

CORPUS RUBENIANUM
LUDWIG BURCHARD

NL 97/105

PART XIII(1)
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

SPONSORED BY THE CITY OF ANTWERP
AND EDITED BY THE 'NATIONAAL CENTRUM VOOR DE PLASTISCHE KUNSTEN
VAN DE XVI^{de} EN DE XVII^{de} EEUW'
F. BAUDOUIN, *President* · C. VAN DE VELDE, *Secretary* · A. BALIS, *Treasurer*
L. DE PAUW-DEVEEN · N. DE POORTER · A. DE SCHRYVER · H. DEVISSCHER
P. HUVENNE · H. NIEUWDORP · M. VANDENVEN · H. VLIEGHE

RUBENS SUBJECTS FROM HISTORY

BY ELIZABETH McGRATH

VOLUME II
CATALOGUE & INDEXES

EDITED BY
ARNOUT BALIS



HARVEY MILLER PUBLISHERS

HARVEY MILLER PUBLISHERS
Knightsbridge House 197 Knightsbridge, 8th Floor London SW7 1RB

AN IMPRINT OF G+B ARTS INTERNATIONAL

© 1997 Nationaal Centrum voor de Plastische Kunsten van de 16^{de} en de 17^{de} Eeuw

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book
is available from the British Library

ISBN 0-905203-69-0

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

Composition by Jan Keller, London
Printed and bound by
BAS Printers Ltd Over Wallop Stockbridge Hampshire
Manufactured in Great Britain

CONTENTS

Catalogue Raisonné	page 9
Index I: Collections	333
Index II: Subjects	341
Index III: Other Works by or after Rubens mentioned in the Text	354
Index IV: Names and Places	365
Sources of Photographs	398



CATALOGUE



1. The Seven Sages disputing over the Tripod: Oil Sketch

Oil on panel; c. 38.5 × 50 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: Jean de Julienne (Paris, 1686-1767), sale, Paris (Remy-Julliot), 30 March-22 May 1767, lot 107 (as 'Les Sept Sages de la Grece, représentés à mi corps'), bought by M. Villeminot; his sale, Paris (Remy), 4 March 1776, lot 10, bought by Pierre Remy; ? Dulac, sale, Paris (Paillet-Delaroche), 5 April 1801, lot 80 (as 'Une réunion de plusieurs philosophes dans un temple, esquisse de la plus riche couleur...'); M. Pelletan (banker), Paris (d. 1803); sale, London (Christie's), 29-30 April 1803, lot 35 (as 'Assembly of Sages', from *Pelletan Collection*); sale, London (Farebrother), 9 February 1804, lot 68 (as 'Oblation of Sages'); sale, London (Christie's), 30 November 1804, lot 6 (as 'The Conspiracy of Catiline', style of Rubens); Mr Holcroft, sale, London (Squibb), 16 February 1807, lot 53 (as 'Cataline and the Conspirators—From the collection of Mons. Pelletan, Banker, at Paris, who had it from England').

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 1), Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection, no. 658; panel, with two pieces of wood inserted at the top, 34.2 × 50.3 cm. PROV. John G. Johnson collection by 1911. LIT. W.R. Valentiner, 'Gemälde des Rubens in Amerika', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, N.F. XXIII, 1912, p. 182; idem, *John G. Johnson Collection: Catalogue of a Collection of Paintings and Some Art Objects, Flemish and Dutch Paintings*, II, Philadelphia, 1913, p. 162; idem, *The Art of the Low Countries*, New York, 1914, p. 177; John G. Johnson Collection: *Catalogue of Paintings*, Philadelphia, 1941, p. 36, no. 658 (as *school of Rubens*); Valentiner, *America*, 1946, p. 156, no. 28 (as *Rubens*, c. 1612); Goris—Held, *America*, 1947, pp. 52-53, no. A.72; B. Sweeny, *Catalogue of Flemish and Dutch Paintings*, John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, 1972, p. 76; Held,

Sketches, 1980, I, pp. 643-644, no. A10 and II, fig. 492.

(2) Painting (Fig. 2), whereabouts unknown; panel, 30 × 47 cm. PROV. ? Sanssouci (cat. 1773, no. 556); Rechtsanwalt Dr Friedmann, Berlin; sale, Berlin (Cassirer and Helbig), 23 November 1927, lot 70, sold to Schwersenz; dealer Goudstikker, Amsterdam, 1939. LIT. ? M. Oesterreich, *Description de tout l'intérieur des deux Palais de Sans-Souci, de ceux de Potsdam et de Charlottenbourg...*, Potsdam, 1773, p. 126, no. 556 ('Rubens. Une Esquisse où Rubens a représenté Paul et Barnabas; la Composition est riche et pleine de feu; c'est à peu de chose près la manière de Jaques [sic] Jordaens'); Held, *Sketches*, 1980, I, p. 644 under no. A10.

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue*, 1829-42, II, p. 188, no. 664; Held, *Sketches*, 1980, I, pp. 643-644, under no. A.10; McGrath, *Alcibiades*, 1983, p. 231 and n.19; Freedberg, *Christ after the Passion*, 1984, p. 8 and n.12. (See also under Copy 1.)

The picture in Philadelphia (Fig. 1), and another of similar dimensions sold at Berlin in 1927 (Fig. 2), record the Rubensian composition described in the catalogue of the Julienne sale (1767) as 'Les Sept Sages de la Grèce, représentés à mi-corps. Esquisse peinte sur bois...'. The Julienne sketch, whose ownership can be traced only until 1807, may be Rubens's lost original; however it could be identical with the Philadelphia painting, and this, although it is damaged and overcleaned, is too feeble to be anything but a copy, as also is the version sold at Berlin. The subject has been regularly misidentified, as 'The Conspiracy of Catiline' and as 'Paul and Barnabas at Lystra', the title usually, if uncomfortably, applied by modern scholars, Burchard included.² Held tentatively proposed 'St Paul before the unknown god at Athens';³ this at least explains the evident interest in a statue, but still conforms only imperfectly with the action represented. Indeed, noting that several of the figures in the Philadelphia picture

are related to heads sketched on a single sheet at Chatsworth (Fig. 3), which he attributed to Van Dyck,⁴ Held went on to suggest that the composition might be a pastiche. In fact the Chatsworth drawing may be by Rubens himself (as Jaffé has recently emphasized);⁵ the pictures (Figs. 1, 2) certainly record one of the more ingenious of the philosophical themes devised by Rubens around 1615.

The scene shows seven bearded men in loose, flowing robes—characteristic Greek philosophers—apparently moving up to a statue while variously gesticulating at it, at one another, and at the object which they surround: a golden basin, waist-high. The statue must depict Apollo, crowned with laurel and carrying his lyre, and the basin the top of a tripod. A painting recently come to light which clearly derives from Rubens's composition (Fig. 4) helps to establish these details.⁶ The subject is a story about those legendary moralizers of sixth-century Greece, the Seven Sages (Thales, Bias, Chilon, Solon, Pittacus, Cleobulus and Periander, or, according to Plato, Myson); it was for Valerius Maximus an example of humility (*animi moderatio*) and is told by, among others, Plutarch, Ausonius and (in several versions) Diogenes Laertius.⁷ A golden tripod dredged up by some fishermen of Miletus was judged to be intended 'for the wisest man' either because of the inscription to this effect that it bore (τῷ σοφωτάτῳ) or after a subsequent pronouncement of the oracle. Accordingly it was sent to the Milesian, Thales; he, however, declining the honour, passed it on to Chilon, with similar results. In this way it went in turn to each reluctant Sage until a judicious inspiration of the last, or of Thales when it reverted to him, offered it instead to the Delphic Apollo. A joint presentation of the tripod on the part of all the Wise Men is nowhere described, but is frequently implied.⁸ It was as a group that the Sages were associated with Apollo, to whom the number seven was sacred.⁹ Besides, there was a particular tradition of their meeting at Delphi to make dedications to the god, most notably

when they inscribed on the temple their famous maxims 'Know thyself', 'Nothing in excess' and so on—a summation of their wisdom and models for future oracular utterance.¹⁰ In any case a simultaneous representation of all seven Sages was not only appropriate, but essential in any picture that would illustrate not simply the end, but the whole point and moral of the story—the Sages' mutual regard and exemplary modesty.

Rubens's group are thus shown with gestures and expressions which suitably reflect different stages of discussion and deference over the tripod as well as the final solution, the dedication to Apollo, which two of them, probably Thales and Bias, are already recognizing and recommending. The artist was evidently not particularly concerned to make the Sages individually distinguishable; he knew 'authentic' portraits of several of them—indeed, among his drawings are copies, inscribed in Greek, after likenesses of Thales, Bias and Solon.¹¹ Rather he chose for the picture generalized 'philosophic' types. Hence the figure who appears third from the left, in a rather indecisive pose, looks Socratic (a trait more evident in the Berlin copy [Fig. 2], which may in some respects be closer to Rubens's original) to conform to that most immediately recognizable model of a philosopher. This kind of characterization was apt enough, given the confusion in the ancient accounts about the order of the reception of the tripod and the precise role of each individual in the story. It meant too that Rubens could exploit existing studies of venerable bearded heads that served equally for other contexts, particularly in the train of the Magi. The relationship of several of the Sages to heads not only on the sheet in Chatsworth already mentioned (Fig. 3), but on a print in the so-called *Livre à dessiner* engraved by Pontius was noted by Held, who also observed that the man on the far right has the features of one of the Magi in the *Adoration* of c. 1617 in Mechelen,¹² as well as the 'portrait' of Caspar, the Greek Ma-

gus, in the museum of Ponce.¹³ It might be added that the Sage nearest to him likewise appears in the Mechelen painting, while the next two are shown among the bystanders in the *Adoration* in Brussels (on the balcony),¹⁴ and that in Lyons.¹⁵ It is possible that at least some of the heads were specifically devised for the *Seven Sages disputing over the Tripod*; however, the composition itself is closely related to the half-length scene of *Christ and the Adulteress* in Brussels,¹⁶ with Christ's pose and gesture rather ingeniously transferred to Thales.¹⁷ Probably the *Seven Sages* is the later adaptation; the Brussels picture surely dates from before 1615,¹⁸ whereas, as is argued below, there is reason to believe that the *Seven Sages* was conceived shortly after that.

The theme was effectively Rubens's invention as a pictorial subject. Undoubtedly it is connected with the artist's interest in illustrating philosophers, but especially with his concern during the second decade of the century with representations of half-length figures in instructive dilemmas, suitable for the display of character heads and for the participation of the studio.¹⁹ The tripod story, with its debate, resolution and final moral, may simply have struck Rubens as ideal while he read the copy of Diogenes Laertius's *Lives* which he acquired in 1615.²⁰ True, there is a visual precedent of sorts, for the dedication of a 'table' to the temple of the sun god by the fishermen who found it appears in the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* as a prefiguration of the Presentation of the Virgin,²¹ but this remote image, in which the Sages do not feature, is certainly unrelated to Rubens's scene. The Seven Wise Men are occasionally depicted in the Renaissance, but only as separate 'portraits' of philosophers.²² One such series, however, is perhaps relevant—the impressive prints which Jacob de Gheyn III published in 1616. For his characterizations of the philosophers de Gheyn followed the *Ludus Septem Sapientum* of Ausonius;²³ he thus portrayed Thales (Fig. 5) sitting next to the tripod, with a rising sun (for Apollo) and what is presum-

ably a Milesian seascape behind. It is tempting to suppose that this series, and the *Thales* in particular, influenced Rubens's formulation of his subject.

A date of around 1616 would accord with other evidence about the sketch. There is no record of a final painting by Rubens; the picture already mentioned as deriving from the sketch (Fig. 4) appears to be an independent variation, rather than a reproduction of a Rubensian composition. Hans Vlieghe suggested to me that the author might be Pieter Soutman, comparing the signed picture of the *Evangelists* in Stockholm.²⁴ Here the head of St Luke particularly resembles the Sage on the far right. This attribution seems most convincing, especially when it is recalled that Soutman's *Evangelists* is itself based on a sketch by (or after) Rubens which that artist appears never to have developed into a painting, and which follows the basic disposition of the figures while significantly modifying their dress and individual character.²⁵ So too in the case of the *Seven Sages* painting (Fig. 4) are heads and costumes freely altered, presumably to introduce colour and variety. These changes must be Soutman's, not Rubens's; not only do they not enhance, they positively detract from the presentation and expression of the subject. The Wise Men have head-dresses and features borrowed indiscriminately from 'exotic' Rubensian prototypes, especially the Jews and Pharisees who appear in other half-length compositions.²⁶ Particularly incongruous is the modification of the Sage whom Rubens characterized as 'Socratic'; he becomes a variation on St Augustine from Rubens's *Real Presence in the Holy Sacrament* in St Paul's, Antwerp;²⁷ peculiarly ecclesiastical as an ancient philosopher. The gestures too, which in the sketch add up to an argument that ends before the statue of the god, are disconcertingly dissipated. The figure in the foreground no longer directs attention to the image of Apollo; the single Sage who now turns to it simply glances up, as if accidentally; the whole movement of the group is lost

in confusion. Finally there is the tripod, recognizable in the context, but no longer conforming to the antique type which Rubens obviously had in mind when he made his sketch. For the knobs shown on the basin in both the copies (Figs. 1, 2) surely represent lions' heads, as in the example that the artist later drew in his letter on tripods to Peiresc.²⁸

Soutman's picture, and its peculiar relationship to Rubens's sketch, suggests some conclusions about this latter. There is a tradition that Soutman was a pupil of Rubens; even if he took on an apprentice in Antwerp in 1619-20, when presumably he was an independent master, he undoubtedly did some work under Rubens's direction in the later 1610s and early 1620s.²⁹ Most probably he saw the sketch in Rubens's studio, though his own painting could have been made some time after this. It is too crude an interpretation to have been produced in Rubens's workshop, whether by a pupil or a collaborator. Moreover, it seems unlikely that Soutman would have ventured an independent variation on an idea of Rubens, unless he knew it was one that the master himself had abandoned. It may then be that the lost sketch of the *Seven Sages disputing over the Tripod* was for a project or commission of c. 1616 which for some reason was never carried out, and that the sketch remained in Rubens's studio. It was, therefore, perhaps one of the batch of sketches listed together in the inventory of 1640.³⁰

In the past, references in inventories to the lost sketch of the *Seven Sages dedicating the Tripod* were confused with others to a composition which was rediscovered only in 1977 in the Prado (Fig. 6).³¹ This work, a sketch on paper of c. 1635, consists of a series of figures copied from different compositions by Primaticcio and combined into a single scene; most probably the figures were directly based on the drawings brought back from Paris in the mid 1630s by Abraham van Diepenbeeck.³² Described in the *Infantado* inventory of c. 1800 as 'Sabios de la escuela de Atenas',³³ it entered the museum from the Pastrana col-

lection in 1889 as 'Los Siete Sabios de la Grecia',³⁴ and it may indeed have been intended by Rubens as a picture of the Sages arguing over the tripod and then dedicating it at Delphi.³⁵ This work, and its relationship to Rubens's other copies after Primaticcio, will be discussed by Kristin Belkin and Jeremy Wood in their forthcoming volume on *Copies and Adaptations from Renaissance and Later Artists* (Volume XXV of the *Corpus Rubenianum* Ludwig Burchard).

1. The provenance given here might possibly be that for the sketch in Philadelphia, listed below as Copy 1.
2. Cf. Freedberg, *Christ after the Passion*, 1984, p. 8.
3. Held, *Sketches*, 1980, I, pp. 643-644.
4. Pen and ink with some black chalk, 174 × 224 mm.; Chatsworth, The Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement. See Held, *Sketches*, 1980, I, pp. 598-599, 600-601, 644 and fig. 50. The drawing was published as by Rubens in M. Jaffé, 'Some Unpublished Head Studies by Peter Paul Rubens', *The Burlington Magazine*, XCVI, 1954, pp. 302-304, fig. 5.
5. [Cat. Exh.] *Old Master Drawings from Chatsworth* (International Exhibitions Foundation, 1987-88), Alexandria, Virginia, 1987, pp. 156-157, no. 97 (repr.).
6. Canvas (?), 127 × 180 cm. This picture, hitherto unpublished, is in a private collection in England. I am most grateful to Gregory Martin for providing me with a photograph and this information. Its provenance is as follows: Alphonse Allard, Brussels; 'Mme la Comtesse de X.'; sale, Paris (Charpentier), 19 June 1930, lot 41.
7. Valerius Maximus, *Dicta et facta* IV.i.ext.7; Plutarch, *Solon* 4; Ausonius, *Ludus Septem Sapientum*; Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae* I.27-28; I.31-32; I.82; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica* IX.iii. For other sources see Pauly—Wissowa, II, ii, 1923, s.v. *Sieben Weise*, esp. cols. 2248-51 and B. Snell, *Leben und Meinungen der Sieben Weise*, edn Munich, 1971, esp. pp. 114-127. The story is referred to by Peiresc in his correspondence with Rubens on the subject of tripods (Rooses—Ruelens, *Correspondance*, 1887-1909, V, pp. 324-325). For the catalogue of Sages see Pauly—Wissowa, II, ii, 1923, cols. 2243-47. Plato's list is given in *Protagoras*, 343A.
8. Only the scholiast to Aristophanes's *Plutus*, 9, specifies that the tripod was taken to the seven when they were gathered in one place and that they together agreed to its dedication; but the fact that ancient writers variously give the final decision to Solon, Bias and Thales would encourage the notion of a mutual effort. Not all classical

- authorities tell us that the tripod was dedicated at Delphi; sometimes it is simply said to have been offered to Apollo; elsewhere it is to the Didyman or Ismerian, not the Delphic, Apollo. Diogenes Laertius in fact provides alternative versions (*Vitae* I.28, I.29 and I.32). However, Renaissance authorities invariably opt for Delphi (e.g. J. Meursius, *De Athenis atticis* II.i in *Gronovius, Thesaurus*, 1697-1702, IV, col. 855) sometimes, admittedly, out of a confusion of the Sages' tripod with that of the Pythia (e.g. N. Conti, *Mythologia*, edn Padua, 1616, cap. x, pp. 184-185). Rubens is unlikely to have shared this confusion.
9. Cf. Plutarch, *De E delphico* xvii (*Moralia* 391F); *Quaestiones graecae* ix (*Moralia* 292E); also *Pauly—Wissowa*, II, ii, 1923, cols. 2247 and 2260.
 10. See, notably, Pausanias, *Graeciae descriptio* X.24; Pliny, *Historia naturalis* VIII.xxxii.119; Plato, *Protagoras* 343A-B (also *Charmides* 165A); Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica* IX.x; for further references see *Pauly—Wissowa*, II, ii, 1923, cols. 2251-52.
 11. For these drawings, in the British Museum, see *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, 1977, pp. 90-91, nos. 100, 102, 104 (all repr.), where the likenesses are said to be derived from Italian Renaissance medals. For the bust identified as Pittacus in Fulvio Orsini's collection see the drawing in the Louvre retouched by Rubens (*Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, 1975, pp. 179-180, no. C.13, C.13a; *Van der Meulen, Antique*, 1994, II, pp. 237-238, no. 209; III, fig. 426). For the supposed portrait of Solon on an ancient gem, reproduced in connection with Rubens's project for the gem book, see *Van der Meulen, Antique*, 1994, II, pp. 196-204, nos. 170, 170c, 170g, 172; III, figs. 331, 336, 340 and 341.
 12. *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 164.
 13. J.S. Held, *Museo de arte de Ponce. Catalogue, I. Paintings of the European and American Schools*, Ponce, Puerto Rico, 1965, pp. 150-151, no. 62.0300 and frontispiece.
 14. *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 192. For the drawing related to this and the head in the *Livre à dessiner* see *Mitsch, Rubenszeichnungen*, 1977, pp. 66-67, no. 28.
 15. *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 162.
 16. *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 54; also *Jaffé, Rubens*, 1989, p. 197, nos. 261, 262.
 17. Cf. also the pose of the protagonist in the near-contemporary *Devotion of Artemisia* (No. 13; Fig. 51).
 18. *Held, Sketches*, 1980, pp. 610, 644 dates it 1611-14; Oldenbourg's dating of c. 1612-13 seems slightly too early.
 19. Cf. *Oldenbourg, Rubens*, 1922, pp. 58-131. Images such as the *Tribute Money*, now in San Francisco (*K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 55; *Jaffé, Rubens*, 1989, p. 197, no. 260) and *Christ and the Adulteress* should presumably be seen as conveying primarily (semi-)secular morals, rather than a devotional message, such as seems to be emphasized by the use of the half-length format for epitaph paintings of the period. For these and their function see D. Freedberg, 'Rubens as a Painter of Epitaphs', *Gentse Bijdragen*, XXIV, 1976-78, pp. 51-71.
 20. For this see above, Volume I, Chapter II, pp. 63, 66.
 21. J. Lutz and P. Perdrizet, *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, Mulhausen, 1907, I, pp. 12, 125, 166, 188-189, 267, 312 and II, pls. 9, 100b, 102, 126, 129.
 22. *Pigler, Barockthemen*, 1974, II, pp. 341-342; *Ferrari, Filosofi*, 1986, p. 118, n. 96.
 23. This is evident from the inscriptions below and the motto assigned to each Sage, and is acknowledged on the title-page. Ausonius accounts for practically all the iconographic features, though the artist seems to have consulted Diogenes Laertius too, at least for *Solon*. For these prints see *Hollstein (Dutch and Flemish)*, VII, [n. d.], p. 194, nos. 10-17; *The Illustrated Bartsch*, LIII, ed. K.J. Hellerstedt and D.C. Wilkins, New York, 1985, pp. 192-202, nos. 8-15. Cf. N. van der Blom, 'De Latijnse teksten van De Scholier van Jan van Scorel', *Bulletin Museum Boymans*, VIII, 1957, p. 91 and I.Q. van Regteren Altena, *Jacques de Gheyn. Three Generations*, The Hague—Boston—London, 1983, I, pp. 119-121 and II, pp. 166-167, nos. 13-20; for related drawings see II, pp. 168-169 and III, pls. 243-247.
 24. *Nationalmuseum, Stockholm. Illustrerad katalog över äldre utländskt måleri*, Stockholm, 1990, p. 337, no. 343 (repr.); *Hairs, Sillage*, 1977, p. 57 and fig. 10.
 25. For this sketch, in Warwick Castle, see *Vlieghe, Saints*, 1972-73, I, pp. 72-73, no. 55, fig. 97; *Held, Sketches*, 1980, I, pp. 639-640, no. A32, (II, pl. 491) where it is regarded as of doubtful authenticity.
 26. Most notable perhaps are the analogies with the San Francisco *Tribute Money* (for which see above, n. 19).
 27. *Vlieghe, Saints*, 1972-73, I, fig. 99, no. 56.
 28. For these see M. van der Meulen, 'A Note on Rubens's Letter on Tripods', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXIX, 1977, pp. 647-651, figs. 61, 62.
 29. See *Hairs, Sillage*, 1977, p. 56; but also further H. Vlieghe in *Cat. Exh. Boston—Toledo* 1993-94, p. 164; *Balis, Studio Practices*, 1994, pp. 109-110, 124, n. 133. Balis has convincingly argued elsewhere that all of Soutman's prints after Rubens's designs were made in Holland and possibly only after Rubens's death: *Balis, Hunting Scenes*, 1986, pp. 46-49.
 30. *Muller, Collector*, 1989, p. 145.
 31. Watercolour on paper, 420 × 560 mm.; Madrid, Museo del Prado, inv. no. T-994. See M. Díaz Padrón, *Museo del Prado. Studia Rubenniana. I: Dibujos de Rubens en el Museo del Prado*, Madrid, 1977, pp. 3, 8, 9-14 (repr. in colour) 26-27; *Cat. Exh. Madrid*, 1977-78, pp. 133-134, no. 122 (repr.) For earlier discussions see *Rooses, Oeuvre*, 1886-92, IV, no. 796; *Alpers, Torre*, 1971, pp. 74-75.
 32. For the attribution of the drawings, in particular

an album in Brussels (Bibliothèque Royale, inv. no. S.V.76801-64) and the copies of the Galerie d'Ulysse which were used for the series of engravings published in 1633 (as *Les Travaux d'Ulysse*) by Theodoor van Thulden, see J. Wood, 'Padre Resta's Flemish Drawings. Van Diepenbeek, Van Thulden, Rubens and the School of Fontainebleau', *Master Drawings*, XXVIII, 1990, pp. 3-53. Previously it was assumed that these drawings were by Van Thulden; and they were retained as his work in the recent exhibition devoted to that artist (A. Roy in [Cat. Exh.] *Theodoor van Thulden* (Noordbrabant Museum, 's-Hertogenbosch — Musée des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg, 1991-92), Zwolle, 1991, pp. 116-130; but also pp. 99-110, where Sylvie Béguin assesses the evidence on both sides. See further the remarks of J. Wood in his review (*The Burlington Magazine*, CXXXIV, 1992, esp. pp. 327-328).

33. See *Alpers, Torre*, 1971, p. 75.
34. Loc. cit. For the history of the Infantado and Passtrana collections see *Alpers, Torre*, 1971, pp. 67-77.
35. As was proposed by Kristin Belkin and myself in a paper at the conference of the Association of Art Historians at Cardiff in March 1978, when we were unaware of the subject of the Philadelphia and ex-Berlin sketches (Figs. 1, 2); that Rubens had illustrated the theme already in the present composition (No. 1) perhaps makes this proposed interpretation more plausible. If it is right, then the two women in the Prado sketch should be interpreted as Delphic priestesses, and the lack of interaction between some of the five seated men should be taken to indicate their reluctance to accept the tripod. It has to be said, however, that the tripod itself is not obviously present, unless it is intended as the object into which the two standing 'Sages' are offering incense. Jeremy Wood adopted the title 'The Seven Sages at the Temple of the Delphic Apollo' in the article in *Master Drawings* cited above (in n. 32, pp. 30-31, fig. 26), but in characterizing the Prado watercolour as possibly retouched by Rubens, he left it unclear who was responsible for the 'invention' of the subject. In my opinion this work should retain its attribution to Rubens, as should the corresponding watercolour in the same format which shows *Andromache fainting*, in this case a copy after a composition by Primaticcio. See Díaz Padrón, *Studia Rubemiana* (op. cit. in n. 31), pp. 3-8 (repr. in colour; the subject, however, remains that of *Andromache fainting*); *Cat. Exh. Madrid*, 1977-78, p. 133, no. 121 (repr.). The best explanation I can offer at present is that Rubens evolved the 'scene' as an exercise when Diepenbeek brought back his copies of the Fontainebleau school decorations: having started out by selecting a group of philosophic-looking characters from among the drawings—and perhaps then being struck by the

resemblance of these characters to some of Jacob de Gheyn's *Seven Sages* (cf. Fig. 5)—Rubens playfully accommodated the figures to the theme of the dedication of the tripod, without, however, bothering fully to work this out, since the sketch was after all never a serious attempt at a composition for a picture.

2. Tomyris and Cyrus (Figs. 7, 11)

Oil on canvas; 205 × 361 cm.

Boston, *Museum of Fine Arts*. Inv. no. 41.40 (Juliana Cheney Edwards Collection).

PROVENANCE: ? Archduchess Isabella (1566-1633); ? Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand (1609-1641); ? sold in 1643 to unknown buyer;¹ ? dealer M. Musson, Antwerp, 1645;² Queen Christina of Sweden (1626-1689), in Palazzo Riario, Rome, by (probably) 1662;³ bequeathed in 1689 to Cardinal Deccio Azzolino; passed 1689 to Marchese Pompeo Azzolino (d. 1696); bought (with the collection of Christina) in 1696 by Prince Don Livio Odescalchi, Duke of Bracciano (d. 1713); bequeathed to his nephew, Marchese Baldassare Odescalchi; sold in 1721 to Philippe (le Régent), duc d'Orléans (1674-1723), displayed in Palais Royal, Paris; by descent to Philippe-Egalité (1747-1793), who sold it (with other paintings from the Orléans collection) in 1792 to Thomas Moore Slade (agent of Lord Kinnaird, and of Messrs Morland and Hammersley); bought in London by John Bligh, 4th Earl of Darnley (1767-1831) after 1795; Darnley family, Cobham Hall, Kent until 1919, when bought [from Colnaghi's?] by 6th Earl of Harewood for Harewood House, Yorkshire (from at least 1936 on loan to City of Leeds Public Art Gallery); consigned to ?dealer Douglas for sale in USA after the outbreak of war in 1939; purchased in 1941 by the museum.

COPIES: (1) Painting, perhaps by Theodoor Boeyermans (Fig. 12), pair to a *Continence of Scipio* (No. 49, Copy 1; Fig. 178), whereabouts unknown; canvas, 210 × 336 cm. PROV. ? Charles-Gaspard-Guillaume de Vintimille, Arch-

bishop of Paris (d. 1746; inv. 24 March 1746: cf. No. 49, n. 4); Mesdames Dumont de Frainays, Saint-Maur-lez-Fosses, near Vincennes (recorded 1831-33), ? bought in 1833 by Alexandre Lenoir (Paris 1761-1839), who claimed it was the original from the Orléans collection; A. Dusautoy, Paris (1867);⁴ ? Porges, Paris; dealer F. Kleinberger, Paris, mid 1930s until 1946 or later; Mme Paul Martin, sale, Versailles (Trianon), 14-15 May 1966, lot 165, repr. (still with *Contenance of Scipio*: lot 166). LIT. A. Lenoir, *Description historique et raisonnée d'une collection de tableaux...appartenant à mesdames Dumont de Frainays...*, Paris, 1831, pp. 16-24, esp. p. 23, n. 1 and edn Berlin, 1836, pp. 13-14;⁵ M. Rambaud, *Documents du Minutier central concernant l'histoire de l'art*, I, Paris, 1964, p. 615; Berger, *Tomyris*, 1979, pp. 32-33 and fig. 13.

(2) Painting, pair to a *Contenance of Scipio* (No. 49; Copy 2), probably made c. 1721 to replace the original, Palazzo Odescalchi, Rome; canvas, exact dimensions unknown, but approximately the same size as the original.⁶

(3) Painting, Skokloster Castle, Sweden. PROV. ? in Dresden, 1722. LIT. O. Granberg, *Drottning Kristinas Tafvelgalleri pa Stockholms Slott och i Rom*, Stockholm, 1896, pp. 45-46, no. 161.

(4) Painting, Dr R. Grebe, Zeltingen-Rachtig, Germany; canvas, 157 × 252 cm. PROV. 'Dépendent de la succession de M. C***', sale, Paris (Drouot), 19 February 1904, lot 1 (as *school of Rubens*); M. Ferrat, Meisental, France (1989). LIT. *Goris—Held, America, 1947*, p. 39, under no. 83.

(5) Painting, with the composition slightly expanded at the top, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 125.8 × 194.3 cm. PROV. sale, London (Christie's), 8 December 1994, lot 29 (as *after Rubens*: 'Salome with the head of John the Baptist').

(6) Painting, pair to a *Contenance of Scipio* (No. 49; Copy 5), Museo Ferrot-Moore, Cadaqués; canvas, 186 × 280 cm. PROV. Spanish private collection (1939), entered the Museum 1992.

(7) Painting, whereabouts unknown; paper, c. 35 × 57 cm. PROV. Antoine Coypel (1661-1722), sale, Paris (Hubert), 11 June 1777, lot 3 (as *school of Rubens*).

(8) Painting by Sir William Beechley, R.A. (1753-1839), whereabouts unknown; medium and dimensions unknown. PROV. Beechley sale, London (Christie's), 9 June 1836, lot 26.

(9) Painting of the heads of two men, whereabouts unknown; paper, 36.8 × 28 cm. PROV. sale, London (Sotheby's), 13 March 1935, lot 112 (as *school of Rubens*).

(10) Painting based on the heads of the two maids, Swiss private collection; paper mounted on canvas; 45 × 31 cm. LIT. *Bodart, Rubens, 1985*, p. 76, repr.; D. Bodart in *Cat. Exh. Tokyo etc.*, 1985-86, p. 30, no. 16 (repr. in colour p. 112) in French edn; p. 136, no. 21 (repr. in colour p. 72) in Japanese edn (as *Rubens*, c. 1614-18).

(11) Painting partly based also on the Pontius print (below, No. 3, Copy 1; Fig. 14), Attingham Park (photograph, Courtauld Institute Survey, no. 110 as *after Rubens*, 'David and Abigail'); panel, 61 × 68.5 cm. LIT. *Cat. Attingham*, 1985, no. 24.

(12) Drawing (Fig. 10), showing the heads of two young women to the left, Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, inv. no. 8.274. See No. 2b for more details.

(13) Drawing (Fig. 15) after three figures, attributed to Jordaens, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, inv. no. 2235. See No. 2a, Copy 2 for more details.

(14) Engraving by R. de Launay, in J. Couché, *Galerie du Palais Royal*, Paris 1786-1808, II, Rubens, no. 5, 136 × 210 mm. LIT. *V.S.*, p. 138, no. 20.

(15) Engraving by Thomas Dick (actually after Pontius?: No. 3, Copy 1; Fig. 14). LIT. *V.S.*, p. 138, no. 20bis; T. Borenius, *Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings at Harewood House and Elsewhere in the Collection of the Earl of Harewood*, Oxford, 1936, p. 64.

More copies will be found under No. 3.

EXHIBITED: *The Orléans Gallery, now exhibiting at the Great Room late the Royal Academy*, London, April 1793, no. 142; *The Orléans Gallery, now exhibiting at No. 16, Old Bond Street*, London, May 1795, no. 73; British Institution, London, 1821, no. 50; 'British Gallery', London, 1822; British Institution, London, 1853, no. 1; *Art Treasures of the United Kingdom*, City of Manchester Art Gallery, Manchester, 1857, no. 579; Burlington House, Old Masters, London, 1877, no. 99; *Flemish and Modern Belgian Painters*, Guildhall, London, 1906, no. 89; *National Loan Exhibition*, Grafton Gallery, London, 1909-10, no. 30 (repr.); *Exposition d'art ancien. L'art belge au XVIIe siècle*, Palais du Cinquentaenaire, Brussels, 1910, no. 407; *A Tribute to Rubens*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, December 1977-February 1978 (no cat.); *The Age of Rubens*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston—Museum of Art, Toledo (Ohio), September 1993-April 1994, no. 24.

LITERATURE: I.M. Silos, *Pinacotheca sive romana pictura et sculptura*, Rome, 1673, p. 63, epigram CXII;⁷ L.F. Dubois de Saint-Gelais, *Description des tableaux du Palais Royal*, Paris, 1727, p. 410; M[...] D[...], *Voyage Pittoresque de Paris...*, Paris, 1778, p. 106 ('Grand Salon', Palais Royal); L.-V. Thiéry, *Guide des amateurs et des étrangers voyageurs à Paris*, I, Paris, 1787, p. 257 ('Grand Sallon à la lanterne': with *Contenance of Scipio*); A. Cunningham, *Life of Sir David Wilkie*, London, 1843, I, pp. 180-181 (reference in Wilkie's 'Journal' for 1808); J.P. Neale, *Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen*, II, 1819, s.v. *Cobham Hall*, no. 1; W. Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting*, London, 1824, I, p. 168, no. 5; *Smith, Catalogue, 1829-42*, II, pp. 206-207, no. 745 and IX, p. 315; A. Lenoir, *Description historique et raisonnée d'une collection de tableaux... appartenant à mesdames Dumont de Fraignays...*, Paris, 1831, pp. 16-24, esp. p. 23, n. 1 and edn Berlin, 1836, pp. 13-14; *Mariette, Abécédario, 1851-60*, V, pp. 116-117; *Waagen, Treasures*, 1854, II, p. 502, no. 5 (Orléans Gallery) and III, p. 23, Rubens no. 1; W. Bürger, *Trésors d'art en Angleterre*, edn Paris, 1865, pp.

183-184; G. Campori, *Raccolta di cataloghi ed inventarii inediti...*, Modena, 1870, p. 371 (inv. 1689); *Rooses, Oeuvre*, 1886-92, IV, pp. 3-5, no. 791; O. Granberg, *La galerie de tableaux de la reine Christine de Suède*, Stockholm, 1897, p. lxxxiii (inv. 1721); *Burckhardt, Rubens*, 1898, pp. 151-152; *Michel, Rubens*, 1899, II, pp. 203-204, 313; *Rooses, Vie*, 1903, II, pp. 385-386; *Dillon, Rubens*, 1909, pp. 146, 151-152, 176, 232 and pl. CCC; M. Rooses in *Onze Kunst*, January 1911, p. 9; *Trésor de l'art Belge au XVIIe siècle*, I, Brussels—Paris, 1912, pl. 24; C. Stryienski, *La galerie du Régent Philippe, duc d'Orléans*, Paris, 1913, pp. 112-113, 137, 188, no. 468; *Tessin, Studieresor*, 1914, p. 185; K.d.K. ed. *Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 175 (as c. 1616-18); T. Borenius, *Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings at Harewood House and Elsewhere in the Collection of the Earl of Harewood*, Oxford, 1936, pp. 63-64, no. 117 (as 1623-24); C. Janson, 'L'influence de Véronèse sur Rubens', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., XVII, 1937, p. 28; C.C. Cunningham, 'A Great Rubens comes to the Museum', *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, XXXIX, 1941, pp. 35-40; B.K. McLanathan, *Queen Tomyris and the Head of Cyrus*, Boston, 1945 (pamphlet); *Goris—Held, America*, 1947, p. 39, no. 83 (as c. 1629); W.G. Constable, 'Rubens in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston', *Miscellanea Leo van Puyvelde*, Brussels, 1949, pp. 131-132; *Denucé, Na Rubens*, 1949, pp. 13-14, doc. 21 and pp. 41-42, doc. 58; *Burckhardt, Rubens*, 1950, p. 74; *Larsen, Rubens*, 1952, p. 216, no. 38; H.S. Francis, 'The preliminary pen and ink drawing for the "Feast of Herod" by Peter Paul Rubens', *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, XLI, 6, 1954, p. 126 (as 'c. 1620, with studio help'); *De Maeyer, Albrecht en Isabella*, 1955, pp. 412-413, doc. 259 and pp. 413-414, doc. 260; F. Baudouin, 'Deux tableaux de Rubens de la collection de la Reine Christine: "Hercule et Omphale" et "La Mort d'Adonis"' in *Queen Christina of Sweden. Documents and Studies. Analecta Reginensia*, I, ed. M. von Platen, 1966, pp. 20, 30, n. 3; P. T. Rathbone, *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, London, 1970, pp. 118-119, repr. in colour (as 1622); R.A. In-

grams, 'Rubens and Persia', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXVI, 1974, pp. 194-197, fig. 35; Z. Maslinska-Nowakowa, 'Wizyta krolewska Wladyslawa Wazy u Rubensa a grupa wschodnich panow w obrazie "Krolowa Tomyris"' ('The Visit of Prince Vladislav Vasa to Rubens and the Group of Oriental Lords in the picture "Queen Tomyris"') in *Rubens, Nidulandy i Polska*, Lodz, 1978; *Belkin, Costume Book*, 1978, pp. 51, 55, 56, 91, 121, 122, 150, 170; *Berger, Tomyris*, 1979, pp. 4-35; J.A. Chrościcki, 'Rubens w Polsce', *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, XII, 1981, pp. 212, 218; *Meesters der Schilderkunst*, 1980, I, p. 136, no. 32 (as 1616-17; painted almost entirely by Van Dyck and others, among them *Jordaens*); M. Facos, 'Rubens's "The Head of Cyrus Brought to Queen Tomyris": an Alternative Interpretation', *Rutgers Art Review*, VIII, 1987, pp. 39-53; *Bodart, Rubens*, 1985, p. 176, no. 446 (repr.); *Jaffé, Rubens*, 1989, p. 244, no. 510, repr. (as 1618-19); *Flemish Paintings in America (Flandria extra muros)*, ed. W.A. Liedtke, Antwerp, 1992, p. 366; M.E. Wieseman in *Cat. Exh. Boston—Toledo*, 1993-94, pp. 281-284, no. 24 (repr. in colour).

This opulent composition presents a tale, first recorded in Herodotus, which was for Valerius Maximus an example of justified retribution, for Dante an instance of pride humbled and for Justus Lipsius a lesson in the fickleness of fortune.⁸ Tomyris, queen of the Massagetae, exacts vengeance on the Persian king Cyrus, who has treacherously imprisoned and caused the death of her son.⁹ She stands, veiled in black—a widow mourning her child—but otherwise regally attired in jewels, brocade and ermine-trimmed velvet, and looks down thoughtfully as a young servant suspends her enemy's severed head over a basin of blood. A group of soldiers and courtiers witness the deed (Fig. 7) and, except for the wide-eyed standard-bearer, betray little surprise or horror. The gory punishment, after all, is due fulfilment of the pledge which, according to Herodotus, Tomyris made when Cyrus captured her son, that if he was not

returned alive she would give the king satisfaction in blood.¹⁰ Accordingly, when Cyrus was subsequently defeated and killed, the queen commanded his head to be brought and immersed in a vessel (literally: a skin or bag, *askos*) of human blood, exclaiming—as the Latin writers add, and as Rubens had inscribed on Pontius's print (Fig. 14)—'Blood you ever thirsted for; take your fill of blood' ('Satia te sanguine, quem semper sitisti').¹¹

The subject seems to have entered the pictorial repertory in a religious context, with Tomyris a type of the Virgin victorious over Satan, a pagan parallel to Judith and Jael, carrying sword and Cyrus's head.¹² Tomyris also featured, the head her usual attribute, in medieval and Renaissance series of female Worthies,¹³ and appears, with companions of either sex, as a representative of Fortitude in a tapestry cycle of the Triumph of the Virtues woven at Brussels c. 1535 (*text ill.* 5).¹⁴ In some cases she is shown within a narrative scene, for example in Georg Pencz's cycle of engravings where, improbably naked, she prepares to plunge Cyrus's head, which she herself has cut off, into a bag held open by a soldier,¹⁵ or in the edition of Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus* published at Berne in 1539, where, now regally clothed, she simply grasps the head by the hair and helps the executioner open the bag of blood.¹⁶ The story sometimes served as a justice scene, with Tomyris representing the judiciary.¹⁷ But it could also form the last episode in sixteenth-century tapestry cycles of the life of Cyrus, showing the ultimate humiliation of the great king after his death on the battlefield.¹⁸ And as an *exemplum* of Cyrus's fate, it might be paired with other episodes illustrating reversed fortunes.¹⁹ A message of this kind, specifically directed at the godless and tyrants, accompanied the illustration of the fate of Cyrus in Van Haecht's emblematic *Microcosmos* of 1579 (cf. Fig. 18).²⁰ This latter image, which Rubens certainly knew,²¹ not only shows the queen, as in the Boston painting, leading a group of her maids—one of whom peeps round from be-

hind—but likewise departs from classical authority to depict the head plunged into a basin lying on the ground. Rubens perhaps saw this as a device for illustrating the blood inside, especially given that his painting was evidently to hang low.²² In a general way too Rubens's composition recalls these narrative precedents which show Tomyris standing, looking down on her trophy. But they represented the queen as an Amazon on the battlefield, directly involved in, if not herself executant of, her revenge; in the print from the *Micrococosmos* (cf. Fig. 18) she even wields a scythe.²³

Rubens by contrast assembles his characters before a colonnade, in a palatial interior. This setting owes much to Veronese, as does the disposition of the figures—two unequal groups united by a kneeling figure who marks the focus of the action.²⁴ But, as Berger has emphasized, in showing the scene within a palace, Rubens was evidently influenced by a lost painting of Tomyris and Cyrus attributed to the Master of Flémalle and known in a number of copies (see Fig. 19).²⁵ The intended context of the original is unknown, though it seems likely that it was secular.²⁶ At any rate a copy was made for the Bruges Town Hall in 1610 by Pieter Pieters, presumably with Tomyris as exemplary protagonist.²⁷ But the same composition could evidently illustrate the fate of Cyrus, for the version which from at least 1587 hung in the Episcopal Palace in Ghent was in a chamber named 'the Cyrus room' after it.²⁸ Several other features of the Flémalle picture prefigure Rubens's in a way that can hardly be accidental. The attendant girl in particular, hands crossed above her waist as she holds a pet dog, was imitated by Rubens, and her costume seems to have suggested the use (further exploited in his later versions of the subject [Figs. 13, 23]) of Burgundian fashions for exotic orientals.²⁹ In the Master of Flémalle's painting, an older maidservant held a sort of arabic urn or jug in readiness for the severed head; this latter Tomyris clutched by the hair, while treading

underfoot her enemy's body—an adaptation of the formula for Judith and Holofernes, even if a soldier has decapitated Cyrus.³⁰ For Rubens the decapitation itself has taken place 'offstage', so that Tomyris can supervise the enactment of her vow with queenly dignity, a more decorous role than that allowed by earlier artists. She starts slightly at the grisly sight, opening her extended right hand, while her left arm raises the hem of her dress to avoid contact with the bloody basin.³¹ In fact the queen's attitude, right to the fingertips, was taken over from a figure from the *Theuerdank* which Rubens had copied in his *Costume Book*.³² As Belkin and Ingrams have pointed out, the artist evidently turned to this compilation as well as to other costume studies to produce what Waagen chose to describe as 'a feeling of repose and a pomp of costume agreeing with the habits of the Orientals'.

If Tomyris herself seems to be modelled on portraits on ancient coins of near-eastern queens,³³ the other figures are more colourful than authentic. Some of the foremost group of men (Fig. 7) seem to derive from Hungarian or Polish cavalymen,³⁴ while the stout and turbaned 'Turk' is that favourite 'oriental' character whom Rubens used for Nicolaas de Respaigne when he painted him on his return from the Levant,³⁵ and whose most spectacular appearance is perhaps in the Antwerp *Adoration of the Magi* of 1624.³⁶ Interestingly, as Belkin observes, Rubens largely ignored the samples of real near-eastern costume collected in his *Costume Book* in favour of a late medieval look, at least for the female *Masagetae*.³⁷ He would have known perfectly well from Herodotus that, unlike their Persian neighbours, Tomyris's people were a barbarian tribe, not at all given to luxurious living or dressing.³⁸ He wittily suggested this by giving the maidservant with the dog and the high-waisted Burgundian dress a leopard-skin underskirt.³⁹ The furry necklines of her companions' dresses, the fur hat, cape and coat-trimmings of the three foremost men, even the ermine hemline of Tomyris's petti-

coat could be similarly interpreted. Thus, in a nice paradox which Veronese too would have relished, the supposed primitivism of Tomyris's race only provides for greater ornament. The composition is in fact embellished with details inspired by Veronese—the twisted Solomonic columns, especially appropriate as they had been brought from the near east,⁴⁰ the dogs and the soldiers, wearing armour vaguely early-Renaissance in design, and the halberdiers. These latter Rubens regularly introduces into grand or courtly settings; they appear, for example, as ancient Romans in the *Continence of Scipio* (No. 49; cf. Figs. 178, 179, 181).⁴¹

Burchard thought the Boston *Tomyris and Cyrus* might have been planned as a pendant to this lost *Continence of Scipio*. The subjects may indeed have been regarded as counterposed when the pictures were together in the collection of Queen Christina,⁴² and copies existed in the early eighteenth century which apparently presented them as a pair (Copies 1, 2 and 6, with their pendants: No. 49, copies 1, 2 and 5). But the different early provenance of the two paintings and their different intended viewpoint seem to rule out any such pairing as Rubens's intention.⁴³

The painting was dated c. 1623 by Rooses and most scholars after him (although in *Burchard—d'Hulst, Drawings*, 1963 it is dated 1616-18, and Held opts for c. 1620); c. 1623 was proposed on the basis not only of style but of particular references within the painting. The little dog in the arms of Tomyris's maid has even been identified with that in the *Birth of Louis XIII* from the Medici Cycle⁴⁴ and with the *chiene* taken by Rubens from Archduchess Isabella to Maria de' Medici as a present.⁴⁵ Since it is of a type often painted by Veronese, it need not be a portrait, but it points to a close relationship between the two pictures; indeed in the Medici Cycle painting the figure of Fecundity with Maria's cornucopia of children is in physiognomy quite close to Tomyris. More secure 'evidence' for a *terminus*, at least *post quem*, is provided by the two page-boys.

As has often been observed, these are likenesses of the artist's sons, and since their ages in the picture can hardly be less than eight and four respectively, they establish 1622-23 as its earliest possible date. It seems relevant too that the artist bought a new edition of Herodotus with the Greek text as well as a Latin translation on 28 June 1622.⁴⁶

Burchard's latest notes appear to date the Boston *Tomyris and Cyrus* slightly later, c. 1624. This would be consistent with the theory, posed by Maslinska-Nowakowa, that the 'Polish' costumes were inspired by those of the retinue of Prince Vladislav Vasa who visited the artist in that year.⁴⁷ That hypothesis would, however, be more plausible if similar costumes had not appeared both in an earlier drawing or sketch recorded in the sheet in St Petersburg (No. 2a, Copy 1; Fig. 9), and in a drawing at Windsor made as early as c. 1614-16 (Fig. 16).⁴⁸

In his important study, Berger concluded not only that the picture was made for Archduchess Isabella but that it had a particular political significance. He pointed out that on occasion Tomyris was among the ancient heroines invoked and represented in panegyrics to Isabella. In fact, with one exception,⁴⁹ the instances he cites relate specifically to the archduchess's skill in archery and to her feat in shooting down the popinjay in 1615; and, to underline the point, Tomyris appears in Amazonian dress, with bow and arrows. If Rubens had intended his picture to recall the comparison with Isabella he would surely have made Tomyris more of a *virago*—especially since she normally appeared as such in illustrations of her revenge (cf. Fig. 18). Berger further suggests that the picture alludes to Isabella as a belligerent foe of the Dutch in the hostilities renewed after 1621. If the archduchess commissioned the picture she may have seen Tomyris as an heroic female model. But I can hardly believe that she would have wished any very specific and temporary policy to be commemorated in a permanent painting, least of all by identification with the

vengeance against Cyrus. The precedent of the Flémalle version of the subject (cf. Fig. 18) is perhaps significant. The copy of this composition in the Spanish royal collection was to be given an honoured place in the *salón de los espejos* in the Alcázar, where Rubens's *Achilles among the Daughters of Lycomedes* hung as its pendant, and it was probably familiar to Isabella in her youth in Spain.⁵⁰ There, as elsewhere, the picture may have been seen as a story about Cyrus, inviting reflections of a general kind on fortune and the vanity of earthly power, and this could have been the 'meaning' taken from Rubens's version of the theme.⁵¹ At any rate the earliest descriptions we have of the Boston painting, by the dealers P. Christyn and Matthijs Musson in 1643 and 1645, imply that it is a picture of Cyrus.⁵² As such it was a suitable ornament to any princely palace. Still more importantly perhaps, the theme must have appealed to Rubens as a grand history scene demanding the kind of exotic costume, in which, as Cunningham and others have observed, the artist especially delighted in the early 1620s—witness the number of *Adorations of the Magi* painted around this time.

That Rubens's *Tomyris and Cyrus* was painted for the Archduchess Isabella is merely an assumption. We know only that a painting answering its description came from the Brussels Palace, from the collection of the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand, in 1643 and that he therefore probably inherited it from Isabella, since it is very unlikely that he had brought it from Spain. Even if it had belonged to the Archduchess, it need not have been commissioned by her or designed for her palace. There is, however, no evidence to support the recent suggestion by Facos that it was made instead for the Town Hall in Brussels and given in 1655 to Queen Christina.⁵³

In a picture of this size at this period it would have been natural for the artist's workshop to participate in the execution. But the Boston painting is surprisingly dull and flat in execution, even in the faces of the principal

figures. Moreover, the impressive effect that the composition makes is eroded by some infelicities in drawing—for example in Tomyris's left arm and especially in the placing of the servant who deals with Cyrus's head; the right foot of this boy is particularly inept. Some of the figures might seem to suggest distinctive (*studio*) hands; the maid looking down at Tomyris's left has the characteristic physiognomy, with eyes upturned at the extremities, which appears, for example, in the Dresden *Diana and her Nymphs returning from the Hunt*.⁵⁴ Burchard evidently thought that Jan Boeckhorst might have been responsible for the figures on the far left,⁵⁵ but this artist cannot have been in Rubens's studio in 1622-23.⁵⁶ Burchard attributed to Van Dyck the head of Cyrus and the kneeling youth who holds it.⁵⁷ The dating (1622-23) proposed here would equally exclude that artist's participation, but the notion that different members of Rubens's studio contributed individual sections or figures might account for a certain awkwardness. In the case of the kneeling boy the figure was perhaps outlined by a pupil using a drawing by Rubens of a model in this pose.⁵⁸ This figure may have been a late addition, since the boy was shown otherwise on the preparatory sketch.⁵⁹ Jaffé assigned the boy rather to Jordaens; but although this artist seems to have been associated with Rubens's workshop in the later 1610s,⁶⁰ he would hardly have been working as an assistant in Rubens's studio at the time the Boston painting was made.⁶¹ Other indications—in particular repeated figures and motifs—point to a composition carried out by pupils from a sketch by the master. In a general way the boys carrying the train recall those in the Mechelen *Adoration of the Magi*,⁶² while, as was already noted, the stout man in the centre reappears as the black king in the Antwerp *Adoration of the Magi*,⁶³ his appearance in that picture, largely painted by Rubens himself, underlines the role of the workshop in *Tomyris and Cyrus*. Some heads too are familiar from other paintings. For example the hatless sol-

dier in the centre figures in the *Adoration of the Magi* at Lyons,⁶⁴ as well as in the *Ambrose and Theodosius* in Vienna (No. 55; Fig. 204), while Tomyris's serving girls are variations on the maidservants in *The Devotion of Artemisia* of c. 1616 (No. 13; Fig. 51).⁶⁵ The hound which occupies the lower right corner was attributed by Glück (and Burchard) to Snyders, but it seems unnecessary to invoke any animal specialist.

A *pentimento* is visible below the snout of that dog. Another is apparent behind the profile of Tomyris, where her hair, or a veil, may originally have been shown. It could be that the painting has suffered from cleaning.⁶⁶

This composition was very influential, particularly as disseminated through the print by Pontius (Fig. 14), many copies of which exist.⁶⁷ Rubens was largely responsible for the subsequent popularity of the subject, and later illustrations of it almost invariably recall the present picture (or the Pontius print) in some feature—most often in the figure of Tomyris.

A number of works have been wrongly identified as studies for the Boston painting. One is the half-length bust of a woman mentioned by both Smith and Rooses.⁶⁸ Burchard assumed that this picture was one that he saw at Christie's in 1946 and 1954 and rightly judged a copy.⁶⁹ In 1977, however, a related panel, of much better quality and unknown to Burchard, appeared on the market.⁷⁰ Since this picture corresponds in dimensions and in its details to the painting known to Smith and Rooses it is almost certainly identical with it. If this were indeed by Rubens it would presumably be a study for the figure of Tomyris done from life, with a model dressed in fancy clothes.⁷¹ The woman wears a white satin dress, jewelled girdle and blue cloak with gold-embroidered lining. The dress does not, however, correspond in any respect to that worn by the queen in the Boston picture—although the neckline is closer to that of Tomyris in the Louvre painting (No. 4; Fig. 23); there is not even the widow's veil. On the other hand, the costume looks too specific for

a study done without any particular composition in mind. These factors alone would make it likely that it is a picture based on Rubens's image(s) of Tomyris by an artist in his entourage. The bland and 'finished' appearance of the painting (judging at least from photographs) certainly seems to confirm that it is not by Rubens himself.

Another 'preliminary study' for the Boston painting was proposed more recently by Bardart, but this picture showing the heads and shoulders of two young women and traces of a third figure behind them cannot in my view be by Rubens, or even a copy of a lost study by him. Rather it seems to be an adaptation of the figures of the maids in the final painting. Accordingly it is listed above as Copy 10.

Even the charming illustration of the two maids in the drawing in the Albertina (Copy 12; Fig. 10) is not, I think, a study by Rubens for the Boston painting but rather a copy after it. Still, as Burchard believed in the drawing's authenticity it is discussed below under No. 2b (while also listed above as Copy 12).⁷²

1. See letter of P. Christyn to M. Musson (16 December 1643): *Denucé, Na Rubens, 1949*, pp. 13-14, doc. 21 and *De Maeyer, Albrecht en Isabella, 1955*, pp. 412-413, doc. 259: 'het hooft van Cirus dat aen een Coninghinne gepresenteert wordt met vele figueren die daer inne mekuamen, dat seer trefelyk geschildert is'.
2. *Offered for sale to Amalia van Solms: memorandum of M. Musson (26 October 1645: Denucé, Na Rubens, 1949*, pp. 41-42, doc. 58; *De Maeyer, Albrecht en Isabella, 1955*, pp. 413-414, doc. 260, but see also Wieseman in n. 53 below: 'Een stuck van den koninck Sieres daer het hooft in syn bloet woort ghesteeken, met diefernte fuegieren, heel plaesant, van Rubens, het leven groet'.
3. See inventory, probably 1662 (Stockholm, Riksarkivet, Azzolinossamlingen K 441, vol. 48, fol. 50): *Berger, Tomyris, 1979*, p. 27; probably acquired by Christina in Antwerp, perhaps at the same time as the picture of Scipio (No. 49): see under No. 49, nn. 1 and 11; also, for the picture of Tomyris, C. de Bildt, 'Queen Christina's Pictures', *The Nineteenth Century and After*, LVI, 334, 1904, p. 1002.
4. Documentation in the Rooses file in the Rubenianum.
5. Despite Lenoir's assurances, bolstered by depositions and certificates of 1833-34 (copies of which

- are in the Roosees archives at the Rubenianum), this painting and its pendant *Continence of Scipio* are not the originals from the Orléans collection.
6. I thank David Jaffé for this information.
7. *TOMYRIS CYRI CAPUT IN SANGUINEM MERGIT. Rubens apud eandem* [i.e. Queen Christina]: Aere gravi, graviore ira generosior ardet/ Plusquam vir Tomyris, fervida & arma movet./ In Cyrum fertur: Scythisque phalangibus hostem/ Frangit, & invisum dissecat ense caput./ Nec satis iratae colla abscondisse: superbum/ Sanguine nam mersit terque quaterque caput./ Quem nimium, dixit, Rex illaudate, sitisti./ Imbuat infausch guttura anhela cruor./ Arte Rubens docta pulchre tantum exprimit irae: / Illa rubet Cyri sanguine, & ille suo./ Fama ingens, Regina, tuo tibi crevit ab hoste: / Maior at egregia surgit ab hac tabula'. ('TOMYRIS PLUNGES THE HEAD OF CYRUS INTO BLOOD...: Noble Tomyris—more than a man—is aflame with heavy bronze and heavier rage, and wages war fervently. She pursues Cyrus: her Scythian ranks break the enemy and she severs the hated head with her sword. Nor does it satisfy her anger to have struck the proud head from its neck: for she has plunged it three, then four times in blood. With these words: "You have thirsted excessively for this, infamous king, so let ill-omened gore fill your gasping gullet". Rubens has the knowledge and skill to express such anger beautifully: she redens in the blood of Cyrus, he in his own gore. Your great fame, my queen, was increased by your enemy; but it grows greater and pre-eminent through this picture'.) See ed. M.B. Bonsante, *Rome*, 1979, I, p. 63; II, pp. 64 and 332-333.
8. Herodotus, *Historiae* I.212-214; Valerius Maximus, *Dicta et facta* IX.x.ext.1 (*de ultione*); Dante, *Purgatorio* XII.55-57; Lipsius, *Opera*, 1675, IV, pp. 152-153 (*Monita et exempla politica* V.ii: *de fato: regna a Deo et reges tolli*). It is Lipsius's prime example of a ruler's reversal of fortune: Cyrus is conquered by a woman and comes to a hard end, his fate unexpectedly turning 'a summis ad ima'; it had been used in a similar sense in Boccaccio, *De casibus virorum illustrium* II.21. For Rubens's familiarity with Lipsius's *exempla* book, first published in 1601, see Volume I, Chapter III, pp. 69-72. For the story see also Lucian, *Charon* 13; Justin, *Historia philippica* I.8; Orosius, *Adversus paganos* II.7; and Boccaccio, *De claris mulieribus* xlix.
9. According to Herodotus (*Historiae* I.212) Cyrus allowed Tomyris's son, Spargapises, to defeat part of the Persian army. He then trapped him and his soldiers when they were subsequently incapacitated by the wine that he had cunningly left for them. After his capture Spargapises either committed suicide, or, according to Justin and Orosius, was actually put to death by Cyrus.
10. Herodotus, loc. cit. in n. 8.
11. The phrase appears in many variations, though not in exactly this form. Justin has 'Satio te, inquit, sanguine, quem sitisti cuiusque insatiabilis semper fuisti', Orosius has 'Satio te, inquit, sanguine quem sitisti' (loc. cit. in n. 8). Lipsius (op. cit. in n. 8, p. 153) has 'Satio te sanguine, quo expleri nequisti'. The words are reflected in Dante's 'Sangue sitisti, e io di sangue t'empio' (*Purgatorio* XII.57), as indeed they are in Silos's poem about the painting when it was in Christina's collection (above, n. 7). For the print after Rubens's composition see below, No. 3, Copy 1; Fig. 14.
12. See J. Lutz and P. Perdrizet, *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, Mulhausen, 1907, I, pp. 63, 171, 226-227, 294, 296 and II, pl. 60; also Berger, *Tomyris*, 1979, pp. 6-8 and figs. 3-4. On the theme in general see E.W. Braun in *Reallexikon*, III, 1954, cols. 906-908, s.v. *Cyrus*; Pigler, *Barockthemen*, 1974, II, pp. 344-345.
13. Berger, *Tomyris*, 1979, pp. 21-22. She is included too, for example, in a series of prints published in 1578 by H. Wierix illustrating heroes and heroines with severed heads of tyrants (*Maucquoy-Hendrickx, Wierix*, 1978-82, II, pp. 293-295, nos. 1636-1645, pls. 221-222). Tomyris is the last (no. 1645) in this series of five men and five women, biblical and classical tyrannicides.
14. Bennett, *Cat. Exh. Tapestry*, 1976, no. 20 (repr.): she is standing, about to dip Cyrus's head into a vessel of blood.
15. Bartsch, VIII, 1854, p. 340, no. 70; *The Illustrated Bartsch*, XVI, ed. R.A. Koch, New York, 1980, p. 106, no. 70. See the comments of P. Emison in [Cat. Exh.] *The World in Miniature. Engravings by the German Little Masters. 1500-1550* (Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas etc., 1988-89), Kansas, 1988, p. 93, no. 18A. In the *Speculum* (see above, n. 12) and indeed in Lucian, *Charon* 13, she herself decapitates Cyrus.
16. Boccaccio indeed calls it an *uter* (leathern bag or bottle) and describes it as filled with the blood of dead Massagetae (*De mulieribus claris* xlix.7). The illustration heads the chapter devoted to 'Thamyris' (numbered xlvii in the 1539 edition).
17. See below, n. 27.
18. See e.g. P. Junquera de Vega and C. Herrero Carretero, *Catálogo de tapices del Patrimonio Nacional. Volumen I: Siglo XVI*, Madrid, 1986, no. 39, pp. 279-289 (Brussels, c. 1550) esp. p. 289, tapestry x; no. 40, pp. 290-296 (Antwerp c. 1590) esp. p. 296, tapestry vi (both repr. in colour); also Bennett, op. cit. in n. 14, no. 38, p. 142, repr. p. 143, and Facos, op. cit., 1987, pp. 46-47 and fig. 6 (tapestry in M.H. de Young Museum, San Francisco). In these Cyrus's head is plunged into a leather bag.
19. See, for example, below, n. 28. An illustration in the so-called 'Florentine Picture Chronicle' of the late 15th century, presumably inspired by the reference in Dante's *Purgatorio* (see above, n. 8)

- shows Tomyris watching a throne toppling over into a pool (of blood?) in which Cyrus's head floats. See S. Colvin, *A Florentine Picture-Chronicle... by Maso Finiguerra*, London, 1898, pls. 97-98.
20. *Haechtianus*, *Microcosmos*, 1579, no. 52 ('De Cyre rege Persarum'); cf. *Vondel, Gulden Winckel*, 1613, no. 51 (Fig. 18).
 21. For other instances where Rubens may have been influenced by Van Haecht see Volume I, Chapter IV, pp. 107-108.
 22. A half-length picture attributed to Domenico Mancini and formerly in Silesia (B. Berenson, *Italian Painters of the Renaissance. Venetian School*, London, 1957, II, pl. 696) also shows a basin and even a boy servant holding the head above it, though here the queen fingers Cyrus's hair and the basin does not display its contents.
 23. The setting seems to reflect the fact that the episode is often illustrated as a story of Cyrus, who died in battle (cf. above, n. 18). But probably the reputed fierceness of Tomyris and the Massagetae (or Scythians) as recorded in the classical authors is also relevant—Herodotus even says she led her troops into battle against Cyrus; and if Lucian's reference to the queen decapitating Cyrus (see above, n. 15) is unlikely to have been well-known, Tomyris was familiar (among the *Preuses*, or Worthy Women) as a warrior *virago*.
 24. See, e.g., *Christ and the Centurion* (Madrid, Museo del Prado), as noted by Janson (loc. cit., 1937) or *The Family of Darius before Alexander* (London, National Gallery), as noted in D. Rosand ('Theater and Structure in the Art of Paolo Veronese', *The Art Bulletin*, LV, 1973, p. 218). As Waagen (loc. cit., 1854) observed, Rubens contrasted the 'tender and transparent colouring of the Queen and her four women with the powerful and glowing tones of the men'.
 25. See generally, and with earlier literature, *Berger, Tomyris*, 1979, pp. 8-10 and figs. 5-6. One copy, possibly that in Berlin (Fig. 19), may have been in the Alcázar in Madrid (*Berger, Tomyris*, 1979, p. 20; cf. below, at n. 50).
 26. E. Dhanens has proposed that it was part of a series of justice pictures in the Town Hall of Ghent which were destroyed in 1579 ('Tussen de Van Eyck en Hugo van der Goes. II: De allegorische Gerechtigheidsaferelen in het Gentse Stadhuis', *Academiae Analecta. Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België*, XLV, 1984, i, pp. 31-98; and further 'Nogmaals de Justitietafereelen in het Gentse Schepenhuis', *Academiae Analecta*, XLVIII, 1987, ii, pp. 31-37), but this remains a hypothesis, as is the attribution of the painting to a Ghent follower of Van Eyck rather than the Master of Flémalle. It had been argued, first by P. Perdrizet in *Étude sur le Speculum humanae salvationis*, Paris, 1908, pp. 158-159, that the lost picture originally formed part of an altarpiece inspired by the *Speculum*, since a related composition (recorded in a drawing) illustrates *Jael and Sisera*, and there may have been another scene of *Judith and Holofernes*. (Like Dhanens [op. cit. in this note, 1984, p. 47] I feel that the *Judith* in Greenville, S. Carolina [*Berger, Tomyris*, 1979, pp. 8 and 11, fig. 8] is too much a pastiche of the 'Flémalle' *Tomyris* to be a record of any such composition.) But the secular context of the early copies certainly supports the idea, first proposed by Hulín de Loo ('Le tableau de "Tomyris et Cyrus" dans l'ancien palais épiscopal de Gand', *Bulletin de la société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Gand*, IX, 1901, pp. 222-233) that the original was not part of a religious scheme of decoration.
 27. Dhanens, op. cit. in n. 26, 1984, pp. 39-40 and figs. 18, 21; 1987, p. 34 and fig. 15; also *Berger, Tomyris*, 1979, p. 8, n. 19.
 28. The inventory of 1587 records that this painting ('een schilderrie van Cyrus', perhaps even the original Flémalle composition) hung in the room 'formerly called *Cyrus camere*', and evidently as an independent picture; the inventory of 1622 which describes it in similar terms records that it hung above the doorway ('boven 't portael'). See C. Van de Velde, 'Enkele gegevens over Gentse schilderijen', *Gentse Bijdragen*, XX, 1967, pp. 198, 201, 202-203 (figs. 5-6) and 204-205; also Dhanens, op. cit. in n. 26, 1984, pp. 38-39, and n. 25. Indeed an image of *Tomyris and Cyrus*, evidently based on the Flémalle precedent (since it includes *inter alia* the oriental jar) appears in a manuscript of c. 1506 in Ghent Cathedral (St Bavo MS 16A, fol. 29) as an *exemplum* of fickle fortune (Dhanens, op. cit. in n. 26, 1987, pp. 34-35 and fig. 16; A. Arnould, 'The Iconographical Sources of a Composite Manuscript from the Library of Raphael de Mercatellis', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, LI, 1988, pp. 204-205 and pl. 25d).
 29. Rubens may also have known the variant composition, recorded in the copies in Vienna (*Berger, Tomyris*, 1979, fig. 6) and in the Town Hall, Bruges (Dhanens, op. cit. in n. 26, 1984, figs. 18, 21) which have a pair of attendant girls, rather than just one.
 30. An iconographic assimilation is natural, especially since the subjects are associated not only in the *Speculum*, but also in Dante's *Purgatorio* (as above, n. 8); cf. *Berger, Tomyris*, 1979, pp. 5-7.
 31. This gesture would be misunderstood and rendered meaningless by some later imitators, such as Frans Francken II (in his painting in Dijon Museum: see U. Härting, *Frans Francken der Jungere [1581-1642]*, Freren, 1989, p. 340, no. 351, repr.). Other artists liked its suggestion of feminine disdain, e.g. Francesco Fontebasso, in a drawing in Vienna (Albertina I, no. 331; inv. no. 1876). Silos's poem on the picture (above, n. 7) makes a play on the word *rubens* ('reddening') to compliment the artist, and in so doing misleadingly implies

- that Tomyris is 'reddened' with Cyrus's blood.
32. See *Belkin, Costume Book, 1978*, p. 150, and figs. 167-168. The connection of the figure with a Persian costume on fol. 40, suggested by Ingrams (loc. cit., 1974), is less convincing.
 33. See below, under No. 13, at n. 25.
 34. Ingrams points to the relationship with drawings after Hungarians, while Maslinska-Nowakowa argued that the costumes are Polish; see further below.
 35. Gemäldegalerie, Kassel. See *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921*, p. 174; *Vlieghe, Portraits, 1987*, pp. 145-147, no. 129, fig. 161. It seems likely that this portrait of Nicolaas de Respaigne was painted c. 1620; see further under No. 2a, at n. 11. The subject of the portrait was previously identified as Count Radziwill, which encouraged a connection with the Polish envoy of 1624: see further below.
 36. *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921*, p. 277. He is perhaps first featured in the Lyons *Adoration of the Magi* (*K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921*, p. 162), although he is prefigured in the corresponding 'Turk' in the Windsor drawing (Fig. 16; see below, under No. 2a).
 37. Cf. *Belkin, Costume Book, 1978*, esp. pp. 55-56, 91, 170. Here again Veronese, as well as the Flémalle composition (Fig. 18), is relevant; cf. loc. cit. p. 56.
 38. See esp. Herodotus, *Historiae* 1.206-207, 215-216. In some ancient sources Tomyris is described as a Scythian, a race proverbially barbaric. In his poem on Rubens's picture (above, n. 7) Silos calls Tomyris's army Scythian.
 39. The Greek painter Polynotus had depicted the Amazon Penthesilia carrying a Scythian bow and wearing a leopard skin: Pausanias, *Graeciae descriptio* X.31.
 40. See J.B. Ward-Perkins, 'The Shrine of St Peter and its Twelve Spiral Columns', *Journal of Roman Studies*, XLII, 1952, pp. 21ff. Like Facos (op. cit., 1987, p. 45, n. 16) I think it altogether unlikely that in this context the decoration was intended to suggest a eucharistic, therefore religious message, as Berger suggests (*Berger, Tomyris, 1979*, pp. 24-25).
 41. Cf. *Belkin, Costume Book, 1978*, esp. pp. 121-122, with reference to particular studies of early 16th-century armour; also, in general, *Rodee, Armor, 1967*, pp. 223-230.
 42. In the Roman inventory of 1689 the Boston painting is described as a *compagno* of the *Contenance of Scipio* (see O. Granberg, *La galerie de tableaux de la reine Christine de Suède*, Stockholm, 1897, pp. lxxxiii-lxxxiv, no. 248; *Berger, Tomyris, 1979*, p. 27). Silos's book, however, treats them far apart and gives no indication that he thought of them as related: see above n. 7, and, for the poem on the *Contenance of Scipio*, below, under No. 49.
 43. For the other arguments see below, under No. 49, at nn. 10-12; also *Berger, Tomyris, 1979*, p. 32. In any case Burchard's negative view of the Tomyris as 'insatiability' opposed to Scipio's 'abstinence' is not I think the moral Christina and other 17th-century viewers would have extracted.
 44. *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921*, p. 250.
 45. *Roses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, p. 4; cf. *De Maeyer, Albrecht en Isabella, 1955*, p. 357, no. 171.
 46. See above, Volume I, Chapter II, pp. 64-65 on this edition and the Latin translation Rubens already owned.
 47. This was apparently first suggested in a lecture by B. Antoniewicz (*Bulletin international de l'Académie polonaise des sciences et des lettres. Année 1905*, Cracow, 1906), as cited by J.S. Held, *Rembrandt's 'Aristotle' and other Rembrandt Studies*, Princeton, 1969, p. 60, n. 58.
 48. Windsor Castle, Collection of H.M. the Queen, inv. no. 6417. See further below, under No. 2a. Even if this sheet is placed later, it can hardly date from 1624.
 49. This is the *Mausolée* of Jean Puget de la Serre (Brussels, 1634), in which so many ancient heroines are listed that no particular reference can be deduced.
 50. See below, under No. 46, text at nn. 35-37.
 51. See above, n. 8 for its use in this sense; also above, nn. 20 and 28 for references to the theme as a story of Cyrus. When the Alcázar painting was restored and reworked by Carducho in 1625 it was described in the documents as a picture of King Cyrus (*Orso, Alcázar, 1986*, pp. 45-46; cf. *Berger, Tomyris, 1979*, p. 20).
 52. See above, nn. 1, 2.
 53. For the paintings by Rubens which hung in the Brussels Town Hall see below, under No. 6 (*Justice of Cambyses*). The main argument presented by Facos (loc. cit., 1987, esp. p. 50) is that since the Cardinal-Infante's picture is supposedly described by Musson in 1645 (see above, n. 2) as containing 15, not 17 figures, the Boston painting could not be identical with it. But in fact the word originally transcribed as 'vieferte' (and therefore translated, for example in *Berger, Tomyris, 1979*, pp. 12, 27, as 'fifteen') is actually 'diefernte', as Berger himself later discovered. See Wieseman, loc. cit., 1993-94, pp. 282, 284 n. 12.
 54. *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921*, p. 123; though Glück considered this a copy.
 55. Letter of 30 December 1960; cf. Facos, loc. cit., 1987, p. 48n.
 56. He appears to have arrived in Antwerp only c. 1626. See H. Lahrkamp in *Cat. Exh. Boeckhorst, Antwerp—Münster, 1990*, pp. 13, 140.
 57. Jaffé (loc. cit., 1989) attributes much of the execution to Van Dyck, and other assistants, including Jordaens and Boeckhorst.
 58. The model might indeed be the same boy who served for Psyche in the drawing in Windsor (*Burchard—d'Hulst, Drawings, 1963*, no. 65; *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings, 1977*, p. 61, no. 57, repr.).

59. See below, under No. 2a.
60. Despite the fact that he was already an independent master in 1615-16: for a good assessment of the evidence see *Rubens and his Workshop. The Flight of Lot and his Family from Sodom*, ed. T. Nakamura, Tokyo (National Museum of Western Art), 1994, pp. 37-39 (T. Nakamura), pp. 112-113 (A. Balis).
61. Still, a drawing in the Fitzwilliam Museum (No. 2a, Copy 2; Fig. 15) which records Rubens's earlier plan for the composition has been attributed to Jordaens; so there may be some connection with this artist. See further below, under No. 2a.
62. *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921*, p. 164; cf. *Veronese's Dresden Adoration (Pignatti, Veronese, 1976, I, no. 168; II, fig. 444)*.
63. *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921*, p. 277.
64. *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921*, p. 162.
65. For the related drawing in Vienna (Fig. 10) which in my view is a copy, rather than a preparatory study, see No. 2b below.
66. Apart from the cleaning carried out when it entered the Boston Museum, we know that it was restored in the 18th century, when it may have suffered damage.
67. See below, under No. 3. All the other prints after the picture, with the exception of Copy 14, as well as many painted copies, such as the late 17th-century painting in St-André, Tournai, are in fact simply after this engraving. It is easy to identify the copies after Pontius's print, since they place Tomyris and her retinue on a dais with two steps, and give the maid next to Tomyris an elaborate Burgundian head-dress.
68. *Smith, Catalogue, 1829-42, II*, pp. 178-179, no. 619 (as 'Portrait of Helene Fourment'); IX, p. 347, no. 393 (as study for No. 2); *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92, IV*, p. 6, no. 791, 1 (as study for No. 2).
69. Canvas, oval, c. 71 × 58.5 cm.; sale, London (Christie's), 6 December 1946, lot 100 probably identical with: canvas, 71 × 53.3 cm.; sale, London (Christie's), 18 June 1954, lot 118. A similar picture (canvas, 52 × 40 cm. PROV. Princes Potoczky; Family Mitizky de Militiz; Family Radetzky; dealer S. Hartveld, Antwerp) was sold at Lucerne (Fischer), 17 June 1972, lot 553 (as 'fragment of painting by Rubens depicting either Helene or Suzanne Fourment, or a daughter of the Polish King Sigismund III'), repr. pl. 35. Another related picture (medium unknown, 18 × 12 cm.) was in 1967 in an Antwerp private collection (Burchard documentation).
70. Panel; 71 × 52 cm. Whereabouts unknown. PROV. Rothschild collection, Mentmore, sale, London (Sotheby's), 25 May 1977, lot 2406; dealer Julius Weitzner (London, then New York; 1978); dealer H. Schickman, New York (1983).
71. The way the cloak in particular hangs from the shoulders suggests a real model in costume.

72. A report in the newspaper *La Repubblica* of 23 May 1991 illustrated what purported to be a detail of the original of the painting in Boston. This painting had been sequestered by the police from a bank vault in Padua before an intended sale to England. I have not been able to establish the status of this painting, or even acquire a photograph.

2a. Tomyris and Cyrus: Drawing or Sketch

Technique and measurements unknown.
Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (I) Counterproof of a lost drawing (?) (Fig. 9), perhaps retouched by Rubens, drawn with brush in brown and some pink oil, heightened with white and possibly gone over with brown pencil on paper; 255 × 385 mm. Lower right: mark of the Hermitage (L. 2061); St Petersburg, Hermitage Museum, Print room, inv. no. 5511. PROV. Count Karl (Charles-Philippe Jean) Cobentzl (Ljubljana, 1712-Brussels, 1770); bought by Empress Catherine II of Russia in 1768. EXH. *Drawings, Engravings and Miniatures in the Hermitage* (in Russian), Leningrad, 1937, no. 50; *Leningrad, 1940*, no. 10; *Antwerp, 1956*, no. 63b; *Mastarteckningar fran Eremitaget*, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, 1963, no. 50. LIT. *Wurzbach, II*, p. 505; M.V. Dobroklonsky (Dobroklonski), 'Einige Rubenszeichnungen in der Ermitage', *Zeitschrift für bildenden Kunst*, LXIV, 1930-31, 2, pp. 33-34; idem, *The Graphic Legacy of Rubens* (in Russian), Isskoustvo, 1935, pp. 140, 158, no. 5; *Dobroklonsky, Drawings, 1940*, no. 12, pl. xi; M. Dobroklonsky, *Catalogue Hermitage IV. Drawings of the Flemish School, 17th-18th centuries* (in Russian), Moscow, 1955, p. 130, no. 637; *Burchard—d'Hulst, Tekeningen, 1956*, supplement, pp. 6-7, no. 63b; E. Haverkamp Begeemann, 'De Kroning van Maria door Rubens', *Bulletin Museum Boymans*, VIII, 1957, p. 86, n. 13 and fig. 5; Y. Kusnetsov, *Rubens Drawings in Museums of the USSR* (in Russian), Leningrad—Moscow, 1965, p. 22, no. 18 and pl. 10;

M. Jaffé, [Cat. Exh.] *Jacob Jordaens, 1593-1678*, Ottawa, 1968, pp. 215-216, no. 252 (repr. p. 377); Berger, *Tomyris*, 1979, pp. 33-34 and fig. 16; *Meesters der Schilderkunst*, 1980, I, p. 136, no. 319; Y. Kusnetsov, *Peter Paul Rubens. Zeichnungen*, Leipzig, 1984, no. 14 (repr. in colour); Held, *Drawings*, 1986, pp. 108-109, no. 100, pl. 96 (all as *Rubens*); A.-M. Logan, review of Held, *Drawings*, 1986, *Master Drawings*, XXV, 1987, p. 72 (as not by *Rubens*?); Jaffé, *Rubens*, 1989, p. 244, no. 509 (as *Rubens, 1618-19*); A.-M. Logan in *Cat. Exh. Boeckhorst, Antwerp—Münster*, 1990, p. 127, fig. 86 (as ?*Jan Boeckhorst*).

(2) Drawing (Fig. 15) after three figures, attributed to Jordaens, verso of coloured drawing based on Rubens's *Diana returning from the Hunt*; black chalk, inscribed in pen, lower left (sideways) R-11501; 342 × 407 mm.; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, inv. no. 2235. PROV. Bequeathed by C.H. Shannon, 1937. EXH. *Jacob Jordaens, 1593-1678*, Ottawa, 1968-69, no. 252. LIT. [Cat. Exh.] *Seventeenth Century Flemish Drawings and Oil Sketches* (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, May-June 1978), typescript (copy in Warburg Institute), p. 9, no. 27 (verso); M. Jaffé, [Cat. Exh.] *Jacob Jordaens, 1593-1678*, Ottawa, 1968, pp. 215-216, no. 252 (repr. p. 377); [Cat. Exh.] *European Drawings from the Fitzwilliam*, intr. by M. Jaffé (International Exhibitions Foundation, Washington etc. 1976-77), Alexandria, Virginia, 1976, p. 48, no. 76; d'Hulst, *Jordaens Drawings*, 1974, II, pp. 492-493, no. B.19v and IV, fig. 468 (as ?*Jordaens*); Berger, *Tomyris*, 1979, pp. 33-34 and fig. 17; M. Jaffé, review of d'Hulst, *Jordaens Drawings*, 1974, in *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXVI, 1984, p. 783; A.-M. Logan in *Cat. Exh. Boeckhorst, Antwerp—Münster*, 1990, p. 127 (as ?*Jan Boeckhorst*).

The sheet in the Hermitage (Fig. 9) which looks more of a sketch than a drawing, has usually been regarded as Rubens's work, even if its function and relationship to the artist's normal practice is unclear. Rooses, however, called it a copy,¹ and this view was ultimately shared by Burchard, who related it to a lost

oil sketch, although apparently not when he and d'Hulst included it in their 1956 Antwerp catalogue. Most recently Logan too has questioned whether it is by Rubens, drawing attention to its peculiarities, and indeed suggesting an attribution to Jan Boeckhorst.

The composition sketched on the St Petersburg sheet is obviously related to the Boston *Tomyris and Cyrus* (No. 2; Fig. 8), and has been taken as a preliminary study, made in the opposite sense. It also shows the servant with Cyrus's head in a different attitude, related, as Held noted, to figures in drawings such as that of David in the *David and Goliath* in Rotterdam,² and of the man cutting Samson's hair in *Samson and Delilah*.³ The figure in profile in the painting was, therefore, a late alteration made by Rubens. (As noted above, under No. 2, this might account for the slight awkwardness in its positioning.) Confirmation is provided by a drawing in the Fitzwilliam Museum (Copy 2) which Jaffé attributed to Jordaens.⁴ Divided into two, this drawing shows on one side a sketch of three figures from the central part of the Hermitage composition (but in reverse, i.e. in the direction of the Boston picture; Fig. 15), while on the other side, upside down and beside a drawing related to a *Judgement of Paris*, is an isolated figure of the servant in the pose actually used for the painting. Berger saw this as a pupil's *ricordo* of Rubens's work in progress on the picture itself. But I believe that it must also reproduce the lost drawing or sketch reversed in the St Petersburg sheet, especially since the figures more or less correspond in size.⁵

It could be argued that the Hermitage sheet simply indicates that Rubens first planned the composition of the Boston painting in the opposite sense,⁶ were it not that it presents an entirely left-handed scheme, suitable only for a print or tapestry design. This left-handedness is evident not only in the principal gestures—that of the 'Turk' for example or of *Tomyris*—but, more conclusively, in the positioning of the 'Polish' knight's sword.⁷ In addition, there is the question of the Hermitage

drawing's technique. Even apart from the anomaly of a 'sketch' like this on paper, the outlines are drawn and the white highlighting done in a way which seems to me uncharacteristic of Rubens.⁸ In sketching (and particularly in the slight grisailles on panel to which the Hermitage sheet might naturally be compared), paint and highlights are used more to model figures, to suggest mass and weight. Some of the highlights on the St Petersburg sheet are rather inexpressive, particularly those on Tomyris herself—her hand, for example, with a white line regularly marking each finger. This does not rule out the possibility that that this sketching is indeed by Rubens himself; after all the unusual technique may reflect an unusual situation. But it seems possible that the reworking is by another (contemporary?) hand,⁹ though Logan's attribution of the sheet, as well as the Fitzwilliam drawing, to Boeckhorst (in the catalogue of 1990) is not, I feel, really convincing.

The matter is interestingly complicated by the discovery, on the reverse of the drawing of *Silenus and Aegle* in Windsor, of various studies apparently made by Rubens for different pictures c. 1614-1616 (Fig. 16).¹⁰ At the top left of this sheet is a collection of figures around a decapitated body which corresponds closely to the group of 'Turk' and 'Poles' from the Boston *Tomyris and Cyrus* except that they are in reverse, thus appearing almost exactly as in the St Petersburg sheet. Here, however, the foremost 'Pole' does not wear his sword on the wrong side, nor does this scene appear to illustrate the story of Tomyris and Cyrus; at any rate there is no figure identifiable as the queen, and the decapitated body is probably female.¹¹

The evidence therefore suggests that when Rubens began to plan a picture of *Tomyris and Cyrus* he thought of adapting the oriental decapitation scene in the Windsor drawing (Fig. 16), and used it in reverse in the lost drawing or sketch recorded (itself now in reverse) in the St Petersburg sheet (Fig. 9). If Rubens himself made this sheet, perhaps by 'enhancing'

a counterproof of a convenient drawing, this could have been either at an early stage, to check that the effect was not better in the original direction, or later, to test the reversal when he was thinking of adapting the Boston composition for publication in a print (No. 3, Copy 1; Fig. 14).

A sketch for the Boston *Tomyris and Cyrus* is mentioned by Rooses as being in his time in Cobham House along with the painting.¹² This was presumably the 'petite esquisse très intéressante' which Stryiński recorded as being placed next to the large painting in Cobham House.¹³ It is not certain that either writer had seen this sketch, and I have been unable to find any further references to it.¹⁴

1. There is a note to this effect in the Hermitage copy of the 1861 catalogue of the museum.
2. Held, *Drawings*, 1986, p. 94, no. 62 and pl. 61.
3. Held, *Drawings*, 1986, p. 89, no. 51 and pl. 53. Berger referred to *pentimenti* in the Boston painting which indicate that in it the servant was originally posed as the corresponding figure in the St Petersburg sheet, but in reverse. However, I have been unable to observe these on the painting.
4. For the suggestion that he participated in the execution of the Boston *Tomyris and Cyrus* see above, under No. 2, at nn. 60, 61.
5. The Fitzwilliam catalogue of 1976 also suggested that the drawing might be either a *ricordo* or a copy of a sketch.
6. Cf. Berger, *Tomyris*, 1979, p. 33.
7. For the Turkish and Polish costumes of these figures see above, under No. 2.
8. In pointing out that almost all Van Dyck's sketches are done in the technique of the St Petersburg sheet (except that they are also on panel) Burchard himself drew attention to the unusual nature of this 'sketch' which he attributed to Rubens in the 1956 exhibition.
9. It may be significant (and suspicious) that the foremost attendant of Tomyris, to the right in the St Petersburg sheet, is shown with a round neckline, whereas we would expect the V-shape depicted on the corresponding figure in the Boston painting, since this also features in an earlier painting of *Artemisia* (No. 13; Fig. 51). In addition the dog in the same girl's arms is represented in the St Petersburg sheet rather indistinctly, and could have been misunderstood.
10. Windsor Castle, Collection of H.M. The Queen, inv. no. 6417. See Held, *Drawings*, 1986, pp. 101-102, no. 82 and pl. 78 and Ballis, *Hunting Scenes*, 1986,

no. 2a, fig. 38 with earlier literature; also now C. White and C. Crawley, *The Dutch and Flemish Drawings... at Windsor Castle*, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 302-304, no. 435v. This drawing, unknown to Burchard, is unusual in that it may contain sketches done over a couple of years, but none is probably later than 1616.

11. Berger and Balis suggest that the victim is a female martyr, though there are no signs either of a specifically religious context. That this group is indeed an earlier formulation than that used in the Boston *Tomiris and Cyrus* is suggested by the fact that the 'Turk' is not yet the stout figure in cummerbund used also for the portrait of Nicolaas de Respaigne, probably painted c. 1620 (*Vlieghe, Portraits*, 1987, pp. 145-147, no. 129, fig. 161). *Vlieghe* dates the portrait earlier than is usual, c. 1616-18; but his argument assumes a similar date for the Boston *Tomiris and Cyrus*, which I have argued is several years later (cf. above, under No. 2).
12. *Roses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, p. 5.
13. C. Stryienski, *La galerie du Régent Philippe, duc d'Orléans*, Paris, 1913, p. 113.
14. Possibly there is some connection with the small picture described as 'Rubens. Thomyris faisant plonger la tête de Cyrus dans un vase rempli de sang', with reference to the engraving by Pontius (Fig. 14): canvas, 32 x 49 cm., sale, Nourri, Paris (Folliot—Regnault), 24 February 1785, lot 48, bought by Langlier. The fact that this picture was on canvas would, however, argue against it being a sketch.

2b. Study of Two Female Heads: Drawing (Fig. 10)

Black chalk, heightened with white, pen and indian ink, wash; 290 x 235 mm. Lower left: Collector's mark of the Albertina, L 174.

Vienna, *Graphische Sammlung Albertina*. Inv. no. 8.274.

PROVENANCE: Albert Casimir, Duke of Saxe-Teschchen (Moritzburg, near Dresden, 1738—Vienna, 1822).

EXHIBITED: *Die Rubenszeichnungen der Albertina, zum 400. Geburtstag*, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, March—June 1977, no. 29; *Zeichenkunst aus sechs Jahrhunderten*, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, 1986, no. 30; *Meesterwerken uit de Albertina*, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten,

Antwerp, September—November 1987, no. 42.

LITERATURE: J. Schönbrunner and J. Meder, *Handzeichnungen alter Meister aus der Albertina und anderen Sammlungen*, Vienna, [1896-1908], III, pl. 302; *Roses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, V, p. 291, no. 1566; *Knackfuss, Rubens, 1904*, p. 92 and fig. 74; *Roses, Vie, 1903*, p. 4, repr.; F.M. Haberditzl, 'Über einige Handzeichnungen von Rubens in der Albertina', *Die graphischen Künste*, XXXV, Vienna, 1912, pp. 5-6, repr.; H. Leporini, *Rubens. 8 Kupfertiefdrucke (Handzeichnungen grosser Meister)*, Vienna—Leipzig, 1923, no. 5; *Glück—Haberditzl, Handzeichnungen, 1928*, p. 42, no. 104; C.C. Cunningham, 'A Great Rubens comes to the Museum', *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, XXXIX, 1941, p. 39; *Mitsch, Rubenszeichnungen, 1977*, pp. 68-69, no. 29, repr.; *Berger, Tomiris, 1979*, pp. 34-35 and fig. 18; A.-M. Logan, 'Rubens Exhibitions 1977', *Master Drawings*, XV, 1977, p. 406; [Cat. Exh.] *Meesterwerken uit de Albertina* (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, 1987), Antwerp, 1987, pp. 116-117, no. 42.

This drawing was taken by Burchard—and has until now been accepted in the scholarly literature—as a study by Rubens for the two maids behind Tomiris in the Boston painting of *Tomiris and Cyrus* (No. 2; Fig. 8). As such it would, however, be unexpectedly close to the final formulation of the figures, for it includes every detail of costume and even the little lapdog carried by the foremost attendant. Besides, the technique of the drawing is unusual, and has aroused some unease. Like Glück and Haberditzl, Logan thought that the pen and wash on this drawing was the work of another hand. The penwork additions in fact make the figures correspond more exactly to the Boston painting, and this may have seemed to Burchard and others who have accepted the drawing unreservedly to confirm the attribution. The obvious attractiveness of the sheet, in which the maids look rather younger than their painted counterparts, perhaps stifled

further doubts. But, as Arnout Balis first pointed out to me, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the drawing is after the Boston composition rather than preliminary to it.

I would further suggest on the basis both of the drawing style and of the modifications made by the copyist—with the young women becoming slightly plumper, smaller (even squat) and more girlish—that this is the work of a French eighteenth-century artist who might have seen Rubens's painting when it was in the Orléans collection.

3. *Tomyris and Cyrus: Drawing (by Pontius?) extensively worked over by Rubens (Fig. 13)*

Black and red crayon over pen and pencil on brown paper, with grey and brown washes in ink, heightened with white and reddish body colours; indented for transfer (?); 393 × 595 mm. Inscribed on lower left *P.P. Rubens*. Vertical fold in the middle.

Private Collection, Germany.

PROVENANCE: Pierre Crozat (Paris, 1665-1740), sale, Paris (Mariette), 10 April-13 May 1741, lot 835, bought by Pierre-Jean Mariette (Paris, 1694-1774); his sale, Paris (Basan), 15 November 1775-30 January 1776, lot 991, bought by F. Basan (Paris, 1723-1797); ? Theodor van Duysel, The Hague, sale, Amsterdam (Van der Schley etc.), 11 October 1784, lot 2133; sale, London (Christie's), 11 May 1791, lot 89; ? Troward, London; ? de Roveray (or du Roveray?), London, 1821; Sir Thomas Lawrence (London, 1769-1830); acquired from his estate by S. Woodburn in 1835 and offered for sale in *The Lawrence Gallery...* (see Woodburn, *op. cit.*, 1835, in bibliography below); King William II of Holland, sale, The Hague (De Vries, Roos, Brondgeest), 12-20 August 1850, withdrawn; inherited by his daughter, Grand Duchess of Weimar; Grand Duke of Weimar-Eisenach; on loan from the latter to Goethe-Museum, Weimar, then bought in

1921; dealer Joseph Fach, Frankfurt am Main, 1951-52; Schaeffer Gallery, New York, 1959; Baroness Dorothee von Mosch (Munich 1965), sale, London (Sotheby's), 11 November 1965, lot 61; sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby—Mak van Waay), 21 March 1977, lot 52 (repr. in colour).

COPIES: (1) Engraving by Paulus Pontius (Fig. 14), dated 1630 and in reverse, as are most of the copies listed here which derive from it; 407 × 591 mm.; below, in margin: *Petrus Paulus Rubens pinxit./ Paulus Pontius sculpsit./ Cum privilegiis Regis Christianissimi./ Serenissimae Infantis et Ordinum confaed. a^o 1630.* [In centre] *SATIA TE SANGUINE QUEM SEMPER SITISTI*, second state of five, the first without inscription and with traces of a second arch, subsequently suppressed, the fourth with the address of G. Huberti, the fifth with that of C. van Merlen. LIT. *Mariette, Abécédario, 1851-1860*, V, pp. 116-117; *V.S.*, p. 137, no. 14; *Hymans, Gravure, 1879*, pp. 274-276; *Dutuit, Manuel, 1881-85*, VI, pp. 160-161, no. 22; *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, p. 5 and pl. 252; *Hollstein (Dutch and Flemish), XVII, 1976*, p. 160, no. 40; G.R. Kruissink, 'Tomyris en het hoofd van Cyrus van Rubens van Pontius tot volkskunst', *Antiek, 1977*, pp. 165-172; *Bodart, Incisione, 1977*, no. 221; *Berger, Tomyris, 1979*, p. 5 and fig. 2; I. Pohlen, *Untersuchungen zur Reproduktionsgraphik der Rubenswerkstatt (Beiträge zur Kunstwissenschaft, VI)*, Munich, 1988, pp. 228-229, no. 22.

(2) Painting, whereabouts unknown (photograph in Rubenianum); panel, 48 × 61 cm. PROV. Dr Schopp, Bonn (1925); dealer Ludwig Röhrscheidt, Bonn, 1925 (as *H. van Balen*).

(3) Painting (left half only), ? by Artus Wolf- fort, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 141 × 132 cm. PROV. sale, Berlin (Interkunst), 17 November 1930, lot 433, pl. III (as *Paul de Vos*).

(4) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 58 × 80 cm. PROV. J.E. Weber, sale, Brussels (Galerie Fiévez), 7-8 July 1926, lot 137, pl. XVI.

(5) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 48 × 57.5 cm. PROV. Dresden, Gemäldegalerie

(inv. 1722, no. 245—a number allegedly inscribed on the painting); Adolf Schuster, Brussels, sale, Cologne (Heberle), 14-15 November 1892, lot 133.

(6) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 39.3 × 55.8 cm. PROV. sale, London (Christie's), 2 December 1954, lot 126.

(7) Painting, Italian private collection (1983); canvas, 180 × 254 cm.

(8) Painting, Seville, Condes de Gálvez; canvas, 280 × 320 cm. EXH. *Exposición homenaje a Rubens*, Reales Alcázares, Seville, 1977-1978, repr.

(9) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 87.6 × 157.3 cm. PROV. sale, London (Christie's), 19-30 July 1971, lot 226 (as *Floris*, 'Salome').

(10) Painting, with coat of arms top left, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 71 × 98 cm. PROV. sale, Munich (Weinmüller), 4 May 1972, lot 1090, pl. 43.

(11) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 78 × 99 cm. PROV. sale, Brussels (Galerie Nackers), 21 October 1967, lot 865, pl. X.

(12) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 112 × 139 cm. PROV. sale, Berne (Dobiaschofsky), 22 October 1976, lot 604, pl. 7 (as *Van Thulden*).

(13) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 48.5 × 62.5 cm. PROV. L. Schmidt, Rathsberg (1977).

(14) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 150 × 250 cm. PROV. J.J.A. Houpperichs, Helmond (1970).

(15) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 99 × 130 cm. PROV. F. Koolen, Rotorua, New Zealand (1979).

(16) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 105 × 177 cm. PROV. S. Stubbe, Ichtegem (Belgium).

(17) Painting (of left half only), whereabouts unknown; panel, 80 × 64 cm. PROV. sale, Arnhem (Notarishuis), 13 September 1977, lot 86. LIT. *Die Weltkunst*, September 1977, p. 1675, repr.

(18) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 118.5 × 178 cm. PROV. private collection,

Mechelen; bought there by Emil Stohler, Zürich (1958, 1962; as *studio of Rubens*, with certificate of Dr F. Störi).

(19) Painting, showing the composition extended at the top and bottom, whereabouts unknown; panel (?), 65 × 56 cm. PROV. Miss M.J. Hager, Rotterdam (1908).

(20) Painting, circle of W. van Herp, whereabouts unknown; copper, 54 × 70 cm. PROV. sale, Antwerp (Van Herck), 23 November 1976, lot 139, pl. VIII.

(21) Painting, 20th-century, whereabouts unknown; medium and dimensions unknown (Photo Dingjan, no. 612676).

(22) Painted table top, whereabouts unknown; diameter 95 cm. PROV. sale, Cologne (Kunsthhaus am Museum), 29 March 1974, lot 199, repr.

(23) Painting, whereabouts unknown; oil on glass, 42 × 56 cm. PROV. sale, Bologna (Christie's Roma), 27-28 September 1986, lot 164.

(24) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 33 × 41 cm. PROV. sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), 16-22 April 1985, lot 320, repr.; sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), 7-14 October 1986, lot 405, pl. 2.

(25) Painting (of Tomyris and the group around her only), whereabouts unknown; canvas, 132 × 87 cm. PROV. Mr Kvol, Cracow (1980).

(26) Drawing, attributed to Watteau c. 1714, of two 'Polish' men, whereabouts unknown; 339 × 234 mm. PROV. H.M. Calmann, London (1965). LIT. J. Müller Hofstede, 'Beiträge zum zeichnerischen Werk von Rubens', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXVII, 1965, p. 346, and p. 345, fig. 245.

(27) Needlework picture, Bath, Holburne Museum, inv. no. F97; signed and dated: RC.RL 1655 and inscribed with Rago's name (cf. Copy 35) and *SATIA TE SANGUINE QUEM SEMPER SITISTI*.

(28) Needlework picture, whereabouts unknown; 41.3 × 53.3 cm; inscribed: *SATIA TE SANGUINE QUEM SEMPER SITISTI*. PROV. sale, London (Sotheby's), 5 February 1971, lot 108.

(29) Limewood relief, whereabouts unknown; 50 × 75 cm. PROV. sale, London (Christie's) 20 June 1983, lot 23.

(30) Limewood relief, attributed to Grinling Gibbons, whereabouts unknown; 59 × 40.5 cm. PROV. sale, London (Christie's), 11 December 1979; Huntington Antiques, Stow-on-the-Wold (1991); sale, London (Sotheby's), 21 April 1994, lot 143.

(31) Silver plate, attributed to Augsburg, late 17th century (in reverse of Copy 1, on which it is based, with some variations), Stourhead, Dorset; 73.5 × 81 cm. PROV. Presented to Sir Richard Hoare, Lord Mayor of London, in 1745 (Courtauld Institute Photographic Survey, no. B94 1237 PS).

(32) Engraving by Gaspar Duchange (in reverse of Copy 1); 331 × 469 mm., with inscription (*SATIA etc.*) and French text: *Illustre conquérant... ton chef ambitieux*. LIT. V.S., p. 137, no. 15.

(33) Engraving attributed to P. Pontius, comprising only the left half (in reverse of Copy 1); 647 × 471 mm. LIT. V.S., p. 138, no. 16; *Dutuit, Manuel, 1881-85*, VI, p. 161, no. 23 (n.); *Hollstein (Dutch and Flemish)*, XVII, 1976, p. 160, no. 41.

(34) Anonymous engraving; 386 × 577 mm., with inscription (*SATIA etc.*) and French text: *Thomyris Reyne des Scytes... rasassier estant en vie*. LIT. V.S., p. 138, no. 17.

(35) Engraving by F. Ragot (1638-1670), Paris; 390 × 577 mm., with same text as Copy 34. LIT. V.S., p. 138, no. 18; *Mariette, Abécédario, 1851-60*, V, p. 116; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst, 1940*, p. 87, no. 592.

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue, 1829-42*, II, p. 207, no. 746; S. and A. Woodburn, *Catalogue of One Hundred Original Drawings by Sir Peter Paul Rubens, Collected by Sir Thomas Lawrence*, London, 1835, no. 82; A. van Hasselt, *Histoire de P.P. Rubens*, Brussels, 1840, p. 290, no. 640; *Mariette, Abécédario, 1851-60*, V, pp. 116-117; *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, p. 5 and V, p. 172; *Rooses, Vie, 1903*, p. 337; J. Müller Hofstede, 'Beiträge zum zeichnerischen Werk von

Rubens', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXVII, 1965, pp. 344-345, fig. 244; J. Müller Hofstede, 'Rubens' Grisaille für den Abendmahlsstich des Boetius à Bolswert', *Pantheon*, XXVIII, 1970, p. 109 (as c. 1619); K. Renger, 'Rubens dedit dedicavitque. Rubens' Beschäftigung mit der Reproduktionsgrafik. 1. Teil: Der Kupferstich', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, XVI, 1974, pp. 146-147 and n. 78; *Belkin, Costume Book, 1978*, pp. 56, 91; *Berger, Tomyris, 1979*, p. 5; A.-M. Logan, review of *Held, Drawings, 1986, Master Drawings*, XXV, 1989, p. 71.

In this *modello* for the engraving by Pontius (Copy 1; Fig. 14), the composition of the Boston picture of c. 1622-23 (No. 2; Fig. 8) is opened out to give a more spacious setting, and the architecture is expanded accordingly. The main figures no longer seem to occupy a single plane. The youth with the head of Cyrus is now brought into the foreground and separated from the group of men. Tomyris, raised on a dais, appears to have just descended from her throne, and has altogether a more regal bearing. At the same time her attitude is softened, and the reactions of the onlookers are more naturalistic. This, as well as several other new details, such as the dog coming down to lap the blood and the Burgundian head-dress of Tomyris's companion, suggests that the alterations postdate the Louvre version of the subject (No. 4; Fig. 23), probably made c. 1624.¹ As Mariette perceptively comments, the changes not only in the disposition of figures but also in tonal qualities, with new contrasts of light and shade, reflect the artist's skill in transferring to the medium of engraving a composition originally designed to make much of its effect through colour.

Since Pontius's print is dated 1630 we might expect that the *modello* was made immediately before this. In fact, Müller Hofstede has argued that it should be dated c. 1619—that is, just after the Boston picture, which he placed c. 1618. He compared the male heads in the drawing with those in the London *modello* for the print of the *Miraculous*

Draught of Fishes of 1619, and there certainly is a similarity. However, Renger has proposed that these latter heads relate to retouchings done to that sketch in the early 1630s.² He himself plausibly dates the *modello* for the *Tomyris and Cyrus* to the 1620s, on the assumption that it was prepared before Rubens's trip to Spain and England (1628-30), and that the plate was made during his absence. It might have been corrected and then approved for publication by Rubens himself immediately he returned to Antwerp.³

Mariette describes this drawing as a work of great beauty which, although initially executed by pupils, was more or less entirely retouched by Rubens himself, and this judgement, echoed by Burchard, seems well-founded. Burchard plausibly suggested that Rubens took a drawing for (or after?) the Boston painting (No. 2; Fig. 8), cut it more or less down the middle and, attaching it to a larger sheet in such a way that Tomyris and her companions were moved higher than and slightly farther from the men on the right, used it as the basis for the new composition; this he had copied (either by Pontius or by a pupil) in the present drawing, which he then substantially reworked. Judging from photographs, it seems clear that in the process the original underdrawing was almost entirely obliterated, remaining visible only in some architectural details. The small dog descending the steps seems to have been a last-minute addition by Rubens.

As noted above (under No. 2, text at n. 67), Pontius's print had a great success and led to Rubens's composition being reproduced in numerous contexts—from a table-top to needlework pictures, a silver platter to wooden panels.⁴ It seems to have appealed even to artists of limited talent: except for Copies 2 and 3, none of the painted copies listed above are of any particular quality, and some are very feeble indeed.⁵ It was not only copied but adapted to other subjects. Sandrart, for example, used it as a basis for two altarpieces involving queenly ladies,⁶ and B.

Beschey used it for a *Finding of Moses*,⁷ while it served in an anonymous seventeenth-century print for Judith displaying the head of Holofernes, and in a German picture-bible of 1679 for the beheading of John the Baptist.⁸ The exotic group of bystanders was even borrowed to attend the mocking of Christ in the print, largely based on a design by Diepenbeek, which appeared in various versions of the picture-bible of Claes Jansz. Visscher.⁹

Apart from the five states of Pontius's print listed above (under Copy 1), there is also a retouched proof impression of the first state before its completion.¹⁰

For the inscription (*SATIA TE SANGUINE QUEM SEMPER SITISTI*) and its source, see above, under No. 2, at n. 11.

1. The extravagant head-dress now given to Tomyris's companion closely recalls that worn by the young woman at the left of the *Conversion of St Bavo* of 1623-24 (*Vlieghe, Saints*, 1972-73, I, pp. 107-109, no. 72, fig. 123; for the earlier sketch see no. 71, fig. 122) and both relate to the drawing of Yolande de Barbançon in the *Costume Book* (*Belkin, Costume Book*, 1978, p. 91, no. 10, fig. 42): see further below, under No. 4.
2. Renger, op. cit., 1974, pp. 147, n. 28 and 151.
3. In a letter to Peiresc of 31 May 1635 (*Rooses — Ruelens, Correspondance*, 1887-1909, VI, p. 107) Rubens asserts that it is his practice to retouch proofs and that no engravings were published during his absence from the studio. See *Balis, Studio Practices*, 1994, p. 126, n. 184.
4. See above, Copies 22, 27-31.
5. Apart from Copies 23-25, all the painted copies cited above follow the direction of the Pontius print (Copy 1).
6. *The Finding of the True Cross* of 1653 for Brünn and *The Donation of the Relics of St Julian* of 1658 for Lambach (C. Klemm, *Joachim von Sandrart. Kunst-Wercke und Lebens-Lauf*, Berlin, 1986, pp. 217-219, no. 103, repr. and pp. 240-242, no. 119, repr.).
7. Sale, London (Christie's), 11 December 1987, lot 41 (pendant to a *Rebecca and Eliezer*).
8. An example of the anonymous print is in Vienna, Albertina (*Rubens-Stiche* III, 64). This appears to show Judith displaying the head to a group of people. The picture-bible is M. Küsel, *Icones Biblicae Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, Vienna, 1679, II (New Testament), no. 16.
9. For the most accessible illustration see the facsimile of the German *Biblia Ernestina: Veteris et Novi*

Testamenti Sacrae Imagines, Nuremberg, 1670, pl. 112 (edn Banca Piccolo Credito Bergamesco, *Monumenta Bergomensia*, XX, Bergamo, 1967).

10. See [Cat. Exh.] *Rubens and his Engravers* (P & D Colnaghi & Co. Ltd, 1977), London, 1977, no. 89, pl. xi.

4. Tomyris and Cyrus (Figs. 22, 23)

Oil on canvas; 263 × 199 cm. (original canvas 202 × 179 cm.: 50 cm. added on top, 8-11 cm. at bottom, c. 10 cm. to either side).

Paris, Musée du Louvre. Inv. no. 1768.

PROVENANCE: Everhard Jabach (Cologne and Paris, 1610-1695), who sold it to Louis XIV, King of France, in 1671; displayed at Versailles by 1682 (inv. 1683)¹ until the late 18th century in the 'Salon d'Apollon', to the left of the throne (summer display), at which time probably enlarged to fit this place; subsequently integrated into the Musée du Louvre (inv. 1814, no. 606).²

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 21), from Rubens's workshop, showing the composition in its original format, Count Alessandro Cigogna Mozzoni, Palazzo Annoni, Milan; canvas, 205 × 185 cm. PROV. ? Gian Pietro Annoni (Milan and Antwerp; d. 1627); ? his son, Paolo Annoni (Antwerp and Milan); Annoni family, Palazzo Annoni, Milan (by 1700);³ by inheritance to Count Gian Pietro Cigogna.

(2) Painting, showing the composition before additions, but cut on all sides and with the figure of the old woman missing, Antwerp, Baarendse-Arts coll.; canvas, 209 × 155 cm. PROV. Ooms-van Eersel sale, Antwerp, 15-20 May 1922, lot 135 (photo. in Witt Library).

(3) Painting, showing the composition before additions, whereabouts unknown; medium and dimensions unknown (photograph in Burchard documentation). PROV. Antwerp, F. Cuvelier, 1968.

(4) Painting (grisaille), whereabouts unknown; panel, 42 × 32.5 cm. PROV. Van Lancker, sale, Antwerp, 1835; Gérard Le

Grelle, sale, Antwerp, 16 December 1872; Léon de Burbure (1886). EXH. *L'Oeuvre de P.P. Rubens*, Antwerp, 1877, supplement, no. 18; *Exposition de tableaux de maîtres anciens*, Brussels, Académie Royale de Belgique, 1886, no. 191. LIT. *Hymans, Gravure*, 1879, p. 276, reproducing opposite the phototype by Jos. Maes (Fig. 20); *Rooses, Oeuvre*, 1886-92, IV, pp. 7-8, no. 7921 (as *grisaille for engraving; by a pupil and retouched by Rubens*).

(5) Painting, by Nicolas de Largillière, Toulouse, Musée des Augustins; 260 × 194 cm. (includes enlargement). LIT. Cat. Toulouse, 1922, no. 2084; Cat. Toulouse 1935, p. 952, no. 681; H.N. Opperman in N.M. Rosenfeld ed., [Cat. Exh.] *Largillière and the Eighteenth-Century Portrait*, Montreal, 1981, p. 339 under no. 71.

(6) Painting by Eugène Delacroix, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 40 × 32 cm. PROV. Delacroix sale, February 1864, lot 168 to M. Thoré. LIT. A. Robaut, *L'Oeuvre complet de Eugène Delacroix*, Paris, 1885, no. 1938; L. Johnson, *The Paintings of Eugène Delacroix*, I, Oxford, 1981, p. 183, no. L.31.

(7) Painting by Etienne Aubry (Versailles, 1745-1781; pupil of Silvestre), whereabouts unknown; canvas, c. 263 × 195 cm. PROV. J.-A. de Silvestre (Paris, 1718-1809), sale, Paris (Hôtel de la Rochefoucault), 28 February 1811, lot 97.

(8) Painting showing bust-length figures of the maids at the right side and the old woman, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 85 × 49 cm. PROV. Allegedly fragment of painting originally in the Düsseldorf Museum, destroyed in 1803; Käthe Beissel, Düsseldorf (1960).

(9) Painting showing the heads and shoulders of the two maids at the right, private collection, Belgium (?); canvas, dimensions unknown. PROV. Stolen from a collection at Uccle, October 1990 and recovered St-Gillis 1992 (report in *Le Soir*, 8 July 1992, with repr.).

(10) Drawing, preparatory to an engraving, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, inv. no. 117 (cat. no. A.XVI.3); pen and brown pencil heightened with white gouache on light

brown paper, 302 × 270 mm. PROV. Ludwig Heinrich Storck (d. 1894), Bremen; sale, Berlin (Amsler & Ruthardt), 25-28 June 1894, lot 511; before 1897 bought by Max Rooses for the Plantin Museum. EXH. *Tekeningen en prenten uit Antwerpens Gouden Eeuw*, travelling exhibition, Nijmegen etc., 1979-80, p. 79, no. 30 (repr. p. 67); *Rondom Rubens: Tekeningen en prenten uit eigen verzameling*, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, 1991, no. 26. LIT. M. Rooses, 'Oeuvres de Rubens. Addenda', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1897, p. 79 (as Pontius, retouched by Rubens); *Delen, Cabinet*, 1938, no. 288; J. Müller Hofstede, 'Beiträge zum zeichnerischen Werk von Rubens', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXVII, 1965, pp. 344-345; *Hairs, Sil-lage*, 1977, p. 56; C. Depauw in [Cat. Exh.] *Rondom Rubens: Tekeningen en prenten uit eigen verzameling*, Antwerp, 1991, pp. 156-157, no. 26 (repr. in colour; as *Soutman*).

EXHIBITED: *Exposition de 700 tableaux...tirés des réserves*, Louvre, Paris, 1960, no. 233.

LITERATURE: *Mercur Galant*, December 1682, p. 15; J.-A. Piganiol de la Force, *Nouvelle Description des châteaux et parcs de Versailles et de Marly*, I, 1713 (3rd edn), p. 116 (already enlarged); A. Antonini, *Memorial de Paris et de ses environs*, edn Paris, 1734, p. 170 (Versailles, Grand Appartement du Roi); *Descamps, Vie, 1753-63*, I, p. 314; *Smith, Catalogue, 1829-42*, II, pp. 116-117, no. 394; *Waagen, Kunstwerke, 1837-39*, III, p. 559, no. 685 (Journey of 1835); F. Villot, *Notice des tableaux exposés dans les galeries du Musée national du Louvre*, II, Paris, 1852, no. 433; *Knackfuss, Rubens, 1904*, p. 98; F. Engerand, *Inventaire des Tableaux du Roi redigé en 1700 et 1710 par Nicolas Bailly*, Paris, 1899, p. 240, no. 2; *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, pp. 6-7, no. 792; *Michel, Rubens, 1899*, II, pp. 203-204; *Rooses, Vie, 1903*, II, pp. 546-547, repr. p. 548; *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921*, p. 237; L. Demonts, *Musée national du Louvre, catalogue des peintures exposées dans les galeries*, III, Paris, 1922, p. 3 (as c. 1633); C. Coppier, 'Faut-il dégager nos chefs-d'oeuvre', *Amour de l'art*,

June 1924, pp. 179-189, esp. p. 186; E. Mâle, *L'art religieux après le Concile de Trente*, Paris, 1932, pp. 342-343, repr.; C. Janson, 'L'influence de Véronèse sur Rubens', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., XVII, 1937, pp. 28-29; C. Constans, 'Les tableaux du Grand Appartement du Roi', *Revue du Louvre*, XXVI, 1976, 3, pp. 157, 162-163, 172; C. Van de Velde, 'Rubens als schilder van historische taferelen', *Spiegel Historiae*, XII, 1977, 6, p. 350; A. Roy, *Le XVIIe siècle flamand au Louvre: Histoire des collections*, Paris, 1977, p. 6, no. 13 (as 1622-1623); A. Brejon de Lavergnée, J. Foucart, N. Reynaud, *Catalogue sommaire illustré des peintures du Musée du Louvre. I. Écoles flamande et hollandaise*, Paris, 1979, p. 115, repr.; *Berger, Tomyris, 1979*, pp. 13-14 and fig. 9, 20-21; *Meesters der Schilderkunst, 1980*, II, pp. 136, 137, no. 823 (as c. 1630); *Bodart, Rubens, 1985*, p. 176, no. 467, repr.; M. Facos, 'Rubens's "The Head of Cyrus Brought to Queen Tomyris": an Alternative Interpretation', *Rutgers Art Review*, VIII, 1987, pp. 52-53 and fig. 7, p. 51; *Jaffé, Rubens, 1989*, p. 264, no. 666, repr. p. 265; M.E. Wieseman in [Cat. Exh.] *The Age of Rubens*, ed. P. Sutton, (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston—Museum of Art, Toledo, 1993-94), Boston—Ghent, 1993, pp. 282-283, fig. 1; J. Foucart in [Louvre] *Guide du Visiteur. Les peintures flamande, hollandaise et allemande (XVe, XVIe, XVIIe siècles)*, Paris, 1995, pp. 79 (colour repr.), 81.

