comments (and even published pamphlets) against the Queen Mother. Artemisia should therefore be omitted.¹⁰² As for Semiramis and Dido, no great fuss has been made over them, but he himself considers that their want of exemplary chastity rules them out. Rubens had evidently objected to Mamea as being of particularly bad omen (*sinistro augurio*), and Peiresc had to agree, adding that anyway she had been only the mother of an emperor, not the wife of one. The discussion then goes on to Olympias, who (despite, one might think, being another problematic character) was still under consideration, probably because Peiresc found it hard to resist the opportunity to give her the authentic costume from the ancient gem. Rubens, who must not have been too worried about 'publishing' the image on the cameo in the form of an attribute on Berthelot's statue, had sent a drawing, possibly his original. Peiresc particularly liked the addition of the head of Jupiter Ammon—it actually appears on the helmet of Alexander—which would certainly be used,¹⁰³ though he was worried about whether it would be easy for the artist to understand the difference between Olympias's head-dress and an ordinary cloak; he also wondered if Rubens thought it would be nice to give the serpent he intended to put at Olympias's feet the head of Ammon so that there would be no risk of confusing her with a Hygeia or Cleopatra.¹⁰⁴ Rubens's painting of c.1615,

- at Mantua with that now in Vienna ('The real Gonzaga Cameo', *American Journal of Archaeology*, LXXXVIII, 1974, pp. 427-429 and pl. 87). I see no reason to suppose that in this and the following letter (n. 104 below) there is any reference to another cameo owned by Rubens himself and sold to Buckingham in 1626 (see *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, 1975, pp. 129-130, no. G.48), even if, as Van der Meulen suggests, Rubens's gem may have been the one now in St Petersburg, formerly identified with the Gonzaga gem. See further *Van der Meulen, Antique*, 1994, I, pp. 131, 136-138, 140, 185-186 (all wrongly referring to fig. 435); III, fig. 436.
102. It may be wondered if the edition of the tapestry series of Artemisia for Maria had caused problems. For this weaving see Fenaille, *op. cit.* in n. 79, pp. 200-212.
103. Just possibly Rubens had sent not a copy of the cameo but a prospective design for the statue, taking some attributes from Alexander.
104. See *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, II, pp. 435 and 437, letter of 9 June 1622 from Peiresc to Rubens, doc. CCLXIV.

now in Detroit, of Hygeia, Aesculapius's daughter, feeding her sacred serpent from a *patera* (text ill. 25),¹⁰⁵ illustrates how readily Peiresc's Olympias might have caused confusion.

In the end, all of this scholarly effort came to nothing. For the next we hear of the project is in a letter from the Abbé de St Ambroise to Peiresc, thanking him for his 'bon et sage advis' to put only personifications, *toutes figures mystiques*, rather than famous women around the queen's cupola. The wise advice was, I am sure, that of Rubens,¹⁰⁶ who at this time in his great paintings for the Luxembourg Palace was doing his best to represent in tactful allegorical figures—similarly referred to by Rubens and Peiresc as *figure mystiche*¹⁰⁷—the more problematic episodes in the life of the queen. In a delicate political situation it was best to be circumspect. Rubens may well have pointed out too that Olympias's life was far from blameless; and even a saintly character like Clotilda could have prompted a few jokes against Maria, since that queen had been most cruelly treated by her sons, and Maria was on notoriously bad terms with Louis XIII. Under the circumstances, with Maria so open to criticism, it was best to forget about historical characters, who might allow or even encourage imperfect analogies, and to represent appropriate qualities which were clear and unequivocal, unlikely to provide an excuse for misinterpretation. In accordance with this, Peiresc evidently began composing suitable inscriptions for the statues, in which the Virtues they were to illustrate would be reiterated in words which also implied a compliment to Maria.¹⁰⁸ It seems very likely that this was in fact how the cupola was decorated, for, although Berthelot's original bronze

105. Goris—Held, *America, 1947*, p. 37, no. 73 and pls. 60, 64; J.S. Held, [Cat.] *Hemish and German Paintings of the 17th Century. The Collections of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, Detroit, 1982, pp. 82-84 and colour pl. VII, discussing too the other version (also by Rubens?) in the National Gallery, Prague.

106. Cf. Rooses—Ruelens, *Correspondance, 1887-1909*, III, p. 11.

107. See, for example, the postscript to the letter from Peiresc to Rubens of 26 August 1622 (Rooses—Ruelens, *Correspondance, 1887-1909*, III, p. 24, doc. CCLXXXVI; also McGrath, op. cit. in n. 81, pp. 11-17. The term *mystique* or *mistico* as used for symbolic or allegorical meaning was probably taken by Peiresc from Rubens, which further suggests that the advice about using personifications on the cupola comes from the artist. For Rubens already uses the word *mistico* to mean allegorical in his letter of 23 January 1619 to Pieter van Veen about engraving privileges: Rooses—Ruelens, *Correspondance, 1887-1909*, II, p. 199, doc. CLXXXIV. We should not, I think, see in the term a hint of allegorical concealment, as do R.F. Wolf and R.E. Millen, *Heroic Deeds and Mystic Figures. A New Reading of Rubens' 'Life of Maria de' Medici'*, Princeton, 1989, esp. p. 9. Cf. E. McGrath, review in *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXXIV, 1992, pp. 314-315.

108. Three inscriptions are cited: *Fortitudo qua iura filio illibata servavit; prudentia qua audiens et diversorum consiliorum; patientia qua adversorum domitrix*. See Rooses—Ruelens, *Correspondance, 1887-1909*, III, p. 10, letter of 1 August 1622 from S. Ambroise to Peiresc, doc. CCLXXX. That Rubens was indeed involved in this solution is suggested by the fact that Peiresc forwarded

figures have been lost,¹⁰⁹ the present stone statues which replaced them in the nineteenth (?) century illustrate personified virtues.¹¹⁰ Personifications, *figure mystique*, are after all the safest if any problems are envisaged. Even the neatest analogies with predetermined historical precedents can result in unwanted and unfortunate implications. This is the case if we try to force an allegory of Louis XIII and Philip IV onto the double marriage of Constantine and Licinius (*text ill.* 21). Rubens, the diplomat, who knew so well how to make allegorical figures dignify and gloss over uncomfortable political realities, was the last painter to want to depict specific historical analogies, and the evidence suggests that he never did.

to him this letter, which also contains advice about the Medici cycle. Cf. R. Coope, *Salomon de Brosse and the Development of the Classical Style in French Architecture from 1565-1630*, London, 1972, p. 263.

109. See Marrow, *Maria de' Medici*, 1982, p. 22; Coope, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

110. Cf. Rooses—Ruelens, *Correspondance, 1887-1909*, III, p. 11. Rubens sent Berthelot a copy of the *Palazzi di Genova*: see Rooses—Ruelens, *Correspondance, 1887-1909*, III, pp. 38-39, letter of 15 September 1622 from Peiresc to Rubens, doc. CCLXXXIX.

IV. The School of Philosophy

IF MARIA DE' MEDICI'S ROLE MODELS were famous queens of the past, those of scholars and humanists were famous writers and philosophers.¹ Most images of philosophers made in the fifteenth and sixteenth century were intended for libraries or studies. Usually these are simply portraits of figures who represent a specific branch of wisdom; sometimes they carry scrolls with their wise sayings. They stand in line together, or appear in half-length busts, a kind of painted equivalent for the sculpted ancient portraits which presumably would have been the ideal ornament for this context.² Rubens himself painted a few portrait busts of philosophers specifically for scholars. Indeed he published a number of engraved portraits of ancient authors (cf. *text ill.* 29), either invented or from 'authentic' sculptures, and these may sometimes have served a similar function.³ He also painted scholarly friends in the presence of busts of admired ancient authors who in turn serve as emblems of the profession or aspirations of the sitter—Marcus Aurelius for Gevartius, Hippocrates for Nonnius.⁴ These pictures too refer to the tradition of library decoration in which authors are shown as representatives of a particular discipline.

Raphael's so-called *School of Athens* (*text ill.* 26, 27) was the high point of this tradition: a group of representative philosophers for a papal reading-room, gathered around Plato and Aristotle under the personification of Philosophy herself, *Causarum cognitio* (the knowledge of causes of things), who has books inscribed *naturalis* and *moralis*.⁵ The scheme is essentially a brilliant variation on the old iconographic theme, a collection of eminent

1. See notably Fitz Darby, *Wise Men*, 1962, pp. 279-305 and Ferrari, *Filosofi*, 1986, esp. pp. 118-120, 126-128. For Armenini's recommendations see Armenini, *Precetti*, 1587, pp. 167-70.

2. On the decoration of ancient libraries see chapter v of Lipsius's *De bibliothecis syntagma* (Lipsius, *Opera*, 1675, III, pp. 1136-1138).

3. For the *Plato* and *Seneca* for Moretus see pp. 110-112 below; for the engravings after ancient busts published in 1638 see *Rooses, Oeuvre*, 1886-92, V, pp. 12-16; *Van der Meulen, Antique*, 1994, II, pp. 131-132, no. 115 and pp. 135-138, no. 117; III, figs. 215, 223.

4. See *Vlieghe, Portraits*, 1987, pp. 113-116, no. 106, fig. 122; pp. 137-139, no. 124, fig. 152; for Van Dyck's portrait of Rockox with the bust of Demosthenes see Scheller, op. cit. in Chapter III, n. 50, pp. 18-27.

5. See Gombrich, *Segnatura*, 1972; also, on the function of the Stanza della Segnatura, J. Shearman, 'The Vatican Stanze: Functions and Decorations' in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, LVII, 1971, pp. 369-424 and further, idem in *Raphael in the apartments of Julius II and Leo X*, Milan, 1993, pp. 15-36, esp. p. 23. On the title and early interpretations of the fresco see J. Wood, 'Cannibalized Prints and Early Art History. Vasari, Bellori and Fréart de Chambray on Raphael', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, LI, 1988, pp. 210-220, esp. p. 214.

practitioners gathered round their discipline—in this case Philosophy, personified above. In turning this into something like an *istoria*, Raphael invented subsidiary scenes to create interest: Socrates (recognizable from the ancient portrait) teaching with arguments, Euclid demonstrating a problem, Pythagoras studying ratios. The solitary or misanthropic characters sit or stand alone—most famously Diogenes sprawled on the steps. Those who had a school seem to appear surrounded by a group of disciples, in a few cases identifiable as specific followers. Plato carries the *Timaeus* and Aristotle the *Ethics*, the works which characterize them as, respectively, the supreme ‘natural’ and ‘moral’ philosopher.⁶ Both books are labelled in Italian. This summation of Renaissance humanism was evidently not intended to be either obscure or dauntingly learned.

Even if Raphael includes vignettes which are almost narratives in themselves, narrative pictures involving philosophers were rare before the seventeenth century. In the Stanza della Solitudine of the Farnese villa at Caprarola, painted by Federico Zuccaro in 1565, elements from some odd stories were used, albeit essentially as identifying attributes, for the scene of the philosophers who cultivated solitude; the eccentric programme was devised by Annibale Caro. Diogenes also featured in the room, alone, in his barrel (‘Diogene, con la sua botte’), as an example of one who retired from the world.⁷ Diogenes’s encounter, from his barrel, with Alexander was illustrated in a narrative scene by Vasari, apparently to represent philosophy, on the ceiling of the study (*scrittoio*) of Duke Cosimo I in the Palazzo Vecchio.⁸ Vasari’s decorative scheme derived from his interpretation of the *School of Athens*, which had a crucial role in establishing the iconographic conventions of philosopher pictures, for Rubens as for other painters. Another element in the tradition was the more lowly artistic genre of emblems. The meeting of Alexander and Diogenes, for example, with the philosopher asking the great king only to stand aside and let sunlight fall on him, featured in a few sixteenth-century emblem books as an illustration of the wise man’s contentment with little.⁹ And the images of philosophers used for emblems generally point to the themes later taken up and represented by painters. For Rubens and Netherlandish artists, one book seems to have

6. The distinction reflects that of the two inscribed books carried by the personification of Philosophy.

7. See Gombrich, *op. cit.* in Chapter I, n. 31, pp. 9-11, 23-25 (reproducing Caro’s programme) and figs. 12, 15.

8. See *Allegri—Cecchi, Palazzo Vecchio, 1980*, pp. 191-194, repr. p. 192; *Scorza, Borghini, 1987*, pp. 93-95.

9. E.g. *Haechtanus, Microcosmos, 1579*, no. 36.

been particularly important—Laurent van Haecht's *Microcosmos* of 1579, a work which is essentially a collection of moralizing ancient themes with text and pictures. Interestingly, the author himself seems to have hoped it would furnish artists with ideas for historical subjects.¹⁰

Emblems are concerned with wisdom, but mostly of a commonplace kind. The illustration of proverbs had long been a speciality of Netherlandish artists. In his great compendium of adages (*Adagia*), the first series of which was published in 1500, Erasmus gave Renaissance readers an epitome of ancient thought in which homespun sentiment was often reassuringly present in elegant classical *dicta*; these sayings in turn provided convenient mottoes and material for the new genre of the emblem book. Not surprisingly the roles of antique philosophers in this context tend to be limited; typically they appear as purveyors or exemplars of proverbial precepts. These roles are perpetuated in the standard seventeenth-century images of philosophers. A favourite theme is the philosopher as scourge of the rich and *contemptor mundi*, beloved of Salvator Rosa, and the model for the ragged philosophers of Ribera.¹¹ This image, ostensibly positive, being a rejection of wordly vanity, often borders on the negative, or at least the slightly ludicrous—the philosopher who is contemptuous of the world and worldly cares is very near the madman, out of touch with reality and the rest of humanity. The classic source for this Renaissance type of the philosopher is the gossipy *Lives of the Philosophers* of the Greek writer Diogenes Laertius. He preferred anecdotes to philosophical exegesis, and he provides the basic fund of stories of philosophers.

For example, he was responsible for elaborating the caricature of Socrates's inability to cope with his shrewish wife Xanthippe; indeed he introduced a second wife Myrto to give the philosopher even more trouble.¹² This seems to have exercised first St Jerome, no advocate of wives, and then

10. Haechtanus, *Microcosmos*, 1579, sig. A (preface to the reader). Cf. McGrath, *Alcibiades*, 1983, p. 231. The great popularity of this work is attested in re-editions and reworkings. See M. Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery. II: Bibliography*, London, 1947, pp. 112-113. The 1608 Amsterdam edition of the Dutch version by Jan Moerman (first published in Antwerp in 1584) underlines the book's function as a collection of *exempla*: *De cleyne werelt: Daer in claerlijcken door seer schoone Poëtische, Moralische en Historische exemplelen betoont wort, alles wat den mensche... heeft te vlieden ende naer te volgen...Rethorijckelick uytgesteld...* Joost van den Vondel's *Den Gulden Winckel der Kunstlievende Nederlanders*, published at Amsterdam in 1613 was based on Moerman's text.

11. On the ragged philosopher see the entertaining article Fitz Darby, *Wise Men*, 1962, pp. 279-305, esp. pp. 298-299. On Rosa see notably W.W. Roworth, 'Pictor Succensor'. *A Study of Salvator Rosa as Satirist, Cynic and Painter* (Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts), New York—London, 1978.

12. Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae* II.26.

Erasmus and other Renaissance readers, who revelled in the idea that the great thinker was quite hopeless in dealing with women and with his home life. Erasmus, like Chaucer, substituted the contents of a chamber pot for Jerome's dirty water in the story of how Socrates was once doused by Xanthippe.¹³ This then became a favourite theme of emblems, whether with two wives, as in Van Haecht's *Microcosmos* where both women set on him (cf. *text ill.* 35), or in the *Emblemata Horatiana* of 1607 of Otto van Veen (*text ill.* 33). Socrates is here presented as an *exemplum* of patience, a pagan Job.¹⁴ But we are obviously meant to smile at his predicament, in the same spirit as with the medieval tale of Aristotle and Phyllis.

Van Veen was Rubens's teacher and, even before he had published his image of patient Socrates, Rubens had derived amusement from the same subject. For on a drawing which the artist made after an ancient sarcophagus in Rome he added a jocular inscription, misidentifying the figures of a poet and a muse as Socrates and Xanthippe in a bad temper ('Xanthippe quae stomachatur')¹⁵—and there is certainly some resemblance of the male figure to the familiar portrait of Socrates.¹⁶ But Rubens also knew the authentic Platonic Socrates: not long before he made the drawing of the sarcophagus he had been reading Plato's dialogues, at least in Latin translation, perhaps under the influence of his brother and other learned friends with whom he consorted in Italy. In 1601 or 1602 he drew a scene from Plato's *Symposium* (No. 11; Fig. 41), illustrating the moment when Alcibiades, Socrates's most problematic pupil, bursts into the party which is the symposium, drunk, and tries to crown the beautiful young Agathon, the host. This drawing may have been done as a study in gesture and expression or simply to amuse a friend; Rubens probably did not envisage using this Platonic scene, based closely but imaginatively on the original text, for a painting. But unlike Caesar van Everdingen, who painted a full-scale picture of Alcibiades mock-

13. Jerome, *Adversus Iovinianum* I.316; Erasmus, *Apophthegmata* III, *Socratica* 59 (Erasmus, *Opera*, 1703-06, IV, col. 161B-C); also W.W. Skeat, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer. V: Notes to the Canterbury Tales*, Oxford, 1900, p. 311. I owe this reference to J.B. Trapp.

14. See Haechtanus, *Microcosmos*, 1579, no. 33, where it is entitled *Patientia Socratis* (also *Vondel, Gulden Winckel*, 1613, no. 32; *text ill.* 35); O. Vaenius, *Emblemata Horatiana*, Antwerp, 1607, pp. 152-153 with the title *Victrix malorum Patientia*. Cf. McGrath, *Alcibiades*, 1983, pp. 231-232 and pl. 43b.

15. See Held, *Drawings*, 1959, I, pp. 156-157, no. 160 and II, pl. 169; McGrath, *Alcibiades*, 1983, p. 232 and pl. 43a. Cf. now Van der Meulen, *Antique*, 1994, II, pp. 157-159, no. 138; III, fig. 269, where, however, the joke seems to be missed.

16. Both Rubens and Van Veen may have known the poem in the Latin Anthology on an ancient painting which showed Diogenes mocked by the courtesan Lais, who pulls his beard while Cupid urinates on him. See *Anthologia latina*, ed. D.R. Shackleton Bailey, I, Stuttgart, 1982, pp. 285-286, no. 369.

ing Socrates in his tribulation,¹⁷ Rubens evidently did not find the joke about Socrates and his wives an appropriate theme for a painting either.

Indeed he took Socrates and Plato seriously enough to introduce them into the *Triumph of Faith* (text ill. 31) for his Eucharist series of tapestries of 1624-28.¹⁸ Here, I believe, they illustrate how near a few ancient pagans progressed towards the true Faith. Rubens seems to have begun with the idea of showing writers and thinkers of classical antiquity as prisoners, along with the subjected personification of Nature, to demonstrate the limits of human knowledge which relies on nature and sense experience. For in the first sketch, in Cambridge (text ill. 32), Faith has them by fetters.¹⁹ The eucharistic hymn, *Pange, lingua*, attributed to St Thomas Aquinas, which talks of the Faith that is needed to take us beyond the evidence of the senses ('Praestet fides supplementum/ Sensuum defectui'), probably first suggested this theme to Rubens's mind,²⁰ and the model of Otto van Veen's *Triumph of the Faith* presumably suggested the format and the prisoners.²¹ But Rubens's Faith turns back towards them, and a poet, recognizable as such from his laurel wreath, raises his hand in a gesture of salutation. Whether or not Rubens at this stage had specific characters in mind for the other representatives of ancient wisdom,²² he clearly meant the poet to be Vergil, the inspired pagan who was held, by Augustine among others, to have foreseen the birth of Christ in the Fourth Eclogue.²³ With the inclusion

17. For this painting, probably made c.1650-52, see A.-P. de Mirimonde, 'La genèse iconographique d'une oeuvre. Socrate, ses deux épouses et le jeune Alcibiade', *Revue du Louvre*, 1974, 2, pp. 101-104.

18. For the *Triumph of Faith* see *De Poorter, Eucharist*, 1978, I, nos. 12-12d, II, figs. 160-164, 166; *Held, Sketches*, 1980, I, pp. 152-154, nos. 101, 102 and II, pls. 104, 105.

19. *De Poorter, Eucharist*, 1978, I, no. 12a and II, fig. 161; *Held, Sketches*, 1980, I, p. 152, no. 101 and II, pl. 104.

20. See E. McGrath, 'Celebrating the Eucharist' (review of *De Poorter, Eucharist*, 1978), *Art History*, IV, 1981, p. 477, pointing out that this same hymn may have inspired the emblem on the border below of a heart being strengthened to accept the mystery of the Eucharist (hence the sphinxes) in a vessel in flames ('Et si sensus deficit/ Ad firmandum cor sincerum/ Sola fides sufficit').

21. Cf. *De Poorter, Eucharist*, 1978, I, pp. 199-200, 333-335; also II, figs. 71 and 73 for Van Veen's prisoners. For Van Veen's series see further A. Vogl, *Der Bilderzyklus 'Der Triumph der Kirche' von Otto van Veen (Schriften aus dem Institut für Kunstgeschichte der Universität München, xix)*, Munich 1987. The inscription on the first of Van Veen's paintings provides his exact title to the series: 'the fundamentals and principles of the Faith and the Catholic Religion set out on six separate triumphal cars' ('Fundamenta et principia fidei et catholicae religionis in sex triumphales currus dispartita').

22. For the identification of the bearded man as Socrates see below; the figure with caduceus and book appears to be clean-shaven in the Cambridge sketch and may be a Roman orator.

23. Augustine, *Civitas dei* X.xxvii. Vergil, bearing the relevant lines from his poem ('Iam redit et virgo...'), was painted with Dante by Vasari on the Cupola of the Duomo in Florence. See

of the prophetic Vergil, Rubens evidently could not resist giving more credit to the contribution of his beloved pagans to Christianity. In the second version of the scene (*text ill.* 31) the fetters disappear and Faith looks back at the ancients with benevolence, encouraging them on, rather than leading them in triumph.²⁴ For his justification, Rubens needed only turn to St Augustine and his impassioned attempt in Book Eight of the *City of God* to accommodate ancient philosophy, particularly Platonism, to Christianity, an attempt which was fundamental to the whole Renaissance cult of the *prisca theologia*, the ancient theology.²⁵ The foremost figure in the Brussels sketch is, I believe, Plato, and the philosopher next to him is his master Socrates.²⁶ Socrates stumbles along lamely, eyes cast down, still wedded to Nature, a many-breasted earth mother. But Plato—*Divinus Plato*—looks upwards;²⁷ even without the benefit of Christianity he has arrived at some conception of the divine. He carries an armillary sphere to symbolize his cosmological theories which were taken to imply a divine creation—Augustine particularly mentions the *Timaeus*.²⁸ Vergil, now more obviously like the portrait set up in 1514 in Mantua,²⁹ appropriately sees Faith more clearly and directly than Plato. (Not even Augustine claimed that Plato foresaw the advent of Christ.)

Vasari, *Opere*, ed. Milanesi, 1878-85, VII, pp. 684-685; Orpheus and Homer also appeared with Greek mottoes. These frescoes were overpainted by Zuccaro.

24. Cf. the comments in Held, *Sketches*, 1980, I, p. 153.

25. Augustine, *Civitas dei* VIII, *passim*, esp. ix-xi. On the *prisca theologia* see notably D.P. Walker, *The Ancient Theology*, London, 1972.

26. Cf. Augustine, *Civitas dei* VIII.iii-iv. The resemblance of this figure to Socrates has been recognized, though he is usually called Socratic or secular philosophy. His features particularly correspond to those of the portrait on an ancient gem which Rubens identified and had engraved as Socrates. See Van der Meulen, *Antiquarius*, 1975, p. 155, no. G.78; pl. IXA, C; Van der Meulen, *Antique*, 1994, II, pp. 203-204, no. 172; III, fig. 341. For the print made by Pontius and published in 1638 see Bodart, *Incisione*, 1977, pp. 111, no. 231. See also Van der Meulen, *Antique*, 1994, II, pp. 139-140, no. 118; III, fig. 228.

27. For Rubens's portrait of the inspired Plato (*text ill.* 29) see below, pp. 110-112. Rubens refers to Plato as *divinus*, a common Renaissance epithet (first used by Cicero: e.g. *De legibus* III.1), in a letter to his brother Philip of 21 May 1601: Rooses—Ruelens, *Correspondance*, 1887-1909, I, p. 6, no. II. For Ficino on Plato *divinus* and a related allegorical fresco (c.1640) by Francesco Furini see E. McGrath, 'From Parnassus to Careggi. A Florentine Celebration of Renaissance Platonism' in *Sight and Insight. Essays on Art and Culture in Honour of E.H. Gombrich at 85*, ed. J. Onians, London, 1994, pp. 190-220, esp. pp. 203-211, 213 n. 2 and fig. 78.

28. *Civitas dei* VIII.xi. As noted above, Plato carries the *Timaeus* in the *School of Athens* (*text ill.* 26, 27); he also points upwards.

29. This terracotta bust stood on an arch outside the house of the humanist Battista Fiera, who put it up and claimed to own the ancient original: see [Cat. Exh.] *Splendours of the Gonzaga* (as in Chapter I, n. 16), nos. 92, 97 and 99, pp. 152-156; also J.B. Trapp, 'The Poet and the Monumental Impulse', *Society for Renaissance Studies Occasional Papers*, VI, 1980, pp. 5-6.

As for the black man with a red head-dress,³⁰ he is presumably also an individual who apprehended something of Christianity—indeed he seems to see as much as Vergil, as his gesture underlines.³¹ (The same gesture was given to Vergil in the first sketch [*text ill.* 32] in which the black man was not yet envisaged.) He is somewhat removed from the others and gazing out from darkness. Might he too be an old pagan who foretold the coming of Christ? He could then be a representative Ethiopian, one of the proverbially pious race from the farthest point on the earth celebrated by Homer, and later recalled by the Church fathers.³² (He is not sufficiently particularized to be identified with a specific historical character, so can hardly be the father of the ancient theology, far back in dim and remote antiquity, the Egyptian Hermes Trismegistus.)³³ Whatever the case, classical wisdom is here subsumed and positively integrated into Christian theology, an elegant concordance of Christianity with ancient philosophy.

The ancient theology is principally associated with the Renaissance philosopher Marsilio Ficino,³⁴ whose name and whose *concordantia* of Christianity and Platonism have often been invoked in connection with Renaissance art—sometimes in vain. The one thing we know for certain about Ficino and art was that he commissioned a picture for his ‘academy’ which was no allegorical *summa* of his philosophy but a simple painting of Democritus and Heraclitus, laughing and weeping respectively over the state of the world, symbolized as a globe.³⁵ A number of ancient texts and

Another 16th-century bust based on the same portrait is (and presumably was in Rubens’s time) in the Cortile of the Palazzo Ducale: M.G. Fiorini Galassi, B. Guerra, S. Schiatti, *Virgilio alla ricerca del volto*, Suzzara, 1981, p. 96, repr.

30. In the large studio painting in Valenciennes (*De Poorter, Eucharist*, 1978, I, no. 12d; II, fig. 166) it looks as if it is made of feathers, which might suggest a figure from the New World. But an almost identical red ‘feathery’—or rather shaggy—head-dress is worn by the black (African) page-boy who accompanies the Turkish figures on fol. 37 of Rubens’s *Costume Book*: *Belkin, Costume Book*, 1978, pp. 159-162, no. 37; fig. 193.
31. Cf. the comments in *Held, Sketches*, 1980, I, p. 153.
32. On the Homeric Ethiopians see notably A. Lesky, ‘Aithiopia’, *Hermes*, lxxxvii, 1959, pp. 27-38; for the Early Christian tradition see J.M. Courtès in *The Image of the Black in Western Art. II*, Lausanne, 1979, pp. 9-32. One particular text may be relevant, namely Psalm 67.32 [68.31]: ‘And Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands to God’.
33. For Hermes Trismegistus and his reputation in the Renaissance as a prophet of Christ and the first of the *prisci theologi* see notably F.A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*, edn London 1971, esp. pp. 1-19. Lactantius hailed him as a great Gentile seer who foresaw the coming of Christ, and Augustine took up this theme, even if he disapproves his use of magic (*Civitas dei* VIII.xxiii-xxvi). Ficino virtually canonized him. Hermes appeared as a pagan prophet in Baronius’s *Annales ecclesiastici* (I, p. 7), even though this then prompted the debunking of the corpus of supposed Hermetic writings by Isaac Casaubon in 1614. See Yates, *op. cit.*, pp. 398-431.
34. See Yates, *op. cit.*, esp. pp. 12-83.
35. See under No. 8, at n. 10.

references to images lay behind this commission, notably a passage in the tenth Satire of Juvenal, who wonders how much more Democritus would laugh at the follies and pretensions of his own day, the vain pomp and triumphs of officials.³⁶ The painting later done by Bramante for the house of a Milanese poet probably gives us some idea of how this looked.³⁷ Bramante's picture is both moralizing and amusing—appropriately enough since the main textual inspiration might have been this tenth Satire (the reliefs in the background may refer to the triumphs and vain pomp of his day which Juvenal is glad Democritus can't see). Juvenal seems to invite us to follow Democritus rather than Heraclitus in mocking rather than simply bewailing the follies of the world. His text certainly encouraged Erasmus, who, as is well known, devoted his most popular work, the *Praise of Folly*, to doing just this. Erasmus's recommendation in that book to laugh with Democritus in turn encouraged a Renaissance preference for the laughing philosopher,³⁸ and perhaps too the idea that philosopher pictures themselves might be slightly comical. Even more important for Erasmus, who made Democritus and Heraclitus proverbial, was the ancient Greek satirist Lucian. And it is Lucian's dialogue, entitled the *Sale of Lifestyles* and actually a comic sale of philosophers, which best typifies a whole Renaissance genre of philosopher images.³⁹

In this dialogue (βιῶν πρᾶσις), Lucian pokes fun at the teachings of the different schools of philosophy and the lives of their founders. First comes Pythagoras, admittedly something of a gift to satirists, with his transmigration of souls, esoteric number theory, apparently irrational injunctions, and aversion to beans (cf. Figs. 31, 33). He is advertised by Hermes to a reluctant group of potential buyers, and sold simply because he has a golden thigh. Diogenes proves still more difficult to dispose of—dirty, rude and promising any buyer only that he will help him abandon luxury. Among others is the Platonic philosopher, an amalgam of Socrates and Plato, who is looking for a household where he can be the tutor to a handsome young man, even though he professes to take only the most 'Platonic' interest in youthful beauty. Last comes the Stoic, representing the philosophy which was fashionable among the upper classes in Lucian's day. As for Democritus and Heraclitus, these Lucian insists must be sold as a package, and, except for

36. Juvenal, *Satires* x.28-53.

37. See G. Bora in [Cat.] *Pinacoteca di Brera. Scuole lombarda e piemontese, 1300-1535*, Milan, 1988, no. 94a, pp. 121-130, repr. p. 122, with earlier literature.

38. See E. W[ind], 'The Christian Democritus', *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, I, 1937-38, pp. 180-182.

39. Cf. Fitz Darby, *Wise Men*, 1962, esp. pp. 284-285.

Aristippus whose extravagant lifestyle made him too expensive a prospect, they alone find no purchaser, even for a couple of pence.

Rubens may have had Lucian in mind when he drew this inseparable pair as a double herm, portrait heads back to back, an invention based on surviving twin busts of ancient authors or philosophers who relate to one another. A copy of Rubens's lost drawing (*text ill.* 37) survives with other playful variations on the theme of double herms in the Johnson manuscript now in the Courtauld Institute.⁴⁰ He specified on the drawing that Democritus should look rather like a Silenus.⁴¹ He was evidently thinking of the ancient 'portrait' of Democritus which he published, in Vorsterman's engraving, in 1638, emphasizing the jovial and satyric features.⁴² Rubens's first and last surviving paintings of philosophers were also of Democritus and Heraclitus, this time respectively mocking and bemoaning the folly of the world as they do in the tenth Satire of Juvenal. He chose the subject when, on his mission from Mantua to Spain in 1603, he had the opportunity of making a picture of his own (No. 8; Fig. 36) for the Duke of Lerma, a painting which in turn may have encouraged the important commission for the Duke's equestrian portrait.⁴³ Curiously, his later version of the theme was also for Spain, for the series of pictures for Philip IV's hunting lodge, the Torre de la Parada (Figs. 38, 39).⁴⁴ Here the laughing Democritus and the weeping Heraclitus were painted as pendants—correspondences in size and subject-matter suggest that a number of the paintings for the Torre were planned as groups of two, three or four.⁴⁵ *Democritus* and *Heraclitus* were probably accompanied by a picture which is of exactly the same size and

40. Courtauld Institute, MS Johnson, fol. 121r. See E. McGrath, 'Rubens's *Musathena*', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, L, 1987, pp. 233-245, esp. p. 245. Arnout Balis informs me that he believes this sheet and other inventions of double busts in the MS Johnson are not part of the material from the so-called pocketbook which most of this MS reproduces. Presumably they date from c.1617-18, like the original drawings by Rubens of double herms of this type (cf. McGrath, loc. cit., pp. 238-239).

41. The words *praeferat aliquot ut (?) sileno* are inscribed next to his forehead.

42. *V.S.* p. 223, no. 25, 3; *Roses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, V, p. 12, no. 1210; *Bodart, Incisione, 1977*, pp. 79-80, no. 147; *Van der Meulen, Antique, 1994*, II, pp. 122-125, no. 111; III, fig. 201. This portrait is not now believed to be of Democritus: G.M.A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks*, I-III, London, 1965, I, p. 120.

43. Madrid, Prado: *Huemer, Portraits, 1977*, no. 20, fig. 67.

44. *Alpers, Torre, 1971*, nos. 61 and 62; figs. 195 and 196. See also under No. 10.

45. While accepting Alpers's conclusion that there can hardly have been an overall iconographic programme, I feel that individual groupings can sometimes be distinguished, most obviously in the pictures of distinctive format, such as *Icarus* and *Phaeton* (both 170 x 170 cm.) and the three oblong Hercules subjects (where the two surviving canvases are 189 x 212 cm., and the sketches are all roughly the same size); for these works see *Alpers, Torre, 1971*, nos. 33, 50, 28, 29, 31.

was—like them and unusually in this series—painted by Rubens himself and evidently without a preparatory sketch. This is the *Satyr* (Fig. 40), old and bald, with pointed ears, not one of the goat-legged creatures more familiar in art of the period.⁴⁶ He rests his left hand on what appears to be a silenus mask, and wears the skin of a wolf—it has claws and greyish fur—as he raises his right hand in an unmistakably rude gesture. This gesture was I think suggested by Juvenal's Satire X, for it is associated there with Democritus's mockery of the follies of mankind.

...He laughed as much at the worries as at the delights of the multitude, and their sorrows too on occasion, since when Fortune frowned he would bid her go hang and show her his middle finger.⁴⁷

The *Satyr* thus underlines the association with the weeping and laughing philosophers and with Juvenal. At the same time the three figures—Democritus, Heraclitus and the *Satyr*—were surely meant to stand for Comedy, Tragedy and Satire. They thus provided a visual commentary on Rubens's other paintings for the hunting lodge—love stories from mythology, the follies of the gods which we can either laugh at, weep at, or mock. That Rubens associated Democritus and Heraclitus with comedy and tragedy is evident from the drawings of double busts in the Johnson manuscript. For as well as the paired philosophers (*text ill.* 37) there is a comic and tragic double mask (*text ill.* 36), one open-mouthed and snub-nosed, the other lugubrious.⁴⁸ As for the association of the *Satyr* with Satire, this is evident from the accompanying satyric mask. Satyrs were frequently used at this period to symbolize Satire,⁴⁹ and it has been noted above how on the screen

46. *Alpers, Torre, 1971*, no. 56, fig. 179. For the identification of this figure as a satyr see *ibid.*, pp. 137-139, 262. In his later works at least, Rubens preferred to follow ancient artists and distinguish Pans, who have goat's legs, from satyrs, who deviate from human form only in having tails and pointed ears; see for example his illustration of the satyr Marsyas in the *Judgement of Midas* for the Torre de la Parada (*Alpers, Torre, 1971*, nos. 41, 41a, figs. 146-148). For the identification of Marsyas there and something on the satyr question see *McGrath, Rubens's House, 1978*, pp. 272-274, esp. n. 134 and pls. 35a-b.

47. Juvenal, *Satires* x.51-53: 'ridebat curas, nec non et gaudia vulgi, / interdum et lacrimas, cum fortunae ipse minaci / mandaret laqueum mediumque ostenderet unguem'. On this gesture, known as *infamis digitus* as well as *medius unguis*, see Alexander ab Alexandro, *Dies geniales*, IV, xxvi (I, pp. 1199-1200, 1204 in edn Leiden, 1673); for Rubens's acquisition of this work in 1613 see Chapter II, at n. 32. Alexander argues that it has no connection with the modern clenched fist ('fig') gesture, but consisted of the middle finger being extended while the others were pulled back. Rubens's *Satyr* seems to be on the point of drawing back his index finger to complete the insulting gesture.

48. Courtauld Institute, MS Johnson, fol. 123r. The masks are inscribed respectively *Comedia* and *Tragedia*. For these drawings cf. n. 40 above.

49. Until the theory was discredited by Isaac Casaubon in his *De satyrica Graecorum poesi et Romanorum satira* of 1605, underlining an etymological link with *satura*, 'a mixture', it was

of Rubens's house pairs of goat-legged satyrs of the conventional Renaissance type supported the tablets with quotations from this tenth Satire, evidently the artist's favourite (*text ill.* 38).⁵⁰

Rubens's *Satyr* (Fig. 40) seems to relate to ancient sculptures of satyrs and Sileni, standing with their (anthropomorphic) legs crossed, and wearing the skins of wild beasts (usually goats, leopards or panthers).⁵¹ He perhaps substituted a wolf skin to suggest the voracity and rapacity of satire; at any rate the traditional association of satyrs with goats may have seemed inappropriate here because of the etymological connection of these animals instead with tragedy (from *tragos*, a goat).⁵² It is tempting to suppose that the artist had seen the version of the Praxitelean young satyr now in Munich who stands beside a pedestal or *cista* with a silenus mask on it.⁵³ Rubens's satyric mask is very similar, but it was probably taken from one illustrated in the 1570 edition of Fulvio Orsini's *Imagines* (*text ill.* 34). There it was identified as an attribute of pastoral poetry, but only because it accompanies a supposed portrait of Theocritus;⁵⁴ when Bellori reproduced it again in his *Imagines* of 1685 it was as a silenus mask, and this was presumably Rubens's opinion too.⁵⁵ In his *Iconologia* Ripa had described Satiric poetry as a naked man with a merry, bold and lascivious expression who sticks out his tongue

believed that the term *satira* derived from satyrs, and the association survived in literature and in art long after this, even on title-pages to editions of the *Satires* of Horace or Juvenal. See e.g. Hightet, *op. cit.* in Chapter III, n. 54, pp. 207, 319, n. 6; also Roworth, *op. cit.* in n. 11, esp. pp. 15-44; and further McGrath, *op. cit.* in n. 27. In his *Antiquitates Romanae*, a handbook which Rubens owned (cf. Chapter II, at n. 24), Rosinus follows J.C. Scalger in suggesting that both *satira* and satyrs might be relevant: *Rosinus, Antiquitates*, 1663, pp. 340-341 (V.vi).

50. See Chapter III, at n. 52. Hightet observes (*op. cit.* in Chapter III, n. 54, esp. p. 216) that it was preferred too by many of his contemporaries.

51. Rubens noted the poses of some such figures in his 'pocketbook': see *Jombert, Théorie*, 1773, pp. 12-13.

52. See Rosinus, *Antiquitates*, 1663, pp. 343-344 (V.vii).

53. For this statue see B. Verneisel-Schlörb, *Glyptothek München. Katalog der Skulpturen II. Klassische Skulpturen des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Munich, 1979, pp. 353-369, no. 32, pls. 165-168. It was in the late 18th century in the Palazzo Ruspoli in Rome, but I have found no earlier reference to it.

54. See *Imagines et elogia virorum illustrium et eruditor[um] ex antiquis lapidibus et nomismatibus expressa cum annotationib[us] ex bibliotheca Fulvi Ursini*, Rome (Lafrery), 1570, pp. 40-41. The 'portrait' of Theocritus (upper right) is also accompanied by a bust identified as of Faunus, another reference to bucolic poetry. For Rubens's personifications of Epic and Elegaic poetry (geniuses combined with masks) on the title-page to Mascardi's *Silvae* of 1622 see Judson—*Van de Velde, Title-pages*, 1978, I, pp. 215-218, no. 48; II, pl. 165; H.J. Duffy in [Cat. Exh.] *Rubens and the Book*, Williamstown, 1977, pp. 124-126, no. 31 and fig. 24—though I do not think the masks are of comedy and tragedy.