Even if we did not have the early copies (Copies 1 [Fig. 21], 2 and 3) one of them surely made in Rubens's studio, it would be evident that Rubens's original composition has been enlarged, particularly at the top. This was probably done in the 1690s when the picture was incorporated into the decoration of the 'Salon d'Apollon' at Versailles.⁴ The additions are already shown in the copy by Largillière (Copy 5). In fact the lines which delimit the additions are now visible on the canvas.⁵

This work, variously dated (from 1622 to 1633) but always placed after the Boston painting (No. 2; Fig. 8), has been generally admired for its painterly qualities and attrib-

uted more to Rubens's hand. The figures have been judged, if anything, still less dramatically expressive; and it seems that in treating the subject as a colourful pageant—which presumably appealed, for example, to Delacroix (cf. Copy 6)—the artist has lessened the horrific impact, even if he now shows the dog lapping up blood. This motif was probably derived from the version of the subject by the Master of Flémalle (cf. Fig. 19), which, as is noted above,⁷ is known in several copies. Since the setting is the luxurious East,⁸ the blood has fallen on the rich Turkish carpet which covers the steps to Tomyris's throne. This extravagant detail would have impressed Rubens's European contemporaries, who generally valued oriental rugs too much to put them on the floor.⁹

The influence of Veronese's ceiling paintings is as evident as in the pictures for the Jesuit Church of 1620-22. *Tomyris and Cyrus* was evidently meant to hang high, and may well have been planned as an overmantel; its almost square format would accord with this. Tomyris is enthroned like Venice in Veronese's *Justice and Peace before Venice* in the Sala del Collegio of the Palazzo Ducale,¹⁰ except that she lowers her head and her sceptre to direct the gory operation. She is even more richly clad than her counterpart in the Boston picture, the edges of her robe and skirt now stiff with jewels. Fur trimmings and Turkish/Polish costume characterize the colourful bystanders as Massagetae,¹¹ and the group of handmaidens is clearly adapted from the pair in the earlier composition.¹² This time too, since there is no dog to hold, it being otherwise occupied, the foremost young woman has only one hand over her swelling skirt and draws the other back in a pose derived from Rubens's drawing of c. 1612 after a print by Israel van Meckenem;¹³ her companion clings onto her as both look down at Cyrus's head, with a certain squeamishness. The old woman with them has now acquired a Burgundian head-dress which was later reused for a maid-servant in the drawing for Pontius's print of

1630 (Figs. 13 and 14; No. 3). The Master of Flémalle's lost painting (cf. Fig. 19) may again have been influential here, as well as Rubens's altarpiece of the *Conversion of St Bavo* in Ghent, painted in 1623-24 using his sketch of c. 1612.¹⁴

Roses thought that the sumptuous colouring, which he described in detail, and relative lack of emphasis on expression pointed to a fairly late painting, c. 1632-33, and he compared the queen's two young attendants with the saints on the Ildefonso altar.¹⁵ The pose is admittedly similar, but the group in the Louvre painting seems to be intermediate between the corresponding figures in this late altarpiece and in the Boston *Tomyris and Cyrus* of 1622-23. Like Burchard, I would date the Louvre *Tomyris and Cyrus* c. 1625.

The relatively restrained treatment of the subject may indeed suggest that the picture was intended to serve as a sobering but not horrific exemplary scene. But since the intended context remains unknown, it is impossible to say whether it had any specific relevance for its patron or first owner. As the subject is a variation on one already established in the artist's repertory, such speculation is perhaps unnecessary. Presumably Rubens enjoyed the challenge of adapting his earlier composition to the new format, and referring again to the precedent of the painting attributed to the Master of Flémalle (cf. Fig. 19). After Rubens's picture was presented to Louis XIV by Jabach it hung in the Salon d'Apollon, to the left of the royal throne, balanced on the right initially by Domenichino's *David playing the Harp* and then, from 1695, by a *St Francis in Ecstasy* by Gerard Seghers.¹⁶ The assumed meaning to this arrangement has provoked some speculation, but produced no very convincing 'programmatic' rationale, even if (unlike St Francis), as a just ruler, Tomyris is obviously appropriate in a general way to a throne room. The subject could also have been seen as an illustration of the vagaries of human fortune and the vanity of human ambitions.¹⁷ Whatever the case, the primary moti-

vation for the hanging of the pictures in the throne room was probably aesthetic.

Rubens must have relied on some studio assistance for the execution of this painting. Certain details, such as the golden dress of the foremost maid to the right, although well-executed, seem slightly laboured. It may have been one of the assistants involved who was responsible for the painting listed here as Copy 1 (Fig. 21); certainly this picture looks to have been a product of Rubens's workshop. It is of distinct quality, albeit lacking the delicacy evident in the Louvre picture, especially in the faces of the women; and it is recorded as hanging in the Palazzo Annoni in Milan as early as 1700. Quite possibly it was bought, or even commissioned, from the artist himself by a member of the Annoni family resident in Antwerp.¹⁸ Frans Baudouin, who has investigated the matter, has drawn my attention to references in the correspondence of Rubens to a 'Monsieur' or 'signor' Annoni who was evidently involved in negotiations involving works of art.¹⁹

Since the composition was never engraved it did not have the wide influence of the horizontal version of the subject. But it was evidently admired by a number of French artists who had access to the palace of Versailles, as is attested by the copies listed above, while the Versailles artist Collin de Vermont adapted it to a horizontal format (only borrowing a few elements from Pontius's print [Fig. 14]) for the scene in his *Cyrus* series of the late 1730s.²⁰

Rooses records a grisaille sketch after the painting, which he saw in the Burbure collection, and which he considered had been executed in Rubens's studio and retouched by the master.²¹ The reproduction published by Hymans (Fig. 20) hardly gives the impression of a grisaille sketch;²² rather the picture looks to be a small-scale copy in colour. But since the panel cannot now be traced, we must rely on the comments of Rooses and Hymans. Both were convinced that it was done in preparation for an engraving, which, however, was

never made. It may therefore relate directly to the drawing attributed (not very convincingly) to Soutman (Copy 10) which certainly seems to be a design for a print. If so, the latter is perhaps cut at the top, since the sketch reproduced by Hymans (Fig. 20) extends further, to assume the rectangular format that would be expected for a print.

1. C. Le Brun, *Inventaire des Tableaux du Cabinet du Roi* (signed by Le Brun and dated 18 October 1683), Archives Nationales, Paris, no. 289.
2. See *Notice des tableaux exposés dans la Galerie du Musée*, Paris, 1814, p. 70.
3. According to the records of the Annoni family.
4. See Coppier, loc. cit., 1924, pp. 186, 189.
5. The recent restoration of the picture did not extend to the removal of the additions: see Foucart, loc. cit., 1995.
6. Cf. esp. Rooses, *Oeuvre*, 1886-92, IV, p. 7.
7. Under No. 2, p. 18.
8. For the story of Tomyris and Cyrus and Rubens's treatment of it see under No. 2.
9. Maria de' Medici was, however, allowed a similar, if smaller and fringed, rug under the dolphin-based couch on which she is reclining in the scene of the *Birth of Louis XIII* from the Medici Cycle (K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921, p. 250). Here it almost seems a kind of 'magic carpet' which has transported the queen, bed and all (including lap dog), to the rustic allegorical scene of the picture.
10. Pignatti, *Veronese*, 1976, I, p. 139, no. 194; II, figs. 494, 496 and pl. XVII. Cf. the comments of Janson, op. cit., 1937, p. 29.
11. On the costume see above, under No. 2.
12. This adaptation confirms that the Louvre painting is the later version of the subject, since the girls in the Boston painting were themselves adapted from a pair in *The Devotion of Artemisia* (No. 13; Fig. 51) of c. 1616. See also above, under No. 2.
13. See Burchard—d'Hulst, *Drawings*, 1963, I, pp. 21-23, no. 8; II, pl. 8; Mielke—Winner, *Cat. Berlin*, 1977, pp. 60-62, no. 17, repr.; Held, *Drawings*, 1986, p. 95, no. 65, fig. 63. This figure is imitated in a painting of the *Madonna and Saints* in Pommersfelden which is surely a pastiche (cf. Belkin, *Costume Book*, 1978, pp. 85, 86 n. 14 and fig. 41) and, in reverse, in the curious picture of *Alboin and Rosamunde* in Vienna which Belkin rightly, I think, attributed to Rubens's school rather than to the master himself (Belkin, *Costume Book*, 1978, pp. 53, 58 and fig. 45).
14. Vlieghe, *Saints*, 1972-73, I, pp. 107-109, no. 72, fig. 123.
15. Vlieghe, *Saints*, 1972-73, II, no. 117, figs. 48, 50.
16. See Piganiol de la Force, op. cit., 1713, I, pp. 115-

- 117, with some misattributions.
17. See above, under No. 2. Mâle (loc. cit.) thought of its theme as religious in meaning, related to the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*; but he was not aware of the secular tradition of the subject. For Le Brun's interpretation see Piganiol de la Force, op. cit., 1713, V, p. 22.
 18. For the presence of this Milanese merchant family in the city in the 17th century see R. Baetens, *De Nazomer van Antwerpens Welvaart*, Brussels, 1976, esp. pp. 86-87, 222.
 19. Letter of 27 April 1619 (Rubens to Peter de Vischere): *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, II, p. 213, doc. CLXXXV; letter of 12 March 1638 (Rubens to Justus Sustermans): *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, VI, pp. 207-208, doc. DCCCL. These need not be the same member of the family; indeed they cannot be if one is to be identified with Gian Pietro Annoni, who died in 1627. Further references to 'Enoni' or 'Anoni', described as *mercator*, can be found in the Milan correspondence of Jan Brueghel: letter of 5 September 1621 (Brueghel to Ercole Bianchi) and of 1 April 1622 (Laurent Beyerlinck to Cardinal Federico Borromeo). For these letters see *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, II, pp. 282-283, doc. CCXXII and pp. 364-365, doc. CCXLIX.
 20. See C. Gendre, 'Esquisses de Collin de Vermont et de J.M. Vien', *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France*, XXXIII, 1983, pp. 5-6 and fig. 3.
 21. *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, pp. 7-8, no. 792¹. See above, under Copy 4.
 22. *Hymans, Gravure, 1879*, opp. p. 276: a phototype by Jos. Maes.

5. Tomyris and Cyrus: Drawing (Fig. 17)

Pen and brown ink over black and red chalk on paper; 272 × 467 mm.; inscribed in the centre by Rubens *plus spatij*; lower left, mark of unidentified collection, probably Austrian, c. 1800 (L. 622).—*Verso*: Sketch of the *Feast of Herod*. Inscribed at top centre by Rubens *De Herodias wat hooget and den stoel te cort (?)*. *Cleveland, Ohio, Museum of Art*, Holden Collection. Inv. no. 54.2.

PROVENANCE: Unidentified collection, probably Austrian, c. 1800 (L. 622); English private collection; purchased by the museum in 1954.

EXHIBITED: *Cambridge—New York, 1956*, no. 26 (verso); *Antwerp, 1956*, no. 131 (verso); *Idea to Image. Preparatory Studies from the Renaissance to Impressionism*, Cleveland Museum of Arts, Cleveland, 1980, p. 29; *Flemish Drawings in the Age of Rubens. Selected Works from American Collections*, Wellesley College, Wellesley—Cleveland Museum of Arts, Cleveland, October 1993–February 1994, no. 58.

LITERATURE: L. Burchard, 'Rubens' "Feast of Herod" at Port Sunlight', *The Burlington Magazine*, XCV, 1953, pp. 383-387, esp. p. 387; H.S. Francis, 'The preliminary pen and ink drawing for the "Feast of Herod" by Peter Paul Rubens', *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, XLI, 1954, pp. 124-126; [Cat. Exh.] *Rubens Drawings and Oil Sketches from American Collections*, ed. A. Mongan (Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University; Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 1956), Cambridge, Mass., 1956, pp. 25-26, no. 26 (verso); J.S. Held, 'Drawings and Oil Sketches by Rubens from American Collections', *The Burlington Magazine*, XCVIII, 1956, p. 124 and fig. 32; Burchard—d'Hulst, *Tekeningen, 1956*, pp. 107-108, no. 131 (verso); Held, *Drawings, 1959*, I, p. 124, under no. 67; Burchard—d'Hulst, *Drawings, 1963*, I, pp. 313, 315-316, no. 196 (verso); Berger, *Tomyris, 1979*, pp. 24-25 and fig. 12; M.M. Johnson, [Cat. Exh.] *Idea to Image. Preparatory Studies from the Renaissance to Impressionism*, Cleveland, 1980, pp. 31, 80; Held, *Drawings, 1986*, p. 159, under no. 230; A.-M. Logan, [Cat. Exh.] *Flemish Drawings in the Age of Rubens. Selected Works from American Collections*, Wellesley, Mass., 1993, pp. 203-205, no. 58, repr.

In this late drawing, a rough sketch on the verso of that for *Salome with the Head of John the Baptist*, the subject of Tomyris and Cyrus is treated by Rubens in a new way and with different emphasis. Since the Salome sketch is for the painting now in Edinburgh,¹ which arrived in Naples around 1640 and was almost certainly commissioned by Gaspar

Roomer, the Flemish collector resident there,² it is tempting to suppose that the *Tomyris and Cyrus*, which must have been drawn around the same time, was connected with the same patron, who delighted in gory subjects.³

Decapitation was evidently the theme that united on one sheet these illustrations of Salome and Tomyris. In both a woman maltreats a man's head, in one case justly and in the other unjustly.⁴ Subjects with severed heads had been associated by other artists, for example by Hieronymus Wierix who in 1578 published a whole series of engravings on this theme under the title *Tyrannorum proemia*.⁵ Indeed, in a Flemish sixteenth-century tapestry representing Fortitude (*text ill.* 5) Tomyris drops Cyrus's head into a vessel decorated with an image of John the Baptist.⁶ Rubens's drawings may therefore have been intended as iconographically counterposed pendants. However, since we have no evidence that a painting was ever executed after this version of *Tomyris and Cyrus*, it seems more likely that the designs were alternatives for Roomer, who perhaps asked for a horrific theme involving a woman and a beheading.

Some elements recall Rubens's earlier versions of the subject. In particular the male bystanders resemble those in the Boston painting (No. 2; Fig. 8), except in being in reverse. Among this familiar group of soldiers and orientals the stout 'Turk' seems to have reverted more to his original in the Windsor drawing (Fig. 16),⁷ while the 'Polish' nobleman is now given a more Turkish costume.⁸ But this time the maidservants, previously detached from the action, participate actively. As a boy (or possibly a dwarf) lowers Cyrus's head into the basin of blood one of the girls bends over, apparently to sate the blood-thirsty king with a further outpouring of gore. This figure seems to be based on one designed for a very different context: the coy young woman kneeling in the drawing in the Fodor Collection, Amsterdam,⁹ and the whole group recalls that gathered around the peculiar baby in Rubens's last version of *The Discovery of*

Erichthonius of c. 1633, of which only a fragment survives.¹⁰

Rubens inscribed the words 'plus spatii (*spatij*)'—'more space'—in the centre of the drawing. Burchard assumed, probably rightly, that he meant to leave more space between the two groups of figures. But he may have thought rather of setting the men in the foreground further back so as to bring Tomyris more into prominence. Rubens often wrote notes on his drawings in Latin, so no special significance can be applied to this annotation, or to the fact that the inscription on the drawing of Salome on the verso is in Flemish.

Burchard, who dated the Edinburgh *Feast of Herod* to 1633, placed this drawing c. 1630-33. But if it is connected with Roomer, it is probably later, and I am inclined to follow Held in dating both sides of the sheet to c. 1637-38.¹¹

1. Jaffé, *Rubens*, 1989, no. 1187, repr.
2. Burchard, *loc. cit.*, 1953, esp. p. 387 and pl. 9; also C. Whitfield in [Cat. Exh.] *Painting in Naples from Caravaggio to Giordano*, eds. J. Martineau and C. Whitfield (Royal Academy), London, 1982, pp. 239-240, no. 138, repr.
3. See Whitfield, *loc. cit.*; R. Ruotolo, *Mercanti-collezionisti fiamminghi a Napoli. Gaspare Roomer e i VandenEynden*, Meta di Sorrento, 1982.
4. Burchard (*op. cit.*, 1953, p. 387) thought of Cyrus and John the Baptist as more exactly parallel cases, both suffering tragic fates at the hand of a cruel woman; but Rubens is, I think, more likely to have seen the stories as in some way contrasting. For ancient and Renaissance interpretations of the story of Tomyris and Cyrus see above, under No. 2.
5. See *Maucquoy-Hendrickx, Wierix, 1978-82*, II, pp. 293-295, nos. 1636-1645, pls. 221-222. Tomyris is the last (no. 1645) in this series of ten heroic tyrannicides, biblical and classical.
6. From the cycle of the Triumph of the Virtues woven at Brussels c. 1535. See *Bennett, Cat. Exh. Tapestry*, 1976, no. 20, repr.; also above, Volume I, Chapter I, text at nn. 20-22.
7. Held had previously compared this figure to one by Pintoricchio in the Appartamento Borgia of the Vatican (*op. cit.*, 1956, p. 124, fig. 30). For the Windsor drawing see above, under No. 2a, at nn. 10, 11.
8. Cf. esp. the Turkish archer with pointed hat on fol. 37 of the Costume Book: *Belkin, Costume Book*, 1978, no. 37, p. 161 and figs. 193 and 201.

9. Amsterdam, Gemeente Musea (Fodor Collection); the drawing is for the Prado *Garden of Love*. See Burchard—d'Hulst, *Drawings*, 1963, I, pp. 315-316, no. 184; II, pl. 184; Held, *Drawings*, 1959, I, p. 124, no. 121; II, pl. 132; Held, *Drawings*, 1986, p. 150, no. 208 and pl. 199.
10. Oberlin College, Allen Memorial Art Museum. See L. Burchard, 'Rubens's "Daughters of Cecrops"', *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin*, XI, 1953, pp. 4-26, repr.; Held, *Studies*, 1982, pp. 156-165, fig. XIV.2 and frontispiece (colour).
11. See also J.S. Held, 'Rubens' "Feast of Herod"', *The Burlington Magazine*, XCVI, 1954, p. 122, for his dating of the Edinburgh painting to c. 1638.

6. The Justice of Cambyses

Formerly Brussels, Town Hall. Destroyed by fire in 1695.

PROVENANCE: Brussels, Town Hall; in the courtroom ('chambre criminelle').

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 24), ? from Rubens's studio, attributed in the 18th century to Van Dyck, formerly Potsdam-Sanssouci, Neues Palais, inv. no. I.2290, lost; canvas, 220 × 274 cm. PROV. Frederick II ('the Great') of Prussia, Potsdam-Sanssouci, Neues Palais, 1773; destroyed in 1945. LIT. M. Oesterreich, *Description de tout l'intérieur des deux Palais de Sanssouci, de ceux de Potsdam et de Charlottenbourg...*, Potsdam, 1773, p. 50, no. 144; [G. Poensgen], *Die Gemälde in der preussischen Schlössern. Das Neue Palais*, Berlin, 1935, no. 225; Bernhard, *Verlorene Werke*, 1965, p. 60.

(2) Painting (Fig. 25), attributed to B. (or J.F.) Beschey, Bergues, Musée Municipal, inv. no. 76.102; canvas, 236 × 304 cm. PROV. Town Hall, Bergues. LIT. A. Valabrique in *Courier de l'Art*, 1883, p. 533; H. Hymans, 'Notes sur quelques oeuvres d'art conservées en Flandre et dans le nord de la France', *Bulletin d'art et d'archéologie*, XXII, 1883, pp. 245-246; Rooses, *Oeuvre*, 1886-92, IV, p. 9 and V, p. 410; [Cat.] *Les musées de Bergues*, Bergues, 1925, no. 13; [Cat. Exh.] *La peinture flamande au temps de Rubens* (Lille—Calais—Arras, 1977-1978), Arras, 1977, p. 192; Held, *Sketches*, 1980, p. 373;

Liedtke, *Cat. Metropolitan Museum*, 1984, I, p. 234.

(3) Painting by Hendrik van Herp II (1619-1667), whereabouts unknown; medium and dimensions unknown; recorded in 1883 as owned by the Bestuur der Antwerpsche Gods-huizen. LIT. Van den Branden, *Schilderschool*, 1883, II, p. 441; Wurzbach, I, 1906, p. 680.

(4) Painting, whereabouts unknown, c. 137 × 183 cm. LIT. Smith, *Catalogue*, 1829-42, IX, pp. 311-312, no. 243.

LITERATURE: Dubuisson-Aubenay (François-Nicolas Baudot, sieur du Buisson et d'Aubenay), *Itinerarium Belgicum* (1623-28), Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, MS. 4407, pp. 111-112; A. Golnitzius, *Ulysses Belgico-Gallicus*, Leiden, 1631, p. 124; A. Henne and A. Wauters, *Histoire de Bruxelles*, III, Brussels, 1845, p. 46; Rooses, *Oeuvre*, 1886-92, IV, pp. 8-9, no. 793; Rooses—Ruelens, *Correspondance*, 1887-1909, VI, doc. CMXXXVI, pp. 335-337 (letter of 27 February 1623); Rooses, *Vie*, 1903, pp. 279, 386; Tessin, *Studieresor*, 1914, p. 85; K.d.K. ed. *Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 463, n. to p. 220; G. Kisch in *Zeitschrift für Schweizerisches Recht*, N.F. LXXIII, 1953, p. 357; L. Halkin, 'L'itinéraire de Belgique de Dubuisson-Aubenay (1623-1628)', *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, XVI, 1946, p. 61; Magurn, *Letters*, 1955, p. 89, doc. 50; A.M. Cetto, *Der Berner Traian- und Herkinbald-Teppich*, Berne, 1966, pp. 24-25, 34; A. Henne and A. Wauters, *Histoire de la ville de Bruxelles*, ed. M. Martens, Brussels, 1975, III, pp. 52-54; Held, *Sketches*, 1980, pp. 90n., 373; B. Brenninkmeyer-de Rooij in *Cat. Exh. Gods, Saints and Heroes*, 1980-81, p. 75, n. 11; D. Cast, *The Calumny of Apelles*, New Haven—London, 1981, p. 117; Liedtke, *Cat. Metropolitan Museum*, 1984, I, pp. 233-236; Jaffé, *Rubens*, 1989, p. 266, no. 677; d'Hulst—Vandenvoer, *Old Testament*, 1989, pp. 147-148, under no. 46.

Rubens's *Justice of Cambyses*, painted for a courtroom in the town hall of Brussels, perished with much other decoration of the building in the fire started during the bom-

bardment of the city in 1695. The sketch for the picture is perhaps also lost (see below, No. 6a); but at least it is reproduced fairly accurately in early copies (Figs. 27-29). Surviving copies or reproductions of the final painting (see Figs. 24, 25), however, indicate that it was broader than the sketch, and included more figures. This, as we shall see, is supported by the evidence we have about the dimensions of the picture (cf. Fig. 26) which was probably Rubens's pendant to it.

The story of the judgement of Cambyses is told with grisly succinctness by Herodotus and Valerius Maximus: ¹ discovering that a judge called Sisamenes had taken bribes, the Persian king had him executed and flayed; the skin was turned into a new cover for the judgement seat upon which the miscreant's son and successor in office, Otanes, was then constrained to sit. The punishment and its permanent memorial thereafter served as a vivid deterrent against corruption. The theme, familiar throughout the Middle Ages in the version of the *Gesta Romanorum*,² had long been a favourite judicial *exemplum* for the adornment of town halls, particularly in northern Europe.³ Gerard David's horrific interpretation in the two paintings of 1498 for the town hall of Bruges is only the most memorable in a whole iconographic tradition.⁴ The subject was presumably prescribed for Rubens by the patrons and, with the other pictures in this courtroom, made an appropriate addition to the famous earlier justice cycle by Roger van der Weyden in the council chamber.⁵

That Rubens chose to concentrate on the moment when the dead judge's son is set up on the judgement seat conforms to the account of Valerius Maximus, for whom the punishment is an event already past. Rubens would certainly also have read Herodotus, first in Valla's Latin translation which he bought in 1615, and later in the original Greek, when he acquired Jungermannus's edition in 1622.⁶ That he does not show the skin stretched on the judgement seat as Herodotus describes it, in strips (literally 'thongs': *lora* in

Valla's Latin translation), is easy enough to explain; without showing a recognizably flayed body the point of the story could not be made visually; as is demonstrated, for example, in a near-contemporary tapestry woven for the town hall of Emden which constitutes a rare attempt at textual fidelity in this matter.⁷ Rubens also showed the skin being suspended behind, rather than upon the seat as it is most often depicted; this device, used in different ways in a couple of earlier instances,⁸ at least mitigates the predicament of the new judge which some artists chose rather to relish.⁹ In his enthusiastic account of the painting, Tessin noted how well Rubens captured the humility as well as the apprehensiveness of the son as he took the dread seat.¹⁰ And Rubens's picture is unusual, if not unique, in its emphasis on the salutary function and relevance of the *exemplum*. It shows us the judicial system under the strict and conscientious control of a ruler who has at heart the interests of even the weakest among his people—particularly characterized in the suppliant mother, children and old man appealing directly to Cambyses. The installation of the new judge, who is presented, in a pardonable anachronism, with a Netherlandish 'rod of justice'¹¹ as his father's skin is lowered behind him, takes place amid the most reassuring images of judicial solemnity. The chair is set about with symbols of wisdom and discretion—sphinxes for arm-rests and a niche in the form of a shell—which are familiar from the imagery on Renaissance judgement seats, as well as from the iconography of the most famous of all justice *exempla*, the Judgement of Solomon. Rubens used a shell-niche in his corresponding composition of this subject (cf. Fig. 26)¹² and flanked Solomon's seat with a pair of lion-sphinxes, a nice allusion both to the throne of Solomon with its rows of lions as well as his proverbial wisdom.¹³ The twisted 'Solomonic' columns in Rubens's Cambyses picture particularly underline this association, while also providing a grandiose and suitably oriental context—which, as so

often elsewhere in the artist's work, recalls Veronese right down to the details of accompanying soldiers and dog.

It is interesting that both the composition and symbolic motifs of Rubens's *Justice of Cambyses* echo those of the version of the *Judgement of Solomon* which is recorded in the print by Boethius à Bolswert,¹⁴ and a picture in Copenhagen (Fig. 26),¹⁵ since d'Hulst and Vandenven have argued that the original painting of that composition hung opposite the picture of Cambyses in the Brussels courtroom; indeed it may have formed part of a whole pictorial ensemble with a *Last Judgement* also by Rubens on the wall between. The primary evidence for such a scheme is the account of the room given in 1626 by the French traveller Dubuisson-Aubenay, the value of whose testimony has been already recognized by students of Roger van der Weyden. Dubuisson-Aubenay describes how, in the *chambre criminelle*, Rubens's *Judgement of Cambyses* hung above the fireplace ('sur la cheminée'); his *Judgement of Solomon* was opposite, over the doorway ('vis à vis et sur l'entrée'), and a *Last Judgement* by the artist was to the right ('à main droite')—i.e. to the right of one entering the room (the viewpoint implied by his description) and thus on the wall between the two others. It is therefore tempting to conclude that the most traditional and ultimately terrifying of justice pictures was placed over the judge's throne, like so many *Last Judgements* in Netherlandish town halls.¹⁶ This would certainly be appropriate enough, since, if we arrange Rubens's pendant *exempla* in accordance with Dubuisson-Aubenay, we find that both protagonists — Cambyses setting up the judge and Solomon making his proverbial judgement—would have faced outwards, towards the prisoner (and the west wall?), as also would the living representative of the Brussels judiciary, seated beneath the image of the judging Christ. But this notion must remain a hypothesis, given the confused and scanty evidence about the lost decorations in the Brussels town hall—to

which we now turn.

It has sometimes been suggested by modern scholars that the Copenhagen *Judgement of Solomon* (Fig. 26) was in fact painted by Rubens for the town hall as well as (or instead of) his *Justice of Cambyses*: not only is the related print by Boethius à Bolswert (of 1629) dedicated to the Councillors of Brussels, but the first travel book to refer to a Rubens painting in the town hall, Abraham Golnitzius's *Ulysses Belgico-Gallicus* (1631), supposedly recording a visit in 1624, talks not of a *Justice of Cambyses*, but of a *Judgement of Solomon* which cost 3000 florins. However, Golnitzius further characterizes this picture as fitted with wings painted with portraits of various councillors ('...*alae sive latera, icones Scabinorum tenent...*'), evidently confusing the supposed work by Rubens with a *Judgement of Solomon* by Michael Coxcie which had precisely this feature and which was also in the town hall.¹⁷ Hence Rooses concluded that the account actually conflated Coxcie's *Solomon* with Rubens's *Justice of Cambyses*; he saw confirmation of this in the fact that the version of the *Judgement of Solomon* in Copenhagen (Fig. 26) has a provenance which excludes the possibility that it came from the town hall.¹⁸ This view was widely accepted even though the Bolswert print, with its reference to this *Judgement of Solomon* picture 'dedicated at the altar of Justice' *ad aram Themidis... D.C.*, specifically indicates some association with a judicial context—and indeed, Mariette thought that the engraving reproduced a lost painting from the Brussels town hall.¹⁹

In Golnitzius's account, the reference to 'Rubens's *Judgement of Solomon*' is in fact immediately followed by mention of a *Last Judgement* above the door in the same (unfortunately unspecified) room among the *Curiae conclavia*.²⁰ It might seem that this provides clear support for Dubuisson-Aubenay's Rubensian scheme in the courtroom. However, it is hard to be certain about the nomenclature of different rooms in the pre-1695 town hall, and the room later designated as

the *vierschaar* seems incapable of accomodating such a scheme. Moreover, as Arnout Balis has informed me, a document of 1577 talks of a *Judgement of Solomon* and a *Last Judgement*, both apparently furnished with portraits of officials, which were together in the *raetkamer*, or magistrates' assembly chamber.²¹ The picture of Solomon was certainly that by Coxcie; the easiest interpretation of Golnitzius, who after all says nothing of an illustration of *Cambyses*, is therefore that he described the two earlier pictures under the impression that one of them at least was by Rubens. His confusion might have been prompted by an awareness that a *Judgement of Solomon* (and *Last Judgement*?) by Rubens hung in another room. But it has to be admitted that the 1577 document now casts some doubt on the reliability of Dubuisson-Aubenay's testimony to a *Last Judgement* by Rubens in the town hall—and indeed perhaps also to the presence there of a *Judgement of Solomon* by Rubens.

As far as the commission is concerned, we know for certain only that a resolution of the Brussels Council of 6 April 1622 accorded Rubens the large sum of 3000 florins for the *Judgement of Cambyses*.²² Moreover, in a letter of 27 February 1623 to Frederik de Marselaer, then burgomaster of Brussels, of which unfortunately only a fragment survives, Rubens talks of the *Cambyses* piece above the doors ('...het stuck van Cambises over de deuren...') which he had been hoping to finish before his departure for Paris; he adds a few lines later that on his return he expects to find time to finish and deliver the whole work ('het geheel werck te leveren...') before the feast of St John (21 June).²³ Rooses and Ruelens took this letter as the artist's response to a request from the Brussels town council for another picture, but this, I think, is not the implication of the discussion; it seems to me, rather, that the letter—and in particular the allusion to 'the whole work'—might refer to the *Cambyses* as only a part (if the final part) of Rubens's commission.

Whether Rubens delivered his *Justice of*

Cambyses by 21 June is not known, nor do we know whether this target date had some special significance for the Brussels Council. We cannot even be sure that the painting was installed by 1624, when Golnitzius visited the city, given that he does not mention it (even if he connects his *Judgement of Solomon* with the price—3000 florins—voted by the Brussels council for the *Cambyses* picture in 1622). What we can say is that it was hanging in place by 1626 and the visit of Dubuisson-Aubenay, even if his account would place it above the chimney rather than the doors.

Given that the copies of the *Judgement of Solomon* and the *Justice of Cambyses* are the same size, given Rubens's dedication of the print of the painting of Solomon to the Brussels magistrates 'at the altar of Themis', and given the suggestive iconographic and compositional correspondences, I feel it is justified to retain the notion of a pair of pendants, perhaps even designed by Rubens to form an ensemble with a picture of the *Last Judgement*. But if so, the *Justice of Cambyses* was the most striking work, in quality as well as subject-matter. It was praised by Tessin (who mentioned no companion pictures), and ranked with Van Dyck's celebrated group portrait of councillors. Moreover, it seems to have made an immediate impact on Rubens's contemporaries—witness the closely dependent *Justice of Cambyses* painted in 1634 by I. Isaacsz. for the town hall of Jorderwijk,²⁴ and the compositional use that Jordaens made of it for a *Continnence of Scipio*.²⁵

1. Herodotus, *Histories* V.25; Valerius Maximus, *Dicta et facta* VI.iii.ext.3 (*de severitate*).

2. *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. H. Oesterley, Berlin 1872, chapter xxix, pp. 327-328. For this and other medieval accounts see now H. van der Velden, 'Cambyses for example: the origins and function of an *exemplum iustitiae* in Netherlandish art of the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries', *Simiolus*, XXIII, 1995, pp. 5-39, esp. pp. 11-16.

3. For the subject and the context of justice scenes in general see Pigler, *Barockthemen*, 1974, II, pp. 327-328; Lederle, *Gerechtigkeitsdarstellungen*, 1937, esp. pp. 42-45; K. Simon, *Abendlandische Gerechtigkeitsbilder*, Frankfurt, 1948; Van de Waal, *Geschied-*

- uitbeelding, 1952, esp. I, pp. 261, 263, and II, p. 124, n. 6; W.S. Heckscher, *Rembrandt's 'Anatomy of Dr. Nicolaas Tulp'*, New York, 1958, pp. 88-90, 160-162, nn. (wrongly referring in n. 163 to Rubens's picture in Bruges town hall); B. Brenninkmeyer-de Rooij in *Cat. Exh. Gods, Saints and Heroes, 1980-81*, pp. 65-76; Cetto, op. cit., 1966, esp. pp. 23-34, 44-57; R. Kahnsnitz in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (Herder), 1970, cols. 134-140, s.v. *Gerechtigkeitsbilder*; M. Mende, *Das alte Nürnberger Rathaus*, I, Nuremberg, 1979, esp. pp. 417-418; W. Schild, in *Recht und Gerechtigkeit im Spiegel der europäischen Kunst*, eds. W. Pleister and W. Schild, Cologne, 1988, pp. 149-171, esp. pp. 161-162; *De Ridder, Gerechtigheidsstafereelen*, 1989, pp. 55-62; Van der Velden, loc. cit. in n. 2.
4. Since David's second picture shows Sisamenes being flayed alive (something that is not sanctioned by the ancient texts, which imply that Sisamenes was flayed only after death) there has been much debate about the exact literary source(s) David used—though the statement by H. J. van Miegroet ('Gerard David's *Justice of Cambyse: exemplum iustitiae* or political allegory', *Simiolus*, XVIII, 1988, p. 120, that Valerius Maximus made no mention of flaying is based on a mistranslation. See now Van der Velden, op. cit. in n. 2, pp. 8-9; also idem 'Cambyse reconsidered: Gerard David's *exemplum iustitiae* for Bruges town hall', *Simiolus*, XXIII, 1995, pp. 40-62 for a good assessment of the evidence about visual and literary sources. It can be noted that there was another picture of the *Justice of Cambyse*, supposedly by A. Claissens but in an archaic style, in the Bruges town hall. See J.B. Descamps, *Voyage pittoresque de la Flandre et du Brabant...*, Paris, 1769, p. 306; can this be the painting now in the Aldermen's Chamber of the Brugse Vrije, based on David's composition but at one time altered to make the victim look like a saint (Bartholomew): *De Ridder, Gerechtigheidsstafereelen*, 1989, pp. 61-62, fig. 17 and Van der Velden, op. cit. in n. 2, pp. 57-58, fig. 14?
5. For this series, illustrating the Justice of Herkinbald and the Justice of Trajan, and a valuable discussion of the confusing evidence about the nomenclature of different rooms in the Brussels town hall see Cetto, op. cit., 1966, pp. 23-34, 206-214.
6. See above, Volume I, Chapter II, p. 64.
7. For this tapestry, made in 1617, see Göbel, *Wandteppiche, 1923-34*, III, 2, p. 151 and pl. 119a; Schild, op. cit. in n. 3, pp. 162-163, fig. 254.
8. E.g. in one of a series of Justice pictures from the workshop of Cranach (I. Kunze in *Berliner Museen*, LIX, 1938, I, p. 3 and fig. 1; Van der Velden, op. cit. in n. 2, pp. 29-30, fig. 20), where the flayed skin hangs limply over the canopy; in one of the roundels of the Kronberg tapestry of 1586 (M. Mackeprang and S.F. Christensen, *Kronborgtape-*
- terne*, Copenhagen, 1950); and, more accessibly, in the illustration on H. Sebald Beham's title-page to Justinus Gobler's *Der gerichtlich Process* of 1534, where Otanes looks nervously up as he takes his seat (Kahnsnitz, op. cit. in n. 3, fig. 3; see also Cetto, op. cit., 1966, pp. 77-78, 88-89 and 175; Van der Velden, op. cit. in n. 2, pp. 24-27, fig. 14).
9. Notably the Petrarch master in his woodcut for the German translation of the *De remediis utriusque fortunae* (F. Petrarca, *Von der Artzney bayder Glück des guten und widerwertigen*, Augsburg, 1532, fol. LXIIv (I.xlvii); W. Scheidig, *Die Holzschnitte des Petrarca-Meisters*, Berlin, 1955, p. 97) and Joachim Wtewael in the print from his *Thronus Iustitiae* of 1605, where the discomfort of Otanes is expressed in mannerist contortions (S. Helliessen, 'Thronus Iustitiae: a series of Pictures of Justice by Joachim Wtewael', *Oud Holland*, XCI, 1977, pp. 242-245, fig. 9; the title-page to the series included a figure of Otanes actually dressed in his father's skin: see p. 234, fig. 3 and p. 253; cf. Van der Velden, op. cit. in n. 2, pp. 32-33, figs. 23-24).
10. *Tessin, Studieresor*, 1914, p. 85: 'Dass [Bild]... vom Rubens, handelte vom Richter, den Cambyse wie der auf den thron setze, über welchen er dess vatters haut hatte lassen aufhängen, worinnen dess Richters demuth und furcht sehr wohl wahr vorgestelt'.
11. For the 'roede van justitie', a dry thorn branch with lopped-off shoots, and its symbolic function see K. Fremantle, *The Baroque Town Hall of Amsterdam*, Utrecht, 1959, pp. 69, 75, 78-80, 86. It appears among the emblems of the Amsterdam *vierschuur* and may well have likewise featured in the gilded decoration which Dubuisson-Aubenay saw in the Brussels courtroom. For an illustration of a rod of justice as carried by the Amsterdam sheriff see [Cat. Exh.] *Amsterdam—die grote Stad* (Amsterdam Historical Museum), Amsterdam, 1973, p. 13.
12. *K.d.K. cd. Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 128; *d'Hulst—Vandenven, Old Testament*, 1989, pp. 146-150, no. 46, fig. 101.
13. For another instance of a shell-niche for Solomon's judgement seat used in a judicial context see the relief in the town hall of Amsterdam (Fremantle, op. cit. in n. 11, fig. 88), and shells recur in the decoration as symbols of wisdom (cf. Fremantle, pp. 71, 82, 84). The actual seat of the secretary in the Amsterdam *vierschuur* (fig. 97) was similarly adorned. For an earlier judgement seat with a shell-niche, made in 1591 for the town hall of Regensburg, see H. Liermann, *Richter, Schreiber, Advokaten*, Munich, 1957, fig. 28. The sphinx likewise appears in the decoration of the Amsterdam town hall, associated with the image of Good Council (cf. E. Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, edn Garden City, N. Y., 1955, p. 164 and fig. 43; also Fremantle, p. 38 and fig. 21). Sphinxes adorn the seat of Otanes in the *Judgement of Cambyse* on

- the Kronberg tapestry (for which see above, n. 8).
14. *V.S.*, p. 7, no. 51.
 15. *d'Hulst—Vandenven, Old Testament, 1989*, no. 46, copy 1; fig. 101.
 16. For *Last Judgements* in judicial contexts see Lederle, *Gerechtigkeitsdarstellungen, 1937*, pp. 14-26; G. Troescher, 'Weltgerichtsbilder in Rathäusern und Gerichtsstätten', *Westdeutsches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte. Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XI, 1939, pp. 139-205; C. Harbison, *The Last Judgement in Sixteenth Century Northern Europe: A Study of the Relation Between Art and the Reformation* (diss., Garland), New York—London, 1976, pp. 51-64 and figs. 14-17, 21 and 23, for images of judges sitting beneath (or beside) the judging Christ. Cetto (op. cit., 1966, esp. pp. 25, 33-34) points out that such pictures were often on the east wall (but west wall in Nuremberg), as seems to have been the case with the *Last Judgement* which accompanied Roger van der Weyden's justice cycle in the council chamber. The idea of setting a *Last Judgement* between historical *exempla* was likewise traditional. The Amsterdam courtroom followed this format with one wall decorated with a *Last Judgement* above a central *Judgement of Solomon* which was flanked by classical *exempla* (Fremantle, op. cit. in n. 11, pp. 81-83, fig. 85). See also Schild, op. cit. in n. 3, pp. 70-71.
 17. For Coxcie's picture, made in 1552 for the magistrates' assembly chamber, see Henne and Wauters, op. cit., 1975, III, p. 52. All the expanded editions and translations of L. Guicciardini's *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi* (1st edn Antwerp, 1567) published after 1631 reproduce the mistake along with other material from Golnitzius. Cf. *d'Hulst—Vandenven, Old Testament, 1989*, pp. 148, 149, n. 9.
 18. See *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, I, pp. 150-152, no. 122. Before *d'Hulst and Vandenven*, only Hymans (*Hymans, Gravure, 1879*, p. 308, n. 1) and Cetto, relying on Dubuisson-Aubenay, seem to have concluded that there was another, original *Judgement of Solomon* by Rubens in the courtroom, which would have perished in the fire of 1695. For the provenance of the Copenhagen picture see *d'Hulst—Vandenven, Old Testament, 1989*, p. 146, under no. 46, copy 1.
 19. *Mariette, Abécédario, 1851-60*, V, p. 73: 'Je crois que c'étoit un des tableaux de l'hôtel de ville de Bruxelles qui aura été brûlé dans le bombardement de 1695'.
 20. Golnitzius, 1631, loc. cit.: 'ianuae superstat'.
 21. *Index der Resolutien raeckende de stad Brussel*, reproduced as fig. 764a in Henne and Wauters, op. cit., 1975, III, without giving a reference: 'in den jaere 1577 werde geresolveert de contrefeijsels staende op de schilderijen van Salamon ende van het oordeel hangende in de raetkamer uyt te doen ende daer op te doen schilderen de wethouders ende rentmrs alsdan dienende d. lib. fol. 314 verso'.
 22. See Henne and Wauters, op. cit., 1975, p. 54, citing the *Index der Resolutien raeckende de stad Brussel*, but without precise reference. Cetto (op. cit., 1966, p. 34, n. 57) wondered if this might have been the price of the whole ensemble.
 23. *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, VI, p. 337; also C. Van de Velde, 'Rubens, Frederik de Marselaer en Theodoor van Loon', in *Feestbundel bij de opening van het Kolveniershof en het Rubenianum*, Antwerp, 1981, pp. 71-73 (repr. figs. 4-5) and p. 80, n. 11, pointing out that 'over de deuren' must mean 'over', rather than 'opposite the doors' as it has sometimes been interpreted.
 24. See Brenninkmeyer, loc. cit., 1980-81, pp. 66-67, fig. 2; Van der Velden, op. cit. in n. 2, pp. 38-39, fig. 29.
 25. See *D'Hulst, Jordaens Drawings, 1974*, I, p. 195 (A.96); III, pl. 106.

6a. The Justice of Cambyses: Oil Sketch (Fig. 27)

Oil on panel; 44 × 44.2 cm.

Potsdam-Sanssouci, Bildergalerie. Inv. no. I.1586.

PROVENANCE: Willem Lormier, The Hague, 1752,¹ sale, 4 July 1763, lot 217;² bought by Frederick II ('the Great') of Prussia; installed in Potsdam-Sanssouci, Neues Palais, by 1773; in 1842 in Schloss Brandenburg, Potsdam;³ 1961 transferred to Bildergalerie.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 28), perhaps from Rubens's workshop, Detroit, Mr Lawrence A. Fleischman (lost 1966, recovered 1978); panel, 43.3 × 43 cm. PROV. ? February 1960 at Appleby's; ? sale, London (Christie's), 8 December 1961, lot 145, bought by de Heuvel; Adrian Merz, Grasmere, Westmorland (1963); ? dealer Frederick Mont, New York (1965). LIT. M. Jaffé, 'Reflections on the Jordaens Exhibition', *National Gallery of Canada. Bulletin*, XIII, 1969, p. 30, under no. 168 (as *Jordaens*); *Held, Sketches, 1980*, I, p. 373; II, pl. 454 (as *good copy*); *Jaffé, Rubens, 1989*, p. 266, under no. 676 (as *Jordaens*).

(2) Painting (Fig. 29), New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 00.16; panel, 45.7 × 44.5 cm. PROV. ? J.L. Menke, Antwerp (by 1900); William E. Dodge, New York, by whom given to Metropolitan Museum in 1900.

LIT. G.E. Story, *Catalogue of Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1900, p. 22, no. 48; K.d.K. ed. *Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 220, top; *Goris—Held, America*, 1947, pp. 54-55, no. A88 (as copy); E. Gans and G. Kisch, 'The Cambyses Justice Medal', *The Art Bulletin*, XXIX, 1947, p. 122, n. 3; W.S. Heckscher, *Rembrandt's 'Anatomy of Dr Nicolaas Tulp'*, New York, 1958, p. 161, n. 163 and pl. XXIII (as Eynhoudts, after Rubens); M. Jaffé, 'Reflections on the Jordaens Exhibition', *The National Gallery of Canada. Bulletin*, XIII, 1969, p. 30, under no. 168; *Pigler, Barockthemen*, 1974, II, p. 328; J. Bauch, D. Eckstein and G. Brauner, 'Dendrochronologische Untersuchungen an eichenholztafeln von Rubens-Gemälden', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, XX, 1978, p. 220; K. Baetjer, *European Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art by artists born in or before 1865: A Summary Catalogue*, New York, 1980, I, p. 161 and III, p. 374 (repr.); B. Brenninkmeyer-de Rooij in *Cat. Exh. Gods, Saints and Heroes*, p. 75, n. 11; Liedtke, *Cat. Metropolitan Museum*, 1984, I, pp. 233-236 (as probably copy of the lost painting, rather than the sketch); II, pl. 89; Jaffé, *Rubens*, 1989, p. 266, under no. 676; W. Schild, in *Recht und Gerechtigkeit im Spiegel der europäischen Kunst*, eds. W. Pleister and W. Schild, Cologne, 1988, pp. 162, 163, fig. 255; H. van der Velden, 'Cambyses for example: the origins and function of an *exemplum iustitiae* in Netherlandish art of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', *Simiolus*, XXIII, 1995, pp. 36-38, fig. 28.

(3) Painting, showing the composition extended at the sides, particularly to the right, but without any additional figures, whereabouts unknown; technique and measurements unknown. PROV. M. Camproyer, Marseilles, 1890 (photograph in Rooses documentation, Rubenianum, Antwerp).

(4) Painting, expanded similarly to Copy 3, but with foot of boy bearing Cambyses's cloak added differently, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 130 × 180 cm. PROV. N. Thibor, painter, Luxembourg, 1927 (Burchard documentation).

(5) Painting, very similar to Copy 4; panel, 47 × 59.6 cm. PROV. sale, London (Christie's),

8 December 1967, lot 42 (as Rubens, 'A Biblical Subject').

(6) Drawing, perhaps for a print, Stockholm, Nationalmuseum; technique and measurements unknown. LIT. Rooses, *Oeuvre*, 1886-92, IV, p. 9 and V, pp. 172-173.

(7) Etching (Fig. 30) by R. Eynhoudts (1613-1679/80), showing the composition in reverse. LIT. V.S., p. 137, no. 13; Rooses, *Oeuvre*, 1886-92, IV, pl. 253; Wurzbach, I, 1906, p. 523, no. 4; Hollstein (*Dutch and Flemish*), VI, [1952], p. 206.

LITERATURE: M. Oesterreich, *Description de tout l'intérieur des deux Palais de Sans-Souci, de ceux de Potsdam et de Charlottenbourg...*, Potsdam, 1773, p. 39, no. 106 (as Van Dyck); Smith, *Catalogue*, 1829-42, II, p. 186, no. 653; cf. IX, p. 312, no. 244 (but different dimensions: c. 48 × 61 cm.); Parthey, *Bildersaal*, 1863-64, I, p. 360, no. 115 or 116; Rooses, *Oeuvre*, 1886-92, IV, p. 8, under no. 793; P. Seidel, W. Bode and M.J. Friedländer, *Gemälde alter Meister im Besitz Seiner Majestät des Deutschen Kaisers und Königs von Preussen*, Berlin, [1906], p. 92, repr. (as workshop); [G. Poensgen], *Die Gemälde in der preussischen Schlössern: Das Neue Palais*, Berlin, 1935, no. 222 (as Rubens); G. Eckardt, *Die Gemälde in der Bildergalerie von Sanssouci*, Potsdam, 1965, no. 92; M. Jaffé, 'Reflections on the Jordaens Exhibition', *National Gallery of Canada. Bulletin*, XIII, 1969, pp. 27-30 (as Rubens); G. Eckardt and B. Spindler, *Die Bildergalerie im Park von Sanssouci*, Potsdam, 1973, p. 48, no. 107, repr.; G. Eckardt, *Die Bildergalerie in Sanssouci*, Potsdam, 1975, p. 267, no. 28 (as old copy of lost modello); Held, *Sketches*, 1980, I, p. 373 (as copy from Rubens's studio); Jaffé, *Rubens*, 1989, p. 266, no. 676, repr. (as Rubens); G. Eckardt, *Die Gemälde in der Bildergalerie von Sanssouci*, Potsdam-Sanssouci, 1990, p. 66, no. 115, repr. (as old copy of lost Rubens modello).

Burchard thought the Potsdam picture (No. 6a; Fig. 27) was Rubens's original sketch for the painting intended for the Brussels Town

Hall (No. 6; cf. Figs. 24, 25), a view likewise held by Jaffé, as well as Rooses. Certainly, if it is (as it seems) the sketch documented in the Lormier collection in 1752 and sold in The Hague the following year at the high price of 640 florins, some early connoisseurs must have agreed.⁴ Held, however, considered it too pedantic in execution to be more than a studio version, and in the most recent Potsdam catalogues it is demoted to an early copy; Bode already considered it a workshop piece, perhaps by Van Dyck. Arnout Balis pointed out to me that the paint layer terminates abruptly near the right edge of the panel, which would imply that it was already in a frame when it was painted, a circumstance consistent with the notion that it is a copy.

Held puts the Fleischman picture (Copy 1; Fig. 28) nearest to Rubens, without giving it to the master himself. Judging from photographs, that sketch looks rather too broadly painted to be by Rubens. Jaffé accordingly attributed it to Jordaens, although this idea is dismissed both by Held and by Liedtke. As for the Metropolitan Museum sketch (Copy 2; Fig. 29), this probably dates from the eighteenth century—and dendrochronological analysis of the components of the panel apparently indicates that it was made after the death of the artist.⁵ It is, however, perhaps significant that this last sketch is in some respects, particularly in its architecture, the closest to the print by Eynhoudts (Fig. 30), which most probably followed the original, though the Potsdam picture (No. 6a; Fig. 27) is also fairly close. Both of these sketches share one curious feature, namely traces of an inscription in the cartouche above the throne of Cambyses. From the New York version we can say that this appears to be in Latin and presumably alludes to the image's exemplary function.⁶ (Possibly this feature led Liedtke to his view that the Metropolitan sketch was after the final painting rather than the sketch, a view which is otherwise hard to understand.) It is uncertain, however, if the supposed Latin text can be connected with Rubens himself

and (therefore) with a lost original sketch which included this feature, since no inscription seems to have appeared in the final painting, nor for that matter in the corresponding cartouche above Solomon in the picture (cf. Fig. 26) which seems to be its pendant in the Brussels courtroom.⁷

Whether or not any extant version is the original—and this might rather be the 'esquisse' sold at Antwerp c. 1784⁸—Rubens's preliminary sketch was evidently made before the final decision (whether by the artist himself or by his patrons) about the dimensions of the painting. Perhaps the proportions were altered to make it correspond better to the *Judgement of Solomon* (cf. Fig. 26), which displays distinct compositional and iconographic parallels.⁹

Copies 3, 4 and 5, which present the composition within a shape roughly that of the final picture, might at first sight seem to record some intermediate sketch. However, they simply dispose the figures and other elements over a slightly broader area and add a strip of landscape at the right, a device Rubens would hardly have used to expand a picture.

In adapting the composition of the sketch to his final picture Rubens added an old woman to the group at the lower left with the suppliant young mother who now turns more outwards. He also rearranged and varied the figures in the company of soldiers and other bystanders in the background, introducing, for example, a young man—not unlike the 'typical' youth whose head appears, for example, in the centre of the Brussels *Christ and the Adulteress*¹⁰—as one of the 'lictors'.¹¹ The judge's throne too was altered and the rather Assyrian-looking sphinxes of the sketch given a more Greek aspect, with human breasts; they are thus more distinguished in character from their counterparts in Rubens's related *Judgement of Solomon* (cf. Fig. 26), a distinction which nicely reflects the different sources (biblical and classical respectively) of the exemplary stories themselves.

1. *Hoet, Catalogus, 1752-70*, II, p. 436.
2. *Hoet, Catalogus, 1752-70*, III, p. 328.
3. See *Smith, Catalogue, 1829-42*, IX, p. 312, no. 244.
4. The sketch of the same subject in the Verbuecken sale of 1777, for which see below, n. 8, fetched only 200 fl.
5. See Bauch etc., 1978, loc. cit.; *Liedtke, Cat. Metropolitan Museum, 1984*, I, p. 236, discussing various suggestions as to its author.
6. The following letters can (with much hesitation) be discerned: 'DUM TIIIMORES(?) SCIT EIIS...(?)/...'
7. For the arguments see under No. 6.
8. Sale, Antwerp after 5 July 1784 (L. 3754), lot 9. This was said to show 17 figures, and to be 'très bien exécutée' (c. 51.5 × 51 cm.). This may be identical with that sold for 200 fl. at the sale of P. Verbuecken, Antwerp (Peeters), 3 June 1777.
9. See under No. 6.
10. *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921*, p. 54.
11. Rubens evidently saw nothing inconsistent in giving 'Persian' soldiers a Roman appearance and Roman emblems of authority, any more than he did about investing Otanes with a *roede van justitie* (see above, under No. 6, at n. 11): for educated Netherlandish viewers of the period the *fusces* would indeed have been easily understood as an apt and universal judicial symbol.

7. Pythagoras advocating Vegetarianism (Fig. 31)

Oil on canvas; 254 × 381 cm.

London, Buckingham Palace, Collection of H.M. the Queen. Inv. no. 1167.

PROVENANCE: Rubens's estate, 1640 ('Vne grande piece de Pythagore avec les fruits, de François Snyders' / 'A great peice of Pythagoras wth ye fruite of Francy Snyders'); probably identifiable with the 'large piece' bought by Philip IV of Spain; Alcázar, Madrid, Galería del Cierzo [North Gallery] (inv. 1666, no. 416: 'Otra pintura de cuatro varas de largo y tres de alto, de la historia de Pitágoras y sus discípulos, con muchas frutas, de mano de Rubens...'; inv. 1686; inv. 1700); presumably removed after fire of 1734—either to the Escorial² or to the Buen Retiro;³ taken from Madrid to France by Joseph Bonaparte; put up for sale with the collection of Joseph Bonaparte, London (Stanley), 6 May 1824, lot 34 (as 'Numa

Pompilius'); given by Lucien Bonaparte to Dr Stocco [or 'Stockoe'], physician to Joseph Bonaparte, in (or just before) 1825 as security for the payment of an annuity;⁴ 1825, 1830 put up for sale with Mr Stanley, but bought in;⁵ lent by 'Dr Stockoe' to the exhibition of 1839 and still with him in 1840;⁶ 15 May 1840 bought by Queen Victoria for the picture gallery, Buckingham Palace.⁷

COPIES: (1) Painting, done sketchily, showing the composition slightly trimmed at the top, bottom and to the right, whereabouts unknown; medium and dimensions unknown. PROV. London, with Sotheby's, 1973 (photo in Witt Library, from Courtauld Institute negative no. B73/13).

(2) Drawing, by Willem Panneels (1600/5-34), after the torso of Pythagoras, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', Ad. 18; black, red and white chalk, pen, brown and black ink on yellowish paper, 335-40 × 245-69 mm.; inscribed (in Panneels's cipher) *pitagoras desen omtrek is goet* ('Pythagoras, whose outline is good'). PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen, presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Garff—Pedersen, Panneels, 1988*, I, pp. 62, no. 53; II, pl. 55; *Held, Review, 1991*, pp. 425-426 and fig. 6, p. 419, identifying the source.

(3) Drawing, probably by Willem Panneels, after the figures of Pythagoras and the three men to the left of the painting, with the central nymph partially (and sketchily) indicated, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', no. IV, 4; red and white chalk on yellowish paper, 220-24 × 250 mm.; inscribed on verso: the number 48. PROV. As for Copy 2. LIT. *Garff—Pedersen, Panneels, 1988*, I, pp. 113-114, no. 134; II, pl. 136 (as *Panneels*); *Held, Review, 1991*, p. 426, identifying the source.

(4) Drawing, probably by Willem Panneels, after the central nymph reaching up for grapes, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens

Cantoor', no. V, 18; charcoal, heightened somewhat with white, 362 × 130 mm.; inscribed on verso: the number 124. PROV. As for Copy 2. LIT. *Held, Review*, 1991, p. 426 and fig. 7, p. 419 (as *Panneels*), identifying the source.

(5) Drawing after the two satyrs at the top right, Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Coll. de Grez, no. 3088; red chalk, 163 × 183 mm. PROV. Coll. Verstolk van Zoelen. LIT. J. Nève, *Inventaire des dessins et aquarelles...*, Brussels, 1913, no. 3088, repr.

(6) Drawing (Fig. 32) after the group of nymphs and satyrs, without indications of the fruit at the lower right or the group of men on the left, perhaps 18th-century French, whereabouts unknown; pen and brown ink and black chalk heightened with white, 260 × 326 mm. PROV. Sale, London (Sotheby's), 18 February 1991, lot 218, repr. (as *17th-century Flemish, 'Nymphs and Satyrs'*).

EXHIBITED: *Catalogue of Pictures by Italian, Spanish, Flemish, Dutch and French masters*, London, British Institution, 1839, no. 156 (as 'Pythagoras addressing his pupils').

LITERATURE: Smith, *Catalogue*, 1829-42, II, p. 137, no. 492 (as 'The Retirement of Numa') and IX, pp. 295-296, no. 186 (as 'Numa receiving the Deputies of the Senate'—while simultaneously expounding the doctrines of Pythagoras); G.F. Waagen, *Peter Paul Rubens; his life and genius*, tr. R.R. Noel, ed. Mrs [Ann] Jameson, London, 1840, pp. 91-92, with note by Mrs Jameson; Waagen, *Treasures*, 1854, II, p. 2, no. 2 (as 'Numa with Senators, Egeria etc.': the identification of the protagonist with Pythagoras is rejected despite the equation of the picture with that from Rubens's estate); A. Lavice, *Revue des Musées d'Angleterre*, Paris, 1867, p. 97, no. 6 (as *Rubens and Snyders, 'Philosopher showing fruit to disciples'*); Cruzada Villaamil, *Rubens*, 1872, pp. 312-313, no. 9; *Rooses, Oeuvre*, 1886-92, III, p. 33, no. 552 (as 'Le siècle d'or'), IV, pp. 11-12, no. 795 and V, p. 344; *Rooses, Vie*, 1903, p. 621 (as 'Pythagoras'); *Knackfuss, Rubens*, 1904, p. 98; L. Cust, *Catalogue of Paintings and Drawings in*

Buckingham Palace, London, 1909, no. 109; *Dillon, Rubens*, 1909, p. 219; B. Bishop, *Paintings of the Royal Collection*, London, 1937, p. 142; L. Ninane, 'Rubens et Snyders' in *Miscellanea Leo van Puyvelde*, Brussels, 1949, pp. 143-146; *Bot-tineau, Alcázar*, 1958, p. 174, no. 377 (inv. 1686); *Held, Drawings*, 1959, I, p. 132, under no. 85 (as a fragment); M. Jaffé, 'Rubens and Snyders: A Fruitful Partnership', *Apollo*, XCIII, 1971, p. 193; *Hairs, Sillage*, 1977, p. 16; O. Millar, *The Queen's Pictures*, London, 1977, p. 191; *McGrath, Alcibiades*, 1983, p. 231 and pl. 44b; *Held, Drawings*, 1986, p. 105 under no. 92; *Jaffé, Rubens*, 1989, p. 337, no. 1115 (as c. 1635); *Muller, Collector*, 1989, p. 124, no. 168 and pl. 79; H. Robels, *Frans Snyders, Stilleben- und Tiermaler, 1579-1657*, Munich, 1989, pp. 124-125, 371-372, no. 277 (repr.); *Held, Review*, 1991, pp. 425-426, fig. 5, p. 419; C. White in *Cat. Exh. Boston—Toledo 1993-94*, p. 155 and fig. 12; S. Koslow, *Frans Snyders...*, Antwerp, 1995, p. 42 and fig. 40 (colour repr.).

This picture, unusual both in composition and in its subject, is undoubtedly the 'great piece of Pythagoras with ye fruite of Francy Snyders' in Rubens's possession at his death in 1640.⁸ Prominent in the foreground are Snyders's fruits: a succulent assortment (supplemented by vegetables and inhabited by two monkeys) which a Rubensian group of nymphs and satyrs is enthusiastically labouring to increase. Nearby, shaded by an apple tree and seriously conversing with three male companions, sits the protagonist. His gesture towards the pile of fruits at once unites the (otherwise disparate) elements and indicates his subject of discourse. That the speaker is an ancient philosopher is obvious not only from his appearance—the loose and scanty drapery, beard and long hair tied with a headband—but from the circumstance of his conversing while seated in a shady grove.⁹ That Rubens's philosopher is Pythagoras is evident not so much from facial features (no distinctive 'portrait' was in any case available)¹⁰ but from the fact that he treads on beans, a food

proscribed by Pythagorean interdiction (cf. Fig. 33).¹¹

Pythagoras provided Rubens with an ingenious idea for a picture done in collaboration with Frans Snyders. Antiquity's most celebrated advocate of a meatless diet is aptly shown recommending to us, as to his followers, the natural produce of the earth that was Snyders's artistic speciality. Rubens perhaps devised the subject for his own dining-room; he was after all reputedly partial to a Pythagorean menu as well as to the talents of his collaborator.¹² He would have been familiar with accounts of Pythagoras's teaching in Plutarch and Diogenes Laertius; he may even have read the *Pythagorean Life* by Iamblichus and Porphyry's *De abstinentia*.¹³ But the invention of his picture undoubtedly derives from the imaginative characterization of Pythagoras's vegetarianism in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Smith's erroneous description of the subject—as Numa in his sylvan retirement receiving deputies of the Roman Senate—was at least right in suggesting that it was a visitation. Of the philosopher's audience the oldest man, more fully dressed and intent in concentration and himself the object of one disciple's attention, is surely an important visitor. Ovid explains this, and indeed identifies him as Numa.

A persistent tradition presented the peaceable and religious Roman king as a convert to the philosophy (and vegetarianism) of Pythagoras. The chronology was certainly a problem for historians—Pythagoras arriving in Italy several generations too late¹⁴—but Rubens could appeal to the best poetic authority in making the legendary meeting the occasion of the preaching of Pythagoras. The last book of the *Metamorphoses* opens to the philosopher instructing Numa and the citizens of Croton on the vegetarian implications of the doctrine of metempsychosis.¹⁵ The passion in Ovid's denunciation of bloodshed surely impressed the artist; his picture, like the poem, illustrates the Pythagorean alternative and how little need there is of slaughter when Na-

ture provides in abundance: '...We have apples bending the branches with their weight and grapes swelling on the vine. There are plants just ready to eat and others which the heat of a flame will make soft and palatable... The earth is lavish in supply of riches, of harmless foods, and provides feasts that demand no killing or bloodshed...'.¹⁶

Rubens characteristically expands on Ovid's Golden Age imagery with the nymphs and satyrs who at once attend and embody natural fruitfulness. Their presence, and particularly the bright nudity of the nymph in the centre, adds persuasively to the moral argument, although Pythagoras and his listeners seem too involved with this latter to pay attention. Perhaps, as in the Venetian convention for pictures of gods and mortals, the woodland sprites are present, but invisible;¹⁷ perhaps again the philosophers are simply protected from the sight by a stern Pythagorean continence. Snyders too expands on Ovid in detailing the vegetarian produce; naturally, however, there are no beans. Rubens showed the philosopher demonstrating his aversion to these in a traditional pictorial way, by trampling them underfoot.¹⁸ The artistic and symbolic fitness of the gesture sanctions a paradoxical irony in the image: after all, the historical Pythagoras met his death because he felt unable (even) to step on beans.¹⁹

Pythagoras is rarely represented in art, and the subject of Rubens's painting is unique. True, the episode of the speech to Numa sometimes features in illustrated frontispieces to the last book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, but there the philosopher is invariably shown giving a public lecture from a dais, with no visual clue as to his chosen topic.²⁰ Elsewhere Pythagoras occasionally appears in an emblematic context, as proponent of his proverbial wisdom. An early sixteenth-century French proverb book concentrates on the revulsion against beans (Fig. 33), a warning to avoid politics and/or licentiousness,²¹ while Laurent van Haecht's *Microcosmos* of 1579 makes Pythagoras a model of sobriety (cf.

Fig. 34): he sits under a tree in the open at a modest and meatless table.²² Rubens may well have taken van Haecht's image as a point of departure—both the appearance of the philosopher and the rural setting are similar. With Ovid's help, however, he transformed the subject, giving it dramatic point by introducing the dialogue with Numa, and turning the Spartan message of van Haecht's meagre fare into a positive paean to the fecundity of Nature.

Pythagoras advocating Vegetarianism was until recently little considered in the literature on Rubens.²³ This is curious, considering that the painting has long been known, is well documented—recorded in the studio drawings of the 1620s by Panneels; given to Rubens and Snyders in the artist's inventory of 1640—and has an excellent provenance. That *Pythagoras* was considered impressive in the seventeenth century is indicated by the high valuations in the Spanish royal inventories.²⁴ The fact that it is only half a Rubens and that even the Rubens part involves a degree of studio participation goes some way to explain the picture's neglect, as does the present bad state of preservation.²⁵ Nevertheless, *Pythagoras advocating Vegetarianism* is one of Rubens's most important works of collaboration. Burchard, who emphasized this, thought the painting was related to the Madrid *Philopoemon*,²⁶ perhaps even planned as a pendant to it, and the idea is also put forward by Ninane, but the disparity in size, scale and the relationship of figures to still-life, as well as the different provenance, seems to preclude this suggestion. Burchard was, however, surely right to date the picture around 1618-20, although he supposed that the preparatory sketch might have been made earlier, c. 1613, like that for *Philopoemon*. The Copenhagen drawings (Copies 2, 3 and 4) provide a *terminus ante quem* of 1630,²⁷ but the style and type of figures can be connected specifically to works such as the St Petersburg *Christ in the House of Simon*,²⁸ *Pythagoras* sits in the cross-legged pose repeated (between 1615 and 1620) for Neptune, Job, Pausias, and Daniel,²⁹ and

Snyders's fruits and monkeys are most characteristic of his work around 1618.³⁰ However, Rubens's share in the execution is not as negligible as Rooses has claimed. Certain passages are impressive enough—notably of the nymph reaching up to the satyrs—though Burchard was probably correct in supposing that this figure and her prominent companion are worked over later. Since the picture remained in Rubens's house, such a reworking would be easy to understand. Indeed the artist may have touched up his painting on more than one occasion. The colouring, dimmed though it is by layers of dirt, suggests the influence of Titian; so too does the sunset landscape.³¹ About the authorship of the design there is no question. Stylistic and documentary arguments are confirmed by iconographic ones. Not only is the juxtaposition of still-life and figures less eccentric than in other compositions devised by Rubens for collaboration; it here has a special logic and wit. No other painter of the period would have been inspired by Ovid to produce a kitchen-piece about the teachings of Pythagoras.

A drawing (Fig. 32) which reproduces the group of nymphs and satyrs, listed above as Copy 6, may in fact be based on a lost sketch by Rubens rather than after the final picture. For it seems to show only his part in the composition, while leaving space for Snyders's contribution. The differences of detail seem significant. For example the highest nymph who stretches her arm over a branch is clothed, not naked as in the painting; and the foremost satyr uses his left hand to pick a grape, while in the painting he loosely clasps a branch. In this case the gesture recorded in the drawing is the more plausible one, and it is easy to suppose that here the figure in the painting had to be accommodated at a late stage to Snyders's still-life. Since the drawing gives no indication of Pythagoras and his visitors, it raises the further possibility that Rubens first planned a collaborative picture with Snyders simply on the theme of earthly fruitfulness, and that the notion of combining it with

philosophy and the theme of vegetarianism occurred later.

1. Muller, *Collector*, 1989, no. 168.
2. Cf. Smith, *Catalogue*, 1829-42, IX, pp. 255-256.
3. Cf. Waagen, *Treasures*, 1854, II, p. 2.
4. According to Smith, *Catalogue*, 1829-42, IX, pp. 255-256. According to the *Catalogue of the Pictures in Her Majesty's Gallery at Buckingham Palace* by Thomas Uwins (1852), Joseph Bonaparte took it with him to America, and it was subsequently given to his (unnamed) doctor as a fee instead of money. I thank Charles Noble for this information.
5. According to Smith, *Catalogue*, 1829-42, II, p. 137, no. 492 'now [i.e. 1830] in the hands of Mr Buchanan [i.e. the dealer William Buchanan], for sale'.
6. According to Rooses, *Oeuvre*, 1886-92, IV, pp. 11-12.
7. See Millar, loc. cit., 1977, in bibliography.
8. Muller, *Collector*, 1989, p. 124. Cf. Jaffé, loc. cit., 1971.
9. For ancient images of philosophers which display these characteristics see the Roman statue illustrated in J. B. de Cavalleris, *Antiquae statuae urbis Romae*, Rome, 1585-93, III-IV, pl. 56, or the figure, seated cross-legged beneath an oak tree while he converses with a Muse, on a sarcophagus in Paris known in Rubens's time (M. Wegner, *Die Musensarcophage. [Die Antiken Sarcophagreliefs, V, 3]*, Berlin, 1966, pp. 36-37, no. 75 and pl. 135b, with reference to a drawing of it in the Dal Pozzo albums; Wegner describes the protagonist as a poet, but philosophers are also associated with shady groves: cf. e.g. Plato, *Phaedrus*, 227A-230E). Pythagoras's hair-style is particularly like that of Rubens's *Plato* (text ill. 28, 29), painted between 1613 and 1616 for Balthasar Moretus. For this see above, Volume I, Chapter IV, pp. 110-112.
10. The seated figure on Samian coins used in Faber's edition of Orsini's *Imagines* (Faber, *Imagines*, 1606, pl. 124, commentary, pp. 71-72), which was known and copied by Rubens (*Van der Meulen, Antique*, 1994, II, pp. 243-244, no. 217; III, figs. 448-451) is an uninformative and unimpressive likeness.
11. For this famous taboo and ancient explanations of its origin—digestive as well as allegorical—see esp. Plutarch, *De liberis educandis* 17 and *Quaestiones Romanae* 95; Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae* VIII.24 and 33-34; Iamblichus, *Vita Pythagorica* 109 and for other sources *Pauly—Wissowa*, III, i, 1897, cols. 619-620, s.v. *Bohne*; XXIV, i, 1963, cols. 192-194, s.v. *Pythagoras*; W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism*, tr. E.L. Miner, Cambridge, Mass., 1972, esp. pp. 183-185; also, notably, D. Erasmus, *Adagiorum Chiliades*, edn Basle (Froben), 1536, I, i, pp. 17-18 ('A fabis abstineto') (*Erasmus, Opera*, 1703-06, II, cols. 18B-19D). T.H.D. Arie, 'Pythagoras and Beans', *Oxford Medical School Gazette*, XI, 1959, pp. 75-81, adds a new medical explanation (favism). Rubens's picture correctly illustrates the ancient (broad) bean (*Vicia faba*).
12. For Rubens's diet and modest consumption of meat see R. de Piles, *Conversations sur la Connaissance de la Peinture*, Paris, 1677, pp. 213-215; for his collection of pictures by Snyders see the inventory of 1640 (Muller, *Collector*, 1989, pp. 68, 137-138).
13. For Pythagoras's vegetarianism see esp. Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae* VIII.13.22-23; Plutarch, *De esu carniurn* and further *Pauly—Wissowa*, XXIV, i, 1963, cols. 192-197, s.v. *Pythagoras*.
14. For the classical sources see *Pauly—Wissowa*, XVII, i, 1936, cols. 1245-50, s.v. *Numa Pompilius*; cf. J. Frazer, *The Fasti of Ovid*, I-V, London, 1929, III, p. 153. Despite the contrary arguments of Cicero, Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the legend persists in the Church Fathers, and in Erasmus.
15. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XV.60ff., esp. 76-103.
16. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XV.76-79: '... Sunt fruges; sunt deducunt ramos/ pondere poma suo, tumidaeque in vitibus uvae;/ sunt herbae dulces; sunt quae mitescere flamma/ mollii queant...' The Renaissance text for this passage is virtually identical to the modern one.
17. For this tradition, with particular reference to Titian and Giorgione, see P. Fehl, 'The Worship of Bacchus and Venus in Bellini's and Titian's Bacchanals for Alfonso d' Este', *Studies in the History of Art*, Washington, D.C., 1974, pp. 37-75. Rubens certainly seems to apply this convention in the London *Allegory of War and Peace* (K.A.K. ed. *Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 312), where the 'real' children can only sense the presence of the gods.
18. In the way Virtues trample Vices.
19. Pythagoras was killed when halted in flight from his enemies by a bean field. See Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae* VIII.39; Suidas, s.v. *Pythagoras*; and cf. Iamblichus, *Vita* 191.
20. Cf. e.g. Giacomo Franco's illustration to the influential Italian translation of 1584, where Pythagoras's lecture is a subsidiary scene; the coronation of Numa occupies the foreground (*Le Metamorphosi di Ovidio, ridotte da Giovanni Andrea dell' Anguillara...*, Venice, 1584, p. 520). Earlier Venetian editions of the *Metamorphoses* showed Pythagoras as a robed man in a flat hat simply standing and conversing with Numa; the image is unrelated to Rubens's.
21. The meaning depends on whether the beans are thought to symbolize voting counters or genitals. The accompanying dictum and explanation for it derive from Erasmus (cf. above, n. 11). For this MS, put together by François Demoullins, tutor of the young François I shortly before his accession to the throne in 1515, and illustrated by an anonymous artist, see J.M. Massing, *Erasmian Wit and Proverbial Wisdom. An illustrated moral compendium for François I* (Studies of the Warburg Institute,

- xliii), London, 1995, pp. 29-30, 90-91. The reconstruction of the MS presented in that volume is based on photographs taken before the book was dismantled in the 1940s to become a collection of drawings; the text (including inscriptions on the pictures) was erased or discarded; most of the illustrations passed into the Woodner Collection, and are now on loan to the National Gallery of Art, Washington. Fig. 33 shows the folio with Pythagoras (fol. 25) in its original state.
22. Haechtanus, *Microcosmos*, 1579, no. 32 ('Coena Pithagorica'); cf. *Vondel, Gulden Winckel*, 1613, no. 31.
 23. Ninane, the only author before the 1980s to discuss it at any length (loc. cit., 1949), condemns it as a composition 'd'une pauvreté d'imagination penible' and does not even illustrate it; it was reproduced for the first time in *McGrath, Alcibiades*, 1983, pl. 44b.
 24. In the 1666 inventory of the Alcázar it is estimated as worth 400 silver ducats, the same value as, for example, Rubens's magnificent *Diana and Callisto* (K.d.K. ed. *Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 433), only slightly smaller, which hung in the same gallery, while in 1700 it had a valuation of 500 doubloons, more than that of the *Diana and Callisto*: see *Bottineau, Alcázar*, 1958, p. 174.
 25. The surface is not only dirty but rather rubbed, and damage is visible at the bottom left and right.
 26. *Díaz Padrón, Cat. Prado*, 1975, I, pp. 371-372, no. 1851; II, pl. 242; *Robels*, op. cit., 1989, pp. 353-354, no. 260, repr.
 27. Even if we cannot assume that all the 'Rubens Cantoor' drawings were made by Panneels during Rubens's absence abroad (1628-30), it seems likely that this was the case for most of them, especially those that bear writing in cipher. See *Held, Review*, 1991, qualifying some overstatements in *Garff—Pedersen, Panneels*, 1988, I, pp. 10-12; also *Cat. Exh. Cantoor, Antwerp*, 1993, pp. 16-37 (P. Huvenne). At any rate Panneels left Antwerp for ever in 1630: *ibid.*, pp. 38-52 (E. Duverger). See also below, No. 55, n. 22.
 28. *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 179.
 29. For these works see *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg*, 1921, pp. 67 (*Pausias and Glycera*), 108 (*Neptune and Amphitrite*); *d'Hulst—Vandeven, Old Testament*, 1989, pp. 177-179, no. 54, fig. 121 (after the lost *Job mocked*) and pp. 187-192, no. 57, fig. 134 (*Daniel in the Lions' Den*). For the relationship of the figure of Daniel to a drawing by Muziano, see *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, 1977, pp. 40-41, pls. 98, 99.
 30. Cf., for example, the Vienna *Cimon and Iphigenia* (K.d.K. ed. *Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 133; *Robels*, op. cit., 1989, pp. 368-369, no. 275, repr.), done with Rubens. For Rubens's collaboration with Snyder see *Jaffé*, loc. cit., 1971, pp. 184-196. *Robels* dates the *Pythagoras* to 1618-20 (op. cit., pp. 371-372).
 31. No doubt the colours encouraged *Jaffé* to date the painting to the mid 1630s.

8. Democritus and Heraclitus (Fig. 36)

Oil on oak panel; 95.4 × 124.5 cm. Inscribed: ΔΕΜΟΚΡΙΤΟ[Σ] and ἙΡΑΚΛΙΤΟΣ respectively on the robes (for the inscriptions on the globe see below, n. 19).

Princeton, New Jersey, The Barbara Piasecka Johnson Collection Foundation.

PROVENANCE: Duke of Lerma (inv. 26 September 1603: 'Dos filosofos de vara y media de alto y vara y quarta de ancho [tassado] en treinta d[ucados]' i.e. 125.4 × 104.5 cm.);¹ inv. July-August 1607: 'Otro del mismo tamaño de dos filosofos Lacrito y Democrito...bueno' 'de vara y dos tercias de alto y vara y sesma de ancho', i.e. now slightly differently measured, as 137 × 97.5 cm.);² Lerma family; Arthur Wellesley, first Duke of Wellington; ? then by descent to Lord Trevor; hanging at Glynde Place, Sussex, c. 1955; sale, London (Christie's), 20 May 1955, lot 62 (as *Caravaggio*); bought by Davidson on behalf of Lord Trevor (Brynkinhalt, Wales); sold privately in 1984; with London dealers Hazlitt, Gooden and Fox in 1986 by whom sold to Mr and Mrs J. Seaward Johnson.

COPIES: (1) Painting (17th-century?), whereabouts unknown; ? canvas, 95.5 × 107 cm. PROV. Wolfgang D. Drüll, Düsseldorf (1969). LIT. *Jaffé, Rubens*, 1989, p. 152, under no. 32.

(2) Painting (17th-century?), whereabouts unknown; medium and dimensions unknown. PROV. Tina dei Bardi, Arezzo, 1989. LIT. *Cat. Exh. Padua etc.*, 1990, p. 56, under no. 11, repr.

(3) Painting (same as Copy 2?), whereabouts unknown; panel, 59.7 × 80.7 cm. PROV. Sale, London (Christie's), 14 May 1965, lot 8; sale, London (Sotheby's), 30 July 1965, lot 388.

EXHIBITED: *Spring Exhibition. Old Masters*, Alfred Brod Gallery, London, May 1963, no. 1; *Tokyo etc.*, 1985-86, no. 4 (no. 3 in Japanese edn of cat.); *Padua etc.*, 1990, no. 11.

LITERATURE: A. Baschet, 'Pierre Paul Rubens à Mantoue', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1866, pp. 443-447; *Cruzada Villaamil, Rubens, 1872*, pp. 312, 363; *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, p. 14, no. 799; P. Mantz, 'Rubens', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XXVI, 1882, p. 277; A. Weil in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, III, 1888, p. 139; *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, I, pp. 165-166, 170, 174; W. Weisbach, 'Der sogenannte Geograph von Velasquez und die Darstellungen des Democrit und Heraklit', *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XLIX, 1928, pp. 141, 143; E. W[ind], 'The Christian Democritus', *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, I, 1937-38, p. 181; *Evers, Neue Forschungen*, 1943, p. 19; K. Möller, in *Reallexikon*, III, 1954, col. 1246 (the preceding all wrongly connecting the documents with the later paintings in the Prado: Figs. 38, 39); *Die Weltkunst*, XXV, 1955, no. 12, p. 11, repr.; *Fitz Darby, Wise Men*, 1962, pp. 287-288; M. Jaffé, 'Esquisses inédites de Rubens pour la Torre de la Parada', *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France*, XIV, 1964, p. 321 and n. 29; M. Warnke, *Kommentare zu Rubens*, Berlin, 1965, pp. 3-8; A. Blankert, 'Heraclitus en Democritus, in het bijzonder in de Nederlandse kunst van de 17de eeuw', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, XVIII, 1967, pp. 43, 46, 50, 92, 93, 108, no. 64 (again wrongly referring to the later paintings: Figs. 38, 39); M. Jaffé, 'Rubens in Italy. Part II: Some Rediscovered Works of the First Phase', *The Burlington Magazine*, CX, 1968, pp. 183-187 and fig. 17; *Alpers, Torre*, 1971, pp. 269-271; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, 1977, p. 68, and pl. 222; *Diáz Padrón, Cat. Prado*, 1975, I, p. 261, under no. 1680; H. Vlieghe in *The Burlington Magazine*, CXX, 1978, p. 473 (as ?not Rubens); *Meesters der Schilderkunst*, 1980, I, pp. 88-89, no. 29; *Mulazzani, Rubens*, 1981, I, p. 12, no. 23; C. Limentani Virdis, 'Italiam versus negociorum suorum causa. Osservazioni su Rubens e i suoi modelli in Italia', *Artibus et Historiae*, VII, 13, 1986, pp. 74-75, 78 and pl. 1; D. Bodart in *Cat. Exh. Tokyo etc.*, 1985-86, no. 4, pp. 23-24 (no. 3, p. 130 in Japanese edn) (repr. p. 22/130 and in colour p. 89/49); *Ferrari, Filosofi*, 1986, pp. 121-122; *Jaffé, Rubens*,

1989, p. 152, no. 32, repr.; D. Bodart in *Cat. Exh. Padua etc.*, 1990, pp. 56-57, no. 11, repr. in colour; M. Jaffé, review of *Cat. Exh. Padua etc.*, 1990, *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXXII, 1990, p. 658 and p. 657, fig. 41; S.A. Vosters, *Rubens y España*, Madrid, 1990, pp. 11-16, repr.; C. Limentani Virdis, 'Il cosidetto Galba di Rubens: visitazioni e rivisitazioni' in *Rubens. Dall' Italia all' Europa. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Padova, 24-27 maggio 1990*, Vicenza, 1992, ed. C. Limentani Virdis and F. Bottacin, pp. 145-150.

From the correspondence in the Gonzaga archives about the Mantuan mission to Spain in 1603 we know that Rubens reached Valladolid on 13 May only to discover, when the gifts from Duke Vincenzo I were unpacked a few days later, that of the pictures intended for the Duke of Lerma most were damaged by rain and two were irrevocably ruined.³ Since the court was absent on a hunting expedition and Lerma was subsequently occupied with the obsequies of his wife, who died on 2 June, Rubens took the opportunity to restore (and evidently improve on) the damaged works—mostly mediocre copies after Raphael and Titian by the Mantuan court painter Pietro Facchetti.⁴ He also substituted for the lost pair the 'altra cosa di sua mano' which is first indicated as forthcoming in the letter of 14 June from Annibale Iberti, Vincenzo's representative in Spain—a composition of his own, painted on the spot. This was not the 'half-dozen little woodland subjects, the sort of thing in demand for galleries' ('una mezza dozana de quadri di cose boscareccie, ch'è quello che più se desiderava havendo da servir per gallerie') which Iberti had initially suggested that 'the Fleming' (*il Fiamingo*) might be capable of knocking off if he got local painters to help,⁵ but rather a picture of Democritus and Heraclitus, a combination of philosopher portrait and history painting that would have been unfamiliar in Spain. This work was finished by 6 July, since in his report of that day on the satisfactory completion of

the restorations Iberti adds that in place of the two lost paintings 'ha fatto il Fiamingo un quadro di Democrito et Heraclito ch'è stimato assai buono...';⁶ and it was presented along with the pictures from Vincenzo on 13 July. It was hung by the artist with the smaller paintings in the *camera* adjacent to the large room given over to the supposed 'pièces de résistance', the copies after Titian's *Emperors* and after Raphael. Iberti's letter of 18 July to Duke Vincenzo which records this also purports to describe the reactions of Lerma, but for obvious reasons makes the portrait of Vincenzo himself (by Pourbus) take up all his attention in the smaller room.⁷

Rubens's 'quadro' was in the past often equated with the two canvases in the Prado (presumed therefore to have originally formed a single unit) which show Democritus and Heraclitus in full length. However, as Jaffé observed and Burchard independently concluded,⁸ these latter, documented in the Torre de la Parada in 1700, are inconceivable as works of 1603 and must indeed have been made in the late 1630s for Philip IV's hunting lodge. Like Jaffé, Burchard identified Lerma's picture instead with the single panel which appeared on the art market in 1955 (No. 8; Fig. 36) and is now in the Barbara Piasecka Johnson Collection in Princeton. This picture has dimensions which accord more or less with those of the painting of this subject recorded in the Lerma collection as early as 1603, provided that we exchange height for breadth, and, as Jaffé proposes, assume a scribal error. The fact that the picture now in Princeton was once in the collection of the Duke of Wellington supports an earlier Spanish provenance. Certainly the identification is otherwise entirely convincing on both stylistic and iconographic grounds. Given that it is on oak, Burchard, however, wondered if Rubens might have brought the painting with him from Antwerp to Italy, but it seems unlikely that he would have then retained it until 1603 and taken it on to Spain. Besides, as noted above, Iberti tells us that Rubens executed it

in Valladolid. The painting, which is in generally good condition (except that the paintwork of Heraclitus's black cloak seems to have cracked and the sky in the upper right is obviously repainted), thus establishes a valuable fixed point in the chronology of Rubens's work in Italy.

Alpers noted that Rubens's final version of the theme, in the pair of pictures in the Prado (Figs. 38, 39), breaks away from what was by that time the standard half-length format, familiar from many seventeenth-century Netherlandish paintings.⁹ The picture now recognized as the work of 1603 (Fig. 36) would in fact be the earliest Netherlandish example of this half-length formulation of the subject. Presumably Rubens was inspired by an Italian variation on the lost painting made for Ficino's study of Democritus and Heraclitus respectively laughing and weeping on either side of a globe of the world.¹⁰ The artist would also have been aware of the ancient texts and precedents which motivated this humanist commission: the references to the weeping and laughing philosophers in Cicero, Horace and Lucian—the last selling them off as a complementary package;¹¹ the pictures of a Heraclitus 'in tears, with closed eyes' and Democritus 'his lips parted in laughter' recorded among other portraits of philosophers in the 'gymnasia' of the Athenian Areopagus,¹² the poem in the Greek Anthology (exploited for an emblem by Alciati) which presents the attitudes of the philosophers as alternative responses to human life,¹³ and the recommendations to follow Democritus rather than Heraclitus in laughing at the folly of humanity in two of his favourite authors, Seneca and Juvenal.¹⁴

Rubens's late pictures of Democritus and Heraclitus are, as Alpers observes, modelled on 'authentic' portraits in ancient statues.¹⁵ In 1603, however, the artist could not yet have known the head of Democritus which he himself had engraved by Vorsterman and published in 1638.¹⁶ Besides, even if he had envisaged painting a *Democritus and Heraclitus* be-

fore he set out for Spain, the *ad hoc* nature of the Lerma picture's genesis obviously made it difficult to reproduce portrait likenesses. Rubens however distinguished the philosophers by writing their names in Greek on their robes. He probably got the idea of doing this from his brother Philip, who in his *Electa* of 1608 discusses the names inscribed on the borders of the *pallium*—both philosophers are wearing this garment (the Greek *himation*)¹⁷—though without Philip's presence as adviser the painter made a couple of spelling errors.¹⁸ Neither he, nor contemporary viewers, would have felt any inconsistency with the modern globe labelled in Latin: after all the message of the philosophers is being presented as of contemporary relevance. The globe, inscribed as it is with a prime meridian, a compass rose and loxodromes, looks at first sight as if it was based on a specific model—perhaps even one from the collection of the Duke of Lerma; but, given the extent of artistic licence in the interpretation, it is unlikely that any model will be identified.¹⁹ Rubens's Democritus, his fingers near the Pole, is using his cloak to keep part of the globe covered—the land which lies to the west of the *Oceanus Occidentalis* (Atlantic)—evidently an allusion to the still undiscovered New World, while the sorrowing Heraclitus seems to wring his hands over North-western Europe and the war-torn Netherlands.²⁰

Rubens also gave each philosopher a suitable stylistic character, contrasting, as Jaffé noted, the Correggesque Democritus with the sinewy Heraclitus; Bodart talks rather of Andrea del Sarto and Michelangelo respectively. Barocci may also have influenced the pink-cheeked Democritus. But the notion of a contrasting pair of characters develops a theme already explored by Rubens before his departure for Italy in 1600. He based the head of Heraclitus on a bust of Galba which he seems to have studied in Antwerp—and used for a painted portrait of the emperor.²¹ Giovanni della Porta's *De humana physiognomia* of 1586

which associates human and animal features and characters had a strong influence on Rubens's early studies, and seems to have encouraged him to pair different physiognomic types and personalities.²² In this context it is easy to understand why Rubens should have been attracted by the theme of Democritus and Heraclitus which juxtaposed representatives of two very different attitudes. Later illustrations of the subject, particularly in the Netherlands, made much of the distinction between the men, and—perhaps aware of the extreme discrepancy in age (Democritus died in 361, at least a century after Heraclitus)—often made Democritus younger and beardless.²³ Rubens's Democritus may be intended to look more youthful,²⁴ but more important, I believe, is his characterization as a representative of the sanguine temperament, appropriately dressed in red. The oak tree behind him (with a vine wound around it) may be intended to underline his robust character, the oak being a traditional symbol of *robur*.²⁵ As for Heraclitus, even if he is not in the traditional 'melancholia' pose,²⁶ his attitude and the black cloak covering his head mark him out as Saturnine and melancholic. Rubens presumably took his cue from Diogenes Laertius's reference to the *melancholia* of Heraclitus.²⁷ Significantly too, Democritus is speaking, while Heraclitus maintains a tight-lipped silence.

Rubens seems to indicate a preference in this choice of philosophers. Other illustrations of the subject—both the Italian precedents and the later Netherlandish versions—show Democritus pointing in derision,²⁸ but usually simply to the globe, whether or not to a specific place. Rubens's Democritus directs his mocking gesture at his companion, thus implying a rejection of his attitude. Like Erasmus and the other Renaissance writers cited by Wind,²⁹ Rubens may have regarded Democritus as the more Christian, though his direct inspiration was probably the recommendation to follow the laughing philosopher in Seneca and especially in Juvenal's tenth Satire.³⁰

A drawing in the British Museum of the head of a long-haired, bearded man with a miserable expression³¹ has been identified as a philosopher, specifically Heraclitus.³² Whether or not the man was intended as Heraclitus, it seems likely that this was an early study by Rubens in facial expression; it does not appear to relate directly to any extant painting.

1. Valued at 330 reales: Simancas, Archivo, Lerma Inventarios 52-13, declaration signed by Vincencio Carducho. See Jaffé, loc. cit., 1968, in bibliography.
2. Simancas, Archivo: Lerma Inventarios 52-14. The picture does not appear to be mentioned in the inventory of the paintings when sequestered published by J.M. Florit: 'Inventario de los cuadros y otros objetos de Arte de la quinta real llamada "La Ribera" en Valladolid', *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, XIV, 1906, pp. 153-160.
3. For the relevant letters see *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, pp. 124-154 (docs. XXIV-XXXII). Cf. Jaffé, op. cit., 1968, pp. 183-184; Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy, 1977*, pp. 67-68.
4. See *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, I, p. 170 for the report of Annibale Iberti that the restored paintings 'parevano un'altra cosa'; and p. 181 for Rubens's own judgment that his retouchings gave them 'a certain authority and appearance of antiquity'.
5. See *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, I, pp. 139-142, doc. XXIX (26 May 1603) and also for Rubens's well-known response, justifying on artistic grounds his rejection of the proposal, pp. 144-150, doc. XXXI (24 May 1603).
6. *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, I, p. 165.
7. See *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, I, pp. 168-177.
8. Cf. *Alpers, Torre, 1971*, loc. cit. Burchard had thought to publish the present painting in 1955, but the publication never materialized.
9. See *Alpers, Torre, 1971*, nos. 61 and 62; figs. 195 and 196; see esp. p. 270. For the tradition see Weisbach, op. cit., 1928, pp. 141-158; Wind, op. cit., 1937-38, pp. 180-182; *Knipping, Iconografie, 1939-40*, I, p. 37, n. 2 and pp. 122-123; K. Möller, in *Reallexikon*, III, 1954, cols. 1244-51, s.v. *Demokrit und Heraklit*; Fitz Darby, *Wise Men, 1962*, pp. 279-305, esp. pp. 284-295; Blankert, op. cit., 1967, pp. 31-124; Ferrari, *Filosofi, 1986*, esp. pp. 120-123, 144, 146-147, 156-157, 162-163.
10. For this picture and its influence see esp. Blankert, op. cit., 1967, pp. 36-40, 85-86; also above, Volume I, pp. 101-102, 106.
11. Cicero, *De oratore* II.58; Horace, *Epistles* II.i.194; Lucian, *Vitarum auctio* 13-14.
12. Sidonius Apollinaris *Epistolae* IX.ix.14.
13. *Anthologia Palatina* IX.cxlviiii.
14. Seneca, *De tranquillitate animi* XV.2-3 and *De ira* II.10.5; Juvenal, *Satires* x.28-53. These texts are conveniently presented in Blankert, op. cit., 1967, pp. 39, 79-80.
15. *Alpers, Torre, 1971*, p. 270 for the *Democritus*; for *Heraclitus* cf. the bust published in *Faber, Imagines, 1606*, pl. 65.
16. *V.S.*, p. 223, no. 25.3; Blankert, op. cit., 1967, p. 121, fig. 49; *Van der Meulen, Antique, 1994*, II, pp. 122-124, no. 111 and III, fig. 201. Rubens may indeed have owned this bust: *ibid.*, II, p. 116.
17. See P. Rubens, *Electorum libri duo*, Antwerp, 1608, pp. 45-46; cf. N. de Grummond, 'The Study of Classical Costume by Philip, Albert, and Peter Paul Rubens', *The Gingham Museum of Art Journal*, I, 1983, pp. 83-84. Rubens may also have been influenced by the illustrations to André Thevet's *Les Vrais Portraits et Vies des Hommes Illustres* (Paris, 1584) where ancient figures frequently have their names written in the appropriate language on some part of their costume—Thevet has no illustration, however, of either Democritus or Heraclitus.
18. He put a short 'e' (E) for a long 'e' (H) in ΔΗΜΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ and ΕΡΑΚΛΙΤΟΣ for ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΤΟΣ. For Rubens's later proficiency in Greek see Volume I, Chapter II.
19. The prime meridian appears to pass through Faro, as was common both for Spanish and Netherlandish globes of the period, but it should extend through the North Pole, which it does not do. The compass rose is unexpectedly large. Quite probably Rubens relied on a small terrestrial globe, and roughly scaled it up. The inscriptions on the globe are as follows: *Oceanus Occidentalis*; *Island* or *Island* on Iceland; *Anglia* on England; *Oceanus Germanicus* on the Channel; another on France is illegible. I thank Kristen Lippincott and Elly Dekker for their advice and information about globes.
20. This part of Europe and England seems also to be darkened by clouds.
21. For the best extant version of the painting of Galba, perhaps Rubens's original, from his early emperor series see E. McGrath, "'Not even a fly': Rubens and the mad emperors", *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXXIII, 1991, p. 699, fig. 39. The ancient bust is shown, dramatically foreshortened, in a drawing which Jaffé dated c. 1606, assuming it was made in Rome (Jaffé, op. cit. 1968, p. 184; Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy, 1977*, p. 82, pl. 308; cf. B. Cleaver in [Cat. Exh.] *Rubens in Oxford* [Christ Church, Oxford and P. & D. Colnaghi & Co. Ltd., London], London, 1988, pp. 20-22, no. 1, repr. p. 21 and colour pl. 1; and *Van der Meulen, Antique, 1994*, II, pp. 146-148, no. 126; III, fig. 247, dating it later, in the 1610s). But this drawing might in fact be earlier, given that the bust is illustrated,

- less foreshortened and more from the side, in the lost 'pocketbook' (Jombert, *Théorie*, 1773, pl. III; Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, 1966, I, pp. 16-26 and pp. 303-304, pls. XXXVIII, L and LI and II, fol. 67v), and given that it is also studied, and transformed into an anatomical demonstration, in two drawings in the Rubenshuis and Chatsworth which seem to belong to Rubens's youth in Antwerp: see J. Muller in [Cat. Exh.] *Rubens Cantoor. Een verzameling tekeningen ontstaan in Rubens' atelier* (Rubenshuis), Antwerp, 1993, pp. 85-87, figs. 18 and 20. Despite the interesting comparison made by Limentani Virdis (loc. cit., 1992) with an engraving by Heemskerck, the Galba bust seems to me the immediate source for the head of Heraclitus in No. 8.
22. McGrath, loc. cit. For the painting of *Nero and Seneca* see Volume I, Chapter IV, at n. 76.
23. Blankert, op. cit., 1967, pp. 52-76. Of course when for his Prado pictures (Figs. 38, 39) he had 'real' portraits to hand, Rubens himself easily reconciled these with suitable characterizations.
24. See the comments of Bodart, loc. cit., 1985-86.
25. For examples in 16th-century emblems see Henkel—Schöne, *Emblemata*, 1967-76, I, cols. 220-222. See also G.P. Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica*, edn Basle, 1575, chapter li (*de quercu*), fols. 374v-376v; Valeriano also points to the association of oak with vine, which grows best on it (fols. 374v, 376v), a notion which may simply explain Rubens's vine. Certainly the context seems to rule out any idea that the artist intended the vine to be seen as killing the living tree (with the consequent emblematic association with ingratitude, or bad friendship: see Henkel—Schöne, *Emblemata*, 1967-76, I, cols. 276-277). Perhaps, however, the vine particularly refers to the partiality of Democritus for drinking: the philosopher is often represented in later Netherlandish paintings as an extrovert toper: Jan van Bijlert, for example, shows him with wine and vine (Blankert, op. cit., 1967, p. 61, fig. 17).
26. For this see R. Klibansky, E. Panofsky and F. Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy*, London, 1964, pp. 286-288. Burchard drew attention to the analogy with Rubens's figures of the repentant St Peter. Blankert discusses the various gestures used for Heraclitus, including the wringing of hands, recommended by Van Mander as an expression of sadness: Blankert, op. cit., 1967, pp. 52-54.
27. *Vitae* IX.6, giving the source as Theophrastus. For the modern interpretation of this characteristic as impulsiveness rather than melancholy see G.S. Kirk and J.E. Raven, *The Presocratic Philosophers*, ed. Cambridge, 1971, p. 184.
28. See Blankert, op. cit., 1967, pp. 54-58. For pointing used by Rubens as a gesture of ridicule see for example his *Drunkenness of Hercules* (K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921, p. 122).
29. Loc. cit., 1937-38.
30. For the importance of this Satire to Rubens and to the later pictures see Volume I, pp. 80, 103-105. It may be significant that Juvenal's approval of Democritus is underlined in the commentary by Lubinus: Juvenal, *Satires* (and Persius, *Satires*), ed. E. Lubinus, Hannover, 1608, pp. 354, 356 on text, pp. 352-353.
31. Pen and brown ink on paper, with a light green tint behind the head; 320 × 197 mm. London, British Museum, inv. no. Oo. 9-24.
32. See Rowlands, *Rubens Drawings*, 1977, pp. 28-29, no. 15. Rowlands tentatively connected it with the painting made for the Duke of Lerma, but was not aware at the time of the painting's rediscovery; in it (Fig. 36) Heraclitus of course looks entirely different.

9. The Weeping Heraclitus (Fig. 35)

Oil on oak panel; 64 × 49.5 cm.

Sottrum, Collection of Krystian Surowietz (1985).

PROVENANCE: German private collection, sold February 1957 to Dr F. Rothmann (Garmisch-Partenkirche); London, dealer A. Brod from December 1957 until at least 1963; ? English private collection; German art trade, 1973; Walter Kolb, Kehl (1974); Paul Schaer-Micheluzzi, Basle (1977); with Bukowski Auction House, Zurich, December 1984.

EXHIBITED: *Spring Exhibition*, London, Alfred Brod Gallery, Old Masters, May 1963, no. 1.

LITERATURE: *Die Weltkunst*, XXV, 1955, 12, p. 11; A. Blankert, 'Heraclitus en Democritus, in het bijzonder in de Nederlandse kunst van de 17de eeuw', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, XVIII, 1967, pp. 108-109, no. 65; H. Vlieghe, 'Zwischen Van Veen und Rubens: Artus Wolffort (1581-1641), ein vergessener Antwerpener Maler', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXXIX, 1977, p. 102, n. 15 (as Artus Wolffort).

This picture, which shows Heraclitus, veiled and dressed in suitably sombre colours, against a brown background, was attributed

to Rubens by Burchard, as indeed it has been too by Müller Hofstede (certificates 3 June 1964 and 21 May 1982). However, it seems to me quite inconsistent with the artist's manner, both as regards style and iconography, and Vlieghe's suggestion that the author is Artus Wolffort has much to recommend it.

Burchard dated the painting around 1618, finding its 'fluid and sketchy' technique characteristic of Rubens's work of this date. But to judge from subsequent photographs, successive cleanings have removed overpainting and revealed a picture of cruder and starker technique which Müller Hofstede placed rather around 1595. This might imply a resemblance to the early half-length emperor portraits,¹ but, except in format, these seem to me quite dissimilar.

The dating raises another problem. For the picture must have had a companion *Democritus*, painted as a pendant, likewise half-length and leaning over a globe, in conformity with the familiar Netherlandish type.² This type, especially popular among Netherlandish Caravaggisti³ is not, however, recorded so early; indeed, as Blankert observes, the first firmly documented case of a pendant half-length *Democritus* and *Heraclitus* occurs only in 1622 with the dated paintings by, or after, Dirk van Baburen,⁴ even if we know of a pair of heads of Democritus and Heraclitus painted by Cornelis van der Voort in 1614.⁵ It is of course possible that Rubens could himself have invented such a formulation years earlier. But it seems significant that the figure depends on no ancient prototype, whether the classical 'portrait' then available,⁶ or the bust of Galba which the artist used as a substitute for his *Democritus* and *Heraclitus* painted in Spain in 1603 (No. 8; Fig. 36),⁷ a painting which, in any case, hardly makes sense as the same artist's slightly later version of this subject.

Comparisons with the paintings of Wolffort are, I believe, telling. The facial features, stubby fingers, weak outlines and bland treatment of draperies seem to recall the works

cited by Vlieghe. In particular, the half-length pair of *Democritus* and *Heraclitus* in Prague Castle Gallery, evidently related to the present work, though in better condition,⁸ are also given by Vlieghe to Wolffort.

1. For these see M. Jaffé, 'Rubens's Roman Emperors', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXIII, 1971, pp. 300-303; J.S. Held, 'Thoughts on Rubens's Beginnings', *The Ringling Museum of Art Journal*, I, 1983, p. 20 and fig. 3; Jaffé, *Rubens*, 1989, p. 146, nos. 4, 5; E. McGrath, "'Not even a fly': Rubens and the mad emperors", *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXXIII, 1991, pp. 699-700, fig. 39.
2. Blankert, op. cit., 1967, pp. 99-102 and 69, fig. 23.
3. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 45, 95-103.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 45-47, 95 and p. 56, fig. 14.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 94, no. 24 and p. 45.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 49 and 120, fig. 48; also *Alpers, Torre*, 1971, no. 62, pl. 196.
7. Burchard seems to have thought that both figures were based on the same model, but they look quite different to me.
8. See J. Neumann, *La galerie de tableaux du château de Prague*, typescript catalogue, 1967, pp. 203-207, nos. 42-43; Vlieghe, op. cit., 1977, figs. 14-15. Cf. the picture sold London (Sotheby's) 30 July 1965, lot 412; also the painting by Lumen van Portrengren (d. Utrecht 1649), of c. 1640: sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), 28 November-1 December 1967, lot 94 (a similar figure leaning to the other side with a white garment over his head).

10. 'Democritus' and 'Heraclitus' with a Soldier

Oil on panel; 'life-size'.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPY: Painting (Fig. 37), whereabouts unknown; canvas, 80 × 100 cm. PROV. sale, Brussels (Fiévez), 7-8 July 1926, lot 148 (as *Van Thulden*); sale, Berlin (Lepke), 24 May 1927, lot 165 (as *Jordaens*), bought by Julius M. Bier, Berlin; his widow (1958); ? his nephew, Herbert N. Bier, London, 1958; sale, London (Sotheby's), 30 April 1958, lot 163 (as *Jordaens*, 'Nero and Seneca and a man in armour'); sale, London (Christie's), 12 December 1958, lot

156 (as *Terbrugghen*). LIT. *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, p. 89; Weisbach, op. cit., 1928, in bibliography below, p. 154, n. 1; Blankert, op. cit., 1967, in bibliography below, p. 109, no. 66.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, p. 89, no. 859; *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, VI, pp. 222-224; W. Weisbach, 'Der sogenannte Geograph von Velasquez und die Darstellungen des Democrit und Heraklit', *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XLIX, 1928, p. 154, n. 1; A. Blankert, 'Heraclitus en Democritus, in het bijzonder in de Nederlandse kunst van de 17de eeuw', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, XVIII, 1967, p. 109, no. 66; P. Huvenne in *Cat. Exh. Cantoor, Antwerp, 1993*, p. 22.

This picture undoubtedly records the composition which is the subject of a letter of 17 August 1638 from Rubens to Lucas Faid'herbe. Writing from his country residence, Het Steen (Elewijt), to the sculptor whom he had left in charge of his workshop in Antwerp, and marking the letter express ('...Cito, cito, cito, tot Antwerpen. Post'), the painter professes himself 'greatly in need of a panel which has three heads on it, life-size, by my own hand, that is to say: an angry soldier with a black bonnet on his head, and a crying man's head and a laughing one' ('...ick grootelijckken van noode hebbe een pannel daer drij troniën op staen, soo groot als het leven, van mijn handt; te wetene: eenen grammen soldaet met een swarte mutse op 't hooft, ende een crijtende manstronie ende een lacher') and he requests that it should be sent or brought as soon as possible. Evidently the painting was urgently required, even more than the consignment of Ay wine which should have arrived long ago, Rubens's supply having run out.¹

It is easy to guess why Rubens should have wanted the panel with the heads at this point. There is, as Burchard noted, a distinct resemblance in physiognomy between the crying and laughing man as recorded in the copy (Fig. 37) and, respectively, the *Heraclitus* and

the *Democritus* painted for the Torre de la Parada in the late 1630s (Figs. 38, 39).² Obviously the panel of heads was needed and was in fact used for Philip IV's pair of pictures. This in turn means that we have a date—for these pictures, now in the Prado; it also explains why, unlike the majority of the paintings for the Torre which were only sketched by Rubens and then farmed out to other artists, the *Democritus* and *Heraclitus* were executed by the artist himself (and probably without preparatory sketches). That Rubens should have so suddenly required the panel of heads from his studio is also understandable. The summer of 1638 was a difficult one for the artist, increasingly tormented by gout. In June and July his illness prevented him making much progress with the pictures for Philip IV,³ and it was perhaps simply to recuperate that Rubens retired to the country. The letter to Faid'herbe, however, suggests that by the middle of August he felt unexpectedly well enough to work on what remained of the Spanish commission, and hastened to paint the philosophers who, with the accompanying *Satyr* (Fig. 40),⁴ were perhaps a late addition to the scheme of decoration and a kind of commentary on the painted stories—tragic, comic and satiric—of the gods and heroes.⁵ Whether Rubens was able to finish the pictures very quickly is not clear. On 13 October the Cardinal-Infante reported that the completion of the remaining paintings was delayed as Rubens had been very ill—by 11 December he had even received Extreme Unction. Probably, however, the *Heraclitus* and *Democritus* were among the next batch of paintings sent to Spain on 27 February 1639.⁶

But if the panel with three heads was undoubtedly used for *Democritus* and *Heraclitus* (Figs. 38, 39), the laughing and the crying man on it may not have been painted as illustrations of the two contrasting philosophers, but rather as studies of expressive heads which exploit the 'typical' figures of the ancient pair. After all the picture has no representation of

the world, an invariable component of the theme of *Democritus and Heraclitus*, and contains an apparently irrelevant angry soldier. Moreover, Rubens's letter to Faid'herbe would seem to imply that it has no particular narrative (or allegorical) subject.

Burchard thought that the panel was indeed a *Democritus and Heraclitus*, simply shown with an unusual twist. He argued that the designation of the picture in the letter to the unlearned Faid'herbe, to whom Rubens invariably writes in Flemish and in an informal and familiar tone, should not be taken to exclude the painting having a subject: Rubens is simply referring to the panel in terms which would have made it most easily identifiable by anyone who looked for it in the studio (perhaps not even Faid'herbe himself, but one of the assistants). This argument is plausible, and Blankert has ingeniously proposed as the painting's theme the passage about Democritus and Heraclitus in Seneca's *De ira*, a passage certainly familiar to Rubens, and probably relevant, in a general way, to his earlier *Democritus and Heraclitus* (No. 8; Fig. 36).⁷ Here Seneca presents the reactions of the two philosophers as the alternative responses to the world, so that there is no need or place for anger over it.⁸ Rubens's panel might therefore show Democritus and Heraclitus together and in front of a soldier to illustrate how their attitudes are preferable to that of anger—and it can be noted that in his letter of August 1638 Rubens describes the soldier as angry. However, if Seneca thus provides a rationale for the conjunction of three such expressive figures, the picture seems a peculiarly elusive illustration of this unusual subject; not only do we miss the globe, but a soldier, however irate, is not an obvious representative of *Ira*, which we might rather have expected Rubens to have shown in another ancient philosopher, or as a personification. Besides, even if the laughing man looks very much like Democritus as he is represented on the ancient bust which Rubens himself had engraved in 1638,⁹ the fact that he is equally like the satyr or

Silenus in the late *Bacchanal* in Genoa¹⁰ indicates that he might simply serve as a type rather than a portrait, while the weeping man, who is very like the repentant St Peter as he appears in *Christ and the Penitent Sinners* in Munich,¹¹ lacks one important feature which Rubens elsewhere gives to Heraclitus—the cloak drawn as a veil over his head.

On balance, it seems to me more likely that this is a picture of 'character' heads which uses the 'exemplary' figures of Democritus and Heraclitus—and perhaps also the passage from Seneca—as an expressive basis for the characterization, rather than an allegory of *Democritus and Heraclitus with Anger*. After all, in the painting of 1603 (No. 8; Fig. 36) Rubens, I believe, showed the weeping and laughing philosophers as melancholic and sanguine respectively; the soldier here would be an obvious representative of the choleric temperament. However, it is interesting that in the event Rubens seems to have combined the *Democritus and Heraclitus* for the Torre de la Parada with a third figure, a *Satyr* (Figs. 38, 39, 40);¹² and with nothing to go on for No. 10 except the letter and the copy on canvas it is hard to be conclusive about the function of the original panel, which may have been smaller and more of a sketch. Certainly, whether as a subject-picture or as a group of 'study heads', this painting of three bust-length figures is for Rubens something of an anomaly.

1. *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, VI, pp. 222-224, doc. DCCCLXI. As Huvenne notes (loc. cit., 1993), Rubens was concerned that the panel should be covered carefully so that it would be protected and hidden from sight.
2. *Alpers, Torre, 1971*, nos. 61 and 62; pls. 195 and 196. See also Volume I, Chapter IV, pp. 103-106.
3. This is clear from the letters of the Cardinal-Infante to Philip IV of 30 June and 20 July: *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, VI, pp. 220-221, docs. DCCCLVII-DCCCLIX.
4. *Alpers, Torre, 1971*, no. 56, pl. 179.
5. For this argument see Volume I, Chapter IV, pp. 103-106.
6. See *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, VI, pp. 226-229, docs. DCCCLXIV-DCCCLXVI.
7. Blankert, loc. cit., 1967; see also under No. 8, at

- nn. 14, 30.
 8. Seneca, *De ira* II.10.
 9. Blankert, *op. cit.*, 1967, p. 121, fig. 49; *Van der Meulen, Antique*, 1994, II, no. 111 and III, fig. 201.
 10. *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 359. The satyr here occupies exactly the same position in this composition of three, half-length figures, which seems to represent an allegory of Drunkenness. Indeed Burchard wondered if the two compositions might have been pendants ('optimism versus pessimism'). This seems to be unlikely, especially given that Rubens assimilated Democritus to a Silenus: see above, Volume I, Chapter IV, p. 103 and *text ill.* 37.
 11. *Freedberg, Christ after the Passion*, 1984, pl. 22, no. 11. At one stage Burchard considered that No. 10 might itself be a representation of the Repentant Peter, but he evidently changed his view. The figure in the sketch is also similar to that to the extreme right in the *Brazen Serpent* in the National Gallery, London (*K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 315).
 12. Cf. above, at n. 4.

11. Alcibiades interrupting the Symposium: Drawing (Fig. 41)

Lead pencil and pen and ink on brown paper; 268 × 362 mm. Inscribed faintly in Rubens's hand above the heads of the third, fifth and sixth figure from the left respectively: *Alcibiades, Plato, Socrates* (see Figs. 42a, b, c). Below on the left the mark of T. Hudson (L. 2432); below on the right the marks of P.H. Lankrink (L. 2090), Jonathan Richardson Senior (L. 2184), Charles Rogers (L. 625) and the number 40.91.12.—*Verso*: Sketches for figure of Paris for a *Judgement of Paris* and for a *Baptism of Christ*.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Gift of Harold K. Hochschild, 1940. Inv. no. 40.91.12.

PROVENANCE: P.H. Lankrink (London, 1628-1692); Jonathan Richardson, Senior (London, 1665-1745), sale, 26 January 1746 [1747], lot 54, bought by T. Hudson (London, 1701-1779); Charles Rogers (1711-1784); Von S[imolin], sale, Berlin (Henrici), 21 June 1919, lot 55; Harold K. Hochschild, given to the Museum in 1940.

EXHIBITED: *Cambridge—New York*, 1956, no. 4.

LITERATURE: H.W. Williams in *Metropolitan Museum Bulletin*, XXXV, 1940, p. 156 (as *Van Dyck*); J.S. Held in *Magazine of Art*, XLIV, 1951, p. 2; [A. Mongan], [Cat. Exh.] *Drawings and Oil Sketches by P.P. Rubens from American Collections* (Fogg Art Museum, Harvard—Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 1956), Cambridge, Mass., 1956, pp. 12-13, no. 4 and pl. 1 (as *'The Triumphant Return of Horatius'*); J.S. Held in *The Burlington Magazine*, XCVIII, 1956, p. 124; *Held, Drawings*, 1959, I, p. 95, no. 6, pp. 96, 97, 99; II, pl. 6 (as *'The Return of the Victorious Horatius'*); M. Jaffé, 'Rubens in Italy. Part II: Some Rediscovered Works of the First Phase', *The Burlington Magazine*, CX, 1968, p. 180; J.R. Martin in *Rubens before 1620*, Princeton, 1972, pp. 139, 156, repr. p. 157; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, 1977, pp. 29, 64; J. Müller Hofstede in *Cat. Exh. Cologne*, 1977, pp. 192-194, no. 27, repr.; *McGrath, Alcibiades*, 1983, pp. 228-231, 234-235 (as *'Alcibiades interrupting the Symposium'*); *Held, Drawings*, 1986, p. 72, no. 17, pp. 75, 76 and pl. 15 (as *'Alcibiades interrupting the Symposium'*).

This drawing, which was dated by Burchard to Rubens's years in Italy and can be placed more precisely c. 1601-2,¹ was earlier identified by Held (following a suggestion of Erwin Panofsky) as the return of the triumphant Horatius; Burchard doubted this and tentatively proposed Alexander and Dimnus, recalling the inscription from Quintus Curtius on the sheet of studies in Berlin—subsequently identified by Müller Hofstede as a page from the lost theoretical notebook (the so-called pocketbook).²

In fact, as I have argued elsewhere,³ the subject was already recognized by Jonathan Richardson as 'Alcibiades coming drunk into the feast of philosophers',⁴ and an illustration of the point in Plato's *Symposium* when the debate on love, which has just reached a climax in the speech of Socrates, is abruptly brought down to earth with a rowdy interrup-

tion.⁵ Richardson presumably read the identifications of three figures made by Rubens himself ('Alcibiades', 'Plato' and 'Socrates'); now, however, these appear very faintly, and can be deciphered on the drawing only with the help (see Figs. 42a, b, c) of ultra-violet light (I first noticed them on a photograph).⁶ In accordance with Plato's account, Alcibiades, a reveller wreathed in violets and ivy,⁷ rushes towards the table where the symposiasts are engaged in their discussion. Like Raphael in the *School of Athens* (text *ills.* 26, 27), Rubens distinguished Alcibiades from the philosophers in costume; he wears a short tunic and a sword.⁸ Alcibiades's inebriation is suggested not just in his pose and expression, but by the two 'bacchantes' behind him, part of the drunken retinue (including a flute girl) that Plato says he brought along with him;⁹ they also recall the young man's habitual dissipations with courtesans.¹⁰ Alcibiades has evidently been about to crown Agathon, the host and object of his immediate fancy, who is receiving him with open arms, but has noticed the unexpected presence of Socrates and is just raising another garland, in his left hand, for the philosopher. The action ingeniously sums up successive stages in Plato's narrative in which Alcibiades sits down next to Agathon to wreath his friend, then realizes that Socrates is there, right beside him, having moved along from his former seat next to Agathon to accommodate the newcomer. There follows some good-humoured teasing, in which Alcibiades reveals himself both jealous of and (still) rather in love with Socrates; this ends with his making a crown too for the philosopher and embarking on an affectionate eulogy which includes the disarming account of how Socrates resisted his usually irresistible charms.¹¹

Rubens emphasized the suddenness of the interruption by showing the two men at the right, probably Aristophanes and Eryximachus, still deep in conversation and absorbed with one another. Their attitude also underlines the contrasting intensity of Socra-

tes's attention. Plato himself is the youth with an arm around Socrates who stretches up to grasp the garland from Alcibiades, thus drawing the pair together and happily anticipating the conclusion of the episode. Although the *Symposium* makes it clear that Plato was not present at Agathon's party, Rubens evidently could not resist including the author of the dialogue, and giving him a crucial role. Since he would have been an adolescent at the time when the symposium is set (416 BC, the date of Agathon's victory in the drama prize), Rubens's Plato naturally bears no resemblance to portraits of the mature philosopher,¹² which is perhaps why his name was inscribed above his head (cf. Figs. 42a, b, c).¹³ Indeed he rather resembles the youth rapt in contemplation next to Socrates in the *School of Athens*.¹⁴ Rubens thus hints that the boyish Plato is one of the beautiful young men referred to in Alcibiades's speech as being beloved of and captivated by Socrates,¹⁵ imaginatively entering into the spirit of the Platonic text, which so elegantly connects the erotic inclinations of its participants with their explorations of and aspirations to the higher realms of love.