55. See G.P. Bellori, *Veterum illustrium philosophorum, poetarum, rhetorum et oratorum imagines...*, Rome, 1685, pl. 70; there is no commentary to this image but the caption talks of satyric masks.

with a rude noise and holds a Bacchic staff, or thyrsus.⁵⁶ Rubens's figure is more authentically classical, both in his attributes and his gesture; the head seems to be modelled on an ancient gem.⁵⁷ If Rubens's three paintings have a direct relationship with Velázquez's *Aesop* and *Menippus*, in a similar format,⁵⁸ it is perhaps in the association with satire: Menippus, inventor of an eponymous genre, was celebrated by Lucian and Erasmus, while Aesop amusingly mocked the follies of the world through his animal fables, and this was the other class of subject included in the Torre.

The *Democritus* and the *Heraclitus* for the Torre (Figs. 38 and 39) were imaginatively based on ancient portraits of the philosophers.⁵⁹ For the early picture (No. 8; Fig. 36) no such portraits were evidently available, and the artist applied to the two philosophers characteristics of the sanguine and melancholic temperament respectively. He also wrote their names in Greek on the borders of their robes,⁶⁰ though without books or learned friends to hand he did not quite get the letters right. Later, when he knew Greek better,⁶¹ Rubens did not choose to parade his knowledge in this way.

Rubens's picture of 1603 (No. 8; Fig. 36) is the earliest Netherlandish example of the half-length formulation of the subject that seems to have originated in the lost picture made for Ficino's study. For all of Rubens's other pictures which involve philosopher stories there were no painted precedents whatsoever, even if for some there had been related emblems and moralizing prints. This is the case with *Diogenes seeking a True Man* (No. 12; cf. Figs. 43, 44), in which the philosopher, taking a lamp at midday, both confounds and castigates the Athenians by protesting himself unable to find

56. C. Ripa, *Iconologia*, edn Rome, 1603, p. 408; Roworth, op. cit. in n. 11, pp. 20-21, 38.

57. See for example *Montfaucon, Antiquité*, 1719, I, ii, pl. CLXXI, 3 and p. 265 for a gem in the Maffei collection illustrating a satyric head, bald and bearded and with pointed ears.

58. *Alpers, Torre*, 1971, pp. 133-136, discusses the problems about previous theories postulating a relationship between the *Democritus* and *Heraclitus* (Figs. 38 and 39) and Velázquez's pictures of *Aesop*, *Menippus* and *Mars* (though the latter is rather different in character, and may have had a different context) and concluded that there was probably none, pointing out too that Velázquez's paintings are slightly wider than Rubens's; the fact that in 1700 they hung in a different room from Rubens's *Democritus* and *Heraclitus* does not, however, seem to me conclusive. The *Satyr* (Fig. 40) has never been considered in connection with this question; Alpers herself suggests it might have been contrasted with a figure tentatively identified as *Reason*, known only in a sketch of a rather wider format (no. 54a): see *Alpers, Torre*, 1971, pp. 136-143. This would be ruled out by my hypothesis, which, however, accords with her notion that the 'non-narrative' figures of this type provided a kind of allegorical comment on the mythological subjects.

59. For Democritus see n. 42 above and *Alpers, Torre*, 1971, p. 270. For Heraclitus see *Faber, Imagines*, 1606, pl. 65; commentary, p. 42.

60. See further under No. 8, at nn. 17, 18.

61. See above, Chapter II, pp. 63-64.

a human being worthy of the name. This theme had already featured in a couple of emblem books, notably Van Haecht's *Microcosmos* (cf. Fig. 48). But by reference to a more familiar motif of Netherlandish popular imagery, that of 'Elck' (Fig. 47), or Everyman, foolishly searching with a lamp by daylight, Rubens also invites us to smile at the grumpy philosopher, whose anti-social and misanthropic doings are catalogued with some irony by ancient writers—notably by Lucian in his *Sale*.⁶² Even in Raphael's *School of Athens* (*text ill.* 26, 27) Diogenes is something of a comic figure—Vasari talked of him with his *tazza a ghiacere*, the bowl he threw away as a final useless possession.⁶³ In Renaissance art, as for ancient biographers and satirists, he epitomizes the philosopher as *contemptor mundi*, mocking the pretensions of the rich, and indeed of other philosophers, especially Plato—for example in the story of his introduction of the plucked chicken into Plato's class to caricature the Platonic definition of man as a 'featherless biped'⁶⁴—and Rubens may have intended to show him attacking the followers of Plato in his painting (No. 12; cf. Figs. 43, 44).⁶⁵

Rubens's lost sketch for the *Seven Sages disputing over the Tripod* (No. 1; cf. Figs. 1, 2), painted about the same time, had even less in the way of iconographic antecedents. True, the Sages—an odd collection of early Greek moralizers including Solon and Thales—were known for their wise sayings, which had been popularized in Erasmus's *Adagia* and then taken over as mottoes by emblematicists; Alciati in fact shows all seven *dicta* in a single pictogram, a neat riddle. This emblem and the references in Erasmus may in turn have inspired Jacob de Gheyn's splendid series of *Seven Sages*, with their sayings, beautifully inscribed in Greek (cf. Fig. 5).⁶⁶ De Gheyn's prints, published in 1616, probably helped Rubens arrive at his novel subject, in which the Sages gather to dedicate a golden tripod to Apollo, each having modestly declined to accept it for himself—it was inscribed 'to the wisest'. The story was an example of humility for Valerius Maximus, but Rubens must also have consulted other ancient sources including Diogenes Laertius. It may be that he first got the idea of painting this subject from reading the copy of Diogenes Laertius's *Lives of the Philosophers* that he bought in 1615. Certainly it seems that the books he acquired at this period were particularly relevant to philosopher stories and to pictures that he was planning on such themes.⁶⁷

62. For the connection with the theme of Elck see under No. 12.

63. Vasari, *Opere*, ed. Milanese, 1878-85, IV, p. 331 (Life of Raphael)

64. Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae* VI.40.

65. See under No. 12, at n. 34.

66. For all of this see further under No. 1.

67. See above, Chapter II, pp. 66-67.

Around 1618-20 he painted perhaps the most idiosyncratic of his philosopher pictures, the 'large piece of Pythagoras with fruits by Frans Snyders' recorded in his possession in 1640 (No. 7; Fig. 31). A whole section of Erasmus's *Adagia* is devoted to the wisdom of Pythagoras, those elliptical sayings and injunctions, alternately banal and enigmatic, which sometimes still baffle interpretation. Lucian made fun of them in his *Sale*, but despite this Erasmus seems to have taken them seriously, and his Adages made them accessible, like the Sages' *dicta*, to emblem books.⁶⁸ Pythagoras himself, however, was rarely illustrated in any context. But the one image that seems to relate to Rubens's composition is an emblematic picture from Laurent van Haecht's *Microcosmos* of 1579 which shows Pythagoras sitting down to a frugal vegetarian meal at an outdoor table (cf. Fig. 34: 'Coena Pithagorica'). With poetic inspiration from Ovid, Rubens adapted this unpromising artistic theme into a tribute to philosophy and the abundance of Nature.⁶⁹

This was a personal picture designed by the artist to amuse himself and to exploit the gifts of his collaborator. Even more personal and much more serious in tone is the *Death of Seneca* (No. 54; Fig. 195) made about the same time. It has no relationship at all to the tradition of philosopher pictures, in emblems, or anywhere else. For it is a combined testimony to the legacy of ancient philosophy and ancient art, a picture which transformed the black marble statue of an emaciated old man (Fig. 192) into startling flesh and blood as the dying Seneca, to confront contemporary adherents of the philosophy of Justus Lipsius with the ultimate model of Stoic virtue. The Death of Seneca had been presented as an *exemplum* before, notably by Petrarch, for whom his fate provided an instance of reversal of fortune, in this case for a distinguished sage and teacher.⁷⁰ It had in fact been illustrated as such, in two woodcuts to the German translation of Petrarch's *De remediis* published by Heinrich Steiner at Augsburg in 1532.⁷¹ Steiner makes it clear in his preface that the woodcuts, which include much material not in Petrarch's text, were designed by Sebastian Brant, who may even have provided the

68. For an early and impressive example, in a manuscript for the young François d'Angoulême (later François I), see J.M. Massing, *Erasmian Wit and Proverbial Wisdom. An illustrated moral compendium for François I* (Studies of the Warburg Institute, XLIII), London, 1995.

69. For further discussion see under No. 7.

70. Petrarch, *De remediis utriusque fortunae* l.lxxxi ('de insigni discipulo'). It also appears in the *Roman de la Rose*, 6211-6250: see C. Dahlberg trans., *The Romance of the Rose...*, Princeton, 1971, pp. 122-123 and fig. 31 (Oxford, Bodl. Lib, MS Douce 195, fol. 45: bloodletting done to Seneca's foot by doctor) and E. Langlois, *Le Roman de la Rose*, II, Paris, 1920, pp. 287-289 and nn., p. 350.

71. F. Petrarca, *Von der Artzney bayder Glück des guten und widerwertigen*, Augsburg, 1532, fols. XCVIIIr-v, XXXVIv-XXXVIIIr. The translation was by Peter Stahel and Georg Spalatin.

anonymous artist with rough sketches.⁷² In one case (Book I, chapter lxxxi) Seneca's death is an instance of the conduct of high-ranking pupils and paralleled with a scene of pupils beating up their teacher, an image perhaps derived from Juvenal's seventh Satire (Fig. 203).⁷³ In the other (Book II, chapter xxviii) it illustrates the ingratitude of pupils (here the other scene, in the background, shows a good counsellor kicked out of a town).⁷⁴ In this case Seneca is not mentioned by Petrarch, and the whole content of the picture was evidently Brant's interpolation. Juvenal again may be relevant, with his famous 'If the people had a free vote, who is so far gone as to doubt they would prefer Seneca to Nero'.⁷⁵ This phrase was surely in Rubens's mind when he painted the portraits of *Nero and Seneca* on a single panel, intrigued by the contrast between the physiognomy and character of master and pupil—one ascetic, the other cruel voluptuary.⁷⁶

Rubens's *Death of Seneca* (No. 54; Fig. 195), however, presents Seneca as a philosopher, as the Stoic philosopher celebrated by Justus Lipsius. Lipsius himself had commissioned from Otto van Veen, Rubens's master, a painting of the exemplary suicides of Arria and Paetus; a letter of 1601 to Van Veen, detailing the content, was published by Lipsius a few years later.⁷⁷ We cannot judge how effectively that subject was treated, for Van Veen's picture is lost. But Rubens's image of the dying Seneca was probably a more elegant embodiment of the doctrines of Lipsius, for it attempted a reconciliation of Stoicism with Christianity and Christian morality. Rubens shows the philo-

72. For Steiner's preface, which describes the figures as 'nach visierlicher angebung des Hochgelerten Doctors Sebastani Brandt', see Petrarca, op. cit. in n. 71, sig. iij recto. See further W. Scheidig, *Die Holzschnitte des Petrarca-Meisters*, Berlin, 1955, pp. 139, 222, and, most recently, H. Kunze, *Geschichte der Buchillustration in Deutschland. Das 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, I, Frankfurt—Leipzig, 1993, pp. 212-223. Brant had died in 1521, but it can be noted that the last woodcut in the book bears the date 1520, perhaps indicating that the designs had been made by then. The artist has been identified as Hans Weiditz, but is now known simply as the Petrarch Master.

73. Juvenal, *Satires* vii.210-214.

74. This may be intended as Camillus, whose expulsion from Rome was a prime example of ingratitude: Valerius Maximus, *Dicta et facta* V.iii.2 (*de ingratitude*). See also the comments of St Augustine in *Civitas dei* II.xvii.

75. Juvenal, *Satires* viii.211-212.

76. See E. McGrath, "'Not even a fly": Rubens and the mad emperors', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXXIII, 1991, p. 699. For the painting of *Nero and Seneca* see J. Müller Hofstede, 'Beiträge zum zeichnerischen Werk von Rubens', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXVII, 1965, pp. 281-284 and fig. 201; Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, 1977, p. 66, pl. 221; Jaffé, *Rubens*, 1989, p. 161, no. 73. See also below, under No. 54, at nn. 23-24.

77. J. Lipsius, *Epistolarum selectarum centuria ad Belgas*, III, Antwerp 1605, no. lxxiii, pp. 101-103. See Morford, *Stoics*, 1991, p. 188; also R. Ingrams, *Rubens and Seneca*, unpubl. M.A. diss., University of Oxford, 1967, p. 13, observing that this might have been an important precedent for Rubens's *Death of Seneca*.

sopher as a sort of pagan martyr, since it was in his death, as Lipsius emphasized, that he truly vindicated his philosophy and his own life. As he died, Tacitus tells us, he left as a legacy the *imago vitae suae*, the pattern of his life; his last words were precepts of constancy and wisdom, the great tenets of Stoic *virtus* that survive in his books and were expounded so eloquently by Lipsius.

At this point we seem far removed from the emblematic moralizing about philosophers and the jocular tone of Lucian's *Sale*, traditions which, as we have seen, Rubens had drawn on for his pictures of Diogenes and of Democritus and Heraclitus. With his *Pythagoras* and especially his *Death of Seneca*, Rubens produced paintings which express serious philosophical beliefs. In the *Seneca* this is the Christian Stoicism of the Antwerp circle of Lipsius's disciples and admirers, who must have provided a ready market for the different versions of this composition and for Rubens's portraits of the dying Seneca, both painted and engraved. We know that between 1613 and 1616 the artist supplied his friend Balthasar Moretus, publisher of Lipsius, with a pair of idealized portraits. One was the dying Seneca, the other an inspired Plato, *Plato Divinus*, looking upwards as in the *Triumph of Faith* (*text ill.* 31).⁷⁸ Both were subsequently engraved (*text ill.* 29).⁷⁹ The portrait of Seneca is perhaps that now in the Plantin Museum (*Fig.* 200).⁸⁰ The *Plato* was probably the panel with two heads, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (*text ill.* 28).⁸¹ It is usually supposed that this picture began as a study made in connection with an altarpiece for the church of St Paul in Antwerp, and that the head of the foremost man was then adapted to become a 'Plato'. However, even if Moretus's *Plato*, with his abundant beard and curling hair, is not particularly like the antique bust of the philosopher later published by Rubens,⁸² he distinctly resembles an ancient head

78. See Bouchery—Van den Wijngaert, *Rubens*, 1941, pp. 21-29; L. Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, I, Amsterdam, 1969, pp. 317, 323-324.

79. For the *Plato*, engraved by Vorsterman, see Bouchery—Van den Wijngaert, *Rubens*, 1941, fig. 17; also *V.S.*, p. 138, no. 23; Bodart, *Incisione*, 1977, p. 79, no. 145.

80. Panel; 65 x 50 cm. Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp. See Bouchery—Van den Wijngaert, *Rubens*, 1941, pp. 25-27 and fig. 16. Possibly this picture was originally oval: the paint is thin on the lower right arm, and the lower part of the panel is feebly done. Certainly the 'chiffon' toga is not original. The picture was sold with its companion *Plato* in 1777. For the version in the Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe (inv. no. 178; panel, 64.8 x 49.7 cm.) see J. Lauts, *Katalog alte Meister bis 1800*, I-II, Karlsruhe, 1966, I, p. 259, no. 178; II, p. 291, repr.; J. Müller Hofstede, 'Zur Köpfstudie im Werk von Rubens', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXX, 1968, p. 235, fig. 167.

81. See Liedtke, *Cat. Metropolitan Museum*, 1984, I, pp. 168-172; II, pl. 64. The second head, in profile, had been painted out (by Rubens when he presented it to Moretus?), but was restored in a cleaning of 1934 which, however, left it rather abraded (*loc. cit.*, p. 168).

82. For the print of 1638 see *Cat. Exh. Göttingen etc.*, 1977, no. 77, pp. 112-113; *Van der Meulen*,

restored onto a herm of Plato by Pirro Ligorio (cf. *text ill.* 30), which even includes a philosopher's headband (cf. No. 7; Fig. 31) and which was surely familiar to Rubens.⁸³ The resemblance suggests that the head in the foreground in the painting in New York (*text ill.* 28) might have been a portrait of Plato from the start; in this case the bared broad shoulders would be significant.⁸⁴ The best candidate for the beardless companion in profile would therefore be Aristotle, especially since a portrait of Aristotle with short hair and no beard had been published in the Antwerp edition of Orsini's *Imagines*.⁸⁵ Indeed the accompanying commentary by Rubens's friend Joannes Faber justified the identification with a passage from Aelian on how Plato reproached Aristotle for cutting his hair and beard in a way unsuited to a philosopher, Plato himself cultivating flowing locks.⁸⁶ It thus seems possible that this very passage prompted the combination and contrasting appearance of Rubens's two philosophers. 'Aristotle' would then have been shown looking down in accordance with his attention to things earthly rather than heavenly.⁸⁷ Whatever the case, the subsidiary head was

Antiquarius, 1975, pp. 45, 55, 60, 185, no. C.20 and pls. XVIII, XIXc; cf. *Van der Meulen, Antique*, 1994, II, pp. 131-132, no. 115, pp. 204-205, no. 173, pp. 247-248, under no. 221; III, figs. 115, 342, 457. This was based on an ancient gem owned by Fulvio Orsini: *Faber, Imagines*, 1606, pl. 112; commentary pp. 64-65.

83. It is shown in Ligorio's Turin manuscript on the herm; the head, in the Cesi collection, was published (unidentified) in Achilles Statius's *Inlustrium viro[rum] ut exstant in urbe expressi vultus*, Rome (Lafrery), 1569, pl. XLI (*text ill.* 30). See E. Mandowsky and C. Mitchell, *Pirro Ligorio's Roman Antiquities* (Studies of the Warburg Institute, XXVIII), London, 1963, pp. 97-98, no. 85, pls. 52a-c, also for another similar herm of Plato, set up by Ligorio in the Teatro Belvedere in Rome in 1565, which survives in the Capitoline Museum.
84. For Plato's wide forehead and broad shoulders (the reason for his name) see *Faber, Imagines*, 1606, pp. 64-65.
85. *Faber, Imagines*, 1606, pl. 35. For the debate about the beardless Aristotle and the confusion over another bearded 'Aristotle' in Orsini's collection see J.H. Jongkees, *Fulvio Orsini's Imagines and the Portrait of Aristotle* (Archaeologica Traiectina, IV), Groningen, 1960; T. Hölscher, 'Zum Bildnis des Aristoteles', *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, IV, 1964, pp. 869-887; Richter, *op. cit.* in n. 42, II, pp. 170-175; also *Fitz Derby, Wise Men*, 1962, pp. 296-299.
86. Aelian, *Varia Historia* III.19; cf. *Faber, Imagines*, 1606, pp. 20-21; Faber's commentary was based on the notes of Caspar Schioppus, another friend of the Rubens brothers, as well as Orsini himself (see dedicatory preface, also commentary p. 4; for the history of the book see Jongkees, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-16). Those who favoured (and favour) the bearded Aristotle usually take Aelian to mean that Aristotle did not actually shave, but wore a short beard.
87. Cf. the characterization in Raphael's *School of Athens* (*text ill.* 26, 27). This interpretation would not of course preclude the panel having been used in connection with the altarpiece for St Paul's. It also accords with Rubens's predilection for contrasting heads (the *Nero and Seneca*, for example, or the double herm inventions, *text ill.* 36, 37); for these see text at nn. 76 and 40 above. Cf. the comments in *Jaffé, Rubens*, 1989, p. 164 where he compares the New York panel (no. 83) to one with the heads of Nero and Galba (p. 161, no. 74, repr.), even suggesting that the two might have been paired.

presumably overpainted when the panel became a companion Plato to the single bust of Seneca for Moretus. In the process the picture took on a new meaning and purpose. Like the *Triumph of Faith* (text ill. 31) and the *Death of Seneca* (Fig. 195) this pair of portraits represented a real assimilation of pagan to Christian philosophy, celebrating the continuing relevance to Rubens and his friends of the wisdom of the Greeks and Romans.

V. Ovid and the *Art of Love*

I HAVE TRIED to touch on some aspects of Rubens's approach to the invention of historical subjects and to indicate something of the ingenuity and sensitivity, as well as the diversity of tone, which characterizes his illustrations of these themes. Even in the case of subjects that can certainly be categorized as *exempla*, and would have been recognized as such by contemporary viewers, Rubens's treatment can vary markedly from picture to picture. As we have seen too, *exempla* can be from biblical as well as classical history.¹ Of course Rubens must have often considered and classed his artistic themes in ways which evade modern iconographic subject-headings. Even the very broad Renaissance term *istoria* or *historie* need not embrace all the works in this volume, for it implies a narrative; it might therefore have been thought inappropriate for a painting such as *Democritus and Heraclitus* (No. 8; Fig. 36), or even for *The Death of Seneca* (No. 54; Fig. 195). In the case of the half-length scenes with moral dilemmas which Rubens painted between 1610 and 1620—*The Seven Sages disputing over the Tripod* (No. 1; cf. Figs. 1-2) and *Diogenes seeking a True Man* (No. 12; cf. Figs. 43, 44)—these relate both stylistically and thematically to some New Testament subjects, *Christ and the Adulteress* and the *Tribute Money*, and perhaps belonged to a special genre which had its own name in Rubens's workshop.² Again, the two versions of *Alexander and Roxana* (Nos. 14, 15; Figs. 54-56, 58) might have been classed as *composizioni d'amori*, as might those other love scenes which include helpful or agitated cupids.³ In a few cases the historical theme or event was evidently a pretext for an artistic exercise, notably in the case of the *Battle for Tunis* (No. 58; Fig. 221) which, as I argue below, is essentially an essay in a battle subject, ultimately inspired by Leonardo's *Battle of Anghiari*.

Most significant perhaps in the context of this volume is the use Rubens makes of ancient poetry and poets in his paintings of historical themes. We have seen how lines from Juvenal's *Satires*, almost certainly known to Rubens by heart, seem to have suggested both the subject-matter and a particular motif in the cycle of Decius Mus,⁴ and how Juvenal was also relevant to *Democritus and Heraclitus* (No. 8; Fig. 36) and perhaps to *Nero and*

1. See above, Chapter I, pp. 40-43.

2. Cf. above, Chapter II, pp. 66-67.

3. See the chapter entitled *composizioni d'amori diversi* in Lomazzo's *Trattato* (VI, xxxii: Lomazzo, *Scritti*, ed. Ciardi, 1974, II, pp. 312-314).

4. See above, Chapter III, pp. 74-81.

Seneca.⁵ A number of Rubens's historical pictures might indeed be termed *poesie*, for they treat their themes altogether poetically, with particular reference to Ovid. *Pythagoras advocating Vegetarianism* (No. 7; Fig. 31) is an obvious example, taken from the fifteenth book of the *Metamorphoses*. Still more important for the works discussed here was Ovid's *Fasti*, the poem about Roman feasts of the first six months of the year (the second part is lost) which often includes versions of historical stories. It is the account in the *Fasti* of the Rape of Lucretia that was Rubens's primary literary source for his painting of this subject, lost in the last war (No. 44; Fig. 154). Here Rubens does not follow the historians in making Tarquin enter Lucretia's bedchamber with immediate threats and a drawn sword or dagger; Rubens's Tarquin tries to persuade Lucretia first with pleas of love. This is why his dagger is concealed and a distressed Cupid is trying to help. For Rubens, as for Ovid, Tarquin's motive is only his hopeless passion, not at all the irritation at Lucretia's chastity and reputation which is adduced by the historians. This painting is at once a *poesia* and an illustration of *amor sforzato*.⁶ It is a vivid picture of Tarquin's love gone wrong, a point underlined by the personification of the passion inspiring Tarquin, an allegorical reference of a kind which the artist did not normally include in classical histories or *exempla*, but rather in mythological love stories.⁷

Ovid's *Fasti* is also important to Rubens's *Mars and Rhea Silvia* (Fig. 101),⁸ the rape of a vestal by the god Mars. Here Cupid is also hard at work, this time more effectively. The story that Rhea Silvia was the mother of Romulus and Remus by the god Mars is discussed by ancient historians, but generally with embarrassment, and without enthusiasm.⁹ It is the poets, and particu-

5. See Chapter IV, at n. 76.

6. Lomazzo classed the subject under this heading: *Trattato VI.xxxii* (Lomazzo, *Scritti*, ed. Ciardi, 1974, II, p. 313).

7. Cf. the comments of Lairese: *Lairese, Schilderboek, 1740*, II, pp. 95 (VIII, ix) and 161 (IX, xi). He argues that historical pictures should not contain poetic figures, such as Cupid for love or a Fury for rage. If allusions of this sort are required, statues can be used, such as that of Venus in the picture of Samson and Delilah (for which see Chapter I, n. 109).

8. Oil on canvas; 209 x 272 cm. Vaduz, Collections of the Prince of Liechtenstein. Inv. no. 2992. See Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, 1943, pp. 255-257 and pl. 271; R. Baumstark, 'Mars und Rhea Silvia von Peter Paul Rubens in den Sammlungen des Fürsten von Liechtenstein', *Jahrbuch der Liechtensteinschen Kunstgesellschaft*, II, 1977, pp. 35-51; Held, *Sketches*, 1980, I, pp. 336-337; R. Baumstark in *Cat. Exh. New York, 1985-86*, pp. 331-333, under no. 207; Jaffé, *Rubens*, 1989, p. 226, no. 417, repr.; E. McGrath in *Cat. Exh. Canberra—Melbourne, 1992*, pp. 118-121, also discussing the sketch (Fig. 102), which is now likewise in Liechtenstein.

9. For the most part they prefer the rationalistic explanation that, whatever she herself believed, Rhea was seduced by a mortal, perhaps Amulius himself. See esp. Plutarch, *Romulus* 3; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* I.76-77; Ps. Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis romanae* xix.5; xx.1. Livy's account is notably brief (*Ab urbe condita* I.iv.1-3).

larly Ovid, who enjoy filling in the details. Neither Ovid nor Rubens was bothered by a confusion of myth with history, and even if Rubens's version of the story is not a literal illustration of Ovid's text (*Fasti* III.11-42), it has a distinctly Ovidian flavour.

Rhea (or Ilia), had been made a vestal by her uncle, Amulius, who had deposed her father, Numitor; she was thereby consigned to perpetual virginity.¹⁰ But Mars, spying her, fell in love and took advantage of the young woman while she was out fetching water in his sacred wood— and, Ovid adds, had fallen fast asleep. Sixteenth-century pictorial cycles of the life of Romulus usually begin with this seduction and portray it in an open-air setting,¹¹ as indeed do the ancient illustrations of the subject which Rubens would have known, notably the relief on the sarcophagus in the Palazzo Mattei, copied by many Renaissance artists.¹² In this latter, as in other antique examples, including the Roman coins depicting the subject, Rhea is sleeping.¹³ It has rightly been noted that Rubens's illustration of the theme relates to the ancient formula used on that sarcophagus, in which the deity descends with cupids from the sky on the unwitting object of his love.¹⁴ But Rubens's variations are equally significant, in particular his choice of an armed rather than a naked Mars, and a Rhea who is awake and visibly reacting as well as recognizably a vestal.

Seated in front of the shrine of the goddess to whom she has vowed her chastity, guarding the eternal fire which lights the Palladium, Rhea confronts

10. Strictly speaking this of course contradicts the traditional accounts of the foundation of the vestal virgins, whether by Romulus (Plutarch), or, as other authors preferred, by Numa, second king of Rome. But Vergil at least indicates that Aeneas had brought the cult of Vesta to Rome: see *Lipsius, Opera*, 1675, III, pp. 1077-1078; *Rosinus, Antiquitates*, 1663, p. 221 (III.xix). At any rate Rhea is not only described as a priestess of Vesta, *sacerdos* (e.g. Vergil, *Aeneid* I.273; Florus, *Epitome* I.1.3; cf. Plutarch, *Romulus* 3.2; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* I.76.3: (ἱέρεια Ἐστίας) but is specifically called *vestalis* (e.g. Livy, *Ab urbe condita* I.iii.11; Ovid, *Fasti* II.383; III.11).
11. Cf. for example the tapestry cycles in Vienna: E. Mahl, 'Die Romulus und Remus-Folgen der Tapissereien-Sammlung des Kunsthistorischen Museums', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, LXI, 1965, (pp. 7-40) pp. 9-11, figs. 1-2. Or the first scene of the frescoed frieze in the Sala Grande of the Palazzo Angelo Massimo, Rome, probably painted in the 1540s, where Rhea Silvia is standing and embracing Mars (*de Jong, Oudheid*, 1987, pp. 178, 232-233, cat. 2 and fig. 24). In the fresco from the Sala di Romolo in the Palazzo Ricci-Sacchetti, painted in 1555 by a Flemish artist, Rhea carries a vase of water on her head (*de Jong, Oudheid*, 1987, pp. 330-331, cat. 14 and fig. 98).
12. See Bober—Rubinstein, *Handbook*, 1986, pp. 67-68, no. 25 and pl. 25.
13. See C. Dulière, *Lupa Romana. Recherches d'iconographie et essai d'interprétation*, Brussels, 1979, p. 95, n. 286, with further references, attributing this to the influence of Ovid. Illustrations of ancient coins with Mars descending on Rhea Silvia occur in J. de Bie, *Nomismata*, Antwerp, 1617, pl. 41; cf. *Goltzius, Opera*, 1645, I, pl. 1 (Fig. 105).
14. See esp. Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, 1943, pp. 255-257.

in surprise and apprehension the powerful figure of the god, just alighted from a cloud, and advancing on her with amorous intent.¹⁵ This intent is underlined by the action of the Cupid, who is already pulling at the cloaks of both figures. That Mars is depicted in armour is not simply a concession to decorum or to the Renaissance iconography of the god, nor even (simply) because Rubens remembered that Rhea identified her lover as Mars because he appeared from a mist, wearing armour.¹⁶ It means that Rubens can illustrate how the war-god is to be disarmed, both literally and metaphorically, by love—another illustration of how *amor vincit omnia*. Of course this is no mutual love match like that of Alexander and Roxana (Nos. 14, 15; cf. Figs. 54-56, 58), so that when the putto behind him holds Mars's helmet aside, and seems about to carry it away, it is not a sign of playfulness; rather he is concerned for Rhea Silvia, and her terror at the god's approach, and is doing his best under the circumstances to give Mars some attribute of a polite suitor. Ovid, it should be noted, did the same before he introduced the story, urging Mars to take off his armour: he then has him unarmed when he approaches Rhea. Cupid too has to work more seriously (and quickly) than is usual in Rubensian love scenes, as he draws the couple together in this impetuous bond.¹⁷ We can suppose that Rubens intended us to interpret Cupid's efforts as already successful, as Rhea's apprehension seems to be modified at least by a hint of desire. And if he pictured her awake and aware of awakening feelings, Rubens also remembered what Ovid says she dreamt as she slept through her ravishing, that as she sat beside the vestal fire the woollen fillet (*lanea vitta*) which bound her hair fell from it.¹⁸ This explains the white knotted band trailing down from her hair, a symbol of her lost virginity, as Renaissance commentators underlined and Lipsius noted in his treatise on vestals, describing Ovid's image as 'ingenious'.¹⁹

15. Even if the location is not actually the Roman temple of Vesta, founded by Romulus or by Numa, in whose *penetralia* the sacred fire and the Palladium were kept, Rubens probably would have wished the viewer to recall that in Vesta's temple the sacred fire and Palladium were normally inaccessible to men. See Lipsius, *Opera*, 1675, III, pp. 1093-1095; Rosinus, *Antiquitates*, 1663, p. 151 (II.xii).

16. Cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* I.77.1-2, who adds that the ravisher supposedly disappeared in a cloud; Ps. Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis romanae* xix.5 and xx.1.

17. Apart from his versions of *Alexander and Roxana* contrast the pictures on the *Arch of Philip* from the Entry of Ferdinand of 1635 (Martin, *Pompa*, 1972, nos. 6, 14; figs. 21, 22, 32).

18. Ovid, *Fasti* III.11-42, esp. 29-30.

19. *De Vesta et vestalibus* in Lipsius, *Opera*, 1675, III, p. 1101. Rubens uses the same kind of *vitta* for the fillets put on sacrificial animals: e.g. in the Decius Mus cycle. Significantly, the detail of the garland seems to have been misunderstood in some of the tapestries, and is absent in the Getty sketch (No. 24a; Fig. 99) which Burchard attributed to Rubens, but which cannot be his invention.

The motif of the woollen band and its symbolism was familiar from other Ovidian poems, most famously, as Rubens would have recalled, from the *Art of Love*. Here Ovid represents it as an inconvenient and unwanted emblem of chastity, and wishes it away.²⁰ Ovid's *Art of Love* is a treatise on the art of seduction which got the poet into trouble from the outset. It was probably part of the reason for his banishment into exile, the *carmen* that was one of his 'two crimes'; whatever reparation he made in writing the *Remedy of Love* (*Remedia amoris*) was evidently inadequate.²¹ If the *Remedy of Love* can perhaps be recommended safely to hopeless or desperate lovers of today, the *Art of Love* still offends, though now not so much because it counsels seduction—the reason why it was condemned by churchmen and moralists of earlier ages—but because it prescribes that this seduction be done by men, forcefully if necessary, for the good of women, who, if they are well brought up, are naturally reluctant to submit but really enjoy the experience in the end. To Rubens and his contemporaries, however, this would have seemed a perfectly appropriate view of women and their relationship to men. Yet one of the features of Ovid's poetry which can be appreciated more readily by modern readers is his obvious attention to and empathy with the feelings and psychological state of his female characters, mythological and historical. Rubens responded wholeheartedly to this, accommodating it to the view he evidently had of the importance of the love of women and the good effect their love can have on men.

The *Art of Love* begins with a comparison of Achilles to the god of love: even the hero who would conquer cities and peoples was once ruled by his tutor, the centaur Chiron, who tamed his wild nature by teaching him the lyre and made him hold out his hands for punishment; so Ovid is encouraged to give his poetic lesson to Cupid, that other all-conquering boy.²² This comparison would have been familiar to Rubens, especially since the image of the young hero trembling before his music-master is reinforced by Juvenal in a jocular reference to Achilles who 'when quite a big boy still feared the rod' and never dared laugh at his teacher's tail.²³ It was natural to include

20. *Ars amatoria* I.31: 'Este procul, vittae tenues, insigne pudoris'; the line is repeated in *Tristia* II.247; cf. Tibullus, *Carmina* I.vi.67-68: 'sit modo casta, doce, quamvis non vitta ligatos/ impediatur crines...'

21. See J.C. Thibault, *The Mystery of Ovid's Exile*, Berkeley—Los Angeles, 1964, esp. pp. 33-36; J.B. Trapp, 'Ovid's Tomb', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXVI, 1973, pp. 35-36.

22. Ovid, *Ars amatoria* I.9-18, esp. 15-18: 'Quas Hector sensurus erat, poscente magistro./ Verberibus iussas praebuit ille manus./ Aeacidae Chiron, ego sum praeceptor Amoris'.

23. Juvenal, *Satires* vii.210-212: '... metuens virgae iam grandis Achilles/ cantabat patrii in montibus et cui non tunc/ eliceret risum citharoedi cauda magistri'. It is worth noting that Merula's commentary on the *Ars amatoria*, included in the Frankfurt 1601 *Opera omnia* of Ovid

the *Education of Achilles* in an Achilles series, and in painting his version of the subject (*text ill.* 41) for his tapestry cycle of 1628-30,²⁴ Rubens recalled the description in the *Imagines* of Philostratus of the ancient painting which included an image of Achilles being taught to ride by his centaur-tutor.²⁵ But when he provided Chiron with his rod—a borrowed riding crop, apt token of the role-reversal in this paradoxical riding-lesson—the artist surely had in mind both Juvenal and the comparison of Achilles and Cupid with which Ovid begins his poem on love. This is all the more likely since his principal visual model was the ancient sculpture which he had admired and copied in Rome of a centaur dominated and teased by a little Cupid,²⁶ an image which for viewers of the period must have seemed almost a ready-made emblem of the torments that love inflicts on those of erotic inclinations.²⁷ Ovid's poem in fact goes on to introduce Achilles on a number of occasions as a victim of love. And it is Ovid's lover as much as Homer's warrior who is the hero of Rubens's Achilles cycle.

As has often been pointed out, Rubens's Achilles cycle is not simply a series of stories from Homer. Further, although it includes scenes that are based on the *Iliad*, its whole mood is different.²⁸ The reason, I suggest, is that this is essentially Homer as seen through Ovid, in particular Ovid's characterization of Achilles in the *Heroides*, the *Remedy of Love* and the *Art of Love*. It was because of his love for Deidamia that Achilles stayed on Scyros, disguised as a girl. Accordingly, in Rubens's picture of the episode of his discovery, not mentioned by Homer at all,²⁹ Deidamia appears prominently,

which Rubens probably owned, cites Juvenal, *Satires* vii.210-212 (p. 308), while Lubinus's commentary on this passage from Juvenal similarly refers to and quotes *Ars amatoria*, I, 13-16 (Juvenal, *Satires*, Hannover, 1608, p. 288).

24. Haverkamp Begemann, *Achilles*, 1975, nos. 2, 2a and 2b; figs. 13-14.
25. Philostratus, *Imagines* II.ii, esp. 5; see Haverkamp Begemann, *Achilles*, 1975, pp. 99-101; Held, *Sketches*, 1980, I, no. 121, pp. 124-125.
26. For Rubens's drawing after this statue, newly discovered and first described in the Borghese collection in 1613, see Stechow, *Rubens*, 1968, p. 28 and fig. 13; Haverkamp Begemann, *Achilles*, 1975, pp. 100-101; Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, 1977, p. 82, pl. 316, all pointing to a relationship with the *Education of Achilles*. For the many other drawings Rubens made after this statue from different viewpoints (now known from copies) see Van der Meulen, *Antique*, 1994, II, pp. 83-87, nos. 65-69; III, figs. 124-132. For the statue itself and its fame in the 17th and 18th centuries see Haskell—Penny, *Antique*, 1982, pp. 179-180, no. 21, fig. 93.
27. From ancient times centaurs regularly symbolized lust or at least lower nature: see e.g. G.P. Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica*, edn Basle, 1575, fol. 36r.
28. See Haverkamp Begemann, *Achilles*, 1975, pp. 20-37, concluding that Rubens must have supplemented Homer with episodes from the summaries in Renaissance mythological handbooks; Held, *Sketches*, 1980, I, esp. pp. 172-173, pointing to the particular emphasis on love and women.
29. For Homer it was evidently disreputable: see the commentary in the edition of Spondanus (first published in 1583), which Rubens almost certainly owned: Homer, *Opera*, ed. J. Spon-

paying no attention to the trinkets the other girls have seized, worried only that Achilles, having revealed his true sex and nature, will now leave her, pregnant;³⁰ this particularly reflects the passage in the *Ars amatoria*, where the princess is an outstanding example of a woman who was taken by force but then fell in love and was abandoned.³¹ Rubens emphasizes this in the emblem of the burning heart beneath. The theme of Achilles as a hero ruled by love helps account too for the odd version Rubens chose for his death: he is killed by Paris in the temple of Apollo which he had visited for an amorous assignation.³² This is again underlined by the emblems, the play on the motif of arrows (of Cupid, of Apollo and of Paris), and the attitude of Cupid, clutching at the herm of Venus. But perhaps Rubens's Ovidian characterization of Achilles is most evident in the scene involving Briseis (*text ill.* 39), precisely because it follows Homer quite closely.³³ Homer's version of the anger of Achilles, the reason why he sulks in his tent and the *raison d'être* of the *Iliad*, centres on the fact that Agamemnon took the captive Briseis away from him. But for Homer Briseis is essentially an item in Achilles's booty, hardly more important than one of the hero's collection of tripods. Homer's Achilles has only one significant relationship of affection and this is with his male friend Patroclus. Rubens expands Homer's briefest indication of intimacy between Achilles and Briseis—that she was back in his bed when Priam came for Hector's body³⁴—into the theme of his Achilles story. In the scene of the *Return of Briseis* Rubens illustrates a representative tripod, along with a cauldron, ewer and mixing bowl full of gold; there are also three of Homer's twelve horses and all of his seven handmaidens.³⁵ Many other details come from Homer, such as the women (two of the handmaidens) mourning Patroclus at the door of the tent.³⁶ But for Rubens the key figure is Briseis, whom Achilles welcomes back with loving enthu-

danus, Basle, 1606, p. 20 and p. 173. In his discussion of a painting by Polygnotus of this theme Pausanias (*Graeciae descriptio* I.22.6) talks of it as an unworthy subject, rightly omitted by Homer.

30. *Haverkamp Begemann, Achilles*, 1975, nos. 3, 3a, 3b; figs. 22-23; *Held, Sketches*, 1980, I, no. 121, pp. 174-175.

31. Ovid, *Ars amatoria* I.681-709; see also Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XIII.170; Statius (*Achilleid* I.819-960) is also relevant to Rubens but here Deidamia has already given birth (see esp. I.229-235).