The works of Plato had occasionally provided matter for Renaissance allegories,¹⁶ and images from the speeches in the *Symposium* had inspired a couple of striking *imprese*.¹⁷ Rubens himself may have been thinking of the image of the charioteer from the *Phaedrus* when he painted the emblematic scene with a careering chariot in his *Hercules and Omphale* of c. 1606.¹⁸ But no previous artist had attempted to make a narrative scene of an episode in a Platonic dialogue. Rubens's drawing, which so captures the human emotions behind Plato's dramatic exchange, was evidently informed by a close reading and understanding of the *Symposium*,¹⁹ and as such is unparalleled, both in his *oeuvre* and in the art of the period.²⁰ It is unrelated to any painting and was perhaps done as a personal exercise in character study—it is notable that the drawing concentrates on gesture and facial expression—and to amuse a learned friend;

the artist's brother Philip, who introduced Rubens to scholarly circles in Italy and evidently encouraged him to read Greek, seems a likely candidate.²¹

1. See Müller Hofstede, loc. cit., 1977; McGrath, *Alcibiades*, 1983, p. 230 and n. 10, p. 234; Held, *Drawings*, 1986, p. 72.
2. *Cat. Exh. Cologne*, 1977, pp. 50-67, 187.
3. McGrath, *Alcibiades*, 1983, with a more detailed analysis.
4. *A Catalogue of the genuine and entire Collection of... Mr Jonathon [sic] Richardson...*, London, 26 January 1746 [1747], lot 54.
5. Plato, *Symposium* 212Cff., esp. 213E.
6. I thank William Griswold for his assistance in examining the drawing at the Metropolitan Museum, and Carolyn Logan for kindly obtaining photographs (cf. Figs. 42a, b, c) taken under ultra-violet light.
7. See *Symposium* 212D-213A.
8. From Bellori, the earliest source to offer an identification (G.P. Bellori, *Descrizione delle Immagini dipinte da Raffaele d'Urbino nel Palazzo Vaticano...*, edn Rome, 1751, pp. 42-43), writers on the Stanze have generally identified the young man in armour listening to Socrates as Alcibiades, and this was presumably Rubens's view. It has also been suggested, however, that he is Xenophon, apparently first by W. Scherer; see A. Springer, 'Raffael's "Schule von Athen"', *Die graphischen Künste*, V, 1883, pp. 55-106 and esp. the table with various identifications on p. 87 (cf. Gombrich, *Segnatura*, 1972, fig. 74). Inigo Jones evidently had another candidate for Alcibiades, namely the youth next to Socrates and listening attentively (J. Wood, 'Inigo Jones, Italian Art, and the Practice of Drawing', *The Art Bulletin*, LXXIV, 1992, pp. 247-270, esp. 260-261 and figs. 33-35). For this handsome youth (actually intended as Phaedrus?) see further below.
9. See *Symposium*, 212C-D.
10. Cf. esp. Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 8, 3; 16, 1; 26, 2 and 39, 1-15 for his death in the arms of a courtesan.
11. Plato, *Symposium*, esp. 213B-E; the eulogy lasts until 222B.
12. For Rubens's images of Plato, based on ancient portraits, see Volume I, Chapter IV.
13. That Socrates is named may be because Rubens had drawn him, whether intentionally or not, without the characteristic Silenus features actually referred to by Alcibiades in the *Symposium* (215-222B, esp. 215B-C; 216D-217A; 221D-222A). For later illustrations of Socrates by Rubens, mostly related to the projected gem book, see *Van der Meulen, Antiquarius*, 1975, esp. pp. 61-63, 155, 186-187 and figs IXa, c, XIXa, b, XXa, b, and d, the last inscribed *Socrates* in Rubens's hand; also *Van der*

Meulen, Antique, 1994, II, pp. 203-204, no. 172, pp. 246-247, no. 219, p. 248, no. 222; III, figs. 341, 456, 462. See also *ibid.*, II, pp. 139-141, no. 118; III, fig. 228 for a head of Socrates which does not have the usual snub nose.

14. For this figure see above, n. 8.
15. Cf. esp. *Symposium* 216D-217A.
16. For these, and especially the simile of the cave in the *Republic*, see McGrath, *Alcibiades*, 1983, p. 230, n. 13 with further references; also for Furini's allegory of c. 1640 and the theme of the *Theatetus*, 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. The image of the Spindle of Necessity from the *Republic* provided the theme for one of the Florentine *Intermezzi* of 1589 (*de' Rossi, Apparato*, 1589, pp. 18-32, esp. p. 25). A 15th-century Neapolitan manuscript of Aristotle's *Ethics* provides a vivid illustration of Platonic ideas: H. J. Hermann, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Oesterreich*, VIII, VI, 4 (Unteritalien), Leipzig, 1933, pp. 79-105, esp. pp. 82-83 and pl. XXXIV.
17. For the double body from Aristophanes's speech in the medal of the Paduan philosopher Marcantonio Passeri see E. Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*, edn Harmondsworth, 1967, pp. 201-202 and figs. 66-68. For the use of the Silenus figure that opens to reveal beauties inside, Alcibiades's image of Socrates in the *Symposium* (popularized in a proverb of Erasmus), see for example Henkel—Schöne, *Emblemata*, 1967-76, I, col. 1275, illustrating an emblem of Covarrubias Orozco of 1610.
18. This is proposed by J.M. Muller in 'The Phaedran Charioteer and Two Early Paintings by Rubens', *Essays in Northern European Art presented to Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann*, Doornspijk, 1983, pp. 190-193 and figs. 1, 2. Foucart, however, has pointed out that Muller wrongly stated that only one of the cupids driving the chariot was wearing a blindfold (J. Foucart, 'Les retrouvailles d'un grand Rubens du Louvre', *La revue du Louvre et des Musées de France*, XXXV, 1985, pp. 387-401, esp. pp. 391-392). A connection with the *Phaedrus* is at best indirect. Rubens was in fact following a design of Giulio Romano, as reproduced in an engraving by Adamo Scultori ([*Cat. Exh.*] *Incisori mantovani del '500*, ed. S. Massari, Rome, 1980-81, pp. 46-47, nos. 53a-c; repr. pp. 212-213; cf. fig. 16). In this, however, there are five horses, interpreted in an inscription on one state of the print (*Animi imperio sensuum obsequio*) as the five senses, and two cupids, rather than Rubens's three. There is only one winged charioteer in Plato's text (*Phaedrus* 246A-B, 253C-254E). Giulio's design it does, however, seem to be loosely related to the

- Phaedrus* (see C. Nordenfalk, 'The Five Senses in late medieval and Renaissance art', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XLVIII, 1985, p. 18 and pl. 6b). If Rubens in turn had the *Phaedrus* in mind, he may have pictured three cupids because Plato talks of the tripartite soul. Whatever the case, as Foucart has observed, Rubens doubtless showed the cupids blindfold to emphasize loss of reason through passion. For the dating of the *Hercules and Omphale*, which Jaffé, for example, placed c. 1602 (Jaffé, *Rubens*, 1989, p. 150, no. 27; repr. p. 151), see Foucart, loc. cit.
19. Rubens, whose Greek was at this stage imperfect (see under No. 8) would presumably have been helped by a Latin translation, such as that by Ianus Cornarius (Plato, *Opera*, edn Basle, 1561): cf. McGrath, *Alcibiades*, 1983, p. 229, n. 5.
20. The only other 17th-century illustration of the subject, Pietro Testa's print of 1647, presents it more as the theme for a moralized allegory: see McGrath, *Alcibiades*, 1983, pp. 232-234 and pl. 44a; E. Cropper, [Cat. Exh.] *Pietro Testa, 1612-1650. Prints and Drawings* (Philadelphia Museum of Art), Philadelphia, 1988, pp. 247-249, no. 114. There exist, however, two intriguing drawings of Socrates and Alcibiades by Inigo Jones, in which the artist seems to have been particularly inspired by the story of the attempted seduction of Socrates (Wood, loc. cit. in n. 8).
21. Cf. McGrath, *Alcibiades*, 1983, pp. 234-235; Held, *Drawings*, 1986, p. 72.

12. Diogenes seeking a True Man

Oil on canvas; ? c. 190 × 304 cm.
Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: ? Antwerp collection, 1744.

COPIES: (1) Painting from Rubens's workshop (Fig. 43), with a section omitted at the left, Paris, Louvre, inv. no. 2130 transferred in 1955 to Saint-Etienne, Palais des Arts; canvas; 198 × 249 cm. PROV. Mme la douairière Guyot, sold publicly before 1780 (for 500 livres) to J.-B. P. Le Brun, dealer in Paris, bought by the comte de Vaudreuil, who then sold it to Louis XVI in 1784; in the Louvre by 1801; since 1955 in Saint-Etienne. LIT. *Notice des tableaux exposés dans la Galerie du Musée*, Paris, 1814, pp. 69-70, no. 604 (as *Rubens*, but attributed by some to *Jordaens*); Smith, *Catalogue*, 1829-42, II, p. 117, no. 395 (as *workshop*, possibly retouched);

Waagen, Kunstwerke, 1837-39, III, pp. 559-560, no. 686 (as *studio*); F. Villot, *Notice des tableaux exposés dans les galeries du Musée national du Louvre*, II, Paris, 1852, no. 467 (as *workshop*, perhaps retouched by Rubens); Rooses, *Oeuvre*, 1886-92, IV, p. 9; Burckhardt, *Rubens*, 1898, p. 178 (as *copy*); H. Weizsäcker, *Catalog der Gemälde-galerie des Städelschen Kunstinstituts in Frankfurt am Main*, Frankfurt, 1900, pp. 291-292, under no. 129; F. Engerand, *Inventaire des tableaux commandés et achetés par la direction des Bâtiments du Roi (1709-1792)*, Paris, 1900, pp. 547-548; H. Hymans in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 3rd per, XXIX, 1903, p. 262 (as *Pieter van Mol*); *Archives de l'art français*, n.s., III, 1909, p. 387, no. 144 (inv. Muséum des arts, 1793); L. Demonts, *Musée national du Louvre, catalogue des peintures exposées dans les galeries. III: Écoles flamande, hollandaise, allemande et anglaise*, Paris, 1922, pp. 28-29; Burckhardt, *Rubens*, 1950, p. 87; *Cat. Exh. Paris 1977-78*, p. 287 (as *copy*); Held, *Sketches*, 1980, I, p. 374 (as *feeble studio product*); E. Hubala, *Peter Paul Rubens. Die Gemälde im Städel* (Städelsches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie), Frankfurt am Main, 1990, pp. 68-69, fig. 57 (as *copy*).

(2) Painting (Fig. 44), whereabouts unknown, now cut into 2 parts; canvas, 205 × 325 cm. (originally). PROV. Heirs of Mme G. Pauwels-Allard, sale, Brussels (Galerie Giroux), 21-22 November 1927, lot 41 (repr. pl. 14; as *atelier of Rubens*); ? Rosine Chasles, Paris; with dealer S. Hartveld, Antwerp; sale, Brussels (Galerie Fiévez), 16 December 1929, lot 78, repr. pl. xxxvii (as *Rubens*); withdrawn and returned to Hartveld; presumably then cut into two fragments: (a) larger (left) part (170 × 210 cm.): sale, Brussels (Galerie Fiévez), 6 December 1935, lot 147, repr. pl. x (as *Rubens*); bought back by S. Hartveld, with him until 1940? (d. 1949); Mrs Doris Noel Sandberg, Stockholm (inherited), 1960; (b) smaller (right) part (115 × 85 cm.): Roger Vermeiren, Antwerp (1955-62). EXH. (b): Hotel Metropole, Antwerp, 16 November-15 December 1962. LIT. (b) R. Vermeiren in *Gazet van Antwerpen*, 27 November 1962, repr.

(3) Painting, after Copy 1, similarly cropped, Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, inv. no. 1301 (for some time exhibited in Schleissheim, Gemäldegalerie); canvas, 188 × 250 cm. PROV. Düsseldorf, Electoral Gallery. LIT. G.J. Karsch, *Désignation exacte des peintures dans la galerie de la résidence à Düsseldorf*, Düsseldorf [1719], no. 197; J. van Gool, *De nieuwe Schouburg der Nederlantsche kunstschilders...*, The Hague, 1750-51, III, p. 545; [Carl Theodor], *Catalogue des Tableaux qui se trouvent dans les Galleries du Palais de S.A. S.E. Palatine à Dusseldorf, Mannheim*, [1760], p. 17, no. 6; Michel, *Histoire*, 1771, p. 297, no. 6; N. de Pigage, *La Galerie électorale de Dusseldorf, ou Catalogue raisonné et figuré de ses tableaux...*, contenant...de petites estampes rédigées et gravées d'après ces mêmes tableaux, par Chretien de Mechel..., Basle, 1778, I, no. 249 (fifth room); N. de Pigage, *La Galerie électorale de Dusseldorf, ou Catalogue raisonné de ses tableaux...*, Brussels, 1781, pp. 262-263, no. 249; C. von Mannlich, *Beschreibung der Churpfalz baierischen Gemälde-Sammlungen zu München*, Munich, 1805, II, p. 333, no. 1304; Smith, *Catalogue*, 1829-42, II, p. 60, no. 168; *Verzeichnis der in der königlichen Gallerie zu Schleissheim aufgestellten Gemälde*, Munich, 1885, p. 27, no. 304 (as workshop replica); *Katalog der königlichen Gemäldegalerie zu Schleissheim*, Munich, 1914, p. 207 (as workshop); Held, *Sketches*, 1980, I, p. 374; E. Hubala, *Peter Paul Rubens. Die Gemälde im Städel* (Städelsches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie), Frankfurt am Main, 1990, pp. 68-69, fig. 58; R. Klessmann, 'Auf dem Marktplatz von Athen. Diogenes sucht einen Menschen', *Kunst und Antiquitäten*, October 1991, pp. 26-27, 29, n. 3 and fig. 2.

(4) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 192 × 245 cm. PROV. Marzell von Nemes, Budapest, sale, Munich (Mensing, Müller, Cassirer and Helbing) 16 June 1931, lot 67, pl. 33 (as *Jordaens*). LIT. Held, *Sketches*, 1980, I, p. 374.

(5) Painting, probably 17th-century Flemish, private collection, Limbourg; canvas, 174 × 256 cm. PROV. sale, Brussels (Palais des

Beaux-Arts), 24 June 1953, lot 24, repr. (as *Jordaens*).

(6) Engraving by C. von Mechel dated 1775, in Pigage, loc. cit., 1778, in bibliography to Copy 3.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Oeuvre*, 1886-92, IV, p. 9; *Burckhardt, Rubens*, 1898, p. 178; H. Weizsäcker, *Catalog der Gemälde-galerie des Städelschen Kunstinstituts in Frankfurt am Main*, Frankfurt, 1900, pp. 291-292, under no. 129; *Burckhardt, Rubens*, 1950, pp. 87-88; Held, *Sketches*, 1980, I, pp. 374, 608; McGrath, *Alcibiades*, 1983, p. 231 and n. 18; E. Hubala, *Peter Paul Rubens. Die Gemälde im Städel* (Städelsches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie), Frankfurt am Main, 1990, pp. 66-71, *passim*; Jaffé, *Rubens*, 1989, p. 196, under no. 252; R. Klessmann, 'Auf dem Marktplatz von Athen. Diogenes sucht einen Menschen', *Kunst und Antiquitäten*, October 1991, p. 29, n. 3.

The subject is an ingenious adaptation to a classical theme of the popular Netherlandish motif of 'Elck', 'everyman', searching around with a lantern by daylight; it recalls in particular Bruegel's famous print (Fig. 47).² The adaptation entails a role-reversal: Everyman with his burning lamp was the very image of human folly—like the fool in the proverb recorded by Erasmus who lights a lamp at midday; Diogenes seeking a true man, however, appears stupid only to the ignorant mass of humanity. In reality he acts as he does to expose the foolishness of the world.³

In his *Life of Diogenes*, Diogenes Laertius reports that the philosopher lit a lamp in broad daylight then went about saying 'I am looking for a man [ἄνθρωπος; i.e. a human being]'.⁴ This seems to be a characteristic piece of cynic misanthropy—Diogenes Laertius multiplies anecdotes of how the philosopher grumpily proclaims individuals and groups unworthy of the name of men, mere scoundrels, slaves or beasts.⁵ Here, by implication the application is to people in general. The phrase ἄνθρωπον ζητῶ (Latinized as *quaero*

hominem) evidently acquired some currency as a condemnation of human imperfection, and Aesop borrowed it to put down an importunate acquaintance whom he met while hurrying through the forum.⁶ The market context in the fable may have influenced the illustration of the corresponding Diogenes story, especially since the brief account in Diogenes Laertius provides no circumstantial details. Yet given that we are repeatedly told how Diogenes conducted his life in Athens in public, was usually to be found in the Stoa of Zeus and had his 'barrel', or rather tub, nearby, on the same side of the agora,⁷ it was perhaps simply natural to set the scene in the market place.

Earlier illustrations of the subject are rare, and, so far as I am aware, are confined to emblems.⁸ In La Perrière's *Morosophie* of 1553, Diogenes, dressed in a cap and long gown, and leaning on his staff, has evidently just emerged from his barrel to confront a crowd of men, who look like philosophers and noblemen; these are the more than one thousand five hundred 'men' whom the text tells us the philosopher has looked at without finding 'unde sens'.⁹ More directly relevant to Rubens, however, and perhaps here, as in the case of *Pythagoras advocating Vegetarianism* (No. 7; Fig. 31), an important influence on the genesis of his new pictorial subject, was the image in Haechtman's *Microcosmos* of 1579, reproduced in Vondel's *Gulden Winckel* of 1613 (Fig. 48).¹⁰ The picture shows Diogenes, wearing rather modern-looking clothes, but suitably furnished with staff, cloak (*tribōn*) and wallet (*pyra*), confounding a group of onlookers, both men and women, as he thrusts his lamp threateningly at them, rather in the manner of Rubens's figure. Why the scene takes place in a wood is perhaps related to the explanation which both books ascribe to Diogenes for his failure to acknowledge those he sees as men: they have abandoned reason, and live a *vita ferina*, a bestial life—Vondel speaks of the world as 'een woeste wildernis/ Die niet vol mensen, maer vol wilde dieren is'.¹¹ In fact,

however, both texts record that it was in the busy Athenian market place at midday that Diogenes thus responded to the questions of curious onlookers about his lamp and about why he was 'seeking a man' in the midst of the crowd.

The image of Diogenes exposing human folly in the market square was to be taken up enthusiastically by artists after Rubens, particularly in the Netherlands, and often transported to a local setting—by Jordaens, for example, with much peasant jollity and display of market produce, and by Caesar van Everdingen in the curious picture in The Hague.¹² Sandrart tells us that on his trip to the Netherlands in 1627 Rubens admired an unfinished picture in Honthorst's studio which this author himself had evidently painted and which showed 'a Diogenes with a lantern in his hand to look for men in broad daylight in the crowded market of Athens';¹³ this may well have illustrated the theme in just such a 'popular' way. Like Honthorst, Rubens must have been interested in the possibilities the subject afforded for a play with light and shade.¹⁴ Rubens's Diogenes, however, is in a distinctly classical setting even if (perhaps by analogy with 'Elck': Fig. 47) he carries a modern lantern, like the corresponding figure in the equally classicizing picture of 1628 by Jacob van Campen in Utrecht.¹⁵ The background has an arch and columns, perhaps to suggest the Stoa of Zeus, Diogenes's usual haunt in the agora,¹⁶ and is presumably part of the market. Such a location would seem to be confirmed by the figures behind Diogenes, highlighted against the open sky—an old woman with a basket of fruit on her head, a smiling black man and a solemn, tall young mother carrying a naked infant and a covered basket. Yet these figures have a function that goes beyond the anecdotal. They appear to serve as a kind of embodiment of natural fertility.¹⁷ Following behind Diogenes and outside the scope of his cynical scrutiny, they were perhaps meant to recall the notorious simplicity of his 'natural' lifestyle; they

certainly contrast with the townspeople in front and particularly the group of men who are pursued and apparently exposed by the philosopher.

The crowd around Diogenes in which an eighteenth-century commentator saw 'ingénieux désordre',¹⁸ displays a lively variety of type and expression—from apprehension to gaping astonishment. The effect is all the more interesting, given that the composition was to a great extent designed to accommodate, if not constructed from, a collection of 'character' heads available in Rubens's studio. Of the twenty-two individuals that can be seen in the complete picture (cf. Fig. 44), no less than thirteen can be related to head studies that are recorded in workshop copies, if not in the originals.

The laughing black man seems to be based on one of the four views of the same head on Rubens's celebrated sketch, usually dated c. 1613-15.¹⁹ But there may have been a further study which juxtaposed this jovial head with that of an old white woman, exactly as in the Diogenes composition, since a sheet of drawings in Chatsworth probably by Van Dyck, and apparently after various head studies from Rubens's studio (Fig. 45), reproduces just such a pairing.²⁰ The head of the young woman beside him resembles that of the fair-haired daughter in *Lot leaving Sodom*,²¹ based on a study of which various copies are extant in private collections,²² while her baby can be similarly paralleled.²³

Diogenes himself is documented (in reverse) on the plate with five heads in Pontius's so-called *Livre à dessiner*;²⁴ the grinning youth behind him turns up on a sheet with twelve heads in the Louvre;²⁵ and the old woman next to him relates to a panel in Besançon which Held attributed to Van Dyck and which was surely made in Rubens's studio.²⁶ The young woman beside Diogenes's lantern, who particularly appealed to Burckhardt, has a counterpart in the *Calydonian Boar Hunt* in Vienna of c. 1617-20,²⁷ as well as in the *Young Woman with a Wreath (Flora or Glycera?)* in Bos-

ton²⁸—just possibly a head study worked up into a painting. Of the men to the left, the stout, balding character in the foreground is found on two sheets of studies,²⁹ one of which also includes the head of the bearded man clasping the column as well as the man with the turban.³⁰ Finally, the bearded man in shadow at the foot of the column derives from a head study in Sorrento which Burchard attributed to Rubens,³¹ while the study used for the bald, bearded man in full light next to the young woman is recorded on the sheet in the Louvre mentioned above.³²

The two children in front of Diogenes seem to be cowering away from the formidable philosopher, who was known for chastizing small boys.³³ But in fact Diogenes is directing his attention not at these ordinary folk, but to the men in the left-hand corner. Weizäcker suggested these might be rival philosophers, in which case they should be followers of Plato, so often the object of Diogenes's disapproval in the anecdotes about him.³⁴ But none in the group particularly resembles any contemporary philosopher, and their costumes might rather suggest well-to-do Athenian citizens.³⁵ Certainly the man farthest to the left with his back to us who has a fur collar and the figure near the lamp wearing a decorated turban look more like merchants. It is perhaps significant that the fat man at the left with his hand to his heart, whether in astonishment or remonstrance, appears to feel himself the special object of Diogenes's censure. It might therefore seem that Rubens is here presenting the philosopher who was a model of austerity to the Renaissance³⁶ as the slightly comical but righteous critic of the pretensions of the rich and powerful.

Rubens's Diogenes accords fairly well with the ancient portrait type,³⁷ except that he is slightly less balding than usual and has more straggly hair and beard, but this only makes him conform better to classical descriptions of his unkempt appearance.³⁸ He is also wearing his famous cloak (*tribōn*), the only garment he reputedly possessed, which, since he kept it

folded, was large enough to serve at night as his blanket.³⁹ Rubens in fact made notes on this folded *pallium* and its use by ancient philosophers (notably Socrates and Diogenes who both wore it off the shoulder), when he visited the collection of Lelio Pasqualino in Rome; and his son Albert used these notes in his account of the cynic *pallium* in his *De re vestiaria veterum*, where he also illustrated the portrait of Diogenes, seated and leaning on his club, which his father had drawn (after Theodoor Galle) from a gold contorniate in Fulvio Orsini's collection.⁴⁰ This image is mentioned, though not reproduced, in the edition of Orsini's *Illustrium Imagines* published at Antwerp in 1606, in the commentary added by the artist's friend Joannes Faber. It seems possible that in devising his picture Rubens recalled the description of Diogenes quoted at the same point from the *Liber exemplorum* of Theon the Sophist, that 'he wished to imitate Hercules and walked about the place with a staff, seeking out people he could make better men...'.⁴¹ Yet the mild amusement on the face of the young woman who alone directs her glance towards the viewer—and who bears a certain resemblance to the 'natural' mother on the right—perhaps invites us not to take too seriously the antics of this paradoxical old pagan.

Burchard assumed that there was an original painting by Rubens himself, from which the version from the Louvre (Copy 1; Fig. 43) was derived. The Louvre picture, unfortunately cut at the left, must, as Rooses concluded, be a studio piece, and Burchard ascribed it tentatively to Van Dyck, c. 1616-18.⁴² The treatment of the drapery of the men in the foreground and of the physiognomy of some of the citizens, especially those with more pinched features, does indeed recall the early work of Van Dyck, and it seems likely that he participated in the execution.⁴³ The hypothetical original probably took the form of the Pauwels-Allard canvas (Copy 2; Fig. 44), in its original state. Now mutilated, this copy is hard to assess from existing photographs, but

may also be from Rubens's studio; however, it includes an arch on the left which is not present in the other copies (Copies 4 and 5), which illustrate the whole composition. That there was indeed an 'original' by Rubens behind the five 'copies' listed here is suggested by the fact that they all record the same small, but characteristic alterations to the design in the lost sketch (No. 12a; cf. Fig. 46). The whole composition extends higher, and the roundel on the archway is now a concave niche rather than what appears on the sketch as a sculpted relief; the boy and man grasping the column have their hands in different positions and the figure farthest to the left in this group, in the sketch another boy, has become an elderly woman wrapped in a headscarf. Finally, the costume of some figures, particularly the group of men to the left, is elaborated, giving the man nearest Diogenes the patterned turban and the man seen from behind the fur collars which have been already noted, presumably to distinguish this group more from the common people.

It is possible that this 'original' might be identical with the painting of Diogenes with his lantern and several other figures a little more than $4\frac{3}{8}$ *ellen* broad and a little more than $2\frac{3}{4}$ *ellen* high which came before the Antwerp guild of St Luke on 25 November 1744 and was judged to be the work of Rubens.⁴⁴ Calculating the *el* at 69.5 cm., the Brabant measure, this picture would have been 191.1 × 304 cm., about the same dimensions as—if slightly less broad than—the Pauwels-Allard composition (Copy 2; Fig. 44).⁴⁵ It might have been the painting recorded in the Antwerp inventory of Jan Gillis in 1682;⁴⁶ or even the 'large piece' from Rubens's house mentioned in the inventory of Jacobus de Mont which was made at the time of his marriage to Joanna Catharina Lunden on 3 May 1686—although this work is not explicitly attributed to Rubens himself.⁴⁷

However, since it is one of those half-length relief-like compositions with architecture extending behind and with character heads,

which were devised in the 1610s for studio participation,⁴⁸ it could be that the execution of the final painting was left entirely to pupils, with Rubens only supervising the changes from the sketch, and that the Louvre picture, whether or not by Van Dyck, is after all the primary version.⁴⁹

1. Le Brun considered it a copy but sold it later for 20,000 livres to the king, according to F.J.J. Mols, *Rubensiana* (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 5735), fol. 94. For the role of the comte de Vaudreuil see Engerand, loc. cit., 1900 in bibliography.
2. See G. Calmann, 'The Picture of Nobody', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXIII, 1960, pp. 60-104, esp. pp. 87-93.
3. Erasmus, admittedly, was not convinced. He saw the origin of the saying *lucernam adhibes in meridie* ('you are lighting a lamp in broad daylight') in the story of Diogenes, interpreting the phrase to mean doing something at the wrong time, or explaining what needs no explanation. See D. Erasmus, *Adagiorum Chiliades*, edn Basle (Froben), 1536, II.v.6, p. 496; *Erasmus, Opera, 1703-06*, II, col. 556. In the introduction to the *Apophtegmata*, he singles out this action of Diogenes as particularly silly: 'Quid enim magis ridiculum quam Diogenes in meridie cum lucerna obambulans, et hominem se in frequentio foro quaerere dicitans?' (*Erasmus, Opera, 1703-06*, IV, col. 91).
4. Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae* VI.41. The Greek, and even more the Latin translation by Ambrogio Traversari, which Rubens would have known (for the edition he used, see Volume I, Chapter II, at n. 43), implies that this behaviour was habitual.
5. See, for example, *Vitae* VI.32-33, 40, 60.
6. Phaedrus, *Fabulae* III.19.
7. Diogenes Laertius (*Vitae* VI.23) says that it was in the Metroon, therefore in what was then the sanctuary of the mother of the gods. The famous 'barrel' is described by ancient authors as a *pitthos*, i.e. a (large) storage jar; this is in fact what we see in ancient illustrations. Cf. for a convenient collection of images known in Rubens's time *Gronovius, Thesaurus, 1697-1702*, II, no. 88; also see *Montfaucon, Antiquité, 1719*, III, pp. 11-12 and pl. IV. The preference among artists for the modern barrel (rather than the ancient jar) is justified by Otto Vaenius in the preface to his *Emblemata Horatiana* (Antwerp, 1607, pp. 6-7): he advises against pedantry in such matters.
8. For the theme in general in painting and sculpture, E.W. Braun, *Reallexikon*, IV, 1958, col. 29, fig. 3, s.v. *Diogenes*; *Pigler, Barockthemen, 1974*, pp. 389-390; *Ferrari, Filosofo, 1986*, p. 160; R. Klessmann, 'Auf dem Marktplatz von Athen. Diogenes sucht einen Menschen', *Kunst und Antiquitäten*, October 1991, pp. 25-29; also, with particular reference to Diogenes imagery in the Enlightenment, K. Herding, 'Diogenes als Bürgerheld', *Boreas*, V, 1982, pp. 232-254.
9. See G. de La Perrière *La Morosophie*, Lyons, 1553, no. 31; Henkel—Schöne, *Emblemata, 1967-76*, I, col. 1160.
10. See *Haechtianus, Microcosmos, 1579*, no. 38; also *Vondel, Gulden Winckel, 1613*, no. 37. For the importance of Van Haecht's book, and the works related to it see above, Volume I, Chapter IV, pp. 97, 106-108.
11. Klessmann (op. cit., 1991, p. 26) relates Vondel's comment about the beasts to Isaiah 1; he also notes (p. 28) that Jordaens (see n. 12 below) actually introduces beasts into his later versions of the theme, though these are certainly rather tame ones.
12. For this latter (dated 1652) and the subject in the Netherlands, see E. de Jongh, 'Diogenes de Mensenzoecker', *Kunst in Utrecht*, I, 1962-63, pp. 111-113; A. Blankert in *Cat. Exh. Gods, Saints and Heroes, 1980-81*, pp. 214-215, under no. 56. For Jordaens's principal version of the subject of c. 1642 see R.-A. d'Hulst, *Jacob Jordaens*, Antwerp, 1982, p. 230 and p. 192, fig. 161; also M. Rooses, *Jordaens's Leben und Werke*, Stuttgart—Berlin—Leipzig, 1906, esp. pp. 105-107. Held (*Held, Sketches, 1980*, I, p. 374) rightly points out that Jordaens's interest in (and interpretation of) the theme reflects his particular brand of popular moralizing and social criticism.
13. *Sandrart, ed. Peltzer, 1925*, p. 157; cf. P.T.A. Swillens, 'Rubens' Bezoek aan Utrecht', *Jaarboekje van 'Oud Utrecht'*, 1945-46, pp. 105-125. Held (loc. cit.) observes that Houbraken later misinterpreted Sandrart to conclude that Rubens actually bought this picture and that it was by Honthorst. See the comparative texts in C. Hofstede de Groot, *Arnold Houbraken und seine 'Grootte Schouburgh'* (*Quellen-Studien zur Holländischen Kunstgeschichte*, I), The Hague, 1893, p. 268; cf. p. 161. See also J.R. Judson, *Gerrit van Honthorst*, The Hague, 1959, p. 193, no. 101a, referring to a drawing of the subject in the British Museum which he attributes to Sandrart. For this drawing see A.E. Popham, *Catalogue of the Drawings in the Collection formed by Sir Thomas Phillipps...* [London], privately printed, 1935, p. 188, there attributed to Honthorst; possibly the drawing, which shows half-length figures, reflects the composition Rubens saw, but the attribution to Sandrart is rejected in C. Klemm, *Joachim von Sandrart. Kunst-Wercke und Lebens-Lauf*, Berlin, 1986, p. 57, no. 1.
14. Hubala (loc. cit., 1990) acutely analyzes Rubens's use of light as a compositional device in his picture.
15. For this painting, with ancient buildings and a fountain decorated with nymphs in the background—in fact a better recreation of Athenian architecture than Rubens's Roman-looking

- arch—see J. Bruyn, 'Rembrandt and the Italian Baroque', *Simiolus*, IV, 1970, pp. 44-46 and fig. 20; also Klessmann, op. cit., 1991, p. 27, fig. 3. It includes a nice anachronism—a puzzled man offering Diogenes a pair of spectacles (worn also by Bruegel's *Elck*).
16. Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae* VI.22.
 17. For Rubens's association of black people (indeed a man based on the same model) with the imagery of the fecundity of nature see, notably, the Glasgow *Nature adorned by the Graces* of c. 1615 (K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921, p. 61; Jaffé, *Rubens*, 1989, p. 209, no. 322, repr.) The situation of the black man behind Diogenes, wedged between the elderly woman with autumnal fruits and the young mother (whose swelling stomach suggests pregnancy) is otherwise hard to account for. I thank Ladislav Bugner for his help in considering this group, which deserves further study.
 18. N. de Pigage, *La Galerie électorale de Dusseldorf, ou Catalogue raisonné de ses tableaux...*, Brussels, 1781, p. 263, talking of Copy 3.
 19. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, no. 389. This work was formerly attributed to Van Dyck but is certainly by Rubens himself. See *Held, Sketches*, 1980, I, pp. 607-609, no. 441; II, pl. 428; also Hubala, op. cit., 1990, p. 70. The combination of several views is unusual among extant head studies, but may simply indicate that Rubens was taking advantage of a model who would not be readily available again. It seems likely that Rubens started by painting the man glancing upwards; this in turn may indicate that the artist envisaged exploiting the study for a figure (or figures) looking up from some lower position. One early use made of this upturned head, as well as the smiling face behind, was in the Glasgow picture mentioned above (n. 17). Another was in the *Last Judgement* of c. 1615-16 in Munich (K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921, p. 118; Freedberg, *Christ after the Passion*, 1984, no. 49, fig. 137). In this latter, it may be noted, the solitary black man looks a little anxious (cf. K. Renger, *Peter Paul Rubens. Altäre für Bayern* [Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen], Munich, 1990, p. 28) though, given his position in the picture, his salvation seems assured; a similar expression is already captured on the Brussels sketch in the upturned head, with furrowed brow.
 20. For this sheet see *Held, Sketches*, 1980, I, pp. 598-599, 602 and fig. 48. The old woman is recorded separately in another page of drawings in the British Museum (inv. no. Oo.9-36; A.M. Hind, *Catalogue of Drawings by Dutch and Flemish Artists... in the British Museum*, II, London, 1923, no. 98) and was used for St Elizabeth in the *Holy Family* now in the Art Institute, Chicago (no. 1967.229): *Coris—Held, America*, 1947, no. 46, pl. 33.
 21. *d'Hulst—Vandenven, Old Testament*, 1989, no. 5; fig. 9, dating it c. 1613-15.
 22. Documentation in the Rubenianum, Antwerp.
 23. Cf. the 'portrait' in Berlin (*Held, Sketches*, 1980, I, p. 605 and fig. 62; J. Kelch, *Peter Paul Rubens. Kritischer Katalog der Gemälde im Besitz der Gemäldegalerie Berlin*, Berlin, 1978, pp. 20-29, fig. 13, with related material; also below, under No. 33).
 24. *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, 1940, no. 557.13.
 25. Inv. no. 20.286: *Lugt, Cat. Louvre*, 1949, I, no. 634 (as after *Van Dyck*).
 26. *Held, Sketches*, 1980, I, pp. 644-645, no. A.41; II, fig. 500. This head likewise appears among those in the drawing in Chatsworth (Fig. 45; cf. above, n. 20) as well as in the sheet in the British Museum (cf. n. 20), and in the Pontius *Livre à dessiner* (*Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, 1940, no. 557.14; *Van der Meulen, Antique*, 1994, III, fig. 242).
 27. *Balis, Hunting Scenes*, 1986, pp. 156-161, no. 10, fig. 69.
 28. *Coris—Held, America*, 1947, p. 31, no. 34; pl. 27.
 29. In the Louvre (inv. no. 20.287: *Lugt, Cat. Louvre*, 1949, I, no. 635 [as after *Van Dyck*]) and in Rotterdam (Cat. 1921, no. 549).
 30. This is the Louvre sheet, cited in the previous note. The first of these heads also appears on a sheet in Rotterdam with six heads (Cat. 1921, no. 548).
 31. Museo Correale, panel 49 × 64 cm. R. Causa, 'Il riordinamento del museo Correale di Sorrento', *Bolletino d'arte*, XXVIII, 1953, pp. 90-93 (as *Van Dyck*); [Cat. Exh.] *100 Opere di Van Dyck* (Palazzo dell'Accademia), Genoa, 1955, no. 4 and pl. 4.
 32. See n. 25.
 33. Cf. Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae* VI.45.
 34. See, for example, Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae*, VI.24, 25, 26, 53, 58 and esp. 40.
 35. Cf. Klessmann, op. cit., 1991, p. 27. Hubala (op. cit., 1990, p. 69) associates the figure in a turban with a high priest, but it seems unlikely to me that Rubens intended any such association.
 36. Cf. De Jongh, loc. cit., 1962-63; Blankert, loc. cit., 1980-81.
 37. For this see G.M.A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks*, London, 1965, II, pp. 181-185 and figs. 1057-1070.
 38. E.g. Sidonius Apollinaris, in a famous passage on images of philosophers (*Epistolae* IX.9.14), disapproving his unkempt beard as shown in pictures and Athenaëus, on the Cynics who let their hair and beards grow (*Deipnosophistae* IV.163; cf. XIII.565 on Diogenes's dislike of shaving; and further G.P. Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica*, edn Basle, 1575, fol. 231v: *de barba*).
 39. Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae* VI.22.
 40. A. Rubens, *De re vestitaria veterum*, Antwerp, 1665, pp. 44-45; cf. *Van der Meulen, Antique*, 1994, I, pp. 118, 156-157 (appendix I.3); II, pp. 244-245, under no. 218; III, fig. 453. Strictly speaking, Diogenes should have his right, rather than his left shoulder bare, as Rubens notes, but presumably the artist disregarded this for the visual effect of the picture.

41. *Faber, Imagines, 1606*, text, p. 38.
42. The attribution by Hymans (loc. cit., 1903) to van Mol was based on a reference in J.-B. P. Le Brun, *Galerie des peintres flamands, hollandais et allemands*, I, Paris, 1792, p. 20, to a 'Diogène cherchant un homme' by 'van Mool', then in the collection of 'le Président Audry' and formerly in his own collection; it is the panel, 62 × 81 cm., sold in the Lebrun sale, Paris, 11 April 1791, as lot 86 (*Blanc, Trésor, 1857-58*, II, p. 131). Both size and provenance rule out the identification of this picture with the Louvre painting. A *Diogenes seeking a True Man* painted by van Mol on canvas (c. 120 × 200 cm.) is in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Orléans.
43. For the related Besançon head study see above, at n. 26.
44. *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, loc. cit.; citing the *Resolutieboek* of the guild. The full reference is as follows: 'Op heden den 25 november 1744 die dekens van St Lucas gulde met dienende ende onder eedt vergaderd sijnde ten versoeke van mijn Heer van Laer om te juseren seker stuck schilderij representender Diogenes met eene lanterne met veele andere figuren, lanck vier elle anderhalf vieren-deel ruim, hoogh twee elle drij quaert ruim, ofte het selve stuck schilderij geschildert soude sijn vanden vermaerden constschilder Petrus Paulus Rubbens. Actum ut supra'. (Antwerp, Archief Koninklijke Academie voor Schone Kunsten, 82: *Resolutieboek... van het St. Lucasgilde*, II: 1729-1794, fol. 32v.)
45. Given the dimensions, the picture can hardly be identical with the painting of 219 × 344 cm. sold at Antwerp (Kolveniershof), after 5 July 1784, lot 1 (as *Rubens*: 'Diogène... avec une lanterne à la main, ornée de 22 figures'. Nor is it likely to have been the work earlier recorded in the collection of Victor Wolfvoet, since this was on wood and therefore probably a sketch (See below, No. 12a).
46. 'Item, een stuck, synde de Historie van Diogenes met de lanterne, van Rubbens'. *Denucé, Konstkamers, 1932*, p. 309.
47. 'Een groot stuck, representerende Diogenes, gecomen vuyt het huys van dHeer Rubbens': *ibid.*, p. 341.
48. Cf. *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921*, pp. 54, 55, and above, No. 1; cf. Figs. 1, 2.
49. A picture of a different version of the subject sold London (Christie's), 13 July 1956, as a work of Rubens (canvas, 162.5 × 223.5 cm.) seems to be by Pieter van Lint.

PROVENANCE: ? Antwerp, Victor Wolfvoet (d. 1652; inv. 1652).

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 46), Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut, inv. no. G.1080; panel, 31.6 × 52 cm. PROV. Friedrich Jakob Gsell (d. 1871), sale, Vienna (G. Plach, Künstlerhaus), 14 March 1872, lot 92 (as *Rubens*); ? dealer Sedelmeyer, by whom sold 1872 to Frankfurter Kunstverein. I.IT. *Verzeichnis der öffentlich ausgestellten Kunst-Gegenstände des Städel'schen Kunst-Instituts*, edn Frankfurt, 1888, p. 119, no. 129; *Verzeichnis der Gemälde-sammlung des Städelschen Kunst-Instituts*, Frankfurt [n.d.], p. 36, no. 129; *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, p. 9, under no. 793 (as *pastiche*); *Burckhardt, Rubens, 1898*, p. 178 (as *Rubens*); H. Weizsäcker, *Catalog der Gemälde-Galerie des Städelschen Kunstinstituts in Frankfurt am Main*, I, Frankfurt, 1900, pp. 291-292, no. 129 (as *Rubens*); M. Rooses in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1897-1910, p. 308 (as *Rubens, 1613-1615*); *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg, 1906*, p. 171; *Dillon, Rubens, 1909*, p. 216 (as *sketch for the studio piece in the Louvre; perhaps not by Rubens*) and pl. LIII; *Städelsches Kunstinstitut. Kurzes Verzeichnis der Gemälde*, Frankfurt, 1914, p. 32, no. 129; *Katalog der königlichen Gemäldegalerie zu Schleissheim*, edn Munich, 1914, p. 207, under no. 4017 (as *original sketch of between 1615 and 1620*); *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921*, p. 452 (as *by a pupil*); *Städelsches Kunstinstitut. Verzeichnis der Gemälde...*, Frankfurt, 1924, p. 178, no. 1080 (as *Rubens*); *Städelsches Kunstinstitut. Verzeichnis der Gemälde...*, Frankfurt, 1966, p. 105 (as *Rubens*); J. Müller Hofstede, review of H. Gerson and E.H. Ter Kuile, *Art and Architecture in Belgium. 1600 to 1800*, Harmondsworth, 1960, in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XXVII, 1964, p. 82, n. 15, repr. p. 80 (as *Rubens*); J. Müller Hofstede, 'Neue Ölskizzen von Rubens', *Städel-Jahrbuch*, N.F. II, 1969, p. 190; *Städelsches Kunstinstitut. Verzeichnis der Gemälde...*, Frankfurt, 1971, p. 52 (as *Rubens*); *Held, Sketches, 1980*, I, pp. 373-374, no. 277 and II, fig. 455 (as ?*copy*); H.F. Schweers, *Gemälde in deutschen Museen. Katalog der in der Bundesre-*

12a. Diogenes seeking a True Man: Oil Sketch

Oil on panel; measurements unknown.
Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

publik Deutschland ausgestellten Werke, II, Munich etc., 1982, p. 838; McGrath, *Alcibiades*, 1983, p. 231, n. 19; Cat. Frankfurt, 1987, p. 90; Jaffé, *Rubens*, 1989, p. 196, under no. 252 (as copy); E. Hubala, *Peter Paul Rubens. Die Gemälde im Städelsches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie*, Frankfurt am Main, 1990, pp. 66-71, fig. 56.

(2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; 32 × 47 cm. (certificate of G. Glück). PROV. sale, London (Christie's), 14 June 1935, lot 21.

(3) ? same as Copy 2. Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 32 × 48.5 cm. PROV. sale, London (Sotheby's), 11 December 1974, lot 7.

(4) Drawing, with the head of the man next to the lamp omitted, Windsor, Royal Library, inv. no. 6418; black and red chalk strengthened with pen and black ink, grey wash and watercolour, 242 × 388 mm. LIT. L. van Puyvelde, *The Flemish Drawings in the Collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle*, London, 1942, p. 39, no. 246, repr. (as Jordaens); E.W. Braun, in *Reallexikon*, IV, 1958, col. 29, fig. 3, s.v. *Diogenes*; Held, *Sketches*, 1980, I, p. 374; C. White and C. Crawley, *The Dutch and Flemish Drawings of the fifteenth to the early nineteenth centuries in the collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Windsor Castle*, Cambridge, 1994, p. 311, no. 439, repr.¹

(5) Drawing, whereabouts unknown; pen and ink, dimensions unknown. PROV. London, dealer Colnaghi, 1943.

(6) Drawing, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. KdZ 13774; charcoal and red chalk, partly washed with brown, 264 × 386 mm. PROV. Adolf von Beckerath (Berlin 1834-1915); acquired by the museum 1902. LIT. Bock—Rosenberg, *Verzeichnis*, 1930, p. 256; Mielke—Winner, *Cat. Berlin*, 1977, p. 129, no. 58 Kop. (as Jordaens's workshop).

(7) Drawing, without the man in the foreground and with only one column in the background, inscribed lower right *Rubens 179*, Paris, Louvre. no. 20.346; charcoal, red chalk, with touches of pen; 263 × 412 mm. LIT. *Lugt, Cat. Louvre*, 1949, II, p. 44, no. 1160 (as after *Rubens*).

LITERATURE: Jaffé, *Rubens*, 1989, p. 196, no. 252; see also under Copy 1.

Müller Hofstede has vigorously defended the Frankfurt sketch (Copy 1; Fig. 46) as Rubens's work, preparatory to No. 12 (see Figs. 43, 44), arguing that its technique is characteristic of the 1610s, with its mixture of monochrome and suggestions of colour on a coloured foundation, and with many heads only roughly indicated. The sketch also appears to be damaged, particularly in the area of the heads.² However, like Burchard and many of those who have written about it, including Held, I feel that the execution reveals more weakness than bravura. In his recent discussion of the paintings in Frankfurt, Hubala too expresses doubts about Rubens's authorship of this panel. Probably it is a studio version of an original by Rubens. Burchard thought so and dated it c. 1615-17, which is surely correct. He also considered it might be by Jordaens, who later produced a different version of the theme in which the philosopher actually confronts the viewers with his lamp.³ Certainly the style of some figures, particularly the group on the right, is reminiscent of this artist.

It is difficult to say whether the other works listed above as copies (some of dismal quality) are after the Frankfurt sketch or another picture—Rubens's supposed original. Only one, Copy 4, shows a significant difference from the Frankfurt panel, in that the bearded man's head squeezed in next to the young woman behind the lamp is suppressed, but this could simply be an alteration by the copyist, in this case a competent artist who was perhaps from Rubens's studio.

'Een stucxken van Diogines van Rubens op panneel, in lystken' was in the collection of the painter Victor Wolfvoet (Wolfoet) when he died in 1652.⁴ This picture, a small wooden panel, could have been Rubens's sketch, or indeed perhaps the Frankfurt picture.

1. Possibly this is the drawing recorded in the collection of Jacob de Wit, sale, Amsterdam (de Leth and van Schorrenbergh), 10 March 1775, book 'C',

no. 2 ('coloured'); then Abraham van Broyen, sale, Amsterdam (de Leth), part A, no. 28 (as 238 × 392 mm.; red and black chalk heightened with white); possibly later John Barnard, sale, London (Greenwood), 16-17 February 1787, lot 59 (no size given); Richard Cosway, sale, London (Stanley), 14-21 February 1822, lot 679 ('coloured chalks'; no size given).

2. Held (loc. cit., 1980) has in fact noted *pentimenti* below the heads in the centre which have no obvious connection with the composition.
3. See under No. 12, n. 12.
4. *Denucé, Konstikamers*, 1932, p. 142: 24-26 October 1652.

13. The Devotion of Artemisia (Fig. 51)

Oil on oak panel; 98 × 105 cm. (originally c. 119 × 145 cm.).

Potsdam-Sanssouci, Bildergalerie. Inv. no. 17596.

PROVENANCE: ? Louise de Coligny (1555-1620), Princess of Orange; ? Frederick Hendrik (1584-1647), Prince of Orange, in the Huys op het Noordeinde, The Hague (inv. 1632, 'cabinet' of Louise de Coligny: 'een schilderije staende voor de schoorsteen, d'istorij van Artemise door Rubbens van Antwerpen gedaen'); ? William III (1650-1702), Prince of Orange; ? brought 1696 from Honselaarsdijk to Het Loo ('een stuck van Rubbens, sijnde Sophonisba'),² and still there, in a rather poor condition, in 1712,³ and 1713;⁴ ? sale, Amsterdam, 26 July 1713 (as coming from Het Loo, no. 11: 'Sofonisba [wat beschadigt] van [Rubens]... 3½ × 2½ voet', i.e. 99 × 71 cm.), sold for 700 florins to 'Breda';⁵ acquired by Frederick II of Prussia before 1763; in Bildergalerie, Potsdam-Sanssouci by 1763; 1942-45 transferred to Rheinsberg; 1945-58 in USSR; since 1959 in Bildergalerie.

COPIES: (1) Painting from Rubens's studio (Fig. 52), Madrid, Palacio de Liria, Coll. Duchess of Alba; canvas, 119 × 145 cm. PROV. Don Luis Méndez de Haro y Guzmán, Marqués del Carpio, Conde-Duque de Olivares (1590-1661) (inv. ?1661—copy in Alba archives, probably

made in 1802: ⁶ 'Otra pintura de Artemisa echándole un mancebo las cenizas de su marido en una copa para que las beba en presencia de sus consejeros y capitanes. Original de Pablo Robes [sic], de vara y tercia de alto y vara y tres cuartas de largo');⁷ Don Gaspar Méndez de Haro, Marqués de Heliche (1625-87); Alba family; D.a María Teresa Cayetana de Silva y Toledo, 13th Duchess of Alba (1762-1802) (inv. 1796, no. 97, as *Rubens* ['Pablo Reberert']; inv. 1802, made on the death of this last Duchess of Alba when the pictures were to be inherited by the Duke of Berwick, no. 232: 'Cuadro que representa á Artemisa en el acto de beberse las cenizas de su marido, que le están vertiendo en la copa; con figuras de medio cuerpo; del tamaño del natural y tiene 10 cabezas. De 6 cuartas de alto por 7 de ancho, y marco dorado.—*De Rubens*';⁸ D. Carlos Miguel Fitz-James, Stuart y Silva, Duke of Berwick y Liria (1794-1835) by descent to María del Rosario Cayetana Stuart y Silva, Duchess of Berwick, Alba and Hijar. EXH. *El arte en las colecciones de La Casa de Alba*, Fundación Caja de Pensiones, Madrid, 29 May-5 July 1987, no. 8 (as *Jordaens*). LIT. A.M. de Barcia, *Catálogo de la Colección de Pinturas del Exe.mo Sr. Duque de Berwick y de Alba*, [Madrid], 1911, p. 200, no. 232 (as *anonymous*) and pp. 247, 257 for references to inventories of Luis de Haro and the last Duchess of Alba; J.M. Pita Andrade, *El Palacio de Liria*, Madrid, 1959, p. 27 (as *Jordaens*); G. Eckardt, *Die Bildergalerie in Sanssouci*, Potsdam, 1975, pp. 58-59; M. Díaz Padrón, 'Un lienzo de Gerard Seghers atribuido a Rubens en la Casa de Alba', *Archivo Español de Arte*, LVIII, 1985, pp. 108-114, fig. 1 (as *Gerard Seghers*, 'Suicide of Artemisia', and the original of which the Potsdam picture [No. 13; Fig. 51] is a replica); J. de la Puente in [Cat. Exh.] *El arte en las colecciones de La Casa de Alba* (Fundación Caja de Pensiones, Madrid, 1987), Madrid, 1987, no. 8, p. 92, repr. in colour, p. 93 (as *Jordaens*, 'Artemisia drinking the ashes of Mausolus'); D. Bieneck, *Gerard Seghers 1591-1651. Leben und Werk des Antwerpener Historienmalers (Flämische Maler in Umkreis der*

grossen Meister. VI), Lingen, 1992, p. 261, no. C19, repr. (as *not Seghers*).

(2) Painting, from Rubens's studio (Fig. 53), in which the man farthest to the right is curly-haired rather than balding (as in Copy 1, Fig. 52), whereabouts unknown; ?canvas, dimensions unknown. PROV. Sidney Eastman, Chicago (photograph in Witt Library, Courtauld Institute); Chicago, Northern Trust Co. LIT. E. Henschel-Simon, *Die Gemälde und Skulpturen in der Bildergalerie von Sanssouci*, Berlin, 1930, p. 29, under no. 94; G. Eckardt, *Die Bildergalerie in Sanssouci*, Potsdam, 1975, p. 59.

(3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 105 × 121 cm. PROV. B. Ocke, sale, Leiden (A. Kleyenbergh and Van Hemeren), 21 April 1817, lot 113 ('*Artémise au moment qu'elle prend les cendres de son époux Mausole*'); ? sale, London (Christie's), 20 December 1973, lot 10 (as '*Sophonisba drinking the poisoned cup*'; 102 × 129 cm.).

(4) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 73 × 99 cm. PROV. sale, Antwerp (Van Herck), 8 December 1970, lot 81 (as *Van Thulden*), bought by R. Loncke.

LITERATURE: M. Oesterreich, *Beschreibung der Königlichen Bildergalerie und des Kabinetts im Sans-Souci*, Potsdam, 1764, no. 75; idem, *Description de tout l'intérieur des deux Palais de Sans-Souci, de ceux de Potsdam et de Charlottenbourg...*, Potsdam, 1773, no. 35 (as school of Rubens, '*Monime*'); J.F.D. Rumpf, *Beschreibung der äusseren und inneren Merckwürdigkeiten der königlichen Schlösser in Berlin [etc.]...*, Berlin, 1794; Smith, *Catalogue, 1829-42*, II, p. 170, no. 591; Parthey, *Bildersaal*, 1863-64, II, p. 428, no. 257; Rooses, *Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, p. 26, no. 810 and V, p. 344, no. 810; P. Seidel, W. Bode and M.J. Friedländer, *Gemälde alter Meister im Besitz Seiner Majestät des Deutschen Kaisers und Königs von Preussen*, Berlin, [1906], p. 92, repr. (as *workshop*); Oldenbourg, *Rubens*, 1922, pp. 106-107 and pl. 66; E. Henschel-Simon, *Die Gemälde und Skulpturen in der Bildergalerie von Sanssouci*, Berlin, 1930, p. 29, no. 94, repr.; eadem, *Die Bildergalerie von Sanssouci*, Berlin,

1930, pp. 13-14; Drossaers, *Inventaris*, 1930, p. 227, no. 167; Van Gelder, *Holland*, 1950, p. 113, fig. 4; J.R. Judson, *Gerrit van Honthorst*, The Hague, 1959, p. 192, under no. 97; *Die Gemälde in der Bildergalerie von Sanssouci*, Potsdam, 1961, no. 65; G. Eckardt, *Die Gemälde in der Bildergalerie von Sanssouci*, Potsdam, 1964, no. 82; J. Linnik in *Festschrift Lasarew*, Moscow, 1969 (Russian), p. 305, n. 1; G. Eckardt and B. Spindler, *Die Bildergalerie im Park von Sanssouci*, Potsdam, 1973, pp. 33-34, no. 63, repr.; G. Eckardt, *Die Bildergalerie in Sanssouci*, Potsdam, 1975, pp. 58-59; J.G. van Gelder, *The Stadholder-King William III as Collector and "Man of Taste"*, in [Cat. Exh.] *William and Mary and their House*, New York, 1980, p. 36; C. Brown in *Cat. Exh. Gods, Saints and Heroes*, 1980-81, pp. 116-117, under no. 17; M. Díaz Padrón, 'Un lienzo de Gerard Seghers atribuido a Rubens en la Casa de Alba', *Archivo Español de Arte*, LVIII, 1985, pp. 108-114 (as *Gerard Seghers, 'Suicide of Artemisia'*, replica of Alba picture: Copy 1; Fig. 52); C. Tümpel, 'Bild und Text: Zur Rezeption antiker Autoren in der europäischen Kunst der Neuzeit (Livius, Valerius Maximus)' in *Forma et subtilitas. Festschrift für Wolfgang Schöne zum 75. Geburtstag*, eds. W. Schlink and M. Sperlich, Berlin—New York, 1986, pp. 199, 211, 214-215 and fig. 113; G. Eckardt, *Die Gemälde in der Bildergalerie von Sanssouci*, Potsdam-Sanssouci, 1990, pp. 60-61, no. 63, repr.

Two good early versions of this composition (Copies 1 and 2; Figs. 52 and 53) show that the picture now in Potsdam (No. 13; Fig. 51), was originally larger (by about 12 cm. above, 10 cm. below, 4 cm. to the left and 36 cm. to the right), included ten figures and gave much more prominence to the urn in the right foreground. It is hard to say when the panel was cut; early inventories are unhelpful about dimensions. Whatever the case, Van Gelder was probably right to conclude that this is the composition—and perhaps the very painting—described in the 1632 inventory of the collection of the Stadholder Frederik Hendrik

as 'a picture placed in front of the chimney (*voor de schoorsteen*) of the story of Artemisia made by Rubens of Antwerp'.⁹ In the later Orange inventories the subject seems to have been mistaken for the story of Sophonisba; the last reference from this context, before the sale arranged by the widow of Johan Willem Friso in 1713, gives a width incompatible with that of the Potsdam painting (or any of the copies listed above), but this may simply result from a mistake, with 2½ written for 3½ feet.¹⁰

Burchard had already suggested that the 'Sophonisba' by Rubens in the later Orange inventories was identical with the 'Artemisia' of 1632. He himself, albeit hesitantly, concluded that No. 13 indeed illustrated Sophonisba taking poison on the advice of her husband Masinissa. The theme is, however, the devotion of Artemisia, as most recent discussions have emphasized.¹¹ Confusion between the subjects is natural. Both feature an ancient queen drinking from a cup; both were in the seventeenth century sometimes illustrated in half-length scenes with bystanders. But Sophonisba takes a fatal draught, Artemisia merely an unexpected one,¹² related to the urn which is always her attribute (and which has no place in the story of Sophonisba); and the distinct character of each beverage is usually reflected in the reactions of the onlookers. Sophonisba's cup contained the poison sent to her by Masinissa, and those representations of her death which are not simply single figures of the drinking heroine invariably indicate her obedience to her husband by showing his messenger, either approaching or proffering the cup, or by including his letter of instruction.¹³

In Rubens's painting the protagonist lays her hand on her heart and looks heavenwards as she prepares to drink from a wide chalice into which a young man carefully tips some substance. This is certainly part of the ashes and 'ground bones' of the dead Mausolus which, according to Aulus Gellius and Valerius Maximus, his devoted widow consumed, after erecting to his memory the

(eponymous) Mausoleum. Evidently finding even this wonder of the ancient world an unfit resting place for his remains,¹⁴ the queen made a drink of them and thus imbibed them, to become herself her husband's 'living tomb'.¹⁵ Gellius tells us that she mixed the powder with water, which explains the presence and the contents of the carafe on the flat slab which is perhaps the top of Mausolus's cenotaph.¹⁶ The portion which we see being added to Artemisia's drink has evidently just been scooped out of the elaborate urn which the muscular servant in the foreground is carrying. Valerius Maximus says that Artemisia swallowed the lot all together. But Rubens certainly did not mean to imply a single massive intake. Rather the moderate size of the carafe and of the spoonful of ashes (and the contrasting largeness of the urn) suggests that we are to understand that the queen got through the ashes gradually, over a period, perhaps in the two years she is supposed to have lived after the death of Mausolus 'with that feeling [of her sorrow] recurring freshly to her every day',¹⁷ and in little daily rations as Nicolas Houel imagined it.¹⁸ As he empties the spoonful of ashes into her cup, Artemisia's youthful assistant holds a white cloth reverently to catch falling fragments. Earlier artists had used clumsier, less decorous devices: in the engraving from a series of *Famous Women* (Fig. 50) Georg Pencz showed the precious remains simply poured wholesale from a bag in what is probably an illustration of Artemisia's consumption of the ashes in one sitting.¹⁹ Rubens's composition was certainly influential in popularizing the subject, particularly in the Netherlands, and in a picture of about 1630-35, perhaps painted for, or at least later acquired by Amalia van Solms, Honthorst also included a spoon and the implication of a temporal span.²⁰ In his versions of the theme, Erasmus Quellinus turned Rubens's precautionary cloth into a plate held by two boys in the manner of a paten, which makes the whole scene look disconcertingly eucharistic.²¹ But even if in some contexts the

story might have seemed temptingly suggestive of just such a religious implication,²² we can be fairly certain that no such meaning was intended by either Quellinus or Rubens.

Rubens presented the ancient and 'exotic' (near-eastern) story with a characteristic mixture of 'all-purpose' oriental types and authentic archaeological elements. Artemisia herself, in her black veil and high-waisted dress, is reminiscent of the 'portrait' in Thevet's *Vrais portraits* of 1584 (Fig. 49) which the author claimed was taken from an ancient coin in his own collection;²³ this was probably the Renaissance 'fake' by Cavino.²⁴ Furthermore the attitude of Thevet's figure, holding out her cup above what might be the slab of the tomb, seems to have had some influence on Rubens's composition. Rubens, however, is more exact. The artist seems to have based himself on ancient Ptolemaic coins on which Cavino had modelled his image; the queen's diadem and its relationship to the veil recall the portrait of Arsinoe II, daughter of Ptolemy I.²⁵ The golden urn is perhaps based on an ancient type,²⁶ but the chalice, imitated in Cornelis de Vos's rather silly picture of the same subject, is accommodated to modern taste.²⁷

Rubens assembled the servants, and the turbaned elders and soldiers who scrutinize their queen with varied expressions of respect and astonishment, in a composition which not only adapts a scheme used for other half-length pictures—notably *Christ and the Adulteress*, *The Tribute Money* and the *Seven Sages*²⁸—but exploits some of his recurrent characters of this period. The boy emptying the spoonful of ashes often serves elsewhere as John the Evangelist, for example in *Christ's Charge to Peter* in the Wallace Collection or in the *Dead Christ mourned* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna;²⁹ other figures recall those in various versions of *The Adoration of the Magi*. Artemisia's two handmaidens (with their lap dog) later appear, enlivened, in the retinue of Tomyris, queen of the Massagetae (No. 2; Fig. 8); for a discussion of their

relationship to this, and to the lost painting of *Tomyris and Cyrus* attributed to the Master of Flémalle (cf. Fig. 19) from which they may be derived, see above under No. 2. In a sense the Artemisia picture might be considered a kind of cramped rehearsal for that splendid composition in which soldiers, servants and exotically-costumed orientals gather to watch a very different treatment of a dead man by an ancient queen, this time in a full-scale setting, opulent with Solomonic columns. For Artemisia's Mausoleum, however, and in keeping with the modest scale of the present half-length painting, such lavish architecture was presumably inappropriate; from what we can see of the tomb it appears to be severely Tuscan in style.

Artemisia was already in the early Renaissance established among the canon of famous women, and her devoted deed had been celebrated in cycles of *exempla*, whether in pictures or in prints.³⁰ It was of course especially appropriate for widows, and both Catherine de' Medici and later Amalia van Solms particularly cultivated an association.³¹ Both of these ladies had in their widowhood raised notable monuments to their spouses, so they could afford to advertise the comparison. When in 1622 Rubens was asked by Peiresc to think of eight apposite ancient queens to decorate the cupola of Maria de' Medici's Luxembourg Palace his suggestion of Artemisia for one was tactfully set aside by his friend on the grounds that it might invite sarcastic rather than complimentary analogies with Maria, who had given no thought to her late husband's tomb.³² However, as an exemplary wife, and Valerius Maximus's prime model of conjugal devotion, Artemisia was obviously suitable too for those with living spouses. She had featured, for example, as one of the loyal women in Erhard Schön's woodcut of 1531 (*text ill.* 11),³³ and in the company of good husbands as well as wives in a late fifteenth-century Sienese series;³⁴ she had also appeared (together with Cornelia and Gracchus) to welcome the newly-wed Arch-

dukes Albert and Isabella on their entry into Antwerp in 1599.³⁵ The popularity of Rubens's scene, as indicated by the early versions (Copies 1 and 2; Figs. 52 and 53)—one at least from his studio—implies the subject had general appeal. Nevertheless, the context of what is apparently the first reference to Rubens's composition, in 1632 in the collection of Frederik Hendrik, suggests that it had a specific meaning for its early owner(s). It seems to have been a chimney-piece in the cabinet of the late princess of Orange, Louise de Coligny, the widow of William 'the Silent' and mother of Frederik Hendrik.³⁶ Louise had died in 1620, but given that the room was largely decorated with portraits of her family,³⁷ it is likely that Rubens's picture had indeed belonged to that princess, and had either been purchased or presented as a kind of consolation in widowhood—particularly appropriate given that 1614 had seen the start of construction of Hendrik de Keyser's monument to William of Orange in the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft.³⁸ Conceivably Rubens received a commission as a result of his trip to the Northern Provinces in 1612. Whatever the case, it is probable that when Frederik Hendrik died in 1647 Rubens's picture had a role in encouraging Amalia van Solms to take Artemisia as her model and inspiration in widowhood—and to acquire Honthorst's painting of the same subject, which became a chimney-piece in her Huis ten Bosch.³⁹

A late eighteenth-century reference to the Potsdam picture attributes it to Van Diepenbeeck,⁴⁰ and Rooses called it a copy. Díaz Padrón has recently argued that even the composition is not by Rubens, but rather that the Potsdam painting is a replica of that in the Alba collection (Fig. 52, listed above as Copy 1), which he attributes to Gerard Seghers. Certainly Seghers imitated half-length Rubensian compositions of 1612-15, as the signed *Herodias and Salome* in the Palacio Real, Madrid, particularly indicates,⁴¹ and the Alba painting may indeed be identical with that ascribed to Seghers in the inventory of c. 1661.

But it seems to me preferable to invoke the reference in the same inventory to the painting ascribed to Rubens himself 'of Artemisia, with a young man pouring the ashes of her husband into a cup from which she is drinking them in the presence of her counsellors and soldiers'.⁴² In my opinion the Alba picture (Fig. 52) is a distinguished product of Rubens's workshop, better in quality than the painting listed above as Copy 2 (Fig. 53), though this too probably originated in Rubens's studio. Since the two versions show the bare-headed soldier at the far right somewhat differently, it remains uncertain which (if either) figure Rubens used for the Potsdam panel. But even if the Alba picture was executed by Seghers, the invention of *The Devotion of Artemisia*, very different in its sophistication of style and iconography from the derivative *Herodias and Salome*, can only be Rubens's, and the Potsdam painting at least must, I believe, have been executed under the master's close supervision. In support of Müller Hofstede's (reported) opinion that it is even by the master's hand, Eckardt points to *pentimenti* in the sleeve of Artemisia which originally covered part of her hand and in the little dog held by the foremost of the maidser-vants. But there is surely a significant amount of studio participation in view of the weaknesses noted by Oldenbourg and Glück, in particular in the execution of the female figures. Müller Hofstede must, however, be right to date the *Artemisia* to 1615-16, rather than around 1612 as many authors, following Oldenbourg, have put it. It belongs with the half-length works of this period, and seems comparable, in its degree of studio execution with, for example, the *Tribute Money* in San Francisco.⁴³ It is perhaps no accident that the *Artemisia* was produced just when (or after) the artist bought a copy of Aulus Gellius's *Noctes Atticae*,⁴⁴ which, as we saw, determined at least one feature of the iconography; it is thus not impossible that the idea for a picture of Artemisia with the ashes of Mausolus may itself have first come from this book. After all,

even if the subject was chosen specifically for Louise de Coligny, this choice could well have been Rubens's.

The painting of Artemisia consuming the ashes in which 'l'étonnement de ceux qui l'environnent est artistiquement exprimé', which was sold at Leiden in 1817 and is listed above as Copy 3, might in fact be identical with Copy 2. More importantly, a panel, measuring c. 91.5 × 71 cm., that is of almost exactly the dimensions given by Hoet for the picture sold from Het Loo,⁴⁵ was in the sale of Philippe Panné in 1819,⁴⁶ and was perhaps that sold in 1832 from the collection of Robert Hamilton of Surrey.⁴⁷ Just possibly, therefore, the Orange picture (Rubens's original version?) did not end up in Potsdam, but remains untraced.

1. *Drossaers—Scheurleer, Inventarissen, 1974-76, I, p. 203, no. 516.* See further below.
2. *Ibid.*, I, p. 481, no. 4; cf. *ibid.*, III, p. 340.
3. 'Taxatie van de schilderijen in het Huis het Loo', December 1712. See *Drossaers—Scheurleer, Inventarissen, 1974-76, I, p. 698, no. 82*: 'Sophonisba, wat beschadigt, Rubens, f. 250-300'.
4. Inv. (estate of Johan Willem Friso) Het Loo 1713: 'een Sophonisbe van Rubbens'; *Drossaers—Scheurleer, Inventarissen, 1974-76, I, p. 677, no. 827.*
5. *Hoet, Catalogus, 1752-70, I, p. 150.* For the name of the buyer see *Drossaers—Scheurleer, Inventarissen, 1974-76, I, p. 203, note to no. 516* from an annotated sale catalogue.
6. For the problematic nature of this inventory see M.B. Burke, *Private Collections of Italian art in seventeenth-century Spain* (University Microfilms International), Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1984, pp. 198-206, doc.3.9 a. (p. 205 for the specific reference).
7. Barcia, op. cit., 1911 in bibliography to Copy 1, p. 247 [no. 303]. He adds in n. 3 that further down—'más abajo'—[at no. 510] it is repeated and ascribed to Gerard Seghers; see p. 292, n. 2: 'Un lienzo de vara y media de alto, Artemisa que va a beber las cenizas de su esposo. Original de Gerard Seghers'. See also Díaz Padrón, op. cit., 1985, p. 114 and n. 19.
8. Barcia, op. cit., 1911, in bibliography to Copy 1, p. 257.
9. See above, at n. 1; also *Drossaers, Inventaris, 1930, p. 227, no. 167.* For the meaning of 'voor de schoorsteen' see below, n. 36.
10. One other picture entitled 'Sophonisba' is recorded in the Orange collection; this, unattributed and valued at only 15 florins, was inherited from Frederik Hendrik's wife Amalia van Solms by Maria, Pfalzgräfin von Simmern in 1675: see C. Rost, 'Der alte Nassau-Oranische Bilderschatz und sein späterer Verbleib', *Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft herausgegeben von Dr. A. von Zahn, VI, Leipzig, 1873, p. 58 (no. 70)*; *Drossaers—Scheurleer, Inventarissen, 1974-76, I, p. 370, no. 1434.* Possibly it was a copy of Rubens's picture, but more probably it was unrelated to Rubens; Amalia van Solms's predilection for Artemisia, noted below, makes it unlikely that a painting illustrating that ancient queen would have been misidentified in the inventory of her estate. *Drossaers—Scheurleer, Inventarissen, 1974-76, III, p. 338,* suggest that this 'Sophonisba' might be the picture elsewhere identified as 'Mary Magdalen'.
11. See esp. Tümpel, loc. cit., 1986.
12. Díaz Padrón, who identified the protagonist correctly as Artemisia, nevertheless describes the event as her suicide, probably following a misleading statement in *Van Gelder, Holland, 1950, p. 114*; cf. below, n. 16.
13. For the subject of the *Death of Sophonisba*, more popular in the 16th and 17th centuries than that of Artemisia, see *Pigler, Barockthemen, 1974, II, pp. 433-435*; also Tümpel, loc. cit., 1986, pp. 206-211.
14. Although several ancient authorities who celebrate Artemisia's wifely devotion seem unaware that Mausolus was not entombed in a conventional way: e.g. Lucian, *Dialogues of the Dead* (Mausolus and Diogenes) i.311; Cicero, *Disputationes tusculanae* III.xcxi.75; Pliny, *Historia naturalis* XXXVI.iv.30-32; Vitruvius, *De architectura* II.8; St Jerome, *Adversus Iovinianum* I.345.
15. Valerius Maximus, *Dicta et facta* IV.vi.ext.I; Aulus Gellius, *Noctes atticae* X.xviii.
16. Renaissance versions of the story sometimes claim that the liquid used was wine, e.g. Nicolas Houel in his *Histoire d'Artémise* of 1562, who also included 'force pleurs' in the drink (cf. M. Fenaille, *État général des tapisseries de la manufacture des gobelins depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours*, I, Paris, 1923, pp. 113-212, esp. p. 190) and André Thevet, *Les vrais pourtraits et vies des hommes illustres*, Paris, 1584, II, chapter 32, fols. 71r-72v, esp. fol. 72r (cf. Fig. 49); but this seems to have no ancient authority. In the 1987 catalogue of the Alba exhibition (cited above, under Copy 1) it was also assumed that the 'mixer' in Copy 1 was wine, even though the carafe has a transparent liquid. Díaz Padrón's statement that Artemisia mixed the ashes with poison has, I think, neither ancient nor Renaissance authority.
17. Cf. Cicero, loc. cit. in n. 14: '...Huic erat illa opinio cotidie recens...'; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica* XVI.xlv.7, says she ruled for two years.
18. See Fenaille, loc. cit. in n. 16.
19. *Barisch, VIII, 1854, p. 343, no. 83*; D. Landau, *Georg Pencz. Catalogo completo*, Milan, 1978, pp. 48-49, 50 and 126, no. 91, repr., dating it c. 1539. See also

- Tümpel, loc. cit., 1986, fig. 104.
20. For this picture see C. Brown in *Cat. Exh. Gods, Saints and Heroes, 1980-81*, pp. 116-117, no. 17; also J.R. Judson, *Gerrit van Honthorst*, The Hague, 1959, p. 192, cat. 97.
 21. Two paintings, of rather different format, are extant: one, signed and dated 1652, is in the Hunte-rian Museum, University of Glasgow (*De Bruyn, Quellinus, 1988*, pp. 208-209, no. 148, repr.; H. Miles in [Cat. Exh.] *The Smillie Collection* (University of Glasgow), Glasgow, 1973, no. 23 and pl. 2), the other dated 1656 and a pendant to an *Alexander and Roxana* is in a private collection (*De Bruyn, Quellinus, 1988*, p. 232, nos. 183-184; *Hairs, Sillage, 1977*, fig. 30). The first painting is likely to be identical with that mentioned in the journal of Matthijs Musson in 1665 (*Duverger, Musson, 1969*, pp. 140, 178). Both give Artemisia a widow's veil and a diadem exactly like that worn by Rubens's heroine, though equally both show her having water (or wine?), not ashes, poured into her cup.
 22. An emblem in a manuscript collection of c. 1603 from the Jesuit college of Graz explicitly draws the parallel; this shows the queen raising her glass (which, as the text tells us, contains ashes mixed—predictably in this context—with wine) as she watches Mausolus on his pyre, and has the motto: 'Maior hinc amor'. See G. Lesky, *Frühe Embleme aus der Steiermark*, Graz, 1973, pp. 48-49, no. 16.
 23. See Thevet, op. cit. in n. 16, fol. 71.
 24. For this medal, a variation on coin portraits of Ptolemaic queens, see C. Vermeule, *European Art and the Classical Past*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1964, pp. 82-83, fig. 67.
 25. See, for example, the portrait in Faber's edition of Fulvio Orsini's *Illustrium Imagines: Faber, Imagines, 1606*, pl. 37 and pp. 21-22.
 26. For two (stone) urns with swags of a somewhat similar form see G. Lippold, *Die Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums*, III, ii, Berlin, 1956, Text, pp. 198, 200, nos. 62, 65; Tafeln, pl. 94. Lippold judges the first to be 'modern'; it may be a Renaissance work.
 27. For this picture, sold at Cologne (Lempertz), 8 May 1969, lot 170, see G. Martin, 'In Rubens's Wake: A Cornelis de Vos at Lille', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXIX, 1977, pp. 651-652, fig. 67, though it is here called 'Tomyris drinking the poisoned cup', datable to the early 1630s. As Artemisia drinks, the attention of the bystanders is directed to the youth who is pouring ashes onto a wide platter.
 28. For these works see *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921*, pp. 54, 55 and No. 1 (cf. Figs. 1, 2).
 29. *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921*, pp. 71, 73; cf. *Freedberg, Christ after the Passion, 1984*, no. 24, fig. 54.
 30. See *Pigler, Barockthemen, 1974*, II, pp. 370-372; also Tümpel, loc. cit., 1986, pp. 211-213.
 31. For the Artemisia imagery of Catherine de' Medici, and especially the Houel and Caron series, see Fenaille, loc. cit. in n. 16; also above, Volume I, Chapter III, p. 86, with further references. On Amalia van Solms and her turning the Oranjezaal into a new Mausoleum see Volume I, pp. 89-90.
 32. *Rooes—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, II, pp. 435 and 437, doc. CCLXIV (letter of 9 June 1622 from Peiresc to Rubens). See further Volume I, Chapter III, pp. 90-94.
 33. See Volume I, Chapter I, at n. 94.
 34. V. Tátrai, 'Il Maestro della Storia di Griselda e una famiglia senese di mecanati dimenticata', *Acta Historiae Artium*, XXV, 1979, pp. 37-38 and fig. 11, p. 41. For the cycle see above, Volume I, Chapter I, at nn. 10, 13.
 35. *Bochius, Narratio, 1602*, p. 110.
 36. For the inventory reference see above, n. 1. The phrase 'voor de schoorsteen' seems to designate it as a 'chimney piece'. There is a similar reference in the same inventory to a picture by Rubens of Cloelia 'serving to be placed in front of the chimney' ('dienende om voor de schoorsteen te stellen'); see *Drossaers—Scheurleer, Inventarissen, 1974-76*, I, p. 191, no. 218 and the discussion below, under No. 47, at n. 8. Certainly a distinction is made in the inventory between pictures 'in front of the chimney' and those set into overmantels; in the same room as the painting of Cloelia was a picture by Rubens within a 'schoorsteenmantel', undoubtedly in this case a permanent chimney-piece. This was the *Alexander and Roxana* discussed below (No. 15; Fig. 58). The terms may simply indicate a distinction here between permanently fixed and moveable paintings. Arnout Balis suggested to me that 'voor de schoorsteen' might mean 'in front of the open fireplace'. But, apart from the fact that we might not expect an arrangement which was necessarily temporary to be recorded in an inventory, this position seems inappropriate for the *Devotion of Artemisia* (as a half-length composition which demands a rather high viewpoint) and even more for the large *Flight of Cloelia* (No. 47; Fig. 170), if it was indeed the painting in question. In any case it is notable that two paintings which were installed as chimney-pieces in other Orange palaces are described as 'voor de schoorsteen': one is Honthorst's *Artemisia* in the inventory of 1654 of the Huis ten Bosch (T.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'De woonvertrekken in Amalia's Huis in het Bosch', *Oud Holland*, LXXXIV, 1969, pp. 57-58), the other Rubens's and Snyders's *Crowning of Diana* in the 1707 inventory of Honselaarsdijk (*Drossaers—Scheurleer, Inventarissen, 1974-76*, I, p. 525, no. 82).
 37. See *Drossaers—Scheurleer, Inventarissen, 1974-76*, I, p. 203.
 38. This monument, commissioned by the States-General, was completed only in 1621. See E. Neurdenburg, *De zeventiende eeuwse Beeldhouwkunst*

- in de Noordelijke Nederlanden*, Amsterdam, 1948, pp. 49-54, figs. 16-28.
39. On this painting and its setting see above, n. 20; also n. 36 and Volume I, Chapter III, at n. 94.
40. Rumpf, loc. cit., 1794.
41. See *Cat. Exh. Madrid, 1977-78*, pp. 140-141, no. 131, repr. p. 255.
42. See above, under Copy 1. The Seghers painting, for which see n. 7 above, might then have been a copy of Fig. 52, perhaps made by this artist in Spain.
43. *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 55.
44. *Rooses, Moretus*, 1883, p. 190: '9 February 1615. ...1 Aulus Gellius in-16° fr. Crisp. po. ... fl. 0.17'. Cf. Volume I, Chapter II, at n. 58.
45. See above, under 'Provenance', and the discussion in the first paragraph.
46. Sale, London (Christie's), 27 March 1819, lot 94 ('Rubens, Artemisia drinking off the ashes of her husband: an early picture').
47. Sale, London (Foster), 16 March 1832, lot 209 ('Rubens, Artemisia in affectionate remembrance of her Husband drinks his ashes'), with no measurements provided.

14. Alexander and Roxana (Figs. 54, 55)

Oil on canvas; 153 × 111 cm. (fragment, and somewhat altered; originally 200 × 160 cm.: see Fig. 54).

The Israel Museum, Jerusalem

PROVENANCE: (as 200 × 160 cm., before cutting; see Fig. 54) sale, Brussels (Galerie Fiévez), 16 June 1931, lot 122, repr.; sold to a dealer in Paris; in Paris 1948, with H. Goldschmidt, allegedly as having been for some 30 years in a Swedish family, possibly earlier in Russia and 'not the Fiévez painting'; restored by William Suhr, New York, 1948-49 (when it had been already cut to the present fragment, 153 × 111 cm.); dealers S. and R. Rosenberg, London and New York, (at least by 1949); in 1955 bequeathed by Samuel Rosenberg to the Israel Museum.

COPIES: (1) Painting inscribed bottom left P.P. Rubens (Fig. 56), Rubens's workshop, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 213 × 167 cm. PROV. Schloss, Hannover, Georg V, Duke of

Braunschweig and King of Hannover (reg. 1852-66); confiscated in 1866 and transferred to the Museum, Hannover (Cat. Hannover 1891, p. 188, no. 469); sale, Berlin (Cassirer and Helbing), 27-28 April 1926, lot 137 (as copy after Rubens). LIT. Parthey, *Bildersaal*, 1863-64, II, p. 428, no. 252; R. Förster, 'Die Hochzeit des Alexander und der Roxane in der Renaissance', *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, III, 1894, pp. 24-25, repr.; *Rooses, Oeuvre*, 1886-92, IV, pp. 10-11; *Evers, Neue Forschungen*, 1943, pp. 269-271; M. Jaffé, 'Rediscovered Oil Sketches by Rubens. II', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXI, 1969, pp. 532-533.

(2) Painting, attributed to Theodoor van Thulden and called 'Rhodope and Psammeticus', coll. Alfred S. Karlsen, Beverly Hills, California; canvas, 158 × 128 cm.

(3) Painting (? same as Copy 2), attributed to Theodoor van Thulden, whereabouts unknown; canvas, dimensions unknown ('large'). PROV. Baron Carl Carlson Bonde, Eriksberg, Sweden. LIT. O. Granberg, *Catalogue raisonné de tableaux...dans les collections privées de la Suède*, I, Stockholm, 1886, p. 206, no. 354 and idem, *Trésors de l'art en Suède*, Stockholm 1913, I, no. 53; III, pl. 18 (as 'Rhodope and Psammeticus').

(4) Painting, whereabouts unknown; ? canvas, dimensions unknown. PROV. ? in Florence between 1875 and 1915 (photograph made by dealer Stefano Bardini, no. 1020 BR).²

(5) Painting, coll. C. Niven-Johnston, Bebbington, Cheshire (1965); canvas, 204 × 168 cm. LIT. *Paintings in the Collection of C. Niven-Johnston*, Birkenhead, Cheshire, January 1965, no. 32, repr.

(6) Painting, whereabouts unknown; ? canvas, 127-140 × 103 cm. (shaped at the top). PROV. J.W. van Sluijs, Middelburg, 1959.

(7) Painting, private collection, Princeton; canvas, 140.5 × 160 cm. (cut at the bottom).

(8) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 207 × 169 cm. PROV. sale, London (Christie's), 10 December 1976, lot 66, repr.

LITERATURE: Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, 1943, p. 269.

This seems to have been Rubens's first version of the wedding of Alexander and Roxana; the Wörlitz picture (No. 15; Fig. 58), usually considered the cut-down original of the present composition, was recognized by Burchard as a different half-length formulation and is, I believe, the later variation.³ The present full-length composition (Figs. 54, 56) is not only more elaborate, including for example the cupid pulling on Alexander's cloak which comes from Rubens's textual source, but also can be dated on stylistic grounds to an earlier period than No. 15 (Fig. 58).

Rubens's subject here derives from an *ekphrasis* or rhetorical account of a picture supposedly by the ancient painter Aetion, which illustrated the nuptials of Alexander and the princess Roxana, daughter of the Indian king Oxyartes. The description appears in Lucian's dialogue *Herodotus or Aetion*,⁴ along with the story that the picture aroused such admiration in one of the judges that he offered the artist his own daughter in marriage. Lucian's account runs:

There is a beautiful bridal chamber and a nuptial bed, and Roxana is sitting, a really lovely specimen of a girl [πάγκαλόν τι χρῆμα παρθένου], her eyes downcast in modesty at Alexander, who is standing there. Some Cupids are present, smiling. One, placed above and behind her [κατόπιν ἐφεστώς] is removing the veil from her head to reveal Roxana to the bridegroom; another one—a real slave, this one—is removing the sandal from her foot, trying to put her to bed already; another has caught hold of Alexander's cloak—this too a Cupid—and is drawing him towards Roxana, pulling with all his might. The king himself is holding out a kind of garland [στέφανόν τινα; rendered in Renaissance Latin translations as *coronam*, a crown] to the girl, while the best man and bridal helper Hephaestion is nearby with a burning torch in his hand, leaning on a boy who is truly in

the bloom of youth—Hymenaeus, I should think (his name is not inscribed). On the other side of the picture are more Cupids playing among the armour of Alexander, two of them carrying his spear, mimicking bearers when they are burdened with the weight of a beam; two others are dragging along one of their number—another king presumably!—who is lying stretched out on the shield, which they hold by its handgrips; one has even gone inside the breastplate, which is lying with its underside up, and seems to be waiting in ambush to frighten them when they get near him as they drag it. Nor is this just a pointless bit of fun [οὐ παιδιὰ δὲ ἄλλως ταῦτά]; Aetion did not put such effort into it for nothing. It shows how Alexander's other love was for war, and that all the time he loved Roxana he did not forget about arms...'

The theme had already been illustrated in the Renaissance, notably by Raphael, and after him by Sodoma, Primaticcio and Taddeo Zuccaro.⁵ Rubens was not only familiar with Raphael's composition, but drew a charming copy of it, apparently based (in reverse) on the Caraglio print; indeed he actually owned the related drawing with nude figures, now in the Albertina and attributed to Raphael's studio if not to the master himself.⁶

Raphael and other earlier artists had made much of the play of the cupids, even if it thereby seems very much like the simple piece of fun (*paidia*) which Lucian disclaims.⁷ Rubens concentrated on the main figures, making the *erotes* a subsidiary element. In so doing he seems to have taken as his starting point the right-hand group of the Caraglio print, with Raphael's composition in reverse, to produce a much more concentrated and intimate bedroom scene. This nuptial *thalamos* is both cosy and opulent, suitable for Alexander's Indian princess. Rich red velvet hangings surround her bed; an oriental rug is at her feet, rumpled by the activity of the cupid who is undoing her sandal. Jewels and, it would seem, a bridal belt are laid on her bedside table, beneath which her lapdog is cow-

ering. All this, as Burchard noted, is reminiscent of the supposedly Roman bedroom of Lucretia which Rubens had painted some years before (No. 44; Fig. 154), but in Roxana's case surely has a particular oriental relevance.⁸ Rubens introduced other features specifically designed for the context. The crown which Alexander proffers seems intended to look eastern, or rather Persian, in design.⁹ The ram's head on the bed-post is probably emblematic, identifying the nuptial bed as Alexander's by an allusion to his father, Zeus Ammon.¹⁰ That the bride herself should be represented as fair-haired and white-skinned is something that Rubens would have hardly felt the need to justify, though he could have invoked artistic precedent, as well as another passage in Lucian, in the *Imagines*, where an ideal beauty, evidently of fair complexion, has the lips of Aetion's Roxana.¹¹ The red and fur-lined garment Rubens gave his lady, too warm surely for India, was of course an irresistible borrowing from Titian.¹²

It is obvious that Rubens both exploited and freely adapted Lucian's text, as well as previous images, in focusing his composition around the bride. Like Raphael and earlier artists, he portrayed Roxana more advanced in undress than Lucian implies. He allowed some *erotes* to go wingless, as putti, presumably for visual effect. He also emended Lucian (and Aetion) to let Alexander's, rather than Hephaestion's hand rest on the shoulder of Hymenaeus. The youthful god thus serves to unite the bride and groom, laying one hand on Alexander's wrist to draw him to Roxana, touching the bride's arm as he seems to prepare to reveal her entirely. Cupids perform a similar function in other paintings by Rubens, notably in the *Mars and Rhea Silvia* of c. 1617 in the Liechtenstein collection in Vaduz (Fig. 101): the mediator assumes exactly the same pose, cross-legged and looking up at the approaching lover, as he stands in his shadow (there more ominous).¹³ Rubens's Hymenaeus also has an identifying attribute such as Lucian's original lacked. He cannot carry his

usual symbol, the nuptial torch, this being in the hand of Hephaestion; but he wears a rose-garland on his head.¹⁴

The most obvious deviation from the ancient text is of course in the curtailment of the games of the cupids, which Lucian interpreted as an allusion to Alexander's persistent military concern. Here perhaps Rubens was motivated not only by aesthetics, with compositional coherence in mind, but by a certain discomfort with this alleged meaning. After all, in Renaissance painting (and indeed in the Greek Anthology and on ancient sarcophagi) cupids usually play with armour or other heroic attributes to imply that the owner has—at least temporarily—abandoned these for love.¹⁵ The whole imagery of Mars disarmed by Venus (and the cupids), one which Rubens himself enthusiastically and imaginatively developed, reinforces such a message, and is clearly relevant to the artist's formulation of *Alexander and Roxana*.¹⁶ Captivated by the beautiful creature before him [πάγκαλόν τι χρῆμα παρθένου], Rubens's Alexander has evidently put aside all thought of arms and armour, as is emphasized by the putto above him, unauthorized by Lucian, who has removed the helmet from his head, in an action which parallels his companion's disclosure of the bride. This is a variation on the universal theme of the conqueror conquered, another Rubensian *exemplum* of the beneficent power of women and of love.

It is easy to see why Evers was tempted to connect Rubens's illustration of this theme with the artist's own marriage and that of his brother, even if as a result he wildly misdated the Wörlitz picture (No. 15; Fig. 58), which he thought a fragment of the original formulation. It is evident from this later version (as well as from the number of copies of the present composition, one at least [Copy 1; Fig. 56] a studio production), that even if it might have made an ideal wedding present, the picture had a general appeal, whether as an ancient 'reconstruction', a story of Alexander, an image of the power of love, or all of these.¹⁷

The question of which if any of the existing versions of the composition is the 'original' is difficult to judge from available photographs, often of poor quality. The Hannover version (Copy 1; Fig. 56), now missing, which Förster thought a reasonable candidate, was called by Rooses a feeble school product. At least, however, it would seem to be a studio replica. Neither of these authors was aware of the painting (Fig. 54) which must have been cut down in Paris in the late 1940s and of which the right-hand group, brutally reduced to a composition of three figures, survives in the Israel Museum (Fig. 55). Burchard, judging from photos of the picture before and after its mutilation, seems to have thought it was probably the original. It is hard to agree with this opinion when confronted with the good photographs available of the part which survives, and which was restored in New York in 1948-49. William Suhr, the restorer, concluded that in the process of cutting it down part of the canvas (i.e. from the discarded portion) had been used for the upper left corner. Presumably this included the torch which Hymenaeus now holds in the right hand which was originally laid on Alexander's wrist; for this torch seems to have been, literally, wrested from the lost Hephaestion.¹⁸ The result is of course unconvincing from the point of view both of gesture and of fall of light, but involves a certain ingenuity, at least suggesting a perpetrator conversant with the Renaissance iconography of Hymenaeus.¹⁹ It is difficult to comment now on whether the quality of the original painting was much better than in the fragment as it survives, but in my opinion this latter is at best a studio version of a Rubens composition. I cannot believe, as Burchard implies, that the master himself was involved in painting it. There are the obvious infelicities in drawing—Roxana's leg and right arm, for example, or the angle of the bed; there is also the dullness, indeed sloppiness in the execution—the contrast of skin and fur being particularly disappointing. Finally, it seems to me to lack some subtleties

in interpretation: Hymenaeus's hand, for example, should surely touch Roxana's arm (as it does in the Wörlitz picture [No. 15; Fig. 58], and indeed in the Hannover version [Fig. 56, listed here as Copy 1]). It may, nevertheless, be the earliest workshop version of a composition whose style suggests that it originated around 1617, about the same time, that is, as the Brussels *Forge of Vulcan*, which displays a similar interest in light effects.²⁰

A small panel sold at Paris in 1791 and described as a composition of eight figures with Alexander, accompanied by Hymen and Amor, coming to crown Roxana who is seated on a bed and undressed by cupids, may have been another copy, or possibly a preparatory sketch related to the present composition.²¹ The same applies to the picture evidently from France, sold at London in 1781 and again in 1790.²² It may, however, have been the lost sketch listed below: No. 14a.

1. See Evers, loc. cit., 1943, in bibliography.
2. I am grateful to Everett Fahy for drawing this picture to my attention.
3. See further below, under No. 15.
4. Lucian, *Herodotus or Aetion* 4-6.
5. See R. Förster, 'Die Hochzeit des Alexander und der Roxane in der Renaissance', *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XV, 1894, pp. 182-207; idem, 'Wiederherstellung antiker Gemälde durch Künstler der Renaissance', *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XLIII, 1922, pp. 126-136 esp. p. 133; L. Faedo, 'Due momenti della pittura di ricostruzione', in *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana* (Biblioteca di storia dell'arte, II, 2), ed. S. Settis, Turin, 1985, pp. 23-42, *passim*; also Pigler, *Barockthemen*, 1974, II, p. 361.
6. Cf. M. Jaffé, 'Rubens and Raphael', in *Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Art presented to A. Blunt*, London—New York, 1967, p. 99; Sérullaz, *Rubens*, 1978, p. 96, no. 98, repr.; also Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, 1977, p. 22. For the drawing attributed to Raphael in the Albertina and another in the Teylers Museum, Haarlem, see E. Mitsch, [Cat. Exh.] *Raphael in der Albertina*, Vienna (Albertina), 1983, pp. 126-129, no. 42, repr.; Faedo (op. cit. in n. 5), pp. 24-25, figs. 17, 18; for the Caraglio print see Bartsch, XV, 1867, p. 95, no. 62, also recording (p. 96) an anonymous print which copies it in reverse; cf. *The Illustrated Bartsch*, XXVIII, ed. S. Boorsch and J. Spike, New York, 1985, p. 201.
7. In his fresco in the Farnesina (Faedo, op. cit. in n. 5, fig. 19) Sodoma introduces an extra joke by

- making the (black) cupid inside the breastplate have already frightened the two shieldbearers—to such an extent that their ‘king’ is being thrown ignominiously to the ground.
8. Though it is worth remembering too that ancient epithalamia usually have fancy rugs beneath the bejewelled bridal bed. Cf. for example, Claudian, *Epithalamium de nuptiis Honorii Augusti* 212-213.
 9. A similar crown falls to the ground in the Berlin drawing *Triumph of Alexander* (No. 16; Fig. 63). The marriage with Roxana was both a symbol and a symptom of Alexander’s uniting of east with west.
 10. Rubens was familiar with images in which Alexander himself appropriates the ram’s horn attributes of the god. Cf. *Van der Meulen, Antique, 1994*, I, pp. 189, 191, 196, 198; II, pp. 192-196, no. 169; III, figs. 326, 329-330; also Volume I, pp. 91-92, *text ill.* 24.
 11. Lucian, *Imagines* vii (on his *Panthea*). Sodoma is, I think, the only Renaissance painter to have depicted Roxana as relatively dark-skinned, and tried to create an ‘Indian’ setting. See further E. McGrath, ‘The Black Andromeda’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, LV, 1992, pp. 1-18, esp. pp. 7-8, on Renaissance views about whether ancient Indians and Ethiopians should be imagined as black—and depicted accordingly.
 12. The fur lining disappears in No. 15 (Fig. 58).
 13. See also the cross-legged cupid, partially lit by firelight, in the Brussels *Forge of Vulcan* (K.d.K. ed. *Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 137; *Jaffé, Rubens*, 1989, p. 228, no. 429A, repr.).
 14. This attribute, along with the torch is found in Bion’s Idyll on the death of Adonis (*Carmina* i.87), as is pointed out by Rubens’s friend Gevartius in connection with a figure of Hymenaeus on Rubens’s Arch of Philip for the Entry of Ferdinand in 1635 (*Gevartius, Pompa, 1641*, p. 27); it is actually Seneca (*Medea* 70), however, as Rubens probably knew, who specifies the flowers as roses. Cf. L.G. Giraldi, *De deis gentium*, edn Basle, 1548, p. 176; V. Cartari, *Le Imagini de i dei degli antichi*, edn Venice, 1571, p. 198 and *Roscher, Lexikon*, I, 1884, col. 2803, s.v. *Hymenaios*.
 15. For some Roman sarcophagi illustrating this, and Rubens’s use of them McGrath, *Rubens’s House, 1978*, p. 265; for poems on ancient works of art on this theme see, for example, *Anthologia Graeca*, XVI.ciii, civ, ccxiv, ccxv; for the relationship of such precedents to Renaissance representations of *omnia vincit amor*, notably in the spandrels of Raphael’s vault in the Farnesina see A. von Salis, *Antike und Renaissance*, Erlenbach—Zürich, 1947, esp. pp. 201-207.
 16. On Rubens and the disarming of Mars, with ancient parallels, see R. Baumstark, ‘ikonographische Studien zu Rubens Kriegs- und Friedensallegorien’, *Aachener Kunstblätter*, XLV, 1974, esp. pp. 177-186.
 17. Lomazzo gives it as an example of ‘compositioni d’amori diversi’: see *Lomazzo, Scritti*, ed. Ciardi, 1974, II, pp. 312-314. Cf. Volume I, Chapter V, p. 113.
 18. I am grateful to Amalyah Zipkin, of the Israel Museum, for confirming this fact.
 19. See above, n. 14.
 20. See above, n. 13.
 21. Panel, c. 19.5 × 35cm. (or vice versa?). PROV. Coll. J.-B. P. Le Brun, ‘garde des tableaux’ of Count of Artois; sale, Lebrun, Paris, 11 April 1791, lot 79 (for 212 francs to Danempord). LIT *Le Blanc, Trésor, 1857-58*, II, p. 131; Förster, op. cit., 1894, p. 24.
 22. Sale, London (Christie’s), 23-24 March 1781, lot 64 (called *Rubens, ‘Mark Antony crowning Cleopatra’* and said to come ‘from abroad’); sale, London (Christie’s) 1 May 1790, lot 46 (called *Rubens, ‘Alexander crowning Campaspe’* and said to come from a French nobleman). See A. Graves, *Art Sales*, III, London, 1921, pp. 110, 111.

14a. Alexander and Roxana: ? Oil Sketch or Modello

? Oil on panel; measurements unknown.
Presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 57), Basle, Kunstmuseum, inv. no. 1173; panel, 64 × 49.5 cm. PROV. Habethur sale, J.M. Heberle, Cologne (H. Lempertz’ Söhne), 14-15 May 1902, lot 140, repr.; coll. Theodor Stroeyer, Nuremberg, sale, Munich (J. Böhrer), 28 October 1937, lot 90 (as *follower of Rubens* and ‘*Mars and Venus*’). LIT. Cat. Basle, 1956, no. 1173.

(2) Painting, overcleaned sometime between 1913 and 1936 to make it look like a sketch (original photograph in Burchard documentation), whereabouts unknown; panel, 61.5 × 48.5 cm. PROV. ? Chancellor Prince Wenzel Anton Kaunitz-Rietburg, Vienna (1711-1794); ? Valentin Andreas von Adamovics (d. 1856), Vienna, sale, Vienna [1856], lot 181; Franz, [Herr Hauptmann] Ritter von Reisinger, Vienna, 1896; Vienna art market, 1935; coll. John Bass, New York, 1936; A. Silberman, New York; John Bass, sale, New York (Parke Bernet), 25 January 1945, lot 16, bought by Rosenberg and Stiebel. EXH. *Sixty Paintings and some Drawings by Peter Paul*

Rubens, Detroit, 1936, no. 51, repr. (as 'Crowning of Venus by Mars'); *Masterpieces of Art, New York World's Fair, 1939*, no. 335 (as 'Crowning of Venus by Mars'). LIT. *Frimmel, Lexikon, 1913-14*, I, p. 29, no. 181 (called 'Venus at her toilet'); W.R. Valentiner in [Cat. Exh.] *Sixty Paintings and some Drawings by Peter Paul Rubens*, Detroit, 1936, no. 51, repr. (as 'Crowning of Venus by Mars'); G.H. McCall and W.R. Valentiner, *Catalogue of Eminent Paintings and Sculptures from 1300-1800*, New York, 1939, p. 163, no. 335 (as 'The crowning of Venus by Mars'); Valentiner, *America, 1946*, p. 164, no. 110 (as study for lost painting of which workshop copy is in Dessau).

The two pictures mentioned above as Copies 1 and 2 may record a lost sketch which Rubens used for his first painting of this theme and perhaps returned to in composing the second version. At any rate it seems they cannot simply be regarded as copies of No. 14. They both share the feature of a step beneath the bed and seem to display stockier figures.

15. Alexander and Roxana (Fig. 58)

Oil on canvas; 116.3 × 105.8 cm.
Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten, Wörlitz, near Dessau.

PROVENANCE: Amalia van Solms, Princess of Orange (d. 1675), in the Huis op het Noordeinde, The Hague (inv. 1632, 'cabinet' of Amalia van Solms: 'Eenen houten schoorsteenmantel, vergult op eenen groenen gront, daerinne een schilderije van Rubbens, sijnde een trongie van een groot personagie ofte Alexander die Venus croont';¹ inv. 1667;² inv. 1673: 'Een schilderij van P. Rubens gedaen, daer een Venus gecroont weert';³ inv. 1675, no. 105); in her estate, 1676 (Division of property, Part D, no. 8: 'stuk met halve beelden', valued at 400 florins;⁴ allotted to Henriette-Catherina, Duchess Anhalt-Dessau in the division of property; in her estate, 1708 (Part 3: 'Antonius und Cleopatra v. Rubens', valued at 250 Thaler) allotted to Elisabeth Albertine, Duchess of Saxony;

since this lady was by 1708 already dead her share was divided among her sisters and this picture presumably went to the Duchess of Anhalt, like nos. 1, 5 and 11 in the list⁵ to end up in Wörlitz; moved in ?1938 to Anhaltisches Landesmuseum, Dessau (Gemäldegalerie), inv. no. T.1441, now returned to Wörlitz.

COPIES: (1) Painting, a fragment showing Roxana, the arm of Alexander and part of Hymenaeus and Cupid, Cambrai, Musée Municipal, ? canvas.

(2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 40.5 × 33 cm. PROV. ? 7th Earl Cowper (d. 1905), Panshanger, Hertfordshire; his niece Ethel Anne Priscilla Fane, Lady Desborough (d. 1952), sale, London (Christie's), 16 October 1953, lot 122 (as *Rubens, 'The Continnence of Scipio'*); dealer W.M. Sabin, London, 1954.

(3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 116.8 × 99 cm. PROV. sale, London (Christie's, South Kensington), 5 July 1990, lot 65, repr. (as '*Mars crowning Venus*').

(4) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 105 × 98 cm. PROV. sale, London (Sotheby's), 31 October 1990, lot 168, repr. in colour (as '*The Coronation of Semiramis*').

(5) Drawing from Rubens's workshop, probably by Willem Panneels (1600/5-34), of Roxana's upper torso, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kōngelige Kobberstiksamlng, 'Rubens Cantoor', no. V, 32; black, red and white chalk on greyish paper, 273/287 × 238/247 mm.—*Verso*: inscribed in pencil top centre 7, in pen and brown ink lower centre 126. LIT. *Garff—Pedersen, Panneels, 1988*, I, p. 61, no. 51; II, pl. 53; *Held, Review, 1991*, fig. 4, p. 418.

(6) Drawing of Roxana's torso, Paris, Louvre, inv. 20.334; black and red chalk, 155 × 167 mm. LIT. *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, 1949*, II, p. 46, no. 1174 (as *after Rubens*).

LITERATURE: *Parthey, Bildersaal, 1863-64*, II, p. 445, no. 55; C. Rost, 'Der alte Nassau-Oranische Bilderschatz und sein späterer Verbleib', *Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft herausgegeben*

von Dr. A. Zahn, VI, 1873, pp. 52-92 esp. pp. 60, no. 8, pp. 66, 69, no. 2; Cat. Wörlitz, 1883, no. 1045; R. Förster, 'Wiederherstellung antiker Gemälde durch Künstler der Renaissance', *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XLIII, 1922, p. 133 (as copy by pupil); Drossaers, *Inventaris*, 1930, p. 211, no. 72; Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, 1943, pp. 269-271 and fig. 290; Van Gelder, *Holland*, 1950, pp. 110-112, fig. 3; M. Jaffé, 'Rediscovered Oil Sketches by Rubens. II', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXI, 1969, p. 533; J. van Gelder, 'Rubens Marginalia. IV', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXIII, 1981, p. 542 and fig. 60; Held, *Sketches*, 1980, I, pp. 102, 318, 630; Held, *Review*, 1991, p. 425 and fig. 3, p. 418 (as 'a fragment'); E. McGrath, 'The Black Andromeda', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, LV, 1992, p. 8, pl. 3c.

This must be the picture done for the 'Princess of Orange', the subject of a memorandum from Rubens to M. Le Blon, which, as Van Gelder notes, is recorded in a sale in 1825 but is now unfortunately lost.⁶ Certainly the painting in Wörlitz is traceable back to the Orange collection and specifically to Amalia van Solms, if it is assumed, as seems reasonable, that it is identical with the (otherwise baffling) 'Antony and Cleopatra by Rubens' valued at 250 Thaler in the Anhalt inventory of 1708. Presumably therefore it is the 'piece with half-figures', equivalently highly valued in the division of Amalia's property in 1676. This last reference is significant, since it implies that the picture already had the same format as it does today; so that if it has been cut down from a composition of full-length figures, as scholars have generally concluded,⁷ this must have been very soon after the death, or even within the lifetime of Amalia van Solms. In fact as is argued above (under No. 14) the Wörlitz picture is not the mutilated original of a full-length composition, now recorded *in toto* only in copies (Figs. 54, 56), but rather, as Burchard concluded, a different version of the theme.⁸

The *Alexander and Roxana* by Rubens in

Amalia van Solms's collection is first recorded in 1632 in one of her apartments ('Het cabinet van mevrouwe de prinsesse van Orange tusschen de twee galerijen') in the Huis op het Noordeinde, where it was installed as a chimney-piece. It seems likely that this was its original location. It is therefore improbable that it was a tall full-length composition with a relatively high viewpoint (cf. Figs. 54, 56). In addition, Burchard points to significant compositional indications that the Wörlitz picture was designed for a half-length scheme. The composition is more compressed, with Hymenaeus brought lower and nearer to the cupid untying the lady's sandal; another cupid, that pulling on Alexander's cloak, is absent, so that the two men stand closer together. Burchard talked of this as the 'first' of two versions of the subject, but this can hardly be the case. On both stylistic and iconographic grounds the full-length composition, which conforms more exactly to the text of Lucian, must be earlier.

Evers dated the Wörlitz work to 1609-11, which, as has been pointed out,⁹ is manifestly wrong; Van Gelder's initial estimate of 1616-18, comparing the figure of Roxana, for example, with the *Venus in the Forge of Vulcan* in Brussels,¹⁰ is still perhaps too early, though there is a similar interest in light effects in a dark interior. Jaffé's dating of c. 1625 is more convincing; the presence of a copy in the so-called 'Rubens Cantoor' would support a dating of around this period.¹¹ If, as the memorandum suggests, Rubens painted the picture for Amalia after she became Princess of Orange, the date of April 1625 must be regarded as a *terminus post quem*. The Wörlitz Roxana is a riper beauty than her earlier counterpart in the full-length version (Figs. 54, 56), as she sits, blushing, in her thin shift and drape of Venetian red (the fur trimming now suppressed) and is illuminated not only by the flickering nuptial torch but by some warm lamplight. It is interesting that the only significant iconographic alteration, in the attributes of Hymenaeus, makes him correspond to

the figure of this god in the *Presentation of the Portrait* in the Medici Cycle.¹² He now seems to have marjoram as well as roses in his wreath, in deference to the authority of Catullus (*Carmina* lxi.6), while his wings are taken from images on Roman sarcophagi.¹³ The picture makes sense as a reduction, adapted to the format of an overmantel, of a composition of c. 1615-16, in which inessential details are dropped—the ram's head decoration of the bed, for example, the lap dog and the jewels on the table—but the basic theme is preserved, as is the sensuous, exotic flavour, which is enhanced by the richer colouring and more intimate treatment.

As far as the condition of the picture is concerned, it appears that the area behind Hymenaeus's head has been damaged and roughly repainted. It is possible that the head of the god himself has been restored. Burchard thought that the delicate veil about Roxana might be an addition, but the more modest pose and drapery may simply have been designed to appeal to Amalia; it is not present in Copy 2 (although it is recorded in the drawing made, probably by Panneels, in Rubens's workshop: Copy 5).

In 1967 Michael Jaffé published a sketch (Fig. 59), until recently in a Los Angeles collection, as a study for the Wörlitz picture.¹⁴ The composition had been long known from an engraving after the sketch by the Hungarian Samuel Czetter (Fig. 61), and although some scholars were doubtful about Czetter's attribution to Rubens,¹⁵ this had been accepted and defended by Evers.¹⁶ Burchard, who had seen the original, probably in the 1930s, was convinced it was not by Rubens, and it was in 1980 rejected as a Rubens by Held.¹⁷ Both scholars, however, admitted that it is a work of particular quality, and it seems worth considering it in detail here, especially as it relates to another Alexander composition (Fig. 62) that is attributed in an eighteenth-century print to Rubens.

That the Los Angeles sketch is a study for

the Wörlitz painting (Fig. 58) can hardly be the case if this latter work is accepted as a half-length variation by the artist on his earlier full-length composition (cf. Figs. 54, 56); the sketch is obviously different from both versions and is not easily interpreted as an intermediary. Although evidently related to Rubens's full-length composition (Figs. 54, 56), the sketch, as Förster noted in his discussion of the engraving, reveals an altogether different approach to its subject, one which significantly emphasizes the historical elements at the expense of the mythological adornment.¹⁸ Most notable is the absence of the helpful cupids and Hymenaeus, and with them a certain warmth and light-hearted tone. In the sketch (Fig. 59) the armour is much more in evidence: Alexander's helmet is laid on Roxana's bedside table, right on top of her jewels, while a new figure, a servant boy, is introduced, darting in and holding the hero's sword upon what seems to be his shield. The aggressive introduction of the armour into the bridal chamber, among the bride's own jewels, seems to indicate that the underlying theme is no longer that of the conqueror subjected (and softened) by love. It may be important that Alexander is no longer looking down tenderly at his bride as he crowns her, but is concentrating on the crown itself, even if now, since there is no Hymenaeus to join the couple in union, he takes her hand himself. Roxana too has a different attitude and character. It is not just that without the undressing by cupids her situation seems suddenly ambiguous—she could be just getting out of bed rather than preparing for it, and is altogether in a rather hesitant pose, her arms crossed awkwardly and her left leg hidden behind. This hesitancy could of course be put down to the maidenly modesty which Lucian noted, though she seems to me a less satisfactory evocation of this quality than the corresponding figure in Rubens's composition of c. 1615 (Figs. 54, 56).

All this in itself is not an argument against Rubens's authorship; such changes might

have been made by the artist to accommodate the subject to a different context. In fact Alexander's new physiognomy, apparently a departure from the Rubensian type, actually looks rather more like ancient portraits of the Macedonian king, as recorded by Rubens—for example in the drawing in the Louvre after a gold coin in the collection of Fulvio Orsini, which shows Alexander wearing a helmet, or again in the print, probably by Vorsterman, after a (lost) drawing of a cameo once in the artist's own collection and sold to the Duke of Buckingham in 1626, where Alexander appears as Zeus Ammon.¹⁹ This apparent archaeological exactitude might seem to underline Rubens's authorship. However, there are several features in this sketch which are hard to reconcile with Rubens.

It seems to me to be unexpectedly detailed in technique and yet imprecise in details (notably, for example, in the face and body of Roxana); among other features uncharacteristic of Rubens is the anatomically weak left arm of Roxana, with its long tapering fingers. Burchard suggested tentatively an attribution to Jan van den Hoecke, but Held's proposal that the author might be Jan Boeckhorst seems more plausible. His comparison of the boy carrying the sword with a similar youth in the *Adoration of the Magi*, signed and dated 1652, in the Bob Jones University, Greenville, California²⁰ is especially telling.

Relevant to the whole issue is the possibility that this sketch should be associated with the picture of 'Una coronatione d'una femmina con tre figure' said to be by Rubens and the companion to a 'Diogene nella botte, visitato da Alessandro' in a Venetian collection in 1709.²¹ (The inventory does not make it clear what was the scale of these paintings, so that they could have been sketches.) In fact there exists a print (Fig. 62), supposedly after a sketch by Rubens, which shows a composition of *Alexander and Diogenes* of similar format to that of *Alexander and Roxana* (Figs. 59, 61).²² It also exhibits something of the same refined elegance. The reference to a Rubensian

Alexander and Roxana with only four figures and the parallel with the Diogenes print suggest that the two engravings (Figs. 61, 62) do indeed reproduce the paired subjects in the Venetian collection. How long the Venetian pictures (or sketches) stayed together I have not been able to determine, but it is perhaps significant that both were engraved around the same time and in Vienna.

One feature of the *Alexander and Roxana* sketch (Fig. 59) has not been commented on. Alexander's union with his bride would naturally have been represented in a *dextrarum iunctio*, a joining of right hands, whereas both protagonists extend left hands, Roxana indeed with some effort. In the corresponding Diogenes scene too (Fig. 62), characters who gesture use their left hands. It is easy to overlook this left-handedness in *Alexander and Roxana*, since the composition follows the (right) direction of the earlier picture by Rubens (Figs. 54, 56), and in both cases Hephaestion (properly) has the bridal torch in his right hand. The '*sinistrarum iunctio*', however, seems a clear indication that the sketch was done either for an engraving, or, as seems more likely, in view of the subject and lack of evidence about contemporary prints, for a tapestry cycle on the Life of Alexander. This conclusion provides a further argument against Rubens's authorship. For Rubens himself would hardly have been satisfied with adapting an existing composition for such a commission without properly reversing the design; at least he would surely have arranged for Hephaestion's torch to turn out right.

In fact I would suggest that both sketches are by Boeckhorst and are related to a third *Alexander* sketch, which has never been attributed either to Rubens or to Boeckhorst in modern times, but which is probably identical with 'a sketch of Rubens' in the collection of the Stadholder of the Netherlands in the later eighteenth century.²³ This is the *Alexander cutting the Gordian Knot* (Fig. 60), a sketch currently called anonymous Flemish but for-

merly given to Cornelis Schut in the museum at Lille.²⁴ This sketch is not only of roughly the same height as the *Alexander and Roxana* sketch (Fig. 59), but shares stylistic features. It too can, I believe, be attributed to Jan Boeckhorst. Particularly telling is a comparison of the pagan priests on the right of the *Martyrdom of St Maurice*, also in Lille,²⁵ with the group in this position in the sketch. But in proportion, gesture and physiognomy the figures are altogether characteristic of Boeckhorst, while the dog in the Lille sketch is the twin (in reverse) of that in the exquisite *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*.²⁶ Interestingly, a seventeenth-century Brussels tapestry is extant after this composition, by Frans van den Hecke.²⁷ All of this suggests that a whole Alexander series may have been planned for tapestries by Boeckhorst.²⁸ Still, in the absence of further evidence, it seems safest to say simply that these attractive compositions, in which Rubens's style is translated through Van Dyckian elegance, are imaginatively derived from Rubens rather than designed by him.

1. Drossaers—Scheurleer, *Inventarissen, 1774-76*, I, p. 191, no. 208. See further below.
2. *Ibid.*, I, p. 284, no. 1230.
3. *Ibid.*, I, p. 317, no. 742.
4. *Ibid.*, I, p. 372, no. 1499. See also Rost, loc. cit., 1873, in bibliography.
5. See Rost, loc. cit., 1873, in bibliography, p. 66.
6. Van Gelder, loc. cit., 1981, p. 542 and n. 6. This document, described as 'An Autograph Memorandum for M. Le Blon, in the Hand-Writing of Rubens, concerning a picture for the Princess of Orange. The subject the marriage of Alexander the Great with Roxane', was sold London (Sotheby's), 24 June 1825, lot 479 and bought by 'Thorpe'. It was one of a number of papers that seem to have come from the estate of Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687).
7. Contrast, however, Van Gelder, *Holland, 1950*, p. 110.
8. Actually Burchard seems originally to have accepted that the picture was cut and the reference to the half-figures in 1676 was unconnected. Subsequently, however, he appears to have changed his mind.
9. See also above, under No. 14.
10. Van Gelder, *Holland, 1950*, p. 111; see K.d.K. ed. *Oldenbourg, 1921*, p. 137.
11. Whether or not we accept that Panneels made his

drawings secretly during Rubens's absence in 1628-30, it seems likely that the copies were not made before the later 1620s: see Held, *Review, 1991*; also P. Huvenne in *Cat. Exh. Cantoor, Antwerp, 1993*, pp. 16-37, esp. 23-24. Curiously, Jaffé does not include the Wörlitz painting in his catalogue of 1989 (*Jaffé, Rubens, 1989*), as Held notes (*ibid.*, p. 425); presumably this is because he now considers it a school work.

12. K.d.K. ed. *Oldenbourg, 1921*, p. 246.
13. For the (rare) examples of the winged Hymenaeus see Roscher, *Lexikon*, I, 1884, col. 2804; also further R. Schmidt, *De Hymenaeo et Talasio*, Kiel, 1886, pp. 5-6 (n. 3) and 58-60, pointing out that the motif is not in ancient texts. This must be what Gevartius means when he talks of 'priscæ statuæ' (old statues) in connection with the winged Hymenaeus from Rubens's Arch of Philip for the Entry of Ferdinand (*Gevartius, Pompa, 1641*, p. 27).
14. M. Jaffé, 'Rediscovered Oil Sketches by Rubens. II', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXL, 1969, pp. 530-533, fig. 4. The sketch (panel [transferred from the original panel onto canvas, then back to panel after the 1967 sale], 51 x 42 cm.) has the following provenance: Wöllfeld, ?Vienna; sale, Berlin (Lepke), 4 April 1911, lot 133, repr. (as *Van Dyck and 'aus französischen Besitz'*); Marzell von Nemes, Budapest; Dr Karl Lanz, Mannheim, 1917; F. Ziethen, sale, Munich (Helbing), 22 September 1934, lot 23, pl. IX (as *Van Dyck*); sale, London (Sotheby's), 5 July 1967, lot 48 (as *Rubens*); Newhouse Galleries, Inc., New York, 1967-69; 1969 purchased by Bernard C. Solomon, president, The Everest Record Group, Los Angeles (until at least 1981), on loan to Los Angeles County Museum of Art (exhibited as *Rubens*) 1974-1977; sale, London (Christie's), 24 March 1972, lot 68 (withdrawn, then 'bought by Richardson'); sale, New York (Sotheby's), 5 June 1986 (as *attributed to Rubens*; repr. in colour); Hans Cohn, Los Angeles, 1987. EXH Kunsthalle, Mannheim: 42 *Gemälde aus der Sammlung Dr Karl Lanz, Mannheim*, December 1912-February 1913, no. 11 (as *Van Dyck*); Darmstadt, Mathildenhöhe, 1913. It was attributed to Van Dyck by A.L. Mayer (cf. *Kunstchronik*, XXVI, 1914-15, p. 390). It is discussed in Van Gelder, loc. cit. 1981, p. 545, n. 19 and is attributed to Rubens in *Meesters der Schilderkunst, 1980*, II, pp. 112, 113, no. 666.
15. Engraving by Samuel Czetter (c. 1770-1829), 398 x 328 mm.; inscribed *Alexandre et Campaspe*; above: *Ebauché par Rubens. Sann. Czetter Hungarus sculpsit.*; below: *L'Original se trouve dans la collection de Mr Wöllfeld and Se vend à Vienne chez F.X. Stöckl. See VS*, p. 138, no. 22; Goeder von Ravensburg, *Antike, 1882*, pp. 169-170; R. Förster, 'Die Hochzeit des Alexander und der Roxane in der Renaissance', *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, III, 1894, p. 25; Evers, *Neue Forschungen, 1943*,

- fig. 291. This would be the only known print by the Hungarian Czetter after Rubens.
16. Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, 1943, pp. 269-271; for Rooses's doubts see Rooses, *Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, pp. 10-11.
 17. Held, *Sketches*, 1980, p. 630, no. A12, fig. 480 (as possibly by Boeckhorst).
 18. Jaffé concluded that the amorini must have been added at the last stage, after reference to Raphael, but this all-important feature of Lucian's description would hardly have been introduced so late by Rubens.
 19. See Van der Meulen, *Antique*, 1994, II, pp. 240-241, no. 213; III, fig. 439 (actually based, after Theodoor Galle's drawing, on a Renaissance fake—which, however, derives from ancient portraits); cf. also II, p. 208, no. 177 and III, fig. 347, after a gem of the head of a Hellenistic ruler. Van der Meulen (I, p. 141) in fact notes a resemblance between the ancient portraits of Alexander and the depiction of the hero in the Wörlitz painting (No. 15); but the resemblance is still more marked in the Los Angeles sketch.
 20. Hairs, *Sillage*, 1977, fig. 21 and colour pl. IV.
 21. Coll. Giorgio Bergonti, Venice (inv. 12 August 1709); canvas, dimensions unknown. See C.-A. Levi, *Le collezioni veneziane*, Venice, 1900, II (*Documenti*), doc. 41, p. 163, nos. 134 (Diogenes) and 135 (Roxana); said to be *compagni*.
 22. Engraving by Q. Mark, Vienna, 1784 (example in the Albertina, Vienna; photo in the Witt Library, Courtauld Institute; *V.S.*, p. 138, no. 21). Inscribed: *Ebauché par P.-P. Rubens. Gravé par Q. Mark. Vienne, 1784. L'original se trouve dans la collection de M. de Lackner*. See Rooses, *Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, p. 10; Goeler von Ravensburg, *Antike*, 1882, p. 169.
 23. William V, Prince of Orange, Het Loo (inv. 1757/63, no. 101: 'Een schets van P.P. Rubbens'; panel, 1'8" × 1'10", i.e. c. 50 × 55 cm.); this was taken in 1795 to France. See Drossaers—Scheurleer, *Inventarissen*, 1974, II, p. 644 and III, p. 227, no. 128.
 24. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille, inv. no. 922; panel, 49 × 55 cm. See *Catalogue du Musée des Tableaux de Lille*, Lille, 1872, pp. 134-135, no. 338; cat. Lille, 1875, p. 175, no. 502 (as *Schut*, but said to be attributed also to Jordaens and Rubens); [Cat. Exh.] *La peinture flamande au temps de Rubens* (Lille—Calais—Arras), Arras, 1977, p. 178 (as *Flemish 17th century*). Burchard thought it was probably by Schut. It is recorded as having been given by the Government in 1801, so it is presumably identical with the painting attributed to Rubens brought in 1795 from the Netherlands to France and recorded as not having been returned from the Louvre in 1815 (*Musée Royal de La Haye (Mauritshuis)*). *Catalogue raisonné des tableaux et des sculptures*, edn The Hague, 1914, p. xviii, no. 51).
 25. *Cat. Exh. Boeckhorst, Antwerp—Münster*, 1990, pp. 192-193, no. 26, repr.

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 144-145, no. 2, repr.
27. Whereabouts unknown, 405 × 480 cm.; sold Brasschaat (Eikendael) 6 October 1970, lot 163, repr. (as after Rubens school cartoon).
28. For Boeckhorst's activity as a tapestry designer see I. Van Tichelen and H. Vlieghe in *Cat. Exh. Boeckhorst, Antwerp—Münster*, 1990, pp. 109-117.

16. The Triumph of Alexander: Drawing (Fig. 63)

Pen and brown ink over black chalk, with stains in grey and brown brush on paper; 278 × 383 mm. Inscribed: (in pencil, top left) *consolea* (or *consilia?* or *mausolea?*); (in pencil, lower right) *Psittaci*; (in pen, lower left) *comice* (or *cornua* or *cotru...*); (in pen, upper middle) *excipit fulmen*; (in pen lower right) *varia ani[m]alia*; (below, right) *Trape...* (or *Tropea?*). Bottom centre, the mark of P.H. Lankrink (L. 2090); slightly to the right, the mark of Jonathan Richardson, Senior (L. 2184); bottom right, the mark of J.C. Robinson (L. 1433).—*Verso*, on the backing sheet: the number *S. 64* and the mark of the Printroom, Berlin, specifically applied to items from von Beckerath's collection (L. 2504); beneath the mount some inscriptions in Rubens's hand indistinctly visible on the lower right (upside down) with the help of an infra-red photograph: *?Lex... ..peto vilis lectura / .../ sta.../ in vita... | Invida Nox (?vox)/.../ satis invicta... Dipl... ictus ense (?)/ consilium.../ Venus Genetrix...*

Berlin, *Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett*. Inv. no. KdZ.4249.

PROVENANCE: P.H. Lankrink (London, 1628-1692); Jonathan Richardson, Senior (London, 1665-1745); Sir J.C. Robinson (London, 1824-1913); Adolf von Beckerath (Berlin, 1834-1915); acquired from the latter by the museum in 1902.

EXHIBITED: Berlin, 1977, no. 30.

LITERATURE: J. Rosenberg, 'Weitere Federzeichnungen von Rubens im Kupferstich-

kabinett', *Berliner Museen*, XLIX, 1928, p. 58, repr.; Bock—Rosenberg, *Verzeichnis*, 1930, p. 251; Held, *Drawings*, 1959, I, pp. 22, 76, no. 52 and II, pl. 50; J. Müller Hofstede, 'Rubens in Rom 1601-1602 (Die Altargemälde für Sta Croce in Gerusalemme)', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, XII, 1970, p. 73, repr. (detail); Mitsch, *Rubenszeichnungen*, 1977, p. 88, under no. 36; Rowlands, *Rubens Drawings*, 1977, p. 79, no. 85; M. Winner in Mielke—Winner, *Cat. Berlin*, 1977, pp. 84-88, no. 30, repr.; McGrath, *Rubens's House*, 1978, p. 255 and pl. 31a; Held, *Drawings*, 1986, pp. 127-128, no. 150, pl. 131; Van der Meulen, *Antique*, 1994, I, text ill. 30; II, pp. 92 and 241.

Rubens seems to have begun this drawing with the rough chalk outlines of the architecture to the left and the trophy to the right as well as the Victory flying over the central figures. He then defined various features and figures in pen, but the resulting composition—if it is a single composition—remains hard to interpret. Since the central scene, involving the coronation of a hero, relates to Rubens's illustration of *Triumphant Rome* (Fig. 64),¹ it has usually been supposed that the subject involves Rome and a Roman triumph. Müller Hofstede, following Rosenberg, called the central character Roma herself, but Winner rightly concluded that it must be male. He thought of a Roman emperor, and found the location suggestive of the Capitol. But there are no specifically Roman elements in the drawing, nor on the other hand, are there any features that would most obviously characterize a Roman triumph (chariot, triumphal arch, prisoners). In fact the slight and youthful figure is, I think, a Greek and the scene a Triumph of Alexander.

In one of the most celebrated of ancient paintings Apelles depicted Alexander the Great holding a thunderbolt, the attribute of Zeus, and even if Plutarch wondered if this was appropriate to a mere mortal (and thought the sculptor Lysippus had been wise to represent him instead with a spear),² it was

with a thunderbolt that Rubens characterized Alexander when he made him the representative of the Macedonian empire on the title-page to Goltzius's *Opera*.³ And this too was how Rubens painted Alexander, reconstructing Apelles's picture, on the frieze which decorated the wall around the studio of his Antwerp house (cf. Fig. 65).⁴ According to Pliny, Apelles showed Alexander's thunderbolt apparently projecting, with his fingers, right out of the picture.⁵ In the painting on his house Rubens also included the figure of Jupiter nearby, astonished to lose his emblem of power to a mere man. The present drawing adapts this idea, for although Rubens seems to have first thought of showing Alexander thrusting the thunderbolt forward, he evidently changed his mind, and made him grasp the thunderbolt from a statue of Jupiter. At any rate he wrote words which look like 'excipit fulmen' (he takes the thunderbolt)⁶ beside the figures.

In his *Hunt of Alexander* of the late 1630s, identified by Arnout Balis from copies, Rubens showed Alexander bearing as an *impresa* on his shield a thunderbolt with the head of Zeus Ammon at its centre;⁷ indeed in the sketch for this painting, also lost, Rubens depicted an eagle with a thunderbolt in its claws flying above Alexander's head.⁸ Alexander's claim to be the son of Zeus Ammon, emphasized here, is likewise relevant to the Berlin drawing, in particular by giving a certain sanction to the borrowed thunderbolt. Although there is no indication of the characteristic Ammon horns on the statue, Jupiter is evidently trying to help a Victory to crown Alexander. Alexander's foot rests on the globe, to symbolize his domination of the world. This surely recalls that it was on his controversial visit to the oracle of Zeus Ammon that Alexander both asserted his divine origin and received a positive reply to his famous question as to whether he would rule the world.⁹

The theme is evidently therefore an allegorical depiction of the culmination of Alex-

ander's triumph. He is appropriately surrounded by soldiers, a gigantic trophy (on the right) and eastern accoutrements and animals. The words inscribed at the right must be *Varia animalia*. Even though these 'various animals' cannot be seen clearly, the allusion to parrots among these (the spelling 'psitacci' rather than 'psitici' is the same as in the Latin translation of Arrian that Rubens probably used),¹⁰ is no doubt part of the Indian context. There seems to be no sign of any elephant, the most obvious Indian animal to include, but at the far right there could be a crocodile.¹¹

Alexander's conquests of cities are also indicated: the heads on the posts held up by the man on the left presumably represent these. Rubens used this motif, borrowed from Mantegna's *Triumph of Caesar*, in various other contexts, notably the *Triumph of Henri IV* and the *Triumph of Ferdinand* on the Arch of Ferdinand at Antwerp in 1635.¹² The twisted columns suggest an oriental location, presumably Babylon, Susa or Persepolis. But there is a specific allusion to an event at the end of Alexander's career, when after the mass-marriage of his soldiers at Susa, he distributed gold crowns to his generals, particularly those who had shown their devotion. This is recorded in Arrian,¹³ and had occasionally been shown in Alexander Cycles before Rubens, for example in that by G. Siciolante in the Palazzo Capodiferro-Spada, Rome.¹⁴ The crowns falling to the ground seem to include an oriental one of the type Alexander presents to Roxana in Rubens's paintings of this subject (No. 14; Figs. 54-56 and No. 15; Fig. 58).

Aelian records how a horse neighed at its brilliantly painted fellow in Apelles's picture of *Alexander with the Thunderbolt*.¹⁵ It is natural therefore to conclude that the painted horse was intended as Bucephalus. This certainly must have been Rubens's idea when he showed Alexander holding his horse in the painting on his house (cf. Fig. 65). In the Berlin drawing the single horse included must likewise be Bucephalus.¹⁶ It is held by a young man in a pose which, as has been pointed out,

'quotes' one of the famous pair of Horse-tamers on the Quirinal, which Rubens had certainly copied while in Rome.¹⁷ Once the subject is identified as a triumph of Alexander it can be seen that the reference has iconographic point. For in the Renaissance the Horse-tamers, although attributed to Praxiteles and Phidias, were regarded as images of Alexander and Bucephalus, rather than (as now) of the Dioscuri.¹⁸ A text apparently included in Rubens's lost 'pocketbook' refers to them, however, as 'statues of the Dioscuri, or Alexander controlling Bucephalus'.¹⁹ Even if this text was not written by Rubens himself, but added to the notebook later in the seventeenth century,²⁰ it appears that the artist found both interpretations suggestive. The identification with Castor and Pollux was certainly important to the invention of the *Rape of the Leucippides* (Fig. 125);²¹ the Berlin drawing, on the other hand, plays on the familiar association of the Horse-tamers with Alexander.

The young man next to Alexander and apparently helping him distribute the crowns can only be his inseparable friend, Hephaestion. Possibly the man with Bucephalus should therefore be regarded as Alexander's other close companion, Craterus. Rubens, who had evidently studied the biographies of Alexander, compares the attitude of Alexander to his two friends in a letter of 10 June 1627, concluding with Plutarch that he loved Hephaestion more but gave more honour to Craterus,²² a view which might be reconciled with the roles of the figures in the drawing, assuming that Rubens regarded looking after Bucephalus as a privilege.

The figures along the bottom involved in a procession or sacrifice might simply relate to the idea of a triumphal celebration, or to the consultation of the oracle of Zeus. It is uncertain what the round objects are in the lower left, but they may be either shields or vessels.

There is no record of a *Triumph of Alexander* by Rubens, and it is not clear what purpose the drawing was intended to serve; certainly

it seems unlikely that all the elements that appear on the sheet were to be arranged in this way in a painting. The precise relationship with the designs of *Triumphant Rome* (see Fig. 64) also remains mysterious, although the drawing seems to represent an intermediate stage between these and the earlier painting of Alexander (cf. Fig. 65) on the artist's house. (Perhaps if the inscriptions on the verso can be fully deciphered the drawing's function will be clarified.)

In the light of this I would date the drawing between the decorations of Rubens's house (c. 1618-21) and the Constantine Cycle, therefore slightly before 1622, perhaps to 1621.

A number of other subjects involving Alexander are associated with Rubens's name. Early evidence of the artist's familiarity with the deeds of Alexander is provided by the sheet in Berlin annotated with extracts from Quintus Curtius's biography.²³ The composition described in the Spanish Royal inventories as 'Alexander and a Lion', a reference which puzzled Rooses, is actually the *Hunt of Alexander* mentioned above.²⁴ A drawing thought to illustrate the *Death of Alexander* was sold at Paris in 1803; it is discussed below, under *Antiochus and Stratonice* (No. 17). The lost drawing of the *Battle of Alexander against the Indians* is a copy of an ancient cameo, likewise lost.²⁵

Occasional references in sale catalogues to Rubensian pictures illustrating Alexander and the family of Darius may simply be misidentifications of versions of the artist's *David and Abigail*.²⁶ But a theme described in two sale catalogues as *The Clemency of Alexander* (Fig. 67)²⁷ might be related to a sketch of obscure subject which was published by Müller Hofstede but rejected as the work of Rubens by Held.²⁸ Held rightly noted that the composition of this sketch, which was unknown to Burchard, is peculiarly cramped; the figures are also ineptly drawn. But the sketch might record a lost composition by Rubens, albeit inadequately. The subject was identified by Müller Hofstede as *Alexander with the Family*

of Darius. As Held pointed out, this is not very convincing, since it does not account for the principal features of the scene, which shows a mother with two children appealing to a young commander, who is apparently pondering what action he should take. Advice is being presented by a helmeted female figure—presumably Minerva or Prudence—while an elderly man in ancient garb seems to be interceding for the woman.

The other possibility which has been considered, namely the meeting of Coriolanus with his mother and sisters, meets with the obvious objection that there is only one woman and the protagonist is too young.²⁹ None of the references in old sale catalogues to illustrations of Coriolanus and Volumnia seem to accord with the subject of the sketch; some of them (again) could be versions of the theme of *David and Abigail*.³⁰

Since the presence of Minerva suggests that this is a mythological (or allegorical) rather than a historical scene, the sketch will be discussed in detail in a future volume.

1. See Held, *Sketches*, 1980, I, pp. 84-85, no. 51; II, pl. 52 for the sketch in the Mauritshuis, and Held, *Drawings*, 1986, p. 128, no. 151 and pl. 132 for the related drawing in the Albertina. This design is always connected with the Constantine Series; and indeed the oil sketch shared the provenance of those for the tapestry cycle until the late 18th century. But since the sketch was not used for any tapestry, and the figures are not shown as left-handed, it may have had nothing to do with Constantine. The emperor with the triumphant *Roma* may rather be Augustus, or even Julius Caesar, whom Rubens once thought of giving the attribute of a thunderbolt (in the Berlin drawing of Roman imperial figures: Mielke—Winner, *Cat. Berlin*, 1977, pp. 77-81, no. 28, repr.; cf. McGrath, *Rubens's House*, 1978, pp. 255-256, n. 41; E. McGrath, "'Not even a fly": Rubens and the mad emperors', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXXIII, 1991, pp. 700-701, fig. 40) and the inspiration may simply be Vergil's famous lines on Rome's military and imperialist destiny in *Aeneid* VI.847-853 (*Excudent alii...*).
2. Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* 24 (*Moralia* 360D). For Renaissance comments on this see McGrath, *Rubens's House*, 1978, p. 253, n. 33.
3. See Judson—Van de Velde, *Title-pages*, 1978, I, pp. 336-340, no. 82; II, fig. 275. In his explanation of the frontispiece, Caspar Gevartius refers to

- Apelles's painting; see Goltzius, *Opera*, 1645, I, p. xi; Judson—Van de Velde, *Title-pages*, 1978, I, p. 339.
4. See McGrath, *Rubens's House*, 1978, pp. 252-254, pls. 28a, 29b. The drawing in Copenhagen (Fig. 65: Statens Museum for Kunst, Rubens Cantoor, IV, 35) is explicitly claimed as a record of this composition, being inscribed *Dit is een ordinansi die gechildert is opt huijs van sinor rubbens ende is een triomf van alexander mangnus* [sic]. See Falck, *Tegninger*, 1918, p. 70 (repr. p. 72); Garff—Pedersen, *Panneels*, 1988, I, pp. 184-185, no. 248; II, pl. 251, with the comments in Held, *Review*, 1991, p. 428.
 5. Pliny, *Historia naturalis* XXXV.92: '...Digiti eminere videntur et fulmen extra tabulam esse...'
 6. This reading seems preferable to 'habet fulmen', as is usually given; cf. McGrath, *Rubens's House*, 1978, pp. 255-256, n. 41.
 7. Balis, *Hunting Scenes*, 1986, pp. 198-207, nos. 16, 16a and figs. 93-97: see esp. p. 200. The copy of the painting by Mazo (fig. 93) is now known to be in the Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation, Houston, Texas. See C. Wright, *A Golden Age of Painting. Dutch, Flemish and German Paintings, sixteenth-seventeenth centuries, from the collection of the Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation*, San Antonio, Texas, 1981, p. 66.
 8. Balis, *Hunting Scenes*, 1986, pp. 206-207, nos. 16b, 16c and figs. 96, 97; also p. 200. Recent cleaning of Mazo's copy of the painting (see above, n. 7; *ibid.* fig. 93) has revealed that it also contains an eagle.
 9. See esp. Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander* IV.vii.22-31. Several statues (?) of Jupiter with eagle and thunderbolt, one from a coin of Alexander and another with his foot on the globe labelled *mundus*, appear in the Antwerp sketchbook, attributed to Van Dyck, which records material from Rubens's lost 'pocketbook', or theoretical notebook: fols. 30v-31; see Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, 1966, I, 30v-31, pp. 226-227.
 10. See Arrian, *De rebus gestis Alexandri Magni* (= *Anabasis*), edn Lyons, 1552, p. 383 (Bk VIII).
 11. For Alexander's observation of crocodiles in Indian rivers, see Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander* VIII.ix.9; Arrian, *Anabasis* VI.1.2; Strabo, *Geographia* XV.1.25.
 12. For two preparatory sketches for the *Triumph of Henri IV* which include busts of cities see Held, *Sketches*, 1980, I, nos. 83, 84; II, pls. 86, 87; for the bust of the city of Nördlingen carried in the *Triumph of Ferdinand* see Martin, *Pompa*, 1972, p. 159, no. 41 and pl. 72; and esp. *Gevartius, Pompa*, 1641, pls. 28, 29 and p. 109, relating ancient texts to the motif.
 13. Arrian, *Anabasis* VII.5.
 14. See J. Hunter, T. Pugliatti, L. Fiorani, *Girolamo Siciolante da Sermoneta*, Rome, 1983, p. 31, fig. 19.
 15. *Varia historia* II.3 (he says the picture of Alexander was at Ephesus).
 16. Bucephalus had died after the battle with Porus (Plutarch, *Alexander* 61), so would not have been alive on the occasion of the distribution of the crowns at Susa, but is obviously appropriate in this allegorical summary of Alexander's triumphant career.
 17. A copy of the left-hand figure survives in Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, 'Rubens Cantoor', III, 22 (Cf. Held, *Drawings*, 1959, I, p. 116; Van der Meulen, *Antique*, 1994, II, pp. 91-93, under no. 75; III, fig. 141). The horse's neck was drawn separately, from two angles, in Rubens's notebook, and carefully compared to the neck of an ancient Venus: Van der Meulen, *Antique*, 1994, II, pp. 92, 93 n. 6; III, figs. 106, 143.
 18. Bober—Rubinstein, *Handbook*, 1986, pp. 159-161, no. 125; Haskell—Penny, *Antique*, 1982, pp. 136-141, no. 3, figs. 71-72; Van der Meulen, *Antique*, 1994, II, p. 92; even Montfaucon, who disputes the Alexander identification, does not have any alternative proposal (*Montfaucon, Supplément*, 1724, IV, pp. 18-20 and pl. xi). See further in Volume I, Chapter V, at n. 69. I had earlier thought Rubens might have been alluding to another painting by Apelles of Alexander with the Dioscuri, which, however, seems less likely: McGrath, *Rubens's House*, 1978, pp. 255-256.
 19. See Van der Meulen, *Antique*, 1994, I, pp. 255, 257 and 260, n. 11.
 20. See *ibid.*, II, pp. 75-76 for a discussion of the status of the text, which seems to be based in part on Perrier's compendium of ancient statues, published in 1638. In his publication of the notebook (*Jombert, Théorie*, 1773), Jombert assumed that it was, like the rest of the text, by Rubens.
 21. See Volume I, Chapter V, pp. 125-127.
 22. *Roses—Ruelens, Correspondance*, 1887-1909, IV, p. 273; see Volume I, Chapter III, pp. 68-69, 72.
 23. For an analysis of this sheet, from the lost 'pocketbook', see J. Müller Hofstede in *Cat. Exh. Cologne*, 1977, I, pp. 59-61; also Held, *Drawings*, 1986, pp. 66-67, no. 7, pl. 7 (*recte* 8).
 24. See n. 7.
 25. Van der Meulen, *Antique*, 1994, II, pp. 175-176, no. 163; III, fig. 309.
 26. E.g. canvas, 45 × 73 cm., sale, Munich (Helbing), 3-4 May 1933, lot 476, (as *school of Rubens*), which apparently showed 'Alexander' raising up the kneeling woman. For Rubens's compositions of *David and Abigail* see d'Hulst—Vandeven, *Old Testament*, 1989, nos. 41, 42; figs. 90, 96.
 27. (1) Whereabouts unknown; panel (?), 115 × 158 cm.: 'De mildheid van Alexander'. PROV. Sale, Antwerp (Campo), 20-22 May 1968 (cat. no. 73), lot 232 (as *school of Rubens*); (2) Whereabouts unknown; panel (?), 82.5 × 117 cm.: 'The clemency of Alexander'. PROV. Sale, London (Sotheby's), 25 March 1970, lot 86; bought by A. Morett.
 28. Whereabouts unknown; panel, 17.2 × 20.8 cm.

- PROV Miss F. S. MacKeith, Yorkshire (? 1866). EXH. *Yorkshire Fine Art and Industrial Exhibition*, York, 1866, no. 430; *Weltkunst aus Privatbesitz*, Cologne, Kunsthalle, 1968, no. F.35. LIT. J. Müller Hofstede, 'Neue Ölskizzen von Rubens', *Städte-Jahrbuch*, N.F. II, 1969, p. 209, no. 7; *Held, Sketches*, 1980, I, pp. 631-632, no. A15; II, pl. 479.
29. See Held, loc. cit.
30. For Rubens's pictures of this subject see above, n. 26. The references I have found are the following: (1) panel, c. 29 × 32 cm. PROV. Sale, M. Gautier, Paris (P.G. Simon), 6 April et seq. 1759, lot 103 (as *Rubens, 'l'histoire de Coriolanus'*); (2) panel, 74 × 98 cm. PROV. J.F. Wolschot, sale, Antwerp (A. de Camp), 1 September 1817, lot 333 (as *School of Rubens: 'Coriolan à la tête des Volsques, au moment où Veturia, sa femme, et Volumnia, sa mère, appaisent par leurs larmes l'indignation et le ressentiment que ce grand capitaine portait dans sans coeur à Rome, sa patrie'*); (3) canvas (?), c. 139 × 204.5 cm. PROV. Count von Wallmoden, sale, Hannover, 1 September 1818, lot 30 (as *School of Rubens: 'Coriolan, dem Mutter und Gattinn begleitet von den Matronen und Kindern Romas entgegen kommen, seinen Kriegszug gegen die Vaterstadt abzuhalten...äusserst kraftvoll in der Manier der Rubenschen Schule ausgeführt; ein pittoresk gestaltetes Pferd mit langen weisen Mähnen zeichnet sich darauf aus'* (which sounds like the *David and Abigail*, except that there are no children); (4) canvas, c. 150 × 172 cm. PROV. Mr Christiaan Everhard Vaillant, sale, Amsterdam, 19-20 April 1830, lot 78 (as *Rubens: '...Coriolanus, die door zijne moeder en vrouw gesmeekt wordt om de besparing van Rome; vol uitdrukking en fraai van schildering'*).

17. Antiochus and Stratonice

Technique and measurements unknown.
Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: Dasch(e) collection,
Antwerp, 1781.

COPY: Drawing by Joshua Reynolds (Fig. 66), New Haven, Yale Center for British Art, MS Reynolds 37, fol. 33v; pen and ink on paper. Inscribed: (lower left) *Phisiⁿ* (upper right) *the prinse / His [or this, or the] ? curtain [? curteⁿ]*.

LITERATURE: *Reynolds, Journey*, 1852, II, p. 187; *Smith, Catalogue*, 1829-42, II, p. 255, no. 864;

Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92, IV, p. 15; W. Stechow, 'Addenda to "The Love of Antiochus with Faire Stratonice"', *Bulletin du musée national de Varsovie*, V, 1, 1964, pp. 9-10; *d'Hulst, Jordaens Drawings*, 1974, II, p. 389; Sir Joshua Reynolds, *A Journey to Flanders and Holland*, ed. H. Mount, Cambridge, 1996, pp. 79-80, and p. 164, n. 334, fig. 46.

This work is known from the enthusiastic account given by Sir Joshua Reynolds after he saw it in a private collection at Antwerp in 1781. 'At Mr. Dasch's', he wrote in his *Journey to Flanders and Holland*, 'is an admirable picture of Rubens; the story of Seleucus and Stratonice. The languishing air of the son, who is lying on a bed, is eminently beautiful: the whole is well composed'. Burchard wondered if this picture might have been the sketch for *The Continnence of Scipio*, but Reynolds would hardly have mistaken that theme for another, and his reference to the attitude of the son supports his identification of the subject. In fact an entry in one of Reynolds's notebooks, now in the Yale Center for British Art and recently discussed by Harry Mount, supplements his published description, adding the following observations: 'Seleucus and Stratonice by Rubens. The expression of the son who is abed is admirable. The Physician feeling his pulse; behind a figure with his hand over his beard like Moses'. Still more importantly, it includes a sketch of the picture (Fig. 66).¹ However rough, this at least gives an idea of the composition, which seems to me perfectly compatible with Rubens, and indicates that Reynolds was right about the content.

The story of Antiochus, son of King Seleucus, whose love-sickness for his stepmother Stratonice was diagnosed when a clever doctor observed the symptoms that the patient manifested every time the queen entered the room, was for Valerius Maximus a prime example of paternal love, since the devoted father promptly ceded his wife to his son.² It was captioned as such in the print which re-

cords Veronese's lost picture of the subject: *Paternus Amor Uxorium Superans*.³ Rubens may well have known that composition, but Reynolds's sketch indicates that his was quite a different conception: whereas Veronese's painting showed Antiochus sitting up in bed, quite recovering at the prospect of his imminent union with Stratonice, Rubens evidently depicted the prince still pining, as the doctor (the man inscribed 'Physician' by Reynolds) reaches across the bed to take his pulse. The man fingering his beard in Michelangesque fashion—possibly based on the same model as the elderly philosopher third from the left in the *Seven Sages disputing over the Tripod* (No. 1; cf. Figs. 1-2)—may have represented the 'mathematician' Leptines, whom Valerius Maximus mentioned as having puzzled over the young man's illness along with the doctor, Erasistratus. At any rate, he looks as if he should be a philosopher rather than the prince's father, who was probably the figure seated at the bedside. Theodoor van Thulden's version of the theme in the Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg, Halle (Fig. 68), which seems to have been informed by a knowledge of Rubens's painting,⁴ shows Seleucus seated near his son's bed, and this was the traditional way in which the king's fatherly concern was manifested. As in Van Thulden's picture, Antiochus must have been modestly averting his eyes from his stepmother as she entered the room, presumably from the left. The shading indicated by Reynolds around the central group suggests that Van Thulden's picture may also reflect something of the disposition of dark and light in Rubens's painting.⁵ It was, however, evidently a half-, or rather three-quarter-length composition; and it must have made a more dramatic effect than Van Thulden's prosaic scene. The sudden popularity of the theme in the seventeenth century, and indeed of the particular formulation of it which has the youth languishing as the queen approaches the foot of his bed, may well be connected with Rubens's lost picture.⁶

'A very spirited sketch...for a large picture' of Antiochus and Stratonice by Van Dyck is recorded in the catalogue of a sale which probably took place in London around 1800.⁷ Whether or not the attribution to Van Dyck is correct, this may have some connection with Rubens's composition. The drawing by Jordaens which d'Hulst called *Antiochus and Stratonice* is surely, as Held pointed out, not an illustration of this subject but some more rustic bedroom scene.⁸

It is just possible that a drawing called 'The Death of Alexander' and attributed to Rubens in a sale at Paris in 1803 should be connected with this lost composition, since it probably showed a youthful Greek being attended in bed by a doctor.⁹

1. MS Reynolds 37, fols. 33v-34. See Reynolds, ed. Mount, loc. cit., 1996.
2. Valerius Maximus, *Dicta et facta* V.vi.ext.1; for other ancient sources and for an important account of the illustrations of the subject see W. Stechow, "The Love of Antiochus with Faïre Stratonice" in art', *The Art Bulletin*, XXVII, 1945, pp. 221-237 and idem, op. cit., 1964, pp. 1-11. See also L. Vertova, 'La Visita del Medico: Osservazioni su alcuni dipinti di Bonifazio de' Pitati', *Mitteilungen des kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, XVI, 1972, pp. 175-184, 336 and Pigler, *Barockthemen*, 1974, II, p. 364.
3. For the print by Cochin of this painting, formerly in the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, see [Cat. Exh.] *Paolo Veronese e i suoi incisori*, ed. P. Ticozzi, Venice 1977, pp. 13-14, no. 15. It has not been noticed that a fresco in the Villa Giusti, Magnadola, reflects Veronese's picture; here it forms part of a cycle of histories on the theme of continence. For an illustration see L. Crosato, *Gli affreschi nelle ville venete del Cinquecento*, Treviso, 1962, fig. 119 and pp. 132-135 where the fresco, whose theme is unidentified, is attributed to Benedetto Caliari.
4. Stechow in fact had wondered if Reynolds might have seen this picture at the house of Mr Dasch in 1781 and mistaken it for a Rubens. Cf. A. Roy in [Cat. Exh.] *Theodoor van Thulden, 's-Hertogenbosch—Strasbourg*, 1991, pp. 155-156, no. 16, repr. However, both authors pointed out that it was in the Söder collection near Hildesheim only eleven years later.
5. As Mount has suggested (loc. cit., 1996), Reynolds's own painting of *The Death of Cardinal Beaufort* may also betray the influence of Rubens's picture (for this composition see [Cat. Exh.]

- Reynolds, ed. N. Penny, London, 1986, pp. 319-320, no. 148).
6. A Flemish drawing in Berlin, attributed both to an imitator of Goltzius and to P. de Jode, which shows the doctor taking Antiochus's pulse in the presence of Stratonice as Seleucus looks on (Bock—Rosenberg, *Verzeichnis*, 1930, I, no. 11786, p. 34 and p. 165; there called 'The Death of Alexander') may postdate Rubens's picture.
 7. *Catalogue Raisonné of A most Valuable & truly Capital Collection of Italian, Dutch, Flemish & French Pictures, Antique Marbles, Bronzes and Jewels: as also of Capital Drawings and Prints, the Property of a Man of Fashion*, [n.d.], p. 11 (not in Lugt).
 8. *d'Hulst, Jordaens Drawings*, 1974, II, no. A315; IV, fig. 332; and review by J.S. Held in *The Art Bulletin*, LX, 1978, p. 722.
 9. Whereabouts unknown; dimensions unknown. PROV. Busscher, Brussels; sale, Paris (Paillet and Delaroche), 25 April 1803, lot 194 (as *Rubens: 'La mort d'Alexandre; riche composition du même sujet que cet habile Artiste a peint à Rome. Dessin très-capital et des plus terminée, qui avait été fait pour un des premiers ducs de Luynes. Il est lavé au bistre et colorié. La forme est octogone.'*).

18. Cimon and Pero (Figs. 69, 71)

Oil on canvas (transferred from panel in 1846); 140.5 × 180.3 cm. Inscribed below on the right: 235.

St Petersburg, Hermitage. Inv. no. 470.

PROVENANCE: Bishop Carel van den Bosch (Brussels, 1597—Ghent, 1665) (according to the dedication on engraving of van Caukercken: below, Copy 7); Count Karl (Charles-Philippe Jean) Cobentzl (Ljubljana, 1712—Brussels, 1770); bought from him in 1768 by Empress Catherine II of Russia; in the Hermitage ever since.

COPIES: (1) Painting, coll. A. Borloo, St-Pieters-Leeuw, 1977 (photograph in the Rubenianum, Antwerp); ?canvas, 80 × 100 cm.

(2) Painting, showing only the figures of Cimon and Pero, private collection, Brussels; panel, 74 × 98 cm. LIT. [Cat. Exh.] *P.P. Rubens (1577-1640)* (Retretti Art Center), Punkaharju (Finland), 1991, p. 127.

(3) Painting, showing the head and bust of

Pero, whereabouts unknown; panel, 42 × 32 cm. PROV. Dealer Koetser, London, 1948.

(4) Painting, in reverse and after Copy 7 (Fig. 70), L.G.A. Gier, Amsterdam (1966); canvas, 111 × 134 cm.

(5) Detail of painting, in which the composition is shown rounded in shape at the top and in reverse, and therefore is presumably after the print by van Caukercken (Copy 7; Fig. 70): *Art Gallery with a Young Artist*, by Gerard Thomas (1663-1720), whereabouts unknown; canvas, 90 × 114 cm. PROV. Honolulu, Academy of Arts; sale, New York (Sotheby—Parke Bernet), 24 September 1969, lot 50; sale, London (Christie's), 19 July 1974, lot 231. LIT. A. Monbailieu, 'Bij de iconografie van Rubens' Rockox-epitafium', *Jaarboek. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen*, 1970, p. 148, fig. 10; Freedberg, *Christ after the Passion*, fig. 47; Z. Zaremba Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp, 1550-1700*, Princeton, 1987, pp. 182-183, fig. 94; [Cat. Exh.] *P.P. Rubens (1577-1640)* (Retretti Art Center), Punkaharju (Finland), 1991, p. 127.

(6) Drawing, showing the composition slightly cut at the top, bottom and to the left, Bayonne, Musée Bonnat, inv. no. D. 2416 (previously inv. no. 1413); black chalk, reworked with pen and brown ink; 215 × 293 mm. EXH. *Exposition d'oeuvres de Pierre Paul Rubens (1577-1640). Peintures et dessins appartenant au musée*, Musée Bonnat, Bayonne, 1965, no. 6. LIT. [J. Mathey], 'Greuze et Fragonard, copistes de Rubens', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'art français*, 1933, p. 183 (as *not Rubens*).¹

(7) Engraving (Fig. 70) by Cornelis van Caukercken (c. 1625–c. 1680) in reverse, and dedicated to Carel van den Bosch.² 356 × 425 mm.; below, in margin: *Perillustri ac Reuerendissimo Domino D. CAROLO Vanden BOSCH nono Brugensium Episcopo nec non perpetuo ac haereditario Flandriae / Cancellario hanc Filiae captivum Patrem lactantis, Tabulam, cuius archetypo inter Reverendissimi exstat cimelia, aeri incisam, dicat consecratq. / Corn. van Caukercken* and the inscription: *Discite quid sit amor, lactat*

*pia gnata parentem / Quem miserandi fames et fera vincla premunt. / Tantus amor fertur vitam meruisse Cimone / Sicque fuit patri filia facta parens.*³ Petrus P. Rubbens pinxit—C. van Caukercken fecit et excudit. First state of two; second state with the address of Gaspar de Hollander, Antwerp. LIT. V.S., p. 141, no. 48; *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, p. 106, under no. 870 and pl. 278; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst, 1940*, p. 39, no. 125; *Hollstein (Dutch and Flemish)*, IV, [1951], p. 98, no. 9 (said to be after the Amsterdam picture: No. 20); F. Debaisieux, C. Joubert, A. Tapié, [Cat. Exh.] *L'Allégorie dans la peinture. La représentation de la charité au XVII^e siècle* (Musée des Beaux-Arts), Caen, 1986, no. 23 (2nd catalogue), repr.

(8) Engraving in outline by J. Sanders, 130 × 171 mm.; inscribed *Labensky direx.* (from F. Labensky, *Galerie de l'Ermitage, 1805*, I, pl. 2, p. 8). LIT. V.S., p. 142, no. 50.

(9) Anonymous engraving after Copy 7 published by I. Smith, 180 × 220 mm. LIT. V.S., p. 142, no. 49.

EXHIBITED: *Rubens and Flemish Baroque* (in Russian), Hermitage, Leningrad, 1978, no. 21, repr.; *Meesterwerken uit de Hermitage, Leningrad. Hollandse en Vlaamse schilderkunst van de 17^e eeuw*, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, 1985, no. 36 (repr. in colour); *Dutch and Flemish Paintings from the Hermitage*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, 1988, no. 45; *P.P. Rubens (1577-1640)*, Retretti Art Center, Punkaharju (Finland), 1991, no. 41.

LITERATURE: Michel, *Histoire, 1771*, p. 364 (listed among the paintings of Catherine II); [E. Minich], *Catalogue de tableaux qui se trouvent dans les Galeries et dans les Cabinets du Palais Impérial de Saint-Pétersbourg*, St Petersburg, 1774, no. 30; G.H. Schnitzler, *Notice sur les principaux tableaux au Musée impérial de l'Ermitage à Saint-Pétersbourg*, St Petersburg and Berlin, 1828, p. 104; *Smith, Catalogue, 1829-42*, II, p. 159, no. 556 (as *Rubens*) and IX, p. 303, no. 218 (as *copy*); [F. Labensky], *Livret de la Galerie im-*

périale de l'Ermitage de Saint-Pétersbourg, [St Petersburg], 1838, p. 363, no. 13; *Katalog kartinnoj galerei Imperatorskogo Ermitaza*, St Petersburg, 1863 (-1916), no. 1785; G.F. Waagen, *Die Gemäldesammlung in der kaiserlichen Eremitage zu St. Petersburg, nebst Bemerkungen über andere dortige Kunstsammlungen*, Munich, 1864, p. 138 (as *copy*); W. Bode, *Die Gemälde Galerie in der kaiserlichen Eremitage*, St Petersburg, 1873, no. 1785; A. Somov (Somof), *Ermitage Impérial. Catalogue de la galerie des tableaux. II: Écoles néerlandaises et école allemande*, edn St Petersburg, 1901, pp. 372-373, no. 1785, (as *Rubens*); *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, p. 106, under no. 870 (as *copy*); *Rooses, Vie, 1903*, p. 426; A.A. Neustroyev, 'Rubens and his paintings in the gallery of the Imperial Hermitage' (Russian), *Starye Gody*, January-February, 1909, p. 23; N. Wrangel, *Les chefs-d'oeuvre de la galerie de l'Ermitage impérial à Saint-Pétersbourg*, London—Munich—New York, 1909, pl. 72; *Dillon, Rubens, 1909*, pp. 151, 205; A. Benois, *Guide to the picture gallery of the Imperial Hermitage* (Russian), St Petersburg, 1910, p. 224; *Oldenbourg, Werkstatt, 1917-18*, p. 184, fig. 17; *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921*, p. 43; *Oldenbourg, Rubens, 1922*, pp. 81, 98, 197 and fig. 42; K. Bauch, 'Beiträge zur Rubensforschungen', *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XLV, 1924, p. 185; J.A. Schmidt, *Rubens and Jordaens* (Russian), Leningrad, 1926, p. 16; W. Drost, *Barockmalerei in den germanischen Ländern*, Potsdam, 1926, p. 30; *Burchard, Wildenstein, 1950*, p. 9; G. Bazin, *Musée de l'Ermitage. Les grands maîtres de la peinture*, Paris, 1958, pp. 123, 127, n. 188 and pl. 113; *The Hermitage. Department of Western Art. Catalogue of paintings*, Moscow—Leningrad, 1958, II, p. 79; K. Fremantle, 'The fountains designed for Van Campen's Amsterdam Town Hall and Quellien's models for them', *Album discipulorum J.G. van Gelder*, Utrecht, 1963, pp. 110, 112 and fig. 7; E. Harris, 'A "Caritas Romana" by Murillo', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXVII, 1964, pp. 337-339; M. Varshavskaya, *Rubens' Paintings in the Hermitage Museum* (Russian), Leningrad, 1975, pp. 72-75, no. 5; [Cat. Exh.]

Rubens and Flemish Baroque (Russian), Leningrad, 1978, p. 21, no. 21 (repr. p. 23); *The Hermitage. Western European Painting. II*, Leningrad, 1981, p. 61; M.J. Varshavskaya, 'Rubens and the Antwerp Romanists' (Russian), in *Zapadnoevropejskoe iskusstvo XVII veka (Western European Art of the Seventeenth Century)*, Leningrad, 1981, pp. 8-9; N. Gritsai in [Cat. Exh.] *Meesterwerken uit de Hermitage, Leningrad. Hollandse en Vlaamse schilderkunst van de 17e eeuw*, Rotterdam, 1985, pp. 112-114, no. 36 (repr.) and pp. 136, 144 (c. 1612); *Bodart, Rubens*, 1985, p. 161, no. 18; *Jaffé, Rubens*, 1989, p. 184, no. 192; N. Gritsai in [Cat. Exh.] *Dutch and Flemish Paintings from the Hermitage*, New York, 1988, pp. 102-103, no. 45, repr.; M. Varshavskaya in *Peter Paul Rubens. Paintings from Soviet Museums*, Leningrad, 1989, pp. 39-41, pls. 8, 9 (colour); N. Gritsai in [Cat. Exh.] *P.P. Rubens (1577-1640)* (Retretti Art Center), Punkaharju (Finland), 1991, pp. 127-128, no. 41 (colour repr.).

This is Rubens's first version of a theme which was to occupy him repeatedly, that of the young woman who secretly suckled her father, imprisoned and condemned to starvation, and thereby saved his life—her devotion persuading the authorities to grant the old man his freedom. An outstanding *exemplum* of filial piety, the story is told by several ancient writers, who sometimes name the characters (with some variations) and sometimes make the prisoner a mother, rather than a father.⁴ Two separate versions appear in Valerius Maximus's chapter on *pietas in parentes* which is probably the source for the other (later) accounts; here the story of an anonymous girl who fed her imprisoned mother comes first (being a Roman example), but is obviously a chauvinistic recasting of the Greek original—the tale which immediately follows of Pero and her father Cimon (*recte* Micon).⁵ Significantly, Valerius is concerned not so much to describe the story, as to record the impression of a painting of it, showing the young wife who 'took to her breast this man in the

last years of old age, and nursed him like a baby'. He says:

People stop in amazement and cannot take their eyes off this scene when they see the painting of it; as they marvel at what is before them the situation of that event long ago is recreated for them. In those mute figures they feel they are looking on real and living bodies. This must be the effect on the mind too when the still more effective picture made by words prompts it to recall events of old as though they had just happened.⁶

This passage, a rare tribute by Valerius to a work of art, even if it is qualified by the usual reference to the superior power of literature, would surely have challenged any Renaissance painter who knew it, and is certainly relevant to Rubens's predilection for the theme.

The subject of 'The Grecian Daughter', or *Caritas Romana* as it is often called—apparently because the story first gained currency in the version of the anonymous Roman daughter and her mother featured in Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus*⁷—had already achieved a certain popularity in the sixteenth century, appearing on medals, in prints, and in decorative cycles, if only occasionally in an independent easel picture.⁸ Sometimes Pero is shown offering her breast in public, uncomfortably, through a barred window;⁹ more frequently, however, the scene takes place in a prison cell, with father and daughter alone, or merely spied on by guards.¹⁰ Rubens may have had specific precedents in mind when he painted the St Petersburg picture, such as the prints of the subject by Barthel and Hans Sebald Beham, particularly that by Barthel imitated in reverse by Hans Sebald (Fig. 77), in which the bearded Cimon sits on the ground,¹¹ although the etching by Hans Sebald (Fig. 79) which shows a barred window behind Pero's head is perhaps also relevant.¹² Another image that may have influenced Rubens is the printer's mark of Gregoire de Bonte of Antwerp, which shows Pero half-

kneeling and looking down as she offers her breast to her seated father, an arm about his shoulder, while a shadowy head appears, probably spying, in the window above (*text ill.* 10).¹³ This print refers us to Valerius Maximus, and presumably the only ancient sources available to the designer, as to other artists of the period, were literary. Suggestive analogies certainly exist with illustrations of the subject in murals from Pompeii—and are indeed particularly close to Rubens's pictures. These have led scholars to postulate that excavations at Pompeii at the end of the sixteenth century by Domenico Fontana may have brought to light some classical painting of the theme.¹⁴ But, as has also been observed, the features which Rubens's composition shares with the Pompeian murals—Pero's position slightly higher than her father, who sits stretched out on the floor, and the grille in the window in the top corner—are equally found in illustrations by earlier Renaissance artists.¹⁵ They are also, after all, natural elements of the story and its wretched prison context, which Rubens further characterized with architecture of rusticated Tuscan and a spider's web in the window. Besides, it is hard to believe that the discovery of an ancient painting corresponding to the description of Valerius Maximus would not have left some traces in the discussions of seventeenth-century antiquarians.

Classical writers (and paintings) as well as texts to Renaissance images are emphatic about the moral lesson of the theme,¹⁶ and it was presumably as an *exemplum pietatis* that van Cauckerken's print (Copy 7; Fig. 70) of the St Petersburg picture was dedicated to its (then) owner, the Bishop of Bruges. The image of course also embodies a paradox of the type beloved of ancient commentators on art in the Greek and Latin anthologies—and one which is not just contrived *ex post facto*, but is essential to the story. As the inscription to the print runs: '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'.¹⁷ The same message was emphasized, albeit more laconically, in an inscription composed for an imaginary painting on the subject which the humanist Vives included in the 'house' which is the setting of his *Domus*, an edifying dialogue with a young boy.¹⁸ And as an exemplary theme the subject appealed to other early Renaissance humanists, notably Montaigne, who kept a painting of Cimon and Pero in the *cabinet* attached to his library.¹⁹ However, it does not take a post-Freudian to recognize the subject's potential eroticism,²⁰ and if the St Petersburg painting powerfully evokes the daughter's compassion and the father's helplessness, it does so with a particular sensual intensity. Rubens might have been surprised to hear his painting censored as a 'shocking pin-up',²¹ but while emphasizing Cimon's seniority, the artist still pictured the starving father as a man of muscular vigour. In any case, seventeenth-century viewers, particularly attuned to images of unequal lovers and to the theme of 'Turpe senilis amor',²² might have found the contrast of youth and age especially piquant.²³ And it seems significant that the alternative Roman story of the daughter and her mother never caught on as a pictorial theme.²⁴

The St Petersburg painting, unaccountably demoted to the status of a copy in the nineteenth century,²⁵ is a magnificent document to Rubens's mastery of colour and assurance in the handling of paint in the years immediately following his return to Antwerp,²⁶ and must have been painted between 1610 and 1612.²⁷ It is no accident, as Oldenbourg noted, that it so much resembles the *Samson and Delilah* of about this date,²⁸ to which it could almost serve as a more chaste pendant, not only in technique, colouring and composition, but also in its theme. Pero (Fig. 71), modestly veiled wife, exposes her breast in charity and generosity; her hair is dishevelled and her cheek flushed, but only in absorption in her surreptitious task. In each case a man rests a

trusting head on the companion (perhaps even the same model in the same red dress) who lays a hand upon his shoulder, but one woman looks down in languid detachment, the other with benign concern. The contrast surely implies a strong association of these exemplary themes in the artist's mind.

We do not know whether Rubens painted this picture on commission, and for a specific location. Carel van den Bosch was perhaps its original owner, though the print dedicated to him could not have been made before 1651, when he was officially installed as Bishop of Bruges, and as such became Chancellor of Flanders;²⁹ it may have been a chimney-piece for his salon. Conceivably, it was the 'peice of the mayde that gave her father suck in the Prison' recorded in Rubens's inventory of 1640,³⁰ but this was more probably one of the later versions of the theme (No. 20 or 22).³¹

Van Caukercken's engraving (Copy 7; Fig. 70) obviously contributed to the influence of Rubens's composition in the later part of the century.³² But its impact, especially on Netherlandish artists, was immediate.³³ Rather than conjuring up a premature Pompeian painting to explain the sudden popularity of the subject among early seventeenth-century painters, we need only point to Rubens's striking evocation, which as no image before it captured both the pathos and the sensuality of the theme. It is Rubens, I believe, who effectively initiates *Cimon and Pero* as a theme for picture galleries.³⁴

Festus, *De verborum significatione*, XIV.355; Solinus, *Collectarum rerum memoria*, 823, no. 492. Cf. Roscher, *Lexikon*, III.ii, 1902-09, cols. 2500-2501, s.v. *Pietas*; Pauly—Wissowa, XIX.i, 1937, col. 877, s.v. *Pero*; XX.i, 1941, cols. 1223-1224, s.v. *Pietas*; also W. Deonna, 'La légende de Pero et de Micon et l'allaitement symbolique', *Latomus*, XIII, 1954, pp. 140-166; 356-375. The story is connected by Pliny, Festus and Solinus with the foundation of the temple of *Pietas*.

1. The drawing by Greuze in Paris (Cabinet des dessins, Musée du Louvre) mentioned in this article (*ibid.*) as a copy after Rubens's painting in the Hermitage is only roughly based on one or other of Rubens's versions of the subject; for an illustration see E. Munhall in [Cat. Exh.] *Jean-Baptiste Greuze, 1725-1805* (Wadsworth Atheneum), Hartford, 1976, p. 134, no. 60.
2. For van Caukercken's portrait of van den Bosch see *Hollstein (Dutch and Flemish)*, IV, [1951], p. 98, no. 13. For van den Bosch see below, at n. 29.
3. For the translation see below; also Volume I, Chapter I, pp. 48-49.
4. See Pliny, *Historia naturalis* VII.36 (mother); Hyginus, *Fabulae* ccliv ('Xanthippe' and 'Mycon');

5. Valerius, *Dicta et facta* V.iv.7 and ext.1. The fact that one of the Pompeian paintings which illustrates the subject gives the father's name as Micon and that Hyginus calls him Mycon suggests that Valerius's 'Cimon' is a transposition. This is proposed in some 17th-century commentaries to Valerius. However, Rubens would probably have called him Cimon, as does the text to van Caukercken's print after the St Petersburg Picture (Copy 7; Fig. 70), so this name is retained here.
6. *Dicta et facta* V.iv ext.1: 'Idem [i.e. as in the case of the preceding example, of the Roman daughter] praedicatum de pietate Perus existimetur, quae patrem suum Cimona consimili fortuna adfectum parique custodiae traditum iam ultimae senectutis velut infantem pectori suo admotum aluit. Haerent ac stupent hominum oculi, cum huius facti pictam imaginem vident casusque antiqui condicionem praesentis spectaculi admiratione renovant, in illis mutis membrorum lineamentis viva ac spirantia corpora intueri credentes. Quod necesse est animo quoque evenire, aliquanto efficaciore pictura litterarum vetera pro recentibus admonito recordari'.
7. See E.W. Braun in *Reallexikon*, III, 1954, cols. 356-62, esp. cols. 356-357; cf. E.R. Knauer, 'Caritas Romana', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, VI, 1964, pp. 10-23, esp. pp. 18-19. I have not been able to establish exactly when the term *Caritas Romana* was first used: inscriptions on 16th-century prints refer, if anything, to *Pietas*. However, the title appears in later 17th-century inventories: cf. the reference in a Forchoudt inventory of 1675 to a 'Caritas Romeyn oft Suiger' by Dirck van Baburen (J. Denucé, *Art-Export in the 17th Century in Antwerp: The Firm Forchoudt*, Antwerp—The Hague, 1931, p. 144; cf. L.J. Slatkes, *Dirck van Baburen*, Utrecht, 1965, p. 125). It may be noted too that in the painting by Thomas (Copy 5) the reproduction of Rubens's composition appears next to a painting of *Charity with her Children*; however, see also below, n. 23.
8. For these see Braun, loc. cit. and Knauer, loc. cit. in n. 7; also A. Pigler, 'Valerius Maximus és az újkori képzőművészetek', *Hommage à Alexis Petrovics*, Budapest, 1934, pp. 87-108 (summary: 'Valère Maxime et l'iconographie des temps modernes', pp. 213-216); Pigler, *Barockthemen*, 1974, II, pp. 296, 300-307; A.K.H. Moerman, *Daniel Heinsius, zijn*

- "spiegel" en spiegeling in de literatuurgeschiedschrijving, proefschrift, Leiden, 1974, pp. 49-52; F. Debaisieux, C. Joubert, A. Tapié, [Cat. Exh.] *L'Allégorie dans la peinture. La représentation de la charité au XVIIe siècle* (Musée des Beaux-Arts), Caen, 1986, *passim*. For examples of early cabinet pictures—half-length compositions with evident erotic appeal—see Pigler, 1934, figs. 132, 133 (by Luini and by Georg Pencz).
9. Cf. for example Perino del Vaga's fresco in Genoa, or the stucco relief under the *Cleobis and Biton* from the gallery of François I at Fontainebleau, recorded in a print of 1542 (Pigler, loc. cit. in n. 8, 1934, figs. 130, 131; also Volume I, Chapter I, n. 98); or the motif as it appears in Caravaggio's *Seven Works of Mercy* (M. Gregori in C. Whitfield and J. Martineau eds., [Cat. Exh.] *Painting in Naples 1606-1705. From Caravaggio to Giordano*, London, 1982, pp. 125-128, no. 16, repr. pp. 65-67).
 10. The spies are justified by the story, since they would have reported to the authorities the reason for Cimon's failure to die of starvation.
 11. *Bartsch*, VIII, 1866, p. 88, no. 11 (dated 1525) and p. 146, no. 75 (dated 1544); *Hollstein (German)* II, [n.d.], p. 187 and III, p. 53.
 12. *Bartsch*, VIII, 1866, p. 145, no. 73 (Braun, loc. cit. in n. 7, cols. 358-360 and fig. 3); this image was reproduced in reverse by the monogrammist R.B. (J.D. Passavant, *Le Peintre-Graveur*, IV, 1863, p. 135, no. 15). For the etching and other Beham prints of the subject see *Hollstein (German)*, III, [n.d.], pp. 50-52.
 13. See A. Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XVe et XVIe siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle*, Nieuwkoop, 1975, pp. 22-23. This mark has been attributed to Pieter Coecke; cf. M. Sabbe, 'Le symbolisme des marques typographiques', *De Gulden Passer*, X, 1932, p. 80.
 14. See F. Kuntze in *Neue Jahrbuch für deutschen klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, XIII, 1904, pp. 280ff.; G. Lippold, *Antike Gemäldekopien*, Munich, 1951, pp. 147-149; A. Steensberg, 'Caritas Romana. Eller sagnet om den faengslede Cimon og hans opofrende datter', *Budstikken. Dansk Folkemuseum Nationalmuseet*, 1957, pp. 53-82, esp. pp. 64-66, postulating a particular connection with a 17th-century Italian picture in Glorup.
 15. See esp. Knauer, loc. cit. in n. 7, pp. 19-21.
 16. For the Pompeian painting with a distich beneath it which presents the subject as an *exemplum virtutis* see M. de Vos, 'La ricenazione della pittura antica fino alla scoperta di Ercolano e Pompeii', in *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana* (Biblioteca di storia dell'arte, II, 2), ed. S. Settis, Turin, 1985, pp. 360-361.
 17. For the popularity of the conceit of the child 'mothering' her parent see Deonna, op. cit. in n. 4, pp. 362-363; also Knauer, loc. cit. in n. 7. See also Volume I, Chapter I, pp. 47-49.
 18. *Joannis Ludovici Vivis Valentini opera omnia*, I, Valencia, 1782, reprinted London (The Gregg Press), 1974, pp. 330-334 (Linguae latinae exercitatio). For the text see Volume I, Chapter I, at n. 100.
 19. See A. Masson, *Le décor des bibliothèques du Moyen Age à la Revolution*, Geneva—Paris, 1972, p. 80; also further A. Galy and P. Lapeyre, *Montaigne chez lui*, Périgueux, 1861, pp. 28-35.
 20. In fact Montaigne's cabinet also featured a picture of Mars and Venus surprised by Vulcan.
 21. Cf. the newspaper report of 1963 on the controversy over a reproduction displayed in a Russian workers' dormitory recorded in Harris, loc. cit., 1964, p. 339.
 22. See, for example, A. Stewart, *Unequal Lovers. A Study of Unequal Couples in Northern Art*, New York, 1977; also E. McGrath, 'Rubens's "Susanna and the Elders" and moralising inscriptions on prints', 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. 73-90, esp. pp. 81-85. See also Volume I, Chapter I, pp. 47-50.
 23. Here it should be noted that in the painting by Thomas (Copy 5) a reproduction of the engraving of *Lot and his Daughters* by J. Muller after Spranger, a voluptuous scene of an old man with young women (*Bartsch*, III, 1854, p. 284, no. 64; McGrath, op. cit. in n. 22, pp. 78-79, fig. 8) seems to serve as a pendant to Rubens's composition, being in exactly the same format.
 24. To the very few examples cited in Pigler, *Barockthemen*, 1974, II, p. 296 can be added the illustration in the (significantly rather prudish) *Spiegel vande doorluchtige vrouwen* of Daniel Heinsius published in Amsterdam in 1606 (Moerman, op. cit. in n. 8, pl. 5, pp. 22-23).
 25. As such it was withdrawn from exhibition in the Hermitage in 1863 on the advice of Waagen; it was designated a copy, even by Rooses, until reinstated by Somov (see op. cit., 1901).
 26. Burchard pointed in particular to the resemblance in technique with the group of women and children in the foreground of the *Raising of the Cross* (K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921, p. 36).
 27. Varshavskaya (loc. cit., 1975) dates it to 1612, comparing it (as Oldenbourg did) to the Kassel *Jupiter and Callisto* of 1613 (K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921, p. 62). It may, however, be slightly earlier, and particularly influenced by Abraham Janssens's monumental *Scaldis et Antverpia* of 1610 (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum).
 28. Oldenbourg and earlier scholars put that picture around 1612; more recently it has been dated to 1609-10. See C. Brown, *Rubens. Samson and Delilah*, London (National Gallery), 1983, esp. p. 8.
 29. For the inscription on the print see above, Copy 7. For van den Bosch, who was reportedly an

- art-lover and possessed a good library, see B. Janssens de Bisthoven and L. Collin in *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, IX, 1981, cols. 97-103.
30. Muller, *Collector*, 1989, p. 120, no. 141 (called in the French *Specification*: 'l'histoire de la fille qui donne à tetter à son pere dans la prison').
31. Still less probable is the connection made by Rooses with the picture of 'Caritas' recorded in Het Loo (Rooses, *Oeuvre*, 1886-92, IV, p. 107) and sold in 1713 (Hoet, *Catalogus*, 1752-70, I, p. 150). The term *Caritas Romana* is rare enough in inventories (cf. above, n. 7), and is unlikely to have been abbreviated as *Caritas*.
32. Cf. Harris, loc. cit., 1964; also J. Brown, *Murillo and his Drawings*, Princeton, 1976, pp. 34-35, 154.
33. Cf. Fremantle, loc. cit., 1963, for its influence on Quellinus; also n. 34 below.
34. Cf. the comments of C. Brown, for example, in *Cat. Exh. Gods, Saints and Heroes*, pp. 112-113, under no. 15, attributing to Rubens rather than an ancient mural (as in L.J. Slatkes, *Dirck van Baburen*, Utrecht, 1965, pp. 82-83; 125-127) the popularity of the theme with Netherlandish painters. For the enormous subsequent vogue for the theme in the 17th and 18th centuries see Pigler's eight-page list of examples (Pigler, *Barockthemen*, 1974, pp. 300-307).

19. Cimon and Pero (Fig. 72)

Oil on canvas; 156.2 × 114.3 cm. (expanded at the top and both sides to the size of 193.5 × 129.5 cm. but later cut down to original size). *Whereabouts unknown*.

PROVENANCE: ? Jan Agges, Amsterdam (inv. 27 February 1702), sale, Amsterdam, 16 August 1702, lot 16; ? Protonotary Commelijn, Amsterdam; Philip Yorke, 3rd Earl of Hardwicke, Wimpole Hall, Cambridgeshire, 1815 (in his collection enlarged to 193.5 × 129.5 cm.); sale, London (Christie's), 17 March 1950, lot 124; bought by E. Smith; dealer Martin B. Asscher, London, 1950, 1952; W. Hallsborough Galleries, London, 1954; sale, Paris (Charpentier), 7 June 1955, lot 93, repr.

COPIES: (1) Drawing, possibly French, 18th-century, St Petersburg, Hermitage, no. 17930; red chalk, 205 × 165 mm.; lower right, the marks of C.G. Matthes and Y. Makowsky (L. 2871 and 885a) and inscription 6 ke.—*Verso*: head of a child. PROV. C.G. Matthes (Berlin, d.

1862?); Y. Makowsky (Moscow, 1802-1886); A. P. Somov; acquired by the Museum in 1922. LIT. M.V. Dobroklonsky, 'Einige Rubenszeichnungen in der Ermitage', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, LXIV, 1930-31, pp. 34, 35, repr. (as *Rubens*); idem, *The Graphic Legacy of Rubens* (Russian), Isskoustvo, 1935, pp. 139-140; *Dobroklonsky, Drawings*, 1940, no. 25, pl. 25 (as *Rubens*); idem, *Catalogue Hermitage IV. Drawings of the Flemish School, 17th-18th centuries* (Russian), Moscow, 1955, p. 130, no. 638; M. Varshavskaya, *P.P. Rubens* (Album), Moscow, 1958, no. 62; Y. Kusnetsov, *Rubens Drawings in Museums of the USSR* (Russian), Leningrad—Moscow, 1965, p. 29, no. 35 and pl. 17 (as *Rubens*).

(2) Etching (Fig. 78) by Willem Panneels, in reverse; 143 × 95 mm. Inscribed *Ex inue. RVBENI fec. Discip. eius Guil. Panneels*. Second state: address of F. van den Wyngaerde added. LIT. *V.S.*, p. 142, no. 51; *Hollstein* (*Dutch and Flemish*), XV, [1964], p. 125, no. 31; F. Debaisieux, C. Joubert, A. Tapié, [Cat. Exh.] *L'Allégorie dans la peinture. La représentation de la charité au XVII^e siècle* (Musée des Beaux-Arts), Caen, 1986, no. 24 (2nd catalogue), repr.

EXHIBITED: *A Loan Exhibition of Works by Peter Paul Rubens, Kt.*, Wildenstein & Co., London, 1950, no. 7.

LITERATURE: J. Britton and E. W. Brayley, *The Beauties of England and Wales: Cambridgeshire*, London, 1815, p. 123; *Smith, Catalogue*, 1829-42, II, p. 165, under no. 572; *Waagen, Treasures*, 1854, IV (Supplement), p. 522; T. Lejeune, *Guide de l'amateur de tableaux*, II, Paris, 1864, p. 332; *Rooses, Oeuvre*, 1886-92, IV, p. 105; *Dillon, Rubens*, 1909, pp. 151, 233; *Burchard, Wildenstein*, 1950, pp. 8, 9, no. 7; K. Fremantle, 'The fountains designed for Van Campen's Amsterdam Town Hall and Quellien's models for them', *Album discipulorum J.G. van Gelder*, Utrecht, 1963, pp. 110-112 and fig. 8 (as *Rubens*, 1620s); E. Harris, 'A "Caritas Romana" by Murillo', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXVII, 1964, p. 339; F. Debaisieux,

C. Joubert, A. Tapié, [Cat. Exh.] *L'Allégorie dans la peinture. La représentation de la charité au XVII^e siècle* (Musée des Beaux-Arts), Caen, 1986, under no. 24 (2nd catalogue).

In this version of the subject Cimon sits on a stone bench against his prison wall, apparently under a window, with legs and arms fettered and drawn back behind him. Pero kneels almost upright on the bench, the discomfort of her position accentuated by the fact that she turns apprehensively, presumably startled by guards. Both in composition and in mood the scene is quite different from the concentrated quiet of the St Petersburg picture (No. 18; Fig. 69), though the colouring is similar, Pero still wearing a red dress and Cimon a green drape across his thighs. The uneasy attitudes of the figures was surely intended to suggest the tension and secrecy of the situation—before the revelation of Pero's deed led to an unexpectedly happy denouement.²

Rubens perhaps took as a starting point one of the prints by Hans Sebald Beham which show Cimon, chained hand and foot and straining towards his daughter who stands or sits on the stone ledge beside him (cf. Figs. 77, 79).³ Rubens's Pero is not only more decently dressed, but her more decorous pose, half-kneeling beside Cimon and only brushing against him (all the Beham daughters plant their legs between the knees of their fathers) also suggests haste and anxiety. The motif of Pero turning away from Cimon, suspecting spies, was a favourite one among seventeenth-century artists and Rubens may have taken it over from the painting attributed to Baburen, now in York City Art Gallery.⁴ This picture, itself inspired by Rubens's earlier painting of the subject (No. 18; Fig. 69),⁵ clearly illustrates the discovery of the filial act, by showing a guard at the window and light falling on Cimon and Pero from what is presumably an opened door. In Rubens's painting the danger is sensed, but not specified, and perhaps seems more ominous as a result.

When he wrote about it in 1950 Burchard

pronounced the picture formerly in the Hardwicke collection (Fig. 72), along with the St Petersburg painting (No. 18; Fig. 69), Rubens's only autograph version of the subject; he also followed Dillon in dating it to c. 1625, arguing that since it was etched by Panneels it must have been painted before 1628. In 1954 he dated it slightly later, to 1628. I have not seen the Hardwicke picture, but on the basis of photographs am not convinced of Rubens's authorship. It seems, however, fairly certain that the Hardwicke picture and the images listed here as copies (Copies 1, 2) at least reproduce an original Rubens composition. The inscription on the Panneels print (Fig. 78) might at first seem to provide a clear attribution to the artist. But the form of words 'Made from the invention [*or* an invention] of Rubens by his pupil Willem Panneels' leaves Rubens's part in the design unclear. Indeed the easiest interpretation of the words would be to understand Panneels to claim that he has developed an idea merely sketched out or drawn by his master. Like many of Panneels's prints, this may be a rather free variation on, rather than a literal copy after, a work by Rubens. That Panneels's model was something other than the Hardwicke picture (Fig. 72) is in any case suggested by the different cast he gives to Pero's head.

Of possible relevance to the issue is a crude print of another upright composition of *Caritas Romana*, extant in a single impression in the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels. This print by N.R. is inscribed *P.R. invent.* and dated 1623; it shows Cimon sitting on a stone with Pero half-kneeling beside him; both, however, are in rather different attitudes from their counterparts in the Panneels print (Fig. 78). It seems unlikely that this 1623 print reflects a design by Rubens. It is simply related to one of the Beham prints (Fig. 77) which appears to have influenced Rubens.

1. See *Hoet, Catalogus, 1752-70*, I, p. 65 (sold for 510 fl.); cf. also A. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare, 1917*, III, p. 853: kept in the 'beste kamer' and described as 'levens groote, braef geschildert'.

2. For the story see above, under No. 18.
3. *Bartsch* VIII, 1866, p. 145, nos. 72-74 (the last with Pero standing); cf. *Hollstein (German)* III, [n.d.], pp. 50-53.
4. This work of c. 1623, probably that recorded in a Forchoudt inventory of 1675, may even have been in Antwerp by the mid 1620s, and copied there by Jan Janssens. See C. Brown in *Cat. Exh. Gods, Saints and Heroes, 1980-81*, pp. 112-113, no. 15.
5. Cf. Brown, loc. cit., also for other references to Caravaggist paintings of the theme.

20. Cimon and Pero (Fig. 73)

Oil on canvas; 155 × 190 cm. *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum*. Inv. no. S 85.

PROVENANCE: Jean Gillis Peeters d'Aertselaer de Cleydael (Antwerp, 1725-1786), recorded in 1763 and 1771; in 1794 taken by his heirs to America (the Riversdale Mansion, Bladensburg, Maryland) and returned to Antwerp in 1816; Peeters sale, Antwerp (P. Van Regenmortel and Sneyers), 27 August 1817, lot 1 (as '4'5" × 5'6"', Antwerp measure' = 127.7 × 159 cm., without frame), bought by Henri-Joseph Stier d'Aertselaer, Peeters's son-in-law (Antwerp, 1743-1821); his sale, Antwerp, 29 July 1822, lot 2, purchased by J. De Vries for the National Museums of the Netherlands and placed in the Mauritshuis, The Hague, at the request of King William I; exchanged in 1825, together with Van Dyck's Portrait of Nicolaes van der Borgh and the *Bear Hunt* by Paulus Potter, for seven pictures, mostly Dutch 17th-century landscapes, from the Rijksmuseum; Amsterdam, Trippenhuis; Dienst voor 's Rijks verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen, The Hague, ?1934; on loan to the Rubenshuis, Antwerp from July 1951 until 1977, when it was returned to the Rijksmuseum.

COPIES: (1) Painting, coll. Mrs Jueke Geerdes, The Hague, 1977; canvas, dimensions unknown.

(2) Painting, a fragment showing the bust of Pero and the head of Cimon, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 65 × 55 cm. PROV. Coll. W. Krakau, Cologne, 1930.

(3) Detail of coloured drawing by Gerrit Lamberts (1776-1850), showing the Trippenhuis of the Rijksmuseum in 1838, Amsterdam Municipal Archives. LIT. P.J.J. van Thiel *et al.*, *All the paintings of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam*, Amsterdam—Maarssen, 1976, pp. 16-17, fig. 14.

LITERATURE: G.P. Mensaert, *Le Peintre Amateur et Curieux, ou Description Général des Tableaux des plus habiles Maîtres, qui font l'ornement des Églises, Couvents, Abbayes, Prieurés & Cabinets particuliers dans l'étendue des Pays-Bas Autrichiens*, Brussels 1763, I, p. 261; Michel, *Histoire*, 1771, p. 360; Smith, *Catalogue*, 1829-42, II, p. 113, no. 382; Reynolds, *Journey*, 1852, II, p. 324; Goeler von Ravensburg, *Antike*, 1882, p. 189; Rooses, *Oeuvre*, 1886-92, IV, pp. 105-106, no. 869 (as c. 1625 and studio of Rubens, retouched); A. Bredius, *Meisterwerke des Amsterdamer Rijksmuseums*, Munich, 1887-88, p. 194; idem, *Catalogue des peintures du Musée de l'État à Amsterdam*, Amsterdam, 1888, p. 145, no. 1222; G. Lafenestre and E. Richtenberger, *La Peinture en Europe. La Hollande*, Paris, [1897], p. 282, no. 1222 (as workshop, retouched by Rubens, probably c. 1625); Burckhardt, *Rubens*, 1898, p. 220; Rooses, *Vie*, 1903, p. 426; K.d.K. ed. Rosenberg, 1906, p. 268 (below) (as c. 1625, workshop); Dillon, *Rubens*, 1909, pl. 282; K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921, pp. 359 (below), 470 (as better version of Siegen picture [i.e. No. 22]); Oldenbourg, *Rubens*, 1922, pp. 85, 98, 197; F. Donnet, 'Un vol de tableaux de Rubens en l'an II de la République. Les collections artistiques de la famille Peeters', *Annales de l'Académie royale d'archéologie de Belgique*, 1923, pp. 38-40, 108; Glück, *Rubens, Van Dyck*, 1933, p. 163 (as c. 1635); Burchard, *Wildenstein*, 1950, p. 9, under no. 7; K. Fremantle, 'The fountains designed for Van Campen's Amsterdam Town Hall and Quellen's models for them', *Album discipulorum J.G. van Gelder*, Utrecht, 1963, pp. 110, n. 38, and p. 112, n. 43; E. Harris, 'A "Caritas Romana" by Murillo', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXVII, 1964, pp. 337-339; E.R. Knauer, 'Caritas Romana', *Jahrbuch der*

Berliner Museen, VI, 1964, p. 20, n. 44; F. Baudouin, *Rubens House*, Antwerp, 1968, p. 28; A.K.H. Moerman, *Daniel Heinsius, zijn "spiegel" en spiegeling in de literatuurgeschied-schrijving*, proefschrift, Leiden, 1974, pp. 50, 51, 74-75 n. 12; P.J.J. van Thiel *et al.*, *All the paintings of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam*, Amsterdam—Maarsse, 1976, pp. 19 and 484, no. A.345, repr.; H. Douchamps *et al.*, *Rubens et ses descendants*. IV. (*Le parchemin*, XXXV, special number), Brussels, 1985, pp. 22, 60; Bodart, *Rubens*, 1985, p. 195, no. 817, repr.; F. Debaisieux, C. Joubert, A. Tapié, [Cat. Exh.] *L'Allégorie dans la peinture. La représentation de la charité au XVII^e siècle* (Musée des Beaux-Arts), Caen, 1986, p. 43 (repr.) and under nos. 24 (1st catalogue) and 24 (2nd catalogue).

This picture must be the 'Charité Romaine' recorded in the eighteenth century in the Pieters (Peeters) collection in Antwerp and admired there by several visitors.² Reynolds particularly praised the painting, in the artist's 'very best manner',³ for its 'expression' and for the 'beautiful' head of the daughter.

Cornelis Apostool, first director of the Rijksmuseum (originally 'royal museum'), judged the picture a masterpiece when he saw it among the Stier d'Aertselaer paintings in 1822 (and eventually acquired it for his museum in 1825, in an exchange with the Mauritshuis).⁴ The status of the picture has been subsequently debated, especially in the light of its obvious connection with the composition now in Siegen (No. 22; Fig. 74). Bode and Oldenbourg concluded that one was the 'original' and the other a workshop variant, the former preferring the Siegen picture, the latter, with some hesitation, the present work. However, Burchard was surely right to see both paintings as independent, if closely related, compositions, although, like Rosenberg, he judged them largely school pieces, touched up only by Rubens. Recent cleaning has revealed in both pictures some qualities which point to Rubens's participation in the execution, even if in parts of the Amsterdam can-

vas—the outline around the old man and particularly around the soldiers in the window—this seems quite crude. But the feet of Cimon appear rubbed (the hands are better). The colours used—with Cimon's drapery dark green and Pero's dress red—repeat those in the earlier versions of the theme (Nos. 18, 19), which might suggest that Rubens put no great effort of imagination into this picture, although a red dress is perhaps natural for the daughter who appears as an outstanding exemplar of filial piety and charity. The picture has inspired at least one modern Dutch poem.⁵

The relationship between the present painting and that in Siegen (No. 22; Fig. 74) is bound up with a third Rubensian composition, which appears to be recorded in two versions, corresponding to a lost sketch (No. 21a; cf. Figs. 75 and 81) and a lost painting related to it (No. 21; cf. Fig. 80). It appears to be an intermediate study, since it shares features with both the Amsterdam and the Siegen paintings (Figs. 73, 74): the architecture and arrangement of ropes and chain recalls the Amsterdam work, yet the pose of Pero and of her father, kneeling on the ground with feet no longer fettered, accords rather with the Siegen composition. Indeed it seems that Pero's baby—a prominent feature of the latter work—was introduced in the course of the execution of the lost painting (No. 21): the preliminary sketch for that work (No. 21a) does not appear to have included an infant. The existence of this intermediary suggests that the Amsterdam painting is not merely a simplified variant on the Siegen work, which is certainly more complex in its iconography. Rather, as Burchard seems to have concluded, the Amsterdam canvas appears to be an earlier formulation of the subject—one which anticipates some elements of the Siegen version, but is a development of the upright composition of the mid 1620s (No. 19; Fig. 72).

The pose of father and daughter shows how the group in that upright picture was adapted to a horizontal format. Pero now sits

next to Cimon on the stone block, isolated in the middle of the cell. Rubens perhaps looked again at the Beham prints which seem to have influenced him before (Figs. 77, 79).⁶ In these, however, Pero sits in such a way as to push her knees between those of her father. Presumably it was partly to avoid this predicament that Rubens previously pictured her kneeling on the bench. By placing her behind her father, however, the artist allows for a more dignified seating arrangement. Posed more frontally, so that it is less awkward for her to turn, Pero now feeds the old man from her right breast. She also has both breasts exposed, which may be an erotic enhancement⁷ even if it also suggests her flustered haste—and perhaps even the appetite of the starving Cimon. This time too we see the observers implied in the earlier picture (No. 19; Fig. 72)—two soldiers, presumably guards, peering in through the barred window. This is a natural fusion of the motif of the window in the St Petersburg painting (No. 18; Fig. 69) and that of Pero startled at her task. However intriguing its correspondence with ancient illustrations of the subject, Rubens's picture does not constitute evidence for the discovery at this period of a hypothetical Pompeian painting;⁸ besides, a spy at the prison window appears in at least two sixteenth-century prints which Rubens might have known, namely an engraving by Wierix,⁹ and the printer's mark of de Bonte (*text ill.* 10).

It must be said that this composition is not altogether satisfactory, either in the interrelationship of the protagonists, or in the balance of the whole, with the bottom right corner left empty. It is hardly surprising that the artist returned to the theme very soon afterwards and altered both of these features (Nos. 21, 22).

Since Oldenbourg, scholars have generally dated No. 20 to the mid 1630s. Glück compared it with the *Meeting of the Ferdinands* and the 'Quos ego' from the Entry of Ferdinand,¹⁰ and if both in invention and in execution it hardly matches these striking paintings,

documented as executed by Rubens himself in 1635, it probably dates from the early 1630s.¹¹ Certainly it is substantially later than the upright *Cimon and Pero* of about 1625 (No. 19; Fig. 72).

1. See the works by Mensaert and Michel in bibliography.
2. Mensaert (*loc. cit.*, 1763), who calls it a 'très belle pièce', remarks that it was engraved by Bolswert, undoubtedly referring to the print of Voet (Fig. 82, which actually seems to record a lost sketch, No. 21a). It is hard, however, to explain the smaller dimensions given for the picture in the sale of 1817.
3. Reynolds, *loc. cit.* 1852. Somewhat confusingly, he alludes in the same terms to the lower part of the *Assumption* in the Church of the Discalced Carmelites, Brussels, now in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts (*Freedberg, Christ after the Passion, 1984*, no. 38, fig. 98), which dates from a rather earlier period, c. 1615-16 (*loc. cit.*, pp. 157-161).
4. The so-called 'Stroohoedje' ('Chapeau de paille') he similarly admired, but this proved beyond the budget of the Dutch and eventually passed to the National Gallery in London. I am most grateful to Ellinoor Bergvelt for information on this point.
5. By Alex Gutteling (1911). See Moerman, *op. cit.*, 1974, pp. 74-75 n.12.
6. The etching in a roundel seems especially relevant.
7. Although more subtle certainly than in the Beham prints (Figs. 77, 79), where Pero is practically nude. More blatant still is the daughter in the print by Philips Galle, published at Antwerp in the 1580s (?), who is entirely undressed amid a cellfull of men (Vienna, Albertina, Inv. H.I.12, p. 75). It is not featured in the relevant volumes of Hollstein or *The Illustrated Bartsch* (LVI, New York, 1987).
8. For this suggestion see above, under No. 18, at nn. 14-15.
9. *Maucquoy-Hendrickx, Wierix, 1978-82*, II, p. 295, no. 1648, pl. 223. For this see also Volume I, Chapter I, at n. 97.
10. See *Martin, Pompa, 1972*, no. 3; fig. 7 and no. 4, fig. 13.
11. Rosenberg, like several other critics, put it a decade earlier.

21. Cimon and Pero

Technique and measurements unknown.
Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: Unknown.¹

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 80), attributed to Theodoor Van Thulden, Dunkirk, Musée des Beaux-Arts; canvas, 111 × 150 cm.; inv. no. P.123. PROV. Abbey of St Winoc, Bergues. LIT. G. Blazy, *Catalogue des peintures du Musée de Dunkerque*, Dunkirk, 1976, p. 59, no. 443; [Cat. Exh.] *La peinture flamande au temps de Rubens*, Lille—Calais—Arras, 1977, p. 192; F. Debaisieux, C. Joubert, A. Tapié, [Cat. Exh.] *L'allégorie dans la peinture. La représentation de la charité au XVII^e siècle* (Musée des Beaux-Arts), Caen, 1986, no. 24 (1st catalogue), repr.

(2) Painting, whereabouts unknown (photo in Rubenianum, Antwerp); canvas, measurements unknown. PROV. Nadia Stuparyk, Ontario (1980).

The painting in Dunkirk (Fig. 80), which combines features of Rubens's illustrations of the story of Cimon and Pero in Amsterdam (No. 20; Fig. 73) and in Siegen (No. 22; Fig. 74), seems to record an intermediate composition by the artist, now lost. This picture appears to have been developed from a sketch of which various copies survive (No. 21a; cf. Figs. 75, 81). In the painting in Amsterdam, Cimon and Pero were awkwardly arranged together on a stone bench. The old man is now on the ground, and stretches out to his daughter from a kneeling position, while Pero is slightly raised above him on a stone slab. An oval window in the top right gives a glimpse of watching guards. This feature was evidently not clearly indicated in the related sketch, for several of the copies do not show it. The most important innovation with respect to the Amsterdam picture is Pero's baby, sleeping on what—to judge from the copy in Dunkirk—is a very sparse bed of hay; the infant does, however, have a pillow of sorts, a rumpled cloth.

The addition of the baby seems to have been made at a late stage, for there is no indication of its presence in any of the copies of the sketch.²

1. Possibly, however, the painting sold from the Julienne collection in 1767, and tentatively associated with the provenance of No. 22a, was the present lost work, which may have been a small painting.
2. For Pero's baby see further below, under No. 22.

21a. Cimon and Pero: ? Oil Sketch

Oil on panel; measurements unknown.
Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: Unknown.¹

COPIES: (1) Painting, with window in top right with two soldiers and showing Pero wearing an ear-ring, collection Jozef de Smeth, Eynatten (1977); panel, 49.5 × 70.5 cm. PROV. Private collection, Bruges (1966).

(2) Painting (Fig. 81), with no window, whereabouts unknown; panel, 54 × 64.5 cm.

(3) Painting, with small grille to the right (seen from the side), whereabouts unknown; panel with Antwerp mark (twice) on the verso, 50 × 64.5 cm. PROV. Private collection, Palestine (brought in 1937 to De Boer, Amsterdam and presented to Burchard as possibly an unfinished sketch by Rubens; he ruled out even the idea that it was gone over by another hand).

(4) Painting, with no window, whereabouts unknown; panel, 26 × 33 cm. PROV. Sale, Cologne (Kunsthau am Museum), 18 March 1977, lot 1394.

(5) Painting, with guard at the window in the upper right, whereabouts unknown; technique and measurements unknown. Photo: Courtauld Institute No. RI-5 ('Rephat'?).

(6) Painting, ? 18th-century Italian, with no window, Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, no. 563; panel, 24 × 34 cm. PROV. Count Guglielmo Lochis, Bergamo; bequeathed by him in 1859

(or 1866) to Accademia Carrara. LIT. Cat. Bergamo, 1912, no. 489; F. Russoli, *Accademia Carrara. Catalogo provvisorio della pinacoteca*, Bergamo, 1976, p. 80; F. Rossi, *Accademia Carrara, II. Catalogo dei dipinti sec. XVII-XVIII*, Milan, 1989, p. 205, no. 563, repr. (as *school of Rubens*).

(7) Painting, ? by the same hand as Copy 6, whereabouts unknown; panel, 24 × 34 cm. PROV. Sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), 12-19 February 1985, lot 336, pl. 6.

(8) Drawing (Fig. 75), showing figure of Cimon, St Petersburg, printroom of the Hermitage, no. 5464; black chalk on paper; 265 × 235 mm. Below, on the left, mark of the collection of Paul I (Tsar, 1796-1801) of Russia (L., 2061). PROV. Count Karl (Charles-Philippe Jean) Cobentzl (Ljubljana, 1712-Brussels, 1770); bought by Empress Catherine II of Russia in 1768. LIT. Michel, *Rubens, 1900*, repr. p. 561; Glück-Haberditzl, *Handzeichnungen*, 1928, p. 60, no. 225, repr. (as *Rubens*); M.V. Dobroklonsky, 'Einige Rubenszeichnungen in der Ermitage', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, LXIV, 1930-31, p. 35, (as *Rubens*); Dobroklonsky, *Drawings, 1940*, pl. 24 (as *Rubens*); idem, *Drawings of the Flemish School from the 17th and 18th century in the Hermitage* (in Russian), Moscow, 1955, p. 133, no. 646, pl. LVII; Y. Kusnetsov, *Rubens Drawings in Museums of the USSR* (in Russian), Leningrad-Moscow, 1965, p. 28, no. 34; Bernhard, *Handzeichnungen*, 1977, p. 425, repr.

(9) Engraving by Alexander Voet II (c. 1635-after 1695) (Fig. 82), in reverse, with Pero looking down and no window; 269 × 318 mm.; below, in the margin: EN PIA NATA, SVVM, PROPRIO FOVET VBERE, PATREM. / ILLE SENEX, DVRO, CARCERE PRESSVS ERAT.—Petr. Paul. Rubbens pinxit—Alex. Voet iunior / sculpsit et excud. LIT. V.S., p. 142, no. 52; Rooses, *Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, p. 104, under no. 868, pl. 277; Hollstein (*Dutch and Flemish*), XLII, 1993, p. 58, no. 9, repr.

The print by Voet (Copy 9, Fig. 82), and the

many small and, in general, sketch-like pictures (see Fig. 81) which largely correspond to it, appear to document a lost sketch by Rubens. It evidently illustrated Cimon kneeling on his cell floor, with Pero sitting beside him, and, as is argued above (under Nos. 20, 21), seems to be a study related to a lost painting (No. 21) made between the Amsterdam and the Siegen compositions (Nos. 20, 22; Figs. 73, 74). Voet's engraving shows Cimon and Pero alone, with spying guards only implied as the daughter turns round. Two of the painted copies (Copies 1 and 5) illustrate soldiers at a window to the upper right, albeit rather differently; this feature may have been only faintly or roughly indicated in Rubens's original—which gives further reason to think in terms of a sketch. Voet alone pictures Pero looking down, but this is probably his alteration, since the painted copies (cf. Fig. 81) all show her with her head turned up, and this is how she appears in both the Amsterdam and the Siegen paintings (Figs. 73, 74).

It is difficult to connect the lost original with particular pictures of Cimon and Pero attributed to Rubens in old sale catalogues, since these rarely record dimensions. We can be sure, however, that it is not the small picture in the Julienne and subsequent Paris sales, as Burchard wondered, since this included a baby.²

A drawing in St Petersburg of Cimon has been called a preparatory study for one or other of Rubens's paintings of the subject, but Burchard rightly observed that it is a copy, presumably after this lost composition. It shows the old man kneeling on the ground in the attitude of the figure in the Siegen picture (No. 22; Fig. 74), but with his foot tucked under him and more white drapery over his back, exactly as he seems to have appeared in the present lost sketch.³ A figure study might of course have been made by the artist between the sketch and the final painting (No. 21), but would be unexpected for this date (mid 1630s). In any case, the drawing is not only rather weak in execution, but shows Ci-

mon surrounded by indications of the context—the hand of Pero etc.—which hardly suggest a preparatory study of an individual figure by Rubens.

1. Perhaps this work, or No. 22a, was the picture in the Jan van Beuningen, sale, Amsterdam, 13 May 1716, lot 35, described as 'La Charité Romaine, klyne figure, edel door denzelven [i.e. Rubens]': *Hoet, Catalogus, 1752-70*, I, p. 201.
2. It could, however, have been the painting (No. 21) related to this sketch, or again No. 22a.
3. In the lost painting (No. 21) Cimon also has a dark piece of drapery on his left thigh, absent in the copies of the sketch.

22. Cimon and Pero (Fig. 74)

Oil on canvas; 194 × 200 cm. (including a strip of c. 25 cm. at the top, added later). Below, on the left, inscribed PPR.

Siegen, Westphalia, Museum des Siegerlandes.
No. 3 F 1955.

PROVENANCE: ? Maria van Rommerswael (or Reymerswael) (d. Dordrecht, April 1674; inv. 2 April 1674);¹ Henry Bentinck, 2nd Earl and 1st Duke of Portland (Welbeck Abbey, 1682-1726), sale, London, 19 February 1726, lot 140, bought by the Duchess of Marlborough; Duke of Marlborough, Blenheim, sale, London (Christie's), 24 July 1886, p. 25, lot 73, bought by Dr Julius Meyer (Berlin); E.F. Weber, Hamburg, sale, Berlin (Lepke), 21 February 1912, lot 190, bought by Nemes; Geheimrat Josef Cremer, Dortmund, sale, Berlin (Wertheim), 29 May 1929, lot 74, repr.; B. Griebert gallery, Meersburg (1953, 1954); acquired by the Museum (on permanent loan from Museumsverein) in 1954.

COPIES: (1) Miniature painting by Bernhard Lens (1682-1740), whereabouts unknown; gouache on vellum, 287 × 346 mm. Signed and dated: *Bernhard Lens Fecit. March 28, 1722.* PROV. Sale, London (Cock), 11-12 February 1737 (L. 469), lot 55; sale, New York (Sotheby-Parke Bernet), 10 December 1979, lot 361.

(2) Drawing, c. 1860, measurements unknown, in a sketchbook by George Scharf, London, National Portrait Gallery, Scharf SB.54, p. 167 (see bibliography below).

LITERATURE: [J. Martyn], *The English Connoisseur*, London, 1766, I, (8th apartment); *A Tour from Stour to Blenheim and Ditchley...*, London [1770], p. 9 (in 8th apartment); [W.F. Mavor], *Nouvelle Description de Blenheim*, London, 1791 (*New Description of Blenheim*, London, 1803, p. 33); *Passavant, Kunstreise*, 1833, p. 176, no. 5; *Smith, Catalogue, 1829-42*, II, p. 248, no. 842; *Waagen, Kunstwerke, 1837-39*, II, p. 39 ('from Rubens's middle years'); Mrs Jameson, in G.F. Waagen, *Rubens*, London, 1840, p. 75, n.; *Waagen, Treasures*, 1854, III, p. 124; G. Scharf, *Catalogue Raisonné; or, A List of the pictures in Blenheim Palace*, London, 1861 (copy in National Portrait Gallery has interleaved MS notes by Scharf), p. 61; *Walpole, Anecdotes, 1826-28*, II, p. 144; *V.S.*, p. 142, under no. 52; E.F. Weber, *Führer*, Hamburg, 1887, pp. 24-25, no. 37; W. Bode in *Repertorium für Kunstgeschichte*, X, Berlin—Stuttgart, 1887, p. 60; idem, *Meisterwerke des Amsterdamer Rijksmuseums*, Munich, 1887-88, p. 194; A. Bredius, *Catalogue des peintures du Musée de l'État à Amsterdam*, edn Amsterdam, 1888, p. 145, no. 1222; G. Redford, *Art Sales*, London, 1888, I, p. 415; *Goeler von Ravensburg, Antike*, 1882, pp. 189, 223; *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, pp. 104, 106, no. 868 (as *good pupil's work, retouched by Rubens*); *Burckhardt, Rubens*, 1898, p. 210; *Rooses, Vie*, 1903, p. 426; *Dillon, Rubens*, 1909, pp. 151, 218; K. Woermann, *Wissenschaftliches Verzeichnis der älterer Gemälde der Galerie Weber*, edn Dresden, 1907, pp. 161-165; *The Burlington Magazine*, 1954, pl. X; *Van Gelder, Holland*, 1950, pp. 144-145, pl. 28; *Burckhardt, Rubens*, 1950, pp. 108, 179; E.R. Knauer, 'Caritas Romana', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, VI, 1964, pp. 19-21 and fig. 9; W. Niederstein in *P. P. Rubens und das Siegerland*, Siegen, 1967, p. 9; B. Roedig, 'Die Siegener Rubensgemälde', *Siegerland*, LIII, 1976, pp. 70, 71, 80 (as *Rubens and workshop, c. 1615*); *Bodart*,

Rubens, 1985, p. 195, no. 817a; F. Debaisieux, C. Joubert, A. Tapié, [Cat. Exh.] *L'Allégorie dans la peinture. La représentation de la charité au XVII^e siècle* (Musée des Beaux-Arts), Caen, 1986, under no. 24 (2nd catalogue).

This picture, apparently Rubens's latest variation on the theme, is perhaps the one recorded in the artist's collection in 1640 and it (or the smaller version listed below as No. 22a) is probably the *liefdes voorbeeld* celebrated in a poem, published in Amsterdam in 1657, by Jan Six van Chandelier.² Here, as in the Amsterdam picture (No. 20; Fig. 73), there are soldiers spying on Pero as she feeds her father, so that she turns in some anxiety towards the window. As in the lost painting recorded in the copy in Dunkirk (No. 21; cf. Fig. 80), Cimon kneels on the ground and his little grandchild is again included, fast asleep. Both the old man and the baby are in different poses, resting as they do on more substantial bundles of straw than in the earlier composition. Pero's distraction, the presence of the onlookers, and of course the inclusion of her baby, give this picture an altogether different atmosphere from that of the early St Petersburg picture (No. 18; Fig. 69), where the daughter is unaccompanied, unobserved and absorbed. As in the case of an allegorical drawing by Gossaert in the British Museum which shows a woman at once feeding father and child,³ the addition of the infant effectively points up the meaning of the scene as an act of maternal generosity which makes a daughter mother to her own father (the grandfather of her child). This conceit is emphasized by Jan Six, as indeed it had been on the ancient epigram attached to one of the Pompeian murals. There, however, the author imagined Pero as having been forced to neglect her newborn child to preserve her (irreplaceable) parent;⁴ and none of the ancient sources tells us what became of the infant who made the filial act possible. Rubens who—particularly in his later years—would hardly have celebrated a heroine who abandoned her baby, must have con-

sidered the matter, and seems to provide a comforting answer. The infant here is not an object of concern; that breast, 'quivering full', over which Jan Six waxes lyrical, will not as he fears deprive its rightful claimant. For the sleeping child, a plump Duquesnoy putto, is obviously contented after a feed; its Rubensian mother has milk enough to avoid a harsh dilemma.⁵

Jan Six's poem, enthusiastically sensual in its appreciation of Pero's compassion, tender gestures and of course the milky fullness of her 'pearly alabaster' breast, testifies to the particular attraction to contemporaries of Rubens's image, even if this picture is perhaps the least erotic of the artist's illustrations of the subject. Significantly, this was the version preferred by Victorian writers. Mrs Jameson commended the artist for treating 'this difficult and delicate subject...with exceeding refinement and discretion'; Smith and Waagen too approved the artist's approach to this 'so far from pleasing' subject. But it was not simply the 'noble and affecting' expression which they liked: 'the eager cravings of nature in the debilitated old man, and the tremulous anxiety which agitates the affectionate child' as Smith puts it in a rare impulse of eloquence; the colouring and 'careful' execution was also judged of the best. The qualities of the picture were less evident a century later. Burchard called it largely a workshop piece when he wrote in 1950, although he seems subsequently to have estimated it more highly when the picture was bought for Siegen and cleaned, judging that it was 'in ihren wesentlichen Teilen von Rubens eigenhändig ausgeführt'. To my mind there is indeed some evidence of Rubens's hand, and the execution seems superior to that of the Amsterdam painting, as does the composition, except that this is rather spoiled by the addition of about 25 cm. to the top.⁶ It should surely be dated, as Burchard proposed, to the mid 1630s.

It is not clear where Jan Six van Chandelier saw the picture which inspired his verses; but it seems likely that it was in the Netherlands.⁷

This at least is not inconsistent with the notion that No. 22 was the painting with life-size figures recorded in the collection of Maria van Rommerswael, widow of Godschalk van der Hulst in Dordrecht in 1674, though the picture with small figures later in the Julienne collection is another candidate (No. 22a), as indeed is the lost version recorded in the Dunkirk painting (No. 21), since all three appear to have included a baby.⁸

1. 'Een historiestuck van Rubens, beelden levens groote, daer de dochter haer vader in de gevangenisse laeft'. See A. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, IV, 1917, p. 1372, no. 6.
2. Jan Six van Chandelier, *Poesy*, Amsterdam, 1657, V.2, p. 488. The poem entitled 'Liefdes voorbeeld, afgebeeldt door P. Rubbens' runs: 'Lijkt onse kaamer nu een kluis, / Of jammerlijk gevangen-huis, / Als waar Cimona sat ter doot / Veroordeelt, aan den hongersnood? / Waar sijne dochter governist, / Met liefdes reeden, doch vol list, / Verlof heeft, van den strengen raad, / Om vaader, daaglijks, met een praat / Van troost, en een versachtend woord, / Te leiden, aan te sachter moord? / Waar sy, in zoo een dekkleed, soet / Heur voeder, met heur teepels voedt, / En hem syn korte daagen rekt, / Zoo dat het vonnis werd begekt? / Het moet wel weesen, want wy sien / Een gysen stok, gins, op syn knien, / Langhs strooije stoppels, moedernaakt, / Behalven 't deel, dat schaamrigh maakt, / Van groen bedekt. Een muur die boeit / Syn handen rugglings, schier verschroeit. / Hy rekhalst, aan een schoone borst, / By hem geseeten, die syn dorst, / En rammlend vel, met melk, vervult. / Hoe vlejend leit, hoe trouwlik kruit / Heur rechterhand, om 't schouderblad / In [recte van] vaader, en hoe drukkend spat / Sy slinks de volle melkfontein, / Van [recte in] vaders mond, terwijl het klein / Ontkleede jonghske, op goudgeel stroo, / Onkundigh slaapt, hoe grootvaar zoo / Het kostjen, uit syn mondjen, suight. / Helaaci! let, hoe schrikkigh buight / Dat traanende ooghet aansicht om. / Heur dankt, se hoort een stil gemom, / Van iemand, die huur [recte heur] doen bespiedt. / Indien ons sien te rechte siet, / O vrouw, zoo is er vrij wat an. / O dochter, trouwe moeder van / Dien ouden vaader, sluit die kas, / Van blank omparlemoert albas. / Sluit toe, dat sneeuw, met purperrood, / Zoo eedel kleedende uwen schoot: / Op dat die melkrobynepyp, / Veele ongetelde daagen, syp, / En d'arme man dat listigh luk, / Noch langh, geniet, in synen druk. / Want voor die ysre traali staan / De wachters loerende, op verraan, / Den snof half hebbende, in den neus, / Van vaaders lange leevens leus. / O! wondre

liefde, sonder end, / Wy vreesen ghy zyt al bekent: / 't Zal u, noch vaader licht vergaan, / Gelyk 't aan Pero heeft gedaan'. The details of Six's description—old man kneeling on and baby sleeping on straw, guards at the window grille etc.—as well as the correspondence in colour references suggest that he knew the Siegen composition, or possibly the lost picture recorded in copies (No. 21; cf. Fig. 80), where, however, less straw is evident. For the poem see *Van Gelder, Holland, 1950*, loc. cit.

3. See J.G. van Gelder, 'Jan Gossaert in Rome, 1508-1509', *Oud Holland*, LIX, 1942, pp. 10-11, fig. 9.
4. The classical poem, which talks of Pero's misfortune and sorrow in her filial action, even implies her baby's death. This poem (for which see W. Deonna, 'La légende de Pero et de Micon et l'al-laitement symbolique', *Latomus*, XIII, 1954, pp. 145-147 and fig. 4), like the painting itself, neither Rubens nor Six would of course have known. But it reflects an ancient commonplace that you can always replace children, as a justification for first saving the life of a friend or older relative—behind, for example, Lucian's tale of Abauchas and Gyndanes (*Toxaris, sive Amicitia* 61) (illustrated in Otto van Veen's *Album Amicorum*: see J. van den Gheyn, *Album Amicorum de Otto Venius*, Brussels, 1911, pp. 30-31); cf. also Sophocles, *Antigone* 905-912; Herodotus, *Histories* III.119. It is notable that no baby is present in any of the ancient representations of the scene, for which see also above, under No. 18.
5. Apart from the Gossaert drawing, which is more an allegory than a narrative, the only previous representation of the subject to include the infant is, as far as I know, the relief from the Galerie François I, recorded in the print of 1542 (cf. above, under No. 18, n. 9); in both cases the infant seems to serve principally as a kind of attribute of the daughter's motherhood. Painters after Rubens who include the baby sometimes evidently intend the opposite, implying its deprivation: it sucks its thumb or cries (A. De Ceuleneer, 'La Charité romaine dans la littérature et dans l'art: Note complémentaire', *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique*, 1921, pp. 4-7), or even, as in the painting by Nicolò Torrioli of c. 1645 in the Galleria Spada, Rome (F. Zeri, *La Galleria Spada in Roma*, Florence, 1954, p. 138, no. 191 and pl. 189), protests vehemently. For distinctly similar sleeping Duquesnoy babies see M. Fransolet, *François du Quesnoy, sculpteur d'Urbain VIII, 1597-1643* (*Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des Beaux-Arts, Mémoires*, coll. in-4^o, 2nd ser., IX), Brussels, 1942, pl. XVII, a-c.
6. That this was already present in 1722 is evident from the copy of that date by Lens, Copy 1.
7. Cf. below, n. 8.
8. Even if Jan Six was in Venice in 1651 and again in

1657, it is not very likely that his *Caritas Romana* is the one recorded in a Venetian collection on 10 February 1717 ('Cose d'arte del Conte Basilio Colalto a San Girolamo'): 'Una Carità romana grande con soaza indorata del Rubens' (C.-A. Levi, *Le collezioni veneziane*, Venice, 1900, II, doc. 43, p. 172).

22a. Cimon and Pero

Oil on canvas; c. 75 × 110 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: ? Jean de Julienne (Paris, 1686-1767), sale, Paris (Remy-Julliot), 30 March-22 May 1767, lot 97, sold for 5000 livres; prince de Conti, sale, Paris 1777 ('Rubens. Une Charité romaine'), sold for 2512 livres to Langlier;¹ Robit sale, Paris, 11 May 1801, sold for 2400 fr. to Bellier; Maurin sale, Paris (Coquille), 4 January 1805, sold for 1900 fr. to St Martin ('Rubens. La Charité romaine: une jeune fille allaite son père enchainé; près d'elle son infant dort sur la paille').²

LITERATURE: *Roses, Oeuvre, 1886-92, IV, p. 105.*

A smaller version of the Siegen composition (or possibly of the lost No. 21), about 75 × 110 cm., appears to have existed; all the descriptions of it mention the presence of Pero's baby. It featured in the Julienne sale of 1767, and was considered for purchase for the collection of Frederick the Great; in a letter of 6 April 1767 the king's agent Mettra reported that he had not bid for it, since although it was 'un beau tableau' it was dark, not 'gracieux' and in a very bad state.³ It appears in subsequent Paris sales, selling at slightly decreasing prices, a fact which may signal its relatively poor condition. *Roses* wrongly connected it with the picture then in the collection of the Earl of Hardwicke (No. 19; Fig. 72), which has different proportions, does not include a child and is life-size. It can hardly have been a sketch either, in view of its relatively large dimensions. It seems likely, however, to be identical with the painting, 2'7" × 3'9" (i.e. 75.6

× 109.5 cm.) submitted to the Antwerp Guild of St Luke in June 1730 by the dealer de Grandes and judged to be by Rubens.⁴ If so, it might also be that recorded in the Jan van Beuningen sale at Amsterdam, 13 May 1716 as an authentic work by Rubens, but with small figures,⁵ a description which suggests a reduced version rather than a sketch, such as, for example, No. 21a.

1. *Blanc, Trésor, 1857-58, I, p. 377.*
2. *Blanc, Trésor, 1857-58, II, p. 227*, reports it to be the picture from the Julienne and Robit collections.
3. See P. Seidel, 'Friedrich der Grosse als Sammler von Gemälden und Sculpturen', *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XIII, 1892, p. 211; *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, p. 203; also A. Thibaudeau in *Blanc, Trésor, 1857-58, I, p. LXXVIII.*
4. *Roses, Oeuvre, 1886-92, IV, p. 105*, quoting the *Resolutieboek*, II, 5.
5. 'La Charité Romaine, klyne figure, edel door denzelven [i.e. Rubens]': *Hoet, Catalogus, 1752-70, I, p. 201, lot 35.*

23. Cimon and Pero: ? Drawing

Measurements unknown.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 76), Seattle Art Museum; pen and brown ink, 203 × 270 mm.; squared for transfer and restored on the lower edge; below, on the left, mark of the collection of G. Vallardi (L. 1223). PROV. G. Vallardi (Milan, 1784-1863); ? Count G. Archinto (Milan, 1783-1861), ? sale, Paris, 10-15 December 1860; Victor Winthrop Newman (New York, b. 1860); Roy M. Backus; Schaeffer Galleries, New York, 1950 (Backus Estate).

In this version of the subject the child is included, apparently as a kind of attribute of Pero's motherhood and an indication of the meaning of the scene. It looks away, but appears happy enough at the situation. However, the action seems unfocused and the composition unsatisfactory, since, although Pero, as in the St Petersburg painting (No. 18; Fig. 69), is concentrating on her father, she is no

longer isolated and consequently should take some notice of the watching guards and of the baby.

Burchard seems to have been convinced of Rubens's authorship of the composition, without being specific about the attribution of the Seattle drawing—which is certainly not by the master himself. I am, however, inclined to see the design as the work of a Flemish artist influenced by Rubens's different versions of *Caritas Romana*. On the basis of figure types, treatment of drapery and facial features, I would suggest that this artist was Jan van den Hoecke. Pero is physiognomically similar to the figure of Liberty documented as having been painted by Van den Hoecke (after Rubens) for the Entry of Ferdinand in 1635,¹ while the pose of woman and child is replicated in the foreground of the *Jacob and Esau* in Bruges.² Very little is as yet known about Van den Hoecke's drawings;³ he did, however, make a number of etchings, and the present drawing is not inconsistent with them in style.⁴ Indeed the way the sheet is squared up suggests an intention to transfer the design to an etching plate. Perhaps this drawing is related to the *Caritas Romana* by Van den Hoecke recorded in the possession of Forchoudt and sold to the Prince of Liechtenstein in 1674.⁵

If the drawing indeed records a design by

Rubens it would represent an intermediate stage between the St Petersburg composition (No. 18; Fig. 69), which has Cimon stretched out on the ground, and the Siegen picture (No. 22; Fig. 74), which includes the baby, but gives it a different role and significance, and shows Pero, more appropriately, reacting to the spies. It would perhaps then be dateable to the late 1610s or the early 1620s.⁶

1. *Martin, Pompa*, 1972, no. 42, fig. 75. It might be noted that the hair-style of this personification, with straggling hair flying free, is quite different from that of the corresponding figure in Rubens's preliminary sketch for the Arch of Ferdinand (no. 40a; fig. 74).
2. See H. Vlieghe, *Stedelijke Musea Brugge. Catalogus schilderijen...*, 1994, no. 0.237, pp. 165-167, correcting his previous opinion that this painting was by Quellinus.
3. A *Holy Family* is in the Print Room, Copenhagen; black and red chalk, 163 × 200 mm.
4. For an etching by Van den Hoecke see *Hollstein (Dutch and Flemish)*, IX, [n.d.], p. 37, no. 2.
5. '1 Carite Romano oft Suyger van Jan Hoeck'. See J. Denucé, *Art-Export in the 17th Century in Antwerp: The Firm Forchoudt*, Antwerp—The Hague, 1931, pp. 137, 172. For the term see No. 18, n. 7.
6. It may have been Dirk van Baburen's picture of the subject (cf. above, under No. 18, nn. 7, 34) which prompted the inclusion of the guards in the window, although a figure at the window was present, for example, in the printer's mark of Gre-goire de Bonte (*text ill.* 10).

TWO ROMULUS CYCLES ASSOCIATED WITH RUBENS (Nos. 24-29; 30-32)

In 1650 four cartoons for tapestries were recorded, with an attribution to Rubens, among the possessions of the recently deceased Cardinal Cesare Monti, Archbishop of Milan.¹ These cartoons are now in the National Museum of Wales in Cardiff (Figs. 83, 85, 88, 90). Tapestries based on two of them are at present known (Figs. 84, 94); their inscriptions establish the subjects as stories of Romulus. Monti's attribution has not, however, gained wide acceptance, even though three of the cartoons

are related to four oil sketches (two showing the same subject) which are generally accepted as the work of Rubens, and are now recognized as scenes of the life of Romulus (Nos. 30-32; Figs. 86, 87, 89, 91). Burchard, who knew nothing of the Romulus cartoons in Cardiff or the corresponding tapestries, regarded the sketches, which he was convinced were by Rubens, as stories of Aeneas.

This introductory section aims to bring together what is known about that tapestry se-

ries (see summary illustration preceding Fig. 83), much debated among scholars in recent years. It specifically points to some iconographic arguments not so far advanced, as well as to certain problems regarding the condition of three of the sketches (Nos. 30, 31, 32) which must be taken into consideration.² Two conclusions emerge from the arguments presented in the pages which follow: that Rubens could not have painted or even designed the cartoons in Cardiff; and that the artist of the cartoons could not have been responsible for the related sketches. As for these latter, they cannot be claimed for Rubens without qualification, since, with the exception of the panel in Rotterdam (No. 31a: which is only slightly reworked, and in any case is not in my view by the artist at all), they seem to have been substantially overpainted by a hand other than that of Rubens. It is therefore only in their notional, initial state that I would wish to assign them to him. But given that Burchard ascribed all four sketches unequivocally to Rubens, they are included in the catalogue here as Nos. 30, 31, 31a and 32.

Two tapestry cartoons in the Ringling Museum, Sarasota (Figs. 95, 96) have been seen as providing a clue to the authorship of the cartoons in Cardiff; accordingly they are included in the present discussion. But they prove to bring no conclusive evidence; in fact they seem to raise more questions than they answer.

Also considered in this introduction is another group of compositions (Nos. 24-29) which Burchard believed to be designed by Rubens for a tapestry cycle about Romulus, or rather the early history of Rome (since the last item illustrates the story of Cloelia); indeed he considered that one of the surviving sketches for this project (No. 24a; Fig. 99) was by Rubens himself. In this case the conclusions I have reached are entirely negative. In my opinion neither tapestry designs nor sketches are by Rubens. They are at best related to him indirectly. Arnout Balis has suggested an attribution to Justus van Egmont, and this hy-

pothesis, which is considered below, seems to me to have much to recommend it. In the pages which follow, this second cycle will be referred to as Burchard's Romulus series.

The Cardiff Cartoons

On their acquisition by the National Museum of Wales in 1979 the four cartoons (Figs. 83, 85, 88, 90), full-scale designs for tapestries painted on paper in watercolour, were straightaway presented to the public as works by Rubens—indeed, in accordance with the view of Michael Jaffé, as entirely by the artist's hand.³ They are, after all, paintings of distinct quality which, in three cases at least, seem to be based on sketches by Rubens. These sketches—now in Dulwich College Picture Gallery (No. 30; Fig. 89), the Israel Museum, Jerusalem (No. 31; Fig. 86) and a private collection in Belgium (No. 32; Fig. 91)—were evidently made for tapestries, for they are designed for reversal and are too large to be for prints.⁴ They are also painted with colour rather than in grisaille, but no great significance can be attached to this circumstance since, as is noted below (under Nos. 30, 31 and 32), much of the colouring is due to a later hand. The extensive overpainting has, I believe, altered the character of the originals, with the consequence that it is now difficult to assess the stylistic features of the underlying designs, or to locate them convincingly within the chronology of Rubens's production. Their problematic nature has not yet been fully confronted, even if it is clearly reflected in the difficulties that scholars have had in attempting to date them.⁵ In the absence of a thorough technical examination it is hard, if not impossible, to make any definitive judgement, but I would (and do) argue that there is reason to retain the sketches—at least in their presumed original condition—as works of Rubens. Still, they scarcely provide a secure basis, either stylistically or chronologically, from which to examine the related cartoons.

The Cardiff paintings are unlike any extant works indisputably by Rubens in the obvious sense that they are large cartoons on paper. For Rubens's famous tapestry cycles, those of Decius Mus, Constantine, Achilles and the Eucharist, no paper cartoons survive, though such cartoons are recorded as having existed.⁶ It has been doubted that any of these were produced in Rubens's workshop; and in some cases they were surely made by the artists normally employed by the weavers to transfer designs onto paper.⁷ But one piece of evidence suggests that Rubens had some made in his studio, at least for his earliest tapestry cycle, since Bellori talks of Van Dyck painting 'cartoons' as well as 'painted pictures' for the series of Decius Mus.⁸ Still, if so, these 'original' cartoons were either destroyed in the process of weaving, or subsequently lost.⁹ What we do have, at least in the case of the Eucharist series, are large canvases identical in size to the intended tapestries; it seems likely that the weavers themselves produced the required paper cartoons from them. These flat, dull studio paintings could hardly be more unlike the vivid and in places brilliantly executed Cardiff cartoons, whose artist was evidently making just the kind of effort that Rubens did not normally devote to works that were simply a means to an end, and, usually, an expendable one.