32. *Haverkamp Begemann, Achilles*, 1975, nos. 8, 8a, 8b; figs. 74, 75. Rubens could have been influenced too by Spondanus's commentary on Homer: op. cit. in n. 29, p. 576, 356.

33. *Haverkamp Begemann, Achilles*, 1975, nos. 6, 6a, 6b; figs. 54-55; *Held, Sketches*, 1980, I, esp. pp. 178-179, no. 124.

34. *Iliad* XXIV.475-476.

35. Homer specifies Agamemnon's gift to Achilles as consisting of 7 tripods, 20 cauldrons, 12 horses, 7 women and 10 talents of gold; *Iliad* XIX.242-248.

36. *Held, Sketches*, 1980, I, p. 179; see Homer, *Iliad* XIX.301-302; Spondanus, op. cit. in n. 29, pp. 351-52 with reference to Lipsius.

siasm, nearly tripping over his golden presents in the process.³⁷ Briseis is equally important to Ovid. In different poems he makes much of her feelings, particularly in the Epistle where she complains to Achilles and in the *Ars amatoria*;³⁸ and in the *Remedia amoris* Achilles realizes he is really in love with her only when she is taken away.³⁹ In Ovid's version of this story Achilles is consumed with jealousy when she is returned; he doesn't believe Agamemnon didn't touch her (and neither does Ovid): the king swore to this, but only, according to Ovid, by his sceptre, not by the gods. (In Homer, Agamemnon in fact swears by several deities.)⁴⁰ The gesture of the figure pointing upwards with what would in the tapestry be his right hand is a reassurance both to Achilles and to readers of Ovid that Agamemnon did indeed call the powers of heaven to witness that he had laid no hand on Briseis; the man thus reassuring Achilles is probably Odysseus, who supervised the matter of the gifts and suggested that Agamemnon take this oath.⁴¹

Rubens invented this cycle when he was courting Helene Fourment, and it is not entirely fanciful to imagine that lines of Ovid's love poems were even more than usually at the back of his mind at this time. He had himself given his brother some very Ovidian advice years before on how to hurry the slow progress of his engagement and win his bride. Significantly, one of Rubens's most misunderstood pictures, the *Rape of the Sabines* (No. 40; Fig. 127) in the National Gallery, London, painted some years after his marriage, seems also to have had something to do with swift courtship and with a bride. It too is a Rubensian version of Ovid. The *Art of Love*, much more than the histories of Plutarch or Livy, explains its tone and numerous details.

In the London painting (Fig. 127), as is argued below,⁴² Rubens made an Ovidian *poesia* of the rather brutal episode in early Roman history. He assumed the viewer's familiarity with the fact that the Rape of the Sabines was the model for ancient Roman marriage ritual, a reasonable enough assumption for his own time if not for today: the abduction of the bride from her mother's lap, male passion and female reluctance, then acquiescence, are images that recur in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century epithalamia. He then adapted the famous episode of ancient history to make it a

37. In the *Iliad* he pays no attention to Briseis when she returns, and she is left to mourn Patroclus, who had treated her kindly (*Iliad* XIX.238-308).

38. Ovid, *Heroides* iii; *Ars amatoria*, loc. cit. in n. 31.

39. Ovid, *Remedia amoris* 777-784; cf. *Amores* I.ix.33.

40. Homer, *Iliad* XIX.257-265. Swearing by the sceptre is, however, a common Homeric practice, since the sceptre is the badge of a speaker.

41. Homer, *Iliad* XIX.175-178. Held, *Sketches*, 1980, I, p. 179 already suggested that the man might be Odysseus and that his gesture might relate to Homer's reference to Agamemnon's oath.

42. Under No. 40.

universal illustration of the basic impulses of men and women towards one another. It was the account of the story in the *Art of Love* by Ovid, who exploited it in just such a way, which I believe prompted him to this unusual and very personal interpretation. Ovid introduces the Rape of the Sabines as an instance of how theatres are ideal ground for hopeful lovers. More importantly, it illustrates for him how the primitive emotions released in this legend of early Rome are relevant to his day, even in the most sophisticated contexts and for the most civilized men and women. He recommends the lover to act like an old Roman, with uncompromising determination. This too is what Rubens shows (Fig. 127). The modern costumes and elaborate architecture in what is supposedly the original Roman settlement suggests that the message of the old story is seen by Rubens as applicable to his own time, just as it was for Ovid before him. Rubens's point was evidently understood by Roger de Piles; it was surely appreciated by the man who commissioned the picture, himself a husband, and perhaps also by his wife.⁴³

It has been observed that the foreground groups in the National Gallery picture develop ideas tried and varied in earlier abduction scenes.⁴⁴ In particular we know of two drawings or sketches recorded in copies by pupils of Rubens (No. 38, Copy; Fig. 123 and No. 39, Copy; Fig. 124) out of which the idea was developed of a single group of two horsemen in the painting known today as the *Rape of the Daughters of Leucippus* (Fig. 125).⁴⁵ This composition, which probably dates from c.1617, can be seen as almost a bridge between Rubens's earlier and later Sabine compositions.⁴⁶ Indeed in its origin it seems to be an abbreviated Sabine composition.

The abduction scene now in Munich (Fig. 125) is first recorded in the eighteenth century in the Elector Palatine's Düsseldorf Gallery.⁴⁷ There it already aroused some iconographic speculation, and was periodically re-named. In fact we first hear of it as a *Rape of Sabines*;⁴⁸ more often it was

43. See further under No. 40.

44. Martin, *Cat. National Gallery*, 1970, pp. 110-111, under no. 38.

45. Munich, Alte Pinakothek, no. 321; canvas, 224 x 210.5 cm. See Ulla Krempel in [Cat.] *Alte Pinakothek München*, Munich, 1983, pp. 456-457, no. 321, repr.

46. Cf. the comments in Jaffé, *Sketches*, I, 1969, p. 440.

47. See nn. 51 and 52 below.

48. See *Travels through Holland, Germany, Switzerland, but especially Italy: by the late Monsieur de Blainville, sometime Secretary to the Embassy of the States-General at the Court of Spain... Translated from the Author's Manuscript*, eds. C. Turnbull and W. Guthrie, London, [1743] 1757, I, pp. 59-60 ('The Rape of the Sabines'; de Blainville was at Düsseldorf in 1705).

simply called an abduction,⁴⁹ a title still good enough for Delacroix.⁵⁰ Other eighteenth-century viewers suggested more specific identifications—the story of Dina (Exodus I, Moses 30 and 34), for example, or again (as Heinse comments, ‘heaven knows why’) of a Princess Armenia.⁵¹ It was, however, Wilhelm Heinse who first recognized the subject as the Rape of the Leucippides and, writing in the *Teutscher Merkur* of 1777, quoted from Theocritus the story of how Castor and Pollux once carried off the two daughters of Leucippus, betrothed to another pair of twins, in the middle of the wedding feast. The enraged bridegrooms promptly fought the Dioscuri, and Castor was killed in the struggle, although Pollux despatched the attackers.⁵² Later writers, accepting the title but aware of how little this narrative corresponds to the picture, have recalled a few other allusions to the story, such as the references in Pausanias to the marriage of the women with the Dioscuri (and to a painting of this subject by Polygnotus), or the brief mention of it in Ovid’s *Fasti*, where no details are given but there is the possible implication of a happier ending.⁵³ Nevertheless Rubens would have been aware that the

49. *Descamps, Vie, 1753-63*, I, p. 318; G.J. Karsch, *Désignation exacte des peintures dans la galerie de la résidence à Düsseldorf*, Düsseldorf, 1719, #rd room, no. 184 (‘un enlèvement de deux Femmes nues par deux Hommes’); J. van Gool, *De nieuwe Schouburg...*, I-II, The Hague, 1750-51, II, p. 544, no. 12 (‘Twee nackte Vrouwen, die door twee Romeinen geschaekt worden’).

50. See E. Delacroix, *Journal*, I-III, ed. A. Joubin, Paris, 1932 (5 October 1847, referring to a copy he made 10 years before of women carried off by men on horses after a print of Rubens). Delacroix’s copy, thought to be lost (L. Johnson, *The Paintings of Eugène Delacroix*, III, Oxford, 1986, p. 267, no. L117), seems recently to have surfaced in the London art market, as Lee Johnson kindly informs me.

51. See [Carl Theodor], *Catalogue des Tableaux qui se trouvent dans les Galleries du Palais de S.A.S.E. Palatine à Dusseldorff*, Mannheim, [1760], p. 18, no. 17; Michel, *Histoire*, 1771, p. 299, no. 17 (transcribing the name as ‘Aminie’).

52. J.J.W. Heinse, *Briefe aus der Düsseldorfer Gemäldegalerie*, (first publ. Wielands *Teutscher Merkur*, 1776-77) ed. A. Winkler, Leipzig—Vienna, 1914, pp. 176-182. For Theocritus’s poem see *Idylls*, xxii. N. de Pigage in *La Galerie électorale de Dusseldorf, ou Catalogue raisonné de ses tableaux...*, edn Brussels, 1781, pp. 257-258, no. 244, refers to the possibility that the Rape of the Leucippides is the subject of the Munich picture (which he still entitles ‘Un enlèvement de deux femmes’) but does not mention Heinse, only Winckelmann’s identification of this subject on an ancient bas-relief in the Villa Medici, previously called the *Rape of the Sabines*. For this, see n. 56 below. However, it seems that he must at least have heard of Heinse’s identification, though Heinse in turn may have read Winckelmann’s identification of the sarcophagus, published in 1756.

53. See *Goeler von Ravensburg, Antike*, 1882, pp. 126-127, citing Ovid, *Fasti* V.699, Scholiast to Pindar, *Nemaeon Odes* x.112 and Hyginus, *Fabulae* lxxx (which, however, repeats the bad ending); also S.L. Alpers, ‘Manner and Meaning in Some Rubens Mythologies’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXX, 1967, pp. 288-289, mentioning Pausanias’s reference to the marriage of the Leucippides to the Dioscuri, and the painting of it by Polygnotus in the sanctuary of the Dioscuri at Athens (Pausanias, *Graeciae Descriptio* 1.18.1); to this we can add that the same writer talks of the children of this marriage (*ibid.*, referring to statues of the Dioscuri standing beside their sons on horseback; also II.20.6 on statues of the Dioscuri, the

story is essentially that told by Theocritus.⁵⁴ Besides, it is not just the unspecific nature of the setting and of the details of the rape which are puzzling. There is also the uncanonical characterization of the men, whose identity could easily have been clarified. The failure to do this is especially surprising since Rubens's subject was entirely novel in post-classical art,⁵⁵ so that the artist could not have expected his two horsemen abducting two women to evoke any particular association even among educated contemporaries.⁵⁶

The standard iconographic features of Castor and Pollux are white horses, egg-shaped caps or *pilei* (recalling their birth from one of Leda's swan-eggs), stars, spears, cloaks, youthful clean-shavenness and above all exact identity in dress and appearance—so much so that Lucian makes Apollo complain he can never tell them apart.⁵⁷ These are features catalogued among many others by Rubens's friend Caspar Gevartius in his description of the strictly orthodox twins who appear on Rubens's *Arch of Ferdinand* in the *Pompa Introitus*.⁵⁸ In the Munich painting the men are alike in age, but they are bearded, have different types of horse, and are themselves quite different

Leucippides and their sons) which at least implies a longer period together than does Theocritus.

54. Cf. n. 58 below.

55. The print by Enea Vico after Giulio Romano which shows an abduction scene by horsemen at a feast, was surely, as Evers supposes (*Evers, Neue Forschungen*, 1943, pp. 249-250 and fig. 262), a suggestive precedent for Rubens, but it can hardly be an illustration of the *Rape of the Leucippides* as Burchard proposed, even if one of the horses and its attendant is modelled on the Montecavallo 'Dioscuri' (see n. 69 below), since the abductors have several helpers and are carrying off a single woman.

56. References to ancient illustrations of the subject which Rubens would have known are few and brief: Pausanias's allusion to statues of the Dioscuri carrying off the Leucippides at Messene (*Graeciae descriptio* IV.31.9) and the painting of their marriage by Polygnotus already mentioned (n. 53 above). The Roman sarcophagus in the Vatican depicting the Rape of the Leucippides may indeed have been recognized as such and regarded as a precedent by Rubens. But it is important to remember that we have no record of its being entitled anything except a Rape of the Sabines before Visconti in the mid 18th century (*Bober—Rubinstein, Handbook*, 1986, pp. 161-162, no. 126); so that it cannot be regarded as an ancient illustration of the subject familiar to Rubens's contemporaries. In any case, it evidently had no influence on Rubens's Munich painting. The sarcophagus shows the Dioscuri according to the conventional ancient iconography (cf. below) and puts the rape in the context of the story. For Winckelmann's discussion of the relief in the Villa Medici see his *Versuch einer Allegorie, besonders für die Kunst*, edn Dresden, 1766, pp. 46-47.

57. These are elegantly listed, with the most significant classical images and texts by J. Spence, *Polymetis*, London, 1747, pp. 134-135 (and pl. xx, 6-8). These latter are Ovid, *Metamorphoses* VIII.375-378; Statius, *Thebaid* V.440-443; and Lucian, *Dialogues of the Gods* xx.14, where Apollo begs Mercury to help him distinguish the brothers. For the images see also *Montfaucon, Antiquité*, 1719, I, ii, pl. CXCIV and pp. 295-299.

58. *Gevartius, Pompa*, 1641, p. 106 and pl. opp. p. 99. Here indeed he makes reference to Theocritus, *Idylls* xxiii [xxii], though not to recall the Leucippides; cf. also, for example, J. von Sandrart, *Iconologia deorum, oder Abbildung der Götter...*, Nuremberg, 1680, pp. 65-66.

both in costume and, apparently, in class, as Heinse himself fully recognized.⁵⁹

We might simply suppose that Heinse's identification was a mistake, and conclude that this is after all another Sabine composition which has been abbreviated into two couples for artistic effect.⁶⁰ There could even be a justification for such an abbreviation, since ancient Roman coins which Rubens would have known sum the episode up in just two couples (cf. Fig. 105).⁶¹ Certainly the picture's origins lie in Rubens's Sabine studies, and particularly in elements developed and adapted from the originals of the two Copenhagen drawings (Nos. 38, 39; cf. Figs. 123, 124). From one he took the rather humorous and naturalistic motif of the naked woman lifted up by the horseman with the help of a struggling cupid and transformed it into a pose of frozen eloquence inspired by Titian's Danae and Michelangelo's Leda.⁶² From the other he took the muscular man controlling two struggling and counterpoised women, one seen from the front and the other in reverse, and produced a group which is not only pictorially but emotionally more expressive.⁶³ Some of the elements in the Munich picture hint at its Sabine background. Thus the horseman wears armour which looks more Roman than Greek,⁶⁴ while it is easy to imagine that his companion on foot looks the way he does because he started out as the squire, or attendant holding the horse. It might therefore seem that if the subject of the Rape of the Leucippides was applied to the painting by Rubens, it must have been *ex post facto*; that its real theme was an artfully unspecific Abduction Scene, which should perhaps be entitled simply a symplegma, Pliny's word for ancient compositions of interwoven bodies, usually of lovers.⁶⁵ It is no accident that of all Rubens's works this painting is most often treated to stylistic analysis; with

59. He admits that Pollux looks more like an attendant or even slave than a brother of Castor, but forgives the artist this idiosyncrasy.

60. At one stage I considered this a possibility, and Michael Jaffé has recently suggested, with reference to my argument (presented in a lecture), that the Munich picture should perhaps be re-titled *The Rape of the Sabines* (Jaffé, *Rubens*, 1989, p. 224, no. 404).

61. See Goltzius, *Opera*, 1645, I, pl. 1.

62. For the influence of Titian see [Cat. Exh.] *Omaggio a Tiziano*, Florence, 1976, under no. 16. For Rubens's copies of the *Leda* see Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, 1977, pp. 64-65 and pls. 209, 210.

63. It would of course be Rubens's answer, if he felt he had to give one, to the *paragone*, the Renaissance artistic debate on the merits of painting over sculpture.

64. In view of Rubens's idiosyncratic use of ancient armour (see *Rodee*, *Antique Armor*, 1967, pp. 223-230), it is hard to be conclusive about this distinction. But details of the breastplate are derived from the ancient statue of Mars Ultor, a favourite source for Rubens's Roman armour (*ibid.*, fig. 3), and the costume in general resembles that of Romulus in Rubens's Sabine subjects (and the figure would be reused in the late sketch of the *Rape of the Sabines* in Antwerp: No. 42b; Fig. 139. For the detail of the spurs see n. 83 below).

65. E.g. Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* XXXVI.v.24 and 34-36.

its faultless composition, elegant contrapposti, clarity and 'Baroque' rhythms, it has served again and again as exemplary,⁶⁶ even if Reynolds found it 'too artful'.⁶⁷ But Pliny's symplegmata were indeed groups with specific subjects, as Rubens, with his knowledge of ancient art, would have realized. Furthermore, the idea of an artist caring so much about the form and the general impact of his violent sexual theme that he loses sight of a specific subject works well enough in the case of Giambologna, with his famous demonstration piece for the Loggia dei Lanzi, whose title was an afterthought,⁶⁸ but seems less in character for the resourceful iconographer, Rubens.

There is good reason to believe that Rubens indeed intended the Munich painting (Fig. 125) to represent the Dioscuri carrying off Phoebe and Hilaira, the daughters of Leucippus. First of all, as Jaffé observed in noting the relationships between various Sabine compositions and the *Leucippides*, the attendant to the horseman at the right of one Copenhagen drawing strikes a pose which is virtually that of one of the Montecavallo Dioscuri.⁶⁹ It thus inevitably suggests an association in theme, or at least would have done so when Rubens thought of adapting the group to a new subject involving two pairs of horsemen. With this famous sculpture in mind it is easy to imagine the artist turning to other ancient images of Castor and Pollux and perhaps finding with delight a relief showing Castor holding a horse while a putto rides on its back.⁷⁰ In the second place, there exist several versions of a

66. See notably *Burckhardt, Rubens, 1898*, pp. 41, 66, 84, 104 (pl. 39). As Alpers points out (loc. cit. in n. 53, p. 285) this process has actually helped to obscure the anomalies in its iconography.

67. *Reynolds, Journey, 1852*, p. 404; cf. Sir Joshua Reynolds, *A Journey to Flanders and Holland*, ed. H. Mount, Cambridge, 1996, p. 135.

68. See E. Dhanens, *Jean Boulogne, Giovanni Bologna Fiammingo*, Brussels, 1956, pp. 232-241.

69. It is true that in Rubens's time these were generally called Alexander and Bucephalus (Bober—Rubinstein, *Handbook*, 1986, pp. 159-161, no. 125; Haskell—Penny, *Antique*, 1982, pp. 136-141, no. 3, figs. 71-72). This Alexander association may have prompted the inclusion of one group in the Berlin drawing which I identify as *The Triumph of Alexander* (No. 16; Fig. 63). But, even if Rubens himself in his early 'pocketbook' seems to accept the identification of Alexander and Bucephalus (Jombert, *Théorie*, 1773, p. 13) he probably came to recognize the statues as the Dioscuri; certainly the figures on the *Arch of Ferdinand* (n. 58 above) suggest this—and in his *Segmenta nobilium signorum et statuarum...* published at Rome and Paris in 1638 François Perrier notes (pls. 22-25) that some people believe them to represent Castor and Pollux, rather than Alexander and Bucephalus (cf. Haskell—Penny, *Antique*, 1982, p. 136). Interestingly, the pose is also adapted in the abduction scene recorded in the print by Vico after Giulio Romano, even if this is probably not the *Rape of the Leucippides*. Cf. n. 55 above. For Rubens and the Montecavallo horsemen see now also *Van der Meulen, Antique, 1994*, II, pp. 91-93 under no. 75; III, figs. 141-143.

70. See R. Venuti and G.C. Amaduzzi, *Monumenta Matthaiana*, I-III, Rome, 1776-79, III, pl. xix, 2. This is presumably one of the children of the marriage and relates to the statues at Athens described by Pausanias (see n. 53 above). I have not, however, been able to establish either the present location of this relief or whether it was known in Rubens's time.

Rubensian composition which apparently adapts a 'Sabine' motif to the story of the Leucippides. One is the small sketch on canvas with the old inscription 'Langhiano' (Jan Boeckhorst) in the Pitti;⁷¹ another is a drawing in Chantilly (*text ill.* 40) presented by Evers as the work of Rubens;⁷² a third is in a private collection in London,⁷³ and a fourth, a small painting in Oslo, seems to have been regarded by Burchard as an original Rubens design.⁷⁴ There can be no doubt that here the horsemen are indeed the Dioscuri, since in the drawing they wear their egg-shaped *pilei*, and there are stars above their heads in the Pitti painting.⁷⁵ I am not convinced that any of these reproduces a composition by Rubens himself: the role of the different figures is rather confused—one cheated fiancé, for example, has his head obscured by the legs of his disappearing bride, while the other, that in front, who must be pulling away his bride, actually looks as if he might be handing her up instead to her ravisher. Nor do these compositions relate to the Munich painting. Instead they seem to derive from an early drawing (or copy of a drawing) in the Louvre also published by Evers,⁷⁶ which shows a young man struggling to pull a young woman away from another man who is carrying her off, while behind him a second man tries to pull her onto his horse. Since in this drawing there is another couple behind—a man with a woman in his arms, perhaps on horseback, perhaps simply on a platform—and since yet another man in the foreground is helping and attending

71. Florence, Palazzo Pitti; canvas, 27.5 x 34 cm. Inv. no. 3904. See D. Bodart in *Cat. Exh. Florence*, 1977, pp. 62-63, no. 6, repr.; *Lahrkamp, Bockhorst*, 1982, pp. 105-106, no. 60.
72. Chantilly, Musée Condé; black chalk heightened with white, 220 x 287 mm. Inv. no. L.A.9.199. See *Evers, Neue Forschungen*, 1943, pp. 252-253 and fig. 268; *Held, Sketches*, 1980, I, p. 633, n. 1. This drawing was tentatively attributed to Boeckhorst by Bodart (loc. cit.) and this attribution is accepted in *Lahrkamp, Bockhorst*, 1982, p. 106, no. 60a, repr. See E. Dhanens, 'Jean Boulogne en P. P. Rubens', *Gentse bijdragen tot de kunstgeschiedenis*, XVI, 1955-56, pp. 241-254.
73. Oil on panel. See O. von Simson, 'Der Raub der Leukippiden. Rubens begegnet der Antike', *Von Geschichte umgeben. Joachim Fest zum 60. Geburtstag*, Berlin, 1986, pp. 233-244, esp. p. 241 and fig. 2 (*recte* fig. 4).
74. Oslo, National Gallery; panel, 27 x 29 cm. See *Nasjonalgalleriet. Katalog over Utlandsk Malerkunst*, Oslo, 1975, pp. 178-179, no. 421, repr.; cf. *Held, Sketches*, 1980, I, p. 633, n. 1, mentioning a partial copy in the museum of Indianapolis. Held saw no reason to regard the Oslo panel as by Rubens. A further drawing either after this, as Burchard thought, or (as I suspect) after yet another version, and formerly attributed to Le Sueur, is in Stockholm (Nationalmuseum, cat. no. 2709). According to Anne-Marie Logan ('Rubens Exhibitions, 1977-1978', *Master Drawings*, XVI, 1978, p. 439), another painting of this composition (33.5 x 36.5 cm.) is in the Roselius collection, Bremen.
75. However here, confusingly, the rape would seem to take place near a fountain, which has no relevance to any version of the story.
76. Paris, Louvre; pen, 145 x 209 mm. Inv. no. 20.303. See *Evers, Neue Forschungen*, 1943, pp. 250-252, pl. 264. Lugt called it 'school of Van Dyck'; Burchard thought this was after a lost drawing or grisaille sketch. But Logan also attributes it to Rubens himself (loc. cit. in n. 74 above, pp. 428, 429, fig. 3).

the horseman, I think that Evers was probably wrong to call this an illustration of the Leucippides; nor can we be certain that Rubens himself later adapted it to their abduction. What all this indicates then is that the idea of the rape of the Leucippides was familiar to Rubens's school,⁷⁷ and that this could only have happened because Rubens himself had introduced it as a new abduction theme. I believe that the Munich picture is his illustration of it.

It seems too that we must conclude that, although he knew the conventional story and was aware of the classical iconography of the heavenly twins, Rubens chose to depart from both. Moreover, while his motivation may to a large extent have been artistic—the isolation of the scene from a narrative setting and the distinctions between men and between horses, like the nudity of the women, making for a better picture—it is unlikely to have been exclusively so. As Alpers supposed, the treatment of the subject is significant and indeed in some sense allegorical.

Only one text has ever been convincingly cited as relevant to Rubens's particular characterization of the two men, namely the reference in Ovid's *Fasti* to one as a horseman, the other as a boxer.⁷⁸ In fact this contrast had a wide currency, and reappears several times in Ovid,⁷⁹ as well as in Horace and Propertius.⁸⁰ It derives from the Homeric epithets applied to Castor and Polydeuces (*hippodamos* and *pux*, or *äethlophoros*, respectively),⁸¹ and although it never impinged on the identical appearance of the twins in ancient art,⁸² it provided the one clue Mercury could give Apollo (in Lucian's dialogue) as to how to tell them apart, Pollux having bruises from a fight. Certainly it justifies their representation in Rubens's picture as very different

77. There is also a drawing of an abduction by two horsemen (with two cupids) of two women by Van Dyck in Chatsworth (Courtauld neg. 308-12-11) which is almost certainly the *Rape of the Leucippides*.

78. Ulla Krempel drew attention to this characterization provided in *Fasti* V.699-700 (loc. cit. in n. 45 above). Burchard too had noticed this, or rather the fact that Alberti, in his *De pictura* made such a differentiation. The source of Alberti's statement that painters show Castor as a horseman and Pollux as a boxer is of course the Ovidian text and the others mentioned below.

79. Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* VIII.301-302: 'Tyndaridae gemini, spectatus caestibus alter,/ Alter equo...'. The characterization is also quoted in Paolo Marsi's commentary to Ovid, *Amores* II.xi.29 (Ovid, *Opera*, edn Frankfurt 1601, pp. 272-273).

80. Cf. Horace, *Odes* I.xii.25-27: 'puerosque Ladae;/ Hunc equis, illum superare pugnis/ Nobilem...'; Propertius, *Elegies* III.xii.318: 'Hic victor pugnis, ille futurus equis'.

81. See e.g. Homer, *Iliad* III.237, and commentary of Blaise de Vigenère (*Les images ou tableaux de platte peinture des 2 Philostrates*, edn Paris, 1629, p. 406); cf. Hesiod, *Catalogues of Women and Eoiae* lxii.27 and 31; also Scholiast on Pindar, *Nemæan Odes* x.114, quoting the *Cypria* 6. This characterization is in fact made forcefully by Theocritus (*Idylls* xxii.27-134), where Pollux's famous boxing match with Amycus is described: cf. Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* II.1ff. and Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica* IV.99-343.

82. Cf. *Montfaucon, Antiquité*, 1719, loc. cit. in n. 57.

characters, and perhaps even the 'knight'-like appearance of Castor, right down to the incongruously modern golden spurs.⁸³ Indeed Ovid writes in the *Fasti* (V.699-700):

Abstulerant raptas Phoebe Phoebesque sororem
Tyndaridae fratres, hic eques, ille pugil.

'They snatched and bore off Phoebe and her sister—those brothers, Leda's children, the horseman and the boxer'.

This phrase echoes another reference by Ovid to the Rape of the Leucippides, one which is never cited in mythological reference works but is certainly much more famous. It comes towards the close of the first book of the *Art of Love*, and takes up still more forcefully the theme behind the poet's initial example of the Rape of the Sabines, which, as we have seen, inspired the artist on other occasions. Not that Rubens would have had to read through the book to find this passage, since it concludes a section which I suspect he, like most classically educated males of his interests and inclinations, would have virtually known by heart. It was surely on the authority of these verses that Rubens used the Rape of the Leucippides as a universal image of love, and it was with Ovid as a precedent that he edited out the unfortunate aspects and anything that might point to the sad ending of the story. In his poem Ovid advises:

Illa licet non det; non data sume tamen.
Pugnabit primo fortassis, et Improbe dicet:
Pugnando vinci se tamen illa volet.
Tantum, ne noceant teneris male rapta labellis,
Neve queri possit dura fuisse, cave.
Oscula qui sumpsit, si non et caetera sumpsit;
Haec quoque, quae data sunt, perdere dignus erit.
Quantum defuerat pleno post oscula voto?
Hei mihi, rusticitas, non pudor ille fuit.
Vim licet appelles, grata est vis ista puellis:
Quod iuvat, invitae saepe dedisse volunt.
Quaecunque est Veneris subita violata rapina,
Gaudet: et improbitas muneris instar habet.

83. Rubens normally shows ancient horsemen without spurs, as they appear on the ancient monuments (cf. *Montfaucon, Supplément, 1724, IV, pp. 26-27*). Literary sources testify to the existence of the spur in antiquity (κέντρον; *calcar*), however, and Montfaucon can illustrate one example, a primitive affair with a single pin (loc. cit. pl. XII(a), 3). Interestingly, Rubens at least once showed such a spur on an ancient hero, Bellerophon in the painting for the *Pompa Introitus* (Martin, *Pompa, 1972, figs. 110, 111; Gevartius, Pompa, 1641, pl. 40, opp. p. 163*), a learned detail not noted by Gevartius. In the case of Castor in Fig. 125, the anachronism seems deliberate.

At quae cum cogi posset, non tacta recessit,
 Quum simulat vultu gaudia, tristis erit.
 Vim passa est Phoebe; vis est illata sorori:
 Et gratus raptae raptor uterque fuit.

'And if she doesn't give [her kisses] freely, just take them anyway, ungiven. Maybe at first she'll fight, and call you 'wicked rogue'; but her wish in fighting is really to be won. Only be sure your clumsy force doesn't bruise her tender lips or that she can complain of roughness. A man who has taken kisses and taken nothing more deserves to lose even what was already granted. After a kiss any failure in the fulfilment of desire—well really, that's not modesty, it's just bad manners! Invoke violence if you like; this is a violence which girls appreciate. The thing that they enjoy, they often like to think they gave unwillingly. A woman suddenly seized in an impulse of violent passion is pleased and counts the outrage a compliment. But when a woman who could be compelled goes off untouched she may put on a show of pleasure but will in fact be depressed. Violence was what Phoebe suffered, violence was done to her sister and each ravished girl was happy with her ravisher'.⁸⁴

Sixteenth and seventeenth-century commentaries note that the Leucippides were two beautiful girls, 'formae elegantia excellentes' and add the story with particular reference to Hyginus.⁸⁵ But clearly in using it as his prime instance of how women enjoy being carried off by force—he follows it with the case of Achilles and Deidamia—the poet was not at all inviting us to look to the ending of the story as recounted by mythographers, but rather to see the rape of the Leucippides as an instance of a universal theme. This too must be Rubens's meaning; this is why he has isolated the scene and surrounded it with references to passion and to love.⁸⁶ The passage from the *Art of Love*, supplemented only by the *Fasti's* differentiation of the twins who were normally shown as exactly alike, constitutes the 'text' to Rubens's picture.⁸⁷ But it is a text which, like the subject, must somehow have emerged

84. See Ovid, *Ars amatoria* l.664-680. I cite the text from the 1601 Frankfurt edition (op. cit. in n. 23, p. 328), which is what I have translated. Modern editions introduce minor emendations, e.g. *sumet* for the second *sumpsit* in l.669.

85. See Merula's commentary quoted on p. 329 of the 1601 Ovid (ed. cit. in n. 23 above).

86. For the motif of the horse reined by a Cupid see under No. 39 (cf. Fig. 124).

87. The relevance of the passage from Ovid to Rubens's painting was, I think, first noted, briefly, by Evers (*Evers, Rubens, 1942*, p. 200 and n. 167); thereafter it featured in the rather ponderous analysis by Reinhard Lies of Rubens's supposed view of 'woman's natural destiny' (*Die Kunst des Rubens, Braunschweig, 1977*, pp. 381-382). It is treated more delicately in the essay by Otto von Simson cited in n. 73 above; and in the interesting article by Margaret D. Carroll ('The Erotics of Absolutism. Rubens and the Mystification of Sexual Violence', *Representations*, XXV, 1989, pp. 3-30, esp. pp. 3-5), whose central thesis of a political context and meaning for the painting (as a sort of glamorized image of the double marriage in 1615 of the princes and princesses of France and Spain) is, however, unconvincing to me.

(as it were) from an association already present in the artist's mind between the Sabine theme, love and the *Ars amatoria*, so that it seems impossible (and pointless) to determine whether Ovid's reference to the Leucippides suggested a new rape composition involving two couples or vice versa. We can perhaps say, however, that in visualizing his Ovidian theme Rubens made a characteristic modification to the ancient poet's uncompromising advice to the lover, suggesting by the interchange of glances of the figures and by the action of the cupids—one of whom looks out knowingly at the viewer, that those who carry off still protesting maidens will succeed best if their passion is overtaken by love.

This then is the myth presented, if you like, as an allegory, but it is one which is not at all of the literary kind usually assumed in the application of meaning, whether by Renaissance or by modern commentators; it does not rely on the viewer's knowledge of the story, just the contrary.⁸⁸ Or perhaps rather, as often in *exempla* and typological analogies, it can be recalled that a picture may select from a story which is otherwise inapposite the one relevant point of comparison. In his *Rape of the Daughters of Leucippus*, Rubens is deliberately blotting out all thought of the context and therefore of the sad ending, so as to invite us to contemplate this scene simply as a striking example of seduction by abduction. To create this elegant yet dramatic image he is exploiting the fact, so often irritating to literary commentators, that a picture cannot actually *tell* a story.⁸⁹

It may seem inappropriate to end this Introduction with poets rather than historians and with a scene which is not a historical subject at all, but a composition imaginatively derived from one. But it is an outstanding example not only of Rubens's view of love, but of his ability to invent as a learned artist. Rubens used his learning and his knowledge of history not for ornament or show, but to underline the essential theme and meaning of a story. (Certainly the basic message of the *Rape of the Leucippides* does not depend

88. For example even the 'meaning' behind the proposed pairing of two of Titian's mythological paintings for Philip II is of this literary type. As Charles Hope has shown ('Problems of Interpretation in Titian's Erotic Paintings' in *Tiziano e Venezia 1976*, Venice, 1980, pp. 112-114), they are examples of different types of love; in this context a knowledge of the outcomes is relevant to the pairing of the stories.

89. An analogy seems to be provided by Rubens's paintings of *The Daughters of Cecrops discovering Erichthonius*, for even if Held is right to point to the fact that the bad ending of the story is not mentioned in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Held, *Studies*, 1982, pp. 156-165), there can be no doubt that Rubens would have been aware of it; and Alpers's arguments about the peculiarly allegorical elements in the compositions (bust of Nature; Pan etc.) seem well-founded (Alpers, *op. cit.* in n. 53, pp. 280-285), even if the precise meaning remains elusive. Interestingly these pictures also have a love motif.

on an appreciation of the relevance of any text.) For Rubens, history like mythology was not simply a fund of stories to be illustrated slavishly. A good subject was a theme which would make a good painting. This was the advice Rubens gave to other artists, as we have seen, in the composition of histories.⁹⁰ This too was the principle that he himself followed throughout his life, as I hope the works in the present volume will amply illustrate.

90. See above, Chapter III, pp. 68-73.



PLATES



Detail from
The Death of Seneca (No. 54).
Munich, Alte Pinakothek



1. After Rubens, *The Seven Sages disputing over the Tripod*, oil sketch (No. 1, copy 1). Philadelphia, Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection



2. After Rubens, *The Seven Sages disputing over the Tripod*, oil sketch (No. 1, copy 2). Whereabouts unknown



3. Rubens or Van Dyck, *Studies of Heads*, drawing.
Chatsworth, The Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement



4. ? Pieter Soutman, *The Seven Sages disputing over the Tripod*. English Private Collection



THALES MILESIVS.

*Tarpe quod auloras, te sine, te sine temer
 Vita perit: morti gloria nos mortur
 Quid factura ero, dicitur de futuro
 Certe est si metuas, quod erit aliud nequa
 Quam rursus chrysoas, sic inimice, iusque
 Quam falso laudat, tunc et amice nocet.
 Nil nimium, satis est, ne sit et hoc nimium.*

*Fig. Andreas
 Burdigalensis Conji*

5. Jacob de Gheyn III, *Thales*,
 from *The Seven Sages*,
 engraving, 1616



6. Rubens after Primaticcio, *?The Seven Sages at Delphi*, watercolour. Madrid, Museo del Prado



7. Detail of Fig. 8



8. Rubens, *Tomyris and Cyrus* (No. 2). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts



9. ? Rubens, *Tomyris and Cyrus*, drawing (?counterproof; No. 2a, copy 1). St Petersburg, Hermitage



10. ? Rubens, *Study of two Female Heads*, drawing (No. 2b).
Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina



11. Detail of Fig. 8



12. ? Theodoor Boeyermans after Rubens, *Tomiris and Cyrus*
(No. 2, copy 1). Whereabouts unknown



13. Retouched by Rubens, *Tomyris and Cyrus*, drawing (No. 3). German Private Collection



14. Paulus Pontius, *Tomyris and Cyrus*, engraving (No. 3, copy 1)



15. ? Jacob Jordaens, copies after ?oil sketch
of Rubens's *Tomyris and Cyrus*, detail, drawing (No. 2a, copy 2).
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum



16. Rubens, *Studies for Various Compositions*, detail, drawing.
Windsor Castle, Collection of H.M. The Queen



17. Rubens, *Tomyris and Cyrus*, drawing (No. 5). Cleveland, Ohio, Museum of Art

18 (below). *Tomyris and Cyrus*, engraving. From J. van den Vondel, *Den Gulden Winckel der Kunstlievende Nederlanders*, Amsterdam, 1613

19 (right). After the Master of Flémalle, *Tomyris and Cyrus*. Berlin, Bode Museum





20. After Rubens, *Tomyris and Cyrus*, ?oil sketch
(19th-century phototype by J. Maes; No. 4, copy 4). Whereabouts unknown



21. Studio of Rubens, *Tomyris and Cyrus* (No. 4, copy 1). Milan,
Count Alessandro Cigogna Mozzoni



22. Detail of Fig. 23



23. Rubens, *Tomyris and Cyrus* (No. 4). Paris, Musée du Louvre



24. ? Rubens, *The Justice of Cambyses* (No. 6, copy 1).
Formerly Potsdam-Sanssouci, Neues Palais, now lost

25 (above right). ? B. Beschey after Rubens,
The Justice of Cambyses (No. 6, copy 2).
Bergues, Musée Municipal

26 (below right). Studio of Rubens, *The Judgement of Solomon*.
Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst





27. ? Rubens, *The Justice of Cambyses*, oil sketch (No. 6a).
Potsdam-Sanssouci,
Bildergalerie



28. After Rubens, *The Justice of Cambyses*, oil sketch
(No. 6a, copy 1).
Detroit, Lawrence A. Fleischman



29. After Rubens, *The Justice of Cambyzes*, oil sketch (No. 6a, copy 2). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art



30. R. Eynhoudts after Rubens, *The Justice of Cambyzes*, etching (No. 6a, copy 7)



31. Rubens, *Pythagoras advocating Vegetarianism* (No. 7).
London, Buckingham Palace, Collection of H.M. The Queen



32. After Rubens, *Nymphs and Satyrs*,
drawing (No. 7, copy 6).
Whereabouts unknown



33. 'Eat no Beans'. Folio from dismembered early 16th-century French MS, before erasure of inscription. Woodner Family Collection, on loan to Washington, National Gallery of Art



34. A Pythagorean Meal, engraving. From J. van den Vondel, *Den Gulden Winckel der Kunstlievende Nederlanders*, Amsterdam, 1613



35. ? Rubens or Artus Wolffort, *The Weeping Heraclitus* (No. 9). Sottrum, Krystian Surowietz (1985)



36. Rubens, *Democritus and Heraclitus* (No. 8).
Princeton, New Jersey,
Barbara Piasecka Johnson
Collection Foundation



37. After Rubens, *Democritus and
Heraclitus with a Soldier*
(No. 10, copy 1).
Whereabouts unknown



38. Rubens, *Democritus*. Madrid, Museo del Prado



39. Rubens, *Heraclitus*. Madrid, Museo del Prado



40. Rubens, *Satyr*. Madrid, Museo del Prado



41 (above). Rubens, *Alcibiades interrupting the Symposium*, drawing (No. 11).
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

42 (below). Three Details of No. 11, photographed under ultra-violet light





43. Studio of Rubens, *Diogenes seeking a True Man* (No. 12, copy 1). Paris, Musée du Louvre



44. ? Studio of Rubens, *Diogenes seeking a True Man* (No. 12, copy 2).
Whereabouts unknown, now cut into two parts