Equally anomalous for Rubens would be the great difference between cartoons and sketches—and not just in details of figures and gestures, but in overall composition.¹⁰ No such changes can be observed between the *modelli* and the final tapestries (or preparatory canvases) in the tapestry cycles by Rubens mentioned above. If then the Cardiff cartoons were produced in Rubens's workshop, it seems reasonable to suppose they were done by none other than the master himself, intervening at a late stage to alter the compositions.¹¹ Jaffé has argued this and pointed to analogies with late works which do indeed include figures involved in the kind of violent gestures and movements exhibited by the characters in the Cardiff cartoons.¹² But, while

parallels can be found in Rubens's oeuvre for some aspects of individual figures, the whole character of the designs seems to me impossible to reconcile with Rubens's authorship. The differences between sketches and cartoons underline this; the figures seem to have been translated from three-dimensional space onto a flat plane where they loom massively against a lowered horizon and distant landscape; gestures and poses are clear but more angular and even awkward; the distinct facial types are not characteristic of Rubens.¹³

Yet since their provenance was investigated and clarified by Jaffé and Cannon-Brookes in 1986, we have the incontrovertible fact that already in 1650 the Cardiff cartoons were in Milan, in the collection of Cardinal Cesare Monti, and were there firmly attributed to Rubens.¹⁴ This of course is no more than an attribution, and one which comes from a context in which Rubens's works were not particularly familiar. But it establishes what must now be the starting point of any discussion of the cartoons: that they were extant in 1650, that a sophisticated seventeenth-century Italian collector considered them good enough to hang as paintings in his palace, and that he thought they were by Rubens. Given the fact that he evidently did not own a set of tapestries woven from them—and perhaps did not even know what the subjects were—Monti himself is unlikely to have commissioned them.¹⁵ Still, the four pictures were probably acquired as works by Rubens. This would suggest that if they were executed by another artist who took over the project, presumably after Rubens's death, and made use of the sketches that had been prepared—changing the compositions quite radically—the cartoons had nevertheless come to Italy under the name of Rubens.

Bound up with the whole question of authorship is the issue of the subject-matter and its treatment. Initially it was supposed that the cartoons, like the sketches, illustrated stories of Aeneas.¹⁶ This presented some problems: if the 'trophy' scene (Fig. 89) fitted in a

general way Vergil's account of the raising of the spoils of Mezentius, the 'meeting' (Fig. 86) hardly corresponded, except in the detail of the handshake, to the famous description of the aged Evander pledging his faith beside an altar. As for the 'apparition' sketch (Fig. 91), this was provided with no textual basis in the *Aeneid* at all. The changes noticed between the sketches and the cartoons seemed to compound these problems.¹⁷ And if these identifications were accepted, the puzzle remained as to why, when faced with the task of illustrating the life of Aeneas, any seventeenth-century artist would have chosen not only to ignore the most telling episodes in Vergil's canonical version, but to leave out the details which would make his subjects comprehensible, and then to end with a little-known post-script from Aurelius Victor. All of this seemed hard to reconcile with Rubens, an artist who was never pedantic about textual sources, but enjoyed the challenge of capturing their essential elements—an artist, moreover, who had taken particular care to give pictorial expression to Vergil's verses in his early Aeneas series in Mantua, and who, to judge from several testimonies, knew large sections of the *Aeneid* by heart.¹⁸

The idea that the sketches at least were not about Aeneas but rather Romulus had been proposed by Held just before the Cardiff cartoons were discovered.¹⁹ The 'trophy' scene (No. 30; Fig. 89) is thus the dedication of the spoils of Acron on the Capitol; the 'union' (No. 31; Fig. 86) is that between Romulus and Titus Tatius; the 'apparition' (No. 32; Fig. 91) is that of Romulus to Julius Proculus. These three subjects were in fact familiar episodes from cycles about the life of Romulus; in particular they feature in that painted by the Carracci in the Palazzo Magnani in Bologna (cf. Figs. 92, 93), a series which Rubens must have seen and admired.²⁰ Most importantly, all three also contain elements which accord with familiar classical textual sources of the stories.²¹

That the Cardiff cartoons were also about Romulus was not, however, self-evident. It

still seemed possible, in view of the significant iconographic as well as compositional differences between sketches and cartoons, that the themes might have been changed in the latter. After all, even the characterization of the central figure is altered. In the sketches he conforms closely to Rubens's type of Romulus as he appears, for example, in the various versions of the Rape and the Reconciliation of the Sabines (Nos. 37–43). In the cartoons he is indeed armed, but quite differently, with bulging breastplate and swinging skirt.²² The notion that the subjects might have been simply adapted (somewhat crudely) from Romulus to Aeneas had of course implications for the attribution of the cartoons, since such a lame procedure would hardly seem consistent with the practice of Rubens.

The appearance of two tapestries woven from the cartoons (Figs. 84, 94) and bearing inscriptions which identify their subjects as stories of Romulus—the killing of Remus and the apparition to Julius Proculus respectively—has ruled out any hypothesis about a change in subject.²³ The four cartoons in Cardiff thus certainly represent (in chronological order of the life of Romulus) (1) Romulus killing Remus; (2) Romulus erecting a trophy on the Capitol to Jupiter Feretrius from the spoils of Acron (cf. No. 30; Fig. 89); (3) The Reconciliation of Romulus and Titus Tatius (cf. No. 31; Fig. 86); (4) The deified Romulus appearing to Julius Proculus (cf. No. 32; Fig. 91).²⁴ The question, however, remains about the purpose and meaning of the alterations made to the compositions as recorded in the sketches, alterations which sometimes obscure rather than enhance the distinctive features of their respective stories. The relatively non-specific nature of their iconography was, after all, why scholars had so debated the subjects of the cartoons. A comparison of the imagery of the cartoons with that of the sketches is revealing, and provides evidence of the activity of two very different artistic personalities.

The Three Cartoons based on Rubens's Sketches

No corresponding sketch is extant for *Romulus killing Remus*, which is discussed below (pp. 119-120). But in the case of the second composition, *Romulus setting up a Trophy* (Fig. 88), the episode of the dedication of the spoils of Acron, discussed under No. 30, is presented in the cartoon with less meaningful detail than in the sketch (Fig. 89). Romulus is now standing back, looking as if he is simply admiring the trophy, rather than dedicating it to the gods. This undermines the point of the gesture, the vowing of the armour to Jupiter Capitolinus, which is the subject.²⁵ Moreover, even if it makes for a composition well adapted to the wider space, the new design introduces some awkward features. There is, for example, the question as to whether Romulus's far arm is simply outstretched, or embracing the tree and touching the armour. Again, as Held and Cleaver have wondered, how is the trophy attached to the tree?²⁶ In the context it does not seem likely that the trophy is now tied to the tree because the artist preferred Livy's account to that of Plutarch.²⁷ Nor can the change have been designed to put more emphasis on the *quercus capitolina*, since, although the tree is more prominent, there is no clear evidence that it is an oak. Still more significantly, there is no longer any indication that the dedication takes place on the Capitol. On the contrary, this location, essential to the meaning of the subject, is emphatically denied: the scene is set far from Rome, minutely depicted in the background.

It seems that here we have a painter principally concerned with certain artistic effects—the strong differentiation between foreground and background, the low horizon and isolation of the heroic figure against the sky—which would look good when translated into tapestry. Other smaller alterations are likewise significant. For example, the plain white headband, which Rubens typically uses

as an attribute of Romulus (following the ancient portraits he knew), is discarded.²⁸ The evidence points to a talented and idiosyncratic artist adapting Rubens's sketch to a design easily legible in a tapestry without thinking too hard about the iconography.

For the cartoon of the *Reconciliation of Romulus and Titus Tatius* (Fig. 85), the changes made to the design of the sketch (No. 31; Fig. 86) are again quite considerable. Tatius is differentiated more from Romulus; in the cartoon he wears a helmet and gold armour. This might be so as to characterize him as a king or to suggest his wealth. But there is something of a contradiction here with the traditional view of the frugality and severity of the Sabines;²⁹ and I suspect that the artist was principally attracted by the possibilities of the contrasts between light glancing off armour and the shimmering fabric. In their forms, neither the cloak, nor, as Held pointed out,³⁰ Tatius's armour, has any parallel in the work of Rubens. Not too much can be made of the changes in the putto, since the sketch has here been overpainted and the pose is quite probably altered. Still, it seems notable that the motif of the interconnected wreaths, in an indissoluble bond, was abandoned in the cartoon.³¹ Again, Romulus's fillet has been altered to a diadem; and, even if this makes it more like an attribute of kingship, the change seems improbable for Rubens, since, as was noted above,³² he liked to show Romulus with the classical white headband. And the stance now given to Romulus, in exact profile, is not only one quite uncharacteristic of Rubens, but, confusingly, makes Tatius appear the dominant character of the scene—as does his helmet and added height.³³

In other ways too the alterations scarcely enhance the significance of the scene. Instead of the fortified city in the background—the *arx romana* which was to be expanded by the two kings—there is now what appears to be a departing army. This must be the Sabine force; but, even if the artist equated military retreat with the advent of peace, it is surprising that

the Sabines should be shown leaving in a scene of the reconciliation which united them with Rome. Perhaps it was simply that the artist enjoyed painting the small figures disappearing behind a ridge, their scale a dramatic contrast to the looming protagonists outlined against the sky by the low horizon.³⁴

The last cartoon (Fig. 90), as the caption to the tapestry woven from it specifies (see Fig. 94), shows the deified Romulus appearing to Julius Proculus, in what must have been the conclusion of the cycle. Once again the composition is substantially different from that of the sketch (No. 32; Fig. 91)—though again it should be noted that before overpainting this latter was closer in some respects to the cartoon.³⁵ It is in fact hard to say exactly which elements have been changed in the corresponding cartoon. But the landscape is evidently altered, with a craggy rock-face to one side and then distant hills. It seems too that the cartoon's Julius Proculus is quite different from the figure in the sketch. He wears shoes and appears altogether more dignified, no longer to be taken for a peasant.³⁶ More curiously, he looks youthful and in some distress, with red-rimmed eyes. No account suggests that Proculus was weeping for Romulus when he encountered him; nor is there any implication that he was young. (It was this feature which made the identification of the subject as Aeneas and Ascanius appear plausible.)³⁷ The most obvious compositional change is that, unusually, the figures are in reverse of those in the sketch, while Proculus has struck the attitude of Ananias from the famous cartoon by Raphael. With this important alteration the point of the scene has evidently also been simplified, which may indeed be, as Jaffé argues, an improvement.³⁸ It is no longer a question of figures apparently gesturing in opposite directions—Romulus to the earth (from which he has been recently translated) as well as to heaven, and Proculus back to Rome. The scene is now concentrated solely on the astonishment of Proculus. It is not clear whether this new emphasis suggested the

idea of using the motif from Raphael or vice versa. The new attitude given to Romulus, awkwardly perched in the cloud, seems to me to be characteristic neither of Raphael nor Rubens. With the reversal of the original composition too, Romulus ends up carrying his spear in his left hand in the tapestry (Fig. 94).

The Cartoon of Romulus killing Remus

In the case of this design (Fig. 83), the tapestry woven from it which was discovered in 1985 (Fig. 84), established the subject as Romulus's fratricide. Not only is there a title to this effect, but the tapestry shows clearly a detail which can also be recognized in the cartoon: the evidence of construction work in progress at the top of the city wall in the background.

Evidently the cartoon illustrates the version of the death of Remus—according to Livy the most famous—in which he jeered at his brother's half-built walls or foundations and jumped over them, enraging Romulus to such an extent that he killed Remus on the spot with the words 'So perish whoever else shall overleap my battlements'.³⁹ The identification accounts for the most important elements in the composition—the apparently impromptu nature of the fight, and the fact that the loser has no armour—which counted against earlier proposals made for the subject-matter (whether connected with Aeneas or Romulus) involving a single combat in battle. The considerable height of the walls in the background obviously precludes any idea that Remus would have actually overleaped them; they must have been included as a kind of identifying attribute of the scene, showing how the fight took place while the city was under construction. Most accounts of the story involve a group of bystanders whose presence would have been expected in a representation of the subject,⁴⁰ but it would appear that the whole series was planned around the minimum number of figures, pre-

sumably for reasons of economy, and it could even be argued that in omitting bystanders the artist has achieved a better visual and dramatic effect. In fact in the cartoon, and even more in the tapestry, the impression of the single combat (with Remus about to die before the setting sun) is quite powerful. The scene takes place in a hilly landscape, appropriate to the story. Perhaps Romulus and Remus are to be understood as standing on a different hill from the walls (on the Palatine), and therefore on the Aventine where, according to some, Remus would have preferred to build the city—although in this case we should have expected some allusion to the omen of the vultures (six for Remus and twelve for Romulus) which was decisive in that version of the story.⁴¹

The artist of the cartoons has vividly suggested the violence of the attack, and has produced a design which translates most effectively into the intended medium, but it is difficult to see Rubens as the inventor of the powerful but extremely uncharacteristic types. The artist's colouristic values and use of light, as well as his dramatic isolation of heroic figures mark out a personality distinct from Rubens. The question remains as to whether a sketch by Rubens was somehow behind this composition.⁴² In my view this could not have been the case. In the first place, it would be remarkable if Rubens had included in a Romulus cycle the version of the death of Remus which is most discreditable to his hero, and then shown it in such an uncompromising way. The fratricide, condemned by moralists,⁴³ was entirely passed over in the Carracci cycle in Bologna; there the foundation of Rome was instead marked by the story of how Romulus ploughed up the circumference of the city after the death of Remus.⁴⁴ More importantly, the whole conception of this spare composition seems foreign to Rubens. In fact the outsize city walls may have been copied from the sketch of the union (No. 31; Fig. 86) which includes a similar structure in the background.

The Cartoons in Sarasota

Two other tapestry cartoons, now in the Ringling Museum of Sarasota, have been introduced into the discussion (Figs. 95, 96).⁴⁵ These works were attributed by Michael Jaffé to Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert,⁴⁶ but have recently been assigned instead to Jan Boeckhorst, and so far Boeckhorst is the only artist—apart from Rubens—to have been put forward as the author of the paintings in Cardiff.⁴⁷ The Sarasota cartoons were together in a Roman palace in the early nineteenth century.⁴⁸ Both were attributed there to Rubens, one cartoon being identified as 'Metius, King of Alba, brought before Tullius Hostilius', and the other as 'Aeneas and Taurus [=Turnus]'.⁴⁹

One cartoon (Fig. 95) is at least connected to the Cardiff group in iconography, since it undoubtedly represents a Romulus subject—or rather two Romulus subjects, for, like its companion (Fig. 96), it appears to be made up of two separate strips showing different episodes.⁵⁰ It shows to the left an illustration of the capture of Remus during the Lupercalia, the festival which took place on the Palatine hill and in which, in honour of Lycaean Pan (Inuus) or Faunus, young men ran naked.⁵¹ This explains the undress of the principal figure and the statue of the naked young man holding Pan-pipes, who is probably intended as Faunus, since Pan would have been shown with goat-legs. This detail might suggest, however, that the artist also consulted Plutarch, who alone talks of Faunus rather than Pan. The right-hand section almost certainly shows the related story, of how the herdsman Faustulus was forced to reveal to Amulius that he had, years before, rescued the baby twins whom the king had exposed. Both Plutarch and Dionysius of Halicarnassus record that, as soon as Remus was captured, Faustulus had gone to Romulus and recounted everything about his birth; he was then on the way to Numitor taking as a proof the basket in which the twins had been cast adrift, when he was caught by soldiers of

Amulius and brought before him.⁵² The bare-foot suppliant with staff and cap in hand, and accompanied by a dog, is obviously Faustulus and the enthroned figure must be Amulius. Both the king and a young attendant (the soldier who has captured Faustulus) have their eyes fixed on a spot on the bottom step, just in front of the herdsman; and, to judge from Amulius's frown as he leans forward, what he sees there is not particularly pleasing to him—presumably the tell-tale trough or basket, now largely obliterated.⁵³

It might be argued that these two subjects were designed to supplement the Romulus cycle to which the Cardiff cartoons belong. Hans Vlieghe has indeed done so, and assigned the 'Romulus' Sarasota cartoon (Fig. 95), like its companion (Fig. 96), to Jan Boeckhorst.⁵⁴ There certainly are analogies with Boeckhorst's work, particularly in the figure of Remus, whose proportions, gestures and attitudes of hands and feet can be compared, for example, to those of the thieves in the *Crucifixion* of c. 1639-44 at Lo,⁵⁵ or the slim figure of the god in his late designs for the Apollo tapestry series,⁵⁶ while the languid gestures and heavy-lidded eyes of the figures in the scene to the right might also recall this artist.

However, they are perhaps still more characteristic of Willeboirts Bosschaert, the artist suggested by Jaffé as the author,⁵⁷ comparing the altarpiece of St James in the Musée des Augustins, Toulouse.⁵⁸ The figure of Adonis in the *Venus and Adonis* in the Jagdschloss Grünewald, near Berlin, might also be cited in this connection.⁵⁹ It should be noted, however, that the composition of this scene with Faustulus is simply derived from Schelte à Bolswert's engraving after Rubens of the *Continence of Scipio* (Fig. 182),⁶⁰ and this kind of derivation would surely be unexpected for Boeckhorst, and perhaps also for Willeboirts Bosschaert. At any rate, the very comparison with the work of both Boeckhorst and Willeboirts seems to me to draw attention to some marked stylistic differences between this car-

toon and the four in Cardiff (Figs. 83, 85, 88, 90).

In the case of the second Sarasota cartoon (Fig. 96), we again have a pair of cartoons, or sections of cartoon, that have been joined together.⁶¹ In the scene to the left the long-legged soldiers, swathed in drapery, invite comparison with figures by Boeckhorst,⁶² but also find parallels in the work of Willeboirts, where indeed more animated movement is involved.⁶³ What that left-hand scene represents is difficult to say—indeed perhaps impossible, since an essential iconographic element is missing, namely the figure or object at which the two soldiers who turn back are looking.⁶⁴ It may not belong to the same series as the fragment to the right, and need not be a subject connected with Romulus. Such is certainly the case with the fragment on the right. This is the part that most clearly invites comparison with the cartoons in Cardiff: not only is there a similarity in style and in figural types noted by Jaffé, Vlieghe and Held—especially the head of the victim, which is virtually identical in both cases—but the man bearing down on the warrior on the ground, evidently with murderous intent, is wearing the same armour as is Romulus in the Cardiff cartoons (although his helmet is by contrast rather like that of Tatius in the 'meeting', Fig. 85). Yet it is difficult to think of any episode from the life of Romulus which might correspond, even roughly, to this scene. Apart from Remus, already accounted for in one of the Cardiff cartoons (Fig. 83), the only other individuals Romulus is recorded as having slain, or even attacked, are Amulius and Acron, neither of whom is, I think, a plausible candidate.⁶⁵ For Acron's death is not described in any of the ancient accounts, while that of Amulius was at the hands of both Romulus and Remus and did not take place on a battlefield.

On the other hand, one subject which has analogies with this scene is that which served as its title in the early nineteenth century (and possibly before in the Raggi palace), namely the Death of Turnus. In Vergil's famous ac-

count we read that Turnus was about to hurl a very large stone at Aeneas when he felt himself become immobilized. He was then struck by Aeneas's spear and sank to his knees. Aeneas would have spared him, had he not caught sight suddenly of the baldric and belt of Pallas which Turnus, who had slain him, was wearing. At this Aeneas plunged his sword into his enemy's breast.⁶⁶ Two details seem to point specifically to the subject: firstly the fact that the killer attacks a fallen warrior and grasps him by the cloak in such a way as to suggest that he has just recognized the baldric around his opponent's shoulders, secondly, and perhaps more significantly, the stone under the right hand of the fallen warrior. There is indeed a Netherlandish tapestry of c. 1640 from Queen Christina's collection in Stockholm which shows the Death of Turnus in a similar way.⁶⁷

If this identification of the subject is correct,⁶⁸ the scene cannot have formed part of a cycle which included the Cardiff cartoons. It might be argued that a Death of Turnus could have been included in a series on the foundation of Rome, although tapestry cycles are normally centred around the life of a single historical character. But a cycle in which Aeneas (Sarasota) wears the same armour as Romulus (Cardiff) is clearly impossible. Probably, therefore, the Sarasota *Death of Turnus* was part of a series on the life of Aeneas, and based on the Aeneid. The intended context of the cartoons in Sarasota thus remains unresolved, as does their relationship to the pictures in Cardiff and indeed their artist(s). What can be said is that the scene which best conforms in style to the cartoons in Cardiff—the *Death of Turnus*—cannot be part of the Romulus cycle for which they were created. That scene with Turnus is, in fact, the section of the Sarasota cartoons which appears to me least compatible with an attribution to Boeckhorst. Altogether, it seems that the Sarasota cartoons have at most a tangential relationship to those in Cardiff. Certainly they cannot provide any decisive evidence

about the artist of the Cardiff cartoons.

In Search of an Author for the Cardiff Cartoons (Figs. 83, 85, 88, 90)

For the present, therefore, there are just two things that I would say with confidence about the artist of the Cardiff cartoons: that he did not have the same kind of concerns as the painter of the Romulus sketches (Nos. 30, 31 and 32), and that he cannot have been Rubens. He is, however, a painter of distinct personality and quality. He has consistently made something more dramatic out of what are rather down-to-earth Rubensian compositions, and in the *Romulus killing Remus* (Fig. 83), which was surely his own design, has matched a bold account of the story with a bold treatment of it. He is more concerned with compositional contrasts and clearly outlined dramatic gestures than with the details of the story. The isolation of the figures against the sky and the distant background are designed to emphasize this artistic effect. Typically too, hands are more expressive than facial features.

Some of these characteristics might seem to have analogies in the work of Jan Boeckhorst, the artist to whom Vlieghe has indeed assigned the pictures in Cardiff.⁶⁹ Boeckhorst loved the interplay of elegantly gesticulating hands, sometimes outlined against the sky. The altarpiece of *The Repentant David* in St Michael's, Ghent, a painting particularly cited by Vlieghe in comparison, provides a good illustration of this.⁷⁰ The facial types of some figures in this painting are not dissimilar to those of some characters in the cartoons, while the pose of God the Father is in some ways reminiscent of that of the deified Romulus in *Romulus appearing to Proculus* (Fig. 90).⁷¹ As for the notable adaptation of Raphael's figure of Ananias in the same cartoon, it has a certain parallel in the scene of

the Ascension from Boeckhorst's Snyders triptych of c. 1659.⁷²

Boeckhorst sometimes worked with Rubens during the 1630s, and we have evidence that he completed at least two unfinished paintings by Rubens after the latter's death.⁷³ The supposition would be either that he made the cartoons after 1640 to fulfil a commission originally given to Rubens, much in the way Gaspar de Crayer completed the *Rape of the Sabines* for Philip IV,⁷⁴ or that he acquired the sketches after Rubens's death, probably in the sale of his pictures conducted from 1640-45,⁷⁵ and then adapted them to his own purposes, and to a Romulus series of his own.

Yet there remains the fact that the Cardiff cartoons were already made and installed in a Milanese palace by 1650, whereas the securely dated pictures by Boeckhorst which the cartoons most resemble belong to the 1650s and 1660s. By contrast, the only well-documented work by Boeckhorst of the early 1640s, the altarpiece in St Peter's, Lo, which dates from between 1639 and 1644,⁷⁶ includes none of the stolid figures of the Cardiff Romulus series. Vlieghe has also drawn attention to certain stylistic parallels in a painting of a *Fat Ox*, which he, following Held, attributes to Boeckhorst, and dates before 1650.⁷⁷ Although the attribution is plausible, it hardly constitutes a certain point of reference.

Far from being conclusive, the stylistic comparisons between the works of Boeckhorst and the Cardiff cartoons point up important differences. Boeckhorst is an artist whose compositions are usually characterized more by their delicacy and refinement than by their forcefulness. Jaffé's comments in connection with the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Bob Jones University seem relevant.⁷⁸ That picture, signed and dated 1652, of course postdates the Cardiff paintings. But the *Crucifixion* at Lo, a work painted by Boeckhorst between 1639 and 1644,⁷⁹ already shows all the stylistic characteristics of the mature paintings, even somewhat exaggerated—including gracefully elongated figures—and it looks very different

from the paintings in Cardiff. Besides, is it not likely that the learned Boeckhorst, *magister artium* and, as his friend Jan Erasmus Quellinus called him, *vir philosophus*,⁸⁰ would have been more attentive to iconography?⁸¹

One other piece of evidence might be expected to shed light on the authorship of the Cardiff cartoons, namely the tapestries woven after them. But here again no easy conclusions can be drawn; indeed the matter is confused by a document recording a set of tapestries which combined hangings apparently after the Cardiff cartoons with others from a different Romulus series altogether—and, as it happens, one which Burchard believed to have been designed by Rubens. This latter is dealt with below.⁸² All that can be said here, in connection with the two extant tapestries based on the paintings in Cardiff (Figs. 84, 94), is that, although their recent provenance is different and they are apparently of different materials, therefore perhaps from different weavings (the *Death of Remus*, Fig. 84, having gilded threads),⁸³ both tapestries have the same borders, and were evidently from the same workshop. Unfortunately, there is no signature or weaver's mark on either, so that we have to rely on comparisons with other tapestry borders. (For a description of the borders see discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 129, Series I.) The closest relation seems to be with tapestries woven by Andries van den Dries and Hendrik van Assche, who collaborated on a Diana series (cf. Fig. 111), some of whose compositions are based on Rubensian inventions.⁸⁴

In the recent literature it has usually been assumed that Rubens's sketches (Figs. 86, 89, 91) date from some time in the 1630s, on the basis of their supposed stylistic features. But, as was mentioned already, and is argued below (under Nos. 30, 31 and 32), their appearance seems to have been modified by over-painting, so that a dating to the early 1620s—in fact Burchard's estimate—is possible. Moreover, after the Constantine cycle of the early 1620s, Rubens took to designing borders

for his tapestries as well, and this is evident in the *bozzetti* and *modelli* for the Eucharist and Achilles series. That no such borders are included on the Romulus sketches suggests that these works predate those two cycles, and were made before 1626.⁸⁵

The Relevance of Rubens's 'Mars and Rhea Silvia'

Reinhold Baumstark wondered if the sketch in the Liechtenstein collection of the encounter of Mars and Rhea Silvia (Fig. 102), parents of Romulus and Remus, might have been intended by Rubens to constitute the first episode in a projected Romulus cycle which included the Romulus sketches (Figs. 86, 89, 91).⁸⁶ This left him with a puzzle about dates, for he considered the Liechtenstein sketch to have been painted *c.* 1620 and Nos. 30-32 some ten years later, so that he supposed the production of such a cycle would have extended over a considerable time.⁸⁷ If, however, the Romulus sketches (Nos. 30-32) were indeed painted in the early 1620s, it would certainly make it easier to associate all four compositions in a single project, especially since they are quite similar in height.

In the Liechtenstein sketch (Fig. 102), as well as the corresponding large-scale painting likewise in Vaduz (Fig. 101), the gestures of Rubens's figures are pronouncedly left-handed, indicating that the design was intended for reversal and therefore for reproduction in a tapestry. It was indeed so reproduced, but only for some editions of Rubens's series devoted to Decius Mus, to which it served as a preface. However, as is argued under No. 24, the scene cannot have been originally created by Rubens for this purpose. Not only is the large painting of *Mars and Rhea Silvia* different in scale to the pictures made for the Decius tapestries; its theme has no relevance to the story of Decius's self-sacrifice. In fact the subject of Mars and Rhea Silvia is

never found in Renaissance painting except in narratives of the life of Romulus or the early history of Rome. And, as we shall see, it was used (in a design borrowed from this very composition) for the first episode in a seventeenth-century Flemish tapestry cycle about Romulus—the series which was attributed by Burchard to Rubens and is treated in the pages which follow.⁸⁸ All of which might tend to support the notion of a connection of between the Liechtenstein *Mars and Rhea Silvia* and the Romulus sketches presented here as Nos. 30-32.

The problem is that, at least as they appear today, Nos. 30-32 are simply too different, both in format and in stylistic character, from the sketch in Vaduz for this hypothesis to carry conviction. Compared to the *Mars and Rhea Silvia*, the three Romulus designs are distinctly minimalist, not to say dull; and even after allowance is made for the effects of over-painting they look much inferior in quality. It seems then that, in the present state of knowledge, a direct association cannot be made between the Romulus sketches and the Liechtenstein *Mars and Rhea Silvia*. This leaves us without any satisfactory explanation for the existence of that sketch, and the related painting. As a design for a tapestry it is highly unlikely that the scene was intended to stand alone, forming an individual subject; yet there is simply not enough evidence to give substance to any proposition that Rubens planned a Romulus tapestry cycle quite different both from the one considered above and from that attributed to him by Burchard (wrongly, as I will argue in the pages which follow). Whatever the case, it seems that if Rubens indeed planned the Liechtenstein composition of *Mars and Rhea Silvia* as the introduction to a Romulus cycle—whether or not that cycle was to feature episodes corresponding to the sketches (Nos. 30-32) which were later adapted for the Cardiff Cartoons—he must have abandoned the project by 1625, for it was at this date that the design began to be used in sets of tapestries

of the story of Decius Mus.⁸⁹

Burchard's Romulus Series

Burchard had no knowledge of the Romulus cartoons in Cardiff or the corresponding tapestries, and regarded the sketches (Nos. 30-32) by Rubens as stories of Aeneas. He himself posited a quite different Romulus cycle by Rubens, taking as his evidence a group of seventeenth-century Brussels tapestries which are certainly Rubensian in style and which depict episodes from the life of Romulus. The tapestries he had in mind were three sets described by Böttiger in 1928, and a few other individual hangings either with identical borders or illustrating the same compositions. One series consists of three subjects: *Romulus favoured by the Augury* (an omen of birds) (Fig. 106), *The Rape of the Sabines* (Fig. 107) and *The Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines* (Fig. 108);⁹⁰ Burchard related this to a single tapestry with a very similar border also described by Böttiger, depicting the *Flight of Cloelia* (Fig. 110).⁹¹ Since the remains of two other Romulus sets each combined one of the above subjects with a *Mars and Rhea Silvia* (Fig. 100), a variation on Rubens's Liechtenstein composition (Figs. 101, 102), Burchard likewise included this latter theme in his 'Rubens' series;⁹² indeed in this case he considered that Rubens's preliminary sketch was extant (No. 24a; Fig. 99).⁹³ Finally, he associated with these another set, in the Swedish Royal Collections,⁹⁴ which combined the scenes of *Mars and Rhea Silvia* and *Romulus favoured by the Augury* with a *Romulus and Remus Suckled* (Fig. 103). He therefore assembled a cycle comprising (1) *Mars and Rhea Silvia* (Fig. 100); (2) *Romulus and Remus Suckled* (Fig. 103); (3) *Romulus favoured by the Augury* (Fig. 106); (4) *The Rape of the Sabines* (Fig. 107); (5) *Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines* (Fig. 108); (6) *The Flight of Cloelia* (Fig. 110).

In fact none of the compositions from Burchard's proposed Rubens cycle is directly

based on a known design by the artist. The closest connections are between the scene of *Mars and Rhea Silvia* (Fig. 100) and the painting and sketch in Liechtenstein (Figs. 101, 102), and between the scene of the *Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines* (Fig. 108) and Rubens's painting in Munich (No. 41; Fig. 138). As is argued below, in both cases the relationship seems to me to speak against, rather than for an attribution of the tapestry design to Rubens, and to point to derivative works by a follower. Conversely, it is the difference between the design for the tapestry of the *Rape of the Sabines* (Fig. 107) with its 'barriers' and sidelong composition, and all of Rubens's conceptions of this subject (Nos. 37-40, 42), which leads me to doubt this as a composition by Rubens. The illustration of *Romulus favoured by the Augury* (Fig. 106) likewise looks to me improbable as a Rubensian invention, even if we suppose that the relationship is only indirect, as in the case of the *Mars and Rhea Silvia* and the *Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines*. However, as Burchard thought all six were designs by Rubens himself, they are listed below, under Nos. 24-29.

Burchard's Romulus Series, and a Lost Set of Tapestries related to the Cardiff Cartoons

A search through the Marillier inventories in the Victoria and Albert Museum and printed catalogues of tapestries suggests two modifications of the tapestry cycle assembled by Burchard.⁹⁵ On the one hand the *Flight of Cloelia*, a story which has nothing to do with Romulus but constituted Burchard's sixth subject (No. 29; cf. Fig. 110), was evidently not intended as part of this Romulus cycle; if it was ever included with one set—and, as is noted above,⁹⁶ the borders are not identical to those of the Romulus set with which Burchard associated it—it would have been merely an extra item, a space-filler. (In fact the only tapestry of this design known to me appears to

belong to a cycle with diverse subjects from early Roman history: Series IIb.) On the other hand the five-part life of Romulus which remains should be supplemented by two other scenes, *The Youth of Romulus and Remus* and *The Apotheosis of Romulus*.⁹⁷ Burchard certainly knew of the existence of one tapestry illustrating the first of these subjects (Fig. 98), but evidently never connected it either with Romulus or with Rubens; he thought of it as a hunting scene and attributed its design to Boeckhorst,⁹⁸ an attribution which is maintained by Van Tichelen and Vlieghe in their recent discussion of Boeckhorst as a designer of tapestries.⁹⁹ But even had Burchard known it was a Romulus subject, he would hardly have wanted to associate it with the others, since it, and even more the *Apotheosis of Romulus* (Fig. 97), is obviously not designed by Rubens; if he had retained the attribution to Rubens for the others, Burchard would at best have had to regard these two as additions to the cycle by a different artist. The *Apotheosis* design is virtually a pastiche of the figure of Buckingham from the *Apotheosis of Buckingham*, for which, it might be noted, a drawing survives in the 'Rubens Cantoor',¹⁰⁰ and of the figure of Jupiter taking Henri IV up to heaven in the *Apotheosis of Henri* in the Medici cycle.¹⁰¹ It can be added that the scene of *Romulus favoured by the Augury* is the one which recurs most consistently (in Series IIa, III, IVa, Vb, VI, and A-C, as well as in a separate fragment; in one case, it had the inscription: ROMULUS. FRATREM/ SUPERAT. AUGURIO).¹⁰² All the material I have been able to assemble on the tapestry sets related to these Romulus designs is included in the discussion on the tapestry cycles below, together with the sets known to Burchard and the basis for his 'Rubens' cycle.

At least one such set—unfortunately now known only from a written account which does not give information about borders—includes not only subjects from Burchard's Romulus series, but also tapestries which may have been after the Cardiff cartoons. In the late nineteenth century Mgr Xavier Barbier de

Montault described among the tapestries he saw in Rome a Romulus series (whose precise location he did not note).¹⁰³ This consisted of eleven hangings, evidently made in the late seventeenth century in Brussels. Not all had a weaver's mark, but those which did were signed either by Daniel Eggermans or by Hendrik van Assche.¹⁰⁴ The presence of the mark of the pontifical factory of San Michele on two tapestries, one of which is also signed by Eggermans, is not a real problem (even if it led Barbier de Montault to the unlikely hypothesis that Flemish tapestry workers might have moved to Rome to make them).¹⁰⁵ It seems probable that the marks—on the lower border—simply indicate that restorations had been carried out in the Roman factory; as Guy Delmarcel pointed out to me, this frequently happens, the bottom of tapestries being particularly liable to wear.¹⁰⁶

In this set, then, appear six subjects from the seven in Burchard's Romulus series (as modified to exclude *The Flight of Cloelia* and include the two additions): *Romulus and Remus Suckled*, inscribed: 'Romulus and Remus are suckled by the wolf' and signed by Daniel Eggermans;¹⁰⁷ *The Youth of Romulus and Remus* inscribed 'They steal the hunter's spoils',¹⁰⁸ *Romulus favoured by the Augury*, inscribed 'Romulus defeats his brother through the omen',¹⁰⁹ *The Rape of the Sabines* (if we assume that it is the same composition recorded in the other tapestries, e.g. Fig. 107);¹¹⁰ *The Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines*, inscribed 'The abducted women put a stop to the battle', signed by Hendrik van Assche (again, assuming it is identical with the other tapestry composition: Fig. 108);¹¹¹ *The Apotheosis of Romulus*, inscribed 'Romulus is received among the gods'.¹¹²

There also appear to be tapestries after three of the four Cardiff cartoons. The 'Rivalité des Deux frères. Romulus et Rémus, vêtus en guerriers, se disputent' seems to describe *Romulus killing Remus* (cf. Figs. 83, 84); significantly no bystanders are mentioned.¹¹³ The 'Offrande après la victoire. Romulus offre

à Jupiter les depouilles opimes' might seem less certain as a description of the 'trophy' scene (Fig. 88); given the specific reference to Jupiter, an image of the god might be expected. But the title here has evidently been conditioned by the terms of the inscription, also recorded by Barbier de Montault: *ROMULUS. SPOLIA. OPIME [sic?] / IOVI. FERETRIO. DICAT.* ('Romulus dedicates the spoils of victory to Jupiter Feretrius').¹¹⁴ And I see no reason to doubt that a tapestry after the 'trophy' cartoon is intended, especially since the third tapestry, described as 'Romulus apparaît à Julius Proculus' had the inscription: *ROMULUS PROCULO/ JULIO DIVUS APPARET.* ('The deified Romulus appears to Proculus Julius'), a text which is almost identical with that on the extant tapestry after the Cardiff cartoon (Fig. 94; cf. Fig. 90).¹¹⁵ In this case it offers the Latin in slightly more correct form.

Thus the only tapestries from the Barbier de Montault series not yet identifiable with any of the Romulus subjects I know of seem to be the final 'Sacrifice aux Dieux', signed by Eggermans, and perhaps the *Tiber*.

The implication might seem to be that we can, therefore, link the Cardiff cartoons to Burchard's series, indeed take them as components of the same cycle. Two weavers are sometimes recorded as participating in a single project, as for example in the Diana series (cf. Fig. 111) in which Van Assche collaborated with Adrien van den Dries.¹¹⁶ But in fact Barbier de Montault's description is evidently of two independent cycles, combined together—perhaps by their weavers, perhaps later—for a Roman patron with a larger than usual *camer* to fill.

If we examine Barbier de Montault's list of subjects, it seems clear that the *Apotheosis of Romulus* and *Romulus appearing to Proculus* are alternative endings, rather than sequential episodes, while *Romulus favoured by the Augury* and *Romulus killing Remus* are not just alternative, but mutually exclusive versions of the story. In the former scene, it is Celer who is about to kill Remus, as the brothers argue

about the omens, a sanitized account designed precisely to avoid the problematic fratricide which is illustrated in the other tapestry described. In both cases, as it happens, the variant version is probably after one of the Cardiff cartoons. Presumably, therefore, they, and the other tapestry apparently based on a 'Cardiff cartoon' design, namely the *Dedication of the Trophy*, belong to a separate group. It would be satisfying if this group could be associated exclusively with Van Assche, leaving the others as the production of Eggermans, who, as Barbier de Montault tells us, was responsible for the weaving of *Romulus and Remus Suckled*, *The Youth of Romulus and Remus*, *The Apotheosis of Romulus* and the *Sacrifice to the Gods*; but Van Assche evidently signed the *Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines*, which, as was noted, may well have been based on the composition from Burchard's series. So this (relatively) tidy solution cannot be assumed. Still, the two tapestries which appear to survive from the set(s) described by Barbier de Montault have—or had—not only signatures by Eggermans, but borders almost identical with those of one set of Burchard's series.¹¹⁷ Burchard's Romulus cycle, therefore, at least in some versions, was presumably woven, if not designed, in the workshop of Eggermans. Interestingly too it is with Van Assche, as noted above, that the borders of the tapestries after the Cardiff cartoons are most closely linked.

The Eggermans workshop made many tapestries after Rubens.¹¹⁸ In this case, however, I cannot believe that we are dealing with Rubensian designs. The *Apotheosis of Romulus* is perhaps the most uninspired as a composition, with a borrowed pose and gesture for Jupiter who receives the hero into heaven. But the others too seem to be designs derived, if in a more enterprising way, from Rubensian motifs and figures. Justus van Egmont seems a possible candidate, for the authorship of the designs and the preliminary sketches—both the *Mars and Rhea Silvia* (No. 24a; Fig. 99) and the *Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines* (No.

28a, copy; Fig. 109). This artist is recorded as working in Rubens's studio in the 1620s and he was involved, at least in its later stages, in the execution of the Medici cycle; he subsequently became known as a tapestry designer both in France and the Netherlands.¹¹⁹ This is not the place, nor am I equipped, to argue the case for Van Egmont's authorship of the series: Arnout Balis will do so in another context. More needs to be established about Van Egmont's career, particularly as a tapestry designer; at present the only tapestry cycle by him that has been studied in any detail is the Zenobia series of c. 1665, for which two preliminary designs (a drawing and an oil sketch) survive.¹²⁰ But the closest analogies are perhaps with Van Egmont's (?) earlier series of the History of Antony and Cleopatra,¹²¹ and his History of Augustus.¹²² The scene of the Germanic women brandishing babies as weapons against the Romans (Fig. 112)¹²³ underlines the fact that it represents a sort of perversion of the Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines by its obvious derivation from Rubens's compositions of that subject, which so determined the tapestry design for Burchard's series (No. 28; Figs. 108, 109). The same Rubensian model was obviously influential on the scene from Van Egmont's Augustus cycle (Fig. 113), which has been identified as 'Rome intervening between Augustus and Mark Antony', though the peacemaking female is certainly Octavia, the long-suffering sister of Augustus (or rather, at this stage, Octavian) who married Antony to procure a reconciliation in 40 BC.¹²⁴ Octavia is very similar in (elongated) proportions and type to the Sabine women in the sketch and corresponding tapestry from the Burchard series (Nos. 28, 28a; Figs. 108, 109). Moreover, Van Egmont's tapestry designs often include men, particularly soldiers, who are slightly hunched and leaning forward—and such figures serve compositional purposes by framing and enclosing the action. This also happens in the Romulus series. Similarly, common both to Van Egmont and the artist of the Romulus

cycle is a liking (in women) for round, slightly flattened faces seen from below and (in men, at least the young and beardless ones) for jutting chins: for example, the foremost youth with a baton (Romulus?) in the *Youth of Romulus and Remus* (Fig. 98) has just the sort of long, slightly hooked nose and pointed chin that is characteristic of Van Egmont. It is always hard to determine the underlying style of the artist who designed a tapestry when faced with nothing but the final woven product; here connoisseurship is something of a blunt instrument, relying on simple comparisons of compositions and motifs. But even if there are some features of the Romulus series which do not have an immediate parallel in the documented work of Van Egmont—for example, the swirl of drapery that encircles the heads of certain female protagonists (cf. Figs. 99, 100, 108, 109; as well as the scene with Cloelia: Fig. 110)¹²⁵—it seems to me that there is reason to present Justus van Egmont as the possible author of the Romulus cycle isolated by Burchard.¹²⁶

Having said all this, the policy of the Corpus being to reflect Burchard's opinion in the numbering system of the catalogue, each item that he considered to be a design by Rubens is accorded a number. In the case of the present hypothetical tapestry cycle, this involves positing the existence of lost *modelli* or cartoons (Nos. 24-29), as well as preliminary oil sketches, which, except in two cases, are lost; since Burchard regarded only one of these two extant sketches (No. 24a) as by Rubens, it alone is classed here as an original; the other is listed as a copy (No. 28a, copy). In my view they are in fact both by the same artist, the designer of the tapestry series, quite probably Van Egmont. Further argument concerning the attribution to Rubens of individual compositions is given under the relevant numbers.

A Note on the Romulus Tapestry Cycles

The tapestry workshops which produced the series discussed here sometimes seem to have combined and conflated elements from up to four different sets. It should not therefore be supposed that any particular series constitutes a single (or entire) series. The following list of tapestries is simply an attempt to arrange the available material into groups which appear to correspond to different series, determined according to conformity to the specific design of the borders and the size (at least height) of the tapestries in question. A distinction is drawn between the series made from the original cartoons (numbered I-VI, with subdivisions, a-c, where necessary) and those based on a derivative group of designs (numbered A-E). Even Burchard's notional Romulus cycle by Rubens is not a single series, but brings together designs from two different sources. What unites this material is a certain conformity of subject-matter (early Roman history) and Rubensian style.

Series I

Two tapestries (Figs. 84, 94) corresponding (in reverse) to the cartoons in Cardiff (Figs. 83, 90, which, however, have evidently been cut at either side)¹²⁷ with identical borders and presumably from the same workshop, though perhaps from different weavings since one, the *Death of Remus*, is said to contain gilded threads not present in the other (see text at n. 83). Unsigned, Brussels, presumably before 1650 (when the cartoons are recorded in Milan).

Borders: to either side beading similar to that in Series IIa; at bottom beading similar to an egg and dart design with a small cartouche in the centre, dark and convex; on the top edge a cartouche with winged seraph-like creatures with naked torsos facing out from central dark convex field.¹²⁸

1. *Romulus killing Remus* (Fig. 84), Rome, private collection, 333 × 254 cm.; inscribed: ROMVLVS. REM/VM FRATREM. IN/TERFICIT ~. PROV. Acquarone collection, Giove, Terni, sale, Castello di Giove (Salamon-Algranti), 8 June 1985, lot 711, repr. LIT. Jaffé—Cannon-Brookes, 'Dissegni', 1986, pp. 782, 784, fig. 5; Jaffé, Rubens, 1989, pp. 373-374, under no. 1392; D. Bodart in *Cat. Exh. Padua etc.*, 1990, p. 136; I. Van Tichelen and H. Vlieghe in *Cat. Exh. Boeckhorst, Antwerp—Münster*, 1990, pp. 110-111 and fig. 71.

2. *Romulus appearing to Proculus* (Fig. 94), Cardiff, National Museum of Wales, 330 × 224 cm.; inscribed: ROMVLVS. I. PRO/CLO. POST. MORTEM/ APPARET ~. PROV. Sale, London (Sotheby's), 15 February 1985, lot 113, bought by the Museum. LIT. Jaffé—Cannon-Brookes, 'Dissegni', 1986, pp. 782, 784, fig. 4; Jaffé, Rubens, 1989, pp. 373-374, under no. 1392; D. Bodart in *Cat. Exh. Padua etc.*, 1990, p. 136, repr.; I. Van Tichelen and H. Vlieghe in *Cat. Exh. Boeckhorst, Antwerp—Münster*, 1990, pp. 110-111 and fig. 70.

Series IIa

Three tapestries from a set, still together in 1928: Stockholm, collection Harry Axelson Johnson (1928). Unsigned, Brussels, mid 17th-century.

Borders: (further description in Böttiger, *Tapisseries*, 1928, loc. cit. below) at sides single Cupids on flower pots and above swags of fruit; top centre: heart(s) with wings and crossed arrows through them (in two cases, appropriately those involving the Sabine women) and flaming cannon-balls to the side. Dolphins in lower borders.

1. *Romulus favoured by the Augury* (Fig. 106). 377 × 442 cm. See further under No. 26, tapestry 1.

2. *Rape of the Sabines* (Fig. 107). 352 × 507 cm. See further under No. 27, tapestry 1.

3. *Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines* (Fig.

108). 356 × 505 cm. See further under No. 28, tapestry 1.

LIT. *Böttiger, Tapisseries, 1928*, I, pp. 71-75, nos. 64-66; II, pls. 60-62; *Marillier, Tapestries, p. 29* (as *school of Rubens*).

Series IIb

Three tapestries with identical borders, presumably from the same set (but measurements not known for two). Unsigned, Brussels, mid 17th-century.

Borders: almost identical to that of Series IIa except that the cartouche at the top is exactly the same as in Series I, and the lower border has different dolphins.

1. *Horatius Cocles defending the Bridge*, Madrid, collection Miguel Borondo. Measurements unknown; inscribed: *H. COCLES SOLVS / IN PONTE LATINORVM / ARCET EXERCITVM* (photograph in Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire).

2. *The Flight of Cloelia* (Fig. 110), whereabouts unknown. 392 × 453 cm.; inscribed: *CLOELIA. CVM/ ALIIS. TRANS. TIBRIM/ ROMAM. REDEVNT. [sic]*. See further under No. 29, tapestry.

3. *Battle scene*, Madrid, collection Miguel Borondo. Measurements unknown; inscribed: *ILLVXOREM [= IN ILLVSOREM?] / LIBENTER TRIAT [= TRIA?] / MVNERA JET [sic]* (photograph in Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire). The inscription, like the subject, is baffling. If the first words are intended as *in illusorem* ('against the mocker') one might think of Romulus killing Remus (an alternative reading *ille uxorem* seems to be ruled out for want of any female presence). But the significance of the 'three gifts' [or 'offices']—if indeed *tria munera* is the appropriate interpretation—is obscure; and the verb is meaningless.

Series III

Three tapestries with the same borders, from

one set, Swedish Royal Collections. Unsigned, Brussels, 17th-century.

Borders: at sides, three putti in different poses playing in a swag of fruit and below a vase of flowers; bottom, no frame; top, flowers and fruit and central convex dark cartouche.

1. *Mars and Rhea Silvia*. 340 × 381 cm. See further under No. 24, tapestry 1.

2. *Romulus and Remus Suckled* (Fig. 103). 330 × 324 cm. See further under No. 25, tapestry 1.

3. *Romulus favoured by the Augury*. 330 × 463 cm. See further under No. 26, tapestry 2.

LIT. *Böttiger, Tapestries, 1898*, III, p. 43; suite Lit. Å; pls. xxxva, xxxvb, xxxiib.

Series IVa

Series (or probably two series) by two different weavers: Daniel Eggermans and Hendrik van Assche, Brussels, mid 17th-century. The numbering here is that of Barbier de Montault; the descriptions summarize his French account of each subject. It should be pointed out that he did not specify the decoration of the borders, but this can be deduced from the two tapestries that appear to be extant. The inscriptions for these two are given in the exact form in which they present themselves on the tapestries; in other cases the inscriptions are copied from Barbier de Montault's version: hence the inconsistency in the transcription of V and U. (Those signed by Eggermans: 2, 6, 10, 11; those signed by Van Assche: 5, 9; those bearing the San Michele mark 1, 2, 10). Whereabouts unknown, except for nos. 2 and 6, whose present location is given below, under the relevant number.

Borders (description based only on the extant tapestries recorded under Nos. 2 and 6): at sides, banded columns (Solomonic, but more or less straight, rather than twisted) with swags of fruit near the top, standing on plinths; top centre, cartouche, with fruit to either side pouring from cornucopias; centre field dark and apparently convex containing

(evidently in most cases) inscription; bottom centre, cartouche flanked by cornucopias and mark of the maker (as in no. 6), or else medallion of the Roman manufacture of San Michele (as in no. 2). (Since this came into operation after 1702 the mark is presumably that of a repairer: see text at nn. 105, 106). Lowest band of each column shows cupids hunting various animals within vine tendrils. Closely related to the borders of Series Va.

1. *The Tiber, lying in reeds, leaning on his urn.* Measurements unknown; inscribed (evidently differently from the rest; lower case and on a single line): *Tibris romanam urbem alluens.* (See also n. 106.)

2. *Romulus and Remus Suckled.* Measurements unknown; inscribed: *ROMVLVS. ET/ REMVS. LACTANTVR/ A LVPA.* Originally signed *DANIEL. EGGERMANS F./ [Brussels mark]*. I here assume the tapestry to be identical with that now in the Palazzo della Consulta, Rome, which, however, has the mark of San Michele on the bottom. It seems that the tapestry must have been repaired in the San Michele workshop after Barbier de Montault saw it in the late 19th century. The border on the tapestry listed under no. 6 is virtually identical, but still bears the mark of Eggermans. See further under No. 25, tapestry 2.

3. *Romulus and Remus fighting.* (They are described as clad as warriors; no bystanders are mentioned). Measurements unknown; no inscription. Possibly identical to the composition of Fig. 83.

4. *Romulus favoured by the Augury.* (Romulus and Remus are described as examining the sky for the flying birds which appear favourable to Romulus; no bystanders are mentioned.)¹²⁹ Measurements unknown; inscribed: *ROMVLVS. FRATREM/ SUPERAT. AUGURIO.* See also under No. 26, tapestry 3.

5. *Romulus setting up the Trophy?* (Romulus is described as offering to Jupiter the spoils of battle.) Measurements unknown; inscribed: *ROMVLVS. SPOLIA. OPIME [sic] / IOVI. FERETRIO. DICAT;* signed: *[Brussels mark] H. VAN. ASSCHE* with monogram. Probably

identical to the composition of Fig. 88. (See text at n. 114.)

6. *Apotheosis of Romulus.* (Romulus is said to be carried up to heaven by Jupiter, 'transformed into an eagle', while the field is filled with light.) 345 × 385 cm.; inscribed: *ROMVLVS/ INTER DEOS/ ASSVMITVR.* Signed by Daniel Eggermans. This seems to be identical with a tapestry last recorded in Barcelona, with the heirs of the late Dr Xavier de Salas (Fig. 97: photograph Mas C-90813). Its measurements are those supplied above.¹³⁰

7. *Romulus appearing to Proculus.* Measurements unknown; inscribed: *ROMVLVS PRO- CULO/ JULIO DIVVS APPARET.* This is probably identical to the composition of Fig. 90; the inscription is closely related to that on the tapestry now in Cardiff (Fig. 94; Series I, no. 2).

8. *Rape of the Sabines.* Measurements unknown; apparently no inscription (but the tapestry listed under Series IVb, which does bear an inscription, may in fact be this one: see below). Also further under No. 27, tapestry 2.

9. *Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines.* (The Sabine women intervene between the combatants indicating their children.) Measurements unknown; inscribed: *RAPTAE PRAELIUM/ DIRIMUNT;* signed: *HENDRICK. VAN. ASSCHE,* followed by monogram. See also under No. 28, tapestry 3.

10. *The Youth of Romulus and Remus?* Described as 'A hunter deprived of his booty'. This probably illustrated the Youth of Romulus and Remus, as in Fig. 98. Measurements unknown; inscribed: *VENATORI. PRAEDAM/ RAPIUNT;* signed: *DANIEL. EGGERMANS. F. [Brussels mark]*. In the border the medallion of San Michele. That this item indeed belongs with a Romulus series is suggested by the recurrence of what seems to be the same composition in other Romulus cycles (Series VI; and the variant in Series B and C: for this last, although it is lost, we have the detailed description by Marillier).

11. *Sacrifice to the Gods.* Measurements unknown; presumably no inscription; signed

with the name of Eggermans, as the preceding one.

LIT. *Barbier de Montault, Tapisseries, 1879*, pp. 100-103.

Series IVb

Borders: same as IVa. Brussels, mark attributed to Jan van den Hecke (d. 1633-34). Mark of San Michele in the bottom centre (for the significance of which see above, description of borders of Series IVa).

Rape of the Sabines, whereabouts unknown. Measurements unknown; inscribed: *VIRGINES SABINAE A ROMANIS RAPIUNTUR*. This looks as if it should be the very tapestry of this subject recorded without any indication of inscription or mark by Barbier de Montault. If so, it would put in doubt the reliability of the information he provides. But it is possible that the tapestry of the *Rape of the Sabines* was not visible when he saw the series; indeed it might even have been removed at that time for repair to the workshop of San Michele and he may simply have been informed of its existence; hence his laconic reference. See also under No. 27, tapestry 3.¹³¹

Series Va

Two tapestries from a set, still together in 1928: Stockholm, Carl Bergsten (1928). Unsigned, Brussels, mid 17th-century.

Borders: almost identical to those of Series IVa, IVb, except that the cartouche flanked by cornucopias at the bottom is dark; and there are no inscriptions at the top.

1. *Mars and Rhea Silvia* (Fig. 100). 392 × 373 cm. See further under No. 24, tapestry 2.

2. *Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines*. 398 × 580 cm. See further under No. 28, tapestry 2.

LIT. *Böttiger, Tapisseries, 1928*, I, pp. 77-79, nos. 68, 69; II, pls. 64, 65; Göbel, *Wandteppiche, 1923-24*, I, i, pp. 206-207; *Marillier, Tapestries*, p. 30.

Series Vb

Borders: similar to Va. Unsigned, Brussels, 17th-century.

Romulus favoured by the Augury, whereabouts unknown. 416 × 441 cm. See under No. 26, tapestry 4.

Series Vc

Borders: similar to IVa (and Va), though very short at top and bottom.

Two soldiers from the left of a *Romulus favoured by the Augury* evidently to be used as a narrow filler piece. In Marillier's notes the identification of the subject as *Jason wearing the Fleece* is recorded, but with scepticism.¹³² See further under No. 26, tapestry 5.

Series VI

Four tapestries with virtually identical borders (the column to the left in no. 2 has one section twisted in a different direction; no. 4 has a strip added at the bottom and decorative motif filling the space between the upper cartouche and the edges), presumably from the same set. Unsigned, Brussels, 17th-century.

Borders: similar to IVa, but columns are without plinths. No lower borders (except for no. 4, which seems to have been added later).

1. *Mars and Rhea Silvia*, whereabouts unknown. 324 × 380 cm. See further under No. 24, tapestry 3.

2. *The Youth of Romulus and Remus* (Fig. 98), whereabouts unknown. c. 345 × 385 cm. PROV. L. Hirschberg, Berlin; sale, Berlin (Interkunst), 2 February 1933; sale, Berlin (Interkunst), 5 February 1935, lot 504 (repr. pl. 1). LIT. *Marillier, Tapestries*, p. 31, recording it as having been sold at Paris at unknown date; I. Van Tichelen and H. Vlieghe in *Cat. Exh. Boeckhorst, Antwerp—Münster, 1990*, p. 116 and fig. 78 (as after Boeckhorst).

3. *Romulus favoured by the Augury*, where-

abouts unknown. 328 × 452 cm. PROV. Milton Abbey, sale, 12-23 September 1932, lot 1877;¹³³ sale, London (Sotheby's), 14 March 1952, lot 89. See also under No. 26, tapestry 6.

4. *The Rape of the Sabines*, whereabouts unknown. A composition corresponding to Series IIa, no. 3 (according to Marillier). Measurements unknown. For details see under No. 27, tapestry 4.

5. *The Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines*, whereabouts unknown. Measurements unknown. For details see under No. 28, tapestry 4.

Note: The following series are closely related to those listed above, but were evidently not based on the same cartoons. They are probably derived simply from one or other of the tapestry cycles of Series I-VI (but see the comments on Series C, nos. 1 and 3). Accordingly, by contrast with Series I-VI, no items from Series A-E are included in the list of editions of tapestries under the relevant numbers in the catalogue. For example the *Youth of Romulus and Remus* has an extra figure on the right; *Romulus favoured by the Augury* shows the composition in reverse and has the soldiers wearing helmets; the *Apotheosis of Romulus* is based more exclusively on the model of Henri IV from the picture in the Medici cycle (even including in one case the zodiac sign). In two instances the weaver's name is apparently given: Jan Raes and Jan Raet. All the compositions are rather stiff and unsophisticated.

Series A

Brussels, 17th-century. ? Signed by Jan Raes.¹³⁴

Borders: Solomonic columns flat on the ground, with the lowest elements covered by acanthus leaves; no swags.

Romulus favoured by the Augury, whereabouts unknown. c. 395 × 445 cm. PROV. London, Collection Perez (photograph in Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, weaver not mentioned); ? sale, London

(Sotheby's), 17 December 1954, lot 62 (as 'signed by Jan Raes').

Series B

Brussels 17th-century, by Jan Raet (in two cases signed by him).¹³⁵

Borders: very faintly twisted Solomonic columns with vine-leaf decoration; acanthus decoration on lowest section.

1. *The Youth of Romulus and Remus*.

315 × 445 cm.

2. ? *Romulus killing Acron* (actually *Aeneas killing Turnus*; this is similar to the composition mentioned in n. 67). 330 × 260 cm.

3. *Apotheosis of Romulus*. 320 × 273 cm. In this case the composition seems to be derived more exclusively from the Apotheosis of Henri IV in the Medici cycle.¹³⁶ The zodiac sign is also included.

4. ? *Soldiers with a letter before Romulus*.

320 × 325 cm.

PROV. 'a château in Burgundy'; sale, Monaco (Sotheby's), 29 June-1 July 1995, lots 298-299, 301-302, repr.

To judge from the borders (we have no information on size), a further item from this series must be:

5. *Romulus favoured by the Augury*, Segovia, Alcázar, Sala de las Piñas. Measurements unknown (photograph in Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire).

Series C

? Flemish (? or English), late 17th-century ? *Coughton Court, Warwickshire*. Called 'The Rubens set'.

Borders: simple floral design, the same all round. Measurements unknown.

1. *Romulus and Remus with the Wolf*. Based on Rubens's Capitoline painting (No. 34; Fig. 117) but in reverse (could be based on the painting once in Brussels—No. 34, Copy 1—rather than the picture in Rome).

2. *Romulus favoured by the Augury*.

3. *Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines*. Possibly based on Rubens's painting in Munich (No. 41; Fig. 138), or a derivative of this.

4. *The Youth of Romulus and Remus*, called 'The Capture of Remus' and not extant. From Marillier's description, however, this is clearly the same composition as Series B, no. 1 (a variation on the composition in Fig. 98: Series VI, no. 2 and probably Series IVa, no. 10).

5. *Apotheosis of Romulus*.

LIT. Marillier, *Tapestries*, p. 27; Cleaver, *Cartoons*, 1986, pp. 96-97, figs. 27-30.

Series D

? Flemish, 17th-century.

Borders: swags of fruit and flowers; cartouche at top and bottom centre, the latter flanked by standing putti.

1. *The Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines*, according to Marillier in Margraf collection, Berlin (wrongly entitled the 'Rape of the Sabines'); the composition is the same as that of Series C, no. 3. LIT. Marillier, *Tapestries*, p. 28.

With this item seems to belong the following series (2-4) with the Brussels mark said to be of Constantine, but perhaps actually of Romulus, in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna:

2. *'The Death of Maxentius'*, adapted from the composition of *Aeneas and Turnus* mentioned in n. 67; this time the victim does not hold a stone, but a sword. Cf. Series B, no. 2.

3. *'Constantine with Consuls'*, an adaptation of the scene appended to many weavings of Rubens's Decius Mus cycle.

4. *'Constantine sending a Letter'*, the same composition as Series B, no. 4.

LIT. E. von Birk, 'Inventar der im Besitze des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses befindlichen Niederländer Tapeten und Gobelins', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, II, 1884, p. 184, no. LXXI, 1-3.

Series E

Possibly a part of Series D, but no information is available about borders.

? Flemish, 17th-century.

Borders: unknown.

Apotheosis of Romulus, a fragment, Glove, Craven Arms.

LIT. Marillier, *Tapestries*, p. 31, who relates it to the tapestry in the Coughton set (Series C, no. 5). Presumably it belongs to the same group of tapestries based indirectly on the 'Burchard' series.

1. See Jaffé—Cannon-Brookes, 'Disegni', 1986, esp. p. 780; also further below, n. 14.
2. These problems were first brought to my attention by Arnout Balis, who has greatly helped in dealing with this recalcitrant material.
3. P. Cannon-Brookes, *The History of Aeneas by Sir Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640)*, Cardiff, 1979.
4. For the sketch in Rotterdam which is related to No. 31, see under No. 31a.
5. The peculiarities of the sketches were raised in particular by Cleaver (*Cleaver, Cartoons*, 1986, pp. 47-64). See further below, under Nos. 30, 31 and 32.
6. De Poorter, *Eucharist*, 1978, I, pp. 141-142, with the documents.
7. On the different weavers' practices see De Poorter, *Eucharist*, 1978, I, pp. 136-149.
8. Bellori, *Vite*, ed. Borea, 1976, p. 272: 'Fece li cartoni e quadri dipinti per le tapezzerie dell'istorie di Decio'.
9. For the paper cartoons of Decius Mus recorded in the 18th century see De Poorter, *Eucharist*, 1978, I, p. 142, n. 31.
10. True, in their original state some details in the sketches may have been closer to the designs of the cartoons (see especially under Nos. 30 and 32); none the less the differences remain striking.
11. Unless we posit a series of lost *modelli* in which Rubens altered the compositions to make them appear as in the Cardiff cartoons. See below under No. 31a.
12. See esp. Jaffé, *Cartoons*, 1983.
13. That their style is incompatible with Rubens and belongs to another personality is particularly argued in Held, *Cartoons*, 1983, pp. 136-151 and fig. 1 (frontispiece); Vlieghe, *Cartoons*, 1983, pp. 350-356. See also Cleaver, *Cartoons*, 1986, *passim*. The proposal that this artist is Jan Boeckhorst is considered below.
14. They are described as 'quatro quadri in carta incollata sopra la tela...disegni coloriti di Rubens'; the subjects are not recorded. See Jaffé—Cannon-

- Brookes, 'Dissegni', 1986, esp. p. 780. They are listed under the *Pittura della Primogenitura che sono in Casa del Conte di Valsassina*—this presumably refers to the palace that the Cardinal had bought in 1642 in Milan for his nephew, the family heir (*ibid.*, pp. 780-781).
15. Nor is this argued in Jaffé—Cannon-Brookes, 'Dissegni', 1986; there it is proposed that Monti, who would have gained a knowledge of Rubens's art (and perhaps of Rubens himself) when he was in Madrid in 1628-29, acquired the cartoons, for what was probably an unfinished project, after Rubens's death. Whatever the case, the tapestries that were woven from the cartoons (see discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 129, Series I; also IVa, nos. 3, 5 and 7) must have been made before 1650, by which time the cartoons were mounted as pictures in Milan.
 16. The traditional title of the sketch corresponding to the scene in which a man dedicates a trophy (No. 30; Fig. 89) had been *Aeneas contemplating armour* and the 'apparition' sketch (No. 32; Fig. 91) had been called by Burchard and others *Ascanius before Aeneas*; the 'meeting' sketch (No. 31; Fig. 86) had, by contrast, usually been taken for *Minucius and Fabius Maximus*, but Burchard had more logically identified this too with an Aeneas subject, choosing that of Aeneas meeting Evander. When he first published this sketch (L. Burchard, 'Die Begegnung zweier Feldherren von Rubens', *Der Cicerone*, V, xxi, 1929, p. 378) he had considered, however, that it might be Constantine and Licinius or Scipio and Hannibal.
 17. The 'trophy' cartoon (Fig. 88), in which the protagonist stands back to gaze at the armour, in what might be taken for astonishment, looked as if the theme of Aeneas with the spoils of Mezentius had been 'contaminated' by another Vergilian subject: Aeneas admiring the heavenly armour provided by Venus, his mother. That this latter theme was now the intended subject did not, however, seem possible, given the absence of the goddess. A textual source could be cited for the 'apparition' in Ps. Aurelius Victor's epitome of Roman history, where the dead Aeneas (uniquely) appears to his son, Ascanius; and this seemed to accord too with the more emphatic contrast in age in the cartoon between the two figures in that scene, the young man even having a sprouting beard. (See below, under No. 32.) But the other two scenes were then clumsily equated—for want of any better match—with Aeneas and Evander and Aeneas and Turnus respectively, a solution which was obviously unsatisfactory, since the essential iconographic ingredients of each story were absent.
 18. On the early Aeneas series and an instance of his recitation of Vergil see E. McGrath in [Cat. Exh.] *Splendours of the Gonzaga* (Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1981-1982), eds. D. Chambers and J. Martineau, London, 1981, pp. 214-215, 227-229, under no. 244; also A.-M. Logan, review of *Held, Drawings*, 1986 in *Master Drawings*, XXV, 1987, pp. 67-68. For the lines of Vergil that Rubens inscribed on his copy of the ancient statue of the Tiber see Fig. 119 and below, under No. 34, at nn. 15, 18.
 19. *Held, Sketches*, 1980, I, pp. 376, 377-378.
 20. See also below, under Nos. 30, 32, 34.
 21. For these see below, under Nos. 30-32.
 22. He more resembles Aeneas (if it is indeed Aeneas) as he appears in the sketch entitled *Aeneas in the Underworld* (*Held, Sketches*, 1980, I, pp. 316-317, no. 230; II, pl. 252), now in the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff.
 23. For a description of the tapestries see discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 129, Series I. They also indicate that both the related cartoons (perhaps indeed all four) were cut at the sides: see Jaffé—Cannon-Brookes, 'Dissegni', 1986, p. 784, nn. 17 and 18.
 24. The measurements of the cartoons are as follows: (1) 276.4 × 206.4 cm.; (2) 282.8 × 189.5 cm.; (3) 278.3 × 207.7 cm.; (4) 280.2 × 189.5 cm. See also above, n. 23.
 25. This is emphasized by the inscription on the tapestry recorded by Barbier de Montault (discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 131, Series IVa, no. 5) which probably reproduced the composition of this cartoon.
 26. Jaffé's explanation, that it is held by the scarf, seems unsatisfactory. See *Held, Cartoons*, 1983, p. 134; *Cleaver, Cartoons*, 1986, p. 33; M. Jaffé, 'The Aeneas cartoons at Cardiff: not Boeckhorst, Rubens', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXV, 1983, p. 483.
 27. For these accounts see below, under No. 30. Before the spear was discerned on the sketch showing Romulus and Proculus (No. 32; Fig. 91) it appeared that Plutarch had been the source of an alteration in the corresponding cartoon: see Jaffé—Cannon-Brookes, 'Dissegni', 1986, p. 784. See also below, n. 35.
 28. Under the circumstances it is understandable that the subject was at first misidentified as *Aeneas with the trophy of Mezentius*. For Romulus's headband see, for example, *Faber, Imagines*, 1606, pl. 127 and text, p. 73. See also Fig. 105. For examples in Rubens's work see Nos. 37-43.
 29. See, for example, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* II.49.5. This view, admittedly, seems inconsistent with their wearing gold bracelets in the story of Tarpeia (Livy, *Ab urbe condita* I.xi.8; Dionysius, *Roman Antiquities* II.38.3), but there the bracelets are simply demanded by the context.
 30. *Held, Cartoons*, 1983, p. 135.
 31. This change in symbolism might be justified by assuming that both leaders have separate wreaths since they were simultaneously victors, and were

- to reign jointly in Rome for five years, until the death of Tatius. Held, however, commented on the symbolic impoverishment of the motif: *Held, Cartoons, 1983*, p. 133.
32. See text at n. 28.
 33. Held has indicated that the styles of helmet in the cartoons are uncharacteristic of Rubens (*Held, Cartoons, 1983*, p. 135 and fig. 16).
 34. Here a parallel might be drawn for example with Rubens's equestrian portrait of Philip II (*K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921*, p. 308), but this effect was not sought by Rubens in narrative pictures.
 35. One feature formerly perceived as an alteration was thought to have particular significance. This was the spear in the hand of Romulus, identifying him as Quirinus (see further under No. 32), Romulus's title as a god. The inclusion of this attribute was cited as an indication of Rubens's authorship of the cartoon. See *Jaffé—Cannon-Brookes, 'Dissegni', 1986*, p. 784. But a close examination of the sketch indicates that a spear was originally painted there too.
 36. See further below, under No. 32.
 37. See above, n. 17.
 38. *Jaffé, Cartoons, 1983*, p. 147.
 39. Livy, *Ab urbe condita* I.vii.2; cf. Plutarch, *Romulus* 9-10, though he attributes Remus's action to his anger over the earlier dispute about the augury. For this, and other variants in the story see below under No. 26.
 40. Some versions, e.g. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* I.87, talk of the fight as a battle, which arose after the dispute about the omens.
 41. See below, under No. 26.
 42. Cleaver in fact argued that the design of *Romulus killing Remus* cannot be by Rubens (*Cleaver, Cartoons, 1986*, esp. pp. 22-24, 37-39); but Jaffé assumed that it is based on a lost sketch by Rubens (see, most recently, *Jaffé, Rubens, 1989*, p. 373, no. 1392, repr.).
 43. See notably St Augustine, *Civitas dei* III.vi.
 44. Plutarch, *Romulus* 11. For the Carracci fresco see A. Stanzani in *Emiliani, Storie di Romolo, 1989*, p. 181, pls. viii, xxxv.
 45. Gouache on paper glued to canvas; 300.7 × 274.3 cm. each. John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Florida. Inv. nos. SN 222 and 223. See W.H. Wilson, *Catalogue of Flemish and Dutch Paintings in the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, 1980*, nos. 55, 56, repr.
 46. See Wilson, loc. cit. in n. 45; also *Jaffé—Cannon-Brookes, 'Dissegni', 1986*, p. 784.
 47. The attribution of the cartoons to Boeckhorst was first suggested by Hans Vlieghe (*Vlieghe, Cartoons, 1983*; see also I. Van Tichelen and H. Vlieghe in *Cat. Exh. Boeckhorst, Antwerp—Münster, 1990*, pp. 110-113). Held, however, had previously remarked (*Held, Cartoons, 1983*, p. 136) that should the author of the Sarasota cartoons prove to be Willeboirts Bosschaert, he might likewise be credited with the Cardiff cartoons.
 48. They were sold from the collection of the late 'Lord Conte de Bristol' at Rome in 1804 (*Jaffé—Cannon-Brookes, 'Dissegni', 1986*, p. 784, n. 21) and were evidently the two cartoons from the Raggi or 'Razzi' Palace, Rome sold by Alexander Day (sale, London, 21 June 1833, lot 48: *ibid.*; also *Jaffé, op. cit.* in n. 26, p. 484) and subsequently at Christie's (sale, London, 27 May 1843, lots 160 and 161); cf. Van Tichelen and Vlieghe in *Cat. Exh. Boeckhorst, Antwerp—Münster, 1990*, p. 117, n. 22, assuming the palace was in Genoa. We have no further evidence about the provenance except that the cartoons bought by Ringling were probably in London in 1928—and were seen by Burchard at the Sackville Gallery (i.e. with Max Rothschild) c. 1929, when he tentatively attributed them to Gillis Backereel; the cartoons were bequeathed to the museum in 1936 (Wilson, loc. cit. in n. 45).
 49. In the catalogue of 1804 this latter cartoon is described as *Rubens La morte di Turno* (*Jaffé—Cannon-Brookes, 'Dissegni', 1986*, p. 784, n. 21).
 50. The scenes have different viewpoints, take place in different locations—one outdoors in a leafy grove, and the other inside, before a throne—and are individually self-contained in the attitudes and gestures of their respective characters. That the 'cartoon' is indeed composed of separate scenes is suggested by recent technical analysis conducted at the Museum in Sarasota.
 51. For the Lupercalia see below, under No. 36. In representing the captors the artist may have followed Livy since they look more like his 'brigands' (Livy, *Ab urbe condita* I.v.1-2) than the 'herdsmen' mentioned by Plutarch (*Romulus* 7.2) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Roman Antiquities* I.80). Livy says that the robbers took Remus to Amulius; Dionysius (loc. cit. 1-3) adds that the brothers had just started out to run round the village of Rome from the Lupercal, clad only in the skins of the animals that they had sacrificed in honour of the god, when they were set upon, and Remus was bound and taken away. Plutarch does not specifically relate the capture to the Lupercalia, but discusses this festival at a later point in his *Life of Romulus* (ch. 21, where he sees its origin in the victory run made by Romulus and Remus after they had defeated Amulius, or in an occasion when they chased some lost cattle while naked).
 52. Plutarch, *Romulus* 7.1-3; Dionysius, *Roman Antiquities* I.82.1-6.
 53. There are, I believe, traces remaining, at least something which looks like basketwork. The damage was probably done when the two parts were joined together.
 54. *Vlieghe, Cartoons, 1983*, pp. 350, 355 and fig. 42; this is reiterated by Van Tichelen and Vlieghe in

- Cat. Exh. Boeckhorst, Antwerp—Münster, 1990*, pp. 111-112, 116.
55. *Cat. Exh. Boeckhorst, Antwerp—Münster, 1990*, pp. 16, 64, fig. 31; cf. *Vlieghe, Cartoons, 1983*, pp. 355 and fig. 44.
56. For these see *Cat. Exh. Boeckhorst, Antwerp—Münster, 1990*, pp. 113-115 and esp. pp. 196-199, nos. 28 and 29; also, for the series, *ibid.*, pp. 113-115.
57. See above, at n. 46.
58. For this picture see J. Lacambre in *Cat. Exh. Paris, 1977-78*, pp. 258-259, no. 216.
59. For this and the related sketch (private collection) see F. Baudouin, 'Aantekeningen over Venus en Adonis-taferelen van Thomas Willeboirts Boschhaert en zijn invloed op de Hollandse schilderkunst', *Oud Holland*, XCVIII, 1984, pp. 130-145, figs. 1, 2, while Jason in the signed and dated (1647) painting of *Jason and Medea*, likewise in Jadschloss Grünewald (*ibid.* fig. 7), provides a similar type, this time a soldier in armour.
60. Thus a detail such as the sphinxes on the chair probably has no particular significance here, being simply adapted from the print.
61. In this case the independent nature of the scenes is not so clear since two figures on the left and one on the right direct their attention towards what is now the central field (even if what they are looking at is not evident).
62. For example the *St Francis Xavier before the Emperor of Japan*, the *Martyrdom of St Lawrence* or the sketch for the *Martyrdom of St James*: *Cat. Exh. Boeckhorst, Antwerp—Münster, 1990*, pp. 170-171, no. 15; 184-185, no. 22; 180-181, no. 20.
63. Once again the *Martyrdom of St James* in Toulouse (see n. 58) can serve as an example.
64. Conceivably it might relate to the lost sketch of 'four soldiers in an attitude of pursuit' which was recorded as a companion to that of a soldier decorating a tree with a trophy. For this see below, under No. 30a.
65. Van Tichelen and Vlieghe do suggest that the subject is Romulus and Acron (*Cat. Exh. Boeckhorst, Antwerp—Münster, 1990*, p. 111), but provide no supporting evidence. See, however, n. 67 below.
66. Vergil, *Aeneid* XII.887-952.
67. See Böttiger, *Tapeter, 1898*, III, p. 29 (Suite N), pl. XVII d. Ironically, this composition from an Aeneas series does seem to have been crudely translated into a Death of Acron and perhaps even a Death of Maxentius (with a sword substituted for the stone) in some unsophisticated tapestry workshops. See discussion on the tapestry cycles, pp. 133-134, Series B, no. 2 and D, no. 2.
68. It is accepted in *Jaffé—Cannon-Brookes, 'Disegni', 1986*, p. 784, though not by Van Tichelen and Vlieghe (cf. above, n. 65).
69. See above, at n. 47.
70. See *Vlieghe, Cartoons, 1983*, figs. 37, 41; also now *Cat. Exh. Boeckhorst, Antwerp—Münster, 1990*, pp. 142-143, no. 1, with earlier literature.
71. Cf. *Vlieghe, Cartoons, 1983*, p. 350 and fig. 37.
72. See *Cat. Exh. Boeckhorst, Antwerp—Münster, 1990*, pp. 152-153, no. 6 (with a rather poor reproduction), though this could simply have been adapted from the similar figure in the *Pentecost* of 1626 by Van Dyck (*K.d.K., Van Dyck, 1931*, p. 33).
73. See H. Vlieghe, 'The Cardiff cartoons: Boeckhorst, after all', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXIX, 1987, p. 599; also, more extensively, *idem*, 'Jan Boeckhorst als medewerker', in *Cat. Exh. Boeckhorst, Antwerp—Münster, 1990*, pp. 75-81.
74. See under No. 42.
75. For this see J. Muller, 'Oil Sketches in Rubens's Collection', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXVII, 1975, pp. 371-377.
76. See *Cat. Exh. Boeckhorst, Antwerp—Münster, 1990*, pp. 63-64, fig. 31; also *Vlieghe, Cartoons, 1983*, p. 355, n. 16 and fig. 44.
77. See *Vlieghe*, *op. cit.* in n. 73, 1987, esp. p. 599 and fig. 39.
78. *Jaffé*, *op. cit.* in n. 26, p. 483 and fig. 24.
79. See above, n. 76.
80. See esp. H. Lahrkamp in *Cat. Exh. Boeckhorst, Antwerp—Münster, 1990*, p. 13.
81. It is interesting that the three Sarasota Romulus subjects, whether or not by Boeckhorst, display a more thoughtful approach to the illustration of the story.
82. See pp. 125-128, and discussion on the tapestry cycles, pp. 130-131, Series IVa; also Nos. 24-29.
83. See *Jaffé—Cannon-Brookes, 1986*, p. 784; cf. *De Poorter, Cat. Rotterdam, 1990*, pp. 94, 95, n. 4, under no. 25.
84. On the History of Diana see E. Duverger, 'Tapijten naar Rubens en Jordaens in het bezit van het Antwerps Handelsvennootschap Fourment-Van Hecke', *Artes Textiles*, VII, 1971, pp. 126-139, esp. pp. 133-135, where he mentions the conjunction of the names of Van Assche and Eggermans in a Romulus series in Rome (for which see below, and discussion on the tapestry cycles, pp. 130-132, Series IVa). Hendrik van Assche added a *Venus and Adonis* (*op. cit.*, p. 132, fig. 7) inscribed: *VENVS ADONIDI VENATIONEM DISSVADET*. For the possibility that the Diana series was designed by Justus van Egmont see under No. 29. This series has in the upper border the same cartouche as Series I and IIb in my discussion on the tapestry cycles, pp. 129-134, and, like Series IVa, has Solomonic columns to the sides. Cf. the comments in *Jaffé—Cannon-Brookes, 'Disegni', 1986*, pp. 784-785.
85. Cleaver makes the point about the absence of Rubensian borders (*Cleaver, Cartoons, 1986*, pp. 7-8), but only in connection with the cartoons, which she therefore rejects as the work of Rubens. She assumes that the sketches, if by Rubens, date from the 1630s.
86. See 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; idem in *Cat. Exh. New York, 1985-86*, pp. 331-333, no. 207, repr. p. 332; cf. E. McGrath in *Cat. Exh. Canberra—Melbourne, 1992*, pp. 118-121, no. 34, repr., with detail.
87. See also under No. 24. Held dated the Liechtenstein sketch c. 1616-1617, on the grounds that it relates, at least stylistically, to the Decius Mus series: *Held, Sketches, 1980*, I, no. 248, pp. 336-337 and II, pls. 7 (colour), 244; Jaffé puts it at the same time, even though he, rightly in my opinion, rejects a connection with the Decius Mus cycle: *Jaffé, Rubens, 1989*, p. 225, no. 416, repr. But it looks to me not too dissimilar in technique to the sketches for the Constantine series of 1622, and Baumstark's estimate of c. 1620 seems reasonable.
 88. See also No. 24.
 89. See J. Blazková, 'Les tapisseries de Décus Mus en Bohême', *Artes Textiles*, IX, 1978, pp. 56-58; also below, under No. 24.
 90. See discussion on the tapestry cycles, pp. 129-130, Series IIa.
 91. See discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 130, Series IIb, no. 2. Since the top border here has a cartouche just like that on the tapestries after the Cardiff cartoons (Series I), this may provide an interesting link between Series I and IIb.
 92. For one set which combines the *Mars and Rhea Silvia* (Fig. 100) with a *Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines* see discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 132, Series Va. The other set, with virtually identical borders, sold in London in 1952, combines *Mars and Rhea Silvia* with *Romulus favoured by the Augury*: see discussion on the tapestry cycles, pp. 132-133, Series VI (which includes other items too).
 93. The sketch surviving for the *Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines* he regarded as a copy (No. 28a, copy; Fig. 109).
 94. See discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 130, Series III.
 95. I thank Brigid Cleaver for her help with this.
 96. At n. 91, and under Series IIa and IIb, pp. 129-130.
 97. This first subject can be compared to the scene included in some 16th-century Romulus cycles, often with disreputable episodes; the notion that Romulus was taken up to heaven is discussed under No. 32.
 98. See discussion on the tapestry cycles, pp. 131-133, Series VI, no. 2; also IV, no. 10 ('A hunter deprived of his booty').
 99. *Cat. Exh. Boeckhorst, Antwerp—Münster, 1990*, p. 116 and fig. 78. Indeed they relate it stylistically to the pair of cartoons in Sarasota (for which see above, pp. 120-122), without, however, suggesting that its theme concerns Romulus.
 100. *Garff—Pedersen, Panneels, 1988*, I, p. 125, no. 154; II, pl. 156. Cf. G. Martin, 'Rubens and Buckingham's "fayrie ile"', *The Burlington Magazine*, CVIII, 1966, p. 613, n. 3 and, for Rubens's lost painting, fig. 21. See also C. Van de Velde in *Cat. Exh. Cantoor, Antwerp, 1993*, pp. 238-243, no. 150, pointing out (p. 239) that a copy of the *Apotheosis of Buckingham* seems to have remained in Rubens's studio, passing at his death to the art dealer Herman de Neyt.
 101. *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921*, p. 253.
 102. For these see discussion on the tapestry cycles, pp. 129-134.
 103. *Barbier de Montault, Tapisseries, 1879*, pp. 100-103 (no. X); mentioned in Göbel, *Wandteppiche, 1923-24*, I, i, pp. 378-379 and *Thomson, Tapestry, 1930*, pp. 386, 390 (talking of the location as the Vatican, but this is probably simply a mistaken deduction from Barbier de Montault's text, since I have found no evidence of the presence of any such tapestries in the Vatican Collections). Cf. *Jaffé—Cannon-Brookes, 'Dissegni', 1986*, p. 784, n. 20.
 104. Four by Eggermans and two by Van Assche. This is probably not Daniel Eggermans I, who died c. 1643 (*Wauters, Tapisseries, 1878*, p. 303; also E. Duverger, 'Aantekeningen betreffende de tapijthandel van Daniel Fourment en van diens zoon en schoonzoon, Peter Fourment en Peter van Hecke de Jonghe', *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis*, XIX, 1972, p. 59) but Daniel II.
 105. Since the San Michele factory was established only in 1702 he was forced to assume too that the tapestries dated from the early 18th century, even though they looked like earlier works: *Barbier de Montault, Tapisseries, 1879*, pp. 100-101; this idea was already disputed by Göbel (*Göbel, Wandteppiche, 1923-24*, I, i, p. 378), who had not seen the tapestries.
 106. This could have been at any time up until Barbier was writing since the papal manufacture was disbanded only in 1910. It is just possible that the first of the series, 'The Tiber, lying in reeds, leaning on his urn', may, however, have been made in Rome, in the factory of San Michele, since Barbier does not specifically record any Brussels mark—as he did for the other tapestry that had the pontifical mark. In fact nothing in the other recorded sets corresponds to this theme, which in any case overlaps with the *Nurture of Romulus and Remus*; moreover, it was apparently inscribed in a different way from the rest—in lower case and on a single line: *Tibris romanam urbem alluens*. It may well have been added in the 18th century for this Roman context.
 107. Discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 131, Series IVa, no. 2, also for the tapestry in the Palazzo della Consulta, Rome which is probably identical with it; cf. No. 25, tapestry 2.
 108. Discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 131, Series IVa, no. 10.
 109. Discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 131, Series IVa, no. 4.

110. Discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 131, Series IVa, no. 8.
111. Discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 131, Series IVa, no. 9.
112. Discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 131, Series IVa, no. 6, also for the tapestry (Fig. 97), last recorded in the collection of Xavier de Salas, Barcelona.
113. Discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 131, Series IVa, no. 3.
114. Discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 131, Series IVa, no. 5.
115. Discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 131, Series IVa, no. 7.
116. See above, n. 84.
117. See discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 132, Series Va.
118. For example it was probably responsible for the *editio princeps* of the Achilles Series: see *Haverkamp Begemann, Achilles*, 1975, pp. 74, 75, 81; also Duverger, op. cit. in n. 84, pp. 148-160; Eggermans the Younger too made the series of long hunting scenes: see *Balis, Hunting Scenes*, 1986, esp. pp. 220-223, 229, n. 26, with earlier literature.
119. See *Balis, Studio Practices*, 1994, p. 113, citing documentation and further references.
120. For the drawing, in the Art Institute of Chicago, see A.-M. Logan, [Cat. Exh.] *Flemish Drawings in the Age of Rubens. Selected Works from American Collections*, Wellesley, Mass., 1993, pp. 156-157, no. 20; another drawing not used for a tapestry is also in Chicago. For an oil sketch see H. Vlieghe in *Master Drawings*, XXX, 1995, p. 182, under no. 20. For the tapestry series see M. Crick-Kuntziger, 'La tenture de l'histoire de Zénobie, reine de Palmyre', *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, XXII, 1950, pp. 11-26 and G. Delmarcel in [Cat. Exh.] *Tapisseries bruxelloises au siècle de Rubens* (Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire), Brussels, 1977, nos. 38-41.
121. For this series see E.A. Standen, *European Post-Medieval Tapestries and Related Hangings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1985, I, pp. 206-217, no. 32; also for the set in Vienna, E. von Birk, 'Inventar der im Besitze des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses befindlichen Niederländer Tapeten und Gobelins', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, II, 1884, pp. 213-214, no. CV6; and L. Baldass, *Die Wiener Gobelinsammlung*, Vienna, 1920, XI, pl. 204.
122. See E. Duverger, 'Voruntersuchungen zur Literatur als Inspirationsquelle für die 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. 106-107, 120 n. 89 and fig. 19, for evidence of Van Egmont's authorship of an eight-part Augustus series. He also points out that the scene illustrated in Fig. 112 is indeed a story about Augustus. For the whole cycle see von Birk, op. cit. in n. 121, p. 189, no. LXXVIII, 1-8. In fact, as Arnout Balis pointed out to me, the whole series is recorded in some detail in the collection of the tapestry weaver Jan Francisco Cornelissen in 1669: J. Denucé, *Kunstausfuhr Antwerpens im 17. Jahrhundert. Die Firma Forchoudt*, Antwerp, 1931, pp. 112-113.
123. This is certainly the subject described as 'Een stuck lanck 6¼ el: Batalie van Brutus tegen de Hoochduytsche Switsers daer de vrouwen haere mans helpen ende hunne kinders werpen in ghesicht van de soldaeten'. See Denucé, loc. cit. in n. 122.
124. This is confirmed by the following entry in the 1669 document recorded by Denucé (loc. cit. in n. 122): 'Batalie, de verschillen tuschen Cesar Augustus en Marcus Antonio, daer Octavia de vrindtschap maect'. Also similar to the *Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines*, especially in the version of the Romulus tapestry cycle (cf. Fig. 108), is the episode of Zenobia before Aurelian from his Zenobia cycle. For an illustration of this see Delmarcel, op. cit. in n. 120, pp. 126-127, no. 40.
125. This device in fact can be seen in the Diana series woven by Van den Dries and Van Assche (see Fig. 111; also above, n. 84). In fact this series may be an early work by Van Egmont: see No. 29 below.
126. Exactly when he might have executed the designs is not clear, but if he made them in Paris and was unable to supervise their translation into tapestry by the weavers in Brussels, this might account for the relative lack of subtlety in the final product.
127. See *Jaffé-Cannon-Brookes, 'Disegni'*, 1986, p. 784, nn. 17 and 18. For the measurements of the cartoons see above, n. 24.
128. This resembles the border of the Diana series woven by Andries van den Dries and Hendrik van Assche, for which see n. 84 and Fig. 111.
129. It would be strange if this scene had been included in the same series as one featuring no. 3, a different version of the Death of Remus. This supports the idea that two separate series were combined in the room described by Barbier de Montault. Logically this scene should precede no. 3.
130. I thank Guy Delmarcel for bringing this tapestry to my attention.
131. This also could be the tapestry referred to in *Wauters, Tapisseries*, 1878, pp. 306-307 as in the collection Chavannes, along with a Rape of the Sabines and a 'Plaisirs champêtres' from the same series, attributed by him to Van den Hecke (whose mark, however, is quite similar to that of Van Assche).
132. I thank Peter Cannon-Brookes for this reference.
133. This was sold with another tapestry based on the St Petersburg *Departure of Consuls* (for this design, attributed to Rubens's studio, see *Varshavskaya, Rubens*, 1975, p. 242, no. 2, repr.), from a different set, with a certain similarity in the borders. See *Marillier, Tapestries*, p. 31.

134. On this workshop see most recently G. Delmarcel, 'L'arrazzeria antica a Bruxelles e la manifattura di Jan Raes', in [Cat. Exh.] *Arazzi per la Cattedrale di Cremona* (Cremona, S. Maria della Pietà, 1987), Milan, 1987, esp. pp. 47-51. See also, for Jan Raes II, J. Blazková and E. Duverger, *Les Tapisseries d'Octavio Piccolomini et le marchand anversois Louis Malo*, St Amandsberg, 1970, pp. 73-83. Jan Raes II died sometime between 7 March 1637 and 19 May 1643; but there is a later Jan Raes mentioned in 1649, presumably Jan III.
135. For this weaver, also sometimes known as de Raedt, see Göbel, *Wandteppiche*, 1923-34, I, i, p. 366, privileged 1629, bankrupt 1644 but after that date still active as a tapestry dealer.
136. See above, at n. 101.

24. Mars and Rhea Silvia: Tapestry

EDITIONS: (1) Tapestry, Brussels, 17th-century, Swedish Royal Collections, Husgerådskammaren, part of a series (discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 130, Series III, no. 1); 340 × 381 cm. PROV. H.G.K. inventory, no. 105. LIT. *Böttiger, Tapeter*, 1898, III, p. 43; suite Lit. Å; pl. xxxva.

(2) Tapestry (Fig. 100), Brussels, mid 17th-century, whereabouts unknown, part of a series (discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 132, Series Va, no. 1); 392 × 373 cm. PROV. Carl Bergsten, Stockholm (1928). LIT. *Böttiger, Tapisseries*, 1928, I, pp. 77-78, no. 68; II, pl. 64; *Göbel, Wandteppiche*, 1923-34, I, i, pp. 9, 20, 42, 206-207, 425; *Duverger, Decius Mus*, 1976-78, p. 31 and fig. 7.

(3) Tapestry, Brussels, 17th-century, whereabouts unknown, part of a series (discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 132, Series VI, no. 1); 324 × 380 cm. (no lower border). PROV. Sale, London (Sotheby's), 14 March 1952, lot 88.

LITERATURE: *Duverger, Decius Mus*, 1976-78, pp. 31-32. See also under Editions.

This scene, which shows the preliminaries to the conception of Romulus and Remus, is closely related to the painting of the subject by Rubens in the Liechtenstein collection,

Vaduz (Fig. 101),¹ and the related sketch in the same collection (Fig. 102).² Burchard considered No. 24 to be based on a variant design, likewise painted by Rubens, intended to serve as the first episode of a tapestry series about Romulus and the early history of Rome. He also thought he had identified Rubens's preparatory sketch in the panel listed here as No. 24a (Fig. 99), which appears to have been known to him only in reproduction. However, in my view neither that sketch nor the tapestry design should be attributed to Rubens. In fact Burchard's hypothetical cycle (Nos. 24-29) is related to a number of other tapestries which were variously combined in different extant series. These are discussed in the Introduction to this section, to which is appended a list of the series that I have located so far. The evidence gathered there only confirms me in the opinion that nothing in Burchard's Romulus series (Nos. 24-29) is directly connected with Rubens.

As Josef Duverger noted,³ all the tapestries of *Mars and Rhea Silvia* which feature in extant Romulus series of a type related to the group isolated by Burchard (Nos. 24-29), seem to follow the composition of No. 24, rather than the scheme of Rubens's Liechtenstein painting (Fig. 101). That picture and its preparatory sketch (Fig. 102) will be treated fully in the volume of the *Corpus Rubenianum* dealing with the Decius Mus cycle,⁴ since a tapestry based on its design is included with a number of weavings of the Decius series.⁵ But the painting by Rubens in Vaduz must be considered in some detail here because of its relationship with No. 24. It was discussed in Chapter V of Volume I (pp. 114-116) as an example of Rubens's poetic translation of an episode from ancient Roman history. (The supposed seduction by Mars of the vestal Rhea was a story that was taken more seriously by poets than by Roman historians.) In the Liechtenstein painting Rubens indicated both the abruptness of the god's arrival and Rhea's chaste hesitancy. Yet the god's advance is irresistible; and, as Cupid hurriedly joins

the couple in union, a woollen fillet trails loose from the vestal's hair, an Ovidian allusion to her imminent loss of virginity.

In other ways too the Liechtenstein painting is rich in ancient reference. As has been pointed out,⁶ many details of the scene have antique justification, right down to the chair with its arrow-like legs.⁷ Rubens seems to have particularly had in mind coins which show a vestal, her head veiled, sitting on a stool of this type, and holding either a patera, or a lamp, or the Palladium itself.⁸ Probably he also recalled the seated statue of a vestal in the Vatican, who is not only dressed like Rhea (in high-waisted robe and with a veil over her head), but has one shoulder bare and her hand on her breast.⁹ That she wears a white dress and is veiled is also proper for a vestal.¹⁰ For the Palladium, Rubens would presumably have consulted Lipsius's *De Vesta et vestalibus* as Evers supposed, although it is interesting that he did not try to illustrate the 'tiny' figure with lance, distaff and spindle that Lipsius specifies,¹¹ but rather made his statue a more recognizable Minerva, carrying lance and shield. This corresponds with the description in du Choul's treatise on ancient Roman religion.¹² He may have been thinking too of the image on an ancient gem illustrating Ajax dragging Cassandra from the Palladium,¹³ which would be ironical, since for almost two centuries the Liechtenstein painting was misinterpreted as precisely this subject.¹⁴ The altar with sphinxes is a variation on a favourite Rubensian motif; one is illustrated for example in the *Fortitude of Scaevola* (No. 46; cf. Fig. 163). This latter, however, has a precise Roman counterpart, whereas Rhea's altar is only generically similar to those with sphinxes at the base and rams' heads above, such as that from the Cesi collection illustrated in the *Antiquities* of Boissard.¹⁵ It seems likely that the sphinxes are here also symbolic: to suggest the mystery surrounding the Palladium, obscure token of the promise of empire, *arcanum imperii pignus*,¹⁶ as well as being appropriate to Minerva, who, like them, represents the conjunction of

robur et prudentia.¹⁷

Despite Evers's argument to the contrary,¹⁸ it is obvious from the left-handed gestures that the Vaduz picture was designed for a tapestry. As was noted above, it has usually been associated with the Decius Mus cycle, especially since several sets of that series include the scene. Burchard classified it as such, and dated it accordingly c. 1617-18; Jaffé dates it c. 1616-17. However, more recently, Blaková as well as Baumstark have questioned the connection with Decius Mus. In the first place there is the matter of size. Although it has many points of resemblance with the 'quadri dipinti'¹⁹ for the Decius cycle, and passed with them to Liechtenstein, it is much smaller and the figures conform to a different scale. Even if it is already reproduced in a set of Decius tapestries woven around 1625, the *Mars and Rhea Silvia* was surely a late addition to that cycle.²⁰ Iconographically, the scene does not fit into a Decius series, as is reflected in the titles applied in the past in an attempt to accommodate it to that context—Decius taking leave of his wife, for example, or Mars assuring Roma of coming victory.²¹ In fact the rare scene of Mars and Rhea Silvia is never found in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century painting except in cycles of Romulus or the early history of Rome.²² Thus Baumstark's suggestion that the Liechtenstein composition was originally intended as the first episode in a tapestry series about Romulus is tempting,²³ especially given that other designs for such a cycle survive, namely the sketches listed here as Nos. 30-32 (Figs. 86, 87, 89, 91), and given that these are not too different in height from the sketch of *Mars and Rhea Silvia* in Vaduz (Fig. 102), which measures 46.3 × 64.5 cm. Yet, as is pointed out elsewhere,²⁴ the Romulus sketches are extremely problematic in character, having been overpainted; and I have found it impossible to arrive at a definite conclusion about their date. Moreover, they appear markedly inferior in quality to the Liechtenstein *Mars and Rhea Silvia* sketch (Fig. 102). It thus remains unclear whether they should be di-

rectly connected with it in a single (abandoned) Romulus tapestry project.²⁵ All that can be said is that, if Rubens indeed envisaged beginning a Romulus cycle with the scene of *Mars and Rhea Silvia* recorded in the painting and the corresponding sketch in Liechtenstein, he seems to have given up the idea by 1625, the date at which the scene is first included in a Decius cycle.²⁶

The idea that the Liechtenstein sketch (Fig. 102) was connected with a Romulus cycle by Rubens (whether this did, or did not include the sketches listed here as Nos. 30-32) remains entirely hypothetical. However, the sketch of *Mars and Rhea Silvia* now in the Getty Museum (No. 24a; Fig. 99) was certainly made to introduce a Romulus tapestry series—the cycle believed by Burchard to have been designed by Rubens. A general consideration of the matter is given in the Introduction to this section, pp. 124-140. As far as the present scene (No. 24; cf. Fig. 100) is concerned, I am convinced that it is a simple adaptation of the Liechtenstein composition (Fig. 101) to an upright format in which Mars is shown (still) wearing his helmet and Rhea Silvia is, naturally, more frightened. In my opinion neither style nor iconography supports the attribution to Rubens. Apart from anything else, there is the matter of the proportions of the figures, particularly of Rhea Silvia, whose extended arm, a feature not taken over from the Liechtenstein version, is notably unconvincing (and particularly so in the sketch; Fig. 99). The horizontal composition emerges somehow compressed and elongated, with considerable loss to expression and meaning. (For the subject and its treatment by Rubens see above, Volume I, Chapter V, pp. 114-116.) For example, the temple of Vesta has been turned into a canopy; the fire in front of the Palladium is omitted; and Rhea Silvia no longer loses her wreath, the *lana vitta* which serves as an emblem of her chastity.

The designer of No. 24 must have had knowledge of Rubens's Liechtenstein composition (Fig. 101); since that composition was

available in a tapestry workshop at least by 1625, such knowledge need not imply access to Rubens's studio. Still, it seems quite probable that the artist indeed worked at one time with Rubens. Arnout Balis has proposed that the Romulus series should be attributed to Justus van Egmont. Some consideration of this idea, which seems to me very plausible, is given in the Introduction to this section, pp. 127-128. As regards the present composition, Mars conforms reasonably well to the type of (stooping) soldier found in the work of Van Egmont, while Rhea Silvia with her curious proportions (her torso unnaturally lengthened from waist to thigh) and upturned face readily invites comparison with that artist.²⁷ Since Van Egmont worked in Rubens's studio during the 1620s, and later established himself as a tapestry designer,²⁸ he would have been in a position to know had Rubens ever planned a *Mars and Rhea Silvia* (the Liechtenstein composition: Figs. 101, 102), as the introduction to a Romulus series, but then given up his scheme—allowing the composition to be adapted to another Romulus cycle, by Van Egmont himself.

1. *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921, p. 148; Jaffé, Rubens, 1989, p. 226, no. 417, repr.*
2. *Held, Sketches, 1980, I, no. 248, pp. 336-337 and II, pls. 7 (colour), 244; also E. McGrath in Cat. Exh. Canberra—Melbourne, 1992, no. 34.*
3. *Duverger, Decius Mus, 1976-78, p. 32.*
4. For now, see notably *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; E. McGrath in Cat. Exh. Canberra—Melbourne, 1992, pp. 118-121, under no. 34.*
5. See J. Blazková, 'Les tapisseries de Décimus Mus en Bohême', *Artes Textiles, IX, 1978, pp. 56-58.* In none of the tapestry cycles of Decius Mus is the scene of *Mars and Rhea Silvia* derived from No. 24, even in those cases where the horizontal format of the Liechtenstein composition (Fig. 101) has had to be drastically adapted to a narrow, upright shape.

6. See notably Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, 1943, pp. 255-257.
7. Cf. Faber, *Imagines*, 1606, pl. 124, for a gem of Pythagoras in Fulvio Orsini's collection with this feature.
8. See Lipsius, *Opera*, 1675, III, p. 1081; also Montfaucon, *Antiquité*, 1719, I, i, pp. 61-62 and pl. xxvi.
9. See J.B. de Cavalleris, *Antiquae Statuae*, [Rome?], 1585, no. 9.
10. See Lipsius, *Opera*, 1675, III, pp. 1101-1102; cf. du Choul, *Discours*, 1567, p. 237.
11. Lipsius, *Opera*, 1675, III, p. 1093. Cf. Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, 1943, p. 257.
12. du Choul, *Discours*, 1567, p. 234; cf. fig. p. 235; also p. 237; cf. Rosinus, *Antiquitates*, 1663, p. 151 (II.xii).
13. See Montfaucon, *Antiquité*, 1719, I, i, p. 142 and pl. LXXXIII.4; a gem of this type was known to Raphael and published by Agustín in 1587. See R. Rubinstein, 'Ajax and Cassandra: an antique cameo and a drawing by Raphael', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, L, 1987, pp. 204-205.
14. Evers (loc. cit. in n. 4) was the first to recognize the theme as 'Mars and Rhea Silvia'.
15. J.J. Boissard, *Urbis Romae topographia*, Frankfurt, 1597-1602, III, pl. 77; cf. IV, pl. 75, V, pl. 81 for other examples. Rubens bought Boissard's book in 1614 (Rooses, *Moretus*, 1883, p. 189).
16. 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* in his design for the title-page to Petrasancta's *Symbola Heroica* (Judson—*Van de Velde*, I, pp. 287-290, no. 69; II, fig. 234), as well as in his *Triumph of Faith* (text ill. 31; cf. Volume I, Chapter IV, at n. 20).
17. 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.
18. Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, 1943, pp. 255-257.
19. The phrase is Bellori's: *Bellori, Vite*, ed. Borea, 1976, p. 272. Cf. Introduction to this section, at n. 8.
20. Cf. Blazková, *op. cit.* in n. 5, p. 57.
21. For the first identification, from Mares's description of the Hluboká Decius cycle, see Blazková, *op. cit.* in n. 5, p. 57; the second is that in Göbel, *Wandteppiche*, 1923-34, I, i, p. 207.
22. Cf. Volume I, Chapter V, at n. 11. Otherwise it appears (only?) in book illustration—to editions of Livy or Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus*. It is also on the first coin in the series on Goltzius's first plate of the *Fasti Magistratum* (Fig. 105) which Rubens may have taken as a guide for the episodes in his Romulus series.
23. R. Baumstark in *Cat. Exh. New York*, 1985-86, pp. 332-333.
24. See Introduction to the Romulus cycles, pp. 115,

118-119, 124-125; and below, under the relevant catalogue entries.

25. The apparent discrepancy in date between the Romulus sketches (Nos. 30-32), which Held put c. 1630, and the Liechtenstein sketch for the *Mars and Rhea Silvia* (Fig. 102) puzzled Baumstark, who then supposed that Rubens had worked intermittently on the series over a long period—although Baumstark was not taking into account the extent of overpainting on the sketches. See also above, Introduction to the Romulus cycles, at n. 87.
26. See also Introduction to the Romulus cycles, at nn. 87-89.
27. She also resembles Venus as represented in a tapestry of *Venus and Adams* by Hendrik van Assche (E. Duverger, 'Tapijten naar Rubens en Jordaens in het bezit van het Antwerps Handelsvennootschap Fourment-Van Hecke', *Artes Textiles*, VII, 1971, pp. 132-33, 136, fig. 7, for which see also Introduction to this section, at n. 84. This tapestry was apparently part of a series otherwise devoted to Diana and woven by Andries van den Dries (the connection being the theme of hunting); see Duverger, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-139, figs. 3-8. Interestingly, a stylistic feature of this series is a swirling veil around the head of a female character, as found here in the case of Rhea, and elsewhere in 'Burchard's' Romulus series.
28. *Balis, Studio Practices*, 1994, p. 113; also Introduction to this section, at n. 118.

24a. Mars and Rhea Silvia: Oil Sketch (Fig. 99)

Oil on canvas; 44.5 × 34.3 cm.

Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum. Inv. No. 73. PA.155.

PROVENANCE: Vienna, Lanckoronski Palace.

LITERATURE: None.

This sketch, now in the Getty Museum, is evidently identical with that formerly in the Lanckoronski Palace, Vienna (measurements unknown; small oil sketch on canvas), which Burchard considered to be by Rubens and to have been made in preparation for one of a series of tapestries on the early history of Rome. As far as the latter assumption is concerned, he was surely right: the sketch was indeed made by the designer of the tapestry

series. The attribution to Rubens, however, is unconvincing. I have argued under No. 24 that the design seems to be derived from Rubens's painting in Liechtenstein (Fig. 101). Neither in style nor treatment of the subject does the Getty sketch, which Burchard seems to have known only from a small reproduction, look to me plausible as a composition by Rubens, even a copy of one. Further argument against the attribution to Rubens is noted above (under No. 24, and in the Introduction to this section); there too it is suggested that the tapestry series may have been designed by Justus van Egmont, and he could well have been the author of the present sketch. But in the absence of documented oil sketches by this artist from the early period of his activity, the idea remains hypothetical.¹

1. I am confident, however, that more evidence will emerge from the study now planned by Arnout Balis on the work of Van Egmont.

24b. Mars and Rhea Silvia: Cartoon

Lost.

PROVENANCE: Unrecorded.

LITERATURE: None.

Had Rubens indeed designed the tapestries recorded here as Nos. 24-29, as Burchard proposed, a large-scale painting or cartoon for each tapestry would presumably have been made in Rubens's studio, as happened in the case of the Eucharist and Achilles cycles. Burchard's proposal implied that he thought as much, though he expressed no view on the extent of studio participation such a project might have involved.

As noted under No. 24, and in the Introduction to this section, I am not persuaded that Rubens had any involvement in this composition, or the related tapestry designs (Nos. 25-29).

25. Romulus and Remus suckled by the Wolf: Tapestry

EDITIONS: (1) Tapestry (Fig. 103), Brussels, 17th-century, Swedish Royal Collections, part of a series (discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 130, Series III, no. 2); 330 × 324 cm.; below, the mark of Brussels. LIT. *Böttiger, Tapeter, 1898*, III, p. 43, pl. xxxvb.

(2) Tapestry, probably by Daniel Eggermans II, Rome, Palazzo della Consulta, part of a series (discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 131, Series IVa, no. 2); below, the mark of San Michele, probably a repair,¹ inscribed in the cartouche above: ROMVLVS. ET/ REMVS. LACTANTVR/ A LVPA. PROV. Rome, private collection (1879). LIT. *Barbier de Montault, Tapisseries, 1879*, pp. 100-103 (no. X), no. 1; G. Spadolini *et al.*, *Il Palazzo della Consulta*, Rome, 1975, fig. 67.

The two tapestries listed above record a design which Burchard believed to be by Rubens, part of a tapestry cycle by him on the origin of Rome.² But considering the way Rubens treated the theme in No. 34 (Fig. 117)—and indeed his whole approach to historical subjects—it is unlikely that he should have been responsible for this composition in which the wolf is simply standing and dipping her snout into the Tiber while the twins attempt to feed. Presumably the artist of No. 25 was inhibited by a feeling that he should defer to the precedent of the ancient bronze wolf that stood guard on the Capitol,³ but Rubens would surely have come up with a more impressive solution.

The babies are in an attitude rather similar (albeit in one case in reverse) to the twins in an engraving after Justus van Egmont (Fig. 104). Like the designs for Nos. 24 and 26-28, the composition of No. 25 may be by this artist. As is noted above, Arnout Balis has associated the sketch which survives for No. 24 (No. 24a; Fig. 99), as well as that for No. 28 (No. 28a, Copy; Fig. 109) with Van Egmont;⁴ in my view the artist of the present design

(and of the rest of the series, whether or not the same man) was certainly not Rubens.

1. See the Introduction to this section, text at nn. 105, 106.
2. For further details see the Introduction to this section.
3. On this wolf see below, under No. 34.
4. See also Introduction to this section, pp. 127-128.

25a. Romulus and Remus suckled by the Wolf: Oil Sketch

? Oil on canvas; measurements unknown. *Whereabouts unknown, presumably lost.*

The sketch related to No. 25 is unrecorded.

25b. Romulus and Remus suckled by the Wolf: Cartoon

Lost.

PROVENANCE: Unrecorded.

LITERATURE: None.

See the commentary to No. 24b, as well as No. 25.

26. Romulus favoured by the Augury: Tapestry

EDITIONS: (1) Tapestry (Fig. 106), Brussels, 17th-century, whereabouts unknown, part of a series (discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 129, Series IIa, no. 1); 377 × 442 cm. PROV. Stockholm, collection Harry Axelson Johnson (1928). LIT. *Böttiger, Tapisseries, 1928*, I, pp. 72-73, no. 64; II, pl. 60; *Marillier, Tapestries*, p. 29 (as *school of Rubens*).

(2) Tapestry, Brussels, 17th-century, Swedish Royal Collections, part of a series (discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 130, Series III, no. 3); 330 × 463 cm. LIT. *Böttiger, Tapisseries, 1898*, III, p. 43, suite Lit. Å; pl. xxxiiib.

(3) Tapestry, Brussels, 17th-century, whereabouts unknown, part of a series (discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 131, Series IVa, no. 4); measurements unknown; inscribed in the cartouche above: *ROMULUS. FRATREM/ SUPERAT. AUGURIO*. PROV. Rome, Private Collection (1879). LIT. *Barbier de Montault, Tapisseries, 1879*, pp. 100-103 (no. X), no. 4.

(4) Tapestry, Brussels, 17th-century, whereabouts unknown (discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 132, Series Vb); 416 × 441 cm. PROV. Mechelen, G. Dewit; *Antiekvoor van Vlaanderen*, Ghent, St.-Pietersabdij, 1972, repr. in catalogue.

(5) Fragment of a tapestry, Brussels, 17th-century, whereabouts unknown (discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 132, Series Vc); measurements unknown. PROV. Ellen Roberts sale, New York, 10-13 December 1923, lot 885.

(6) Tapestry, Brussels, 17th-century, whereabouts unknown, part of a series (discussion on the tapestry cycles, pp. 132-133, Series VI, no. 3); 328 × 452 cm. PROV. Milton Abbey, sale, 12-23 September 1932, lot 1877; sale, London (Sotheby's), 14 March 1952, lot 89. LIT. *Marillier, Tapestries*, p. 31.

The scene of *Romulus favoured by the Augury* is the one which recurs most consistently in the tapestry series which relate to Burchard's hypothetical Romulus cycle. It appears in Series IIa, III, IVa (judging from the description), Vb, and VI, as well as in a separate fragment (Vc)—for these see editions listed above, tapestries 1-6. The scene also features in modified form (in reverse, with figures added) in the series derived from Burchard's one.¹ In one case, from the series described by Barbier de Montault (tapestry 3), it had the inscription: 'Romulus defeats his brother through the omen'. In contrast to Nos. 24 and 28, which evidently belong to the same group of tapestry designs,² there is no known composition by Rubens that can be connected, even indirectly, to the present scene.

The subject is the dispute between Romulus and Remus as to who should rule and give

his name to the new city (of Rome), a dispute which was to be decided by recourse to birds.³ The twelve vultures in the distance constitute the omen that appeared to favour Romulus who had taken up his position on the Palatine hill, his preferred site for the foundation. According to Livy and other historians, six vultures had already appeared to Remus, stationed on the Aventine; both brothers thus claimed the victory, Remus on the basis of priority and Romulus on number.⁴ In the ensuing quarrel Remus was killed, though there are different accounts of exactly how, and by whom. Livy gives as an alternative account the story that Remus was killed by his brother for leaping over and thus mocking Romulus's foundations of his city.⁵ But others, notably Plutarch, imply that Remus's anger at the interpretation of the augury led to his mockery of the city walls. They also allow Romulus to escape the guilt of fratricide, since they record that a man called Celer may have been the instrument of Remus's death.⁶

The artist of No. 26 (cf. Fig. 106) concentrated on illustrating the argument over the augury: as Romulus and the group on the Palatine greet the appearance of the twelve vultures with wonder, Remus draws his sword in anger against his brother. But a soldier is stepping forward in Romulus's defence, presumably to kill Remus. It seems that the swift-acting Celer was here borrowed from the later (or variant) episode in the story to avoid a problematic depiction of fratricide; certainly there is no evidence of foundations, let alone Remus's scorn at them, which is part of this episode—indeed in the first tapestry listed above (Fig. 106) there is, confusingly, a substantial building in the background, on the hill which must be the Aventine.

Even if the surviving tapestries (cf. Fig. 106) may have distorted the original design, I find it hard to attribute this composition to Rubens. The attitudes and gestures of the figures seem to lack force and expressiveness; the central figure of Romulus, at once gesturing towards the birds and starting to draw his

sword, is particularly ungainly. The style seems consistent with that of Van Egmont,⁷ and the design may well be by him.

1. See discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 133, Series A (signed by Jan Raes), Series B, no. 5 and Series C, no. 2.
2. For the general argument see above, Introduction to this section.
3. Cf. esp. Ovid, *Fasti* IV.813-814: 'Nil opus est, dixit, certamine, Romulus, ullo./ Magna fides avium est: experiamur aves'.
4. Livy, *Ab urbe condita* I.vi-vii; Plutarch, *Romulus* 9; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* I.86; cf. Florus, *Epitome* I.i.6; Ovid, *Fasti* IV.810-818.
5. Livy, *Ab urbe condita* I.vii.2. This seems to have been the version followed by the artist of the Cardiff cartoons (Fig. 94). See above, pp. 119-120.
6. Plutarch, *Romulus* 10; Ovid, *Fasti* IV.835-845 (though Ovid does not present the death of Remus as a consequence of his annoyance at the omen, which he makes Remus accept). Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who, like Livy, includes the story as an alternative explanation (*Roman Antiquities* I.87.4) makes Celer the overseer of the building work.
7. See above, Introduction to this section and under No. 24.

26a. Romulus favoured by the Augury: Oil Sketch

? Oil on canvas; measurements unknown.
Whereabouts unknown, presumably lost.

The sketch related to No. 26 is unrecorded.

26b. Romulus favoured by the Augury: Cartoon

Lost.

PROVENANCE: Unrecorded.

LITERATURE: None.

See the commentary to No. 24b, as well as No. 26.

27. The Rape of the Sabines: Tapestry

EDITIONS: (1) Tapestry (Fig. 107), Brussels, 17th-century, whereabouts unknown, part of a series (discussion on the tapestry cycles, pp. 129-130, Series IIa, no. 2); 352 × 507 cm. PROV. Stockholm, collection Harry Axelson Johnson (1928). LIT. *Böttiger, Tapisseries*, 1928, I, pp. 73-74, no. 65; II, pl. 61; *Marillier, Tapestries*, p. 29 (as school of Rubens).

(2) Tapestry, Brussels, 17th-century, whereabouts unknown, part of a series (discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 131, Series IVa, no. 8); measurements unknown. PROV. Rome, Private Collection (1879). LIT. *Barbier de Montault, Tapisseries*, 1879, pp. 100-103 (no. X), no. 8.

(3) Tapestry (?same as tapestry 2), Brussels, with mark attributed to Jan van der Hecke (d. 1633-34), whereabouts unknown, presumably part of a series (discussion on the tapestry cycles, pp. 131-132, Series IVb, but perhaps actually from Series IVa; see under IVa, no. 8 and IVb); measurements unknown; inscribed: *VIRGINES SABINAE A ROMANIS RAPIUNTUR*. PROV. According to Marillier 'an Italian lady offered for sale in London, in 1927'. LIT. *Marillier, Tapestries*, p. 31.

(4) Tapestry, Brussels, 17th-century, whereabouts unknown, part of a series (discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 133, Series VI, no. 4); measurements unknown. PROV. Milton Abbey, sale, 12-23 September 1932, lot 1874, sold to Mr Hansley-Read, Salisbury. LIT. *Marillier, Tapestries*, p. 31.

In the background of his *Rape of the Sabines* in the National Gallery (No. 40; Fig. 127) Rubens illustrates a rather modern-looking barrier as the setting for the equestrian games.¹ In the present design (cf. Fig. 107) this feature takes prominence in the foreground, dividing the composition in a dramatic way. The moment illustrated is evidently the immediate aftermath of Romulus's signal, when the Romans rush to carry off the Sabine maidens. As in No. 40, the women have been assembled on a dais to watch the show. The lances of the tourna-

ment lie abandoned to one side. Yet there is no indication of what has become of the Sabine men, who should be at hand to defend their women; in the National Gallery painting Rubens had avoided this situation by keeping them occupied in the background. It seems likely that No. 27 was adapted from Rubens's different versions of the subject by an artist who was attracted by the compositional possibilities of the wooden bar, and wanted to isolate Romulus from the fray, but had not thought too hard about the narrative implications. On both stylistic and iconographic grounds I cannot follow Burchard in attributing this design to Rubens. Again the proportions and types of the figures, both male and female, seem consistent with an attribution to Justus van Egmont.²

1. For the story and context see below, under No. 40.

2. See Introduction to this section; also under No. 24.

27a. The Rape of the Sabines: Oil Sketch

? Oil on canvas; measurements unknown. *Whereabouts unknown, presumably lost.*

The sketch related to No. 27 is unrecorded.

27b. The Rape of the Sabines: Cartoon

Lost.

PROVENANCE: Unrecorded.

LITERATURE: None.

See the commentary to No. 24b, as well as No. 27.

28. The Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines: Tapestry

EDITIONS: (1) Tapestry (Fig. 108), Brussels, 17th-century, whereabouts unknown, part of a series (discussion on the tapestry cycles, pp. 129-130, Series IIa, no. 3); 356 × 505 cm. PROV. Stockholm, collection Harry Axelson Johnson (1928). LIT. *Böttiger, Tapisseries*, 1928, I, pp. 74-75, no. 66; II, pl. 62; *Marillier, Tapestries*, p. 29 (as *school of Rubens*).

(2) Tapestry, Brussels, mid 17th-century, whereabouts unknown, part of a series (discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 132, Series Va, no. 2); 398 × 580 cm. PROV. Carl Bergsten, Stockholm (1928). LIT. *Böttiger, Tapisseries*, 1928, I, pp. 77-79, no. 69; II, pl. 65; cf. *Göbel, Wandteppiche*, 1923-34, I, i, pp. 206-207; *Marillier, Tapestries*, p. 30.

(3) Tapestry, by Hendrik van Assche, whereabouts unknown, part of a series (discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 131, Series IVa, no. 9); measurements unknown; inscribed in the cartouche above: *RAPTAE PRAELIUM/DIRIMUNT*. PROV. Rome, Private Collection (1879). LIT. *Barbier de Montault, Tapisseries*, 1879, pp. 100-103 (no. X), no. 9.

(4) Tapestry, Brussels, 17th-century, whereabouts unknown, probably part of a series (discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 133, Series VI, no. 5); measurements unknown. PROV. New York, Gimburg and Lovey Gallery (1964: repr. in advertisement in *Apollo*, 1964 as *17th-century Brussels, after Rubens*).

This design, which Burchard attributed to Rubens, is certainly similar in composition to Rubens's paintings of the *Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines* (No. 41; Fig. 138 and No. 43; cf. Fig. 142). But the types and the attitudes of the figures, as well as the way the composition is adapted, do not seem to me characteristic of Rubens. The gestures are mannered, lacking force. For example the soldier to the left (to the right in the sketch: No. 28a, Copy; Fig. 109) takes up a limp attitude, bending inwards. Here the man is, appropriately

enough, in a state of indecision, but the pose is one which, as it happens, is found very often in the tapestry designs of Justus van Egmont (cf. Figs. 112, 113), who uses such stooping figures to enclose groups and scenes—as is the case in No. 28. As has been noted elsewhere,¹ Van Egmont has been proposed, by Arnout Balis, as a good candidate for the authorship of the Romulus cycle. The proportions and facial features of the women too seem consistent with an attribution to Van Egmont. Indeed, I consider that the preparatory sketch for No. 28, which Burchard thought was a copy of an original by Rubens, is probably Van Egmont's original sketch for the tapestry design.²

Particularly comparable to No. 28 is the scene of the Germanic women using their own babies to combat the Romans from Van Egmont's Augustus cycle (Fig. 112); like the *Reconciliation of Octavian and Antony* from the same series (Fig. 113), this design was certainly not made without some knowledge, direct or indirect, of Rubens's compositions for the Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines, particularly perhaps that in Munich (No. 41; Fig. 138)—a circumstance which would support the attribution of No. 28 to Van Egmont. Indeed the very idea of including this episode in a Romulus series may have been prompted by the existence of pictures of the subject by Rubens. As is pointed out elsewhere,³ an illustration of Sabine women invading the battlefield to reconcile the armies was not a normal component of sixteenth-century Romulus cycles.

1. See especially Introduction to this section, pp. 127-128 and under No. 24.

2. See further under No. 28a.

3. Under No. 41, at n. 23.

28a. The Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines: Oil Sketch

? Oil on canvas; measurements unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

COPY: Painting (Fig. 109), canvas; 21.5 × 35.5 cm.; whereabouts unknown. PROV. The Earl of Jersey, ?Radier Manor, Jersey (1951). LIT. None.

Burchard recognized that the sketch listed above as a copy (Fig. 109) is directly connected with the tapestries recording the scene of the reconciliation between the armies of Romulus and Titus Tatius (No. 28; cf. Fig. 108); he supposed therefore that it was, although not by Rubens himself, a copy after a design by Rubens.

In fact the small picture seems, if anything, superior in quality to the sketch now in the Getty Museum (No. 24a; Fig. 99) which Burchard attributed to Rubens himself. In neither case, however, do the sketches look to me like works directly connected with Rubens. Rather they seem to be by a follower, who put together a Romulus cycle—that recorded here as Nos. 24-28, with the addition of Figs. 97 and 98—relying on Rubensian models where they were available, either for compositions or individual figures and motifs. That this follower was Justus van Egmont is argued above, in the Introduction to this section, and under No. 24, as well as No. 28. Unfortunately, no preparatory sketches have yet come to light for any of Van Egmont's earlier tapestry series,¹ so the issue remains undecided.

1. For the drawings and oil sketch which survive for the Zenobia cycle of c. 1665 see Introduction to this section, at n. 120.

28b. The Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines: Cartoon

Lost.

PROVENANCE: Unrecorded.

LITERATURE: None.

See the commentary to No. 24b, as well as No. 28.

29. The Flight of Cloelia: Tapestry

EDITION: Tapestry (Fig. 110), Brussels, mid 17th-century, whereabouts unknown, part of a series of early Roman history (discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 130, Series IIb, no. 2); 392 × 453 cm.; inscribed: *CLOELIA. CVM/ ALIIS. TRANS. TIBRIM/ ROMAM. RE- DEVNT.* [sic]. PROV. Sturefors, castle, Count Thure-Gabriel Bielke (1928). LIT. *Böttiger, Tapisseries*, 1928, I, pp. 76-77, no. 67; II, pl. 63 (as ?*Diepenbeeck*); *Marillier, Tapestries*, p. 30.

Burchard believed this to be a design by Rubens for a tapestry series otherwise devoted to the story of Romulus. He associated the single extant tapestry woven from No. 29 (Fig. 110) with a group of three Romulus subjects which certainly belong to one series (see Introduction to this section, and discussion on the tapestry cycles, pp. 129-130, Series IIa), and have borders similar, but not identical, to those of the Cloelia tapestry. This last has at the top a title in a cartouche framed by seraph-like creatures. In fact Arnout Balis has recently found that two other tapestries exist with borders identical to those of Fig. 110; and, like it, they illustrate episodes from the early history of Rome (discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 130, Series IIb). It seems clear, therefore, that the scene of the *Flight of Cloelia* once belonged with that pair, and was part of a cycle of early Roman history which was quite separate from the Romulus series. Still, given the general similarities of borders and figural types, it is likely that both sets were made in the same workshop. They may even have been designed by the same artist. Whatever the case, in my view they cannot be attributed to Rubens.

The Romulus cycle is discussed in the Introduction to this section (as 'Burchard's Romulus series'), as well as under Nos. 24-28.¹ There it is suggested that the author may have been Justus van Egmont. Like two of the episodes in the Romulus cycle (Nos. 24 and 28; cf. Figs. 100, 108), the *Flight of Cloelia* is related

to a composition by Rubens—or rather in this case two compositions (Nos. 47, 48; Figs. 170, 175); the story of Cloelia's escapade is told in connection with these works. Presumably the relationship with Rubens seemed to Burchard to support his attribution. However, comparison between tapestry and pictures seems to me to speak against such an idea. For though the tapestry's version of the escape of Cloelia has a certain vigour, it displays none of the subtlety, whether compositional or iconographic, that might be expected of Rubens.

The central group with the horse stopping short at the Tiber, not much under the control of its inexperienced riders, makes an amusing motif, as too does the young woman to the right, planting her feet firmly apart to keep her rearing steed in order. This figure, with her curly hair, headband and necklace, is perhaps the one who looks most characteristic of Van Egmont, as represented by, for example, his Zenobia cycle. Analogies can also be made with the women in the *Rape of the Sabines* (No. 27; cf. Fig. 107) from the Romulus series (which, as was noted, may be by Van Egmont). One of the riders (Cloelia's passenger) is encircled by the swirling veil which recurs in that Sabine composition, as well as in other designs from the Romulus series (cf. Figs. 100, 108).

This curious feature of the veil is likewise found in a series devoted to Diana and myths of hunting which was woven by Andries van den Dries and Hendrik van Assche,² and which, interestingly, includes titles framed in a cartouche of exactly the design used for the Cloelia tapestry. Similarities with the same Diana series can also be observed in the composition—in particular the watery landscape setting—and in the physical features of the women, as for example, in the episode of *Diana and Callisto* (Fig. 111), where the goddess stands, slightly comically, almost fully clothed and knee-deep in a pool of water—a swirl of drapery surrounding her head. The artist responsible for this design is at present unknown, but it is possible that the series is a

relatively early tapestry cycle by Justus van Egmont.

Whoever he was, the artist of No. 29 made much of the night scene, with an evocative use of light; and the secrecy attending this nocturnal escape is indicated by the figure with her finger at her lips. The arrangement of stars visible in the break in the clouds might even be intended as the constellation Virgo,³ which would be appropriate enough for intrepid Roman maidens.

1. Since two Romulus tapestry cycles have been associated with Rubens, but only one was postulated by Burchard, this latter is the one designated Burchard's Romulus series in the present volume.
2. See E. Duverger, 'Tapijten naar Rubens en Jordans in het bezit van het Antwerps Handelsvenootschap Fourment-Van Hecke', *Artes Textiles*, VII, 1971, pp. 126-139; also Introduction to this section, at nn. 84, 116.
3. As Kristen Lippincott pointed out to me, it very roughly corresponds to the configuration as reproduced in *De le stelle fisse...*, Venice, 1553, fol. 43, fig. XVII.

29a. The Flight of Cloelia: Oil Sketch

? Oil on canvas; measurements unknown.
Whereabouts unknown, presumably lost.

The sketch related to No. 29 is unrecorded.

29b. The Flight of Cloelia: Cartoon

Lost.

PROVENANCE: Unrecorded.

LITERATURE: None.

See the commentary to No. 24b, as well as No. 29.

30. Romulus setting up a Trophy: Oil Sketch (Fig. 89)

Oil on uncradled panel; 51 × 16.8 cm. (old lateral additions removed before 1947; now composed of three pieces of wood: see *Held, Sketches*, 1980, loc cit. below for further details; X-ray photograph reveals split in the middle). London, Dulwich College Picture Gallery. Inv. no. 19.

PROVENANCE: ? G.A. Pellegrini (1675-1741); Consul Joseph Smith (Venice) (*Flemish and Dutch painting*, no. 39: 'A soldier, man with military trophy on board'), who sold it, already enlarged, in 1762 to King George III (1738-1820); N.J. Desenfans (insurance list of 1804, as '*Achilles contemplating armour*'); Sir Francis Bourgeois (1756-1811), who bequeathed it to the College.

EXHIBITED: *Some Pictures from the Dulwich Gallery*, National Gallery, London, 1947, no. 42.

LITERATURE: J.P. Richter and J.C.L. Sparkes, *A Descriptive and Historical Catalogue with Biographical Notices of the Painters*, London, 1880, no. 174 (as copy); *A Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Pictures...at Dulwich*, [London], 1926, p. 13, no. 19 (as school of Rubens, 'A Roman soldier with a trophy'); F. Grossmann, 'Rubens et Van Dyck à la Dulwich Gallery', *Les Arts plastiques*, II, 1948, p. 50, fig. 33; *A brief Catalogue of the Pictures in Dulwich College Picture Gallery*, London, 1953, p. 35, no. 39 (as Rubens, 'Aeneas with the spoils of Mezentius'); P. Murray, *Dulwich Picture Gallery. A Catalogue*, London—Totowa (N.Y.), 1980, p. 111, no. 19 (as Rubens, 'Aeneas with the Arms of Mezentius'); P. Murray, *Dulwich Picture Gallery. A Handlist*, London, 1980, p. 24, no. 19, repr.; *Held, Sketches*, 1980, I, pp. 375-376, no. 279; II, pl. 279 (as 'Romulus Carrying the Trophy of Acron'); *Held, Cartoons*, 1983, pp. 132-36, esp. p. 134 and fig. 9, p. 139; *Jaffé, Cartoons*, 1983, pp. 136-151, esp. pp. 147-148 and fig. 9, p. 139; J. Giltay, *Schilderkunst uit de eerste hand*.

Olieverfschetsen van Tintoretto tot Goya, Rotterdam, 1983, pp. 70-72, under no. 14; *Cleaver, Cartoons*, 1986, pp. 48-50 and fig. 5; *Jaffé—Cannon-Brookes*, 1986, p. 784; *Jaffé, Rubens*, 1989, p. 373, no. 1390, repr. (as 1635-39); *De Poorter, Cat. Rotterdam*, 1990, pp. 93, 94.

This sketch in the Dulwich Gallery was long considered a copy or school piece until the lateral additions were removed, along with some overpainting. It was first attributed to Rubens by Burchard,² who recognized its connection with the two sketches now identified as *The Union of Romulus and Tatius* and *Romulus appearing to Julius Proculus* (Nos. 31 and 32; Figs. 86 and 91). These clearly involve the same hero, though Burchard thought him Aeneas, rather than Romulus.³ Burchard dated the Dulwich sketch c. 1622-25, relating it stylistically to the sketches for the Constantine cycle. Other scholars have placed it later: Held around 1625-27, Jaffé in the last years of Rubens's life; this latter dating accords with his supposition that the three Romulus sketches, and the tapestry cartoons now in Cardiff (Figs. 83, 85, 88, 90) belong to a project left uncompleted at Rubens's death.⁴ The cartoon based on the present composition (Fig. 88), which in my view should not be attributed to Rubens, is discussed in the Introduction to this section, as is an apparently related tapestry.⁵

As in the case of Nos. 31 and 32, the condition of this sketch makes a dating on stylistic grounds extremely difficult, for the panel is, I believe, still somewhat overpainted. The dark background to the figure appears to be added; X-ray photographs, taken at the National Gallery in 1989,⁶ seem to reveal traces of white paint underneath which could indicate fluttering drapery such as appears on the corresponding cartoon (Fig. 88). Again, some of the highlighting and detailing is laboured and mechanical, for example the 'chain mail' on the armour and the fringe of the cloak. X-rays indeed suggest that the position of the cloak was originally different, and that it may have

extended further behind Romulus's right leg. The hand holding the trophy is also rather clumsy. In its original state the sketch may have been quite thinly painted, and might have looked much more like, say, the sketch for the altarpiece of St Theresa at Lier,⁷ or even the earlier *Constantine and Crispus* now in a private collection in Sydney,⁸ which it otherwise recalls both in the character and the delineation of the figure, as well as the gestures, though it lacks the black outlines of the Sydney sketch. In that case the simple composition was inspired by the reverse of a Roman coin. Such, as we shall see, is also the case for the Dulwich sketch.

Romulus is shown, after his victory over the Caeninenses, dedicating the spoils of their king Acron on the Capitol. Ancient accounts differ in the way they describe Romulus's triumphant return from this victory. Dionysius of Halicarnassus concentrates on the triumphal procession, adding that after this, and a sacrifice in thanksgiving, Romulus inaugurated a temple on the summit of the Capitol to Jupiter Feretrius in which he consecrated the spoils of Acron.⁹ Plutarch tells us that in fulfilment of a vow made to Jupiter before the battle, Romulus hewed down an oak tree and from it made a 'trophy' to bear the armour of the dead king, all arranged in its proper place; this he then carried in triumph, on his right shoulder.¹⁰ Livy, however, relates how Romulus mounted to the Capitol with the armour borne before him on a frame (*ferculum*) constructed for this purpose, and then hung it on an oak, 'which the shepherds regarded as a sacred tree'. Here he marked out the site for the temple of Jupiter Feretrius and, invoking the god, dedicated his 'spolia opima' to him.¹¹

Rubens combined elements from the different accounts. He followed Plutarch in interpreting the *ferculum* as a wooden pole with the armour displayed on it. Plutarch emphasizes that Romulus carried the trophy himself, and on foot, disputing Dionysius's claim that he rode in a four-horse chariot.¹² He also refers to

'statues of Romulus bearing the trophies yet to be seen in Rome, which are all on foot'. A visual record of these seems to survive on the reverses of some ancient coins showing the victorious Romulus with spear in one hand and the trophy over his other shoulder, which, as Held pointed out, presumably influenced Rubens. The first plate from Goltzius's *Fasti Magistratum* (Fig. 105) specifically relates this image, inscribed *Romulo Augusto*, to the victory over Acron;¹³ another similar coin illustrated by de Bie is even inscribed *Romulo Conditori*, 'to Romulus, city founder'.¹⁴

Livy, however, provided the text for the dedication of the trophy on the Capitol, beneath the Capitoline oak, the *quercus capitolina*.¹⁵ The rocky ridge in the foreground upon which Romulus steps is intended as the summit of the hill, where he prepares to attach the trophy to the oak tree. Behind, and evidently far below, the Tiber flows, its island making an appropriate emblem for the newly-founded city, since by tradition this was the original part of Rome. As he dedicates the trophy, Rubens seems to show Romulus speaking, perhaps uttering the very words to Jupiter Feretrius which Livy puts into his mouth.

The episode had a special symbolic significance, since the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, later set up on this spot, was the first to be dedicated in Rome, and since it also celebrates the inauguration of the Capitol, which would thereafter be the heart of the city.¹⁶ In addition, it was considered to mark the origin of the Roman triumph, as Dionysius's account (with its 'mistaken' use of the *quadriga*) makes particularly clear.¹⁷ It was included in earlier Romulus cycles, notably in that painted by the Carracci in Bologna (Fig. 92), where, Plutarch being the literary source, the scene is set at the city gates, not on the Capitol.¹⁸ Most frequently, as in the Foundation of Rome series of prints by Battista Fontana, we see Romulus hanging the armour from the sacred oak.¹⁹ Invariably, however, whether in the triumph or the dedication, there had been a crowd of

onlookers, soldiers who have just taken part in the battle, as well as others.²⁰ It might seem peculiar that Rubens here chose to show a solitary figure, privately communing with Jupiter. This was presumably largely because of the demands of the space, the design being for a narrow upright tapestry.²¹ The tall, narrow compositions designed to begin and end the two cycles for Maria de' Medici can be compared, particularly the *Birth of Henri IV*, since it shows Mars Ultor.²² That Romulus is making his vow of thanks is thus indicated by his gestures alone, rather than by the actions of the accompanying retinue; with upraised eyes and arms, he appeals to heaven. (It is understandable that the picture should often have been associated with Aeneas, since his similar dedication—of the trophy of Mezentius—was evidently a solitary affair.)²³ The precedent of the ancient coins (Fig. 105) and the statues mentioned by Plutarch would, however, have encouraged the idea of presenting Romulus as a single figure. It also emphasizes the symbolic character of the dedication, and that this is not a simple narrative scene.

A panel sold at London, 16 June 1794, lot 177 as 'Rubens, Eneas contemplating the armour of Achilles', and the property of emigrant nobleman (presumably French), sounds as if it might have been related to the present sketch, but if the measurements given are correct (c. 56 × 68.5 cm.; 1'10" × 2'3"), it must have been a different type of composition. Nor can it be identified with the sketch listed below as No. 30a, since this was smaller.

1. O. Millar, *The Queen's Pictures*, London, 1977, pp. 125-126, observing that Smith had dealings in Amsterdam as early as 1710 and possessed one other *modello* by Rubens.
2. Cf. Grossmann, loc. cit., 1948. The width at that time was 34.3 cm.
3. See further above, Introduction to this section, esp. pp. 116-117. The armour worn by the man in the Dulwich sketch is in fact identical to that of one of the figures in *The Reconciliation of Romulus and Tatius* (No. 31; Fig. 86).
4. See esp. Jaffé—Cannon-Brookes, 1986, pp. 780-785; also above, Introduction to this section.
5. Discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 131, Series IV, no. 5.
6. I am most grateful to Christopher Brown for arranging for these to be made, and his help in studying this work.
7. *Vlieghe, Saints, 1972-73*, II, p. 168, no. 155a, fig. 126; *Held, Sketches, 1980*, I, pp. 587-88, no. 427; II, pl. 418.
8. *Held, Sketches, 1980*, I, pp. 79-80, no. 46; II, pl. 47; also D. Jaffé, [Cat. Exh.] *Rubens' Self-portrait in Focus* (Australian National Gallery), Canberra, 1988, p. 15, pl. IIIb (colour).
9. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* II.33.2-II.34.4.
10. Plutarch, *Romulus* 16.5-8. No special significance can be attached to the fact that in the sketch it is in Romulus's right hand, since the design was to be reversed.
11. Livy, *Ab urbe condita* I.x. Cf. Propertius, *Elegies* IV.x, esp. 45-48; Valerius Maximus, *Dicta et facta* III.ii.3 (*de fortitudine*). The term *spolia opima*, whose precise etymology was a matter of debate to ancient historians, signified spoils taken by one military commander from the leader of the opposing forces. See, for example, Rosinus, *Antiquitates*, 1663, p. 773 (X.xxix).
12. Cf. Propertius, *Elegies* IV.x.47: '...humeris haec arma ferebant'; Florus, *Epitome* I.1.6: 'Spolia insuper opima de rege Feretrio Iovi manibus suis rex reportavit'.
13. *Goltzius, Opera, 1645*, I, pl. 1; cf. *Held, Sketches, 1980*, I, p. 376.
14. J. de Bie, *Nomismata*, Antwerp, 1617, pl. 37; cf. also the images of Mars Ultor (pls. 26, 29, 30, 41 and 63). This is reflected in a painting attributed to Giulio Mazzoni on the facade of the Palazzo Spada in Rome (L. Neppi, *Palazzo Spada*, Rome, 1975, p. 28, pl. 7, p. 66).
15. A print of the frontispiece to the Paris 1510 edition of the *Memorabilia gesta* which shows Romulus as 'fundator urbis', with the Capitoline oak flowering above him visually demonstrates the significance of this tree.
16. See Alexander ab Alexandro, *Dies geniales*, edn Leiden, 1673, I, pp. 108-109; Rosinus, *Antiquitates*, 1663, pp. 106-107 (II.v).
17. *Pauly—Wissowa*, part II, I, i, 1914, col. 1095 (s.v. *Romulus*), with reference to ancient inscriptions.
18. See A. Stanzani in *Emiliani, Storie di Romolo*, 1989, p. 182, pls. X, XLIII and fig. 8, p. 162; for the drawing by Ludovico Carracci see pl. CXXVII; also C. Volpe, *Il Fregio dei Carracci e i dipinti di Palazzo Magnani in Bologna*, edn Bologna, 1976, p. 10 and pl. VIII. Here the inscription *Verax gloria ex victoria* underlines the connection with the Roman triumph.
19. *Bartsch*, XVI, 1870, p. 230, no. 38.
20. Cf. the engraving by A. Sacchi, and preparatory drawings in A. Sutherland Harris, *Andrea Sacchi*,

Oxford, 1977, pp. 102-103, no. 85, pls. 168-171.

21. This is not the case with the corresponding cartoon (Fig. 88).

22. *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921*, p. 320.

23. Vergil, *Aeneid* XI.1-28.

30a. Romulus setting up a Trophy: Oil Sketch

Oil on paper, mounted on wood; 35.2 × 21.6 cm. (13 × 8 pouces).

Lost.

PROVENANCE: A.-F. Poisson, Marquis de Menars, sale, Paris (Basan—Joullain), 18 March—11 April 1782, lot 99b.

The reference in a sale catalogue of 1782 to 'deux belles esquisses, savamment touchées', one of which showed 'un guerrier formant un faisceau d'armes sur le tronc d'un gros arbre' suggested to Burchard a connection with the sketch now in Dulwich (No. 30; Fig. 89).¹ He took it to be another version (i.e. a *modello*) of the Dulwich sketch. It is interesting, however, that in the sale catalogue the 'two fine sketches' do not appear to be attributed to Rubens. Moreover, the description of the subject, with its specific reference to arranging the arms on a tree, suggests a different composition.

Since a tree with a trophy tied to it prominently figures in the cartoon of the subject in Cardiff (Fig. 88), it is tempting to wonder if the sketch sold in Paris was in fact by the artist of the Cardiff Cartoons, adapting Rubens's original design before using it for the tapestry cartoon.² But the sketch had as its pendant an illustration of 'un groupe de 4 soldats dans une attitude de poursuite', and I cannot think of a Romulus subject to fit this latter scene—unless it could have been connected with a story of the youth of Romulus, or with one of a pair of tapestry cartoons now in Sarasota (Fig. 95).³

1. He first considered that the reference might have been the Dulwich sketch itself, before the addi-

tions were made to it, but the provenance was inconsistent with such an idea.

2. For the question of the attribution of these cartoons, see Introduction to this section.

3. For these cartoons, and their suggested relationship to those in Cardiff, see above, Introduction to this section, esp. at n. 64. Possibly, however, the subjects were after all from the story of Aeneas. In this context it may be worth noting that the sketch which probably represents *Aeneas in the Underworld* and is now in the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff (*Held, Sketches, 1980*, I, pp. 316-317, no. 230; II, pl. 252) measures 40 × 26 cm., and is also on paper though mounted on canvas.

31. Reconciliation of Romulus and Titus Tatius: Oil Sketch (Fig. 86)

Oil on cradled panel, 44.3 × 32.3 cm.

Jerusalem, Israel Museum.

PROVENANCE: Chrétien François Prévost, sale, Brussels, 20 July 1775, lot 2; Vincent Donjeux, sale, Paris, 29 April 1793 *et seq.*, lot 119 (in both cases with No. 32 as its pendant); Vermeer Gallery, London, 1928; dealer Van Diemen, Berlin, 1928; Gerson, New York; M. Gutmann, New York; Otto Sochaczewer, Amsterdam (1937); private collection, New York, 1968; California, collection of Eric Lidow; given in 1986 to the Israel Museum by Sam Weisbord through the American Friends of the Museum.

EXHIBITED: *Brussels, 1937*, no. 47 and pl. V; *Peter Paul Rubens*, Schaeffer and Brandt Inc., New York, 1942, no. 19, repr.

LITERATURE: L. Burchard, 'Die Begegnung zweier Feldherren von Rubens', *Der Cicerone*, V, xxi, 1929, p. 378 (as '*Constantine and Licinius*' or '*Scipio and Hannibal*'); *Catalogue de la Collection Goudstikker*, Amsterdam, no. XXXIII, 1927, no. 110; W. von Alten, 'Two Works by Rubens', *The Burlington Magazine*, LXII, 1933, p. 15 (as '*M. Minucius and Q. Fabius Maximus*'); A. Scharf, 'The Exhibition of Rubens' Sketches at Brussels', *The Burlington Magazine*, LXXI, 1937, pp. 187-188; *Valentiner, America, 1946*, no.

88; J.S. Held, 'Aeneas appearing to Ascanius', *Schaeffer Galleries Bulletin*, II, 1947 (as 'Aeneas and Evander'); Goris—Held, *America*, 1947, p. 39, no. 81; Larsen, *Rubens*, 1952, p. 217, no. 70 (as 'Fabius Maximus and Minucius', c. 1625); Haverkamp Begemann, *Olieverfschetsen*, 1953, p. 64, under no. 42; R.-A. d'Hulst, *Olieverfschetsen van Rubens uit Nederlands en Belgisch Openbaar Bezit*, Amsterdam, 1968, p. 94, under no. 11; R. Baumstark, 'Mars und Rhea Silvia von Peter Paul Rubens in den Sammlungen des Fürsten von Liechtenstein', *Jahrbuch der liechtensteinschen Kunstgesellschaft*, II, 1977, p. 43; J. Blazková, 'Les tapisseries de Décimus Mus en Bohême', *Artes Textiles*, IX, 1978, p. 60; Held, *Sketches*, 1980, I, pp. 376-377, no. 281; II, pl. 281 (as 'Romulus and Tatius'); H. Kauffmann, 'Formen der Begegnung in der Bildkunst von Rubens' in *Peter Paul Rubens. Werk und Nachruhm*, Munich, 1981, p. 71 (as 'Fabius Maximus and Minucius'); Held, *Cartoons*, 1983, pp. 132-36, esp. p. 133 and fig. 2; Jaffé, *Cartoons*, 1983, pp. 136-151, esp. p. 147 and fig. 2; J. Giltay [Cat. Exh.], *Schilderkunst uit de eerste hand. Olieverfschetsen van Tintoretto tot Goya / Malerei aus erster Hand. Ölskizzen von Tintoretto bis Goya* (Museum Boymans—van Beuningen, Rotterdam—Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig, 1983-84), Rotterdam, 1983, pp. 70-72, under no. 14; 'Chronique des arts' in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th per., CIX, 1987, p. 36, repr.; Jaffé, *Rubens*, 1989, p. 372, no. 1388, repr. p. 373; *De Poorter, Cat. Rotterdam*, 1990, pp. 93-95, under no. 25.

This sketch, first published by Burchard, was associated with several ancient pledges and treaties before it was recognized as a representation of the union between Romulus and Titus Tatius after the reconciliation of the Romans and Sabines, a subject appropriately included in what seems to have been a projected tapestry cycle about Romulus.¹ This series, which has generated much scholarly debate in recent years, is discussed in the Introduction to this section, as are the four cartoons and two tapestries related to it. No. 31 pro-

vided the model for the cartoon illustrated in Fig. 85, which, however, introduced major compositional changes as well as iconographic oddities, and, as I argue above, cannot have been painted by Rubens.²

Not that the present sketch corresponds in any literal way to the accounts of the truce between Romulus and Tatius in Livy, Plutarch or Dionysius of Halicarnassus. These historians imply that the reconciliation took place in front of both armies, immediately after the happy intervention of Hersilia and the Sabine women, and according to Dionysius with a number of altars set up on the Sacred Way.³ Evidently, perhaps simply for reasons of space or economy, Rubens chose to represent the event symbolically, with the two leaders joining hands in mutual accord before the ramparts of Rome, the *arx romana* which Dionysius tells us was fortified already before the battle with Tatius, and which was to be expanded after the union of the leaders. Possibly there is an intended allusion to one of the Roman hills, and this is the ridge on which the two men appear to stand.⁴ The handshake is an obvious token of their *fides* or *concordia*. It is certainly appropriate, as Held proposed, to recall the phrase from Ennius, familiar from its reuse by Vergil, 'da fidem; fidem accipe' ('Give and accept a pledge of faith'), and this probably was in Rubens's mind. But it is not necessary to invoke Ennius to understand the illustration of the pledge in this way, with clasped right hands. Nor does it seem necessary to suppose a conscious reference to Alciati's emblem of *Concordia* for a motif so widespread in Renaissance imagery, and obviously suited to this context, with two figures. The fact that the resultant truce made one city out of two is underlined by the motif of the putto with two wreaths.

The two men are clearly distinguished, though both wear headbands of the type which marks out Romulus in Rubens's paintings of the Rape and Reconciliation of the Sabines (below, Nos. 37-43), and which appears for example in the ancient portrait in-

cluded in Faber's edition of Orsini's *Imagines*.⁵ Romulus should be the figure behind, since he is wearing the red cloak with gold fringes which he has in Nos. 30 and 32, and has the same lion's head ornament on his boots. As he pledges his faith, the putto above looks to him as to the protagonist. Tatius is shown in peculiar, lilac-coloured leather armour. This, however, like some other elements in the picture, may result from overpainting.

Held dates this sketch and that of Romulus and Proculus (No. 32; Fig. 91) to the same period as the Achilles cycle, or slightly later, pointing out that their 'broad' style is not compatible with that of the sketches for the Jesuit ceiling or for the Medici or Constantine cycles, a comparison made or implied by any dating of the sketches to the early 1620s (postulated by Burchard and d'Hulst). Jaffé puts them later, in accordance with his supposition that the cycle was left unfinished at Rubens's death.⁶ Yet it is also hard to see any close analogies with the technique, or facial types, of sketches from any period of Rubens's activity: the nearest analogy is perhaps in the sketch for the title-page of Corderius's *Catena...in S. Lucam* of 1628.⁷ Altogether there is a dull flaccidity about the manner in which the sketch is painted. Moreover, there are surprising infelicities in drawing and composition. For example the flying putto, reclining clumsily in the clouds, intersects the head of Romulus awkwardly, appearing to be at once in front of and behind him.

In fact any real assessment of the quality of this sketch, like the companion *Romulus appearing to Proculus* (No. 32), is frustrated by the extent of overpainting. Originally, I believe, it may have been near monochrome—and rather resembled the sketch in Rotterdam (No. 31a; Fig. 87), which is itself slightly reworked, and in my view is probably a copy. It is to be hoped that a detailed technical examination, which at present is not possible in the Israel Museum,⁸ may eventually yield useful evidence.

1. The subject was first identified by Held in 1980 (*Held, Sketches, 1980*, I, pp. 376-377); Burchard, who recognized its relationship with No. 32—now identified as *Romulus and Julius Proculus*—was first puzzled about the subjects, but at least by 1935 had come to the conclusion that both sketches illustrated episodes from the story of Aeneas (*Aeneas appearing to Ascanius*, in the case of No. 32, and *Aeneas and Evander* for the present composition).
 2. See Introduction to this section, pp. 115-119.
 3. Livy, *Ab urbe condita* I.xiii; Plutarch, *Romulus* 19.6-7; Dionysius, *Roman Antiquities*, II.46.
 4. Dionysius says that Romulus and Tatius enlarged the city by adding the Quirinal and Coelian hills to the Capitol and Palatine (*Roman Antiquities* II.50), and that it was from this time that Roman citizens were called *Quirites* after the Sabine city *Cures* and/or from the Sabine word for spear: *curis* or *quiris* (*ibid.*, II.46.2-II.48.4). Rosinus mentions Romulus and Tatius in connection with several hills, also the Esquiline (*Rosinus, Antiquitates, 1663*, pp. 11-16 [I.iv-x]). Dionysius, Livy and Plutarch (*Romulus* 17) say that the Capitol was fortified with walls and the *arx romana* placed there before the arrival of Tatius and the Sabines. After the treaty between Romulus and Tatius, a temple to Quirinus was set up on the Quirinal.
 5. Faber, *Imagines, 1606*, pl. 127. Cf. Fig. 105.
 6. Cf. above, Introduction to this section.
 7. Held, *Sketches, 1980*, I, pp. 417-418, no. 303; II, pl. 303; Judson—*Van de Velde*, I, pp. 252-253, no. 58a; II, fig. 200. See also under No. 32.
 8. I thank Amalyah Zipkin, curator of the Museum, for her helpful comments.
- 31a. Reconciliation of Romulus and Titus Tatius (Fig. 87)

31a. Reconciliation of Romulus and Titus Tatius (Fig. 87)

Oil on cradled panel, 40 × 32 cm.

Rotterdam, Museum Boymans—van Beuningen, on loan from Dienst voor 's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen. No. 2300.

PROVENANCE: ? Sale, Paris (Lebrun), 1 March 1794 *et seq.*, lot 9 ('un petit Tableau, esquisse terminé, composition de deux figures', as c. 36 × 27 cm.);¹ dealer Moritz Lindemann, Vienna; sale, London (Knight, Frank and Rutley), 27 May 1927, lot 11, repr. (said to come from the Pallavicini Collection);² bought by dealer Goudstikker, Amsterdam; Franz Koenigs,

Haarlem (1881-1941), loaned from ?1937 to the Boymans Museum; taken to Germany during the Second World War; returned to the Netherlands from the Central Collecting Point (Munich) in 1945; Dienst Verspreide Rijkscollekties.

EXHIBITED: *Nouvelles Acquisitions*, Amsterdam (Goudstikker), 1927, no. 110; *Amsterdam*, 1933, no. 38, repr.; *Verzameling F. Koenigs, Haarlem*, Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, 1935, no. 33; *Brussels*, 1937, no. 46; *Rotterdam 1953-54*, no. 42; *Schilderkunst uit de eerste hand. Olieverfschetsen van Tintoretto tot Goya | Malerei aus erster Hand. Ölskizzen von Tintoretto bis Goya*. Museum Boymans—van Beuningen, Rotterdam—Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig, 1983-84, no. 14.

LITERATURE: Catalogue Goudstikker, Amsterdam, no. XXXIII, 1927, no. 110; L. Burchard, 'Die Begegnung zweier Feldherren von Rubens', *Der Cicerone*, V, xxi, 1929, p. 378; W. von Alten, 'Two Works by Rubens', *The Burlington Magazine*, LXII, 1933, pp. 15-16; A. Scharf, 'The Exhibition of Rubens' Sketches at Brussels', *The Burlington Magazine*, LXXI, 1937, p. 188; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, 1940, p. 54; *Goris—Held, America*, 1947, p. 39 under nos. 81, 81a; *Haverkamp Begemann, Olieverfschetsen*, 1953, p. 64, no. 42; [Cat.] *Schilderijen tot 1800*, Rotterdam, 1962, p. 115, no. 2300; R.-A. d'Hulst, *Olieverfschetsen van Rubens uit Nederlands en Belgisch Openbaar Bezit*, Amsterdam, 1968, pp. 94-95, no. 11 and fig. 31; M. Denzler, *Reallexikon*, VI, 1973, col. 827, s.v. 'Fabius Maximus'; *Museum Boymans—van Beuningen, Rotterdam. Old Paintings, 1400-1900. Illustrations*, Rotterdam, 1972, p. 220, no. 2300, repr. p. 114 (as 'Two Roman Generals'); *Held, Sketches*, 1980, I, p. 376, no. 280; II, pl. 280; *Held, Cartoons*, 1983, pp. 132-136, esp. pp. 132-133, and fig. 3; *Jaffé, Cartoons*, 1983, pp. 136-151, esp. p. 147, and fig. 3; J. Giltay, *Schilderkunst uit de eerste hand. Olieverfschetsen van Tintoretto tot Goya | Malerei aus erster Hand. Ölskizzen von Tintoretto bis Goya* (Museum Boymans—van

Beuningen, Rotterdam—Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig, 1983-84), Rotterdam, 1983, pp. 70-72, no. 14, repr.; *Jaffé, Rubens*, 1989, p. 372, no. 1387, repr. p. 373; *De Poorter, Cat. Rotterdam*, 1990, pp. 92-95, no. 25, repr.

This sketch has been generally accepted as the work of Rubens, by Burchard as by others, but it seems to me to present some problematic features. The colour can be discounted, since it seems to have been added by a later hand¹ (Burchard even suggested this might have been the dealer Moritz Lindemann, who perhaps also gave the sketch a sudden aristocratic provenance), but whether it is dated to the 1620s or (as is usual) the 1630s, this work looks to me unacceptably weak in draughtmanship. The outlines are hesitant and broken, very different from the boldly drawn Achilles sketches which hang nearby in the Boymans Museum. In addition there is the question of its intended function as a stage in the design of a proposed tapestry series. Whether or not they accept the cartoons in Cardiff as Rubens's work, scholars have usually regarded this sketch as a *bozzetto* to the Jerusalem *modello* (No. 31; Fig. 86). But it is odd, and inconsistent with Rubens's practice, to find a grisaille *bozzetto* which is the same size as the coloured *modello*, and, moreover, not in the intended sense of the final tapestry; for the Eucharist series at least, for which *bozzetti* survive, Rubens painted rough grisaille sketches in the direction of the final tapestries, and therefore in the opposite sense to the later, more finished and coloured *modelli*.⁴ Rubens's purpose in making two sketches so similar in dimensions and composition would be obscure.⁵

Possibly, therefore the grisaille is a copy, or perhaps even a variation by a different artist. Certain features might simply be abbreviations of corresponding features in the coloured sketch, for example the battlements of Rome, drawn in such a way that those on the right were taken by Jaffé for the prow of a ship. Other changes seem to bring the compo-

sition closer to that of the corresponding cartoon (Fig. 85), for instance the attitude of the putto. Even if these 'changes' simply confirm that the Jerusalem sketch has been over-painted, the relationship with the cartoon in Cardiff may be significant. The battlements are there eliminated entirely and the putto keeps more or less the same attitude but is made to fly freely between the two men.

1. Another possibility is that it is identical with the work in the William Beckford, sale, London (Christie's), 23 January 1789, lot 44 ('Rubens, A Sketch representing Brutus and Cassius'), sold to 'Thomas' for 12 gns.
2. Specifically from Margrave Pallavicini (Chateau 'Stübichhofen', Styria); cf. *The Burlington Magazine*, L, 1927, p. L and pl. p. XLVII; but this provenance may be as reliable as the statement that the picture contained an autograph signature.
3. *De Poorter, Cat. Rotterdam*, 1990, pp. 93, 94-95.
4. Cf. notably *De Poorter, Eucharist*, 1978, I, esp. pp. 90-101.
5. The fact that the grisaille seems closer to the design in the cartoon than the coloured sketch is perhaps related to the condition of the latter sketch, discussed above. If the corresponding Cardiff cartoon (Fig. 85) is by another artist (as I believe), but both sketches are by Rubens, one might suppose that the grisaille was indeed earlier, but assume that the artist of the cartoons saw it rather than the coloured one, or simply preferred to use its composition.

32. Romulus appearing to Julius Proculus: Oil Sketch (Fig. 91)

Oil on panel; 44.2 × 32.5 (originally 16.8?) cm.
Private Collection, Belgium.

PROVENANCE: Chrétien François Prévost, sale, Brussels, 20 July 1775, lot 3; Vincent Donjeux, sale, Paris, 29 April 1793 *et seq.*, lot 119 (in both cases with No. 31 as its pendant); Paris, dealer Charles Sedelmeyer, sale, 3 June 1907, lot 41, repr. (as 'God appearing to Moses'); dealer Van Diemen, Berlin, sale, Berlin (Graupe), 26-29 April 1935, lot 82; Schaeffer Galleries, New York (1947, 1952; cleaned when there by Gerhard Wedekind; sold 1952); Dr H. Becker, Dortmund, 1967; anonymous

sale, London (Sotheby's), 21 March 1973, lot 24 (bought in); Gallery G. Cramer, The Hague; bought by present owner (by 1982).

EXHIBITED: *Gemälde Alter Meister. Sammlung Becker*, Dortmund, 1967, no. 79; *Tokyo etc.*, 1985-86, no. 45; *Padua etc.*, 1990, no. 48.

LITERATURE: W. von Alten, 'Two Works by Rubens', *The Burlington Magazine*, LXII, 1933, pp. 15-16; J.S. Held, 'Aeneas appearing to Ascanius', *Schaeffer Galleries Bulletin*, II, 1947; Goris—Held, *America*, 1947, p. 39, no. 81a; R. Fritz, *Sammlung Becker. Gemälde alter Meister*, Dortmund, 1967, no. 79; R.-A. d'Hulst, *Olieverfschetsen van Rubens uit Nederlands en Belgisch Openbaar Bezit*, Amsterdam, 1968, p. 94; Held, *Sketches*, 1980, I, pp. 378-379, no. 282; II, pl. 282; Held, *Cartoons*, 1983, pp. 132-136 and fig. 18; Jaffé, *Cartoons*, 1983, pp. 136-151, esp. p. 150 and fig. 18 (as 'Aeneas appearing to Ascanius'); J. Giltay, *Schilderkunst uit de eerste hand. Olieverfschetsen van Tintoretto tot Goya / Malerei aus erster Hand. Ölskizzen von Tintoretto bis Goya* (Museum Boymans—van Beuningen, Rotterdam—Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig, 1983-84), Rotterdam, 1983, pp. 70-72, under no. 14; Cleaver, *Cartoons*, 1986, pp. 54-56 and fig. 8; D. Bodart in *Cat. Exh. Tokyo etc.*, 1985-86, p. 143, no. 45, repr. p. 97 in colour (Japanese edn); Jaffé—Cannon-Brookes, *Dissegni*, 1986, p. 784; Jaffé, *Rubens*, 1989, pp. 373-374, no. 1393; D. Bodart in *Cat. Exh. Padua etc.*, 1990, pp. 136-137, repr. in colour; *De Poorter, Cat. Rotterdam*, 1990, pp. 93, 94.

In the past this sketch was usually called *The deified Aeneas appearing to Ascanius*. Although the subject would have been unique, not even appearing in the most extensive Aeneas cycles and not corresponding to anything in the *Aeneid*, such an event is recorded in Aurelius Victor's epitome of Roman history.¹ However, as explained above, in the Introduction to this section (pp. 114-122), it was undoubtedly part of a Romulus series which Rubens seems to have begun but then abandoned, leaving his sketches to be worked up into different com-

positions by another artist. The present sketch, used for one of the cartoons in Cardiff which was woven into a tapestry (Figs. 90, 94),² represents the apparition of Romulus to Julius Proculus, the episode which had concluded the cycle by the Carracci in the Palazzo Magnani, Bologna (Fig. 93).³

The scene was the appropriate ending to a Romulus cycle. The circumstances of Romulus's death were shrouded in mystery and confusion. He disappeared during an eclipse or storm while making a speech outside Rome, at a place called the Goat's Marsh; his body was never found, and the senators, suspected of having torn him to pieces, tried to persuade the people that he had been taken up to heaven.⁴ The ancient historians are undecided about the truth of this, those who lived in imperial times perhaps countenancing the apotheosis story out of consideration for Augustus (likewise deified). Livy leaves the choice to his readers; Dionysius seems alternately to believe either version. But all agree about the subsequent event, however they interpret it. During the disorder that ensued, Julius Proculus—variously described as a patrician friend of the late ruler (Plutarch), a man honoured for his wise counsel on weighty matters (Livy), or even a simple husbandman (Dionysius: γεωργικὸς ἀνὴρ) came forward and proclaimed on oath that as he was travelling on the road (from the country towards Rome according to Dionysius) he encountered an apparition of Romulus.⁵ Livy says it had descended from heaven, the others simply that it had met him on the road. This Romulus looked taller and more beautiful than ever before and was dressed in shining armour; according to Ovid in the *Fasti* he was wearing the *trabea*, the purple robe of honour, fastened by a golden brooch.⁶ When Proculus addressed him and, Plutarch says, accused him of abandoning his city, the apparition reassured him that he would henceforth watch over Rome as Quirinus. Proculus's report was believed and with it Romulus's deification; thereafter the Romans prayed to Quirinus as

a god.⁷ He was worshipped on the Quirinal.⁸

As a ghost, Romulus is appropriately shown in No. 32 in the sky rather than on the road, and he is both armed and refulgent. His cloak flutters behind him, revealing his breastplate and the emblem of a head which appears on it at his neck.⁹ Julius Proculus hardly seems much of a patrician, with his rough-looking grey-blue tunic and light ochre cloak, not to mention his bare feet. Thus, unless this last feature is entirely the result of repainting, it must be assumed that Proculus is shown as the 'farmer' described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

The scene takes place either at daybreak or sunset; the former would accord with Plutarch's account. Proculus appears to be on a hillock at the side of the road on which he has been travelling. Romulus seems to be pointing with one hand to this; with his other hand he gestures upwards to the celestial light, presumably to indicate that he is now in heaven; Proculus for his part would seem to be pointing out to the right, perhaps in the presumed direction of Rome, his destination according to Dionysius.¹⁰

Some problematic features of this sketch, however, have made dating difficult, and even invite doubts about Rubens's authorship.¹¹ In the first place the execution is extremely dull. The figures are too fully outlined, modelling and highlighting is routine (notably in the hands). Certain compositional features too are far from compelling, for example the way Romulus's cloak joins onto Proculus's head; and the anatomy of Proculus's right leg is notably unconvincing. Still more peculiarly, the action is confined to a central band of the panel, beyond which only the inept right foot of Proculus and the left foot of Romulus protrude.

The panel has evidently been overpainted. Rubens's original design seems to have been for a narrow composition, similar in format to the Dulwich *Romulus setting up a Trophy* (No. 30; Fig. 101). The Dulwich panel once had lateral additions, removed in 1947. The pre-

sent work may have been similarly expanded, the limit of Rubens's original design being just beyond Romulus's knee on the left and Proculus's leg and cloak on the right, his foot being an addition. An X-ray photograph (Rubenianum) reveals that the present support consists of four pieces: two making up the central band and two further strips at the sides. The construction is thus similar to that of the sketches of *The Abduction of Ganymede* for the Torre de la Parada,¹² and of *Fortuna* in Berlin,¹³ where Rubens's original narrow panel, made up of two parts, was given lateral additions and his composition then extended.¹⁴ In these cases, however, the thinly painted additions are not only easily attributable to a later hand, but the ground beneath can be seen to have been painted in a different direction from that of the central section. In the case of *Romulus appearing to Proculus* the panel is much more thickly painted.¹⁵

What now appear as faint *pentimenti* are probably traces of the original composition. Thus, for example, between his head and hand Romulus carries the remains of what must have been a spear, his attribute as the deified Quirinus (the name being derived from the Sabine *curis* for 'spear'),¹⁶ which is duly included in the cartoon (Fig. 90).¹⁷ The raised hand which is just visible near the present right hand of Proculus may indeed be a *pentimento*, but it is interesting that it is closer to the attitude of the corresponding figure in the cartoon (and indeed that of Proculus in the Carracci fresco, Fig. 93). Details such as the apparent 'fold' in the leg of Proculus are presumably attributable to overpainting. In the sky to the left are traces of what looks like a hand grasping something. But nothing of significance, other than what looks like the extension of Romulus's cloak, appears on the X-ray. With the additions thought away, the composition seems more satisfactory and the gestures rather more explicable.¹⁸

The overpainting may have been done in France in the eighteenth century, both in this case and in that of the other sketches (Nos. 30,

31), though that of the Dulwich sketch (No. 30; Fig. 89) appears slightly different in character.

1. Ps. Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis romanae* i.14. Cf. Held, *Cartoons*, 1983, p. 133; Jaffé, *Cartoons*, 1983, p. 150. As discussed above, in the Introduction to the Romulus section (pp. 117, 119), this identification at least suits the apparent contrast in age between the two figures, and the fact that in the corresponding cartoon (Fig. 90) the younger man not only has a sprouting beard, but red eyes.
2. For this tapestry see discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 129, Series I, no. 2; also Series IVa, no. 7 (p. 131) for another tapestry almost certainly based on the cartoon.
3. See A. Stanzani in *Emiliani, Storie di Romolo*, 1989, p. 185, pls. XVI, LX and fig. 14, p. 165; C. Volpe. *Il Fregio dei Carracci e i dipinti di Palazzo Magnani in Bologna*, edn Bologna, 1976, p. 10 and pl. xiv. The fresco has the inscription *Prudentia et Fortitudo colatur* [sic]. Rubens's subject was correctly identified by Von Alten (loc. cit.), and by Held in 1980 (Held, *Sketches*, 1980, I, pp. 378-379), though neither author was then aware of the textual source in Aurelius Victor for the similar story about Aeneas, or of the existence of the Cardiff cartoons and the tapestries.
4. Plutarch, *Romulus* 27, esp. 4-8; Livy, *Ab urbe condita* I.xv-xvi; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* II.56; Florus, *Epitome* I.i.7; Ovid, *Fasti* II.475-497.
5. Plutarch, *Romulus* 28.1-4; Livy, *Ab urbe condita* I.xvi.5-8; Dionysius, *Roman Antiquities* II.43.3; see also Florus, *Epitome* I.i.7; Ovid, *Fasti* II.499-512, in which Romulus appears in the middle of the road, and the scene is set at night, by moonlight.
6. Renaissance commentaries on the *Fasti* point out that, according to Pliny, Romulus was the first to wear the *trabea*: see Ovid, *Opera*, edn Frankfurt, 1601, pp. 100-101. In his *De re vestiaria veterum* (Antwerp, 1665, p. 122) Albert Rubens talks of the *trabea*, and how Romulus allowed the use of purple only for it, referring to this passage in Pliny (*Historia naturalis* IX.xxxix).
7. Plutarch, *Romulus* 28. The derogatory remarks on Proculus and on the episode in Cicero's *De republica* II.10 (where it is suspected that Proculus invented his story to divert suspicion from the senators who murdered Romulus) were known in the Renaissance only through St Augustine's account in *Civitas dei* III.xv. Augustine does not quote Cicero's description of Proculus as an untutored peasant (*vir rusticus*).
8. See Rosinus, *Antiquitates*, 1663, pp. 13-14 (*de colle Quirinali*).
9. In the cartoon (Fig. 90) he is wearing the fibula which should join the *trabea*. Still, it is hard to

decide exactly how Rubens painted the cloak in the sketch; at present it is pink with mechanically painted fringes, as in the two related sketches (Nos. 30, 31; Figs. 89, 86), but all three have been overpainted, as is noted below.

10. Neither of these gestures is repeated in the cartoon (Fig. 90).
11. Arnout Balis, who does indeed have such doubts, pointed out to me that however we date this sketch and its companion (No. 31; Fig. 86), it is difficult to adduce any comparable work, either in composition or in drawing and modelling. The nearest analogy I have found is in the rather thickly painted sketch for the title-page of Cordeius's *Catena* (cf. above, under No. 31) where the physiognomy of the central figure also seems similar to that of Romulus, and the painting of the drapery is rather flat and broad.
12. D. Bodart in *Cat. Exh. Tokyo etc., 1985-86*, p. 145, no. 51, repr. p. 104 in colour (Japanese edn).
13. Held, *Sketches, 1980*, I, pp. 275-276, no. 189; II, pl. 198; J. Kelch, *Peter Paul Rubens. Kritischer Katalog der Gemälde im Besitz der Gemäldegalerie Berlin*, Berlin, 1978, pp. 65-70, figs. 50-52.
14. See J.S. Held, 'New oil sketches by Peter Paul Rubens', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXIX, 1987, pp. 575-577, figs. 5 and 7.
15. The X-ray photograph shows a roughly brushed coat of paint overall which might be taken for a uniform ground, but probably (in view of its summary character) is on the reverse of the panel; whatever the case, it certainly does not represent the grain of the panel to which it is now attached—according to Held, a heavy oak panel. I am most grateful to Ann Massing for her help in interpreting the X-ray. (We have not, however, had the opportunity of examining the back of the panel.) But even if the entire panel was prepared by Rubens it seems that the lateral areas were originally left blank.
16. See Plutarch, *Romulus* 29; also *Quaestiones romanae* 87 and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* II.48; Ovid, *Fasti* II.475-478. Cf. *Rosinus, Antiquitates*, 1663, p. 164.
17. The attribute would not therefore be the invention of the artist of the cartoons, as, like Jaffé and Cannon-Brookes, I previously assumed (cf. *Jaffé—Cannon-Brookes, 1986*, p. 784).
18. Jaffé rightly pointed to some of the problems in his analysis of the compositional changes from sketch to cartoon.

33. Romulus and Remus suckled by the Wolf (Fig. 115)

Oil on canvas; 107.6 × 129.5 cm.

C.B.C. Carey, Silver Springs, Maryland.

PROVENANCE: Jean Gillis Peeters d'Aertselaer de Cleydael (Antwerp, 1725-1786), in 1794 taken by his heirs to America (the Riversdale Mansion, Bladensburg, Maryland) and returned to Antwerp in 1816; Peeters sale, Antwerp (P. Van Regenmortel and Sneyers), 27 August 1817, lot 11 ('Romulus et Remus avec la Louve: les enfans s'amusent d'un papillon'), bought by Henri-Joseph Stier d'Aertse-laer, Peeters's son-in-law (Antwerp, 1743-1821); his sale, Antwerp, 29 July 1822, lot 16, bought by George Calvert (1768-1838) of Riversdale, Maryland; by descent to C.B.C. Carey, Silver Springs, Maryland.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 114) with elements of the right half only, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 49 × 39 cm. See No. 33a for more details.

(2) Drawing, perhaps 17th-century Flemish, Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland, inv. no. D.2858; black with touches of red chalk on oatmeal paper, 211 × 298 mm. LIT. K. Andrews, *Catalogue of Netherlandish Drawings*, Edinburgh, 1985, I, p. 111, no. D2858; II, fig. 781 (calling it 'a weak drawing, probably Flemish, in imitation of Rubens').

EXHIBITED: *Detroit, 1936*, no. 2, repr.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, p. 17, under no. 802; F. Donnet, 'Un vol de tableaux de Rubens en l'an II de la République. Les collections artistiques de la famille Peeters', *Annales de l'Académie royale d'archéologie de Belgique*, 1923, pp. 43, 109; W.R. Deutsch in *Die Weltkunst*, 1934, VIII (10 March), p. 6; W.R. Valentiner in *An Exhibition of Sixty Paintings and Some Drawings by Peter Paul Rubens* (The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1936), Detroit, 1936, no. 2 (as *Rubens, c. 1611-12*); E.S. Siple, 'The Rubens Exhibition at Detroit', *The Burlington Magazine*, LXVIII, 1936, p. 243; Valentiner, *America*, 1946, no. 25 (as *Rubens's workshop*); Goris—Held, *America*, 1947, p. 54, no. A85 (as *probably workshop replica, shortly after 1610*); Vlieghe, *Lunden*, 1977, p. 199 (as *c. 1611-12*); H.

Douxchamps *et al.*, *Rubens et ses descendants*. IV (*Le parchemin*, XXXV, special number), Brussels, 1985, pp. 22, 64; Jaffé, *Rubens*, 1989, p. 181, no. 176 (with wrong illustration; actually Fig. 118).

This curious painting, attributed by Valentin first to Rubens himself and then to his workshop,¹ seems to have been accepted by Burchard as a work by Rubens. The picture shows a pair of almost identical fair-haired babies, presumably Romulus and Remus, who are manhandling a dragonfly, while a rather shapeless wolf (whose rear quarters fade indistinctly into the undergrowth) turns its head towards them and licks the arms of one. But the action of the children does not have an obvious relationship to the story of the suckling of the twins.² Nor is the adjacent tree the expected fig (*ficus ruminalis*).³

In pose and gesture the infants virtually replicate the two babies in the lower right of the sketch of the *Young Virgin adorned with Flowers* of c. 1610-12 in the Liechtenstein gallery (Fig. 116);⁴ the Vienna painting of the *Infant Christ with St John and Angels*⁵ presents a close variation on the group, while the seated child alone is used for the Infant Christ in *The Mystic Marriage of St Catherine* (formerly in the Wanamaker collection, and now in the the Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation, Houston, Texas),⁶ and in the foreground of the *Triumph of Silenus* from Rubens's workshop (probably executed by Van Dyck), formerly in Berlin.⁷ The baby to the right is likewise reproduced in a small picture on canvas, formerly in the collection of Georg Stratigos and attributed to Van Dyck (Fig. 114), which Burchard thought was a study by Rubens, probably made in connection with the Liechtenstein sketch of the Virgin (Fig. 116), or rather for the large-scale painting (?altarpiece) which Rubens would have made from that sketch. Still, no such final painting has been traced, and the iconography of that scene remains elusive. Angels are bringing flowers to crown the shy Virgin (to accommodate the flower garland St

Anne appears to be removing the veil—aptly borrowed, like the Virgin's pose, from the ancient Roman statue of Pudicitia), but the two putti in the foreground neither have wings nor an obvious floral offering.⁸ In fact the 'study' is closest, not to the Liechtenstein sketch, but to the relevant section of the present painting from the Carey collection, replicating not only the anatomy and hair-style of the boy to the right, but the arm of the boy to the left and the drapery under it. If Burchard was right to identify Fig. 114 as an original study, it must then have been for the Carey painting. (Accordingly, the canvas formerly in the Stratigos collection is included below as No. 33a.) However, the very precise nature of the reproduction involved, down to curls of hair and folds of drapery, surely indicates that it is much more likely that Burchard's 'study' is, simply, a copy of the Carey picture. It is, therefore, simultaneously listed as such above, as Copy 1.

As for the Carey picture itself, to judge from photographs, the section with the children is better designed and painted than the rest (in which the pattern of cracks in the paint also suggests that it was laid on at a different time). In this context it may be significant that the picture which I have just presented as a probable copy (Copy 1; Fig. 114) does not give any indication of the wolf.⁹ It seems possible, therefore, that the wolf was painted in only after this copy was made, and the specification of the subject as Romulus and Remus occurred at a relatively late stage.

As it happens, the child seen from behind, both in the Carey picture and in the Liechtenstein sketch (Fig. 116), is based on one of the marble twins, Romulus and Remus, which, with their wolf, served as the attribute of the ancient statue of the Tiber now in the Louvre.¹⁰ This group had been copied by Rubens in Rome (Fig. 119),¹¹ and in the lost notebook in which he recorded choice ancient images of children at different stages of development, he recommended, for babies, the putti clambering about the statue of the Nile, and the

Tiber's twins.¹² It may be, therefore, that one of Rubens's students, aware of the ancient precedent and Rubens's admiration for it, thought it appropriate to turn an abandoned or fragmentary piece of painting by (or after?) the master into a picture of Romulus and Remus with the wolf. Perhaps he was even invited to do so by Rubens himself. The original composition may have dated from c. 1611-12, the date to which Burchard assigned the (entire) picture.¹³ Just conceivably, the Carey painting was originally part of a large canvas based on the Liechtenstein sketch which for some reason was never completed, the pair of babies being then extracted and given independent life as a scene of Romulus and Remus. But since I have not seen the painting, let alone conducted any technical examination, any such idea must remain pure speculation.

1. In 1936 and 1946 respectively.
2. We can surely rule out any (unappealing) supposition that the dragonfly is a potential titbit already brought to the children by a now absent (foraging?) woodpecker. For the role of the food-bringing woodpecker in the story of Romulus and Remus see under No. 34; in that painting (Fig. 117) one such bird is depicted, carrying cherries.
3. On this, and the whole story, see under No. 34.
4. See Held, *Sketches*, 1980, I, pp. 505-506, no. 369; II, pl. 361; also R. Baumstark in *Cat. Exh. New York*, 1985-86, pp. 316-318, no. 201 and *Vlieghe, Saints*, 1972-73, I, p. 119. Held dates that sketch c. 1613-14, but I think Baumstark is right to put it slightly earlier.
5. K.d.K. ed. *Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 103; cf. K. Schütz in *Cat. Exh. Vienna*, 1977, pp. 89-90, no. 28, pl. 29 (also listing other versions of this composition).
6. See C. Wright, *A Golden Age of Painting. Dutch, Flemish and German Paintings, sixteenth-seventeenth centuries, from the collection of the Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation*, San Antonio, Texas, 1981, pp. 64-65; *Vlieghe, Saints*, 1972-73, I, pp. 118-119, no. 76 and fig. 131; K.d.K. ed. *Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 440; *Jaffé, Rubens*, 1989, p. 181, no. 177, repr.
7. K.d.K., *Van Dyck*, 1931, p. 15; K.d.K. ed. *Rosenberg*, 1906, p. 211.
8. Held has suggested that they are the Infant Christ and St John, but this idea, based on the analogy of the painting in Vienna (above, at n. 5), seems to me unconvincing—though I can suggest no good alternative.
9. By contrast, the anonymous Flemish drawing in Edinburgh (Copy 2) at least sketches in a nuzzling

wolf's head.

10. See, in relation to the Liechtenstein sketch, Held, *Sketches*, 1980, I, pp. 505-506.
11. See *Fubini—Held, Resta*, 1964, pp. 134-136, pl. 7; Held, *Studies*, 1982, pp. 100-101; also *Van der Meulen, Antique*, 1994, II, pp. 106-108, no. 98; III, figs. 168, 169; as well as below, under No. 34.
12. Both statues were then together in the Vatican. For Rubens's recommendations, which have been reconstructed from copies of his so-called pocket-book, see *Van der Meulen, Antique*, 1994, I, pp. 74-75 and appendix IX, pp. 250-253.
13. Arnout Balis has suggested that the wolf may have been added by the young Paul de Vos, sometime between 1615 and 1620.

33a. Seated Infant: ?Study for No. 33 (Fig. 114)

Oil on canvas; 49 × 39 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: Georg Stratigos (1930) (certificate of Glück, as *Van Dyck*).

LITERATURE: None.

This picture was rightly connected by Glück with the so-called *Education of the Virgin* in Vaduz, Liechtenstein (Fig. 116; more correctly *The Young Virgin adorned with Flowers*),¹ but attributed by him to Van Dyck (whom he considered at the time to be the author of the Liechtenstein painting).² It seems to have been regarded by Burchard as a study by Rubens related to various paintings which include babies, in particular the Liechtenstein picture. But, as is pointed out above (under No. 33), it is closest to the *Carey Romulus and Remus* (Fig. 115), and is accordingly attached to it here. In fact it appears to me to be a copy after that painting, rather than a study for it. This is suggested, among other things, by the extremely close correspondence it displays with the figure of the baby on the right of the *Carey* picture, and the adjacent drapery. It is therefore also listed above, as No. 33, Copy 1.

1. See Held, *Sketches*, 1980, I, pp. 505-506, no. 369; II, pl. 361; also R. Baumstark in *Cat. Exh. New York*,

1985-86, pp. 316-318, no. 201 and *Vlieghe, Saints*, 1972-73, I, p. 119. See also above, under No. 33.

2. In fact shortly later he argued convincingly that the Vaduz painting was by Rubens: *Glück, Rubens, Van Dyck*, 1933, pp. 22-26.

34. The Finding of Romulus and Remus (Fig. 117)

Oil on canvas; 212 × 213.4 cm.

Rome, *Pinacoteca Capitolina*. Inv. no. 67.

PROVENANCE: ? Cardinal Giovanni Francesco Guidi di Bagno, Rome (1578-1641; inv. 1641: 'Un quadro dove è il Tevere coronato di frondi in compagnia di una sua Aiade e su la sponda di lui si vedono Romulo e Remolo pargoletti lattanti da lupa, senza cornice');¹ presumably bequeathed to Cardinal Pio di Carpi, or di Savoia (1612-89);² by descent to Prince Gilberto Pio (inv. 1742: 'un quadro in figure quasi quadrata rappresentante Romulo e Remo di Pietro Paolo Rubens scudi 600');³ sold by the latter in 1750 to Pope Benedict XIV (Pope 1740-58);⁴ presented by him to the newly founded (1749) Pinacoteca Capitolina.

COPIES: (1) Painting, dating from before 1614, from Rubens's workshop, Fürst Karl zu Schwarzenberg, Vienna; canvas, 201 × 192 cm. PROV. ? Archdukes Albert and Isabella, Palace, Brussels by early 1614 (when seen by Neumayr von Ramssla [loc. cit., 1620, below] on visit of 9 February 1614 to the archducal palace: 'Item auff einen Taffel die Wölffin mit Romulo und Remo, auch ein trefflich Kunststück', without mention of artist's name); Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand (1609-1641), sold from his estate in 1643 to an unknown buyer, and referred to by dealer P. Christyn as *Rubens*: '...Romulus en Remus daer twee kinderkens suygen aen een wolfinne met twee oft dry groote personnagien daer inne geschildert';⁵ dealer M. Musson, Antwerp, October 1645 ('Roemelus ende Remenelus met een wolfin, het leven groet, van Ruebens');⁶ bought by Count Johann Adolf zu

Schwarzenberg while in the Netherlands, before 1655; Schwarzenberg family (inv. 1655;⁷ 1696; 1732 [Gartenpalais, Rennweg, Vienna]; 1880 [always as *Rubens*, except for record in inv. 1832 made by the picture restorer Ampich, who calls it *Jordaens*]); 1895: 'alte Copie aus dem Rubens'schen Atelier'); by descent to the present owner. EXH. *Europäische Barockmalerei aus Wiener Privatgalerien*: Czernin, Harrach, Schwarzenberg, Berne, Kunstmuseum, 21 December 1947-31 March 1948, p. 16, no. 64. LIT. J.W. Neumayr von Ramssla, *Des Durchleuchtigen Hochgebornen Fürsten und Herrn Johann Ernsten des Jüngern, Herzogen zu Sachsen, Jülich, Cleve und Berg...Reise in Frankreich, Engelland und Niderland*, Leipzig, 1620, p. 269; A. Ilg, *Das Palais Schwarzenberg am Neumarkt in Wien. 38 Tafeln in Lichtdruck*, Vienna, 1895, pl. XIV; W. Suida, 'Beiträge zum Oeuvre bekannter Maler. II', *Monatsheft für Kunstwissenschaft*, I, 1908, p. 307 (as *replica*, c. 1615-20); R. Oldenbourg, *Die flämische Malerei des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1918, p. 174 (as *studio*, with *Wildens*); *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 461; M. Huggler, *Europäische Barockmalerei aus Wiener Privatgalerien*: Czernin, Harrach, Schwarzenberg, Berne, 1947, pp. 4, 16 (as *good workshop version*); *De Maeyer, Albrecht en Isabella*, 1955, p. 119; *Duverger, Musson*, 1969, p. 30; *Berger, Tomyris*, 1979, pp. 26 (appendices 1 and 2), 32 (appendix 4).

(2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas (?), 208 × 193 cm. PROV. Sale, London (Sotheby's), 12 May 1954, lot 59 (as '*The education of Romulus and Remus*'; to 'Roland').

(3) Painting (? 18th century; also attributed to Abraham van Diepenbeeck), Grenoble, Musée, inv. no. MG 70; canvas, 200 × 196 cm. PROV. ? Le Doux, sale, Paris (F.C. Joullain fils), 24 April 1775 *et seq.*, lot 24 ('...Remus et Romulus au moment où ils sont découvertes par le Berger...à droite deux Fleuves...') [as c. 203 × 195 cm.]; Paul-Hippolyte de Beauvillier, duc de Saint-Aignan (1684-1776), sale, Paris (Le Brun), 1776, lot 147 (as *copy after Rubens*, c. 195 × 195 cm.; valued at 24 livres); Citoyen Cailar, Paris, from whom acquired in 1799 by

L.J. Jay on behalf of the citizens of Grenoble. LIT. M. Le Moël and P. Rosenberg, 'La collection du duc de Saint-Aignan et le catalogue de sa vente illustré par Gabriel de Saint-Aubin', *Revue de l'art*, VI, 1969, pp. 64-65, nos. 147 (catalogue) and 157 (inventory), reproducing small sketch said to show the Capitoline composition; M. Destot, *Peintures des écoles du Nord. La collection du musée de Grenoble*, Paris, 1994, p. 144, repr.

(4) Painting by Domenico Corvi (1721-1803) done as a *modello* for the the Capitoline tapestry of 1764 (Copy 15, below), Rome, Pinacoteca Capitolina, inv. no. 255; canvas, 140 × 130 cm. PROV. Palazzo Senatorio. LIT. R. Bruno, *Roma. Pinacoteca Capitolina (Musei d'Italia—Meraviglie d'Italia)*, Bologna, 1978, pp. 127-128, no. 346, repr.

(5) Painting with top cut, whereabouts unknown; technique and measurements unknown. PROV. Paul Giersburg; sale, Cologne (Lempertz), date unknown.

(6) Painting, whereabouts unknown; technique and measurements unknown. PROV. Collection Lázaro, Madrid. LIT. *Referencias fotográficas en las obras de arte en España. Pintura 1: Colección Lázaro*, Madrid, 1913, repr.

(7) Painting of the group of children with wolf, woodpeckers and Faustulus only, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 191 × 146 cm. PROV. Paul Roer, Oslo (1959).

(8) Painting, whereabouts unknown, showing children and wolf alone, with one woodpecker bringing cherries; canvas, 112.5 × 155.5 cm. PROV. Dealer Sam Hartveld, Antwerp, 1928; art market, Berlin, 1934; sale, Arnhem (Notarishuis), 31 May-3 June 1983, no. 81, repr. EXH. *Maîtres de l'école flamande du XVIème au XVIIIème siècle appartenant à la Galerie S. Hartveld*, Otto Vaenius House, Antwerp, October-November 1928, no. 91, repr. (as *Lucas van Uden*).

(9) Painting, showing the children, wolf and one woodpecker only, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 166 × 107 cm. PROV. Sale, Frankfurt (Hahn), 28-29 November 1933, lot 78, pl. II.

(10) Painting, showing only the children and the wolf, whereabouts unknown (photograph in Rubenianum); canvas, 62 × 80 cm. PROV. Maria Bruna Flacco, Rome (1972).

(11) Painting, ? 18th-century French, showing head of the River Tiber alone, Christopher Powney, London (1968, 1996); oil on paper, 34 × 32 cm. EXH. Christopher Powney, *Early Drawings*, London, July 1968 (called 'preparatory study'; photograph in Witt Library, Courtauld Institute of Art).

(12) Anonymous engraving, in reverse, certainly made after 1742 (given the reference on it to the Capitol), showing only the wolf, twins, woodpecker with cherries and Faustulus; inscribed: *P. -P. Rubens pinxit, Roma in Capitologlio [sic]*, and according to Burchard with the inscription *van Roy* on one state or impression; 232 × 340 mm. LIT. *V.S.*, p. 139, no. 29 ('dans le goût de Spruyt'); *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné, 1829-42*, IX, p. 298, no. 199; *Roses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, p. 17.

(13) Aquatint etching of the children, the wolf and one woodpecker only, in reverse and on a sheet with two personifications from the Farnese Gallery, by (J.-B. Claude) Richard de Saint-Non; inscribed below: *Ango del. and Saint Non Sc. 1772* and above *Tableau de Rubens / au Capitole*; in R. de Saint Non, *Fragments choisis dans les peintures et les tableaux les plus intéressants des Palais et des Eglises de l'Italie. Première suite: Rome*, [Paris, ?1772], pl. 35. LIT. *Roses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, p. 17, under no. 801.

(14) Engraving of children alone by Ignaz Alberti (Vienna, 1760-1794), probably after Copy 1; 169 × 237 mm.; signed: *J. Alberti fec.* LIT. *V.S.*, p. 148, no. 97.

(15) Tapestry (see Copy 4 above), made in the pontifical workshop of San Michele in 1764, Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori; measurements unknown. LIT. E. Platner *et al.*, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, III, Stuttgart-Tübingen, 1837, p. 123; *Roses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, p. 168; M. Petrassi and O. Guerra, *Il Colle Capitolino*, Rome [n.d.], pp. 113 and 114, repr. in colour; C. Pietrangeli, *Musei Capitolini*.

Guida breve, edn Rome, 1966, p. 87.

(16) Tapestry, from the workshop of J.J. Tons, showing the composition in reverse, apparently paired with a *Rape of the Sabines*, Palma, Casa Oleza; measurements unknown.⁸

(17) Tapestry, showing the composition in reverse, Coughton Court, Warwickshire, part of a Romulus series. See discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 133, Series C, no. 1.

(18) Tapestry, showing the composition in reverse, Brussels, 17th century, Swedish Royal Collection; 368 × 400 cm. LIT. *Böttiger, Tapeter*, 1898, III, pl. XXXIV, p. 42, suite Lit. Z.

EXHIBITED: *Exposition de l'art ancien. L'art belge au XVIIe siècle (Exposition Universelle de Bruxelles)*, Nouveau Palais du Cinquantenaire, Brussels, June–November 1910, no. 344; *Wereldtentoonstelling voor koloniën, zeevaart en oud-Vlaamsche kunst, afdeling der oud-Vlaamsche kunst*, Antwerp, June–September 1930, I, no. 223; *Capolavori della pittura europea*, Palazzo Venezia, Rome, 1944–45; *Fiamminghi e Italia*, Bruges, Venice and Rome, 1951; *Antwerp 1977*, no. 44; *Padua etc.*, 1990, no. 38; *Canberra—Melbourne*, 1992, no. 34.

LITERATURE: [Lalande], *Voyage d'un François en Italie, fait dans les années 1765 + 1766*, Venice—Paris, 1769, IV, p. 281; Museo Capitolino ossia descrizione delle statue..., Rome [n.d.] (bound with P. Rossini, *Il Mercurio Errante*, Rome, 1771), p. 120; F.W.B. Von Ramdohr, *Ueber Mahlerei und Bildhauerarbeit in Rom*, I, Leipzig, 1787, p. 261 (as school of Rubens); M. Vasi, *Itinerario istruttivo di Roma*, Rome 1794 (p. 91 in edn Rome, 1970); A. Tofanelli, *Descrizione delle sculture, e pitture che si trovano al Campidoglio* (1st edn, 1817), Rome 1820, p. 155, no. 76; H.W. Williams, *Travels in Italy, Greece and the Ionian islands*, Edinburgh, 1820, II, p. 18, no. XXXIV (Rome, 1816); *Smith, Catalogue, 1829–42*, II, p. 152, no. 532; IX, p. 298; E. Platner and L. Urlichs, *Beschreibung Roms*, Stuttgart—Tübingen, 1845, p. 238; L. Napoleone Cittadella, *Notizie relative a Ferrara*, Ferrara, 1864, p. 555; A. Venturi, 'La Galleria

del Campidoglio', *Archivio storico dell'arte*, II, 1889, p. 452, pl. II.3 (presumed to be done in Italy); M. Reymond, 'Opere di Rubens in Roma', *Archivio storico dell'arte*, IV, 1891, pp. 158–159 (as *Rubens with Snyders and Wildens*, c. 1620); *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886–92*, IV, pp. 16–17, no. 801; *Rooses, Vie*, 1903, pp. 95–96 (repr.), 105; *Knackfuss, Rubens*, 1904, p. 22 (as 1608); G. Lafenestre and E. Richtenberger, *La Peinture en Europe. Rome: Les musées, les collections particulières, les palais*, Paris, 1905, p. 120, no. 84; *K.d.K. ed. Rosenberg*, 1906, p. 31 (as c. 1606–8); *Dillon, Rubens*, 1909, pp. 93–94, 181, 225, pl. 36 (as 1607–10); M. Rooses, review in *Onze Kunst*, January 1911; R. Oldenbourg, *Die flämische Malerei des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1918, p. 174 (as *Rubens with Wildens*); *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 180 (as c. 1618); S. Bocconi, *Musei Capitolini. Pinacoteca e Tabularium*, Rome, 1925, p. 258, no. 67 (as probably painted on Rubens's return to Antwerp; *Wildens: landscape, Snyders: animals*); P. Torelli, 'Notizie e documenti Rubeniani in un archivio privato', *Miscellanea di studi storici. Ad Alessandro Luzio gli archivi di stato italiani*, I, Florence, 1933, p. 185; *Glück, Rubens, Van Dyck*, 1933, pp. 158 and 392 (as 1612, with collaboration of *Wildens*); *Burckhardt, Rubens*, 1950, pp. 3, 45, 49, 102, 149 and pl. 40; *Van Puyvelde, Rubens*, 1952, p. 115 (as c. 1617); G.A. Bonnard, *Gibbon's Journey from Geneva to Rome. His Journal from 20 April to 2 October 1764*, Edinburgh, 1961, p. 238, no. 11; *Fubini—Held, Resta*, 1964, pp. 135–136, repr. p. 137; *Stechow, Rubens*, 1968, pp. 38–39, and fig. 25 (as after 1609); C. Pietrangeli, *Musei Capitolini. Guida breve*, edn Rome, 1966, p. 146, no. 6 (as c. 1617–18; with *Wildens*); M. Petrassi and O. Guerra, *Il Colle Capitolino*, Rome [n.d.], p. 169, repr. in colour (as *landscape by Wildens, figures and wolf by Rubens*); *Cat. Exh. Antwerp, 1977*, pp. 110–111, no. 44 (as c. 1618); R. Bruno, *Roma. Pinacoteca Capitolina (Musei d'Italia—Meraviglie d'Italia)*, Bologna, 1978, p. 47, no. 101, repr. in colour; figures of twins alone given to Rubens (as c. 1617–1620); *Bodart, Rubens*, 1985, p. 70; *Held, Studies*, 1982, pp. 100–101; *Muller, Collector*, 1989, p. 120, no. 139

(as not by Rubens); Jaffé, *Rubens, 1989*, p. 214, no. 346; D. Bodart in *Cat. Exh. Padua etc., 1990*, pp. 114-116, no. 38, repr. in colour (as entirely by Rubens, 1617-18) and L. Koenig, *ibid.*, p. 258, no. 9 (X-ray); E. McGrath in *Cat. Exh. Canberra—Melbourne, 1992*, pp. 122-125, repr. in colour.

This painting, which, as Burchard noted, is almost certainly that recorded in the Roman palace of Cardinal Gian Francesco Guidi di Bagno in 1641, now hangs appropriately on the Capitol, near the ancient *Lupa Capitolina* and the frescoes of early Rome by Giuseppe Cesari, Cavaliere d'Arpino.⁹ It shows the she-wolf, with help from woodpeckers, feeding the infant Romulus and Remus on the bank of the Tiber beneath the Ruminal fig tree as the shepherd Faustulus, who was to bring up the foundlings, is just discovering them. Behind, in the reeds, the river god himself presides over the scene, reclining upon his urn and accompanied by a pretty companion. She has been identified as Rhea Silvia, the babies' mother, an interpretation which presumably anticipates her marriage in the afterlife to the Tiber.¹⁰ But the woman's role and attitude of benign detachment make it more likely that she is, as the di Bagno inventory already suggested, a nymph or naiad.¹¹ Like some other Rubensian mates of elderly fluvial gods, this young woman is, I suspect, intended to personify the river's source.¹² Certainly she is no ordinary human participant in the story,¹³ for, like the Tiber, she is apparently unseen by the children themselves and their animal helpers, who are completely absorbed together. One baby, his back towards us, sucks the wolf's milk while the other welcomes the bird which is bringing him cherries.

Burchardt advised viewers to forget learned antiquarianism in front of this picture and simply enjoy the artist's 'deliciously intimate' and surprisingly credible visualization of the Roman legend.¹⁴ In fact, the natural effect is artfully contrived from a whole constellation of classical texts, images and associa-

tions. The wolf (admired for its realism by visitors to the Capitol, even when, like Gibbon, they disliked the rest of the picture) is directly based on an ancient marble prototype: the group accompanying the famous statue of the Tiber, now in the Louvre but in Rubens's time in the Vatican Belvedere. The artist's drawing after this group (Fig. 119), made on the spot, though perhaps, as Held suggests, with the present composition already in mind, survives in the Padre Resta album in the Ambrosiana.¹⁵ It shows the rather bland and damaged original isolated from its context (beneath the *Tiber's* urn), posed against a clump of reeds and endowed with unexpected vigour—the wolf enclosing the babies protectively as she turns, apparently to guard her rear. The painting (Fig. 117) involves a further adaptation—in mood as well as composition. The twins virtually reproduce the poses of their ancient equivalents but, now relatively larger (after all, Plutarch asserts that the babies were uncommonly big and beautiful),¹⁶ are almost exactly in reverse. This is not just a display of virtuosity, but, as Held pointed out, meant that Rubens could evoke another image of the suckling of the twins—in verses of Vergil which the artist himself inscribed at the top of the Ambrosiana drawing (Fig. 119).¹⁷ These lines, from the eighth book of the *Aeneid*, tell how, on Aeneas's shield, Vulcan 'had made the nursing wolf lying stretched out in Mars's green grotto, with both boys playing around her teats and hanging upon her, sucking at their "mother" without fear, as she, curving her neck around, caressed them one by one, and shaped out their limbs with her tongue'.¹⁸ This picture of the wolf licking the twins into shape, reinforced in the descriptions by Livy and Dionysius as well as Ovid in the *Fasti*,¹⁹ is in fact paralleled in ancient art—most significantly for Rubens on various Roman coins—and Vergilian commentators since Servius have indicated this.²⁰ However, all the images of the licking wolf known in Rubens's time show her standing upright.²¹ Rubens

probably realized that the reclining animal from the Tiber group was a far better equivalent for Vergil's wolf, collapsed on the ground after bearing her cubs,²² and transposed the children to bring one infant immediately within range of the wolf's tongue. With this new motif, however, the artist also reinterpreted the ancient pose: instead of looking back warily for intruders, Rubens's wolf, as befits Vergil's tired but contented foster mother, is relaxed, both hind legs now resting on the ground and one forepaw simply curled back, not tensely poised to stand up. In a final demonstration of just how painting could bring life to cold stone Rubens juxtaposed the furry wolf and the luminous flesh of the children, licked firm and also clean of Tiber mud.²³

Vergil does not mention any woodpeckers, but other writers record that this bird of Mars (Ovid's 'Martia picus avis') helped to save the twins, bringing mouthfuls of food,²⁴ and Aurelius Victor adds that when Faustus found the babies with the wolf he saw a woodpecker flying up, laden with food to stuff into the boys.²⁵ Rubens must have investigated the habits as well as the appearance of the species—referring to the great spotted woodpecker—and have known that it eats only insects and berries;²⁶ he evidently thought three cherries about the limit of a woodpecker's carrying capacity and an appropriate supplement to the babies' wolf-milk diet, even if visitors to the Capitol have sometimes disagreed.²⁷

Ancient coins and gems show the wolf and twins with a bird or birds, presumably woodpecker(s), on a tree which is obviously the *figus Ruminalis*.²⁸ Rubens's pair of woodpeckers, one apparently passing food to the other,²⁹ likewise perch on the fig tree which supposedly marked the spot of the twins' discovery beside the Tiber.³⁰ Indeed we know that a statue of the twins being suckled by the wolf was actually set up beside the supposed Ruminal fig tree.³¹ One coin which Rubens surely had in mind was struck by Sextus Pompeius Fostlus, and showed his presumed ancestor, Faustus, wearing shepherd's hat and carry-

ing a *pedum*, or crook, his hands raised in surprise as he discovers the babies (Fig. 105).³² This image may indeed have helped suggest to Rubens the idea of painting the discovery by Faustus for, even if the episode had been illustrated before in Romulus cycles,³³ it had never been treated as an independent pictorial subject. Certainly this kind of inspiration would not be out of place in a painting which is so rich in ancient resonances. Even details such as Faustus's headgear may have been checked against such antique prototypes as the relief from a sarcophagus formerly in the Belvedere.³⁴

Rubens was probably aware of some earlier attempts by artists to introduce 'authentic' features in their illustrations of the wolf and twins. The Ruminal fig tree appeared in a print after Giulio Romano,³⁵ and was shown, somewhat stunted, by Cesari in his picture of the discovery by Faustus.³⁶ Indeed the fresco of the Nurture of the Twins from the Carracci series in the Palazzo Magnani in Bologna (c. 1590), which Rubens must have studied, includes not only the tree and the woodpecker (simply looking on), but also the wooden cradle or trough in which the babies were abandoned, correctly furnished with bronze bands, 'inscribed with letters partly faded' as Plutarch describes it.³⁷ Here, however, and in the Cesari fresco, the wolf had been shown standing, in deference to the famous ancient bronze on the Capitol, so that the babies either had to reach up or be raised to be suckled. The result looks particularly uncomfortable in the Carracci painting, where the wolf is straddling the trough. In fact in both cases the artists' initial inclination had been to show the wolf, more naturally, lying down,³⁸ and the drawing in Paris for the Carracci picture even shows the wolf reclining and nuzzling the children, with the woodpecker in the tree above.³⁹

In adapting instead the ancient wolf from the Tiber statue, Rubens naturally included in his painting the river god himself. A personification of the Tiber had sometimes accompa-

nied the wolf and twins in sixteenth-century images, for example in the Brussels tapestry cycles of Romulus, as well as in Giulio Romano's print;⁴⁰ there he serves primarily to identify the location and decorate the landscape. In Rubens's painting, however, he is more—the very spirit of the place, a *genius loci* whom heroes of the race of Romulus would later invoke, appropriately present at the symbolic foundation of the city. As tutelary gods who form part of the natural surroundings, the river and his mate cause no disturbance to the animals and children, and are evidently invisible to them.⁴¹

Nineteenth-century writers assumed that *The Finding of Romulus and Remus* was painted by Rubens in Italy, but since Oldenbourg it has generally been placed after the artist's return to Antwerp. This is related to the fact that the painting looks to have been executed with some help from assistants. In particular, the figures—or rather the twins, the Tiber and his mate—appear to have been painted separately from the rest.⁴² Patches of underpaint show through around the head of the Tiber and of the nymph, and around the Tiber's left hand, which seems only very roughly painted. The children's hands look as if they are set into the coat of the wolf, which was presumably painted before them. This might suggest that the painting is unfinished.⁴³ But the canvas has suffered damage—particularly along the horizontal seam visible through the middle, where there has been substantial paint loss, for example in the body of the Tiber. At any rate, I see no reason to attribute the splendid animals to the studio, especially since Rubens's starting point was probably the challenge of bringing an ancient wolf of marble to life.⁴⁴

Glück's view that Jan Wildens was a collaborator has been widely accepted,⁴⁵ and the replica in Vienna (Copy 1) was attributed by Oldenbourg almost wholly to him. Wildens certainly collaborated with Rubens for a period after his return from Italy, probably from at least the latter part of 1616.⁴⁶ He may have

worked with Rubens before his departure, which must be dated after 22 May 1613. If we assume that he was indeed involved in the Capitoline painting, as indeed seems reasonable on stylistic grounds, this could have been at either period—and Burchard seems to have wavered between the two. But there is a good argument against opting for the later date, which otherwise might be the natural choice: a painting of Romulus and Remus with the she-wolf is recorded in 1614 in the collection of Archdukes Albert and Isabella, and this was surely the same work from the Palace in Brussels which passed into the Schwarzenberg collection, namely the workshop replica of the Capitoline composition recorded here as Copy 1.⁴⁷ It thus seems that we should date the present composition (and therefore the Capitoline picture, which was presumably the primary version of the subject) to c. 1613. Stylistically, this dating seems to me acceptable, given that Faustus is not so different in type from the shepherd in the Fermo *Adoration of the Shepherds*.⁴⁸ The nymph too is rather close in type to the attendants in the Cologne *Death of Argos*.⁴⁹

It seems possible that No. 34, made a few years after his return from Italy, and so completely inspired by ancient Roman texts and images, was painted for Rubens's scholarly friend and correspondent, Cardinal Guidi di Bagno, who owned it by 1641. Di Bagno was papal nuncio at Brussels from 1621-27, and already in 1622 had bought a painting by Rubens to send to Rome.⁵⁰ By 1627 Rubens counted him as 'one of the best patrons and friends that I have'.⁵¹ The cardinal may have met Rubens in Italy,⁵² for he knew the artist already in 1619, before his posting to Brussels. He introduced him to Peiresc, who wrote back enthusiastically about the artist's 'dolce et...erudita conversatione', adding that 'in the study of antiquity above all he has the widest and most refined understanding that I've ever seen'.⁵³ Two surviving letters of 1626 from Rubens to Guidi di Bagno about the temple of Diana at Ephesus are certainly learned

enough, the first especially so, since it was done without access to books.⁵⁴ Clearly the cardinal would have appreciated the iconographic subtleties of the *Finding of Romulus and Remus*, even if it was not made expressly for him. The fact that it is recorded in his inventory of 1641 makes it unlikely that di Bagno acquired the picture in the sale after Rubens's death in 1640; although this could (just) be possible, since a *Romulus and Remus* on canvas is recorded in the inventory of the artist's paintings;⁵⁵ in this case it might have been a substitute for the picture or even tapestry series which the Cardinal had been trying to commission from Rubens the year before.⁵⁶

Burchard wondered if the Capitoline painting might indeed be a tapestry cartoon,⁵⁷ but the gestures do not appear to me left-handed, and it seems significant—and deliberately planned—that the wolf is shown lying in the same direction as its ancient prototype from the Tiber group.

A variation on the group of wolf and children by Justus van Egmont, in which the wolf is curled round and raises her back leg to expose her teats, is recorded in an anonymous print (attributed to Jeremias Falck or to Antoine Stella), which was dedicated to Don Alfonso de Lopez (1582-1649), royal secretary (Fig. 104).⁵⁸ Mariette thought this composition was by Rubens and Snyders,⁵⁹ but, as Rooses observed, this is surely wrong and the attribution to Van Egmont should stand. Since he is styled *pictor regius* in the dedication, the print must have been made after he was appointed painter to the King of France.

In 1946 Valentiner attributed to Rubens a painting (Fig. 118), then in a private collection in Sweden, which seems to adapt the composition of the Capitoline painting, showing a pair of infants suckled at the riverside, among sedges and reeds.⁶⁰ Here the babies are rather similar in facial type to the Infant Christ and St John in the *Holy Family with St John* at Sanssouci,⁶¹ and one, lying on the left, takes up a pose like that of an infant in the upper right

of the Louvre *Madonna and Child with the Innocents*.⁶² But the attitudes are unconvincing, and the painting has other curious features—not least that the wolf looks rather like a dog and the babies are lying on an oriental rug—which are hard to reconcile either with the story of Romulus and Remus or with Rubens's authorship. I thus believe, as Burchard did, that it cannot be a work by Rubens. Probably it is by a contemporary follower. Interestingly, as Arnout Balis has noted, the landscape appears to be by Wildens.

1. Torelli, op. cit. in bibliography, 1933, p. 185.
2. The picture he must have chosen according to his entitlement in the will of Guidi di Bagno of 24 March 1638; cf. Torelli, op. cit., 1933, p. 184.
3. See Rooses, *Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, p. 17, citing L. Napoleone Cittadella, *Notizie relative a Ferrara, Ferrara, 1864*, p. 555.
4. *Venditio tabularum pictarum pro reverenda Camera Apostolica ac illustrissimo et excellentissimo Principe Don Gilberto Pio a Sabaudia. Die decima sexta Decembris 1750*, Rome, Archivio di Stato, Notari del Tribunale della R.C.A. Not. D. Paparozzi, prot. 5279, no. 10.
5. Denucé, *Na Rubens, 1949*, p. 14, doc. 21. The phrase 'comen vuyteenich niet' which follows this passage has been interpreted as part of the description of the picture, signifying that the 'large figures' were 'indistinctly depicted'; see Berger, *Tomyris, 1979*, p. 26. However, as Arnout Balis noted, it should surely be taken as a separate phrase, associating the picture with the previous item mentioned by Christyn from which it should not be separated, namely the *Ganymede received into Heaven* (K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921, p. 39), a picture which is roughly the same size and in fact ended up in the same collection: W. Prohaska in *Cat. Exh. Vienna, 1977*, pp. 58-60, no. 8.
6. Denucé, *Na Rubens, 1949*, p. 42, doc. 58.
7. Entitled 'Verzeichnis derjenigen Gemählten und Counterfait so in den Niederlandt erkauft und theils gemalt sein worden': 'Romulus und Remus v. Rübens'; for this inventory see Zentralarchiv B. Krumau (now Český Krumlov), Bohemia, Fasz. 594 a FPh. Bilder'.
8. I thank Guy Delmarcel for informing me about this work.
9. For these frescoes see M.E. Tittoni Monti in *Affreschi del Cavalier d'Arpino in Campidoglio. Analisi di un'opera attraverso il restauro*, Rome, 1980.
10. See *Cat. Exh. Antwerp, 1977*, p. 111; Jaffé, *Rubens, 1989*, p. 214. For the notion that Rhea married the Tiber after being drowned in his tributary, the Anio, see esp. Horace, *Odes* I.ii.17-20, but also

- Ovid, *Amores* III.vi.45-82 (where she marries the Anio).
11. The di Bagno inventory of 1641 identifies the Tiber's companion as 'a naiad of his' ('una sua Aiade'). Cf. the comments in *Burckhardt, Rubens, 1950*, p. 102. For the inventory see Torelli, *op. cit.*, 1933, pp. 183-191. This inventory of about 50 paintings (Mantua, Archivio Guidi di Bagno B, no. 106) appears to be lost; it corresponds in part to another inventory of 39 paintings mentioned in G. Lutz, *Kardinal Giovanni Francesco Guidi di Bagno*, Tübingen, 1971, pp. LI and 506 (B no. 104).
 12. As, for example, in the early National Gallery *Judgement of Paris* (*Jaffé, Rubens, 1989*, no. 13); and in the *Four Rivers* in Vienna (*K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921*, p. 111), where, as I have argued elsewhere, the companions of the rivers should be identified as the nymphs of their sources rather than, as they often are, the Continents. See E. McGrath, 'River-gods, Sources and the Mystery of the Nile. Rubens's *Four Rivers* in Vienna' in *Die Malerei Antwerpens—Gattungen, Meister, Wirkungen (Internationales Kolloquium, Wien 1993)*, eds. E. Mai, K. Schütz, H. Vlieghe, Cologne, 1994, pp. 72-82. As is noted there (pp. 78-79, n. 45) Theodoor Rombouts's painting of *Mars, Father of Romulus and Remus*, which decorated the Arch of Charles V for the entry of the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand into Ghent in 1635 and was apparently made with a knowledge of Rubens's composition (cf. the group on the right), showed the wolf and twins with the Tiber and a nymph who has a hair decoration identical to that of Rubens's, and should be the Tiber's source, leaning as she does on his urn. (She is certainly not Rhea Silvia, who is the mourning figure in the background of Rombouts's painting, next to the Anio). See G. Becanus, *Serenissimi Principis Ferdinandi...Triumphalis Introitus in...Gandavum*, Antwerp, 1636, p. 49 and pl. 28; also C. Van de Velde and H. Vlieghe, *Stadsversieringen te Gent in 1635 voor de Blijde Intrede van de Kardinaal-Infant*, Ghent, 1969, pp. 52-53, 95, no. 16 and fig. 47 (here the nymph is mistakenly called the Anio; a personification of the river would have shown a [masculine] river god).
 13. She is thus unlikely to be Acca Larentia, wife of Faustulus and human foster-mother to Romulus and Remus, sometimes associated by ancient writers with the wolf (Livy, *Ab urbe condita* Liv.6-9; Plutarch, *Romulus* 4 and 6; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* I.79.9-11; Aulus Gellius, *Noctes atticae* VI.vii: cf. further under No. 35).
 14. *Burckhardt, Rubens, 1950*, pp. 3 and 45.
 15. *Fubini—Held, Resta, 1964*, pp. 135-136, repr. p. 137; also *Van der Meulen, Antique, 1994*, II, pp. 106-108, no. 9 and III, fig. 168.
 16. Plutarch, *Romulus* 3.3-4; 6.2.
 17. In a note on this drawing Padre Resta connected the sheet with the (now lost) album mentioned by Bellori in which the artist matched evocative passages from the poets with correspondingly expressive images (*Fubini—Held, Resta, 1964*, p. 135), though in this case the idea of an association between ancient images of the *lupa* and Vergil's description was not in itself surprising and is indicated in Renaissance commentaries on the *Aeneid*. Cf. below, at n. 20.
 18. 'Fecerat et viridi foetam Mavortis in antro / Procubuisse lupam: geminos huic ubera circum / Ludere pendentis pueros, et lambere matrem / Impavidos: illam tereti cervice reflexa / Mulcere alternos, et corpora fingere lingua' (Vergil, *Aeneid* VIII.630-634).
 19. Livy, *Ab urbe condita* Liv.6; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 1.79.6-7; Ovid, *Fasti* II.414-418. Renaissance editions of Vergil always refer at least to the Ovidian passage; see notably that of Jacobus Pontanus, a book which Rubens probably owned: *Symbola quibus P. Virgilii Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, Aeneis ex probatissimis auctoribus declarantur...per Iacobum Pontanum*, Augsburg, 1599, cols. 1794-1796.
 20. Servius on *Aeneid* VIII.632. Interestingly G.P. Valeriano (quoted in full in Vergil, *Opera*, edn Venice, 1544, p. 415), refers specifically to images in Rome, both in marble and in bronze, which show the wolf with her neck bent round, and wonders whether Vergil influenced the artists or vice versa. Coin books in turn refer to Vergil: e.g. S. Erizzo, *Discorso...sopra le medaglie de gli antichi*, edn Venice [c. 1572], pp. 461-462, where the passage from the *Aeneid* is quoted in connection with a coin of Macrinus. See also J. de Bie, *Nomismata*, Antwerp, 1617, pl. 58.
 21. For the motif of the licking wolf in ancient art see C. Dulière, *Lupa Romana. Recherches d'iconographie et essai d'interprétation*, I-II, Brussels—Rome, 1979, *passim*, esp. I, pp. 65-67.
 22. In *De fortuna romanorum* 8 (*Moralia* 320D) Plutarch asserts that her litter had died. Renaissance commentators, following Servius (on *Aeneid* VIII.631), often worried about the apparent contradiction if Vergil's 'procubuisse' is taken to imply that the wolf was lying down, since the babies are subsequently described as 'pendentes', 'hanging from' the wolf; they thus suggested a standing, or half-standing animal. But Vergil surely did not mean the term so literally; and in the description of the picture at Ghent in 1635 by Becanus the term 'pendebant a lupae uberibus' is used of the reclining wolf and seated infants, with obvious reference to Vergil (Becanus, *loc. cit.* in n. 12).
 23. Dionysius (*Roman Antiquities* 1.79.5-6) tells us that the wolf found the babies in the mud by the river bank and cleansed them with her tongue; cf. Ps. Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis romanae* xx.3-4.
 24. Ovid, *Fasti*, III.37-38, 53-54; Plutarch, *Romulus* 4.2 and 7.6; also *Questiones romanae (Moralia* 268E-

- 269A). It is perhaps worth noting that reference is made to the woodpecker and all of these passages in the Pontanus edition of Vergil (op. cit. n. 19 above, cols. 1793-1794). (In his *De fortuna romanorum* 8 [Moralia 320D], Plutarch, who had obviously considered the matter, adds that the bird opened the mouth of each child with one claw and thus shared its own food with them.)
25. Ps. Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis romanae* xx.4: 'Ad-dunt quidam Faustulo inspectante, picum quoque advolasse, et ore pleno cibum pueris ingessisse...'
 26. Cf. U. Aldrovandi, *Ornithologia*, I, edn Frankfurt 1630, p. 413 (*Picus Martius: picus maior*), though he does not specifically mention their consumption of cherries, which Rubens may have seen for himself. For the artist's purchase of Aldrovandi's book, in the edition of 1613, see Volume I, Chapter II, p. 61.
 27. See, for example, Williams, loc. cit., 1820, who commented that 'this, though totally absurd and inconsistent with nature, is perhaps not more so than the story of the wolf itself'.
 28. Cf. below, n. 32.
 29. It looks from their markings (the absence of a red stripe near the top of the head) as if all three birds are female.
 30. See esp. Livy, *Ab urbe condita* Liv.5; Ps. Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis romanae* xx.3ff.; Plutarch, *Romulus* 4.1 and *De fortuna romanorum* 8 (Moralia 320D-E); and further J. Frazer, *The Fasti of Ovid*, I-V, London, 1929, II, pp. 330, 343, 367.
 31. Livy, *Ab urbe condita* X.xxiii.11-12; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* I.79.8. According to Livy, this was in the *comitium* rather than at the Lupercal, the place at the foot of the Palatine which was identified as the location of the feeding of the twins; see Dionysius, *Roman Antiquities* I.32.4-5; I.79.5-8; Servius on *Aeneid* VIII.90 and 343; it was explained that the tree had been miraculously translated (cf. Pliny, *Historia naturalis* XV.77); for a discussion of the problem of the location of the monument in a book familiar to Rubens, see Faber, *Imagines*, 1606, p. 73, under no. 127 (Romulus).
 32. For this coin see H. Goltzius, *Fasti Magistratum...*, Bruges, 1566, pl. 1 (Goltzius, *Opera*, 1645, I, pl. 1.). For related gems see Cronovius, *Thesaurus*, 1697-1702, II: 'Effigies virorum illustrium', no. 25; S. Reinach, *Pierres gravées*, Paris, 1895, pl. 5, no. 210 and p. 16, as well as pl. 61, nos. 541, 542, 543, 544 and pl. 80, no. 68.
 33. For example in 16th-century Brussels tapestry series such as that 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, esp. pp. 11-12 and fig. 3); and, most relevantly in the fresco by Giuseppe Cesari, Cavalieri d'Arpino, painted in the mid 1590s (cf. Tittoni Monti, op. cit. in n. 9, pp. 10-11, and fig. 2, p. 20); cf. Pigler, *Barockthemen*, 1974, II, pp. 416-417. J.A.F. Orbaan (*Rome onder Clemens VIII [Aldobrandini]*, 1592-1605, The Hague, 1920, p. 212) thought Cesari's picture had been a particular influence on Rubens's painting; however, his idea that Rubens had a copy of it in his house does not seem to be substantiated.
 34. Dulière, op. cit. in n. 21, II, pp. 48-49, no. 125, fig. 303. That he appears to wear a wolf-skin need have no symbolic reference (e.g. to the Lupercal), since it is probably used to characterize him as a shepherd: cf. the shepherds in the *Adoration of the Shepherds* at Fermo (Jaffé, Rubens, 1989, no. 79) one (at the left) wears a wolf-skin, another (in the centre) is dressed like Faustulus but wears a sheep-skin.
 35. By Giovanni Battista d'Angeli: *Bartsch*, XVI, 1870, p. 194, no. 29; *The Illustrated Bartsch*, XXXII, ed. H. Zerner, New York, 1979, p. 302, repr.
 36. Tittoni Monti, op. cit. in n. 9, pp. 10-11.
 37. This passage occurs in *Romulus* 7.6 and 8.2, when the adult twins take their cradle to Numitor to prove their identity (a point which has not been noted in connection with the fresco). The half-erased inscriptions appear to read '...alis', presumably for 'Ruminalis'. The inscription to the painting is 'Laesi non necati alimur'. For the fresco see D. Posner, *Annibale Carracci*, London, 1971, II, pp. 23-25, no. 52 and pl. 52i; also A.W.A. Boschloo, *Annibale Carracci in Bologna. Visible Reality in Art after the Council of Trent*, The Hague, 1974, I, pp. 27-28 and II, pp. 192-193, n. 9 and fig. 83; *Emiliani, Storie di Romolo*, 1989, pls. III, XVII and p. 159, fig. 1. For Rubens's familiarity with this cycle see above, under Nos. 30, 32.
 38. See, for Cesari, Tittoni Monti, op. cit. in n. 9, p. 11, n. 18; and, for the Carracci, Posner, loc. cit., and fig. 52k; also Boschloo, loc. cit. and fig. 84. Both authors give the drawing to Annibale and the fresco to Ludovico.
 39. Could Rubens have known this drawing as well as the fresco? Possibly a 'learned adviser' insisted on the 'correction' to a standing wolf in the final fresco—I am not really convinced by Stanzani's notion that it is an artistic improvement (in *Emiliani, Storie di Romolo*, 1989, pp. 177-178)—especially in view of the addition of the inscribed trough in the final painting.
 40. For these see above, nn. 33 and 35.
 41. For a similar interrelationship between humans and gods of nature see above, No. 7; Fig. 31.
 42. The most recent Capitoline catalogue (Bruno, loc. cit., 1978) attributes only the babies to Rubens himself.
 43. Which might in turn support the idea that it should be identified with the 'Romulus and Remus on canvas' in Rubens's collection in 1640. See further below, n. 55.

44. Bodart has recently argued too for Rubens's authorship of the entire painting (*Cat. Exh. Padua etc.*, 1990, pp. 114-116).
45. This idea was already put forward in Reymond, loc. cit., 1891. It is not, however, accepted, or even considered, in the recent monograph by W. Adler: *Adler, Wildens*, 1980.
46. It was previously thought that Wildens was back in Antwerp only in 1618, which accounts for the date of 1618 applied to No. 34 by many authors. But, as Adler argues (op. cit. in n. 45, esp. pp. 12 and 75, n. 30) in a letter of 14 March 1617 (Rooses—Ruelens, *Correspondance*, 1887-1909, II, p. 104) George Gage refers to a young man good at landscape who had been in Antwerp, returned from Italy, in August 1616, when Carleton was visiting the town. Rooses and Ruelens (*ibid.*, p. 106) took this landscapist to be Lucas van Uden, but it seems much more likely that the painter in question was Wildens. On Wildens's collaboration with Rubens (which seems to have continued, at least sporadically, throughout the latter's life), see further *Balis, Hunting Scenes*, 1986, esp. pp. 42-43; also *Balis, Studio Practices*, 1994, p. 122, n. 77, with further references.
47. See the provenance of that work. In that picture Burchard judged the wolf and the background to be more or less of the quality of the Roman painting; the figures of the children were far inferior, the shadows on their skin which should serve as modelling looking like dirty smudges.
48. Cf. above, n. 34.
49. *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 33.
50. See Torelli, op. cit., 1933, p. 183; C. Ruelens, 'Un tableau égaré de Rubens', in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, I, 1882, pp. 300-304. On the career of di Bagno see notably Lutz, op. cit. in n. 11; also Torelli, op. cit., pp. 173-184; Rooses—Ruelens, *Correspondance*, 1887-1909, esp. II, pp. 325-326.
51. '...uno degli miei maggior padroni et amici ch'io ho in questo mondo': Rooses—Ruelens, *Correspondance*, 1887-1909, III, p. 246, letter XDVII (22 April 1627).
52. Possibly as early as 1600, since the two could have met at the proxy wedding of Maria de' Medici in Florence in 1600: see Torelli, op. cit., 1933, p. 173.
53. 'in materia dell'antiquita principalmente, egli ha una notizia la piu universale et la piu esquisita ch'io viddi mai': Rooses—Ruelens, *Correspondance*, 1887-1909, II, p. 336, no. CCXL (letter of 26 February 1622 from Peiresc to di Bagno).
54. Torelli, op. cit., 1933, pp. 177-178. An analysis of the first letter (of 1 February 1626) does suggest that Rubens's claim to be working from memory is true, since passages derived from Pliny etc. are only roughly accurate.
55. 'A peice of Romulus and Remus, vppon Cloth' (*Specification*: 'Romulus & Remus, sur toile'). See *Muller, Collector*, p. 120, no. 139. The description makes it extremely improbable that it was an oil sketch, which would normally have been on panel; cf. below, under No. 34a. Muller doubts the identification with the picture in the Museo Capitolino (No. 34) since he does not wish to attribute this work, even the figures in it, to Rubens.
56. Torelli, op. cit., 1933, pp. 178-180.
57. For the surviving tapestries woven from the picture and the cartoon made in Rome in the late 18th century see Copies 15-18.
58. 279 × 405 mm. (*V.S.*, p. 139, no. 28; *Dutuit, Manuel*, 1881-85, III, p. 159, no. 15; *Rooses, Oeuvre*, 1886-92, IV, p. 17). On Lopez see E. Bonaffé, *Dictionnaire des amateurs français au XVII^e siècle*, Paris, 1884, pp. 192-193.
59. *Mariette, Abécédario*, 1851-60, V, pp. 138-139.
60. Canvas, 121 × 127 cm.; whereabouts unknown. PROV. ? J. Vermanden, sale, Antwerp (Van Dijck), 18 June 1804, no. 1 ('Romulus et Remus allaités par une louve: ils sont assis sur un tapis de turquie'; reference is also made to a tree-trunk and shells); Stockholm, Judge Birger Svenonius (1936). See *Valentiner, America*, 1946, under no. 25. It is illustrated in *Jaffé, Rubens*, 1989, p. 181 as no. 176; the corresponding catalogue entry, however, actually describes No. 33 (Fig. 115). Possibly the former Svenonius picture is the canvas of c. 124.5 × 132 cm. sold by the dealers Dulac and Lachaise, sale, Paris (Paillet), 30 November 1778, lot 388 ('un des meilleurs Disciples de Rubens... Remus et Romulus allaités par une louve').
61. *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 139.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 197.

34a. The Finding of Romulus and Remus: Sketch

Technique unknown, presumably oil on panel; measurements unknown.
Lost.

PROVENANCE: ? Antwerp, Lunden family (inv. 1643-44, no. 146: 'Romulus et Remus, esquisse par le même [i.e. Rubens]').

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Oeuvre*, 1886-92, IV, p. 17, under no. 802, and p. 24; *Vlieghe, Lunden*, 1977, p. 199.

The 1643-44 inventory of the Lunden family records a 'Romulus et Remus, esquisse par [Rubens]'.¹ Rooses connected this with the sketch seen by Reynolds in 1781 in the Danoot

collection in Brussels,² and identified it as the picture formerly in Sanssouci (No. 35, Copy I; Fig. 121), which, however, he mistakenly believed to be a sketch. He also equated the work seen by Reynolds with the Romulus and Remus in Rubens's inventory of 1640, but this latter was a painting on canvas.³ The Danoot sketch was in fact connected with the composition recorded in the Sanssouci picture.⁴ But it seems unlikely that it was identical with the sketch earlier in the Lunden collection, simply described as illustrating Romulus and Remus. That sketch could have been for the painting in the Capitoline Gallery (No. 34; Fig. 117). At any rate, given the close family connection with Rubens, the attribution of the Lunden picture to him is likely to be trustworthy; and, since Rubens probably made a sketch in connection with the painting now in Rome, the Lunden work seems a good candidate.

1. See *Vlieghe, Lunden*, 1977, p. 199, no. 146; Vlieghe points out that the low estimate later given by Mols for what is allegedly an authentic sketch (4 florins) was probably an error for 40 florins.
2. *Reynolds, Journey*, 1852, II, p. 150. See also under No. 35.
3. 'Romulus & Remus, sur toile' / 'A peice of Romulus and Remus, vpon Cloth': see *Muller, Collector*, 1989, p. 120, no. 139; it may have been No. 34, for which see above, at n. 55.
4. See Sir Joshua Reynolds, *A Journey to Flanders and Holland*, ed. H. Mount, Cambridge, 1996, p. 19, and further below, under No. 35, at n. 11.

35. The Nurture of Romulus and Remus (Allegory of the Foundation of Rome)

Technique and measurements unknown.
Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: ? Daniel Danoot, banker, Brussels (seen by Reynolds in 1781; see discussion below), sale, Brussels (Nillis), 22 December 1828, lot 64 (as *Rubens, sketch on panel, 90.3 × 120.3 cm.*: 'Allégorie sur la fondation de Rome').

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 121), lost (formerly Bildergalerie, Potsdam-Sanssouci, inv. no. 7734); panel, 71 × 96 cm. PROV. Bought by Edme-François Gersaint in Holland; his sale, Paris (Glomy), 25 May 1750 *et seq.*, lot 313: 'Rubens. Remus et Romulus enfants, plusieurs figures allégoriques. 25 pouces, 6 lignes sur 36 [69 × 97.5 cm.]'; Pasquier, Député du Commerce for Rouen, sale, Paris (P. Rémy), 10 March 1755 *et seq.*, lot 15; bought by Marquis de Voyer (d'Argenton?); acquired in Paris for Frederick II of Prussia in 1765;² lost, presumably destroyed, between 1939-45. EXH. *Ausstellung der Kunsthistorischen Gesellschaft*, Berlin, 1890, no. 244. LIT. *Descamps, Vie*, 1753-63, I, p. 316; M. Oesterreich, *Beschreibung der Königlichen Bildergalerie und des Kabinetts in Sans-souci*, 2nd edn, Potsdam, 1770, no. 87 (as *Rubens*); F. Nicolai, *Beschreibung der Königlichen Residenzstädte Berlin und Potsdam*, 3rd edn, Berlin, 1786, p. 1210, no. 88; *Smith, Catalogue*, 1829-42, II, p. 109, no. 367; IX, p. 289, no. 168 (as *Rubens*, 'but almost destroyed by injudicious cleaning'); *Blanc, Trésor*, 1857-58, I, p. 56; P. Seidel, 'Freidrich der Grosse als Sammler von Gemälden und Skulpturen', *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XV, 1894, p. 53; M. Rooses, 'Varia Rubeniana', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, p. 203; *Rooses, Oeuvre*, 1886-92, IV, p. 17, no. 802; *Dillon, Rubens*, 1909, pp. 176, 224 (as 'finished sketch', c. 1630); E. Henschel-Simon, *Die Gemälde und Skulpturen in der Bildergalerie von Sanssouci*, Berlin, 1930, p. 36, no. 119 (as *school of Rubens*, c. 1630); *Bernhard, Verlorene Werke*, 1965, p. 57; G. Eckardt, *Die Gemälde in der Bildergalerie von Sanssouci*, Potsdam-Sanssouci, 1975, p. 90.

(2) Painting (Fig. 120), Philadelphia, Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection; panel, 36.8 × 50.5 cm. PROV. John G. Johnson collection by 1911. LIT. W.R. Valentiner, 'Gemälde des Rubens in Amerika', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, N.F. XXIII, 1912, p. 24 (as *Rubens*, c. 1615); idem, *John G. Johnson Collection. Catalogue of a Collection of Paintings and Some Art Objects. Flemish and Dutch Paintings*, Philadelphia, 1913, II, p. 162 (as *Rubens*,

c. 1625-30); idem, *The Art of the Low Countries*, New York, 1914, p. 177; Valentiner, *America*, 1946, p. 159 (as Rubens, c. 1615); Goris—Held, *America*, 1947, p. 54, no. A.86 (as ?copy of a Rubens sketch of c. 1620); Van Puyvelde, *Rubens*, 1952, p. 204, n. 64; B. Sweeny, *Catalogue of Flemish and Dutch Paintings. John G. Johnson Collection*, Philadelphia, 1972, p. 75, no. 660.

LITERATURE: ? Reynolds, *Journey*, 1852, II, p. 150; Sir Joshua Reynolds, *A Journey to Flanders and Holland*, ed. H. Mount, Cambridge, 1996, pp. 19, 154-155, n. 79.

This composition is recorded in two versions, neither painted by Rubens. One, the canvas formerly in Sanssouci (Fig. 121), lost since the Second World War, is first documented in 1750, and seems to have been attributed to Rubens during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was by 1930 demoted to Rubens's school (c. 1630), but is surely not even from the studio. As presented in old photographs, it displays a sort of mushiness in the technique; various details of anatomy are unconvincing—notably the right leg of the armed man and the lower body of the river god³—and the tree is apparently not (as it should be) a fig.⁴ The other picture (Fig. 120), much more sketch-like in character, has no recorded history before it entered the Johnson collection (c. 1900?), and since the late 1940s it has been disregarded altogether by Rubens scholars.⁵ Both paintings, of which the first is only about twice the length and breadth of the second, look feebly executed, and include compositional features hard to reconcile with Rubens, notably the empty space to either side,⁶ and the attitude of the languid river god.⁷ However, as Burchard noted, a number of figures relate clearly to Rubensian types: the shepherd to the left, for example, takes up the attitude of Felicity in the *Birth of Louis XIII* from the Medici cycle,⁸ the two infants recall those in the *Holy Family* at Sanssouci,⁹ and the soldier at the right is reminiscent of the angel of the *Repentant Magdalen* formerly in Berlin.¹⁰

These features in themselves hardly constitute evidence of a lost composition by Rubens; they might simply point to the work of a follower. And Burchard seems to have wavered between alternatives (as indeed I have done). But the 'sketch' which was in the late eighteenth century in the Danoot collection is important in this context. In his account of his tour of the Netherlands Reynolds simply talked of a picture of Romulus and Remus, but in his manuscript notes, just published in the new edition of the *Journey* by Harry Mount, he describes the subject as 'Romul & Remus, which are upon the lap of a[?...], The River Tiber and soldiers gathering fruit, the wolf and an old and young shepherd on the other side',¹¹ indicating that it was undoubtedly the present composition; in the catalogue of the Danoot sale it was called an allegory of the foundation of Rome. Given that Reynolds accepted it as a Rubens along with the two splendid sketches of Romans and Sabines in the same collection (Nos. 42b, 43c; Figs. 139, 140)—even if he obviously admired these more—there is reason to think that the paintings in Potsdam and Philadelphia indeed record a lost composition by the artist.