45. A. van Dyck after Rubens, *Studies of Heads*.
Chatsworth, The Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement



46. ? Jacob Jordaens after Rubens *Diogenes seeking a True Man*,
oil sketch (No. 12a, copy 1). Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut



47. Pieter Bruegel, *Elck* ('Everyman'), engraving



48. Diogenes seeking a True Man, engraving. From J. van den Vondel, *Den Gulden Winckel der Kunstlievende Nederlanders*, Amsterdam, 1613



49. Artemisia, engraving. From A. Thevet, *Les vrais portraits et vies des hommes illustres*, Paris, 1584



50. Georg Pencz, *Artemisia*, engraving, c. 1539



51. Rubens, *The Devotion of Artemisia* (No. 13). Potsdam-Sanssouci, Bildergalerie



52. Studio of Rubens, *The Devotion of Artemisia* (No. 13, copy 1).
Madrid, Palacio de Liria, Collection of the Duchess of Alba



53. ? Studio of Rubens, *The Devotion of Artemisia* (No. 13, copy 2).
Whereabouts unknown (formerly Chicago, Northern Trust Co.) (old photograph)



54. ? Rubens or studio, *Alexander and Roxana*, in 1931, before cutting down (No. 14)



55. ? Rubens or studio, *Alexander and Roxana*, fragment (No. 14). Jerusalem, Israel Museum



56. Studio of Rubens, *Alexander and Roxana* (No. 14, copy 1),
formerly Hannover, Museum



57. After Rubens, *Alexander and Roxana* (No. 14a, copy 1).
Basle, Kunstmuseum



58. Rubens, *Alexander and Roxana* (No. 15).
Wörlitz, Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten



59. Jan Boeckhorst, *Alexander and Roxana*, oil sketch. Whereabouts unknown



60. Jan Boeckhorst, *Alexander cutting the Gordian Knot*, oil sketch. Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts



61. S. Czetzer after Jan Boeckhorst, *Alexander and Roxana*, engraving



62. J.P. Verhagen after Jan Boeckhorst, *Alexander and Diogenes*, engraving by Q. Mark, 1784



63. Rubens, *Triumph of Alexander*,
drawing (No. 16). Berlin,
Staatliche Museen Preussischer
Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett



64. Rubens. *Triumphant Rome*,
oil sketch. The Hague,
Mauritshuis



65. Willem Panneels after Rubens, *Alexander with the Thunderbolt*, drawing.
Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst



66. Joshua Reynolds after Rubens, *Antiochus and Stratonice*, drawing (No. 17, copy).
New Haven, Yale Center for British Art



67. ? After Rubens, *Unidentified Subject*. Whereabouts unknown



68. Theodoor van Thulden, *Antiochus and Stratonice*. Halle, Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg



69. Rubens, *Cimon and Pero* (No. 18). St Petersburg, Hermitage



70. Cornelis van Caukercken after Rubens, *Cimon and Pero*, engraving (No. 18, copy 7)



71. Detail of Fig. 69



72. ? Rubens, *Cimon and Pero* (No. 19). Whereabouts unknown

73. (above right) Rubens, *Cimon and Pero* (No. 20). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

74. (below right) Rubens, *Cimon and Pero* (No. 22). Siegen, Museum des Siegerlandes





75. After Rubens, *Cimon and Pero*, drawing (No. 21a, copy 8).
St Petersburg, Hermitage



76. Jan van den Hoecke, ? after Rubens, *Cimon and Pero*, drawing (No. 23, copy). Seattle, Art Museum



77. Hans Sebald Beham, *Cimon and Pero*, engraving, 1544



78. Willem Pannels after Rubens, *Cimon and Pero*, etching (No. 19, copy 2)



79. Hans Sebald Beham, *Cimon and Pero*, etching



80. After Rubens, *Cimon and Pero* (No. 21, copy 1). Dunkirk, Musée des Beaux-Arts



81. After Rubens, *Cimon and Pero* (No. 21a, copy 2). Whereabouts unknown



82. A. Voet II after Rubens, *Cimon and Pero*, engraving (No. 21a, copy 9)

Overleaf: Summary illustration of the Romulus Cycle
based on Rubens's sketches (Nos. 30–32)

Oil Sketch:
86, 87



Tapestry Cartoon: 83, 85



Tapestry: 84



Oil Sketch:
89, 91



Tapestry Cartoon: 88, 90



Tapestry: 94





83. *Romulus killing Remus*, tapestry cartoon. Cardiff, National Museum of Wales



84. *Romulus killing Remus*, tapestry (Series I, no. 1). Rome, Private Collection



85. *Reconciliation of Romulus and Tatius*, tapestry cartoon. Cardiff, National Museum of Wales



86. Rubens, *Reconciliation of Romulus and Tatius*, oil sketch (No. 31).
Jerusalem, Israel Museum



87. ? Rubens, *Reconciliation of Romulus and Tatius*, oil sketch (No. 31a).
Rotterdam, Boymans-van Beuningen Museum



88. *Romulus setting up the Trophy*, tapestry cartoon. Cardiff, National Museum of Wales



89. Rubens, *Romulus setting up a Trophy*, oil sketch (No. 30).
London, Dulwich College Picture Gallery



90. *Romulus appearing to Proculus*, tapestry cartoon. Cardiff, National Museum of Wales



91. Rubens, *Romulus appearing to Proculus*, oil sketch (No. 32). Belgian Private Collection



92. Agostino (?and Annibale) Carracci, *Romulus returning with the Spoils of Acron*. Bologna, Palazzo Magnani



93. ?Agostino (?and Annibale) Carracci, *Romulus and Proculus*. Bologna, Palazzo Magnani



94. *Romulus appearing to Proculus*, tapestry (Series 1, no. 2). Cardiff, National Museum of Wales



95. *Two Romulus Subjects*, tapestry cartoon.
Sarasota, Florida, John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art



96. *The Death of Turnus and another Subject*, tapestry cartoon.
Sarasota, Florida, John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art



97 (left). *The Apotheosis of Romulus*, tapestry
(see Series IVa, no. 6). Whereabouts unknown

98 (below). *The Youth of Romulus and Remus*,
tapestry (Series VI, no. 2).
Whereabouts unknown





99. ? Rubens (actually Justus van Egmont?), *Mars and Rhea Silvia*, oil sketch (No. 24a).
Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum



100. ? After Rubens, *Mars and Rhea Silvia*, tapestry (No. 24, tapestry 2; Series Va, no. 1).
Whereabouts unknown



101. Rubens and studio, *Mars and Rhea Silvia*. Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection



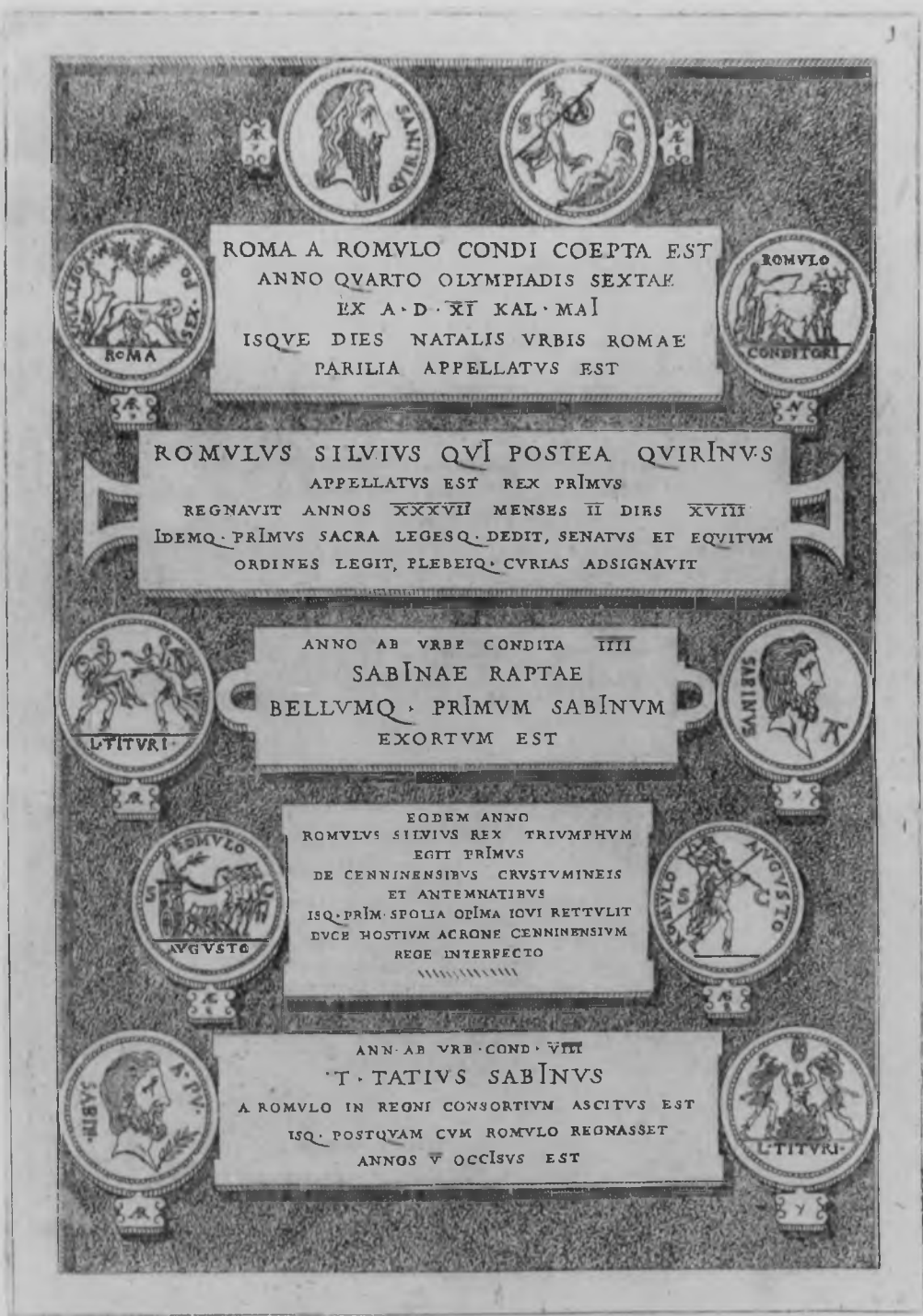
102. Rubens, *Mars and Rhea Silvia*, oil sketch. Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection



103. ? After Rubens, *Romulus and Remus suckled by the Wolf*, tapestry (No. 25, tapestry 1; Series III, no. 2). Swedish Royal Collections



104. After Justus van Egmont, *Romulus and Remus suckled by the Wolf*, engraving



105. Coins illustrating the history of Romulus. From Hubertus Goltzius, *Fasti Magistratum* (Goltzius, *Opera*, edn Antwerp, 1645, I)





108. ? After Rubens, *The Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines*, tapestry (No. 28, tapestry 1; Series IIa, no. 3). Whereabouts unknown

109. ? After Rubens (actually Justus van Egmont?), *The Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines*, oil sketch (No. 28a, copy). Whereabouts unknown



106 (left above). ? After Rubens, *Romulus favoured by the Augury*, tapestry (No. 26, tapestry 1; Series IIa, no. 1). Whereabouts unknown

107 (left below). ? After Rubens, *The Rape of the Sabines*, tapestry (No. 27, tapestry 1; Series IIa, no. 2). Whereabouts unknown



110 (above). ? After Rubens, *The Flight of Cloelia*, tapestry (No. 29, tapestry; Series IIb, no. 2). Whereabouts unknown

111 (below). *Diana and Callisto*, tapestry woven by Andries van den Dries. Whereabouts unknown



112-113. After Justus van Egmont, *Fierce Germanic Women fighting* and *The Reconciliation of Octavian and Antony*, tapestries from Augustus cycle. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



114. ? Rubens, *Seated Infant*,
? study for No. 33 (No. 33a).
Whereabouts unknown



115. ? Rubens, *Romulus and Remus suckled by the Wolf* (No. 33). C.B.C. Carey, Silver Springs, Maryland



116. Rubens, *The Young Virgin adorned with Flowers*. Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection



117. Rubens, *The Finding of Romulus and Remus* (No. 34). Rome, Pinacoteca Capitolina

118 (*above right*). Follower of Rubens, *Romulus and Remus with the Wolf*.
Sweden, Private Collection

119 (*below right*). Rubens, *Romulus and Remus suckled by the Wolf*,
drawing after the ancient statue. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana





120. ? After Rubens, *The Nurture of Romulus and Remus*, oil sketch (No. 35, copy 2).
Philadelphia, Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection



121. ? After Rubens, *The Nurture of Romulus and Remus* (No. 35, copy 1).
Formerly Potsdam-Sanssouci, Bildergalerie, now lost



122. ? After Rubens, ? *The Origin of the Lupercalia* (No. 36, copy). Oslo, Nasjonalgalleriet



123. Willem Panneels after Rubens, *Two Studies for a Rape of the Sabines*, drawing (No. 38, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst



124. Willem Panneels after Rubens, *The Rape of the Sabines*, drawing (No. 39, copy). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst



125. Rubens, *The Rape of the Leucippides*. Munich, Alte Pinakothek



126. Rubens, *The Rape of the Sabines*, drawing (No. 37). Whereabouts unknown

127 (below). Rubens, *The Rape of the Sabines* (No. 40). London, National Gallery





128. Detail of Fig. 127



129. Detail of Fig. 127



130. Detail of Fig. 127



131. Detail of Fig. 127



132. ? Rubens, *The Rape of the Sabines*, oil sketch (No. 40a) in photograph taken in 1930s



133. ? Rubens, *The Rape of the Sabines*, oil sketch (No. 40a). Whereabouts unknown



134. Aegidius Sadeler after Denys Calvaert,
The Rape of the Sabines, engraving

ROMA NOVVS SABAT IAM MOENIVS ATQ; VIRGIVM IIII AVSPICIO RAP IAE VINERE SABINAE
 HORRIBE NEM ITIBVS SPO ENAY VLLA NOVAE BVMALIVM FORTV PERPIVANTU SANO
 1640 Sadeler sculp. J. Sadeler del.



135. After Rubens, *The Rape of the Sabines* (No. 40a, copy). Whereabouts unknown



136. After Rubens, *The Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines* (No. 41, copy 1). Whereabouts unknown



137. Philips Galle after Joannes Stradanus, *The Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines*, engraving



138. Rubens and studio, *The Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines* (No. 41).
Munich, Alte Pinakothek



139. Rubens, *The Rape of the Sabines*, oil sketch (No. 42b).
Antwerp, Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas Belgique (Huis Osterrieth)



140. Rubens, *The Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines*, oil sketch (No. 43c).
Antwerp, Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas Belgique (Huis Osterrieth)



141. After Rubens and G. de Crayer, *The Rape of the Sabines* (No. 42, copy 1).
Madrid, Museo del Prado, deposited in Barcelona, University



142. After Rubens, *The Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines* (No. 43, copy 1).
Madrid, Museo del Prado, deposited in Barcelona, University



143. Detail of Fig. 139



144. Detail of Fig. 139



145. Detail of Fig. 140



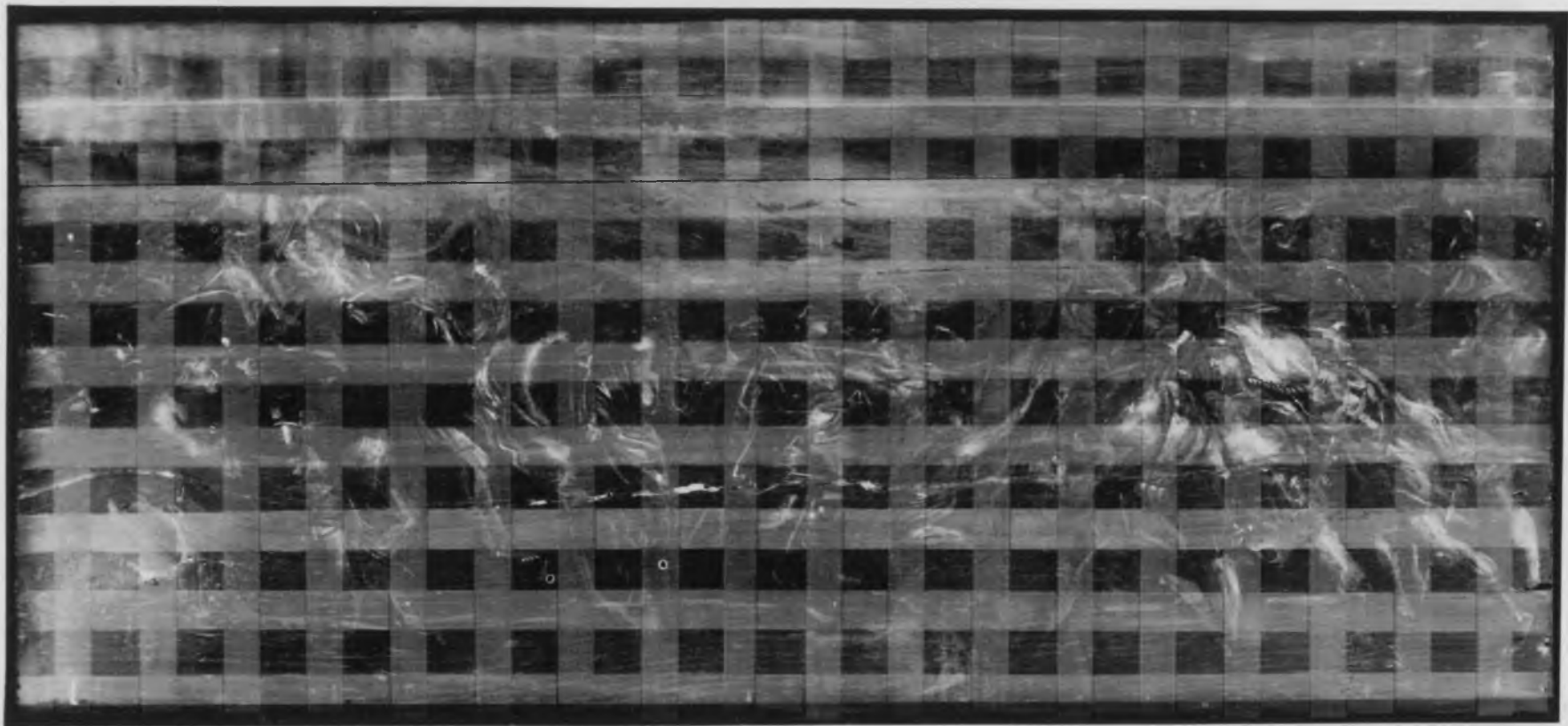
146. ? Rubens, *The Rape of the Sabines*, oil sketch (No. 42a). Whereabouts unknown



147. After Rubens, *The Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines* (No. 43, copy 2). Whereabouts unknown



148. Rubens, *The Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines*, oil sketch (No. 43a).
Philadelphia, Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection



149. X-ray photograph of No. 43a



150. Detail of Fig. 148



151. ? Rubens, *The Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines*, drawing (No. 43b). Cleveland, Museum of Art



152. B. Pinelli after Rubens, *The Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines*, drawing (No. 43a, copy 1). Whereabouts unknown



153. ? Rubens, *Mars and Venus*, drawing, detail of verso of No. 43b.
Cleveland, Museum of Art



154. Rubens, *The Rape of Lucretia* (No. 44).
Formerly Potsdam-Sanssouci, Bildergalerie, now lost



155. Detail of Fig. 154



156. Rubens, *Study for the Figure of Tarquin*, drawing (No. 44a). Madrid, Real Academia de San Fernando



157. Detail of Fig. 154



158. Detail of Fig. 154



159. Antonio da Cremona,
The Fortitude of Scaevola, engraving



160. Polidoro da Caravaggio,
The Fortitude of Scaevola, fresco.
Rome, Villa Lante



161. ? Rubens, or Van Dyck after Rubens, *The Fortitude of Scaevola*, drawing (No. 45).
London, British Museum



162. Rubens, *The Fortitude of Scaevola* (below), drawing (No. 46a).
Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett



163. Studio of Rubens, *The Fortitude of Scaevola* (No. 46, copy 1). Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum



164. After Rubens, *The Fortitude of Scaevola*, oil sketch (No. 46, copy 2). London, Private Collection



165. ? Rubens, *The Fortitude of Scaevola*, oil sketch (No. 46b). Moscow, Pushkin Museum



166. Gonzales Coques, *Artists' Feast*, detail (No. 46, copy 5). Paris, Musée du Petit Palais



167. Willem Panneels after Rubens, *Study of an Arm*, drawing (No. 46, copy 12). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst



168. David Teniers II, *Artist's Studio*, detail. Raby Castle, Steindorp, Durham, Lord Barnard



169. ? W. van Haecht, *Picture Gallery* (No. 44, copy 2; No. 46, copy 4). Bute Collection



170. Rubens and studio, *The Flight of Cloelia* (No. 47). Formerly Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, now lost



171. Detail of Fig. 170



172. Rubens after Vicentino, *Cloelia and Other Sketches*, drawing.
Paris, Musée du Louvre



173. Detail of Fig. 175



174. Detail of Fig. 176



175. ? Rubens and ? Jan Boeckhorst, *The Flight of Cloelia* (No. 48). Dresden, Gemäldegalerie



176. ? Rubens and ? Jan van den Hoecke, *The Flight of Cloelia* (No. 48b). Paris, Musée du Louvre



177. Rubens, *The Continence of Scipio*, oil sketch (No. 49c). Bielefeld, Professor A. Oetéke



178. ? Theodoor Boeyermans after Rubens, *The Continnence of Scipio* (No. 49; Copy 1). Whereabouts unknown



179. After Rubens, *The Continnence of Scipio* (No. 49; copy 3). Belgian Private Collection



180. After Rubens, *The Continnence of Scipio*, oil sketch (No. 49c, copy 1).
Whereabouts unknown (old photograph)



Dessiné par Borel
 Gravé par Dambrun
 CONTINENCE DE SCIPION.
 De la Galerie de S. L. S. Monseigneur le Duc d'Orléans.
 A. P. D. R.

181. Jean Dambrun after A. Borel after Rubens, *The Continnence of Scipio*, engraving (No. 49; copy 8)



SCIPIO AFRICANVS

182. Schelte à Bolswert after Rubens, *The Continnence of Scipio*, engraving (No. 49c, copy 4)



183. Rubens, *The Continnence of Scipio*, drawing (No. 49a).
Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett



184. Rubens, *The Continnence of Scipio*, drawing (No. 49b). Bayonne, Musée Bonnat



185. Rubens, *The Vindication of Tuccia*, drawing (No. 51). Paris, Musée du Louvre



*Da pater illasi tes tem Tiberine pudoris
Te mala, Iffalemy tu: de quogite nympham*

*Anquat vada rram crdra contenta, nefando
Delatus iudicio, prius huc non oia ferentem*

*Quasque potentia fore videntur, et comu
Pffleritas, quogite, fuy, & Tuccia crdite*

186. Theodoor Galle after Joannes Stradanus, *The Vindication of Tuccia*, engraving



187. ? Rubens, *The Death of Cleopatra* (No. 52). Potsdam-Sanssouci, Bildergalerie



188. Rubens, *Nero contemplating the Dead Agrippina*, drawing (no. 53). Bayonne, Musée Bonnat



189. *Impietas in parentes*, engraving. From J. van den Vondel, *Den Gulden Winckel der Kunstlievende Nederlanders*, Amsterdam, 1613



190. Cornelis Galle I after Rubens, *The Dying Seneca*, engraving for Seneca, *Opera*, ed. J. Lipsius, Antwerp, 1615



191. *Ancient Roman Bath Tub*, engraving. From J.J. Boissard, *Antiquitates romanae seu topographia romanae urbis...*, II, edn Frankfurt, 1627



192. 'Seneca' in his Bath, ancient statue with tub by N. Cordier.
Paris, Musée du Louvre



193. Rubens, 'Seneca', drawing after the ancient sculpture.
St Petersburg, Hermitage



194. X-ray photograph of No. 54



195. Rubens, *The Death of Seneca* (No. 54). Munich, Alte Pinakothek



196. ? Studio of Rubens, *The Death of Seneca* (No. 54, copy 2).
Whereabouts unknown



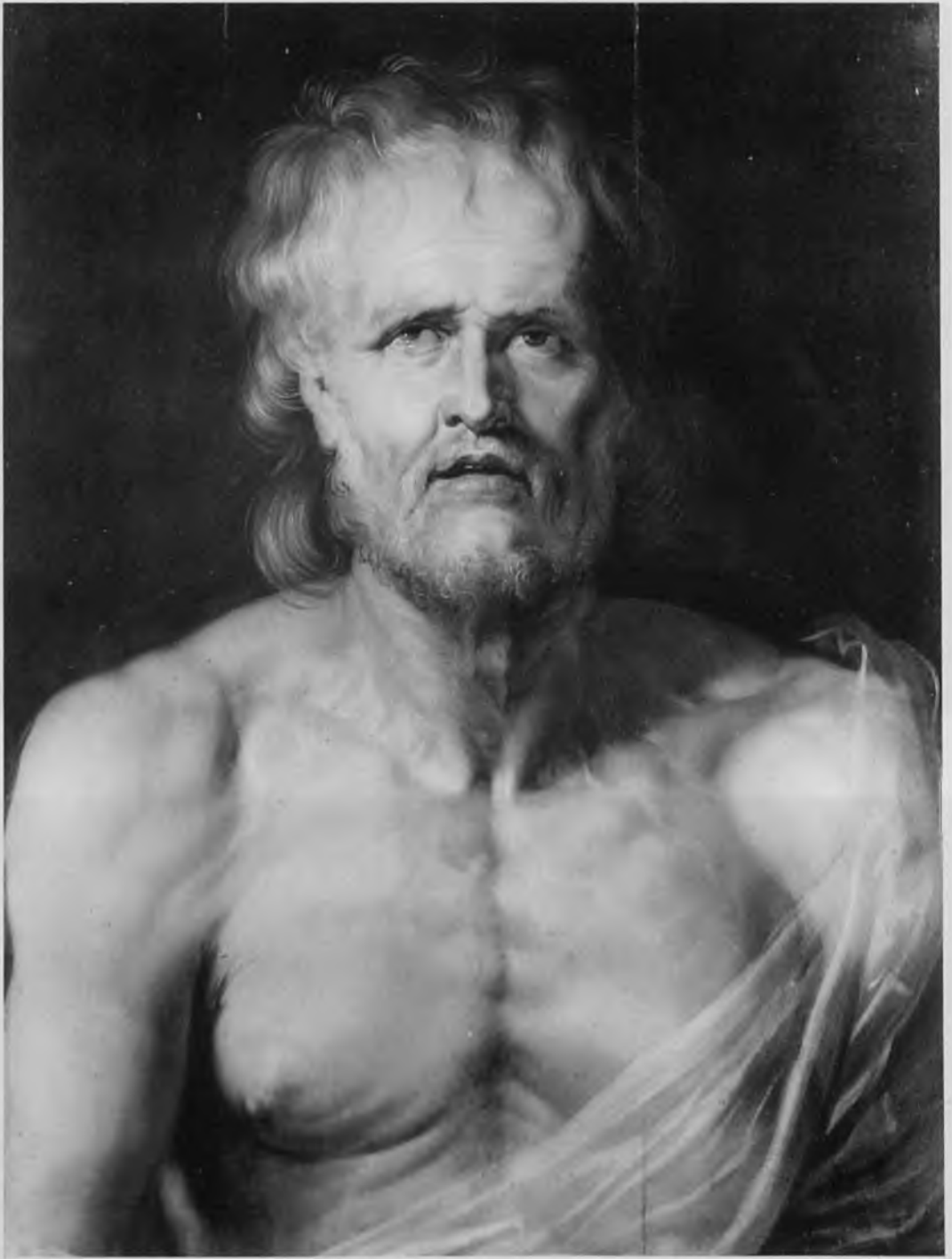
197. Alexander Voet II after Rubens, *The Death of Seneca*,
engraving (No. 54, copy 6)



198. Rubens and studio, *The Death of Seneca* (No. 54a).
Madrid, Museo del Prado



199. After Rubens, *The Death of Seneca* (No. 54b, copy 2).
Stockholm, Nationalmuseum



200. Rubens, *The Dying Seneca*. Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus



204. Rubens and Van Dyck, *St Ambrose and Theodosius* (No. 55). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



205. Van Dyck after Rubens, *St. Ambrose and Theodosius* (No. 55, copy 1). London, National Gallery



206. Rubens, *Head of a Bearded Man*. German Private Collection



207. Rubens, *Head of Youth in Armour*. Duisburg, Dr G. Henle



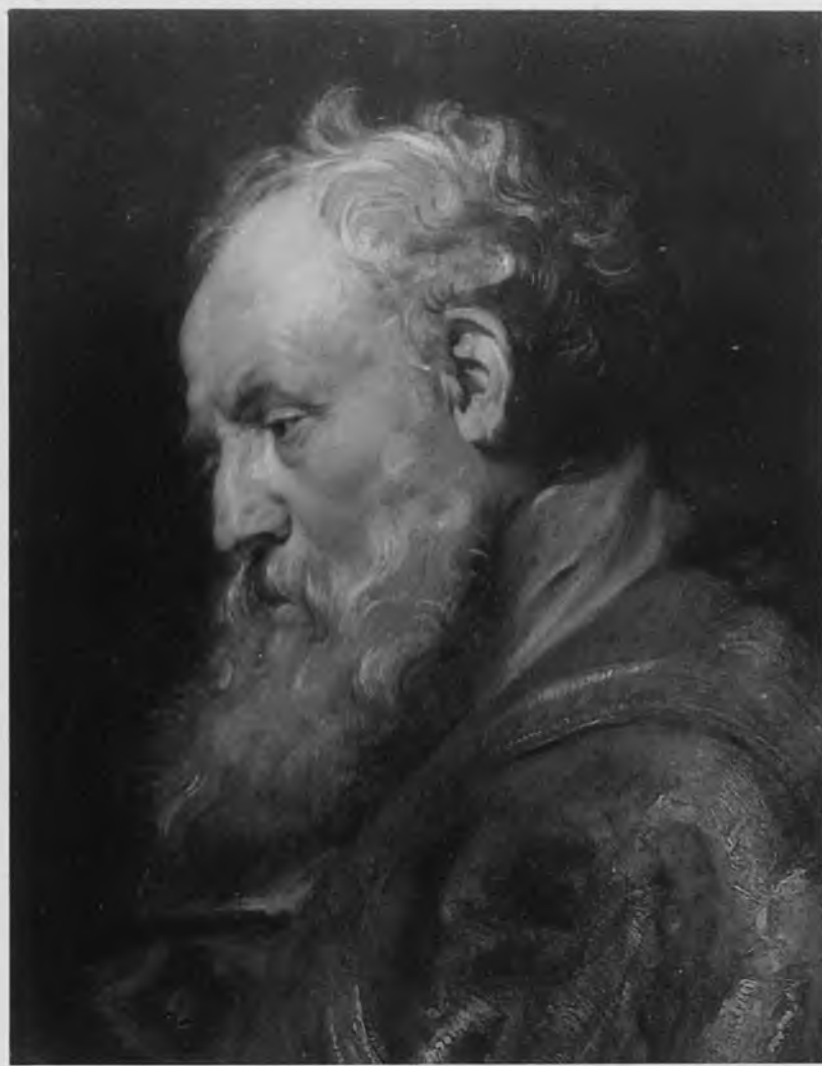
208. Detail of Fig. 204



209. Herman Gillis (or Gilis) after Rubens, *Heads of two Soldiers*, engraving (No. 55c, copy 3)



210. Detail of Fig. 204

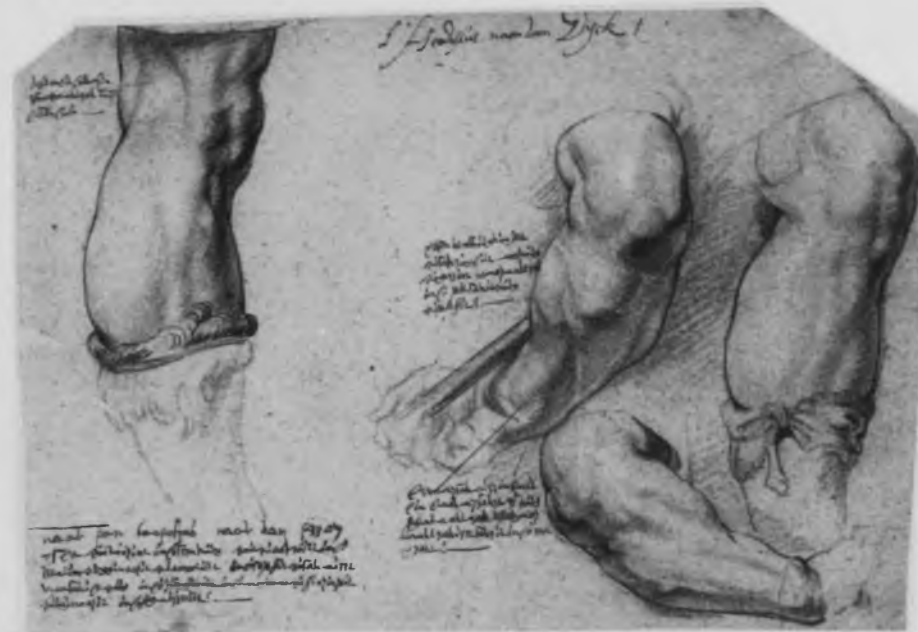


211. Rubens, *Head of an Elderly Man*. Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland



212. Philip Spruyt after Rubens,
St Ambrose and Theodosius,
 etching (No. 55a, copy)

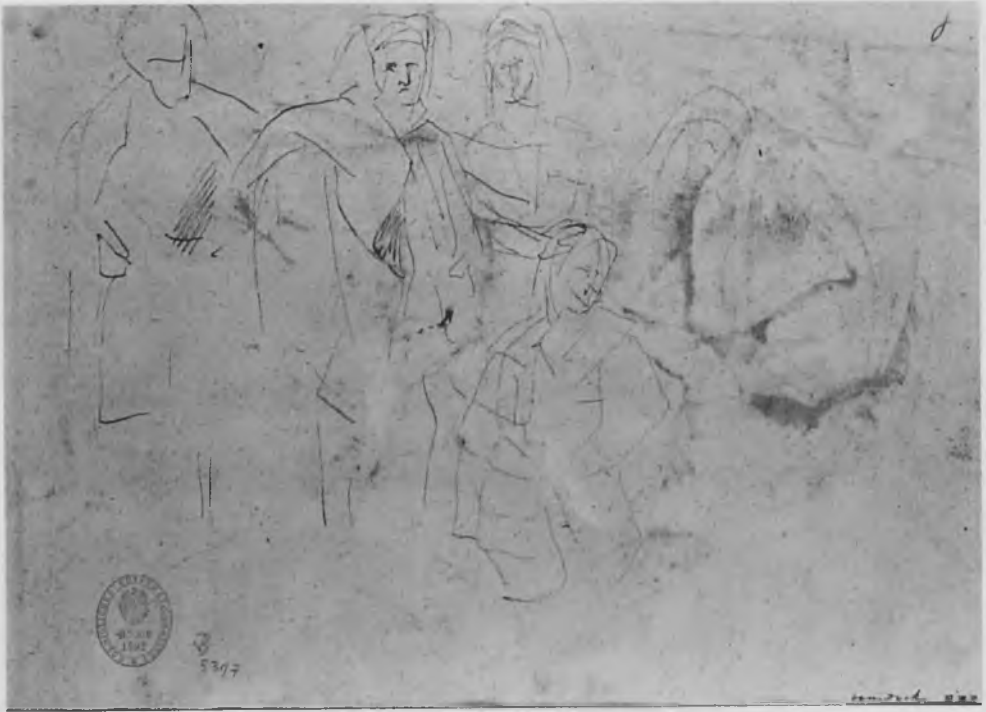
213. Willem Panneels after Rubens, *Studies of Arms and Legs* (No. 55, copy 15).
 Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst





214 (above). Rubens, with Jan Wildens,
Rudolf of Hapsburg and the Priest (No. 56).
Madrid, Museo del Prado





216. Rubens, ? Scene from Medieval History.
 Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett



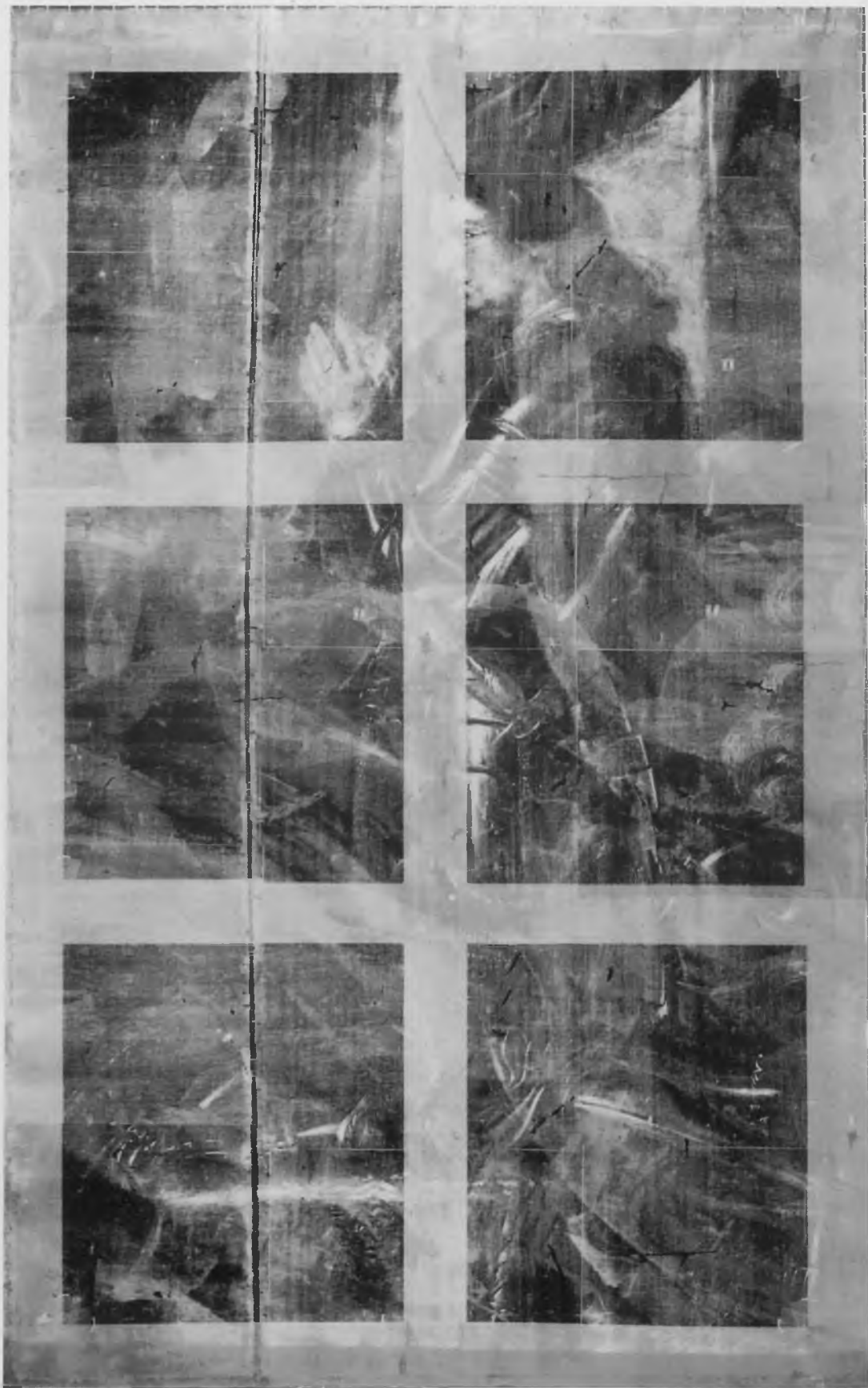
217. L. Gaultier, Title-page to J. Hordal,
Heroinae nobilissimae Ioannae Darc... historia,
 Pont-à-Musson, 1612, adapting Orléans monument



218. After Rubens, *Figure of Joan of Arc*,
 drawing (No. 57, copy 1).
 Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst



219. ? Rubens, *Joan of Arc*, drawing (No. 57a). Formerly Wroclaw, Museum Narodowe (then Breslau, Schlesisches Museum der bildenden Künste), now lost



220. X-ray photograph of No. 57



221. ? Rubens, *Joan of Arc* (No. 57). Raleigh, North Carolina, The North Carolina Museum of Art



222. Rubens, *The Battle for Tunis* (No. 58). Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz



223. Detail of Fig. 222



224. Rubens, *Studies for a Battle of the Amazons and of Hercules*, drawing. Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland



225. Rubens, *Battle Scene*, drawing. London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection



226. Detail of Fig. 222



227. Rubens after Leonardo da Vinci, *Battle of Anghiari*, retouched drawing. Paris, Musée du Louvre



228. Detail of Fig. 222