The iconography too suggests that a work by Rubens lies (somehow) behind the two paintings. The scene presents a collection of characters connected with the finding and nurture of Romulus and Remus. The woman at the centre is presumably the babies' foster mother, Acca Larentia, wife of the shepherd (or swineherd) Faustulus who had found the twins with the wolf.¹² Faustulus himself must be the man in shepherd's hat, leaning on a staff which in the Philadelphia picture (Fig. 120) is shown not as an ancient *pedum*, or shepherd's crook,¹³ but more like the modern *houlette* or spud. According to the ancient historians he took the twins from the wolf and brought them home to his wife, who was mourning a dead child.¹⁴ A scene of Faustulus and Acca watching the wolf and twins beside the Tiber occurs in the sixteenth-century Flemish tapestry series in Vienna,¹⁵ as well as

in the fresco cycle probably done in the 1540s in the Palazzo Angelo Massimo at Rome.¹⁶ This relatively simple narrative is not what is depicted in the Philadelphia and the Sanssouci pictures (Figs. 120, 121); rather Faustulus and Acca Larentia here are symbolically associated with the spot where the children were found, next to the Tiber,¹⁷ at the grove of Pan (or Faunus) at the Lupercal, shaded by the Ruminial fig tree.¹⁸ The river god, Faunus himself (about to open a conversation with Faustulus), and the [presumed] fig tree are all appropriately represented. In this emblematic context there is obviously no paradox in including the wolf, which disappears from the narrative of the story after Faustulus rescues the twins. The action, such as it is, centres around the wolf's playful attentions to one of the babies (who may be giving it a small fruit), and, more significantly, the intervention of Mars, the children's father, who is offering what should be a fig to the other infant, probably Romulus rather than Remus.

Just possibly the artist meant to evoke a further etymological association. Ancient writers have little to say about the family life of Faustulus and Acca Larentia—certainly there is no suggestion that Mars ever called to visit. What is written about Acca, who was honoured in a rather unspecific way with the Roman feast of the Larentalia,¹⁹ all concerns the dispute about whether she was simply a prostitute whose nickname ('she-wolf') had given rise to the legend of the *lupa* which suckled the twins. The fig tree in turn (*ficus ruminalis*) is connected with Rumina (or Rumilia, or Rumia), a shadowy minor deity designated the goddess of suckling (from *ruma*, a teat).²⁰ Without visually implying a slight on Acca's virtue, the picture seems to play on the connection of both wolf and fig tree with the human nurse. In particular it perhaps suggests that the wolf is the attribute of, even a symbol for the woman, Acca Larentia.

This kind of rationalization is in the spirit of the ancient historians, who approached the legend of the wolf with euhemeristic scepti-

cism. Possibly then, the present composition was designed to introduce a Romulus series that was to have a specifically historical, rather than mythological character. But the lost work from the Danoot collection does not correspond in size to anything in the Romulus cycles that have been attributed to Rubens.²¹ In fact the dimensions of the Danoot picture are unexpectedly large for a sketch, the term used to describe it by Reynolds and by the sale catalogue. Might that work have been simply an unfinished painting, specifically a painting in which only the central group was properly worked out? This could then account for some of the deficiencies in the works listed here as copies.

1. The work was seen in Pasquier's collection by Descamps: *Descamps, Vie, 1753-63*, I, p. 316.
2. See Seidel, loc. cit. in bibliography, 1894.
3. That his attribute of a rudder seems to turn into a half-submerged scythe is probably the result of an incompetent restoration—an attempt to illustrate a splash?
4. On the Ruminial fig tree see below, n. 18. In this context it is significant that the picture does not belong to a clear category within Rubens's *oeuvre*; Dillon (*Dillon, Rubens, 1909*, p. 176), who speaks of it quite enthusiastically, calls it a 'finished sketch'.
5. To judge from its total omission from his catalogue of Rubens's sketches (*Held, Sketches, 1980*), it appears that by 1980 Held did not even regard it as a possible Rubens composition, after having included it as such in the volume of 1947. It is not mentioned either in Jaffé's recent corpus (*Jaffé, Rubens, 1989*).
6. Here comparison is instructive with a composition which is in some ways similar, namely the *Neptune and Amphitrite* formerly in Berlin (*K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921*, p. 108).
7. Not only are his legs vaguely and badly indicated, but he takes up a pose more suitable for a nymph; Rubens's river gods generally recline, but with more implication of vigour.
8. *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921*, p. 250.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 139.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 414; *Vlieghe, Saints, 1972-73*, II, no. 130, fig. 81. This last painting is, however, later than the other two, belonging to the 1630s.
11. London, Royal Academy, MS REY/2, p. 37; see Reynolds, ed. Mount, op. cit., 1996, p. 19. I am very grateful to Dr Mount for providing me with this important reference.
12. The woman's dress and bare feet suit her humble

- status. On Faustulus and Acca generally, see Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* I.79.9-11 and 87; Plutarch, *Romulus* 4.6 and 7.5; Ovid, *Fasti* II.55ff.; Livy, *Ab urbe condita* Liv-vi; Ps. Aurelius Victor, *Origo gentis romanae* xx-xxi; Servius on *Aeneid* I.273; Justin, *Historia* XLIII.2.
13. Cf. above, under No. 34, text at n. 32.
14. See above, n. 12; also Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* VI.vii (where, however, she is nurse only to Romulus).
15. See E. Mahl, 'Die Romulus und Remus-Folgen der Tapissereien-Sammlung des Kunsthistorischen Museums', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, LXI, 1965, pp. 11-12, fig. 3.
16. De Jong, *Oudheid*, 1987, pp. 232-233, fig. 25. Apart from No. 35, the only representations of Acca nursing the twins seem to occur after Rubens. Notable among these are Jean François de Troy's two versions of the theme of *Faustulus presenting Romulus and Remus to Acca Larentia*—one (in the Galleria di S. Luca in Rome) horizontal in format, and the other (in the Musée de Neufchâtel) vertical and part of a Roman history series of 1728-29; see [Cat. Exh.] *France in the eighteenth century*, London (Royal Academy of Arts), 1968, p. 122, no. 672 and fig. 111. De Troy, an admirer of Rubens, almost certainly had the precedent of Copy 1.
17. If the river god had an attribute in the presumed original picture it was probably a rudder. Interestingly, the two paintings by de Troy (see n. 16 above) show the narrative scene of Faustulus giving the babies to his wife (to the delight of one of their own children) at the river Tiber.
18. On the association of the Lupercal with the wolf and the suckling of the twins see Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* I.79.5-8; on the connection of the place with Faunus or Pan see also Ovid, *Fasti* II.424; Dionysius, op. cit., I.31; Vergil, *Aeneid* VIII.343-344 (and esp. Servius's commentary to this). Cf. Rosinus, *Antiquitates*, 1663, pp. 196-198 (III.ii). For the identification of the Roman Faunus with the Greek Pan see esp. Ovid, *Fasti* II.424 and III.84; *Heroides* v.137-138; also Horace *Odes* I.xvii. Cf. J. Frazer, *The Fasti of Ovid*, I-V, London, 1929, II, pp. 356-357. For the site of the Ruminal fig tree in the Lupercal see Livy, *Ab urbe condita* X.xxiii.11-12; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* I.79.8; Servius on *Aeneid* VIII.343 also above, under No. 34. That another, apparently older 'Ruminal fig tree' was situated instead in the *comitium* was explained by a story that the original had migrated there and a replacement had been planted at the Lupercal (Pliny, *Historia naturalis* XV.77; cf. Frazer, op. cit., II, pp. 367-369). In both the Philadelphia and Potsdam pictures the tree from which Mars is gathering the fruit is disappointingly unspecific, as is the fruit itself—though in the Philadelphia picture it might be interpreted as fig.
19. See esp. Ovid, *Fasti* III.55-57 (and commentary); Festus, *De verborum significatione*, s.v. *Larentalia*; also L. Giraldi, *Mythologia*, edn Basle, 1548, pp. 57 and 681; Rosinus, *Antiquitates*, 1663, p. 168 (II.xvii).
20. See esp. Varro, *De re rustica* II.ii.5; Ovid, *Fasti* II.411-12; Plutarch, *Romulus* 4.1-2, 6.2 and *Quaestiones Romanae* 57 (*Moralia*, 278C-D); Augustine, *Civitas dei* IV.xi, VI.x, VII.xi.
21. See above, under Nos. 24-29, Nos. 30-32, and the Introduction to that section.

36. The Origin of the Lupercalia (?)

Technique and measurements unknown.

Whereabouts unknown, presumably lost.

COPY: Painting (Fig. 122), Oslo, Nasjonalgalleriet, inv. no. 1354; paper pasted onto board; 55 × 84.5 cm. PROV. ? Alexander Voet (inv. 16 October 1686 of pictures bought since 17 November 1685: 'een stuck, landschap van Romelus ende Remus met twee naeckte mans in geschildert', with no attribution); Isleworth, John Stower (or Glowor?); London, dealers Dowdeswell and Dowdeswell; Munich, dealer Julius Böhrer, from whom bought in 1913 by Christian Langaard, Christiania, Norway; bequeathed by the latter to the museum in 1923. LIT. M.J. Friedländer, 'Om gammel-nederlandske billeder i den Langaardske samling og flamske fra det 17. aarhundrede', *Kunst og Kultur*, X, 1922, p. 138, repr. p. 130 (as *Rubens*, c. 1605); *Chr. Langaards Samlinger av Malerkunst...*, 1913, p. 115, no. 17, repr.; J. Beguin, *Bases d'un inventaire des oeuvres d'art belge dans les collections norvégiennes*, [Gilly—Charleroi], 1958, p. 25; L. Østby, 'Rubens in Nasjonalgalleriet', *Glimt av Belgia*, 1968, pp. 72-74, repr.; *Nasjonalgalleriet. Katalog over utenlandsk malerkunst*, Oslo, 1973, no. 416.

The peculiar picture in Oslo illustrated in Fig. 122, whose authorship is as problematic as its iconography, puzzled Burchard, but he wondered if it might record some kind of sketch or drawing by Rubens of a composition which had been reworked by the copyist; he had noted that the Oslo painting was on paper

stuck onto board, and that underdrawing, of a character to suggest tracing, could be seen in various places. He suggested that the subject could be the origin of the Lupercalia as described in Ovid's *Fasti* (II.357-81). This idea at least accords with some elements in the painting, even if it does not explain others.

Ovid's story of the Lupercalia runs as follows. Romulus and his brother, who had been brought up as shepherds by Faustulus,² were once exercising naked with their companions, when another shepherd came to announce that robbers were stealing their flocks. Since there was no time to arm, they ran to catch them, just as they were.³ The two men on the left might indeed be interpreted as the brothers hurrying out to deal with the raiders, especially since they wear nothing but animal skins over their shoulders.⁴ And we know (from Ovid as well as other sources) that goat skins alone were worn at the Lupercalian rites. One man seems to direct the other, in front of him, who draws a sword from its sheath as the pair approaches a scene of struggle on the right. This, however, is not a group of cattle-thieves, but some peasants trying to capture or bait a wild animal which looks like a cross between a bear and a wolf. Behind, on a sort of island which the animal is guarding, two infants appear in the bole of a tree. These babies readily suggest themselves as Romulus and Remus. This too is evidently what a seventeenth-century owner thought, if the 'landscape of Romulus and Remus with two naked men painted in it' recorded in 1686 in the possession of Alexander Voet is indeed, as I suspect, a reference to the present composition. Here the description makes clear that it was the babies rather than the naked men who were recognized as Romulus and Remus.

The familiar tale and image of the discovery of Romulus and Remus, illustrated by Rubens in No. 34 (Fig. 117), is of Faustulus coming alone upon an idyllic scene of the wolf suckling the twins by the river.⁵ But a different version of the story is given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus following Fabius Pictor. This

involves a whole band of shepherds who approach the she-wolf quite aggressively. Having been summoned by one of their number who came upon the wolf suckling the twins, the shepherds advanced in a body and tried to frighten the animal away with shouts. According to Dionysius, the wolf eventually retreated to a grove of Pan nearby—in fact the Lupercal—leaving the babies which were then taken up by the shepherds and afterwards passed on to Faustulus, who in this version of the story is a swineherd. A statue of the wolf suckling the twins was subsequently set up in the Lupercal.⁶ Possibly, then, this is the scene that the artist of the Oslo picture thought he was illustrating.⁷ But this interpretation in turn leaves many aspects of the scene unexplained. Why, for example, do the herdsmen attack the 'wolf' so vigorously, why does she in turn fight back with such vehemence—Dionysius talks of her going off quietly—and what role is played by the two men on the left? For even if the man behind, who is ushering his companion forward and pointing, is the herdsmen who first found the twins and then went off to round up his comrades, the prominence and obvious nudity of the pair remains peculiar. And why are there no sheep in sight?⁸

One possible explanation might be that the artist of the Oslo painting, in reproducing an unfinished or incomplete design which he knew to illustrate Romulus and Remus, misinterpreted an intended illustration of the story of the cattle thieves and the origin of the Lupercalia as a picture of the discovery of the twins, and accordingly added the wolf and twins on the right. That the original he was adapting was in fact by Rubens is suggested not only by the style of the figures, but by the unusual subject-matter. Such a hypothesis would accord with Burchard's view that the Oslo painting incorporated a reproduction of a lost work, perhaps simply a sketch of the principal figures,⁹ whose outlines were transferred by tracing.¹⁰ Among the many curious features of the picture in Oslo is the apparent

discrepancy in style between figures and landscape; as Arnout Balis emphasized to me, the landscape is reminiscent of Rubens's work of the 1620s, while the figures resemble those of an earlier period in the artist's development. The possible Rubensian original(s) might therefore date from shortly after the artist's return from Italy. Marc Vandeven has proposed that the landscape of the Oslo painting might be by Lucas van Uden. The tidily panoramic vista and elaborate architecture certainly recall the work of this artist, but, though he often reproduced compositions by Rubens, he is never known to have worked in the way that is here suggested for the Oslo painting.¹¹ Further technical examination may shed more light on the genesis, and therefore on the authorship of the Oslo painting, but in its present state it is included here, tentatively, as a partial record of a lost design by Rubens.

1. *Denucé, Konstkamers*, 1932, p. 319.
2. For the finding of Romulus and Remus by Faustulus see No. 34.
3. For different versions of the origin of the Lupercalia see Valerius Maximus, *Dicta et facta* II.ii.9; Livy, *Ab urbe condita* I.v.1-2; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* I.80; Plutarch, *Romulus* 21; Servius on *Aeneid* VIII.343. See generally Alexander ab Alexandro, *Dies geniales*, edn Leiden, 1673, I, pp. 1020-1023 (IV.xii); *Rosinus, Antiquitates*, 1663, pp. 258-259 (IV.v).
4. As it happens, Remus is (un)dressed very similarly in the illustration of him routing cattle thieves (not, apparently, a picture of the origin of the Lupercalia) in the Carracci fresco in the Palazzo Magnani: see *Emiliani, Storie di Romolo*, 1989, pls. IV, XXII, and p. 159, fig. 2; also A. Stanzani, *ibid.*, pp. 178-179.
5. The *Finding of the Wolf and Twins* painted by the Cavaliere d'Arpino in the Capitol in the mid 1590s (M.E. Tittoni Monti in *Affreschi del Cavalier d'Arpino in Campidoglio. Analisi di un'opera attraverso il restauro*, Rome, 1980, pp. 10-11, and fig. 2, p. 20) is unusual in showing a group of shepherds on the scene, interestingly too in a long and narrow composition. But there are different episodes shown in the background, and the details do not particularly correspond to those in the Oslo painting.
6. Dionysius, *Roman Antiquities* I.79.4-11.
7. Dionysius tells us that at the time when the babies were condemned to be cast adrift on the Tiber by their uncle Amulius the river had burst its banks,

so that the servants sent to drown them simply deposited their cradle on part of the flooded land; when the waters retreated, the infants were left stranded in the mud, where the she-wolf found them. The island hillock in the picture surrounded by muddy shallows could have been intended to evoke this setting, with the river proper flowing in the background. The town with palatial buildings in the far distance would then be Alba Longa, Amulius's seat, some hundred and twenty stades from the place where the infants were exposed: see Dionysius, *Roman Antiquities* I.79.4-5.

8. Many sheep are depicted in the landscape of the fresco by the Cavaliere d'Arpino.
9. Or perhaps, one might add, two separate sketches of figural groups. The men fighting the 'wolf' are reminiscent of various groups in Rubens's hunting scenes, but do not relate directly to any one in particular.
10. Burchard suggested too that the Oslo picture might be a Rubensian pastiche of Primaticcio. But I cannot see a reason to connect anything in the composition with Primaticcio.
11. The Voet inventory of 1686 is of no help with the attribution, for, although the painting of the naked men with Romulus and Remus is listed at the end of a group of paintings given to Rubens and followed by an item given to either Van Dyck or Jordaens, it is recorded without an attribution to any artist.

37. The Rape of the Sabines: Drawing (Fig. 126)

Pen and brown ink over(?) black chalk or pencil on paper; 85 × 249 mm. Inscribed *Rubbens* in the lower centre in an unknown hand. *Whereabouts unknown*.

PROVENANCE: Maurice Delacre (Ghent, d. 1938), sale, Berne (Gutekunst and Klipstein), 21-22 June 1949, lot 412 (as *Rubbens* but later 'de l'entourage immédiat du maître'); London, dealer Herbert N. Bier, 1949; Dr Francis Springell, Portinscale, near Keswick, sale, London (Sotheby's), 30 June 1986, lot 61, repr. in colour.

EXHIBITED: *Drawings by Old Masters. Collection of Dr. and Mrs. F. Springell*, London, Colnaghi, 1959, no. 47; *Old Master Drawings from the Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Francis Springell*, Edin-

burgh, National Gallery of Scotland, 1965, no. 28; *London*, 1977, no. 83, repr.

LITERATURE: D. Irwin in *The Burlington Magazine*, CVII, 1965, p. 539; Rowlands, *Rubens Drawings*, 1977, p. 78, no. 83.

Burchard, when he first saw this drawing in 1949, seems to have attributed it to Rubens and dated it between 1610 and 1620; Rowlands proposed instead a terminus of 1614. However, the style and technique seem to me to have no parallel in works of the second decade of the century, and Burchard's notes indicate that he subsequently put it much earlier. The over-large heads seem significant, as is the rather timid and neat method of outlining and shading (the drawing is more delicate than appears in reproduction)—not to mention the confusion of anatomy in the two Sabine maidens on the left, hanging at their mother's knee. Drawings such as the *Medea* or the studies for the suicide of Dido, made in Rubens's first years in Italy,¹ already seem far more accomplished, as also does the *Discovery of Callisto*, which may date from before 1600.² Possibly No. 37 was made (using prints as compositional sources) before Rubens set out for Italy; certainly there is a close parallel in style with the copies done before 1600 after Tobias Stimmer and Jost Amman.³ The schemata for faces are quite similar; but so too is the figure and drapery style. One sheet also includes a group after Vicentino's engraving of the *Flight of Cloelia* (Fig. 172);⁴ this latter can be compared in particular to the figures on the far left and far right of No. 37. But also significant is a certain analogy with the sheet in Berlin of studies after Raphael and Holbein from the so-called pocketbook, the lost notebook in which Rubens collected together texts and artistic motifs.⁵ The drawings on the recto were probably made before Rubens set out for Italy, and from engravings,⁶ but the Raphael *Judgement of Solomon* on the verso may have been copied in Italy, since no suitable print was available;⁷ and it is this drawing which,

both in its technique and in the expressive attitudes of the figures, perhaps provides the closest analogy with No. 37. The Berlin sheet has no chalk underdrawing, but we would not expect this in the case of drawings copied from models; the present work is presumably an exercise in original composition.

The Italianate style and frieze-like, *all'antica* composition further suggest that this drawing of the abduction of the Sabines was made in Italy, c. 1600. The group with the woman bending out towards us is already suggestive of future Rubensian figures; indeed the female on the far right, leaning back as she is pulled along by her dress, reappears on one of the pages of *Trahetentes* in the Antwerp Sketchbook;⁸ and almost provides a foretaste of the marvellous dancing peasants which Rubens drew in the 1630s.⁹

Marcantonio's print after Raphael's *Massacre of the Innocents*, as Rowlands has pointed out, probably served as a basic compositional guide.¹⁰ But surely more important still, for the subject as well, was Polidoro's façade of the Palazzo Milesi in Rome, which follows a frieze-like format.¹¹ Rubens's composition may have been longer than appears here, with at least one additional Roman soldier to pull the woman at the right.

Rubens is unlikely to have been thinking of specific texts about the Rape of the Sabines, or to have had specific characters in the story in mind when he made this drawing.¹² It presents a generalized variation on the human drama, with the participants not clothed in any historical style. It is unlikely too that the drawing was connected with any commission for a picture. Probably it was simply a first experiment on a familiar theme of earlier, Italian art, and one which would occupy the artist very differently in later years.

1. Held, *Drawings*, 1986, nos. 16 (fig. 16), 24-25 (figs. 24-25, still calling them 'Thisbe'); for the argument that these latter represent studies of Dido, made in connection with an Aeneas series of c. 1602 see E. McGrath in [Cat. Exh.] *Splendours of the Gonzaga* (Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1981-82),

- eds. D. Chambers and J. Martineau, London, 1982, pp. 214-215, 227; also D.P. Becker, [Cat.] *Old Master Drawings at Bowdoin College* (Bowdoin College Museum of Art), Brunswick, Maine, 1985, pp. 32-33, no. 13; A.-M. Logan, review of *Held, Drawings, 1986, Master Drawings*, XXV, 1987, pp. 67-68.
2. *Held, Drawings*, 1986, no. 8, pl. 7 (not 8: 'before 1600'); cf. *Held, Drawings*, 1959, I, p. 93, no. 1; II, pl. 1 (c. 1598-1600).
 3. See, for example, *Held, Drawings*, 1986, nos. 5 and 6 (pls. 5-6); *Sérullaz, Rubens*, 1978, pp. 65-68, nos. 55-59; also K.L. Belkin, 'Rubens und Stimmer', in [Cat. Exh.] *Tobias Stimmer 1539-1584*, Basle (Kunstmuseum), 1984, pp. 201-222.
 4. *Sérullaz, Rubens*, 1978, no. 59, repr.; Belkin, op. cit. in n. 3, pp. 204, 209-210, no. 93, fig. 119. For Vicentino's engraving see *Bartsch*, XII, 1866, p. 96, no. 5; *Le Peintre Graveur Illustré. Italian Chiaroscuro Woodcuts (Bartsch Volume XII)*, ed. C. Karpinski, University Park, Pa, and London, 1971, no. 96.5.
 5. *Mielke—Winner. Cat. Berlin*, 1977, pp. 29-36, no. 5, repr.; J. Müller Hofstede in *Cat. Exh. Cologne*, 1977, pp. 50-67 and figs. E.25, E.32.
 6. Müller Hofstede (loc. cit.) dated the sheet to 1601-2; Held now suggests 1598-1600 (*Held, Drawings*, 1986, pp. 66-67, no. 7, fig. 8 [not 7]). Cf. 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. 246, 249 and pl. 53, and esp. *Wood, Scaevola*, 1989, pp. 30-32, 38, n. 19.
 7. *Wood*, op. cit., pp. 31 and 38, n. 21.
 8. Presumably she also featured in Rubens's original 'pocketbook', from which the artist of the Antwerp sketchbook (? Van Dyck) derived much material. For the page see *Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, 1966, II, fol. 55v and pp. 238-239. The figure was adapted for the woman to the right in the *Obsequies of Decius Mus* (K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921, p. 147). Cf. below, under No. 39.
 9. For these see *Held, Drawings*, 1986, no. 194, pl. 185; *Burchard—d'Hulst, Drawings*, 1963, no. 150r.
 10. *Bartsch*, XIV, 1867, p. 19, no. 18; *The Illustrated Bartsch*, XXVI, ed. K. Oberhuber, New York, 1978, p. 29, repr. Cf. *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, 1977, p. 78.
 11. For Rubens's copy of part of this frieze see M. Jaffé, 'Rubens as a Collector of Drawings', *Master Drawings*, II, 4, 1964, pp. 383-397 and pl. 27; also L. Ravelli, *Polidoro da Caravaggio (Monumenta Bergomensis, XLVIII)*, Milan, 1978, p. 476, no. 985 and for the whole decoration, pp. 367-449.
 12. For the story and the classical sources see below, under No. 40.

38. The Rape of the Sabines: Two Studies

Technique and measurements unknown.

Whereabouts unknown, presumably lost.

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 123) from Rubens's workshop, by Willem Panneels (1600/5-1634), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', no. IV, 32; pen and brown ink over indications of black chalk on yellowish paper, 210 × 269 mm.; inscribed in pen, evidently by Panneels: *Romeijnen nemen De/ Dochters Der Sabinen*. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen, presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, 1966, I, p. 125, pl. CLX (as ?*Van Diepenbeeck*); J. Müller Hofstede in *Cat. Exh. Cologne*, 1977, pp. 35, 181; J.S. Held, 'Thoughts on Rubens's Beginnings', *The Ringling Museum of Art Journal*, 1983, pp. 14-35 (and fig. 7); *Garff—Pedersen, Panneels*, 1988, I, pp. 178-179, no. 241, II, pl. 244; *Jaffé, Rubens*, 1989, p. 22.

LITERATURE: See under Copy.

Both studies rework a motif from the *Battle of Greeks and Amazons* in Potsdam which Held convincingly argued was an early painting by Rubens rather than the work of Otto van Veen.¹ In the painting the figure is Hercules, grappling with two Amazons at once, and the man in the studies in Copenhagen (Fig. 123) still has a Herculean aspect. However, the inscription, probably made by Panneels between 1628 and 1630,² refers to an abduction of Sabines, and the groups of figures are closely connected to elements in another composition recorded by the Copenhagen copyist which undoubtedly represents the Romans and Sabines (No. 39, Copy; Fig. 124); indeed Burchard wondered if that study might have been painted on the reverse of a panel with the present pair of sketches. Whatever the case, the 'Panneels' identification of the sub-

ject accords with the impression that the groups are already in the process of transformation from the original theme, and both studies are reminiscent of the variations on the abduction motif found in Giambologna's bronze relief at the base of his famous statue in Florence.³ In fact a man struggling with two counterpoised females is never used for any extant Sabine composition by Rubens,⁴ but instead is developed into the *Rape of the Leucippides* (Fig. 125; Munich, Alte Pinakothek). In the Copenhagen drawing the right-hand group, in which the man no longer stands astride and the woman seen from behind falls on her left knee, has already moved noticeably in this direction, though it is still far, both compositionally and emotionally, from the elegant arrangement of the Munich picture; there the standing man's aggressive gesture and pose is translated into an attempt to support the kneeling woman, and the figures exchange meaningful glances.

In view of their interconnections with Rubens's own work it seems to me likely that both groups in the Copenhagen sheet reproduce designs—whether drawn or sketched in oils—by the artist himself, and are not after Rubens's copies of inventions by Van Veen, as Müller Hofstede wondered, nor again by Van Diepenbeeck, as Jaffé had earlier considered.

Given that we have only the copy, which might have been done after drawings or sketches, it is difficult to assign a date to the original designs by Rubens; but they were surely made some time before the painting of the *Leucippides* (Fig. 125), and perhaps shortly after Rubens's return from Italy. The fact that the squirming woman with her arm in the air looks rather like Oreithyia in Rubens's picture in the Akademie, Vienna of c. 1615, might tend to support such a dating.⁵

It seems possible that the 'very fine sketch' by Rubens showing 'studies for various subjects, particularly the Rape of the Sabines' which was once in the collection of Reynolds, was the lost original of No. 38.⁶

1. Held, loc. cit., 1983; cf. Jaffé, *Rubens*, 1989, pp. 146-147, no. 7, repr. Müller Hofstede (loc. cit., 1977, pp. 35, 181-182; and fig. K.24,1) had already suggested that Rubens might have participated in the painting, and thought that it might indeed be identical with the *Battle of Amazons* recorded as an early work of Rubens in the collection of Diego Duarte in 1682, but preferred to give the picture largely to Van Veen. At the same time he considered that the group in the foreground reworked in No. 38 might have been designed and partly executed by Rubens himself.
2. For the argument that Panneels's copies from the 'cantoor' were made (dishonestly) while he was in charge of the studio during Rubens's absence see Garff—Pedersen, *Panneels*, 1988, I, pp. 10-20. See also Held, *Review*, 1991, imputing better motives, and *Cat. Exh. Cantoor, Antwerp*, 1993, pp. 16-37 (P. Huvenne) for all the evidence, and the proposal that Rubens's 'cantoor' was not, as is sometimes supposed, a chest, but a small room. See further above, No. 7, at n. 27.
3. See E. Dhanens, 'Jean Boulogne en P.P. Rubens', *Gentse bijdragen tot de kunstgeschiedenis*, XVI, 1955-56, pp. 241-254.
4. Held thought (op. cit., 1983, p. 22) that the Copenhagen sheet might illustrate studies for the early *Battle of the Amazons* (cf. Jaffé, *Rubens*, 1989, p. 22), and that the inscription referring to Sabines might be a misidentification, pointing out that one man does not usually carry off two women in Sabine compositions; however, there are plenty of instances in Rubens's work of a Roman grabbing or pulling a Sabine woman by each hand, even if the figures are not posed in a similar way. In my opinion the motif in the Copenhagen drawing is already developed from that in the Amazon picture; but in any case the inscription could simply indicate that the motif was considered by Rubens as suitable for adaptation to a Sabine composition, so that it need not necessarily reproduce a detail from one such composition.
5. *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 223. For the dating of the painting see W. Prohaska in *Cat. Exh. Vienna*, 1977, pp. 76-77, no. 20.
6. Sir Joshua Reynolds, sale, London (Christie's), 13-17 March 1795, lot 36. Lot 5 in the same sale was entitled 'Rubens. The Rape of the Sabines, a sketch'.

39. The Rape of the Sabines: ? Oil Sketch

? Panel; measurements unknown.

Whereabouts unknown, presumably lost.

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 124) from Rubens's workshop, perhaps by Willem Panneels (1600/5-1634), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', no. IV, 30; pen and brown ink over indications of black chalk on yellowish paper, 201-205 × 309 mm.; inscribed in pen: *Sabinen Dochters werden genomen/ van De Romeijnen*. PROV. As for No. 38, Copy. LIT. *Falck, Tegninger, 1918*, p. 77, repr.; *Evers, Neue Forschungen, 1943*, p. 253 and pl. 265; *Martin, Cat. National Gallery, 1970*, under no. 38, pp. 111, 113-114; *Jaffé, Sketches, I, 1969*, p. 440 and fig. 24 (as Panneels); *Held, Sketches, 1980*, I, p. 381; *Garff—Pedersen, Panneels, 1988*, I, p. 178, no. 240; II, pl. 243.

LITERATURE: See under Copy.

As Burchard observed, the drawing in Copenhagen is probably after a lost grisaille sketch. He suggested that it might have been copied from the back of the same panel that contained the 'Sabine' motifs of No. 38. There is no doubt that the imagery in both is closely related. Here, however, the composition is clearly intended as the abduction of the Sabines. Jaffé thought that the lost original was a drawing rather than an oil sketch, and likened the design to that of a cameo. Certainly the strong directional movement of the procession and the frieze-like nature of the composition do not suggest a scheme for a painting, though the design is perhaps not sufficiently compact for, say, a tankard.¹

Here, in a clearer, if less sophisticated way than in the National Gallery painting (No. 40; Fig. 127), is an illustration of the Rape of the Sabines as an image of love and marriage, and here too Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* is relevant.² Not only do cupids intervene both literally and symbolically, but, at least to judge from the copy, the whole scene was evidently removed altogether from a specific historical setting, and many of the figures were generalized, in this case by their nudity rather than any modernity of dress and hairstyle.³ The cupid flying

above with a nuptial torch is especially significant in pointing up the marital message. One of the women is already being kissed by her mate; others are in the process of being cajoled. The bearded horseman to the left looking back as he raises his hand, must be Romulus. Not only does he betray a distinct resemblance to ancient 'portraits', such as that reproduced in Faber's edition of Fulvio Orsini's *Imagines*,⁴ but he is directing his attention to the woman who must be his future wife, Hersilia. As in the National Gallery picture (No. 40; Fig. 127), she is recognizable by being the only mother among the Sabines captured (for the child cowering into her skirts is surely her daughter rather than another cupid). And as she is seized, on Romulus's behalf, a figure—probably her husband or father—lays a hand on the soldier's arm in ineffectual protest. Several of the motifs found in other abduction scenes recur here, notably the mothers flung to the ground and clinging vainly to their daughters' legs or clothing. The woman dragged away by the skirt is adapted from the early drawing (No. 37; Fig. 126), and related to studies of 'Trahentes' in the Antwerp sketchbook attributed to Van Dyck, and certainly made by an artist familiar with Rubens's workshop.⁵ The woman at the centre flinging up her arms (appealing to heaven) is related to the pose of Oreithyia as she is carried off by Boreas in the painting in the Akademie, Vienna of c. 1615.⁶ As for the woman helped up by the horseman on the right, she betrays little reluctance at all—not surprisingly, since she is already hoisted up by Cupid, indicating an incipient reciprocity of love.⁷

There is a corresponding group in the *Rape of the Leucippides* in Munich (Fig. 125), which may well be close in time since it is also an abduction story generalized and translated from Ovid's *Art of Love*.⁸ Here too there are cupids, this time one for each couple, who are reining in the foaming horses in an image suggestive of love taking over and controlling (male) passion.⁹ And the scene is now isolated

entirely from any specific narrative context. It is not surprising that the identification of the subject as the Rape of the Daughters of Leucippus went for generations unrecognized, since it is neither an obvious nor a literal illustration of that story. In fact the genesis of this picture is very much bound up with Rubens's Sabine compositions¹⁰ and with his Ovidian interpretation of the rape motif. And since it is related in particular to the present composition and to the groups in the other Copenhagen drawing (Fig. 123; No. 38, Copy), it is discussed in detail in Chapter V of Volume I.

1. Even if one such object with an ivory relief of the *Rape of the Sabines*, somewhat Rubensian in style, is extant. For this tankard by Matthias Rauchmiller, dated 1676, see the interesting analysis by Johanna Hecht in *Cat. Exh. New York, 1985-86*, pp. 100-104, no. 67, repr.
2. For this point, and other texts relating to the story of the abduction of the Sabines, see below under No. 40; for the relevance of Ovid see also Volume I, Chapter V.
3. While nudity is of course normal in Rubens's mythological subjects, it is quite abnormal (unless for certain gods and personifications) in Rubens's pictures of ancient history.
4. See *Faber, Imagines, 1606*, pl. 127 and text, p. 73; cf. also Fig. 105.
5. *Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook, 1966*, II, fol. 55v and pp. 238-239; cf. above, under No. 37, n. 8.
6. *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921*, p. 223; also W. Prohaska in *Cat. Exh. Vienna, 1977*, pp. 76-77, no. 20. Cf. also the late *Rape of Proserpina*: *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921*, p. 386 and *Alpers, Torre, 1971*, no. 53, fig. 170, and no. 53a, fig. 171 for the sketch, in which the figure has both arms in the air.
7. The attendant supposedly controlling the frisky horse is of course inspired by the famous ancient sculptural group on Montecavallo, which Rubens copied in Rome. See *Van der Meulen, Antique, 1994*, II, p. 91-93, no. 75; III, figs. 141-143.
8. See Volume I, Chapter V, pp. 88-131. *The Rape of the Daughters of Leucippus* is usually dated c. 1617. Oldenbourg put it between 1615-17, and Burchard thought it contemporary with the Decius Mus cycle.
9. Cf. the observations of S. Alpers in 'Manner and Meaning in some Rubens Mythologies', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXX, 1967, pp. 272-295, esp. p. 288. As random parallels, the famous relief on the sarcophagus in Titian's so-called *Sacred and Profane Love*, a marriage picture, can be cited; or the comparison of bridegroom to

stallion in Claudian's *Epithalamium de nuptiis Honorii Augusti*, 14-16, 290-293. The image is also relevant to Veronese's paintings of Mars subdued by Venus with the help of cupids, who restrain his horse (*Pignatti, Veronese, 1976*, I, pp. 148-149, no. 248; II, fig. 578), even if the horse there carries a primary association with war rather than unbridled passion. On the theme see also E.M. Kavaler, 'Peter Paul Rubens's *Abduction of the Sabine Women*: violence and virtue reconciled', *Jaarboek. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen, 1987*, pp. 250-252.

10. The central motif has also been connected plausibly with Luca Cambiaso's *Rape of the Sabines* in the Villa Imperiale, Terralba. See B. Suida-Manning, 'Rubens and Cambiaso', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XL, 1952, pp. 163-166.

40. The Rape of the Sabines (Figs. 127-131)

Oil on oak panel; 169.9 × 236.2 cm.
London, National Gallery. Inv. no. 38.

PROVENANCE: ?Antwerp, Guiliam van Hamme (c. 1602 -1668), papal protonotary (inv. 1668: 'Een groot schouwstuck...Rubbens...den Rapt vande Sabinen, op panneel...'); ? Paris, Armand-Jean de Vignerot de Plessis, duc de Richelieu (1629-1715), acquired by 1676;² Antwerp, Georges-Alexandre Goubau (1697-1760, or 1761) [seen in his collection probably in 1746 by Louis XV, who offered 60,000 livres for it];³ by inheritance (possibly indirectly) to his brother-in-law, Jacques-Joseph Bosschaert, Antwerp, by 1763;⁴ his widow, Isabell-Claire Melyn (Bosschaert), Antwerp by 1766,⁵ recorded there by Mols (1775)⁶ and by Reynolds (1781),⁷ sale, 15 May 1785; ? Philippe-Egalité, duc d'Orléans (1747-1793);⁸ F.L.J. Laborde-Méréville (1761-1802) by whom brought to England in July 1792 and sold in London after 1797-98;⁹ dealer (?) Charles Birch, bought by John Julius Angerstein; lent to British Institution for copying in 1807; bought by National Gallery with Angerstein collection in 1824.

COPIES: (1) Painting, with the composition somewhat expanded to either side to fit its

position over a door, Pushkin, Picture Hall of the Catherine Palace-Museum; canvas, 166 × 276 cm. (including additions). PROV. ? Installed in the Picture Hall in the palace of Tsarskoye Selo (now Pushkin) in 1755-56, under the Empress Elizabeth Petrovna. LIT. V. Lemus and L. Lapina, *The Catherine Palace-Museum in Pushkin. Picture Hall*, Leningrad, 1990, no. 61, repr. in colour; also p. 7, for a view of the painting in place above the doorway.

(2) Painting, without the dog and with more space all round, St Petersburg, Hermitage, no. 527 (previously no. 555); canvas, 182 × 240 cm. PROV. Manuel de Godoy, Principe de la Paz (1767-1851), possibly at first in Madrid and then in Rome (seen by David Wilkie in 1826)¹⁰ and in Paris, where sold in 1831 and bought for the Hermitage by Lafontaine. LIT. Cat. Hermitage, 1863-1916, no. 555; *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, p. 19; Cat. Hermitage, 1902, p. 446; *Rooses, Vie*, 1903, p. 426; A.A. Neustroyev, 'Rubens and his paintings in the gallery of the Imperial Hermitage' (in Russian), *Starye Gody*, January-February 1909, p. 20; Cat. Hermitage, 1958, p. 94, no. 527; *Varshavskaya, Rubens, 1975*, p. 250, appendix, no. 16.¹¹

(3) Painting, without the dog, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 171.5 × 33.7 cm. PROV. Sir Frederick Cook (still with him in 1948 when Cooper photograph taken [neg. 152740]); ? sale, London (Sotheby's), 23 July 1958, lot 177 (as 170.2 × 226 cm.). LIT. J.O. Kronig, *A Catalogue of the Paintings...in the Collection of Sir Frederick Cook*, Bt, II, London, 1914, no. 343; *Martin, Cat. National Gallery*, 1970, p. 112.

(4) Painting, without the dog, whereabouts unknown; medium and support unknown, 56 × 71.1 cm. PROV. Frau Baronin de Benda, Rome, 1935. LIT. *Martin, Cat. National Gallery*, 1970, p. 112.

(5) Painting, sketch-like and lacking the dog, whereabouts unknown; panel, 42.5 × 56 cm. PROV. ? Wilhelm Koller (d. 1871, Vienna), sale, Vienna (A. Posonyi), 5 February 1872 *et seq.*, lot 84 (panel, 42.9 × 54.6 cm.: 'treffliche Skizze zu dem grossen figurenreichen

Gemälde'), bought by Franz Hampel (1834-1918, Vienna). LIT. *Frimmel, Lexikon*, 1914, II, p. 440.

(6) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 80 × 106.8 cm. PROV. Sale, London (Christie's), 16 October 1959, lot 31. LIT. *Martin, Cat. National Gallery*, 1970, p. 112.

(7) Painting, whereabouts unknown; copper, 68 × 95 cm. PROV. Ghent, A. L. de M-V. W. sale, 2 March 1964, lot 77, pl. 21; sale, Brussels (Nackers), 13-17 May 1968, lot 915, repr.

(8) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 'over 2 m. wide' (photograph in Rubenianum). PROV. Dealer Reding, Brussels (February 1977).

(9) Painting by Andries-Cornelis Lens (1739-1822) made c. 1754-60, private collection; canvas, 80 × 114 cm. LIT. A. Jacobs [Cat. Exh.] *A.C. Lens* (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, October-December 1989), Antwerp, 1989, pp. 109-110, no. 1, repr.¹²

(10) Painting of two central couples only, but with man in front also wearing a helmet, whereabouts unknown; c. 120 cm. high. PROV. Brought 'from Australia' in 1872 (National Gallery archives); Mrs E. Jones, Ken Hill View, Hunstanton, Norfolk (1938).

(11) Drawing by Pieter Frans Martenasie (1729-89) for his print (Copy 12), whereabouts unknown; measurements unknown. PROV. Randon de Boisset, sale, Paris (Rémy and Juliot), 27 February-25 March 1777, bought by Auguste Vestris (the dancer). LIT. *Blanc, Trésor*, 1857-58, I, p. xcii.

(12) Engraving in reverse by Pieter Frans Martenasie (1729-89), published Antwerp 1769 (already begun in 1761), dedicated to Charles, duc de Lorraine, governor of the Netherlands (when the painting in collection of Madame Bosschaert, Antwerp); 459 × 630 mm., first state as pure etching (see Basan); 4 states in all (see Dutuit). LIT. F. Basan, *Catalogue des estampes gravées d'après P.P. Rubens...nouvelle édition*, Paris, 1767, p. 109, no. *16; *Mercur de France*, March 1770, p. 178; *Michel, Histoire*, 1771, pp. 336-337; *V.S.*, p. 139, no. 30; *Dutuit, Manuel*, 1881-85, III, p. 159, no.

16; *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, p. 19, pl. 254; see also above, under Copy 9, esp. n. 12.

(13) Engraving, by J.C.W., published in J. Young, *A Catalogue of the... Collection of the late John Julius Angerstein*, London 1823, no. 6. LIT. *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, p. 19; *Martin, Cat. National Gallery, 1970*, pp. 112, 114, n. 35.

(14) Engraving by James S. Stewart (1791-1863), London, 1833; measurements unknown. LIT. *Smith, Catalogue, 1829-42*, IX, p. 320, under no. 273; *Thieme—Becker, XXXII, 1938*, p. 32.

(15) Engraving by T. Bolton after drawing by F. Skill, London, 1848 (presented with *Reynolds Magazine*, 30 August 1848); 301 × 394 mm. LIT. *V.S.*, p. 139, no. 31.

(16) Engraving related to Copy 15 published by James Carpenter, inscribed 'plate 6'.

(17) Engraving by J. Outrim, published by Jones and Co., after 1824 (when picture entered National Gallery), inscribed 'No. 52'. LIT. *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, p. 19.

(18) Anonymous wood engraving. LIT. *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, p. 19.

(19) Aquatint, by J. Burnet. LIT. *Martin, Cat. National Gallery, 1970*, p. 112.

EXHIBITED: *An Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures*, London, National Gallery, 1947-48, no. 51.

LITERATURE: R. de Piles, *Conversations sur la Connoissance de la Peinture...*, Paris, 1677, pp. 119-124; G. P. Mensaert, *Le Peintre Amateur et Curieux*, Brussels, 1763, I, p. 260; R. de Piles, *Oeuvres*, edn Amsterdam, 1767, pp. 320-325; *Michel, Histoire, 1771*, pp. 336-337, 360; *Smith, Catalogue, 1829-42*, II, pp. 233-234, no. 815; IX, p. 320, no. 273; *Waagen, Kunstwerke, 1837-39*, I, p. 219; T. Smith, *Recollections of the British Institution etc.* [London], 1840, p. 40; W. Hazlitt, *Criticisms on Art*, 1843, p. 16 (reprinting article first published in *New Monthly Magazine*, 1823); *Reynolds, Journey, 1852*, II, p. 188 ('finely coloured and well composed'); *Waagen, Treasures, 1854*, I, p. 350; *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, pp. 18-19, no. 803; M. Rooses, 'Les Rubens de la Galerie du duc de

Richelieu', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1900, pp. 138-148; *Rooses, Vie, 1903*, p. 586, repr. opp. p. 584; *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg, 1906*, p. 370; *Dillon, Rubens, 1909*, pp. 175-176, 196, pl. CCCCIII; *Rooses, Addenda, 1910*, p. 308; *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921*, p. 379; W.T. Whitley, *Artists and their Friends in England. 1700-1799*, II, 1928, p. 54 (on Reynolds's attempt to buy the picture in 1785); *National Gallery. Catalogue*, London, 1929, p. 317, no. 38; *Evers, Rubens, 1942*, p. 419, figs. 237, 238; *Burckhardt, Rubens, 1950*, p. 85 and pl. 101; B. Teyssèdre, 'Une collection française de Rubens au XVII^e siècle: Le cabinet du duc de Richelieu décrit par Roger de Piles (1676-1681)', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, LXII, 1963, pp. 243-245, 251-253, 290 (as c. 1635); J. Thuillier, 'Doctrines et querelles artistiques en France au XVII^e siècle: quelques textes oubliés ou inédits', *Archives de l'art français*, new ser. XXIII, 1968, pp. 178-179 and 188 (on two descriptions of the painting from anonymous pamphlets published in 1676); *Jaffé, Sketches, I, 1969*, pp. 439-440 and fig. 23; *Martin, Cat. National Gallery, 1970*, no. 38, pp. 109-116; A. Braham, *Rubens (Themes and Painters in the National Gallery)*, London, 1972, pp. 11, 41, 43 and pl. 25; *Baudouin, Rubens, 1972*, p. 252, fig. 128; M. Jaffé, review of *Martin, Cat. National Gallery, 1970*, *Art Bulletin*, LV, 1973, p. 462; K. Roberts, *Rubens*, Oxford—New York, 1977, last [unnumbered] page of introduction, and no. 90; M. Warnke, *Peter Paul Rubens. Leben und Werk*, Cologne, 1977, pp. 135, 140 and fig. 72; F. Baudouin, 'Two oil sketches by Rubens', *The Connoisseur*, CXCIV, 1977, pp. 261-265; A. Blunt, 'Rubens and Architecture', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXIX, 1977, p. 610; *Held, Sketches, 1980*, pp. 381-382; M. Jaffé, review of *Held, Sketches, 1980*, *Apollo*, CXV, 1982, p. 65, n. 1; C. Brown etc., 'Rubens's Watering Place', *National Gallery Technical Bulletin*, VI, 1982, p. 28; H. Brigstocke, *William Buchanan and the 19th-century art trade: 100 letters to his agents in London and Italy*, published privately for The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1982, pp. 51, 276, 503; E.M. Kavalier, 'Peter Paul Rubens's *Abduction of the Sabine*

Women: violence and virtue reconciled', *Jaarboek. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen*, 1987, pp. 243-256; *Jaffé, Rubens, 1989*, pp. 344-345, no. 1181, repr. (as 1635-37); *The National Gallery Complete Illustrated Catalogue*, London, 1995, p. 597, repr.

The Rape of the Sabines, the occasion when the early Romans, starved of women in their new city, organized a feast for a neighbouring tribe in order to steal wives, had appealed to Renaissance artists for its dramatic possibilities,¹¹ and Rubens especially warmed to the theme. This late and sumptuous version of the subject, evidently done entirely by the artist's hand, has often—long before its confrontation with feminism—aroused feelings of puzzlement and even distaste; it has been seen as a kind of charade, with well-dressed Flemish ladies in more or less contemporary seventeenth-century costume making what sometimes seem token protests against their ravishers.¹² Comparisons with the poses and costumes of the women in the *Garden of Love* seem to underline the question of Rubens's seriousness and sense of decorum. The use of the drawing of a peeping, coy girl for the Sabine cowering at her mother's knee (Fig. 130) is significant; as Roger de Piles observed, her main fear is perhaps of being overlooked—although, he adds gallantly, 'aussi est-ce à mon avis de toutes ces Sabines celle qui merite le moins d'être oubliée'.¹³ 'Tasteless' and 'preposterous' was what Hazlitt pronounced, and Waagen's opinion was not much more favourable. Seventeenth-century 'Poussinists' had already made fun of Sabine women who looked like 'brasseuses de biere' and 'grosses hostellières de Bruxelles revêtues de leurs habits de dimanche'.¹⁴ It can be taken for granted that Rubens meant his picture to be neither comical nor insulting to women. Yet the recent and valuable article by Kavalier which redresses the balance by interpreting it as an exemplary, even moralizing image of the control of men's passions, glosses over the real ambiguities and peculiarities (both in the

costumes and attitudes, and in the general tone) to which earlier critics were, however inadequately, responding. It also implies that the principal interest in the picture lies in the character of Romulus and his men, whereas Rubens's main concern was surely the depiction of the Sabine women. As in so many of his late paintings, the artist seems to have been suggesting that the subject had contemporary relevance. This is here, I think, not so much political—although the role of women as natural peace-makers is a recurrent theme in the 1630s, and has a special relevance to the Sabines' story and its sequel¹⁵—as emotional, illustrating a fundamental assumption about relationships between men and women, even if, as Held commented, it is one which perhaps can now be viewed sympathetically only with an effort of historical imagination.

From the Roman poets and historians we learn that the Sabines were invited into Rome for the feast of the Consualia, equestrian games in honour of the god Consus, or Neptune the horseman (*hippios; eques*), whose altar, normally hidden from view, stood in the middle of the Circus Maximus.¹⁶ This allowed Rubens to introduce horses and explains the equestrian games in the background (Fig. 131); the rape took place *magnis circensibus actis*,¹⁷ and the horsemen in the picture have just come from their mock fight as they ride into the foreground.¹⁸ The festoons on the arch at the centre refer to the festival decorations.¹⁹ And the wooden fence or railing may be intended to correspond to descriptions of the Circus.²⁰ But, with the horsemen behind, it is more suggestive of a tilting barrier, and the whole setting in no way attempts archaeological accuracy. There is nothing of the bare boards and Tuscan or Doric plainness which other painters preferred;²¹ indeed Rubens's architecture seems quite self-consciously elaborate and fanciful. The archway with columns supporting an entablature surmounted by an arch does not even derive from any ancient model,²² nor indeed does the rusticated building to the left; and the contrast between these

two structures only underlines the impression that the entire classical vocabulary of architecture as developed in the Renaissance is somehow already available. Certainly, as has often been pointed out, the setting, right down to the swags and Composite capitals, looks far too grandiose for the newly founded Rome, however generously we interpret Livy's comment that the Sabine visitors were surprised by the extent of its buildings.²⁵ Even authentically ancient Roman details, such as the legionary insignia and the mural-crowned head on a pole, as well as the *tuba* and *cornu* blown to broadcast Romulus's signal, are, as Rubens would have realized, in this context anachronistic.²⁶

Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us that it was on the last day of the festivities that Romulus 'raised' the sign (*sēmaion*; *synthēma*) for his young men to seize all the virgins they could, dividing themselves into groups and each taking those they first encountered.²⁷ Livy agrees that most girls were the prize of whoever first found them, though he adds that gangs were hired by richer citizens to select for them the prettiest ones.²⁸ Plutarch alone describes how Romulus gave the sign, by standing up and raising his cloak,²⁹ but Rubens evidently preferred to show him seated and raising his baton in a recognizable gesture of command.³⁰ Widely differing estimates of the number of women seized are given, ranging from thirty to six hundred and eighty-three.³¹ For most painters the lower number was already more than enough, but there are occasional extravagant attempts at a higher figure, such as the panoramic painting attributed to Claude Deruet in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen in Munich.³² The Romans aimed to capture only virgins, but one married woman was evidently seized by mistake, according to Dionysius along with her daughter. This lady, often identified as Hersilia, is supposed to have become the wife of Romulus.³³ She subsequently played a major part in the reconciliation of Romans and Sabines. (Cf. Nos. 41 and 43.) One other indi-

vidual woman is mentioned, though not by name; she was the outstanding beauty who was carried off for a popular young man called Talasius. The cry of those who brought her (*Talassio*, 'for Talas[s]ius') was always repeated for good luck in the Roman marriage ceremony, which, as most ancient writers point out, preserved in ritual the formula of the Sabine bride abducted from her parents by force.³⁴

In treating the subject Rubens obviously had certain artistic precedents in mind. He would have known of the ancient coins: one of Nero, in which the composition separates out from a central view and another, illustrated in Goltzius's *Fasti magistratuum*, which sums up the scene symbolically by showing only two couples (Fig. 105).³⁵ But the most significant models were presumably modern, especially the Polidoro façade which he had copied in Italy and Giambologna's famous group, with the relief on its base.³⁶ In this case, as in Pietro da Cortona's picture of 1630-31,³⁷ the principal figures consist of three groups arranged along the front plane with subsidiary action behind.³⁸ For most artists the interest lay in varying the struggle from group to group rather than focusing on particular individuals. However, in Rubens's picture it would seem natural to attach names at least to those Sabine women most distinctively characterized. The lady at the central foreground might appear an obvious choice for the noble Hersilia, destined for Romulus, but she seems very much the property of the man who has her firmly in his grasp and who turns, with a hint of concern, to her upraised face. In any case Romulus is paying her no attention, but looks instead in the direction of the figures on the platform. Here there seems to be a particular dispute over one woman, who is clinging to her mother, while a little girl, the only child in the painting, hangs on to her. She is therefore a better candidate for Hersilia, especially since she alone has a male Sabine defender—presumably her father, since he looks too old and weak to be her

husband—who lays his hand over that of the Roman soldier about to drag her away and prepares to draw a hidden dagger against him.³⁹ The analogy of the print by Aegidius Sadeler after Denys Calvaert (Fig. 134),⁴⁰ which Rubens may well have known, supports this identification, for here Romulus is pointing with his baton to a woman who appeals to him as she is carried off by two soldiers leaving her distressed toddler, the only child in the picture.⁴¹ Burckhardt, quoting Livy's description of the woman 'by far the most outstanding in appearance and beauty', implied an identification of the 'fine, stout woman' in front with the bride of Talasius, whose marriage is said to have turned out particularly happy. However, this seems unlikely, since Talasius did not himself participate in the abduction but had his wife brought to him, and since, as already observed, the Roman transporting the central woman surely has no intention of relinquishing her. Roger de Piles in fact claimed that the central couple represented the man who commissioned the picture and his wife,⁴² a proposal which, as we shall see, perhaps deserves more consideration than it is usually given. At any rate it is clear that this lady is no specific figure from the ancient story, and her prominence—and the whole character of the three groups in the foreground—emphasizes how Rubens is not so much representing a historical episode, as using the familiar story poetically to dramatize the basic impulses of men and women towards one another. Significantly, it is the account of the story by an ancient poet who exploited it in just such a way which I think provides the most suggestive textual parallel to Rubens and his interpretation.

In the *Ars Amatoria*, Ovid vividly conjures up the scene of panic among the girls: 'For one fear united them, but the manifestations of fear were many. Some tear their hair, some sit there distraught. One grieves in silence; another calls in vain for her mother. This one is protesting, this one struck dumb; this one isn't moving, that one is in flight. The girls once

seized are led off, a nuptial prize; and their very blushes succeeded in lending charm to many of them. Whenever one resisted too much and refused a mate, the man in question lifted her to his passionate heart and carried her away, saying "Why are you spoiling your soft little eyes with tears; what your father is to your mother, this I'll now be to you".'⁴³ Like Ovid, Rubens seems fascinated by the different expressions of the same female feeling when confronted with the eruption of male aggression. Some are frantic, some resigned, some weeping, some fighting; some appeal to their mothers, some to heaven. How their blushes lend them grace is particularly illustrated by the coy girl whom de Piles found so attractive, and her companion, standing nearby.⁴⁴ Interestingly too, this perceptive critic describes the reactions of the young women in terms which virtually echo the lines of Ovid, even beginning: 'Quoy qu'il n'y ait que deux passions dans tout le Tableau, la joye et la crainte, elles y sont exprimées avec autant de difference qu'il y a de figures...'. As in the *Art of Love*, Rubens's Sabines accept their fate to varying degrees, and, as de Piles observed, are differentiated according to class. He particularly contrasted the *cavalier's* careful handling of the *fille de qualité* on the right,⁴⁵ obviously recognizable as such in everything from hair-style to slippers, to the rough and ignominious treatment to which the poor 'peasant girl' (*païsanne*) at the left is subjected by a soldier and an unmistakably loutish youth. But the most eloquent contrast in expression is perhaps that of the central group, and of the two women whose eyes and plump, clasped hands are raised (in protest) and then lowered (in resignation) as they are propelled along.

The context of Ovid's description is significant. In the *Ars amatoria* the story is introduced to illustrate how theatres and circuses where elegant women of fashion (*cultissima[e] foemina[e]*) throng to see and be admired are places disastrous for female chastity and ideal for the hopeful lover. This is as true now, he

adds, as it was in the time of Romulus when he planned the rape of the Sabines. Of course then, he goes on, 'there was no marble theatre hung with awnings, no platform coloured red with crocus-spray. There, artlessly arranged, were such leaves as the woody Palatine could produce; no art went into the staging. The people sat on steps made of turf, their unkempt hair covered with any plant whatever'. In short everything was unsophisticated even the very applause (l.113).⁴⁶ Rubens's picture substitutes a refined counterpart for virtually every detail of Ovid's primitive Roman scene. The diversely reacting maidens are fashionable ladies, decked in satins, chiffons and pearls and wearing their hair in elaborate modern styles—some even with the up-to-date bunches and fringe of Helene Fourment—in a setting rich in marble, lavish architecture, awnings and artful garlands. As for the stand from which the maidens have been watching the show, it even has an embroidered rug spread on it, extravagant indeed in this outdoor setting.⁴⁷ Like Ovid's modern beauties rather than his unsophisticated Sabines,⁴⁸ Rubens's women are themselves a tantalizing spectacle come to watch the show, and have evidently proved so, irresistibly, to the men. The substitution of fashionable elegance for rustic simplicity, both in the setting and in the women, is, I suspect, deliberate. Certainly it ingeniously contrives to illustrate Ovid's point in a single picture; the continuing relevance of the primitive story of the Sabines is expressed visually with the eruption of primitive emotions in the midst of civilization. Ovid's *Art of Love* notoriously catalogues famous rapes whose victims gave in and thereupon fell in love. In the case of the Sabines, whose story is given more attention in the poem than virtually any other, the 'happy ending' is of course also marriage. As the ancient historians likewise assumed when they related the Rape of the Sabines to Roman marriage rites, the aggressive desires of men and the ultimate acquiescence of women are seen as facts of life.⁴⁹ Renaissance

commentators made still more of this in their discussions of ancient nuptials and in their notes to classical texts.⁵⁰ Thus the commentary by Luis de la Cerda to Vergil's brief reference to the Rape in his description of the shield of Aeneas (*Aeneid* VIII.635-637), where he calls it 'sine more', a breach of convention, refuses to discuss the 'trite' story at all, but rather 'justifies' it at great length with reference to customs of love and marriage.⁵¹ All of this helps to explain why abduction scenes, and particularly the story of the Sabines, were considered appropriate for marriage *cassoni*. The image of the bride 'torn from her mother's lap' ('raptae gremio matris') is one that recurs in epithalamia; indeed in the poem which Rubens's brother composed for the wedding of their friend, Jan Woverius, it serves as a leitmotif, while the epithalamium he wrote for the artist's own marriage to Isabella Brant talks of the coming wedding night in similar terms of sexual aggression, calling bride and groom 'victa' and 'victor'.⁵² In this context Roger de Piles's story that the National Gallery *Rape of the Sabines* was commissioned by a devoted husband does not look so preposterous.⁵³ But whether or not the picture has an association with a particular courtship, it clearly reflects a view about love and marriage which Rubens's classically educated contemporaries—and even perhaps their wives—would have readily understood. Like Ovid, its most influential proponent, Rubens was not embarrassed to illustrate it. No cynic, however, Rubens seems to imply in his picture an inevitable sequel to the story; as in the tale of Cimon and Iphigenia,⁵⁴ these 'civilized' women (who alone are dressed in modern clothes) will surely soften and tame their savage men by love.⁵⁵ If, then, the boy reining in the horse at the right is to be interpreted emblematically, as an image of the bridling of lustful passion,⁵⁶ it seems to me most appropriate to consider that the women (and marriage) are to be imagined as effecting this, rather than the men's self-imposed restraint; even Romulus himself, the wise ruler directing

the operations,⁵⁷ is not so detached from the action as might at first sight appear, since he already has his eye set on Hersilia, his bride.

The condition of the picture is detailed by Martin in his catalogue of 1970. Here it might simply be noted that some areas are worn, particularly the black costumes of the old woman to the left and of the central figure. So too is the lap dog nipping the ankles of the soldier who is dragging the 'peasant girl' by the skirt, and some of the copies recorded above omit this dog, which was perhaps invisible before the picture was cleaned in 1833. Some of the *pentimenti* visible in X-rays have already been mentioned—especially in the group on the platform around Hersilia. Most notable of the others are the alterations to the central couple in the foreground, which seems to have been brought forward and made larger and more prominent, and to the architecture—both the arcade in the background and the building to the left. Here too the original perspective now shows through; indeed the right arm of the woman trying to climb up it was perhaps never quite adjusted to the final arrangement.⁵⁸ On the evidence of a sketch (No. 40a) as well as these *pentimenti*, Martin concludes, rightly I think, that the architectural setting must have been worked out after the figures were put in.

As Martin and Held have pointed out, the foreground groups develop ideas tried and varied in earlier abduction scenes (see above, Nos. 37-39). Several other figures too are adapted from earlier compositions. Apart from the Sabine man on the dais, derived from a figure of Tarquin, and the peeping girl,⁵⁹ another woman included in the final composition, that looking down at Hersilia, was based on an existing study. This is the beautiful drawing for St Apollonia in the *Mystic Marriage of St Catherine* of 1628.⁶⁰ It has been suggested that the National Gallery *Rape of the Sabines* was influenced by Tintoretto's *Miracle of St Mark rescuing the Slave*, not only in composition, but in its colouring, with rich solid hues in the foreground set against a light-

toned background.⁶¹ As Rubens could hardly have seen this painting since he left Italy, this remains an intriguing hypothesis.⁶² But certainly the brilliant colouring is paralleled, for example, in the Munich *Massacre of the Innocents*,⁶³ a painting of a much crueller conflict between men and women, but similarly concerned with the varied reactions of the women.⁶⁴

According to Rubens's nephew, Philip, the *Rape of the Sabines* in the collection of the duc de Richelieu was made in the 1630s,⁶⁵ and the National Gallery picture has generally been dated around the middle, or in the second half of this decade. The use for the peeping girl of a drawing made for but unused in a version of the *Garden of Love* surely indicates that the painting postdates that composition,⁶⁶ though perhaps not by much, since this figure, like that derived from the St Apollonia drawing, seems to have been added at a late stage.⁶⁷ Martin points to connections with the handling of the Torre de la Parada sketches, which accord with a date of c. 1636-37.⁶⁸

As to the original owner, if he was indeed a devoted husband, he cannot have been Guiliam van Hamme, the man whose inventory of 1668 records a *Rape of the Sabines* by Rubens which could have been No. 40. Van Hamme, a cleric, seems to have been an enthusiastic collector who acquired several important paintings by, among others, Van Dyck and Rubens.⁶⁹ Still, it is just possible that the National Gallery painting was made for a member of his family.⁷⁰

1. *Denucé, Konstkamers*, 1932, p. 246; cf. *Rooses, Adenda*, 1910, p. 308.

2. A painting of the *Rape of the Sabines* which is certainly identical in composition to No. 40 is recorded in Richelieu's collection in 1676: see de Piles, loc. cit. in bibliography (edn 1677); but it must have been sold sometime before 1681, since it appears in none of the later editions of de Piles's book. Cf. *Martin, Cat. National Gallery*, 1970, pp. 114-115, nn. 26 and 42.

3. *Mariette, Abécédario*, 1851-60, II, p. 195. From the same source we learn that Goubau had claimed that the Duke of Marlborough had earlier offered £36,000 for it; presumably this would have been in

- 1706, when the Duke was in Antwerp. Thus the picture was perhaps at that time in the collection of Goubau's parents, Alexandre Goubau and Marie-Constance-Albertine Rubens (1672-1710). The latter was in fact grand-daughter of Rubens's son Nicolaas, which raises the interesting possibility that the painting now in the National Gallery might have come directly from a member of the artist's family. This would of course mean—assuming that the picture owned by Van Hamme and recorded by de Piles was authentic—that Rubens painted more than one version of the composition.
4. See Mensaert, loc. cit. in bibliography, 1763.
 5. See Michel, *Histoire*, 1771, pp. 336-337.
 6. F.J.J. Mols, 'Annotations manuscrites sur Rubens, 1775', Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 5735, fol. 93r (p. 415), no. 901, specifying the picture as 'sur Bois, haut de 5 pieds, 3 pouces, 3 lignes & large de 7 pieds, 3 pouces, 4 lignes': if the Paris foot was used, this gives us 171 × 236.5 cm., more or less the dimensions of the picture in the National Gallery (the Antwerp foot was smaller, as was the Brussels foot).
 7. Sir Joshua Reynolds, *A Journey to Flanders and Holland*, ed. H. Mount, Cambridge, 1996, pp. 81-82, 165.
 8. One argument for the Orléans ownership is that the Mols MS (loc. cit. in n. 6) contains a note added that the painting was sold to the duc d'Orléans for 32000 ?livres (rather than francs, as in *Rooses, Oeuvre*, 1886-92, IV, p. 19). An English source (see Martin, *Cat. National Gallery*, 1970, p. 116, n. 48) mentions an Orléans provenance, but the painting does not appear in any of the Orléans catalogues.
 9. Martin, *Cat. National Gallery*, 1970, p. 116, n. 48 and C. Stryiński, *La galerie du Régent Philippe, duc d'Orléans*, Paris, 1913, p. 138.
 10. A. Cunningham, *Life of Sir David Wilkie*, London, 1843, II, p. 253, recording it as 'a duplicate, and inferior to Mr. Angerstein's'.
 11. In his catalogue of the Hermitage (3rd edn, 1895, II, p. 333, under no. 555) Somov mentions 'une ancienne copie de dimensions plus petites'. This cannot be the Pushkin picture (Copy 1), so remains mysterious. But see under No. 42b, Copy 6.
 12. For Lens's portrait, dated 1762 (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten; canvas, 73 × 91 cm.), of Pieter Frans Martenasie making his engraving (Copy 12), probably after this copy (9), see Jacobs, loc. cit. in bibliography to this copy, pp. 111-113, no. 3, repr.
 13. For illustrations of the subject see Pigler, *Barockthemen*, 1974, II, pp. 418-420; also Kavalier, op. cit., 1987, pp. 246-249.
 14. This feature is acknowledged even by the admiring Roger de Piles, who comments that some women are evidently not really too upset, and 'taschent seulement à sauver les apparences'. See Teyssèdre, loc. cit., 1963, p. 251.
 15. See Teyssèdre, loc. cit., 1963, p. 251. For the drawing (in the Gemeente Musea, Amsterdam), not used directly for any Garden of Love composition, but undoubtedly done for one, probably the Jegher woodcut, see Burchard—d' Hulst, *Drawings*, 1963, p. 287, no. 184; also Held, *Drawings*, 1959, I, p. 142, no. 121; II, pl. 132. See also Martin, *Cat. National Gallery*, 1970, pp. 111, 113, nn. 13, 14.
 16. See Thuillier, op. cit., 1968, pp. 178, 188.
 17. See esp. Baudouin, *Rubens*, 1972, pp. 246-259; also below, Nos. 41, 43.
 18. Plutarch, *Romulus* 14.3; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* II.30-31; Servius on *Aeneid* VIII.635-636. Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* III.199-202; Tertullian, *De spectaculis* 5. On the Consualia see Pauly—Wissowa, IV, I, 1900, cols. 1111-1112; also J. Frazer, *The Fasti of Ovid*, I-V, London, 1929, III, pp. 50-57. See also Rosinus, *Antiquitates*, 1663, p. 293 (IV.xii) and Alexander ab Alexandro, *Geniales dies*, edn Leiden, 1673, II, pp. 354-357 (V.xxvi). A particularly engaging representation of this feature is in the painting attributed to Sodoma in the Palazzo Venezia, Rome (A. Santangelo, *Cat. Palazzo Venezia*, Rome, 1948, pp. 12-13, fig. 19, correcting the earlier misidentification of the subject as the story of Rhea Silvia), where the 'altar' is crowned by a statue of an elderly Neptune astride a dolphin; a 16th-century German drawing (attributed to J.M. Bocksberger) shows the altar rather similarly, but also with fish laid out on it ([*Cat. Exh. Old Master Drawings*, Colnaghi's, New York, 1987, no. 14, repr.).
 19. Vergil, *Aeneid* VIII.636. The equestrian games are so prominent in a pair of 15th-century panels in the National Gallery that until recently their subject was simply identified as a tournament; see T. Henry, 'The subject of Domenico Morone's "Tournament" panels in the National Gallery, London', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXXVI, 1994, pp. 21-22.
 20. They are not, I think, already fighting about the women in the background, as Martin suggests. For the idea that the horse symbolizes passion see below.
 21. Cf. Livy, *Ab urbe condita* I.ix.6-10.
 22. See J.C. Bulengerus (Boulenger), *De circo romano*, Paris, 1598, esp. fols. 13v-15r and 17v-18v (on the circus of Romulus).
 23. See for example the fresco in the Carracci cycle in Bologna (*Emiliani, Storie di Romolo*, 1989, pls. IX, XXXIX; p. 162, fig. 7; or the paintings by Poussin in the Louvre and in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (A. Blunt, *The Paintings of Nicolas Poussin. A Critical Catalogue*, London, 1966, pp. 127-128, nos. 179 and 180; J. Costello, 'The Rape of the Sabine Women by Nicolas Poussin', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Bulletin*, V, 1946-47, pp. 197-204); or the French picture dated 1661(?) in the Princeton University Art Gallery, where the altar to Consus is also included; or Pietro da Cor-

- tona's painting in the Capitoline Gallery (G. Briganti, *Pietro da Cortona*, edn Florence, 1982, no. 33, pp. 185-186 and pls. 115-117), which includes a statue of Neptune under the festooned Doric colonnade. See also J.M. Merz, *Pietro da Cortona*, Tübingen, 1991, esp. pp. 211-213 and fig. 322.
24. See A. Blunt, 'Rubens and Architecture', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXIX, 1977, pp. 610-613, who points out that analogous features in Hadrianic architecture (in Tivoli and Ephesus) could not have been known to Rubens; the nearest comparison is with Vignola's nymphaeum for the Villa Giulia (fig. 17), relevant to the loggia in Rubens's own garden (fig. 16), but even Vignola used simple Ionic columns.
25. Livy, *Ab urbe condita* I.x.9.
26. For similar *signa* see J. Lipsius, *De militia romana*, IV.iii-vi in *Lipsius, Opera*, 1675, III, pp. 180-198; also U. Aldrovandi, *Ornithologia*, 1613, I. pp. 76-78. Admittedly, however, such features are often introduced simply to suggest the Roman setting, for example by Sodoma (see above, n. 18) or by Pietro da Cortona (above, n. 23) in their pictures of the *Rape of the Sabines*.
27. *Roman Antiquities* II.30.4-5. The following morning the girls were reassured that the intent was legitimate marriage and each was then assigned to a husband. Other historians too try to indicate the necessity and respectable outcome of the rape: see e.g. Livy, *Ab urbe condita* I.x.
28. Livy, *Ab urbe condita* I.x.11.
29. Plutarch, *Romulus* 14.4-5.
30. The sign is given according to Plutarch, for example, in the Carracci fresco, as well as in the paintings by Poussin and another French artist mentioned above (n. 23); perhaps the earliest instance is the panel attributed to Sodoma in the Palazzo Venezia (above, n. 18). These demonstrate the difficulties in making a legible pictorial gesture of this motif, even if Poussin's solution is the least obscure. Pietro da Cortona compromises by showing Romulus seated and holding out a hand wrapped in a cloak.
31. See Plutarch, *Romulus* 14.1 and 16 (30, or 527, or 683); Dionysius, *Roman Antiquities* II.30.6 (683).
32. [Cat.] *Deutsche und Niederländische Malerei zwischen Renaissance und Barock*, edn Munich (Alte Pinakothek), 1973, p. 31, inv. no. 13113.
33. See esp. Plutarch, *Romulus* 14.6-7; Dionysius, *Roman Antiquities* II.45.2; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* I.vi.16; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XIV.829-51. Livy (*Ab urbe condita* I.xi.2) calls Hersilia the wife of Romulus, without however identifying her as one of the Sabines.
34. See Servius on *Aeneid* 1.651; Livy, *Ab urbe condita* I.x.12; Ps. Aurelius Victor, *De viris illustribus* ii.2; and esp. Plutarch, *Romulus* 15; *Pompey* 4 and *Quaestiones Romanae* 31 (*Moralia*, 271F-272B).
35. See S. Erizzo, *Discorso...sopra le medaglie de gli antichi*, edn Venice [c. 1572], pp. 109-110; H. Goltzius, *Fasti magistratum*, Bruges, 1566 (*Goltzius, Opera*, 1645, I), pl. 1.
36. For Rubens's drawing after part of the frieze of the Palazzo Milesi in Rome see M. Jaffé, 'Rubens as a Collector of Drawings', *Master Drawings*, II, 4, 1964, pp. 383-397 and pl. 27; also L. Ravelli, *Polidoro da Caravaggio (Monumenta Bergomensia, XLVIII)*, Milan, 1978, p. 476, no. 985 and for the whole decoration, pp. 367-449; for Giambologna's relief see E. Dhanens, *Jean Boulogne*, Brussels, 1956, pp. 232-241, esp. pls. 124, 125.
37. For the dating see Merz, op. cit. in n. 23, pp. 96-98.
38. It is quite possible that Rubens was aware of Pietro's composition, supposedly entered into a *concorso* in Rome; early copies (one of which already was exhibited in S. Maria di Costantinopoli in 1631) indicate its fame. See Briganti, loc. cit. in n. 23.
39. The Sabine spectators were supposedly unarmed, which would explain the concealed weapon. X-rays indicate that this figure was originally shown facing forward, and with a drawn sword, threatening the man with the shield who is seen from behind, with weapons but no armour; see also the discussion of the preparatory sketch (No. 40a; Fig. 133). The man with the shield was, therefore, at one stage perhaps intended as a Roman, although in the final version he may rather be another Sabine (Hersilia's husband?) who has armed himself hastily. For his final version of the man on the platform, Rubens used the drawing made some twenty years earlier for the figure of Tarquin in his *Rape of Lucretia* (No. 44; Fig. 154), for which see No. 44a (Fig. 156). It can, I think, be ruled out that this group at the platform might show instead the fight for the bride of Talasius, with the man behind the seated woman, and possibly also the man below and seen from behind, representing the hired gang from whom Talasius's bride was extracted; in this case, apart from anything else, the (successful) soldier in armour would have his hand over that of the man with the dagger.
40. *Hollstein (Dutch and Flemish)*, XXI, 1980, p. 40, no. 147 and XXII, 1980, p. 38, fig. 147; Kavalier, op. cit., 1987, p. 247 and 245, fig. 2. The print is undated, but must predate 1629 (when Sadeler died), and was probably made in Rome where Sadeler and the publisher Pieter de Jode were working c. 1593 (see M. Schapelhouman in [Cat. Exh.] *Fiamminghi a Roma, 1508-1608*, Brussels, 1995, pp. 131-132, no. 50); Calvaert died in Bologna in 1619.
41. Poussin's later (c. 1637) painting in New York also shows Hersilia abandoning her baby (Costello, op. cit. in n. 23). Unlike Poussin and Calvaert, Rubens does not, however, show the child in distress, and seems to imply that she remained with her mother.
42. See Teysseïre, loc. cit., 1963, p. 252.

43. Ovid, *De arte amandi* I.121-130:
 'Nam timor unus erat; facies non una timoris.
 Pars laniant crines; pars sine mente sedet:
 Altera moesta silet; frustra vocat altera matrem;
 Haec queritur; stupet haec: haec manet; illa fugit.
 Ducuntur raptae genialis praeda puellae:
 Et potuit multas ipse decere pudor.
 Si qua repugnaret nimium, comitemque negaret;
 Sublatam cupido vir tulit ipse sinu.
 Atque ita, Quid teneros lachrimis corrumpis oculos?
 Quod matri pater est, hoc tibi, dixit, ero'.
 Following Renaissance editions of the text I have read 'pudor' rather than the modern 'timor' in I.126. There are other small textual variations in the comprehensive edition of 1601 which Rubens would have known, Ovid, *Opera*, Frankfurt, 1601, II, p. 313: 'sedet' for 'silet' in I.123, and 'manet' and 'fugit' transposed in I.124. However, these do not affect the general sense of the passage.
44. Significantly, both of these have at times been called portraits of Helene Fourment. Cf. below, n. 60.
45. 'On voit sur le visage du Cavalier, et l'attention à ce qu'il fait, et la crainte tout ensemble de blesser sa Dame'. See Teysse, loc. cit., 1963, p. 252.
46. Ovid, *De arte amandi* I.89-132, esp. 103-108. Servius too (on *Aeneid* VIII.636) comments on the poverty of Rome at the time of the rape of the Sabines.
47. As Jaffé pointed out (*Jaffé, Sketches*, I, 1969, pp. 439-440), the addition of this feature, not envisaged in the sketch, meant that Rubens had to alter several figures. See below, No. 40a.
48. For Ovid's frequent characterization elsewhere of the Sabine women as primitive and unadorned, in contrast to delicate contemporary ladies, see for example *Amores* I.viii.39; II.iv.15; *Medicamina faciei* 11-14.
49. On the derivation of Roman nuptial customs, including the carrying of the bride over the threshold, from the Rape of the Sabines see esp. Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae* 29 and 31 (*Moralia* 271D, 271F-272B); cf. A. Hotman, *De veteri ritu nuptiarum* [1599?] in *Graevius, Thesaurus*, 1694-99, VIII, col. 1127; also above n. 34.
50. See for example *Rosinus, Antiquitates*, 1663, pp. 443-457 (V.xxxvii), esp. pp. 446, 449; Ovid, *Opera*, edn Frankfurt, 1601, II, pp. 137-138; also B. Brisson, *De ritu nuptiarum* [1564] in *Graevius, Thesaurus*, 1694-99, VIII, col. 1032.
51. Vergil, *Opera*, Cologne, 1628, ed. J.L. de la Cerda, III, *ad loc.* Rubens bought this book on 14 January 1637 (*Rooses, Moretus*, 1883, p. 206), along with an edition of Servius's commentary published at Geneva in 1636. He would, however, have been aware of de la Cerda's commentary already, and probably owned the one-volume first edition (Lyons, 1612), which dealt only with the first six books of the *Aeneid*. It was admired in Rubens's circle; indeed his brother Philip had written a poem in its praise, published as a preface to the 1612 volume (and reprinted in the tribute to Philip Rubens which forms the supplement to his [posthumous] edition of St Asterius, *Homiliae*, Antwerp, 1615, pp. 109-110).
52. Both of these poems were published in the supplement to Asterius, *Homiliae*, Antwerp, 1615, pp. 119 and 116-118. The poem about Rubens is included in *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, II, pp. 20-22, doc. CXXII.
53. Such a possibility does not, I think, imply literal portraits, or that we should see this, or any other of Rubens's abduction scenes, as an 'allegory of marriage' in any strict sense (cf. Volume I, Chapter V, pp. 120-131, on the *Rape of the Leucippides*).
54. For Rubens's illustration of this episode from Boccaccio (*Decameron* XV.1) painted c. 1615-20 (*K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 133) see W. Prohaska in *Cat. Exh. Vienna*, 1977, pp. 79-81, no. 22.
55. For the relevance of this theme to 15th-century paintings see P. Holberton, 'Botticelli's *Primavera: che voleva s'intendesse*', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XLV, 1982, pp. 202-210, esp. p. 209.
56. See Kavalier, op. cit., 1987, pp. 250-252. See also Volume I, Chapter V (on the *Rape of the Leucippides*).
57. See Kavalier, op. cit., 1987, pp. 252, 256.
58. The woman's hand is shown more or less as it is now in the print by Martenasie of 1769 (Copy 12), though here the first perspective lines are not visible. I suspect that these were revealed in an overenthusiastic cleaning, perhaps that of 1833.
59. Cf. above, nn. 39, 15.
60. As Rooses and Martin have observed, she looks rather like Helene Fourment, and the earlier study seems to have been subtly altered with reference to her. See *Held, Drawings*, 1959, I, p. 140, no. 113; II, pl. 122; *Held, Drawings*, 1986, p. 136, no. 170, pl. 168; also, for the painting, *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 305.
61. Roberts, loc. cit., 1977.
62. For the earlier impact of Tintoretto's picture on Rubens see *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, 1977, p. 36.
63. *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 378.
64. See Warnke, loc. cit., 1977.
65. See 'Mémoire' of 1676, addressed to de Piles, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, II, 1883, p. 166.
66. Cf. above, n. 15.
67. Cf. below, under No. 40a. If de la Cerda's commentary on Vergil acquired in January 1637 (see above, at n. 51) had some influence on the final formulation of the subject, it might be tempting, in the absence of other specific evidence, to regard this date as a *terminus post quem*.
68. Held too follows Martin's dating.
69. See *Denucé, Konstkamers*, 1932, pp. 246-250; also *Martin, Cat. National Gallery*, 1970, p. 114, n. 41. In

1642 the dealer Herman de Neyt dedicated to him the engraving by Cornelis Galle II after Rubens's *Four Latin Doctors of the Church (Vlieghe, Saints, 1972-73, I, p. 82)*.

70. Here the best candidate—and I owe this suggestion to Arnout Balis—would seem to be Van Hamme's youngest sister, Anne, for it may have been c. 1634-35 that she married one Don Rodrigo de Mendoza, who had been an officer in the horse guard of the Infanta Isabella. (The suggested date of her marriage is inferred from marriage dates of her older siblings, and the fact that her daughter Catherine died in 1653 at the age of eighteen. See *Suite du supplément au nobiliaire des Pays-Bas et du Comté de Bourgogne. 1686-1762*, Mechelen, 1779, pp. 5ff.) Anne died in 1642; the painting might then have passed to Van Hamme.

40a. The Rape of the Sabines: Oil Sketch (Fig. 133; cf. Fig. 132)

Oil (in sepia/grisaille) on oak panel (cradled);
29 × 60 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: ? Mr Brown, Manchester, from whom bought in 1886 by Ralph Brocklebank, Haughton Hall, Tarporley, Cheshire;¹ ? his sale, London (Christie's), 7 July 1922, lot 113, bought by G.T. Veitch, Dudley, sale, London (Sotheby's), 7 December 1927, lot 75, repr. (as *Van Dyck*), bought by 'Stephens'; Antoon van Welie (The Hague), sale, Amsterdam (Mak van Waay), 7 April 1936, lot 69; sold by Frederik Rozendaal (London) to Louis Richter (Stockholm) in July 1938 (cleaned by restorer Hulme at this date); Swedish private collection (1947); sale, Lucerne (Fischer), 25-29 June 1957, lot 2640, pl. 36; in 1959 offered for sale from Sweden to Sotheby's, London; Dr G. Nordbäck, Stockholm (1964); private collection, Paris (1969); sale, London (Sotheby's), 13 July 1977, lot 84, repr.; private collection, Sweden; sale, Zürich (Galerie Koller), 29 November 1978, lot 517, pl. 22; art market 1992.

COPY: Painting (Fig. 135), with the number 59 inscribed lower right, attributed to 'circle of Abraham van Diepenbeek'; panel, 32 × 59.5

cm. PROV. Sale, London (Sotheby's), 13 April 1983, lot 25, repr.²

EXHIBITED: Exhibition of dealer Hörhammer, Helsinki (Helsingfors), 1939, no. 29, repr. (as *Rubens*); *Rubens i Sverige*, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, October 1977-January 1978, no. 6 (as *Rubens, sketch for No. 40, c. 1635*).

LITERATURE: *Jaffé, Sketches, I*, 1969, pp. 439-440 and p. 437, fig. 22; *Martin, Cat. National Gallery, 1970*, under no. 38, pp. 110, 112 (under *Sketches*) and 113, n. 5; M. Jaffé, 'Exhibitions for the Rubens Year—II', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXX, 1978, p. 143; *Held, Sketches, 1980, I*, pp. 381, 383, and 630-631, no. A13; *Meesters der Schilderkunst, 1980, II*, pp. 158, 159 no. 983 (as *sketch for No. 40*); F. Baudouin, 'De Herkomst van twee olieverfschetsen van Rubens in het Osterriethhuis te Antwerpen', *Liber Amicorum Herman Liebaers*, Brussels, 1984, p. 376 (as *bozzetto for No. 40*); *Jaffé, Rubens, 1989*, p. 344, no. 1180, repr. p. 345.

Like Jaffé and Martin, Burchard seems to have considered this a sketch for the picture in the National Gallery (No. 40; Fig. 127), and he compared it to the Johnson Collection sketch (No. 43a; Fig. 148), whose dimensions are similar. He appears to have thought of these sketches as pendants; however, the National Gallery painting (No. 40; Fig. 127) was surely not paired with a companion *Reconciliation*, as Baudouin has emphasized.³ Held, however, rejected the sketch as a work of Rubens, and doubted if it even reproduced a lost Rubensian composition; he proposed that the similarities with other versions of the subject undoubtedly by Rubens might be better accounted for by attributing this sketch to an imitator. Certainly there are puzzling features about the sketch and its condition, which make any assessment, even of its compositional relationship to the National Gallery picture, unusually difficult. An old photograph (Fig. 132), taken by Cooper, apparently before a 'restoration' in 1938,⁴ indicates striking dif-

ferences with the present panel as reproduced by Jaffé and Held. It appears that it has not only been touched up, but had figures changed and added. Furthermore, the old photograph also seems to show the panel with modern overpainting, the removal of which would have encouraged the new additions. A copy of the composition (Fig. 135), almost identical in dimensions, can perhaps help in the reconstruction of the panel's original state.

The area which the photographs would suggest has most obviously changed is the horizontal strip from just a few centimetres from the top to the line or crack about one third of the way down which runs through the elbow of the climbing man on the right to the top of the head of the girl jumping down from the dais on the left. The old photo (Fig. 132) suggests that the figures here were only sketchily adumbrated. This impression may be misleading; the upper part may have been obscured by varnish, for the disposition of the figures as restored more or less corresponds to that seen in the copy (Fig. 135), which presumably was not available as a guide to the restorer. On the other hand, a quite considerable amount of reworking and repainting evidently took place, with reference to the National Gallery picture (No. 40; Fig. 127), for which it must have been seen as a preparation; most obviously, the child next to Hersilia in that painting (and not present in the copy of the sketch) was duly included. If in the pre-1938 state of the panel there were notable infelicities which probably resulted from earlier restorations—with feebly drawn passages (for example the knee of Romulus) and unconvincing details (for example the outsize helmet of the horseman bending down to lift the Sabine in the right foreground, or the gesture of Romulus)—its restored state was no improvement, and effectively annihilated what remained of the work's original features. Of the figures on the platform, the group around the woman with the child is particularly inelegant; individual figures are podgy

and shapeless, and the gesture of the man drawing his sword cramped and ineloquent. In making his additions, the restorer evidently went over the whole picture with a uniform touch, outlining figures, and sometimes altering their expressions and character (see in particular the man lying on the ground below the dais, and the surrounding area, with the foot of the kneeling mother, where the redrawing is so radical that we must assume that this corner was entirely erased in restoration, perhaps because it was already a modern repaint). All of this explains why the sketching seemed to Held so un-Rubensian in technique.

The question as to the original stylistic character of the panel is now perhaps impossible to determine, even with the help of old photographs and the painted copy. Whatever allowance is made for damage and repainting, it is hard entirely to discount the impression of timidity and weak draughtmanship which characterizes the sketch. Still, at least the panel must record a stage in Rubens's preparation for the National Gallery picture, rather than being simply the work of a later follower. True, there are peculiarities in composition, such as the young woman stiffly toppling backwards, hands outstretched, a figure which has no parallel in Rubens's many inventions on the subject of abduction.⁵ But a couple of analogies with the preliminary composition revealed in X-rays of the London painting—for example in the pose of the Sabine man behind 'Hersilia'⁶—suggest that this is indeed a preparatory design. It may well be significant too, as Jaffé points out, that the two figures of Sabine women on the dais which were taken from existing study drawings (the peeping one, and that looking down near her) are not present in the composition recorded in the sketch.⁷ Other features support the idea that this is a study for, rather than after, the London painting: the fact that the women are not yet in fancy modern clothes, and the circumstance that the architecture and rug on the dais are not yet in-

cluded (though there is already a suggestion of the awning above). Nor is there any hint of the central foreground group, whose inclusion in the National Gallery picture meant that the arrangement of the groups on this plane was different.

If, then, this sketch (Fig. 133) is accepted as a record of Rubens's preliminary composition, the changes in the final version can be seen to point to the new, 'Ovidian' meaning of that picture. The sketch presents a scene of more violence, without any of the gentler overtones (the role of the central foreground group in this respect is indicated by Jaffé); and it is significant that one man has in fact been killed in the fight.

Martin drew attention to the parallel in technique with the sketch of the *Bearing of the Cross* in Copenhagen, which is also essentially a drawing,⁸ and Burchard noted a similarity with the monochrome sketch in Brussels for the altarpiece of St Lievin,⁹ which would imply a dating of c. 1635 or just before. This is the date assigned to No. 40a by Jaffé in his recent book. Certainly it must be much later than 'during or shortly after the stay in Italy', as is proposed in the Lucerne catalogue of 1957. But it need not be connected directly with the London painting (No. 40), and therefore dated to the mid 1630s. Possibly it was an earlier design which was taken up for the National Gallery picture and quite transformed in the process.

1. R. Radcliffe Carter, *Pictures and Engravings at Haughton Hall, Tarpорley, in the possession of Ralph Brocklebank*, London, 1904, no. 24 (as *Van Dyck*).
2. *Steadman, Van Diepenbeek*, 1982, p. 169, n. 4, refers to a drawing of this subject, supposedly signed 'DePinbeck 1625' in a German private collection (1972).
3. Baudouin, loc. cit., 1984.
4. The notes in the Rubenianum indicate that it was restored by Hulme at this date when 'dark varnishes' were removed; also that Burchard was subsequently unhappy about the treatment that had been given to the painting, and even came to wonder about Rubens's authorship.
5. The figure who holds her back by the leg and ought to be her mother looks peculiarly unfeminine, but this might be the effect of overpaint-

ing. Interestingly, though, there is a reflection here of the pose of one of the abducted women in an ancient sarcophagus depicting the Rape of the Leucippides which was known in the Renaissance (and usually called the Rape of the Sabines); see *Bober—Rubinstein, Handbook*, 1986, pp. 161-162, no. 126; also Volume I, Chapter V, at n. 56.

6. See under No. 40, at n. 39.
7. For these drawings see above, under No. 40.
8. For a discussion of this, and the suggestion that it was the preparation for a small painting, rather than a sketch, see *Held, Sketches*, 1980, I, pp. 478-479, no. 348; II, pl. 342. Held, however, considers the Copenhagen sketch vastly superior to the present work.
9. *Vlieghe, Saints*, 1972-73, II, no. 127a and fig. 76; *Held, Sketches*, 1980, I, pp. 573-574, no. 416; II, pl. 405.

41. The Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines (Fig. 138)

Oil on canvas; 252 × 337.5 cm. (including the later additions; initial size c. 212.5 × 284.5 cm.; this was expanded, almost certainly after Rubens's lifetime,¹ at the top by some 20 cm., at the bottom by 5.5 cm., to the right by c. 21 cm. and to the left by 6.5 cm. (cf. Copy 1; Fig. 136); subsequently, before 1794, it was extended to the right by another 10 cm. (see Copy 2); then at the top by 16 cm. and at the left by 19 cm. or so (see Copy 3).

Munich, *Alte Pinakothek*. Inv. no. 350.

PROVENANCE: ? Antwerp, Jan van Meurs (inv. 1652: 'eene groote schilderye...door... Rubens, wesende een Batalie tusschen de Romeynen ende Sabinen daer de vrouwen den peys maecken';² his sale, Antwerp, 27 May 1652 *et seq.* (described as 'aussi grand que le naturel'); ? Amalia van Solms, Princess of Orange (d. 1675), in the Oude Hoff in 't Noorteynde (inv. 1673: 'een heel groot stuck schilderije zijnde de historie van de Sabijnse maeghden, door Rubbens');³ ? Elector Johann-Wilhelm (*reg.* 1698-1716), Electoral Gallery, Düsseldorf (first recorded in 1719), transferred to Mannheim Gallery, probably in 1758;⁴ in 1799 transferred to the Hofgarten-

galerie, Munich; since 1836 in the Alte Pinakothek.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 136), showing the composition with the first additions, probably 18th-century, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 119 × 155 cm. PROV. London, art market, 1913; dealer Frank T. Sabin, London (1922); sale, London (Christie's), 11 March 1955, lot 126, bought by dealers D.M. Cevat and Mortimer Brant (London and New York). LIT. A.L. Mayer, 'Zum malerischen Werk des Rubens', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, XXXIII, 1922, pp. 117-118 and fig. 4 (as *Rubens, sketch for No. 41*); K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921, p. 460 (as *Rubens*); A.L. Mayer, 'Two Paintings by Rubens', *The Burlington Magazine*, XLVI, 1925, p. 260 and pl. II (as *Rubens*);⁵ Held, *Sketches*, 1980, I, p. 381 (questioning the attribution to Rubens).

(2) Engraving by H. Sintzenich, 1794 (3 states), showing the painting with further addition to the right, and soldiers' heads painted in. LIT. *Smith, Catalogue, 1829-42*, II, p. 61, no. 171; V.S., p. 139, no. 32.

(3) Lithograph by F. Piloty (1786-1844), when in the collection of the King of Bavaria, showing the picture in its present state, with the third set of additions. LIT. *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, under no. 805bis, pl. 255.

LITERATURE: G.J. Karsch, *Désignation exacte des peintures dans la galerie de la résidence à Düsseldorf*, Düsseldorf [1719], no. 189 (as 4'1" × 4'7" [c. 128 × 144 cm.]; in the third, Rubens room);⁶ J. van Gool, *De nieuwe Schouburg der Nederlantsche kunstschilders...*, The Hague, 1750-51, III, p. 545, no. 4 (same measurements); [Carl Theodor], *Catalogue des Tableaux qui se trouvent dans les Galleries du Palais de S.A. S.E. Palatine à Dusseldorf*, Mannheim, [1760], p. 17, no. 8 (as 6'8" × 8'9" [c. 216.6 × 284.2 if reckoned as *pieds de France*]); Michel, *Histoire*, 1771, p. 247, no. 8 (with same measurements, calling them '*pieds de France*'); C. von Mannlich, *Beschreibung der Churpfalzbaierischen Gemälde-Sammlungen zu München*, Munich, 1805, II, p. 262, no. 1074; G. von Dillis, *Verzeichniss der*

Gemälde in der königlichen Pinakothek zu München, Munich, 1838, no. 255 (4th [Rubens] room; 7'9" × 10'6" [c. 243 × 330 cm.]); *Smith, Catalogue, 1829-42*, II, p. 61, no. 171 and IX, p. 263, no. 79 (as *school piece*); R. Marggraff, *Verzeichnis der Gemälde in der älteren königlichen Pinakothek zu München*, Munich, 1865, p. 52, no. 249; *Katalog der Gemälde-Sammlung der königlichen älteren Pinakothek zu München*, Munich, 1884, p. 153, no. 753; *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, p. 21, no. 805bis and V, p. 344 (as c. 1615); *Cat. Alte Pinakothek, Munich, 1901*, p. 169, no. 753; K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg, 1906, p. 165, also p. 474 (as *school piece, retouched, c. 1618-20*); [H. von Tschudi] *Katalog der königlichen Älteren Pinakothek*, edn Munich, 1911, p. 137, no. 753 (as *school piece retouched by Rubens, c. 1618-20*); *Katalog der Älteren Pinakothek zu München*, Munich, 1920, p. 130, no. 350; K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921, p. 149, also p. 460 (as *studio, c. 1617-19*); *Katalog. Ältere Pinakothek, München*, Munich, 1936, p. 221, no. 350 (p. 232, no. 350 in English edn, Munich 1938); *Cat. Munich, 1958*, p. 87, no. 350; *Baudouin, Rubens, 1972*, pp. 252-253, fig. 129; F. Baudouin, 'Two Oil Sketches by Rubens', *The Connoisseur*, CXCIV, 1977, pp. 261-265, fig. 3; Held, *Sketches, 1980*, I, p. 381 (as *late 1610s*); U. Krempel in [Cat.] *Alte Pinakothek München*, Munich 1983, p. 461, no. 350, repr.; *Jaffé, Rubens, 1989*, p. 344, under no. 1171.

Ancient historians relate how, some time after the abduction of the Sabine women, the men of that tribe waged war against the Romans, in belated retaliation. Meanwhile, however, the wives had been reconciled to their fate and many had borne children to their Roman husbands. The women therefore, after consulting together, intervened between the warring armies and begged their fathers and husbands not to fight one another. Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Appian describe an expedition to the Sabine camp, but Livy has them thrust themselves bravely into the midst of the battle, with loosened hair and garments rent in mourning, while Plutarch adds that they

rushed through the battlefield, over dead bodies and between drawn swords, some carrying their babies.⁷ Earlier Renaissance representations of the subject usually relate either to Livy or to Plutarch. Thus Vasari's composition in the Palazzo Vecchio (*text ill.* 13), executed by Stradanus, and the latter's own design for the engraving published by Theodoor Galle (Fig. 137), derive from Livy, and show a line of women interposed between the armies,⁸ while the Carracci painting in the Palazzo Magnani, Bologna, part of a Romulus cycle, preferred Plutarch, and created a vivid image of women with streaming hair, bared breasts and babies in the midst of battle.⁹ Rubens, however, drew inspiration not only from the different historians, but, in particular, from Ovid's account in the *Fasti*, for Ovid makes a special point of the babies.¹⁰ Ovid recounts how the two armies were still aligned for battle, on the point of closing up, when the women invaded the field, throwing themselves on their knees before the Sabines and holding aloft the infants for their grandfathers to see—for the first time—and to hear their touching, if not entirely spontaneous, cries.¹¹ The soldiers immediately responded and the two leaders joined hands in peace, commending the brave women. For Ovid, Romulus's wife was the instigator of the idea, the women having gathered together previously in the temple of Juno to make their plan.¹² This would of course be especially appropriate since she, the only married woman captured by the Romans, should have most felt a divided loyalty, whether or not her original Sabine husband is to be understood as already killed in battle.¹³ For this was, as Ovid says, the first war which set father-in-law against son-in-law.

In the Munich painting the well-dressed, statuesque woman at the centre has generally been called Hersilia (from Dillis at least) and certainly, isolated as she is between the warring men, she is the Sabine most forcefully expressive of the internal conflict of feeling which led the women to put aside their natu-

ral timidity and invade the battlefield. And whereas the others are pleading with individual men and using every effort to restrain their bellicosity, she alone seems to make a general appeal. Poised between the armies she holds her satin dress plumped over her stomach in a gesture which suggests pregnancy, indicating what for Rubens, as for Ovid, was the women's most powerful argument. However, the woman addressing herself directly to Romulus and catching the reins of his horse is surely the obvious candidate for his wife. Certainly in Rubens's other versions of the subject the corresponding figure is clearly identifiable by a diadem (see Figs. 142, 140, 148).¹⁴ Perhaps the central figure is to be imagined as the beautiful bride of Talasius, who was particularly happy in her marriage.¹⁵ At any rate, both of these are similarly represented as noblewomen, and conduct themselves with appropriate dignity and grace; for the lower-class women, with plainer dresses and hair-styles, persuasion is more physical and unrestrained. Class distinctions allowed for variety in type and gesture and were appreciated by contemporaries, to judge from Roger de Piles's discussion of the National Gallery *Rape of the Sabines*.¹⁶ To achieve a more elegant pictorial effect, Rubens took liberties with ancient costume, ignoring too what ancient writers say about the torn garments of mourning.

The picture has been extended, apparently on three occasions. The extent of the original canvas can be perceived in the horizontal line just over Romulus's and Tatius's heads and in two vertical lines: one through the head of the woman on the left, whose hand and toes only would have featured, and the other just including the right hand and sword hilt of the soldier to the right. The first additions are recorded in a picture which was thought by Mayer to be a sketch for the painting, but is certainly a copy (Copy 1; Fig. 136). Here the helmeted heads of the soldiers to the right are not yet present. These evidently materialized when another addition was made to the right

of Rubens's canvas sometime before 1794, when the engraving by Sintzenich (Copy 2) was published. A further addition to the top and left of the picture, already recorded in the print by Piloty (Copy 3) effected the present state of the picture. The painters who made the additions—and presumably reworked some original figures in the process, especially at the edges—can therefore be held responsible for such features as the monotonous row of heads and spears in the upper left, the awkward angle of the body and flat foot of the woman at the left (whose face was surely repainted) and the very badly articulated hind-quarters of the horse of Tatius.

The relationship of the composition to the sketch in Antwerp (No. 43c; Fig. 140), and to the sketch in Philadelphia (No. 43a; Fig. 148) is rather confusing. It is usually assumed that the Munich picture came first, and dates from the 1620s or earlier.¹⁷ However, Krempel dated it 1630-35, thus associating it more closely with the sketches. Since the execution does not seem to suggest much of Rubens's hand, and some features can only be attributed to the studio—notably the Raphaelesque posture of the woman kneeling in front (or rather slithering unconvincingly between foreground and middleground), and the fixed expressions of the foremost soldiers, crudely exaggerated even as representations of the male *animus* which Ovid describes—it might perhaps be doubted if Rubens himself even designed the composition.¹⁸ Jaffé has recently suggested that it is simply a workshop reduction, based on the composition of No. 43.¹⁹ This idea might seem to be supported by the fact that in the composition designed for Philip IV in 1639, and the related sketches (Nos. 43, 43a, 43c) the central 'pregnant' woman has her eyes more directed at the leader of the Sabines, and the role of the women in coming out from the Roman side to confront the opposing army is much clearer.

However, even as a product of Rubens's workshop alone, the Munich picture can hardly date from the end of the painter's life,

which it must do, if it derives from No. 43. More probably it is earlier and designed by Rubens himself. The very recent laboratory examination and cleaning of the painting in the Alte Pinakothek even indicates that Rubens's intervention should be posited in a few places, for example the head of Romulus's horse.²⁰ If it was the painting which was the principal feature of Jan van Meurs's collection in 1652—and there is no other extant candidate—it seems significant that this item had a high valuation and was ascribed to Rubens himself; van Meurs's picture is unlikely to have been a studio reduction, even if it was partly executed by assistants. It can be added too that the bad impression the Munich composition makes is partly the effect of the later additions.

In fact some of the features of the composition recall the representation on an ancient coin which perhaps served Rubens as a visual source. Here three women, one with a child and another holding up a baby, are rushing into the narrow space between the two groups of soldiers, disposed (although none are horsemen) in a rather similar way.²¹ Rubens elsewhere seems to have found ideas for figural groups as well as iconographic motifs in ancient coins, particularly in connection with stories of Romulus (see under Nos. 30-32).

There is a certain relationship between this composition and some of the tapestries from Burchard's Romulus cycle discussed above.²² But the present composition was almost certainly planned as an independent picture. In fact a scene with the women reconciling the warring troops was not normally included in Renaissance cycles about Romulus or the early history of Rome; the Carracci series in Bologna is an exception. No doubt the fact that it is not listed by Vergil among the scenes on the shield of Aeneas is relevant to this.²³ In any case such cycles are usually concerned with stories of named male warriors, rather than (mostly) nameless pacific women. It was as an *exemplum* and model for women, and most frequently in a domestic setting, that the

subject of the *Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines* had generally appeared in Renaissance art. Vasari's picture (*text ill.* 13) was among other stories of virtuous females decorating the apartments of Eleanora of Toledo in the Palazzo Vecchio,²⁴ while the most usual context for the subject was on *cassoni* where it was paired with the Rape, again with exemplary intention, presumably relating primarily to the roles of the sexes in marriage. Rubens probably knew something of this tradition. But his version of the subject not only shows no particular compositional relationship; it seems to broaden the scope of the subject altogether and present it as a heroic story of general interest, with moral lessons for either sex.²⁵

1. As Konrad Renger has kindly informed me, the latest technical analysis conducted in the Alte Pinakothek early in 1996 indicates that even the first addition was not made by Rubens. The cusping visible on all sides of the central core makes it evident that the additions were made many years after the original part was completed.
2. E. Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw* (*Fontes Historiae Artis Neerlandicae*, I), VI, Brussels, 1992, pp. 266, 296; cf. Denucé, *Konstkamers*, 1932, p. 133. Rooses mentions this reference, mistakenly identifying it with a Rape of the Sabines: *Rooses, Addenda*, 1910, p. 308.
3. Drossaers—Scheurler, *Inventarissen*, 1974-76, I, p. 321, no. 798.
4. It is recorded there in the catalogue of 1760: loc. cit. in bibliography.
5. Mayer wrongly suggested that this work was the sketch once in the Ashburton collection; this latter was in fact No. 43c.
6. The measurements given here must be wrong. They certainly do not correspond to any state of the picture.
7. Dionysius, *Roman Antiquities* II.45-46; Appian, *Roman History* I.v; Livy, *Ab urbe condita* I.xiii; Plutarch, *Romulus* 19.
8. For the painting see Volume I, Chapter I, at n. 57. The print, part of a series of exemplary Roman women, is in *Hollstein (Dutch and Flemish)*, VII, [n.d.], p. 86, nos. 390-395. In neither case do the women have loosened hair, though there are a few indications of rent garments. Stradanus's women (Fig. 137) are wandering around in a fairly open space, some falling to their knees in prayer, whereas Vasari's (*text ill.* 13) are crammed between the fighting soldiers and appear more agitated.
9. See *Emiliani, Storie di Romolo*, 1989, pp. 182-183,

pls. XI, XLVIII and fig. 9, p. 163, attributing the fresco to Agostino. The painting has the motto *Dissidia cognatorum pessima*: 'Nothing is worse than conflict among close relatives'. A related drawing which shows another woman on the right is in Chatsworth: inv. 661A; Courtauld Institute Photographic Survey, no. 432. A more literal illustration of Plutarch's reference to the women stepping over dead bodies is G.B. Fontana's print (*Bartsch*, XVI, 1870, p. 227, no. 45; *The Illustrated Bartsch*, XXXII, ed. H. Zerner, New York, 1979, p. 362, repr.) from his Roman history series; this has no babies.

10. Rubens would also have noted that Dionysius of Halicarnassus says that babies were brought by some women to the Sabine camp (*Roman Antiquities* II.45.5; cf. Appian, loc. cit. in n. 7).
11. Ovid, *Fasti* III.200-232. The text is quoted under No. 43, since that composition is even more dependent on Ovid.
12. At this point Ovid (*Fasti* III.205) does not specify the wife as Hersilia, but he elsewhere identifies her as such (*Metamorphoses* XIV.829ff.), and Dionysius of Halicarnassus makes Hersilia (whom he does not name as Romulus's wife) the ringleader in his account (*Roman Antiquities* II.45.2). Renaissance commentators always understand her both as Romulus's wife and as the leader of the women, and this is reflected too, for example, in the inscription to the print after Stradanus (Fig. 137).
13. See Plutarch, *Romulus* 18.4-5. He is named as Hostilius and said to have been grandfather to the later Roman king.
14. In view of the uniformity of Renaissance opinion about the identity of Hersilia with Romulus's wife (cf. above, n. 12), it seems unlikely that Rubens intended to distinguish them as two separate characters.
15. For this story see above, under No. 40.
16. See above, No. 40.
17. Held puts it in the later part of the decade; Baudouin is unspecific, but says it is 'much earlier' than the Antwerp sketch (No. 43c; Fig. 140); Oldenbourg dated it c. 1617-19.
18. Most critics have been uncomplimentary about the quality of its execution, assigning it largely to the studio, and Rooses pronounced the composition rather poor. Smith thought it 'far from being a fine work by Rubens...'. But see text at n. 20. The 'beautiful study' for the picture mentioned by Smith, in which a baby was included, was evidently not a sketch for No. 41 but the panel now in Antwerp, No. 43c (Fig. 140).
19. *Jaffé, Rubens*, 1989, p. 344.
20. I thank Konrad Renger for this information. For the results of this examination see also above, n. 1.
21. This coin of Faustina the Elder is published only

- in Montfaucon's Supplement (*Montfaucon, Supplément*, 1724, IV, p. 406 and pl. 86, 2) without giving details about it.
22. See discussion on the tapestry cycles, pp. 129-134, Series IIa, no. 3 (Fig. 108); Series Va, no. 2; Series VI, no. 5; also Series C, no. 3, Series D, no. 1 and cf. Series IVa, no. 9.
23. *Aeneid* VIII.637-641 mentions the battle and the truce between the two kings, but not the women.
24. See Volume I, Chapter I, pp. 41-42, 90. It appears too, for instance, in the Sala delle Aquile of the Palazzo dei Conservatori along with the stories of Tuccia and Cloelia attributed to Cristofano Gherardi: see *de Jong, Oudheid*, 1987, p. 271, cat. 6. Stradanus's print (Fig. 137) forms part of a series of exemplary women, related to the scenes in the Palazzo Vecchio: see Volume I, Chapter I, at nn. 56-58.
25. See also below, No. 43.

Two Pendants: 'The Rape of the Sabines' and 'The Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines'
(Nos. 42 and 43)

These companion paintings, now lost, were ordered by Philip IV in 1639 for the *salón nuevo* in the Alcázar, Madrid. Together with a *Perseus and Andromeda* and a *Hercules and Antaeus*, still extant, they constituted what seems to have been the seventh and last commission given to Rubens by Philip IV.¹ As we know from the letters to the King from the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand, who was organizing the business of Philip's paintings from the Netherlands, four *Pinturas grandes* had been ordered together by the late summer of 1639.²

The first (certain) reference to them is in a letter of 25 September, in which Rubens was said to be working on the four pictures *con grande animo*, but needed more time than had been proposed.³ Throughout the autumn and winter Rubens was described as proceeding well with all the paintings for Philip—that is the large commission for the *bóveda de palacio* as well as the four (later distinguished in the correspondence as 'las Pinturas grandes')—and Ferdinand could report that he looked forward to their being splendid

(*famosas*).⁴ But the new year saw Rubens attacked by gout—which only made Ferdinand increase pressure on him. A passport was ordered for them ('las grandes') by 10 January, since their size meant that they had to be sent specially and could not go in the ordinary *correo* like most of the (smaller) paintings for the *bóveda*.⁵ A week later the Cardinal-Infante sent a note from Rubens detailing the state of all the paintings, and reported that everything possible was being done to hurry him up.⁶ Nevertheless, a few weeks later Rubens's hands had been crippled, and remained so throughout March and April; the pity of this was (as Ferdinand reported) that, with little hope of a cure, despite Rubens's attempts, the three [of the four large] paintings under way might be abandoned.⁷ Still, things looked better by May: Rubens had recovered and had undertaken to have all the pictures for the palace (both the four large ones and ten smaller ones from the previous commission) ready by Christmas; Ferdinand would try to move the date forward since the work on the new room was all done and the pictures for it were much needed.⁸ But Rubens died on 30 May 1640, leaving the four pictures incomplete.

On 10 June the Cardinal-Infante brusquely reported the painter's demise, which left (for him) the problem of the four paintings. Of the two big ones [i.e. the Sabine subjects] one was virtually complete, but the other was only sketched out ('bosquejada'); the two smaller pictures [i.e. the mythological pair] were fairly advanced ('muy adelante'); did the King therefore want them as they were, or should they be finished by another artist? There were only two painters, he thought, to whom one might turn. One was Rubens's principal pupil ('su primer oficial'), who had worked on most of his master's projects; but he doubted the ability of this artist to work well without Rubens's guidance. The other possibility was Gaspar de Crayer, a master of great reputation, and particularly in large figures; he had done Ferdinand's own portrait sent to Philip

the previous year, but he had been 'no great friend of Rubens', which was why he had not been involved in the Torre de la Parada project, so Ferdinand didn't know if there was anything by him in Spain from which Philip could judge his suitability; in any case he (Ferdinand) would wait to hear what Philip thought, in case he made a mistake.⁹ But then on 30 September Ferdinand wrote that he had heard that Van Dyck was due back in Antwerp from London for the feast of St Luke on 18 October, so he had shelved any other plan till he could ask this master if he would be willing to take over the project: he would certainly be the ideal candidate, being both a great painter and Rubens's disciple, but he was capricious and difficult ('tiene humor').¹⁰

From the subsequent correspondence it is evident that Van Dyck indeed had a mind of his own; on 10 November the Cardinal-Infante reported that work was going on with great speed ('con gran priesa') on the three paintings that had been most advanced and they would soon be finished, but that despite all pleas, the impossible Van Dyck—he calls him 'a raving madman' ('loco rematado')—had not been prepared to take on either these or the fourth painting, the one only sketched by Rubens; he had, however, agreed to paint a picture to his own design of the same subject and the same dimensions as this latter, indeed he was very pleased about this and had returned to London to organize a move back to Antwerp; whether the artist would stick to this plan, Ferdinand was unsure, since he had no sense at all ('no tiene juicio ninguno').¹¹ The Cardinal-Infante's misgivings seem to have been justified. Even if Van Dyck may have taken the commission seriously,¹² this substitute work never materialized, and it is not mentioned again in the correspondence, in which the painting only begun by Rubens continues to feature. At any rate, we next hear of the four pictures on 2 February 1641, when Ferdinand wrote that they were ready in his rooms (in Brussels), waiting for the passport—all, that is, except

one of the large ones, but the painter who was working on it was hurrying along and had said he would finish it within a month.¹³ The three finished pictures finally left on 10 March,¹⁴ and were evidently received with satisfaction; the fourth was still in progress on 2 June, when Ferdinand complained of the terrible 'dilatatoriness of these workers' ('flemadestos oficiales') which, he had remarked before, was worse than that of Velázquez.¹⁵ At this point, Rubens's heirs were finally paid; as Rooses first noted, the four paintings were bought for the King from Rubens's effects on 24 June 1641 through Philippe le Roy. It is from this document too that we learn their subjects: three—presumably the completed ones which had already been sent—are named as 'the Peace of the Sabines', 'a piece of Andromeda' and 'a Hercules'; the fourth is unnamed, but was evidently the *Rape of the Sabines*.¹⁶ We can thus conclude that this latter picture, rather than the *Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines* was the one which had only been 'dead-coloured' or laid in by Rubens.¹⁷ On 20 July 1641 Ferdinand could report that the last painting [i.e. the *Rape of the Sabines*] was now far advanced, although it would not be ready, despite his pressure, until the end of August; he hoped that it would be good since it was being made by a 'new' painter hoping to make his name 'all the more so for having to be next to those [paintings] of Rubens'.¹⁸ Presumably this refers to his being new to Spain, and to the fact that his picture would hang beside the Rubenses in the *salón nuevo*, since the painter was no novice, but the very mature Gaspar de Crayer (b. 1582), Ferdinand's first suggestion. For in 1642, by the orders of the then deceased Cardinal-Infante,¹⁹ this artist was paid 1440 livres for the painting of the *Rape of the Sabines* executed for Ferdinand.²⁰ Probably it was by this time delivered to Spain, or at least ready to be sent. How it compared to the paintings by Rubens himself we cannot now know, though it is hard to believe that it eclipsed any of its companions in the *salón nuevo*. Still, de Crayer

may have done something towards attaining a reputation in Spain, since from 1643 we find a trickle of Spanish (or at least Hispano-Netherlandish) commissions coming to the artist.²¹

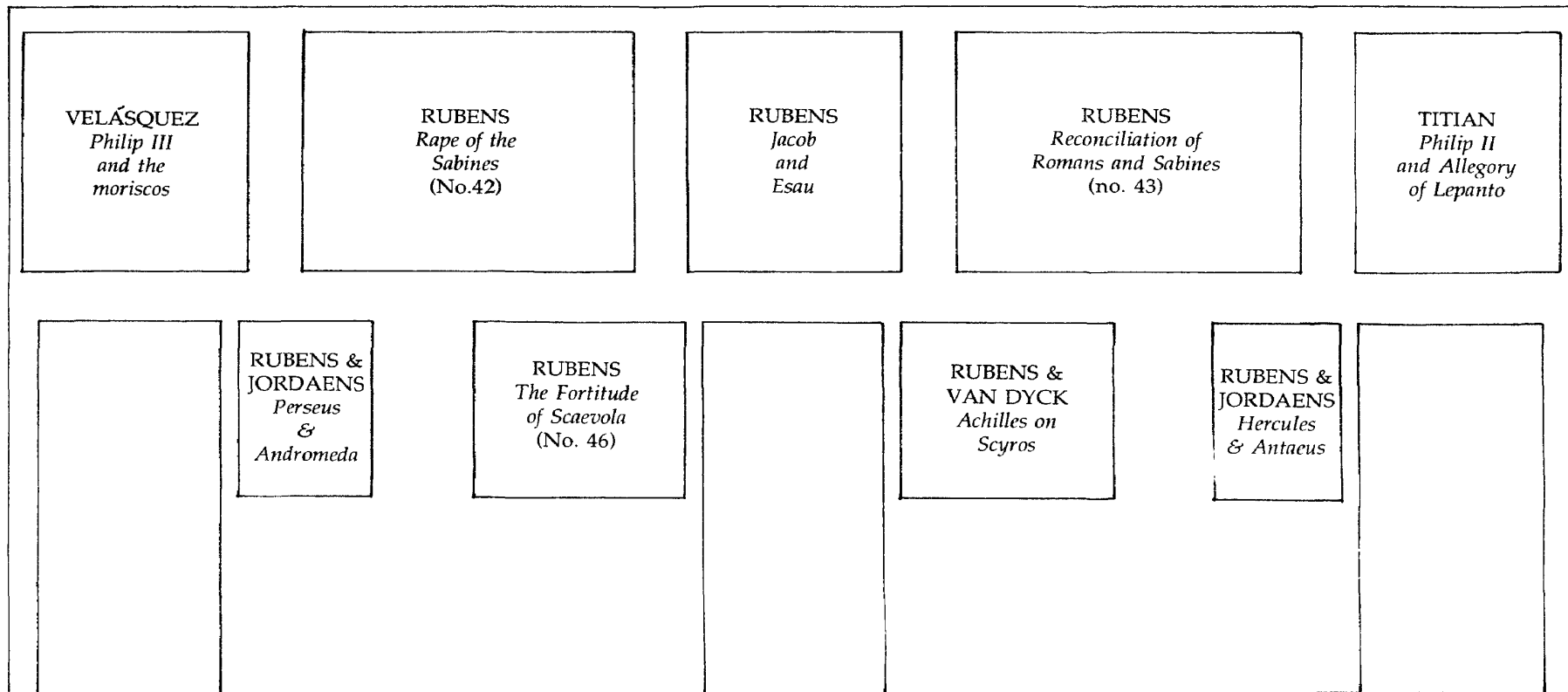
As for the *Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines* which had been sent in 1641, no record of the painter who completed it has yet come to light. A document in the Antwerp archives, already known to Rooses, records that it was Jordaens who finished the pair of mythological paintings; he was paid 240 guilders by Rubens's heirs for his work, a relatively low sum compared to that paid to de Crayer.²² To judge from the appearance of the finished paintings, the bulk of Jordaens's work was on the *Hercules and Antaeus* rather than the *Andromeda*, which must have been nearly ready. The *Reconciliation* may well have been in a similar state, and might therefore simply have been finished in Rubens's studio. At any rate it looks as if neither Jordaens nor de Crayer was involved. Perhaps it was the artist whom Ferdinand had mentioned before as the principal assistant in Rubens's studio who completed it.

In 1686 the *Rape and Reconciliation of the Sabines* were hanging in the *salón de los espejos* (as the *salón nuevo* was renamed after the installation of its famous mirrors in the 1640s), evidently as pendants.²³ They remained there until the fire in 1734.²⁴ The *Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines* may have then perished, though it is not recorded as having been lost;²⁵ the *Rape of the Sabines* at least was rescued, but probably suffered damage in the escape; at any rate it was subsequently considered both 'feeble' and something of a wreck, and it disappears from the records, perhaps after having been cut down, after 1794.²⁶

However, a record of the appearance of the two lost paintings does, I believe, survive. Two pictures from the Prado on loan since 1877 to the University of Barcelona but only recently published (Figs. 141 and 142) are certainly copies of Rubens's compositions for the *salón nuevo*.²⁷ Another copy of the *Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines* is preserved in a

painting sold at Christie's in 1944 (Fig. 147).²⁸ The designs are evidently based on the sketches now in Antwerp (Nos. 42b, 43c; Figs. 139, 140) which are usually thought to have been done in connection with Philip's pictures; but they include some compositional changes in the main figure groups, are expanded at the top, and add allegorical figures in the sky. As we shall see, all these features are consistent with the evidence about the commission and with the development of Rubens's ideas for it.

In the 1686 Alcázar inventory, the first in which the pictures are mentioned (since the 1666 inventory did not cover the *salón de los espejos*), Rubens's *Rape and Reconciliation of the Sabines* are recorded as being of the same size, and $5 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ varas.²⁹ From their height, and their place in the inventory, it is obvious that they were hanging on the upper level on the main wall of the room; we know from earlier inventories and other evidence, such as Carducho's description of 1633, that except for the portraits of *Charles V* (by Titian) and *Philip IV* (by Rubens) all the pictures recorded as 5 varas high were on the upper tier on this north wall.³⁰ They were in the company of Velázquez's *Philip III and the Expulsion of the Moriscos*, and Titian's *Philip II after Lepanto* (which had been expanded by Carducho, to suit the required format),³¹ and Rubens's own *Reconciliation of Jacob and Esau*, which had been brought by the artist for the *salón nuevo* in 1628.³² In the lower tier were four more pictures by Rubens, all 3 varas high: the two pendant mythological paintings commissioned in 1639 along with the Sabine subjects, the *Fortitude of Scaevola* (No. 46; cf. Fig. 163) brought in 1628, and the *Achilles on Scyros* which had been in the room from the start (by the mid 1620s; see diagram opposite for a schematic plan of the arrangement on the wall).³³ It has been argued, probably rightly, that the arrangement of 1686 reflects the way Velázquez reorganized the room in 1659;³⁴ if so, the *Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines* can hardly be identical, as Cruzada Villaamil sup-



Schematic plan of the arrangement of paintings on the north wall of the *salón nuevo* in the Alcázar, Madrid (adapted from *Orso, Alcázar, 1986*; see Nos. 42 and 43 at n. 33)

posed, with the 'Battle' by Rubens recorded in the *pieza larga* in 1666,³⁵ and it can hardly be the *Rape of the Sabines* by Rubens recorded in the collection of Leganés in 1655.³⁶

In 'Velázquez's' arrangement of the *salón nuevo*, and probably even before this, the two Sabine pictures by Rubens had evidently displaced three upright paintings (recorded as measuring 5 × 3 varas) which had been expressly commissioned for the upper tier on the north wall when the room began to be decorated in the 1620s—the *Scipio addressing the Romans* and the *Agamemnon and Chryses* by Carducho and Cajés, as well as Domenichino's picture of the same size of *Solomon and Sheba*.³⁷

It is not certain, however, that Rubens's *Rape and Reconciliation of the Sabines* were from the start designed to supplant the paintings by Carducho, Cajés and Domenichino, even if we know that Carducho's *Scipio Africanus* at least had been banished from the *salón nuevo* by 14 August 1640.³⁸ It seems possible that the two Sabine paintings were originally meant to fill another space in the *salón nuevo*, or at least that Rubens at first understood this to be so. For the artist's initial sketch for the *Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines*, which survives in a damaged state in Philadelphia (No. 43a; Fig. 148), is for a long and narrow composition; and even the later sketches in Antwerp which were used directly for the final paintings (Nos. 42b, 43c; Figs. 139, 140) are in proportions very different from those recorded for the final paintings (5 × 5½ varas; therefore 10:11). Certainly, here we must take into account the fact that the inventories seem consistently to overestimate the height of the pictures on the upper level, to judge from the dimensions of the surviving pictures.³⁹ However, none of the compositions, even the final pictures as recorded in the copies, suggests that Rubens thought his paintings were to hang high: the contrast here with his earlier designs for the *Jacob and Esau* and the *Fortitude of Scaevola* (No. 46; cf. Fig. 163), which had been carefully calculated for their specific positions (high and low respectively), is very marked. The addi-

tion of the allegorical figures recorded in the copies (Figs. 141, 142, 147) would indicate that the compositions were at a late stage expanded at the top, after the basic design had been decided, and it was probably at this stage that Rubens was given the final dimensions and places. If we assume that the pictures were finally of roughly the same height as the *Jacob and Esau*, Titian's *Charles V*, and his *Philip II after Lepanto*, all recorded as measuring 5 varas high (i.e. 418 cm.) but actually measuring between 320 and 335 cm. in height (more like 4 varas),⁴⁰ then this would give proportions almost exactly those of the copies.

It looks as if Rubens at first planned his Sabine compositions to be in the proportions, indeed probably the same size as the pair of hunting scenes he had brought for the room in 1628: the first sketch for the *Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines* has exactly the same dimensions as the sketches for the two hunt scenes.⁴¹ In fact, we know from the inventory of 1666 that these hunting pictures had by then been moved to the *pieza ochavada*,⁴² where they had joined other hunting pictures by Rubens and Snyders.⁴³ Their removal from the *salón nuevo* (as subjects not particularly appropriate to that room with its series of histories?) could have been envisaged already in 1639, even if the display in the octagonal room can hardly have been planned at that stage, since it was built only in 1645.⁴⁴ But whether or not there was any connection between a proposal to move the hunting scenes and Rubens's first design for the Sabine pictures, the prescribed dimensions for the latter must at some stage—and perhaps twice—have been altered.

Since the final paintings must be judged only from the copies, it is hard to assess their quality, or decide whether any details in the compositions—particularly that of the *Rape of the Sabines*—might have been invented by the artist(s) who completed them (see below, under Nos. 42 and 43). However, the major innovation, the celestial figures, can certainly be attributed to Rubens himself: both formally

and iconographically they make sense only as a Rubensian addition. In the case of the *Rape of the Sabines*, Hymen and Fecundity emphasize what for Rubens was fundamental to the meaning of the scene; Peace (in the guise of Venus) expelling Discord similarly underlines the message of the *Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines*.⁴⁵ In addition, the allegories were evidently designed to harmonize with the other pictures in the *salón nuevo*, in particular Rubens's own portrait of Philip IV with personifications in the sky, and Titian's expanded *Philip II after Lepanto* with its flying angel.

1. The matter of the late commissions is laid out clearly in *Balis, Hunting Scenes, 1986*, pp. 218-233, esp. pp. 218-219: the sixth commission, the execution of which overlapped with this last, was for eighteen pictures by Rubens and Snyders for the *bóveda de palacio*. For the two mythological paintings of the seventh commission see J.R. Martin, 'Rubens's Last Mythological Paintings for Philip IV', *Gentse bijdragen tot de kunstgeschiedenis*, XXIV, 1976-78, pp. 113-118 and figs. 1 and 2; and for the *Perseus and Andromeda*, now in the Prado, see Díaz Padrón, *Cat. Prado*, 1975, I, pp. 265-267, no. 1663; II, pl. 177.
2. These letters were published by Justi (*Justi, Velazquez, 1888*, II, pp. 401-411), after copies in the provincial library in Toledo; they are discussed in an article of 1883, republished in C. Justi, 'Rubens und der Cardinal Infant Ferdinand' in *Miscellaneen aus drei Jahrhunderten spanischen Kunstlebens*, Berlin, 1908, II, pp. 275-300. The originals have not been traced; cf. *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, VI, p. 171 and *Balis, Hunting Scenes, 1986*, p. 227, n. 1; for the letters, with French translation, see also *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, VI, pp. 170-317, *passim*. See also Orso, *Alcázar, 1986*, pp. 60-63. Burchard thought the four pictures might be those mentioned already in a letter of 30 June 1638 as going to be done by Rubens's own hand, but *Balis* (p. 218) supposes, probably rightly, that these would have been for the Torre de la Parada.
3. 'En las cuatro Pinturas que V.M. manda, está ya trabajando Rubens con grande animo de hacellas lindísimas. En el termino de acabarlas no ha querido obligarse à hacer mas de lo que pudiere, teniendo por muy difícil sea para cuando V.M. manda, y tambien dice se atrasarán algo las que estaban haciendo entre él y Esneyre, pero V.M. se asegure que por prisa y cuidado no quedará'. Letter of Cardinal-Infante to Philip IV, 25 September 1639: *Justi, Velazquez, 1888*, II, p. 408, doc. 32; *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, VI, pp. 238, doc. DCCCLXXIV.
4. Letters of Cardinal-Infante to Philip IV, 7 October, 31 October, 29 November 1639: *Justi, Velazquez, 1888*, II, pp. 408-409, docs. 33, 34, 36; *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, VI, p. 239, docs. DCCCLXXXV, DCCCLXXXVI, p. 244, doc. DCCCLXXXVIII.
5. Letter of Cardinal-Infante to Philip IV, 10 January 1640: *Justi, Velazquez, 1888*, II, p. 409, doc. 37; *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, VI, pp. 247-248, doc. DCCCLXXXIII. See *Balis, Hunting Scenes, 1986*, p. 219.
6. Letter of Cardinal-Infante to Philip IV, 17 January 1640: *Justi, Velazquez, 1888*, II, p. 409, doc. 38; *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, VI, p. 250, doc. DCCCLXXXVI.
7. 'En las Pinturas que V.M. me manda vayan luego ha sucedido un gran trabajo, y es estar Rubens gafo de la manos mas ha de un mes y con poco esperanza de volver à pintar. Con todo trata de curarse, y con el calor puede ser mejor, que si no, sería gran lastima se quedasen así estas tres Pinturas. De mi parte se asegure V.M. se hará todo lo posible, y las diez perqueñas [i.e. for the *bóveda*] estan casi acabadas'. Letter of Cardinal-Infante to Philip IV, 5 April 1640: *Justi, Velazquez, 1888*, II, p. 409, doc. 39; *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, VI, p. 261, doc. DCCCLXXXIV.
8. 'Rubens está mejor de sus achaques y me ha ofrecido que estarán acabadas las Pinturas grandes y las diez perqueñas que faltan para la Pascua. Yo le daré todo la prisa posible ya que está en estado de trabajar, y procuraré abrevie mas los terminos, porque estando ya acabada la obra de la pieza nueva, harán gran falta estas Pinturas'. Letter of Cardinal-Infante to Philip IV, 2 May 1640: *Justi, Velazquez, 1888*, II, p. 410, doc. 40; *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, VI, pp. 280-281, doc. CMI. Orso is probably right to take *Pascua* to mean Christmas (*Orso, Alcázar, 1986*, pp. 61-62); this is how it is used in the Cardinal-Infante's letter of 11 December 1638: *Justi, Velazquez, 1888*, II, p. 407, doc. 24. It is only with this letter that we learn that the *Pinturas grandes* were for the *salón nuevo* or *pieza nueva*. For the state of the room in the late 1630s see *Orso, Alcázar, 1986*, pp. 58-65, *passim*. Orso points out that the work referred to here would have been the refacing of the walls with veneer; the tiling of the floor was still not completed in May. In early June a carpenter and six workmen spent two days hanging pictures in the room; on 15 September four white canvases were made to put in the places 'where the veneer is missing', presumably, as Orso remarks, the positions intended for Rubens's four pictures. See *Orso, Alcázar, 1986*, p. 62. The letter of 20 May (*Justi, Velazquez, 1888*, p. 410, doc. 41) in which Ferdinand claims that the pictures might be ready

- for the feast of St John (though the painter would give no assurance on this) seems to refer only to the pictures for the *bóveda*.
9. 'Rubens murió habrá diez días, que aseguro á V.M. lo he sentido muchísimo por el estado en que están las pinturas, que una de las dos grandes esta casi acabada, la otra bosquejada, y las dos menores muy adelante. Conforme esto sirvase V.M. de mandarme lo che gusta que se haga; si las enviare así o si se acabarán aca de otra mano. Dos solos hay aquí que se puede fiar dellos, si bien muy inferiores á Rubens. El uno su primer oficial, que hacia las mas de las obras de su amo, pero como estaba siempre delante, no le dejaba errar, y solo no sé lo que hará, que en fin no es mas que un oficial. El otro es Cray, un maestro de gran opinion y particularmente de figuras grandes, que es el que hizo el retrato mio que envié a V.M. el año pasado. Era poco amigo de Rubens, y así no le encargó ninguna de las pinturas que se enviaron para la Torre de la Parada, y no sé si en España habra algunas suyas. El que hay aqui de provecho es este, y hasta tener respuesta no se hará nada per no errallo'. Letter of Cardinal-Infante to Philip IV, 10 June 1640: *Justi, Velazquez, 1888*, p. 410, doc. 42; *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, VI, pp. 304-305, doc. CMXVIII. By the pupil Justi took the Cardinal-Infante to mean Jordaens, but he was an independent master at this period. It seems possible, as Rooses (and Burchard) thought, and as it is usually now assumed, that he was Erasmus Quellinus, who is certainly documented as working under Rubens's direction in the last years, particularly in carrying out designs for title-pages. But a better candidate is perhaps Jan Thomas, who seems to have been working in Rubens's studio at the time of the artist's death: see *Balis, Studio Practices, 1994*, p. 118.
 10. Letter of 23 September 1640 from Cardinal-Infante to Philip IV: *Justi, Velazquez, 1888*, p. 410, doc. 43; *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, VI, pp. 310-311, doc. CMXXIV. For more evidence about Van Dyck's movements at this period see F. Baudouin, 'Van Dyck's Last Religious Commission: an altarpiece for Antwerp Cathedral', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, LVII, 1994, pp. 175-190, esp. pp. 177-178.
 11. 'En las pinturas se trabaja con gran priesa y espero se acabarán las tres muy á priesa. La cuarta estaba solo dibujada de Rubens, y así no ha querido Vandeicken proseguirla, ni tampoco acabar las otras por mas diligencias que se han hecho, que es loco rematado, y así ajustamos que del mismo tamaño y de la misma historia hiciese él una á su capricho, con que quedó muy contentó y se volvió á Inglaterra para traer su casa de asiento. No sé si se arrepentirá, que como dije á V.M. no tiene juicio ninguno, yo no me descuidaré en solicitarle con todo cuidado'. Letter of 10 November 1640 from Cardinal-Infante to Philip IV: *Justi, Velazquez, 1888*, p. 410, doc. 44; *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, VI, p. 312, doc. CMXXV. For the episode see also *Justi, Miscellaneen*, op. cit. in n. 2, II, pp. 296-298; C. Brown, *Van Dyck, Oxford, 1982*, pp. 218-220. I have understood the phrase 'para traer su casa di asiento' to mean 'move house [to Antwerp]', but it is possible that it refers to the [re]arrangement of his house in England: Baudouin, op. cit. in n. 10, p. 178. In fact he went to Paris (*ibid.*).
 12. A *Rape of the Sabinas* by Van Dyck was recorded in the collection of George Nassau, 3rd Earl Cowper (1738-89) in Florence in 1766. See 'Memoirs of Thomas Jones', *Walpole Society*, XXXII, 1946-48, p. 51. It was exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1900: L. Cust, *Anthony Van Dyck, An Historical Study of his Life and Works*, London, 1900, p. 227, no. 233 (canvas, 68.5 × 170 cm.); it was at that time in the collection of the 7th Earl Cowper (d. 1905). An annotation by Claude Phillips in the copy of the catalogue in the Rubenianum attributed this work, however, to Frans Francken II. The sketch of the *Rape of the Sabinas* attributed to Van Dyck in the collection of Ralph Brocklebank in 1904 seems to have been No. 40a, and is listed as such above.
 13. 'Todas las pinturas están ya en mi aposento, que cierto son lindissimas, y espero serán del gusto de V.M. Solo aguardo el pasaporte y segun escribió el embajador de Venecia vendrá la semana que viene, con que me parece podrán partir de aquí á quince dias. Solo falta una de las dos grandes. Aquí daré toda la priesa posible, y el pintor que la hace ha ofrecido acabarla en un mes, que no será poca diligencia'. Letter of 2 February 1641 from Cardinal-Infante to Philip IV: *Justi, Velazquez, 1888*, p. 411, doc. 45; *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, VI, p. 314, doc. CMXXVII.
 14. Letters of 8-9 March 1641 from Cardinal-Infante to Philip IV: *Justi, Velazquez, 1888*, p. 411, doc. 46; *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, VI, pp. 315-316, docs. CMXXVIII-CMXXIX.
 15. Letter of 2 June 1641 from Cardinal-Infante to Philip IV: *Justi, Velazquez, 1888*, p. 411, doc. 47; *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, VI, p. 316, doc. CMXXX. For his earlier reference to Velázquez, see *Justi, Velazquez, 1888*, p. 408, doc. 27.
 16. *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, loc. cit.; also III, pp. 148-149. 'Den 24sten Junij anno 1641 ontfangen van Sr Philips le Roy de somme van gl. 4200 over vier stucken schilderye, te weten den peys van de Sabinen, een stuck van Andromeda, eenen Hercules, ende een ander stuck gedoodverft voor den Coninck van Spaignien vercocht, comt gl. 4200': see *Génard, Nalatenschap, 1865*, pp. 80-81, doc. xx. Presumably the *Rape* is not named since it was not yet available.
 17. For this term, which was used by Van Mander to refer to various stages of underpainting, usually in oils, see H. Miedema, 'Over kwaliteitsvoor-

- schriften in het St. Lucasgilde: over "doodverf"', *Oud Holland*, CI, 1987, pp. 141-147.
18. 'La pintura está muy adelante, pero con todo no podrá estar acabada este fin de agosto, por mas priesa que se da al pintor, pero espero ha de estar muy buena, porque como nuevo procura ganar reputacion, y mas habiendo de estar allá de las de Rubens. V.M. se asegure no me descuidaré en remitirle cuanto antes pudiere'. See *Justi, Velazquez*, 1888, II, p. 411, doc. 48; *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, VI, p. 317, doc. CMXXXI.
 19. The Cardinal-Infante had died on 10 November 1641.
 20. See *Vlieghe, de Crayer*, 1972, I, pp. 148-149, no. A87 and p. 312, doc. 60; here the painting had been assumed to be an original lost work by de Crayer, reasonably enough, given the high price paid for it (de Crayer received only 600 livres for his large *Miraculous Draught of Fishes* of 1643: *Vlieghe, de Crayer*, 1972, I, pp. 151-152, no. A91 and II, fig. 91). The document is preserved in Archives départementales du Nord, Lille, B.3032. See J. Finot, 'Les subventions accordées aux littérateurs, aux savants et aux artistes par les Gouverneurs des Pays-Bas au XVIIe siècle', *Annales du Comité flamand de France*, XIX, 1891, p. 225. I am indebted to Arnout Balis for pointing to the connection of No. 42 with this document. See also now *Balis, Studio Practices, 1994*, p. 118.
 21. For example the *Lamentation* for Francisco de Galerreta, perhaps commissioned in 1643: see *Vlieghe, de Crayer*, 1972, I, pp. 171-172, no. A.119; II, fig. 116.
 22. 'Aen Sr Jordaens vanden sterffhuysse voor het opmaecken van twee schilderyen, die mede vercocht syn om naer Spaengien te seynden, te wetene eenen Hercules ende een Andromeda, comt... gl. 240': *Génard, Nalatenschap*, 1865, p. 136, item cxv; cf. *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, II, pp. 148-149.
 23. 'Dos quadros yguales de à cinco varas y media de ancho y cinco de alto; el uno del Robo de las Savinas, y el otro de la Batalla de Romanos y Savinos, originales de mano de Rubenes': *Bottineau, Alcázar*, 1958, p. 41, nos. 64, 65; *Cruzada Villaamil, Rubens*, 1872, p. 329 (although he omitted the measurement of the height).
 24. *Cruzada Villaamil, Rubens*, 1872, pp. 329-330; the inventory of 1700 has a similar description to that of 1686, and they are valued at 1000 *dobloones* each. See *Inventarios, 1975-*, II, 1981, p. 18, no. 5.
 25. According to the 'Mémoire de Ranc sur les tableaux perdus ou sauvés à la suite de l'incendie de l'Alcázar de Madrid' (Madrid, Archivo de Palacio, secc. admn. BA 38), published by Y. Bottineau in *L'Art de cour dans l'Espagne de Philippe V*, Bordeaux, 1962, pp. 624-625, it was saved.
 26. In 1747, in the Archbishop's Palace, it is described as 'Otro lienzo robo de las Sabinas, de cinco varas de largo y cuatro y media de caida, original de Rubens, aunque ligero'. It was valued only at 20000 copper reales; the measurements ($4\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ varas = 376.2×418 cm.) indicate that it may have been cut down, but as we shall see, the accuracy of the measurements in the earlier inventories is questionable. It was no longer paired with the *Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines*. It was characterized as 'muy maltratado', in a dilapidated state, though it still had the same measurements and was called an original Rubens when it was recorded in the Palacio nuevo, in the studio of don Andrés de la Calleja, court painter, in 1772; at the Casa de Rebeque, in the charge of Bayeu it was described in 1794 as 'El Robo de las Sabinas, de Rubens. Cuadro muy estropeado'; it now measured 4×5 varas (334.5×418 cm.), therefore seems to have been cut down (again?), and was considered worth only 6000 reales. See *Cruzada Villaamil, Rubens*, 1872, loc. cit. It is recorded in the 'casa que llaman "de Reveque"' by Ponz: D. Antonio Ponz, *Viage de España* (VI, 1776), ed. C.M. del Rivero, Madrid, 1947, p. 533.
 27. Published in 'El Prado disperso', *Boletín del Museo del Prado*, VII, 20, 1986, p. 131, nos. 3247 and 4005 (repr.) as 'school of Rubens', though no connection is made with the lost paintings from the Alcázar. I thank Nora de Poorter and Enriqueta Harris Frankfort for (independently) drawing my attention to these. See under No. 42, copy 1 and No. 43, copy 1.
 28. Canvas, 70×87.5 cm., last recorded in sale, London (Christie's), 14 July 1944, lot 161. See No. 43, Copy 2.
 29. See above note 23.
 30. See *Orso, Alcázar*, 1986, pp. 43-87 *passim*. For Carducho's account of the room, see V. Carducho, *Diálogos de la pintura*, ed. F. Calvo Serraller, Madrid, 1979, pp. 433-435; an English translation is given in *Orso, Alcázar*, 1986, pp. 188-189.
 31. See *Bottineau, Alcázar*, 1958, p. 40; also *Orso, Alcázar*, 1986, pp. 45-46; cf. *Wethey, Titian*, 1969-75, II, p. 132. According to these authors this was done in 1627-28; however, it has been pointed out that Carducho was paid for enlarging them already in December 1625: *Volk, Salón nuevo*, 1980, p. 172, citing a document in J.M. de Azcárate, 'Noticias sobre Velázquez en la corte', *Archivo Español de Arte*, XXXIII, 1960, p. 360, n. 10.
 32. For this picture see *d'Hulst—Vandenven, Old Testament*, 1989, pp. 67-69, no. 16 and fig. 42; also further below, under No. 46. It was given by Charles II to Johann-Wilhelm of Bavaria in 1694 (*Bottineau, Alcázar*, 1958, p. 41); as Enriqueta Harris Frankfort has pointed out to me, a marginal note in one copy of the 1686 inventory records that it was sent to Germany in exchange for a portrait ('Este se embio a Alamanca y en su lugar esta un Retrato Yno se lee mas por estar roto el papel': Archivo

- General de Palacio. Sección Administrativa. Leg. no. 9. Inventarios).
33. For these see below, under No. 46. The reconstruction on p. 205 is only slightly modified from that given in *Orso, Alcázar, 1986*, p. 75, who noted (pp. 74-87, esp. 78-81) that the pictures seem to be listed in the inventory in their order on the wall. I have assumed, however, that the upright *Reconciliation of Jacob and Esau* would have hung between the pendant Sabine paintings which in turn would have been flanked by the pictures by Titian and Velázquez. Orso placed the Sabine paintings side by side (and thus off centre) because they are listed together; but pendants in this inventory (and in earlier ones) are normally grouped together even when it is evident they did not hang next to one another.
 34. See *Orso, Alcázar, 1986*, pp. 65-87. On Velázquez's decoration of the room see also *Bottineau, Alcázar, 1958*, pp. 34-47. In this context it is worth remembering that since Velázquez seems to have planned his *Philip III and the Moriscos* as a pendant to Titian's painting with Philip II he would have wanted to hang it as such. See below, under No. 46.
 35. *Cruzada Villamil, Rubens, 1872*, p. 329. This picture is described as 'Otra pintura de la misma mano [as Rubens's *Judgement of Paris*] de una batalla, tasada en trescientos treinta reales de plata'. What the picture represented remains mysterious. I have not traced it in the copy of the 1666 inventory (Leg. no. 38), though the *Judgement of Paris* is listed there. In the 1686 inventory a 'Batalla de mano del Puchino' [Poussin?] follows the *Judgement of Paris*; see *Bottineau, Alcázar, 1958*, p. 306.
 36. *López Navío, Leganés, 1962*, p. 319, no. 1210. See below, under No. 42, at n. 17.
 37. For the two Spanish paintings, commissioned in 1626, see *Orso, Alcázar, 1986*, esp. pp. 49-52, 79, 93; for Domenichino's picture, commissioned in Italy by the Count of Oñate in 1627-28, see *ibid.*, p. 55. All three paintings are recorded in the 1636 inventory (for which see *Volk, Salón Nuevo, 1980*, pp. 179-180) but had been removed from the room by 1686. See *Orso, Alcázar, 1986*, pp. 50, 71-72, n. 151. Contrary to Orso's implication (p. 79), however, it does not seem easy to deduce the exact position of the pictures on the main wall of the *salón nuevo* from the 1636 inventory; the order in which they are listed can hardly be the precise order in which they were hanging. At any rate, Orso's scheme would leave no place for Domenichino's painting, which must have been on the upper tier of that north wall even though it is described after (rather than before) Rubens's portrait of Philip IV; it was the same size as the pictures there, it would have fitted nicely into the wall space available, and the room appears to have had no other appropriate place for a painting of its dimensions (5 × 3 varas); moreover it precedes the description of the paintings on the lower level of the north wall, which were all 3 varas high. For the arrangement of the room in 1636 see further below, under No. 46.
 38. At this date his nephew wrote that it no longer hung there: see *Orso, Alcázar, 1986*, p. 50 and n. 63, p. 71, n. 151. A picture of the same size commissioned from González at the same time as those by Cajés and Carducho had already been removed by 1636, since it is not mentioned in the inventory of that date. See *Orso, Alcázar, 1986*, pp. 49-51.
 39. See *Orso, Alcázar, 1986*, p. 81 and the table on pp. 82-83; this overestimation of height does not seem to apply to the pictures in the lower tier. Presumably the paintings hanging high were estimated rather than measured; it seems significant that the widths, which would have been easier to get at, are much more accurate. The later inventories would probably have copied the measurements from the 1686 inventory (which in turn would have used that for 1636). It seems unlikely that we could attribute the discrepancies to a frame, unless there was some kind of cornice along the top or bottom. Interestingly Mazo's copy of the *Rape of the Sabines*, a picture which hung high in the main room of the prince's quarter (No. 42, Copy 2) is recorded in the 1686 inventory as being almost square (*Bottineau, Alcázar, 1958*, p. 451), like his three other copies there after Rubens, whereas the surviving pictures—cf. *Alpers, Torre, 1971*, figs. 172 (181 × 205 cm.) and 146 (181 × 223 cm.)—as well as Velázquez's *Meninas* (in which two are faintly visible) indicate that the four were rectangular, and have been overestimated in height in the inventory.
 40. The copy of Rubens's *Philip IV* in the Uffizi measures 339 × 267 cm., and would thus seem to be the same size as the lost original (*Huemer, Portraits, 1977*, no. 30 and fig. 51), similarly overestimated in height. In the 1636 inventory (in some respects more precise), the *Jacob and Esau* is recorded as slightly smaller than Titian's *Charles V* (see *Volk, Salón nuevo, 1980*, p. 179), which accords with the slight difference in height between the two pictures as they survive; thus it seems unlikely that they have been cut.
 41. See *Balis, Hunting Scenes, 1986*, nos. 12a, 13a (figs. 82, 87).
 42. See *Balis, Hunting Scenes, 1986*, pp. 180, 222-225.
 43. From the sixth of the late commissions: see *Balis, Hunting Scenes, 1986*, pp. 218-233.
 44. See *Balis, Hunting Scenes, 1986*, p. 223.
 45. This latter group would have helped provide the title of 'the Peace of the Sabines' given to the picture in the record of its payment: see note 16 above. On the iconography see further under Nos. 42, 42b and 43.

42. The Rape of the Sabines

Oil on canvas; c. 335 (?) × 450 cm.¹
 Lost (formerly Madrid, Alcázar).

PROVENANCE: Commissioned by Philip IV in 1639, along with pendant *Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines*; Madrid, Alcázar, *salón nuevo* (probably by mid 1642), *salón de los espejos* (=same room: inv. 1686; inv. 1700); Madrid, Casas arzobispales (Archbishop's Palace) (inv. 1747 [perhaps cut down, and no longer with the *Reconciliation*]); Palacio nuevo, studio of Andrés de la Calleja, court painter (inv. 1772, no. 2); Casa de Rebeque, responsibility of Francisco Bayeu (inv. 1794).

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 141), probably Spanish, pendant to a *Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines* (No. 43, Copy 1; Fig. 142), Museo del Prado, deposited in the University of Barcelona since 1877, inv. N.Adq. T.1024; canvas, 234 × 334 cm.; inscribed T.1024 in lower right corner. LIT. A. Espinós *et al.*, "El Prado disperso". *Cuadros depositados en Barcelona*. II', *Boletín del Museo del Prado*, VII, 20, 1986, p. 131, no. 3247, repr. (as *school of Rubens*).

(2) Painting by J.B. del Mazo, lost; technique and measurements unknown. PROV. Madrid, Alcázar, *pieza principal, cuarto bajo* (inv. 1686; inv. 1700). LIT. *Bottineau, Alcázar, 1958*, p. 451; *Orso, Alcázar, 1986*, pp. 169, 171.

LITERATURE: *Descamps, Vie, 1753-63*, p. 319; *Smith, Catalogue, 1829-42*, II, p. 130, no. 438 (said to be with its companion in the Escorial, and the sketches in the Baring collection); *Génard, Nalatenschap, 1865*, p. 81; *Cruzada Villamil, Rubens, 1872*, pp. 329-330, no. 40; P. Génard, *Aanteekeningen over den grooten meester*, Antwerp, 1877, p. 42; *Justi, Velasquez, 1888*, II, pp. 363 and 408-411 *passim*; *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, pp. 21-22, no. 806; *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, VI, pp. 170-317, *passim*; C. Justi, 'Rubens und der Cardinal Infant Ferdinand' in *Miscellaneen aus drei Jahrhunderten spanischen Kunstlebens*,

Berlin, 1908, II, pp. 294-298, *passim* (reprint of article in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 1883); *Bottineau, Alcázar, 1958*, p. 41; *Baudouin, Rubens, 1972*, pp. 165-170; *Held, Sketches, 1980*, I, pp. 380-381, n. 5; *Orso, Alcázar, 1986*, pp. 60-64, 71, 78, 79, 81, 87-88, 96-97, 104; *Balis, Hunting Scenes, 1986*, pp. 218-219; *Inventarios, 1975-*, II, 1981, p. 18, no. 5; *Jaffé, Rubens, 1989*, pp. 343-344, no. 1170; *Vosters, España, 1990*, pp. 123-124.

This picture, like its pendant *Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines* (No. 43), was commissioned in 1639 for the *salón nuevo* in the Alcázar; but it was not completed by Rubens's death; indeed only the basic design had been outlined, so that the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand, who was dealing with the commission for Philip IV, had to have it finished by another artist. The identity of this artist, hitherto mysterious, has now been established by Arnout Balis, who observed that Gaspar de Crayer was paid for the work in 1642.² Thus the painter whom the Cardinal-Infante himself called 'no friend of Rubens' seems to have used his great rival's last, unfinished painting as an opportunity to advance his own career.³ It seems likely that de Crayer made a few changes to the details of Rubens's painting, for, although a surviving copy (Copy 1; Fig. 141) shows a composition essentially based on Rubens's brilliant sketch (No. 42b; Fig. 139) it is interesting that the copies of the companion *Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines* (Figs. 142, 147), a picture much nearer completion when Rubens died and almost certainly not finished by de Crayer, reveal it as much more closely adhering to the corresponding preliminary design (No. 43c; Fig. 140). The allegorical figures in the sky, evidently added when the final dimensions were given to Rubens for the pictures⁴—a group appears in each of the final compositions—must have been Rubens's own invention, even if de Crayer may have tampered with the poses. Thus, while the male figure is very similar to the foremost angel flying down with garlands in Rubens's

Massacre of the Innocents of the late 1630s,⁵ the attitude seems more contrived. Certainly, to judge from the copy (Fig. 141), the facial features, particularly those of the central woman, look more characteristic of de Crayer than of Rubens.⁶

This last *Rape of the Sabines* is in some ways a development of, and in others a variation on the composition of the painting now in the National Gallery (No. 40; Fig. 127), which was evidently executed a few years earlier.⁷ As is argued above, that painting seems to have been designed for a private context, and is a celebration, through the ancient Roman story, of the basic impulses behind courtship and marriage, with specific and knowing reference to Ovid's *Art of Love*. In the painting for Philip IV, the emphasis is more on the violence of the abduction, even if this has been toned down by comparison with the sketch (No. 42b; Fig. 139)—possibly more than Rubens himself would have intended. Compared to the scene in No. 40 the parents are much more anxious to hold onto their daughters, and two mothers especially fight without regard to decorum, scratching at eyes and even biting an aggressor's leg (a motif which, however, appears in Rubens's earliest known attempt at the subject: No. 37; Fig. 126). A full-scale combat rages on the dais to the right, and the soldiers in the background, coming together with spears, seem to be fighting rather than still involved in the games. The women, while exhibiting degrees of reluctance and apprehension, are all (of course) potentially submissive, even if some of the more balletic attitudes may be attributed to de Crayer. At the centre of the composition is a lady in white satin who makes restrained protests as a horseman, with a flowing red cloak and a massively-plumed helmet, prepares to hoist her up.⁸ This must be the matron Hersilia, singled out by her future husband Romulus. The characterization of the couple matches that of the pair who are evidently Romulus and Hersilia in the corresponding *Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines* (No. 43; cf. Figs. 142, 147).⁹ No doubt the idea

of making the couple—or rather Romulus, his horse and bride—central to the action was connected with the role of the same figures in the pendant, where this time it is Hersilia who takes the initiative. But given that Romulus is thus himself involved in the abduction, rather than detached and commanding from the side as in the National Gallery picture (No. 40; Fig. 127), the scene is to be imagined as subsequent to his issue of the starting signal to his men, and this in turn helps to explain why the fighting is more under way than in that earlier painting.

As in the London picture, the women (and men) can look forward to marriage. Hymen and Fecundity appear in the sky to underline this. Hymen, as usual a winged adolescent with a torch (although in the copy at least he is not wearing his characteristic crown of roses),¹⁰ helps support the cornucopia of children which Rubens used elsewhere as the emblem of Fecundity¹¹—children were needed by the Romans for their new city, and were, as the ancient historians explain, the reason and justification for the abduction.¹² Above the celestial pair arches a rainbow, attribute of Juno, patron of matrimony.¹³ Perhaps it also intimates that for the fearful Sabines things will soon look brighter.¹⁴

How far the changes from the sketch reflect Rubens's own intentions is hard to judge, given that we have to rely on a copy (Fig. 141). Apart from the points already mentioned, one might, for example, wish to credit de Crayer with the clumsily posed woman in front of the dais, substituted for the figure in the sketch who falls in the tragic pose of an ancient Niobid.¹⁵ In general de Crayer seems to have dissipated the passion behind the gestures. He certainly misunderstood the location of the abduction; for Rubens surely did not mean the presence of a tree behind the domed temple to imply a country setting.¹⁶

A Rape of the Sabines by Rubens, 3 × 4 varas (c. 250 × 335 cm.) and valued highly, is mentioned in the inventory of the collection of the Duke of Leganés in 1655.¹⁷ This has sometimes

been thought to be the present painting; however, such cannot be the case. Not only was No. 42 much taller than 3 varas but, as discussed above,¹⁸ it must have been at this time in the *salón nuevo* of the Alcázar.¹⁹ Leganés's painting was certainly not the picture now in the National Gallery (No. 40; Fig. 127), which is significantly smaller.

1. For the problem of the height see the Introduction to Nos. 42 and 43, p. 206.
2. See above, Introduction to Nos. 42 and 43, p. 203.
3. See Ferdinand's letter of 10 June 1640, quoted above, in the Introduction on Nos. 42 and 43, at n. 9; cf. the letter of 20 July 1641: *ibid.* n. 18. In the context, Ferdinand's phrase can surely be interpreted only in a negative sense despite Vlieghe's admission of the opposite possibility. How serious this alleged 'unfriendliness' was and how long it had been going on is hard to assess: the present of a painting to de Crayer by Helene Fourment in return for his help after Rubens's death (*Vlieghe, de Crayer, 1972, I, pp. 37 and 311, doc. 55*) may simply have been conciliatory, and the fact that de Crayer would at different times have seen pictures in Rubens's workshop (*Vlieghe, de Crayer, 1972, I, pp. 37-38*) is hardly conclusive.
4. See above, Introduction to this section, pp. 206-207.
5. *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921, p. 378.*
6. Cf. his female type with arched eyebrows, large, heavy-lidded, round eyes, and small mouth in, for example, the *Assumption* of 1645 (*Vlieghe, de Crayer, 1972, I, p. 155, no. A98; II, fig. 97*).
7. The discovery of the Barcelona copies, proving that the Antwerp and Philadelphia sketches were indeed planned in connection with the commission for Philip IV, surely indicates that the version in the National Gallery (No. 40) is earlier.
8. She may also be wearing sandals, unlike all the other women.
9. This is even more obvious in the sketches (Figs. 139, 140), in both of which Romulus has the same type of helmet. The plumes were, I suspect, the idea of de Crayer; no such feature occurs in the final painting of the *Reconciliation*. Perhaps too the pose of the horse, silhouetted against the sky in a manner which is flatly decorative, is de Crayer's invention.
10. For Rubens's illustrations of Hymen or Hymenaeus see above under Nos. 14 and 15 (Figs. 54-56, 58). The figure here is particularly close to that in the *Presentation of the Portrait* in the Medici cycle (*K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921, p. 246*).
11. Notably in the *Birth of Louis XIII* in the Medici cycle where it is likewise carried by Fecundity herself: the motif is elaborated from an image on

ancient coins, showing a child in a cornucopia with the inscription *Temporum Felicitas*. See E. McGrath, 'Rubens's Infant Cornucopia', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XL, 1977, pp. 315-318*. Both Hymenaeus and the cornucopia of children appeared among the marital symbols on the *Arch of Philip* in the Entry of Ferdinand (*Gevartius, Pompa, 1641, pp. 27, 33, 34-35*; see also *Martin, Pompa, 1972, p. 89 and fig. 30*).

12. See above, under No. 40.
13. Rubens had surrounded Jupiter (Henri IV) and Juno (Maria de' Medici) with a rainbow in the illustration of the consummation of their marriage at Lyons in the Medici cycle: *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921, p. 249*. He would also have shown a rainbow inside S. Maria del Fiore in Florence in his illustration of the proxy wedding (*K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921, p. 247*) had this notion not been disallowed. See the early description of the first 19 pictures and discussion in J. Thuillier, 'La "Galerie de Médicis" de Rubens et sa genèse: un document inédit', *Revue de l'art, IV, 1969, pp. 56-57*.
14. It is notable that in this version of the *Rape of the Sabinas* Hersilia is not shown with a baby, as the one married woman captured by mistake (cf. above, under No. 40); presumably this was because she is now the central character and her relationship with Romulus is emphasized. Besides, in his successive versions of the subject Rubens had worked out the foreground groups (to which Hersilia and Romulus were now transferred), without thinking of including a child.
15. Rubens's figure recalls several members of the famous statue group in the Uffizi: *Haskell—Penny, Antique, 1982, pp. 274-279*.
16. For the place where the abduction supposedly occurred see above, under No. 40.
17. The entry is recorded by López Navío as 'una pintura del *Robo de las sabinas de mano de Rubens, de 3 varas alto y 1/2 de ancho, la taso en 5,500*': *López Navío, Leganés, 1962, p. 319, no. 1210*. The measurement of the width must be a mistake. According to excerpts from another copy of the Leganés inventory published by M. Rooses ('*La galerie du Marquis de Légnès*', *Rubens-Bulletijn, V, 3, 1900, p. 170*) the width was 4 varas (c. 335 cm.); see also V. Poleró, 'Colección de pinturas que reunió en su Palacio el Marqués de Leganés d. Diego Felipe de Guzmán (siglo XVII)', *Boletín de la Sociedad Español de Excursiones, VI, 1898-99, p. 133*.
18. See Introduction to this section, p. 206.
19. It may be significant, however, that the copy at present in the University of Barcelona (Copy 1; Fig. 141) has almost exactly the required dimensions.

**42a. The Rape of the Sabines:
Oil Sketch (Fig. 146)**

Oil on panel, transferred to canvas (between 1937-47); 61 (now 60) × 87 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: ? Antwerp, Victor Wolfvoet (1612-1652), recorded in his estate (inv. 24-26 October 1652: 'Een teeckeninge, van Rubens, wesende den Rooff vande Sabienen, op panneel, in lyste');¹ ? Brussels, Baron Willebroeck, sale, Brussels, 25 June 1781, lot 5 (as c. 59.5 × 89.5 cm.);² Swansea, Glynn Vivian collection, 1937; Paris, Curt Benedict, 1947; dealer Joseph Schaefer, Paris, 1947.

LITERATURE: *Martin, Cat, National Gallery, 1970*, p. 114, nn. 23, 32.

Burchard, who saw this sketch in 1937 when it was with the restorer Buttery, considered it was an original, if much damaged—particularly the figures in the background. He dated it shortly before the sketch now in Antwerp (No. 42b; Fig. 139), c. 1635. No. 42a is essentially monochrome, in shades of brown, but heightened with white and pink; this heightening and some of the surface paintwork evidently seemed spurious to Burchard, who saw Rubens's hand only in the 'underpainting'. But there is little in the available photographs which suggests to me that Rubens was involved in any way in the execution of the present sketch (No. 42a); certainly he did not paint the landscape background which makes no sense for the subject, set in the newly built city of Rome. If any work was indeed done on this panel by Rubens it has been virtually effaced by a later hand. I believe that Martin was right to consider No. 42a as a derivative of the composition of No. 42b.³

1. See *Denucé, Konstkamers, 1932*, p. 140; cf. *Rooses, Addenda, 1910*, p. 308. As it happens, Wolfvoet seems to have painted pendant copies of No. 42b (Copy 2) and No. 43c (Copy 2).

2. See F.X. Burtin, *Catalogue des Tableaux Vendus à*

Bruxelles depuis l'année 1773, Brussels [1803?], p. 234, no. 5. Cf. Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92, IV, p. 19.
3. See Martin, op. cit., 1970, p. 114, n. 23.

**42b. The Rape of the Sabines:
Oil Sketch (Figs. 139, 143, 144)**

Oil on panel; 56 × 87 cm.

Antwerp, Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas Belgique (Huis Osterreich).

PROVENANCE: presumably in Rubens's possession in 1640 and one of the 'zeer groote menigte van Teekeningen...' in inv. 1640; ? bought by Gaspar I Duarte at Rubens's sale in 1642; his son, Diego Duarte II (Antwerp, d. 1691), with No. 43c (inv. 1682: 'Twee schetsen oft modellen, de eene is den roof vande Sabienen, de andere daer sy de vrede maeken');¹ in 1691 passed to Manuel Levy Duarte (Amsterdam, Antwerp and The Hague), by whom sold November 1692 to Jacques (Vaz) Faro, Amsterdam; Brussels, Philippe-François de Mérode, prince de Rubempré (d. 1742); his sale, Brussels, 11 April 1765, lot 70, bought by Daniel Danoot (Brussels, banker, d. 1770),² seen in his collection by Reynolds in 1781, and Forster in 1790,³ sale, Brussels (Nillis), 22 December 1828, lot 58 (bought by 'Laprelle'; but according to Smith this was *pro forma*, the sketch having been purchased earlier by 'a speculator'); dealer William Buchanan (who had visited the Danoot collection in 1817), sold to Alexander Baring, later Lord Ashburton (1774-1848) in April 1829; inherited by Francis Thornhill Baring (1796-1866), later Lord Northbrook, London, Bath House; London, Baron Alfred de Rothschild (1842-1918), by 1902; his nephew, Lionel de Rothschild (1882-1942); Edmond de Rothschild; ? dealer Matthiesen, London (1942); Garfield Weston, by 1953; sale, London (Sotheby's), 3 December 1969, lot 7, bought by the Banque through Duits (still with No. 43c; Fig. 140).

COPIES: (1) Painting, pair to the *Reconciliation* (No. 43c, Copy 1), showing the composition

slightly taller, whereabouts unknown; copper, 65 × 91 cm. PROV. Sir Murray Scott; Richard Wallace; sale, London (Christie's), 10 July 1931, lot 27; sale, Brussels (Galerie Giroux), 14-15 March 1958, lot 507, pl. xiv (as *Theodoor van Thulden*).

(2) Painting, pendant to the *Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines* (No. 43c, Copy 2) by Victor Wolfvoet (1612-1652), whereabouts unknown; panel, measurements unknown, recorded in his estate (inv. 24-26 October 1652); ? Cornelis de Bailleur, bought from him with pendant by M. Musson. LIT. *Denucé, Konstkamers*, 1932, p. 143; *Denucé, Na Rubens*, 1949, p. 219; *Held, Sketches*, 1980, I, p. 382; F. Baudouin, 'De Herkomst van twee olieverfschetsen van Rubens in het Osterriethuis te Antwerpen', *Liber Amicorum Herman Liebaers*, Brussels, 1984, p. 385, n. 30.

(3) Painting, pair to the *Reconciliation* (No. 43c, Copy 3) by Jasper Jacob van Opstal I (master in 1644-45), whereabouts unknown; technique and measurements unknown. LIT. *Van den Branden, Schilderschool*, 1883, II, p. 475.

(4) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 57 × 87 cm. PROV. Bulstrode House, Gerrards Cross (Bucks.), John Ramsden, Bart., sale, London (Christie's), 11 July 1931, lot 56.

(5) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel 57 × 87 cm. (according to Burchard identical with Copy 4). PROV. Bought by Douwes brothers, Amsterdam in sale of 1930; by end of 1930 with dealer Goudstikker, Amsterdam, still there in 1933; according to Held later with Fausto Rebuffat, Milan. EXH. Goudstikker Gallery, Amsterdam, November-December 1930, no. 62, repr.; *De El Greco a Tiepolo*, Museo de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires, no. 104. LIT. *Held, Sketches*, 1980, I, p. 382.

(6) Painting, St Petersburg, ? Hermitage; technique and measurements unknown. LIT. T.V. Stranynkovich, *Kunstkamera Petersburgskoi Akademii Nauk*, Leningrad, 1953, p. 87, repr.; O. Kurz in *The Burlington Magazine*, XCIX, 1957, p. 320.⁴

(7) Painting, whereabouts unknown; technique unknown, 67.3 × 80 cm. PROV. ? Win-

stanley; sale, London (Sotheby's), 20 May 1953, lot 91.

(8) Painting, possibly after Copy 1, whereabouts unknown; copper, 66.5 × 92.5 cm. PROV. Sale, London (Sotheby's), 4 April 1984, lot 125, repr.

(9) Sepia wash drawing by J.H. Fragonard (1732-1806), pair to the *Reconciliation* (No. 43c, Copy 8), whereabouts unknown; paper, 33 × 50 cm. PROV. Sale, Paris (Paillet), 23 May 1780, lot 112 ('Un Dessin lavé au bistre sur papier blanc, par Fragonard, d'après P.P. Rubens; il représente l'enlèvement des Sabines'); Gaston Le Breton, sale, Paris (Georges Petit), 6-8 December 1921, lot 64, pl. V; L. Bickert, sale, Paris (Galerie Charpentier), 3-4 December 1934, lot 19, pl. VIII.

(10) Drawing, pair to the *Reconciliation* (No. 43c, Copy 9), by Peter Joseph Tassaert (1736-1803), St Petersburg, Hermitage, no. 688; watercolour, 620 × 910 mm. PROV. Count Karl (Charles-Philippe Jean) Cobentzl (Ljubljana, 1712-Brussels, 1770), 1768. LIT. M. Dobroklonsky, *Catalogue Hermitage IV. Drawings of the Flemish School, 17th-18th centuries* (in Russian), Moscow, 1955, no. 688 and pl. LXIV.

(11) Tapestry by F. van der Borcht (with the composition in reverse and extended at the top and, slightly, at the bottom), Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum; 391 × 500 cm. LIT. E. von Birk, 'Inventar der im Besitze des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses befindlichen Niederländer Tapeten und Gobelins', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, II, 1884, p. 174, no. 2.

EXHIBITED: London, British Institution, 1829, no. 56 (Alexander Baring); *Old Masters*, London, 1871 (Lord Ashburton); *Flemish Art, 1300-1700*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, Winter 1953-54, no. 175.

LITERATURE: *Hoet, Catalogus*, 1752-70, III, p. 399, no. 62; W. Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting*, II, London, 1824, p. 303; *Smith, Catalogue*, 1829-42, II, pp. 174-177, no. 612; *Reynolds, Journey*, 1852, II, pp. 149-50; *Waagen, Treasures*,

1854, II, p. 102; *Blanc, Trésor, 1857-58*, I, p. 125; *Rooes, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, pp. 19-20, no. 804; *Rooes, Addenda, 1910*, p. 308; *Dillon, Rubens, 1909*, pp. 176, 230, 236 and pl. 366; G. Forster, *Ansichten vom Niederrhein [etc.] im April, Mai und Junius 1790* (Berlin, 1791) in *Georg Forsters Werke*, ed. G. Steiner, IX, Berlin, 1958, p. 159; L. Seghers, 'A Great European Collection—Monsieur Maurice Naessens and the Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas', *The Connoisseur*, CLXXV, 1970, pp. 159-160, fig. 2; G. Dogaer, 'De inventaris der schilderijen van Diego Duarte', *Jaarboek. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen*, 1971, p. 209; *Martin, Cat. National Gallery, 1970*, pp. 111 and 114 n. 23; *Baudouin, Rubens, 1972*, pp. 165-170; F. Baudouin, 'Two Oil Sketches by Rubens', *The Connoisseur*, CXCIV, 1977, pp. 261-265; *Held, Sketches, 1980*, I, pp. 379-382, no. 283 and II, pl. 283; F. Baudouin, 'De Herkomst van twee olieverfschetsen van Rubens in het Osterriethuis te Antwerpen', *Liber Amicorum Herman Liebaers*, Brussels, 1984, pp. 373-391; *Jaffé, Rubens, 1989*, p. 343, no. 1168; *Vosters, España, 1990*, pp. 123-124, repr.; Sir Joshua Reynolds, *A Journey to Flanders and Holland*, ed. H. Mount, Cambridge, 1996, pp. 19, 154, n. 77.

That this sketch and its pendant relate to the paintings commissioned by Philip IV in 1639 is now evident from the surviving copies (Figs. 141, 142, 147) of these famous lost works.⁵ However, to judge from the copy of the *Rape of the Sabines* (Fig. 141), the final painting, finished after Rubens's death by Gaspar de Crayer, considerably diluted the passion in Rubens's sketch. As discussed above, under No. 42, some figures may have been altered—the horse of Romulus, for example (suppressing the attendant too) and the falling 'Niobid' who has been captured in front of the dais. The stately woman in white satin at the centre, identifiable as Hersilia, in the painting seems to have become inappropriately coquettish (although in the sketch her head appears to have been slightly rubbed and repainted, so that her original expression

may be lost). As in the National Gallery picture (No. 40; Fig. 127) the central women in the foreground are represented as 'filles de qualité';⁶ the figure who raises her arms to heaven is dishevelled, but wears a pearl necklace (apparently suppressed in de Crayer's final painting). The background too is much more effective in the sketch, with a real fight in progress.

As in the case of its pendant (No. 43c; Fig. 140), this sketch was admired by Reynolds, and modern critics have agreed that it is an impressive production entirely by the hand of Rubens, even though, like Reynolds, they have generally preferred the pendant, which also seems in slightly better condition. As Held points out, the background of the *Rape of the Sabines* is somewhat abraded. A few *pentimenti* are visible, for example in the feet and one hand of the woman with raised arms. The picture appears to be worked more heavily at the centre, with the figures round the edges indicated in a relatively summary manner.

As a pair the sketches are particularly effective, with the violence of the men in the *Rape* neutralized by the beneficent power of their victims, the women, in the pendant. As in the National Gallery picture (No. 40; Fig. 127) the message is a general one, about the inclinations and reciprocal influence on one another of the sexes. The different tone of the *Rape* and its conjunction with the *Reconciliation* means that this time it relates not simply to love, but has political and social resonance. Despite Held's doubts on this point, I find it hard to resist the idea, proposed by Baudouin, that there is some reference to Rubens's feelings about war in Europe in the 1630s and to the imagery of his great allegorical pictures on the subject. The discovery of the copies of the final paintings, with their allegorical gloss (Figs. 141, 142, 147), further underlines this. It is worth remembering that Ovid himself probably had the contemporary political situation in mind when he made his comment in the *Fasti* about civil war invading families. Women with babies provide Rubens's most

potent visual argument against war here, as in the famous allegory for Charles I which celebrated Peace as the embodiment of Venus and the nurse of children—Hesiod's *Eirene kourotrophos*.⁷

It should be noted that when he saw it in 1930 Burchard considered that the sketch listed here as Copy 5 was in fact an original by Rubens; he later changed his view.⁸

1. Dogaer, loc. cit. in bibliography, 1971, no. 66. As Arnout Balis pointed out to me, a draft of this inventory in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS II 94, mentions the price of the sketches as 200 guilders, the same price for which they were later sold to Faro.
2. See *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, p. 20.
3. See *Reynolds, Journey, 1852*, II, pp. 149-150 and Reynolds, ed. Mount, loc. cit. in bibliography, 1996; Forster, loc. cit., 1958.
4. Is this the old copy mentioned by Somov? See No. 40, n. 11, under Copy 2.
5. It has sometimes been supposed that the sketches would have preceded the National Gallery *Rape of the Sabines* (No. 40; Fig. 127), e.g. by Held (*Held, Sketches, 1980*, I, pp. 381-382), Martin, who strangely doubted their attribution to Rubens himself (cf. the comments of Jaffé in review of *Martin, Cat. National Gallery, 1970* in *The Art Bulletin*, LV, 1973, p. 463), and apparently too by Jaffé. But they can hardly have been done earlier than mid 1639, therefore some years after the London painting. The different context of that painting and the fact that it was designed as an independent picture rather than a pendant explain some of the differences in iconography.
6. See Roger de Piles's characterization, above, No. 40, at n. 45.
7. For this painting see *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921*, p. 312; for the interpretation of the central figure see E. McGrath, 'Pan and the Wool', *The Ringling Museum of Art Journal*, 1983, pp. 52, 59, n. 3. See also below, under No. 43.
8. It may be appropriate to add here that two other pairs of Sabine pictures cited by Rooses in connection with the Alcázar pictures (*Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, p. 22) prove irrelevant. In the case of the first, Held has already pointed out that the small sketches recorded in the sale of Maréchal Soult (Paris, 1852) seem to have been works by Hendrik van Balen (cf. *Pigler, Barockthemen, 1974*, II, pp. 402-403). As for the supposedly pendant pictures in the collection of James II of England, these turn out to be two separate paintings of the Rape of the Sabines, neither of them attributed to Rubens.

43. The Reconciliation of the Romans and Sabines

Oil on canvas; c. 335 (?) × 450 cm.¹

Lost, perhaps burnt in Alcázar fire of 1734.

PROVENANCE: Commissioned by Philip IV in 1639 along with pendant *Rape of the Sabines* (No. 42); Madrid, Alcázar, *salón nuevo* (probably by mid 1641), *salón de los espejos* (= same room: inv. 1686; inv. 1700).

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 142), probably Spanish, pendant to a *Rape of the Sabines* (No. 42, Copy 1; Fig. 141), Museo del Prado, deposited in the University of Barcelona since 1877, inv. N.Adq. T.1034; canvas, 234 × 334 cm.; inscribed T.1034 in lower left corner. LIT. A. Espinós *et al.*, "El Prado disperso". *Cuadros depositados en Barcelona. II'*, *Boletín del Museo del Prado*, VII, 20, 1986, p. 131, no. 4005, repr. (as school of Rubens).

(2) Painting (Fig. 147), Flemish, ?late 17th-century, whereabouts unknown; canvas (?), 70 × 87.5 cm. PROV. Sale, London (Christie's), 14 July 1944, lot 161, bought by dealer H.S. Langford, sold to Central America.

LITERATURE: *Descamps, Vie, 1753-63*, p. 319; *Smith, Catalogue, 1829-42*, II, p. 130, no. 438 (said to be with its companion in the Escorial, and the sketches to be in the Baring collection, as indeed were Nos. 42b and 43c); *Génard, Nalatenschap, 1865*, pp. 80-81; *Cruzada Villamil, Rubens, 1872*, pp. 329-330, no. 40; *P. Génard, Aanteekeningen over den grooten meester, Antwerp, 1877*, p. 42; *Justi, Velazquez, 1888*, II, pp. 363 and 408-411 *passim*; *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, pp. 21-22, no. 806; *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, VI, pp. 170-317, *passim*; C. Justi, 'Rubens und der Cardinal Infant Ferdinand' in *Miscellaneen aus drei Jahrhunderten spanischen Kunstlebens*, Berlin, 1908, II, pp. 294-298, *passim* (reprint of article in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 1883); *Bottineau, Alcázar, 1958*, p. 41; *Baudouin, Rubens, 1972*, pp. 165-170; *Held, Sketches, 1980*,

I, pp. 380-381, n. 5; Orso, *Alcázar*, 1986, pp. 60-64, 71, 78, 79, 81, 87-88, 96-97, 104; Balis, *Hunting Scenes*, 1986, pp. 218-219; Jaffé, *Rubens*, 1989, pp. 343-344, no. 1171; *Vosters, España*, 1990, pp. 123-124.

For the provenance of this lost painting and the history of the commission see Introduction to this section (Nos. 42, 43); also under No. 42. In contrast to the situation for the companion *Rape of the Sabines* (No. 42), we do not know which artist completed the *Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines*, unfinished at the time of Rubens's death. However, there was relatively little work to be done, so this was probably left to a member of Rubens's studio, possibly Jan Thomas. In the case of No. 43 there exists a second copy (Copy 2; Fig. 147), which seems to confirm the accuracy (as to iconographic details at least) of the pendant copies now in Barcelona (No. 42, Copy 1; No. 43, Copy 1; Figs. 141, 142), except perhaps in suggesting that they have cropped the original compositions slightly at top and bottom.

Apart from the allegorical figures in the sky and the fact that it has been extended at the top, the composition keeps closely to the preliminary sketch by Rubens (No. 43c; Fig. 140), which gives us an idea of the quality of the lost painting. In this vivid illustration of the intervention of the Sabine women between their warring fathers and (Roman) husbands, Rubens brilliantly adapted and expanded on his earlier, rather cramped and stagey version of the theme (No. 41; Fig. 138). The identity of Hersilia is now clear; the lady holding Romulus's horse has a diadem on her head.² Romulus himself is now reining in his animal, a gesture already perhaps anticipated in an emendation to the Philadelphia sketch (No. 43a; Fig. 148);³ in the Munich picture (Fig. 138) Romulus's arm was outstretched. In other respects too, composition and gestures improve on the earlier formulation of the subject. Rubens shows the women lined up on the Roman side, which as Held pointed out, makes the sense of the story more explicit. The

expressive quality of the kneeling woman in the foreground is now heightened by her isolation on the Sabine side and by the pathetic inclusion of her baby, set down on the ground as she attempts to hold back the foremost Sabine soldier; he, glaring with aggression, advances against a Roman who in turn is held back with all the force she can muster, stamping in her effort, by another woman.

I suspect Rubens was at least partially inspired here by the account in Ovid's *Fasti*; not only is it now clear that the armies are drawn up for battle, just about to engage, as in Ovid's account, but specific details such as the blowing of the *lituus* or curling horn to signal the start of the engagement come straight from the *Fasti*.⁴ Significantly too, it is Ovid who makes the most of the babies, and of the use of them by the peace-making women to defuse male aggression, Ovid's *animus*.

As Ovid puts it:

Iam stabant acies ferro mortique paratae:
Iam lituus pugnae signa daturus erat:
Cum raptae veniunt inter patresque virosque;
Inque sinu natos pignora cara ferunt.
Ut medium campi passis tetigere capillis;
In terram posito procubuere genu.
Et, quasi sentirent, blando clamore nepotes
Tendebat ad avos brachia parva suos.
Qui poterat, clamabat avum tum denique visum;
Et qui vix poterat, posse coactus erat.
Tela viris animusque cadunt: gladiisque remotis
Dant soceri generis accipiuntque manus.
Laudatasque tenent natas; scutoque nepotem
Fert avus: hic scutis dulcior usus erat.
(Already they stood in line, hardened for iron and death, already the horn was about to sound as sign of battle, when the ravished women appeared between fathers and husbands, holding their children, pledges of love, in their arms. The midst of the battlefield was a mass of flowing hair

as they fell to their knees on the ground. As if they understood, grandchildren sweetly clamoured as they stretched their short arms towards grandparents. Those who could, called on the grandfather they were seeing at last; those who couldn't quite, were forced to try. The men abandoned both arms and aggression, and putting swords aside they offered and took hands, fathers-in-law and sons-in-law. They praised and clasped their daughters, and grandfather lifted his grandchild on his shield—this was a finer way to employ a shield).⁵

Livy says the battle took place between the Palatine and the Capitoline hill.⁶ But the domed building in the background is surely intended to recall the place where Ovid says the women assembled to plan their scheme, the temple of Juno,⁷ and this was on the Esquiline. Ovid's specification of the time of day—sunrise, with the battle about to start—inspired the evocative sky and delicate colouring of the landscape, the buildings just touched by rosy dawn.

As was noted above,⁸ the Sabines' story was normally considered an exemplary subject for women, suitable for domestic, rather than public and political settings. Scenes of the rape and reconciliation appear together on *cassoni*, objects of furniture often connected with marriage. Interestingly, in several cases these illustrations depend primarily, like Rubens's, on Ovid's *Fasti*. Rubens introduced the theme to a new context in his pictures for the great state room in the Spanish King's palace. The heroism of the women is now an *exemplum* of general application, presenting itself to political and military—potentially warring—men. It is worth recalling Justus Lipsius's praise of the effectiveness of women as peacemakers in his *Exempla politica*.⁹ But, as Baudouin has emphasized, Rubens's last illustrations of the Sabines' story, with their stress on maternity and babies, seem to reflect feelings about war and peace which were memorably expressed in the artist's great allegories. This is underlined in the symbolic

figures that Rubens introduced at a late stage into the Alcázar painting.¹⁰ The woman in the sky who carries the caduceus of peace as she chases off the furies of war is Venus; she has as her companion her son Cupid, who pummels the retreating Vices with his bow. But she is specifically Venus Gamelia, patron of matrimony, since she wears the marriage girdle.¹¹ There is a close parallel in the *Allegory of War and Peace* in the National Gallery, London, where Minerva dispels Mars and the furies, and Peace is assimilated to Venus.¹² Peace the nurse of children, *Eirene kourotrophos* or *Pax liberorum nutrix*, is opposed to war, the enemy of marriage and children—as in so many of Rubens's late allegories, in which the cruelty of war is given emblematic expression in the image of a baby torn from its mother.¹³ The equation of Venus and Peace is now epitomized in the dénouement of the Sabine story.¹⁴ Rubens evidently worked with more enthusiasm on the painting of the *Reconciliation* than he did on the companion *Rape of the Sabines*, and this may tell us something about his emotional as well as artistic preferences during the last months of his life.

1. For the problem of the height see the Introduction to Nos. 42 and 43, p. 206.
2. For the role of Hersilia and the ancient sources on the Sabine story see above, under No. 41.
3. See the discussion under No. 43a.
4. On the *lituus*, something between a *tuba* and a *cornu* see J. Lipsius, *De militia romana*, IV.x (*Lipsius, Opera*, 1675, III, pp. 219-227). It is interesting that the *lituus* is shown as in the Decius Mus series (K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921, pp. 146, 147), and not curled right round as in the Philadelphia sketch (No. 43a; Fig. 148); in this latter the form may be mistakenly restored.
5. Ovid, *Fasti* III.215-228.
6. *Ab urbe condita* I.xii.1.
7. Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* III.205.
8. See Volume I, Chapter I, text at nn. 56-58.
9. *Lipsius, Opera*, 1675, IV, p. 301. For Rubens's familiarity with this work see Volume I, Chapter III, pp. 70-72.
10. For these see further above, Introduction to this section.
11. Cf. Veronese's figure in the allegory of a marital union (one of four on the theme of love in the National Gallery, London): Pignatti, *Veronese*, 1976,

- I, pp. 145-146, no. 236; II, fig. 550.
12. *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 312. On the association of the figure with Venus see notably R. Baumstark, 'Ikographische Studien zu Rubens Kriegs- und Friedensallegorien', *Aachener Kunstblätter*, XLV, 1974, esp. pp. 152-162; A. Hughes, 'Naming the unnameable: an iconographical problem in Rubens' "Peace and War"', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXII, 1980, pp. 157-165.
13. See esp. the comments of Rubens's friend Gevartius on the imagery of the *Temple of Janus* from the Entry of Ferdinand: *Gevartius, Pompa, 1641*, pp. 138-139. For the suggestion that the central figure in the National Gallery picture is Peace as nurse of children, see E. McGrath, 'Pan and the Wool', *The Ringling Museum of Art Journal*, 1983, pp. 52, 59, n. 3; also E. Langmuir, *The National Gallery Companion Guide*, London, 1994, pp. 235-236. Cf. above, pp. 216-217, under No. 42b.
14. For the notion that the Sabine women pacify the aggressive instincts of men see also under No. 40.

43a. The Reconciliation of the Romans and Sabines: Oil Sketch (Figs. 148, 150)

Oil on panel; 28.6 × 64.2 cm. (including added strip of 7.4 cm. at the top).

Philadelphia, Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection. Inv. no. 664.

PROVENANCE: ? Rome (1814).

COPIES: (1) Drawing (Fig. 152) by Bartolomeo Pinelli showing the composition similarly taller to include landscape, and this time with the sun visible in the sky, whereabouts unknown; black chalk on paper, laid down on paper, inscribed lower right *Pinelli 1814 Roma*, 242 × 441 mm. PROV. London, dealer Colnaghi, March 1984.¹

(2) Painting (attributed to F. Francken but perhaps 19th-century) with composition extended at the top and including a landscape with trees to the left and a bridge in the centre, T. Cottrell-Dormer, Rousham House; panel, 39 × 65 cm. (photograph: Courtauld Institute Survey, no. 117; B.72/1432).

EXHIBITED: *Detroit*, 1936, no. 57; *Nicolas*

Poussin—Peter Paul Rubens, The Cincinnati Art Museum, Cincinnati, 1948, no. 10; *Cambridge (Mass.)—New York*, 1956, no. 49.

LITERATURE: W.R. Valentiner, 'Gemälde des Rubens in Amerika', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, N.F. XXIII, 1912, p. 268; idem, *John G. Johnson Collection. Catalogue of a Collection of Paintings and Some Art Objects. Flemish and Dutch Paintings*, Philadelphia, 1913, II, p. 164, no. 664 (as 'The Rape of the Sabines' c. 1620); *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 460, note to p. 149 (as in the Widener collection); E. Tietze-Conrat, 'Une Esquisse faussement attribuée à Rubens', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, XV, 1936, pp. 108-112, esp. p. 109 and fig. 3; Cat. Philadelphia, 1941, p. 36, no. 664; *Goris—Held, America*, 1947, p. 39, no. 82; Valentiner, *America*, 1946, no. 141 (as 'Return of the Sabines', c. 1638); Larsen, *Rubens*, 1952, p. 220, no. 110; Burchard—d'Hulst, *Tekeningen*, 1956, under no. 117; M. Jaffé, 'Rubens' Drawings at Antwerp', *The Burlington Magazine*, XCVIII, 1956, p. 318; B. Sweeny, *Catalogue of Flemish and Dutch Paintings. John G. Johnson Collection*, Philadelphia, 1972, pp. 73-74, no. 664; Baudouin, *Rubens*, 1972, pp. 165-170; Held, *Sketches*, 1980, I, pp. 382-383, no. 285 and II, pl. 285; A.-M. Logan, 'Two Armoured Soldiers Fighting, a late drawing by Peter Paul Rubens', *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin*, XXXIV, 1, 1972, p. 17 (as *Rubens*).

Burchard initially doubted the attribution to Rubens of this—certainly problematic—sketch, but by 1956 had reached a sufficiently positive assessment to conclude that it formed part of the preparation for the painting commissioned by Philip IV in 1639 (No. 43). However, he noted that the top section of the panel was a later addition, and dismissed the landscape, even the lower part with the bridge and trees, as the work of Rubens. Some overpainted features can be discerned, and appear clearly on X-ray photographs (Fig. 149)—for example the left arm of the rider on the left, and the arms of a mother raising her

swaddled child into the air just to the left of the bridge. Moreover, most of these over-painted details are recorded in the Cleveland drawing, which may be a *ricordo* by Rubens himself (No. 43b; Fig. 151).

Both copies include a similar background of trees, and show the composition much higher, with a landscape which continues the section with the bridge in the Philadelphia sketch. The Pinelli drawing (Copy 1, Fig. 152), made in Rome in 1814, reproduces at least the lower part more or less as it appears in the Philadelphia sketch. The painted copy (Copy 2) presents some slight differences. For example, the banner at the extreme right is shown as a standard, and points inwards rather than outwards, while on the left, the *signifer* carries a standard with a different form and the horn is slightly different. There is also some foliage in the foreground, and one woman (Hersilia) is given a dark cloak. The landscape recorded in these copies was almost certainly not by Rubens, but it may have been painted over indications of a landscape by the painter himself, with, in particular, a temple to the upper left.² Some of the features recorded in the Cleveland drawing and subsequently obscured are likewise suppressed in the sketch by Rubens in Antwerp (No. 43c; Fig. 140) which is certainly a development of the Philadelphia composition;³ thus the horseman on the left (Romulus) originally stretched his hand forth, as in the Munich picture (No. 41; Fig. 138), but was then made to rein in his horse, as in the Antwerp sketch and the final painting (No. 43; cf. Figs. 142, 147). And this change in gesture seems to make more sense of the pose of the horse, pulled abruptly back as it advances (in the Munich picture it was easier to show Romulus letting slip the reins, as his horse is there motionless). It seems possible then that the expansion of the panel and with it some of the overpainting might have been the work of Rubens himself—which in turn might explain why he wanted to make a record of the first composition (in the Cleveland drawing, No. 43b; Fig. 151). In the light

of the evidence, both of the copies and the condition of the panel, the following hypothesis might be suggested. Rubens originally planned a long and narrow composition on a suitably-shaped panel; he then thought of adapting it to a more upright format and accordingly added a strip of wood on top (at this stage he might have made a record of the original composition in the Cleveland drawing); he quickly, however, abandoned the attempt, perhaps having merely blocked out a building on the left and made a few changes, and produced a new design instead (the Antwerp sketch: No. 43c; Fig. 140), leaving the Philadelphia panel incomplete, to be 'finished' by a later hand (as seen in the copies). It might then have been an effort to remove this later overpaint which brought the panel to the state in which we now see it.

Whatever the case, the hand of Rubens seems evident at least in parts of the Philadelphia sketch, and the artist was certainly responsible for the composition. Whether it was made directly in connection with the commission from Philip IV is uncertain, since we have no pendant *Rape of the Sabines* in this format. It might have been painted earlier and then adapted for this commission. The scene could be simply a reworking of the rather cramped composition of No. 41 (Fig. 138).

1. I thank Michael Jaffé for bringing this drawing to my attention and Jean-Luc Baroni for supplying a photograph.

2. For the significance of this see above, under No. 43, at n. 7.

3. Cf. Held, loc. cit., 1980.

43b. The Reconciliation of the Romans and Sabines: Drawing (Fig. 151)

Pen and brown ink, grey and brown wash on paper; 197 × 490 mm.—*Verso*: On the left, fragment of a figure; on the right, sketch of Mars disarmed by Venus. Inscribed *cette feuille dessinée des deux costé est de la main de P. et Paul Ru...*

Cleveland, *The Cleveland Museum of Art*. Inv. no. 70.37.

PROVENANCE: ? Gerard Hoet, sale, The Hague, 25-28 August 1760, lot 1109 ('De Ontmoeting der Romynen en Sabynen, bevredigd door de geroofde Vrouwen. Stout met de Pen en O. I. Ink... door Rubbens'); dealer H.M. Calmann, London (1949-54); New York, Mrs Elisabeth Drey (1956); Richard H. Zinser (1970); acquired by the Museum in 1970.

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp, 1956*, no. 117; *Rubensism*, Brown University and Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, 1975, no. 12.

LITERATURE: Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, 1943, p. 270; Burchard—d'Hulst, *Tekeningen*, 1956, pp. 98-99, no. 117, pl. 49 (as *ricordo*); M. Jaffé, 'Rubens' Drawings at Antwerp', *The Burlington Magazine*, XCVIII, 1956, p. 318, fig. 40 (as 'ricordo', related to No. 41); *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, February 1971, pp. 24, 68, repr. p. 33; B. Sweeny, *Catalogue of Flemish and Dutch Paintings*. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, 1972, p. 73, under no. 664; A.-M. Logan, 'Two Armoured Soldiers Fighting, a late drawing by Peter Paul Rubens', *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin*, XXXIV, 1, 1972, p. 17, n. 2; R. Baumstark, 'Ikographische Studien zu Rubens' Kriegs- und Friedensallegorien', *Aachener Kunstblätter*, XLV, 1974, p. 225, n. 387; K.A. Roy in *Rubensism*, [n.p.], 1975, pp. 50-51, no. 12; Held, *Sketches*, 1980, I, p. 383 (as *copy*); A.-M. Logan, review of Held, *Sketches*, 1980, *Master Drawings*, XXI, 1983, p. 415; Garff—Pedersen, *Panneels*, 1988, I, pp. 181-182, under no. 245.

Burchard considered this drawing to be a *ricordo*, probably by Rubens himself, of the grisaille panel now in Philadelphia (No. 43a; Fig. 148). Certainly the drawing relates directly to this panel, and must have been done before the background was overpainted, since it includes details now visible only with the help of X-ray photographs. Several authorities,

however, have doubted the attribution to Rubens, not so much for stylistic reasons—though Anne-Marie Logan sees both the use of washes and the rendering of heads and extremities as uncharacteristic of Rubens, and Held points to weaknesses in anatomy—as on the grounds that such a *ricordo* would have no obvious function. Important to this issue is the drawing on the *verso* of the sheet, which looks very much to have been done by the same hand and about the same time. For this records a composition by Rubens of many years before, namely the *Mars and Venus* formerly in Schloss Königsberg.¹ This composition would seem to date from before 1628, given that it was copied in the Copenhagen 'Rubens Cantoor'.² In the 1956 catalogue Burchard takes the *verso* too as the work of Rubens, but he appears later to have doubted the attribution. And it is perhaps not immediately obvious why the artist should have made a record of the *Mars and Venus* at the end of the 1630s.

However, the theme of Venus disarming Mars is one that relates closely to that of the peace-making Sabine women, and it now seems clear, from the evidence of the copies presented here (No. 43, Copies 1 and 2; Figs. 142, 147), that the lost painting for Philip IV featured an allegorical group of Venus expelling the forces of war. It seems possible then that when he began to think of including such a group in the final stages of the planning of the Madrid picture, Rubens recalled his earlier composition, using the *verso* of this sheet for the purpose.

Interestingly, some of the features overpainted in the Philadelphia sketch (No. 43a; Fig. 148) bring it closer to the Antwerp sketch (No. 43c; Fig. 140). It thus seems possible that the alterations were made by Rubens himself. This has important implications for the Cleveland drawing. For example it shows Romulus's left hand outstretched, and this was evidently what Rubens first planned on the Philadelphia sketch; in the Antwerp sketch, as in the overpainted Philadelphia panel, he

reins in his horse,³ a more convincing gesture.

1. *Evers, Neue Forschungen*, 1943, pp. 270-271, fig. 292; Baumstark, loc. cit., 1974, pp. 177-182, fig. 36.
2. Drawing from Rubens's workshop, probably by Willem Panneels, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', no. IV, 33; pen and ink, 138 × 148 mm. See *Garff—Pedersen, Panneels*, 1988, I, no. 245, pp. 181-182; II, pl. 248. For the argument about the date and circumstances of the cantoor see above, under No. 38, at n. 2.
3. The problematic *lituus* (cf. above, under No. 43) does not appear in the drawing, even though its shape can be made out on the X-ray of No. 43a (Fig. 149). There it may terminate appropriately, in a kind of dragon's head.

43c. The Reconciliation of the Romans and Sabines: Oil Sketch (Figs. 140, 145)

Oil on panel; 55.5 × 86.5 cm.

Antwerp, Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas Belgique (Huis Osterrieth).

PROVENANCE: presumably in Rubens's possession in 1640 and one of the 'zeer groote menigte van Teekeningen...' in inv. 1640; ? bought by Gaspar I Duarte at Rubens's sale in 1642; his son, Diego Duarte II (Antwerp, d. 1691) (inv. 1682; see above, under No. 42b); in 1691 passed to Manuel Levy Duarte (Amsterdam, Antwerp and The Hague), by whom sold November 1692 to Jacques (Vaz) Faro, Amsterdam; Brussels, Philippe-François de Mérode, prince de Rubempré (d. 1742); his sale, Brussels, 11 April 1765, lot 70; bought by Daniel Danoot (Brussels, banker, d. 1770; see further above, under No. 42b); Danoot sale, Brussels (Nillis), 22 December 1828, lot 59 (bought by 'Laprelle'; but according to Smith this was *pro forma*, the sketch having been purchased earlier by 'a speculator'); dealer William Buchanan (who had visited the Danoot collection in 1817), sold to Alexander Baring, later Lord Ashburton (1774-1848) in April 1829; inherited by Francis Thornhill Baring (1796-1866), later Lord Northbrook, Lon-

don, Bath House; London, Baron Alfred de Rothschild (1842-1918), by 1902; his nephew, Lionel de Rothschild (1882-1942); Edmond de Rothschild; ? dealer Matthiesen, London (1942); Garfield Weston (by 1953); sale, London (Sotheby's), 3 December 1969, lot 8, bought by the Banque through Duits (along with No. 42b; Fig. 139).

COPIES: (1) Painting, pair to the *Rape of the Sabines* (No. 42b, Copy 1), showing the composition slightly taller; whereabouts unknown; copper, 65 × 91 cm. PROV. Sir Murray Scott; Richard Wallace; sale, London (Christie's), 10 July 1931, lot 27; sale, Brussels (Galerie Giroux), 14-15 March 1958, lot 507bis (pl. xv) (as *Theodoor van Thulden*); sale, Brussels (Galerie Giroux), 18-19 December 1959, lot 445.

(2) Painting, pendant to the *Rape of the Sabines* (No. 42b, Copy 2) by Victor Wolfvoet (1612-1652), whereabouts unknown; panel, measurements unknown, recorded in his estate (inv. 24-26 October 1652); ? Cornelis de Bailleur, bought from him with pendant by M. Musson. LIT. *Denucé, Konstkamers*, 1932, p. 143; *Denucé, Na Rubens*, 1949, p. 219; *Held, Sketches*, 1980, I, p. 382; F. Baudouin, 'De Herkomst van twee olieverfschetsen van Rubens in het Osterriethhuis te Antwerpen', *Liber Amicorum Herman Liebaers*, Brussels, 1984, p. 385, n. 30.

(3) Painting, pair to the *Rape of the Sabines* (No. 42b, Copy 3) by Jasper Jacob van Opstal I (master in 1644-45), whereabouts unknown; technique and measurements unknown. LIT. *Van den Branden, Schilderschool*, 1883, II, p. 475.

(4) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 55 × 85 cm. PROV. de Berry (?Berny) collection; Douwes brothers, Amsterdam, then dealer Goudstikker, sale, 1938, no. 95 (photograph in Witt Library, Courtauld Institute); dealer 1959-60.

(5) Painting, probably 18th-century, Earl of Jersey (photograph in Witt Library, Courtauld Institute); technique and measurements unknown.

(6) Painting, whereabouts unknown; cop-

per, 69 × 86 cm. PROV. Mrs Willy Van Wassenhove, Ghent (photograph in Rubenianum).

(7) Painting (?same as Copy 6), whereabouts unknown; technique and measurements unknown (76 × 107 cm., including frame). PROV. Bulstrode, William Bentinck, 2nd Duke of Portland (1709-1762): 'Battle of the Romans & Sabins prevented by Hercinia, by Rubens'. LIT. R.W. Goulding, *Catalogue of the Pictures belonging to his Grace the Duke of Portland*, K.G. Cambridge, 1936, p. XXVI.

(8) Sepia wash drawing by J.H. Fragonard (1732-1806), pair to the *Rape of the Sabines* (No. 42b, Copy 9), whereabouts unknown; paper, measurements unknown. PROV. Sale, Paris (Paillet), 23 May 1780, lot 113 ('Un autre Dessin comme le précédent [i.e. lavé au bistre sur papier blanc], par le même [Fragonard, d'après P.P. Rubens], représentant un combat entre les Romains et les Sabines').

(9) Drawing, pair to the *Rape of the Sabines* (No. 42b, Copy 10), by Peter Joseph Tassaert (1736-1803), St Petersburg, Hermitage, no. 689; watercolour on paper, 620 × 910 mm. PROV. Count Karl (Charles-Philippe Jean) Cobenzl (Ljubljana, 1712 – Brussels, 1770), 1768. LIT. M. Dobroklonsky, *Catalogue Hermitage IV. Drawings of the Flemish School, 17th-18th centuries* (in Russian), Moscow, 1955, no. 689.

(10) Polychrome wood relief, whereabouts unknown; 35 × 42.3 cm. PROV. Sale, New York (Christie's), 30 May 1990, lot 163, repr. (as *German 16th-century, Massacre of the Innocents*).

EXHIBITED: British Institution, 1829, no. 62, untitled (Alexander Baring); *Old Masters*, London, 1871 (Lord Ashburton); *Flemish Art, 1300-1700*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, Winter 1953-54, no. 179.

LITERATURE: *Hoet, Catalogus, 1752-70*, III, p. 399, no. 62; W. Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting*, II, London, 1824, p. 303; *Smith, Catalogue, 1829-42*, II, pp. 174-177, no. 613; *Reynolds, Journey, 1852*, II, pp. 149-150; *Waagen, Treasures, 1854*, II, p. 97; *Blanc, Trésor, 1857-58*, I, p. 125; *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, pp. 19-20, no. 805;

Rooses, Addenda, 1910, p. 308; *Dillon, Rubens 1909*, pp. 176, 230, 236 and pl. 367; L. Seghers, 'A Great European Collection—Monsieur Maurice Naessens and the Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas', *The Connoisseur*, CLXXV, 1970, pp. 159-160, fig. 3; G. Dogaer, 'De inventaris der schilderijen van Diego Duarte', *Jaarboek. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen*, 1971, p. 209; *Martin, Cat. National Gallery*, pp. 111, 114, n. 23; *Baudouin, Rubens, 1972*, pp. 165-170; F. Baudouin, 'Two Oil Sketches by Rubens', *The Connoisseur*, CXCIV, 1977, pp. 261-265; *Held, Sketches, 1980*, I, pp. 379-382, no. 284 and II, pl. 284; F. Baudouin, 'De Herkomst van twee olieverschetsen van Rubens in het Osterriethhuis te Antwerpen', *Liber Amicorum Herman Liebaers*, Brussels, 1984, pp. 373-391; *Jaffé, Rubens, 1989*, p. 343, no. 1169; *Vosters, España, 1990*, p. 124, repr.; Sir Joshua Reynolds, *A Journey to Flanders and Holland*, ed. H. Mount, Cambridge, 1996, p. 19, fig. 17, p. 154, n. 77.

This splendid sketch, evidently painted in the last year of Rubens's life, and in slightly better condition than its companion *The Rape of the Sabines* (No. 42b; Fig. 139), deserves the enthusiastic appreciation it has received from Reynolds onwards. Its technique varies from the rough impasto of the figures around the standard-bearer on the left to the delicately sketched head of the horse, virtually drawn over the ground. Several *pentimenti* can be detected. For example the position of the left foot of the soldier restrained by the woman at the left was changed, so that it looks more as if he has been pulled back; some of the heads of the women have been slightly altered in pose (originally they appear to have more resembled their counterparts in the sketch in Philadelphia, No. 43a; Fig. 148). More significantly, the position of the line of Sabine soldiers has been changed, and in particular the horseman with the spear has been moved back, so that he does not disrupt the diagonally drawn lines of the armies. Here too the attitudes were originally closer to those in the

Philadelphia sketch, which undoubtedly preceded the present one. The morning landscape, painted over *pentimenti*, may be something of an afterthought—the original landscape in the Philadelphia sketch, if there was one, has been obliterated; whatever the case, this contributes to the mood and dramatic character of the encounter. As discussed above (under No. 43, where the subject-matter is considered), the inspiration was probably Ovid. Only a few passages seem to have suffered from cleaning or abrasion, such as the arm of Hersilia at Romulus's horse.

44. The Rape of Lucretia (Figs. 154-155, 157-158)

Oil on canvas; 187 × 214.5 cm.

Whereabouts unknown, presumably lost; formerly, Potsdam-Sanssouci, Bildergalerie. Inv. no. I. 6313.

PROVENANCE: Antwerp, Lunden family, before 1640, since it does not appear in inventory of Rubens's possessions at his death (inv. 1639-49: 'L'Histoire de Tarquin par Rubens... Et de Lucrece selon toute apparence');¹ Collection Dubois, Antwerp ('Histoire de Tarquin et Lucrece');² bought by Frederick the Great of Prussia in 1765; 1790 (as *Van Diepenbeek*) in Schloss, Berlin (inv. Brandenburg-Preussisches Hausarchiv, Charlottenburg, Rep. 14 C 1); brought from Gallery of Schloss, Berlin to Neues Palais, Potsdam in 1790;³ in 1870s brought to Hannover, Georgspalais; in 1926 transferred to Bildergalerie, Potsdam.

COPIES: (1) Detail of painting by W. van Haecht: *Alexander in the Studio of Apelles*, The Hague, Mauritshuis; panel, 105 × 149.5 cm. LIT. *Catalogue raisonné des tableaux et des sculptures*, edn The Hague, 1914, no. 266, pp. 106-112, numbered 43 in the diagram of the picture (not recognized here as by Rubens); *Speth-Holterhoff, Cabinets*, 1957, p. 104; B. Broos, *Meesterwerken in het Mauritshuis*, The Hague, 1987, pp. 162-174, no. 29, esp. p. 170.

(2) Detail of *Picture Gallery* (Fig. 169) attributed to W. van Haecht, Marquess of Bute collection, ? Mount Stuart, Rothesay, Bute; panel, 73 × 104 cm. LIT. J.P. Richter, *Catalogue of... paintings lent by the Marquis of Bute*, London (South Kensington Museum), 1883, no. 247 (as *Frans Francken*); *Speth-Holterhoff, Cabinets*, 1957, pp. 212-213, n. 138.

(3) Painting, apparently made by Arnold Lunden when owner of the original (see Provenance above). PROV. Antwerp, Lunden family, inv. 1639-49 ('Tarquin, copie par le même [Arnout]'); inv. 1692 ('Lucrece, copie d'après Rubens').⁴

(4) Drawing by a Dutch mannerist, whereabouts unknown; technique and measurements unknown. PROV. Ludwig Burchard collection.

(5) Drawing from Rubens's workshop, perhaps by Willem Panneels (1600/5-1634), of figure of Lucretia with pillows and belt sketched in, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng, 'Rubens Cantoor', no. IV, 54; red over black chalk with pen on top, 154 × 180-182 mm.; inscribed on the verso in pencil left centre 5, in pen and brown ink lower right 222. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen, presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Vlieghe, Lunden*, 1977, p. 192, n. 85, p. 193, fig. 17; *Garff—Pedersen, Panneels*, 1988, I, p. 150 no. 200; II, pl. 202 (as '?*Susanna bathing*'); *Held, Review*, 1991, p. 428 and fig. 20, p. 427.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Oeuvre*, 1886-92, IV, p. 24; P. Wescher, in *Pantheon*, V, 1930, p. 148; G. Poensgen, 'Tarquinius und Lucretia von Rubens', *Kunst und Künstler*, XXVIII, 1930, pp. 207-210, repr.; V. Zouboff, 'Les nouvelles dispositions du Palais de Potsdam', *Beaux-Arts*, 20 July 1930, p. 8, repr.; E. Henschel-Simon, *Die Gemälde und Skulpturen in der Bildergalerie von Sanssouci*, Berlin, 1930, p. 27, no. 89, repr.; eadem, *Die Bildergalerie von Sanssouci*, Berlin, 1930, p. 13, fig. 10; *The Connoisseur*, LXXXVI, 1930, p. 337, repr.; *Evers, Rubens*, 1942, pp.

115-118 (repr.), 120; Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, 1943, pp. 151, 166, 257, 269; Bernhard, *Verlorene Werke*, 1965, p. 56; J. Müller Hofstede, 'Rubens und Tizian: das Bild Karls V', *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, XVIII, 1967, p. 82, n. 12; Vlieghe, *Lunden*, 1977, p. 192, no. 92 and notes, and fig. 16; Jaffé, *Rubens*, 1989, p. 170, no. 113; G. Eckhardt, *Die Gemälde in der Bildergalerie von Sanssouci*, Potsdam—Sanssouci, 1975, p. 90, repr. p. 94; Held, *Review*, 1991, p. 428 and fig. 19, p. 427.

This spectacular picture, formerly in Potsdam, had not long been recognized as an important work made shortly after Rubens's return from Italy, when it disappeared during the Second World War. A night scene of violence and passion, it recalls in its theme as well as its style other erotic works of the same period, in particular the *Susanna and the Elders* (1609-10) in Madrid and the *Samson and Delilah* (c. 1609) in the National Gallery, London.⁵ The dramatic illumination, the sumptuous colours and exotic drapery, testify to the influence of Caravaggio as well as contributing to the claustrophobic atmosphere. Against the clustered tapestries, embroidered hangings, and textured coverings Tarquin's unexpectedly patterned costume adds to the luxuriant confusion. Without a reliable record of the colours, we can now unfortunately only imagine the picture's full effect. However, the small reproduction in the background of Van Haecht's paintings (Copies 1 and 2; Fig. 169) indicates dark and golden-brown tonalities around the figures, apart from a blue drape over the stool in the bottom right, the white sheets and a rich red cover on Lucretia's bed.⁶ Even if this bed with its shell head was intended to look antique,⁷ Rubens was concerned less with early Roman authenticity than with creating a setting of Venetian opulence for his naked heroine—a sister to Venus in the Düsseldorf *Venus and Adonis* of 1609-10.⁸

Rubens must have had Titian's *Rape of Lucretia* in mind when he embarked on this subject; he would have seen the picture now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, when

he first visited Spain and would have known the print by Cornelis Cort.⁹ Here there was indeed scarcely any concession at all (as Casiano dal Pozzo complained when he saw it in 1626) to the ancient context.¹⁰ Rubens's Tarquin is at least not in contemporary (undone) breeches and if the composition and colouring owe much to Titian the picture has rather a different psychological tone and depicts a different moment in the story.

Rubens presumably knew the classical accounts of the tale of Lucretia, the virtuous wife of Tarquinius Collatinus who innocently inspired the lustful violence of Sextus Tarquinius (the Tarquin of the story).¹¹ But the artist has not been much concerned to follow the version of the historians either by hinting at political implications, or by alluding to the 'virtuous' justification they provide for her preferring rape to immediate death at the hand of Tarquin—namely his threat that he would also kill a slave-boy, lay him in her bed and claim to have executed the pair in righteous anger.¹² Since the attendant boy is often included in earlier representations of the subject, including Titian's where he is something of a voyeur, the omission can hardly be an oversight.¹³ For Rubens the theme was that of *amor sforzato*; and he was concerned with the emotional conflict not only between the lustful Tarquin and his chaste victim but within the breast of the rapist himself. In this he was, I believe, influenced by Ovid's *Fasti*. Like the historical sources, Ovid has Tarquin enter the bedchamber with a drawn sword and makes Lucretia yield only to the ultimate threat (about the servant) to her posthumous fame. For the poet, however, Tarquin's motive is simply his hopeless love for the white-skinned and blonde beauty, without any hint of the irritation at the lady's resolute chastity and reputation which was a crucial element for Livy and Dio Cassius,¹⁴ and the whole episode is effectively translated from a historical saga to an intimate drama of passion.¹⁵

According to the ancient authors, Tarquin surprised the sleeping Lucretia brandishing

his sword, but assailed her with pleas and bribes before resorting to threats, laying his hands on the chaste and unwilling breast as (Ovid adds) he knelt on the bed. Sixteenth-century representations of the theme had emphasized Tarquin's drawn sword or rather (more appropriately for a bedchamber) a knife, often at Lucretia's throat, and indicated the lady's reluctance by showing sometimes quite spectacular evidence of a struggle in her bed.¹⁶ Rubens visualized Tarquin's determination effectively enough in his approach and in the gesture of his left hand, but suggested his vain hope that he might win Lucretia without violence by concealing his right hand, and its weapon. The composition is an impasse of contradictory gestures—Lucretia's modestly pressed knees and defensive hands resisting Tarquin's right leg and arm—a dramatic tension which the viewer (and Lucretia?) sees will be broken a moment later when the aggressor produces the dagger. The message is symbolically underlined. A nervous Cupid illuminating the scene has (seemingly) just fathomed the meaning of Tarquin's expression. He may have aroused Tarquin's feelings, but the malevolent force of a Fury pressing close behind, a half-toothless Tisiphone shaking serpents and brandishing her firebrand, is now driving that love to its perversion.¹⁷ Rubens sometimes liked to use allegorical figures to externalize the passions and illustrate the intentions of characters, particularly in mythological scenes. Here, however, as in other instances where similar characters menace the declaration or consummation of an ill-fated love, the Fury's malevolent presence points to the bad outcome of the story.¹⁸ As for Lucretia, the ultimate ineffectiveness of her resistance is underlined in the fact that the only assistance to hand is that of the frightened lap dog on her pillow (Fig. 157).¹⁹

Burchard dated *The Rape of Lucretia* to c. 1612. Vlieghe put it slightly earlier, c. 1610-11, which is surely right in bringing it closer to the London *Samson and Delilah* and the *Susanna* in Madrid. Poensgen talked of some

weak passages, for instance in the bed-covering in the lower right, which he attributed to pupils. This is now hard to assess from photographs, but the loose handling here seems to be paralleled in other works of this period which are indisputably by Rubens himself, for instance in some parts of the Madrid *Susanna and the Elders*. The copy in the 'Rubens Cantoor' (Copy 5) proves that the picture (or at least a workshop replica) was still in Rubens's studio in the 1620s. Perhaps it was there when Van Haecht's *Workshop of Apelles and Picture Gallery* (Copies 1 and 2) were painted. It may be significant that the figure of Tarquin is reused for one of the Romans on the podium in the London *Rape of the Sabines* (No. 40; Fig. 127; see under No. 44a). However, as Vlieghe notes, the fact that the *Rape of Lucretia* is not included in the inventory taken at Rubens's death indicates that it was in the Lunden collection before 1640.

In view of the history of the picture, and the fact that it stayed so long with Rubens before eventually passing to (virtually) a family member (who appreciated it enough to make his own copy: see Copy 3), we may perhaps assume that it was painted by the artist for his own house.

A 'Tarquin et Lucrèce, tableau capital de Rubens' is recorded in a sale at Ghent in 1820.²⁰ The description in the catalogue is enthusiastic enough and indicates that Tarquin was shown holding Lucretia with his left hand and threatening her (presumably with sword or dagger) as she lay, clad only in a chemise, white against white bedclothes. With nothing else to go on we can say only that this picture, which was on canvas and measured 50 × 123 cm., was evidently not a version of the work formerly in Potsdam.

1. Vlieghe, *Lunden*, 1977, p. 192, no. 92
2. See F.J.J. Mols, 'Annotations...sur Rubens, 1775', Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 5735, p. 414 (fol. 92v); *Roozes, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, p. 24.
3. See Poensgen, op. cit. in bibl., 1930, p. 107n.
4. Vlieghe, *Lunden*, 1977, p. 200, no. 157 and p. 203, no. 32. In both inventories the same valuation (25 fl.) is given, which suggests that both references

- are indeed to the same picture.
5. *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921, p. 32 and d'Hulst—Vandenven, Old Testament, pp. 202-204, no. 59, fig. 153; ibid., pp. 107-113, no. 31, fig. 72.*
 6. For a colour reproduction of which shows the background of Van Haecht's picture in the Hague see Broos, *op. cit.* above (under Copy 1); also R. Tijs, *P.P. Rubens en J. Jordaens. Barok in eigen huis*, Antwerp, 1984, p. 115.
 7. Cf. the bed and other more consciously classical furnishings in the late *Suicide of Dido* (*K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921, p. 408*).
 8. *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921, p. 29*: she even appears to wear the same armllet.
 9. Cf. Müller Hofstede, *loc. cit.*, 1967. For Titian's picture see *Wethey, Titian, 1969-75, III, pp. 86, 180-181, no. 34, pls. 161, 164, 166, and 229* for the Cort print of 1571; also M. Jaffé in [Cat. Exh.] *The Genius of Venice. 1500-1600*, eds. J. Martineau and C. Hope, London, 1983-84, pp. 229-230, no. 130.
 10. See M.C. Volk, 'Rubens in Madrid and the decoration of the King's summer apartments', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXIII, 1981, p. 526 for Casiano's account.
 11. See esp. Livy, *Ab urbe condita* I.Ivii-lix; but also Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica* X.xx.1-xxi.5; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* IV.67.2. For earlier illustrations of the theme see *Pigler, Barockthemen, 1974, II, pp. 435-437*.
 12. See esp. Livy, *Ab urbe condita* I.Iviii.4. Servius (on *Aeneid* VIII.646) describes the slave as an Ethiopian, and he is sometimes depicted as black in the Renaissance.
 13. Among the illustrations of the theme which show the boy more appropriately terrified is the picture in Kassel by Palma (S. Mason Rinaldi, *Palma il Giovane. L'opera completa*, Milan, 1984, p. 87, no. 117 and fig. 269). The print by Giorgio Ghisi after Giulio Romano (*Bartsch, XV, 1867, p. 396, no. 17; The Illustrated Bartsch, XXXI, eds. S. Boorsch and J. Spike, New York, 1986, p. 78*) shows the servant rushing forward with a torch.
 14. Livy, *Ab urbe condita* I.Ivii.10-11; Dio, *Roman History* II.11.14 (fragments).
 15. Ovid, *Fasti* II.721-852.
 16. See in particular the versions by Tintoretto and his followers (esp. perhaps that in the Prado, where the four-poster, supported by golden statues of naked women, has entirely collapsed around the pair): R. Pallucchini and P. Rossi, *Tintoretto. Le opere sacre e profane*, Milan, 1982, I, p. 229, nos. 450, 451 and p. 247, no. A.59; II, pls. 575, 576, 683.
 17. This figure recalls several malign creations of ancient literature, with snaky (or at least snake-like) hair, handfuls of serpents, torches (usually bloody), staring eyes, pendulous breasts and bad teeth. Relevant passages are assembled by Gevartius in his commentary on the personifications in

- Rubens's *Temple of Janus* (*Gevartius, Pompa, 1641, pp. 117, 119, 124, 132*); but see in particular the description of Tisiphone in Ovid, *Metamorphoses* IV.474-84 as well as Vergil's Alecto (*Aeneid*, VII.445-57). Cf. also the Fury Alecto who drags Mars forward in the *Horrors of War* (*K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921, p. 428*) and Rubens's letter of 12 March 1638 to Sustermans (*Roozes—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909, VI, p. 208, doc. DCCCL*).
18. Cf. in particular the *Ixion* of 1614 as well as the two versions of *Meleager and Atalanta* (*K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921, pp. 125, 101, 331*).
 19. Lap dogs of course appear along with mirrors, jugs and the like as appropriate to love scenes in boudoirs, and Lomazzo particularly recommends them for pictures of *amor sforzato* such as *Tarquin and Lucretia*. See *Lomazzo, Scritti, ed. Ciardi, 1974, II, pp. 312-313*. For the lap dog in Rubens's *Susanna and the Elders* in Munich see *d'Hulst—Vandenven, Old Testament, no. 65, fig. 170* and the comments on p. 219, noting Veronese's use of a similar dog in a similar context.
 20. 2 October 1820, no. 153.

44a. Study for the Figure of Tarquin: Drawing (Fig. 156)

Black chalk with touches of white chalk on ochre-coloured paper, also with touches of brown paint on the left, possibly where the drawing was held for use in the workshop; 259 × 320 mm. Two pieces of paper added lower right where the drawing has been cut. Inscribed on this addition, in capital letters: *Rubens. Madrid, Real Academia de San Fernando. Inv. no. 2382.*

PROVENANCE: ? from Bourbon collection in Parma (according to Félix Boix: Velasco, *op. cit.*, 1941, below, p. 4); Monastery of Valparaíso, in Zamora; transferred to Academia de San Fernando in 1835.

EXHIBITED: *Madrid, 1977-78, no. 123; Padua etc., 1990, no. 70.*

LITERATURE: [M. Velasco], *Catálogo de la sala de dibujos de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando*, Madrid, 1941, p. 89, no. 284, repr.; J. Müller Hofstede, 'Beiträge zum zeich-

nerischen Werk von Rubens', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXVII, 1965, pp. 297-299, fig. 214; A.E. Pérez Sánchez, *Catálogo de los dibujos de la Real Academia de San Fernando*, Madrid, 1967, pp. 134-135; M. Díaz Padrón in *Cat. Exh. Madrid, 1977-78*, pp. 134-135, no. 123, repr. p. 251; D. Bodart in *Cat. Exh. Padua etc., 1990*, p. 169, no. 70, repr.

Müller Hofstede, who first published this drawing,¹ drew analogies with figural types in various works of 1609-10 and rightly concluded that the study dates from this period; he did not, however, associate it with No. 44, nor has this connection been made in the subsequent literature. Its precise purpose was long ago recognized by Burchard—following a suggestion made to him by Neil McLaren. The drawing is obviously a study after life for the difficult pose of Tarquin who is concealing, yet just beginning to reveal his sword. There is a corresponding figure in the London *Rape of the Sabines* (No. 40; Fig. 127)—one of the Romans in the background. Rubens could have derived that figure from the present drawing, though, as is noted above (under No. 44) in the 1630s he perhaps still had in his possession the painting of the *Rape of Lucretia* (Fig. 154). The drawing may have been cut at the lower right to remove something that the model was leaning on to maintain his pose, or again when it was reused for the new context of the Sabine composition (No. 40).

Rubens tried the man's hand in two positions in this drawing, and in the figure of Tarquin in the painting (No. 44; Fig. 154) it appears more like the second attempt, even if the twist of the arm is still slightly different. More of the wrist shows and more light falls on it, presumably so as to draw attention to the gesture and the hidden knife. The fall of light is reproduced in roughly the same way in the painting, which suggests that the drawing may have been done in artificial light, at night or in a darkened studio to achieve the right effect. It was Rubens's practice to make drawings of figures for paintings that were to

be executed with the participation of the studio, but in this case we need not assume studio involvement, since the pose was changed in the final version. The outer line on the model's back was that used for Tarquin; of course his expression was completely altered to one of wide-eyed passion.

In his exhibition catalogue of 1990 Bodart connected No. 44a with another drawing after a model in the Academia of San Fernando. This sheet seems to me to have no connection either with Rubens himself, or any artist in his entourage.

1. Loc. cit., 1965.

45. The Fortitude of Scaevola: Drawing (Fig. 161)

Pen and sepia wash with some black chalk; diameter 220 mm. Below mark of the collection of P.J. Mariette (L.1854). Inscribed lower right with the number 111 (or III?). On the mat the following inscription in the hand of Mariette: *Mucius Scevola Devant Porsenna Roy des Toscan / Se punit de la meprise / à la plume lavé d'encre de la chine.*

London, British Museum, Print Room. Inv. no.1860.6.16.135.

PROVENANCE: P.J. Mariette (Paris, 1694-1774), who parted with it in an exchange with an (unnamed) collector in Amsterdam; Versteegh; comte de Vaudreuil, sale, Paris (Le Brun), 26 November 1787, lot 138 (as *Van Dyck*; thirteen figures, 'dessin de forme ronde, fait à la plume, couleur de bistre sur papier blanc');¹ Sir Thomas Lawrence (London, 1769-1830);² Samuel Woodburn (London, 1786-1853); Lawrence—Woodburn sale, London (Christie's), 5 June 1860, lot 350 (as *Van Dyck*), bought by Tiffin; purchased by the Museum in 1860.

EXHIBITED: *The Lawrence Gallery, Second Exhibition*, London, 1835, no. 25 (as *Van Dyck*).

LITERATURE: *A Catalogue of One Hundred Original Drawings by Sir Ant. Vandyke and Rembrandt van Ryn, collected by Sir Thomas Lawrence*, London, 1835, p. 11, no. 25 (as *Van Dyck*); A.M. Hind, *Catalogue of Drawings by Dutch and Flemish Artists Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum. II. Drawings by Rubens, Van Dyck and Other Artists of the Flemish School of the XVII Century*, London, 1923, pp. 57-58, no. 20 (as *Van Dyck*); Wood, *Scaevola*, 1989, *passim*, repr. fig. 2 (as *Rubens*).

This drawing, evidently not regarded by Burchard as by Rubens, has until recently been little considered, and generally given to Van Dyck. In his article of 1989, however, Jeremy Wood has argued, I think persuasively, that it is probably by Rubens. At least it surely records an early composition by him.

Wood points to stylistic similarities with drawings done by Rubens just before and after his arrival in Italy in 1600, in particular with the sheet from the lost notebook—or so-called pocketbook—and with the female nude after Konrad Meit, both in Berlin;³ he also notes the similarity in facial type between the protagonist and the man on horseback, standing for the Duke of Lerma, in the drawing in Paris.⁴ As he observes too, the figure of the dead man in the foreground is very similar to that of the wounded Trojan in Rubens's *Aeneas preparing to lead the Trojans into Exile*, a painting done as part of an Aeneid cycle in Mantua in 1601-2.⁵

It should be added, however, that the style of the drawing is very close to that of a group of pen sketches (in Copenhagen and in a private collection in London) which some authorities assign to the young Rubens, some to the young Van Dyck.⁶ Given the present situation of early Rubens/early Van Dyck scholarship, caught on shifting sands of connoisseurship, it seems safest to say that the

drawing of *The Fortitude of Scaevola* (No. 45) could in fact be a copy by the young Van Dyck of c. 1615-16 of an earlier composition by Rubens, rather than Rubens's original.

Other aspects of the British Museum drawing might seem to support the idea that it is a copy, whether or not by Van Dyck. Pointing to its finished character and detailed penwork and hatching, Justus Müller Hofstede suggested to me that it was probably after an early design by Rubens for the Alcázar painting (No. 46; cf. Fig. 163). Faint traces of lead underdrawing might also suggest the work of a copyist. The circular shape too, unusual for Rubens, might then have been altered from an original rectangular format. But, as Wood noted, it seems significant that a number of sixteenth-century prints of exemplary histories are circular—among them one by Beham of *Scaevola*.⁷ If the British Museum drawing was designed by Rubens for a print, this in turn would justify the elaborate treatment. (In this case Rubens would have intended to provide a further drawing in reverse to accommodate the final reversal in printing, it being essential to the story that Scaevola burn his right hand, as in the present drawing.) Another possibility is that the drawing was for a painted-glass roundel, or was a component of a decorative scheme, perhaps for a triumphal entry, corresponding to a personified Virtue (in this case *Constantia* or *Fortitudo*). But the account of the 1599 entry of Albert and Isabella to Antwerp, the obvious candidate since its artistic director was Rubens's last master, Otto van Veen, yields no suitable suggestion.⁸

Whatever the case, the design itself makes sense as Rubens's earliest formulation of the subject, one which he later adapted for his painting for Philip IV (No. 46; cf. Fig. 163). The story of Mucius (Scaevola)'s feat of endurance is told in detail below, under No. 46; here it can simply be noted that, having failed in his enterprise to assassinate the Etruscan chief Lars Porsenna, the young Roman plunged the hand that had killed the wrong man (Porsenna's secretary) into a convenient fire

and burnt it away. In the drawing Scaevola ('left-handed', as he would thereafter be styled) is still holding the dagger with which he performed the deed. In the later painting (No. 46) Rubens preferred to give him a sword—a more noble instrument for a hero—and had him leave it in the corpse, taking his cue from the account of the subject by Plutarch. In this early design, visual sources, such as Beham's woodcut, seem to have been important. Scaevola plants his assassin's knife firmly into the fire on the altar as in several Netherlandish versions of the subject (cf. *text ill.* 7).⁹ The poses and gestures of the figures are, nevertheless, very much based on Raphael, and relate to those on the Berlin sheet from the 'pocketbook'.¹⁰ The present design betrays a similar interest too in expressions of shock and astonishment, and was presumably close in date, probably just before Rubens's departure for Italy in 1600. Still, the gruesome motif of the bystanders holding their noses, hardly consistent with Italianate decorum, was retained, at least for one figure, in the composition for Philip IV (No. 46; cf. Fig. 163), made, I believe, more than twenty years later.

1. The measurements are given as c. 435 × 380 mm. but this perhaps includes the mount.
2. In the manuscript inventory of Lawrence's collection, at present in the Rubenianum in Antwerp, the work is attributed to Van Dyck: see fol. 112. Cf. See Wood, *Scaevola*, 1989, p. 37, n. 9, referring to fol. 66 in the typescript copy in the Victoria and Albert Museum Library (86 W 39).
3. Wood, *Scaevola*, 1989, pp. 29-34, figs. 4 and 9; for the drawings see Mielke—Winner, *Cat. Berlin*, 1977, pp. 29-36, no. 5; pp. 25-26, no. 3.
4. Wood, *Scaevola*, 1989, p. 34 and fig. 10; for the drawing see Held, *Drawings*, 1986, pp. 76-77, no. 26, pl. 38.
5. Wood, *Scaevola*, 1989, p. 34 and fig. 11; for the painting see E. McGrath in [Cat. Exh.] *Splendours of the Gonzaga*, eds. D. Chambers and J. Martineau (London, Victoria and Albert Museum), London, 1981, pp. 227-229, no. 244; also A.-M. Logan, review of Held, *Drawings*, 1986, *Master Drawings*, XXV, 1987, pp. 67-68.
6. See Wood, *Scaevola*, 1989, pp. 32 and 39, with the earlier literature. Connected to this question is the status of the so-called Antwerp sketchbook in

Chatsworth, whose attribution to Van Dyck by Jaffé (*Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, 1966) has been recently disputed, notably by Müller Hofstede (J. Müller Hofstede, 'Neue Beiträge zum Oeuvre Anton van Dycks' *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XLVIII-XLIX, 1988, pp. 125-131). Wood produced counter arguments in support of Van Dyck's authorship, and it was included in the Van Dyck exhibition of 1991 (C. Brown, *The Drawings by Anthony van Dyck*, New York [Pierpont Morgan Library], 1991, pp. 38-47); but see now J. Müller Hofstede, 'Van Dyck's Authorship Excluded: The Sketchbook at Chatsworth', in *Van Dyck 350*, eds. S.J. Barnes and A. Wheelock, Washington (National Gallery of Art), 1994, pp. 48-60. With its authorship so much disputed, the sketchbook certainly cannot be regarded as a secure point of reference.

7. Bartsch, VIII, 1866, p. 149, no. 81; *The Illustrated Bartsch*, XV, ed. R.A. Koch, New York, 1978, p. 67.
8. Bochiuss, *Narratio*, 1602. For the notion that Van Veen was the principal artist involved in the decorations see the preface to *Cervartius, Pompa*, 1641.
9. In Italian pictures (cf. Fig. 160 and under No. 46) he usually has no knife in his burning hand.
10. Wood, *Scaevola*, 1989, pp. 30-31; for the significance of the figures on the Berlin sheet see notably J. Müller Hofstede in *Cat. Exh. Cologne*, 1977, pp. 50-67.

46. The Fortitude of Scaevola

Oil on canvas; c. 250 × 250 cm. (3 varas square).

Lost (burnt in the Alcázar, 1734).

PROVENANCE: Brought to Madrid by Rubens in 1628 for Philip IV; Madrid, Alcázar, *salón nuevo* (by 1633: inv. 1636);¹ *salón de los espejos* (=same room: inv. 1686; inv. 1700 [valued at 600 *doblonos*])²

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 163) from Rubens's studio, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, inv. no. 749; canvas, 187 × 156 cm. (originally 157 × 156 cm.; the top of the throne was repainted to make it higher and the curtain was extended when the picture was enlarged at the top; this repainting was removed when the picture was restored c. 1952).³ PROV. Prince Wenzel Anton Kaunitz-Rietburg (1711-1794), by 1776 (see Copy 15); Prince Alois Wenzel Kaunitz-Rietburg (1774-1848; not in his sale of

13 March 1820), Vienna; ? Count Lambert, Vienna (as *Rubens*);⁴ Prince Nikolaus Joseph Esterházy (1765-1833), Vienna (inv. 1822, no. 1090: as *Rubens*);⁵ Prince Paul Esterházy (1786-1866), who moved the collection in 1865 to Pest (exhibited in the Hungarian Academy for Sciences); acquired by the Hungarian state in 1871. LIT. J. von Kurzböck, *Neueste Beschreibung... Wiens*, Vienna, 1779, p. 189 (as *Rubens*); F.H. Böckh, *Wiens lebende Schriftsteller, Künstler...*, Vienna, 1822, p. 319 (as *Rubens*); Smith, *Catalogue, 1829-42*, II, p. 304, no. 1111; IX, p. 339, no. 335; Parthey, *Bildersaal*, 1864, II, p. 428, no. 255; Rooses, *Vie*, 1903, p. 455 (as *studio version*); W. Bode, 'Aus oesterreichischen Galerien (Budapest-Krakau)', *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, IX, 1886, pp. 307-309 (as *Rubens's workshop*); Rooses, *Oeuvre*, 1886-92, IV, p. 22, under no. 808 (as *copy*); T. Frimmel in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XIII, 1890, pp. 142-143; T. Frimmel, *Kleine Galeriestudien*, I, Bamberg, 1892, p. 211 (as *school of Rubens, Van Dyck*); K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg, 1906, p. 228 (as *Rubens, c. 1620-26*); K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921, pp. 151, 460 (as *Van Dyck, c. 1617, after a Rubens sketch*); W. von Bode, *Die Meister der holländischen und flämischen Malerschulen*, edn Leipzig, 1917, p. 383 (as *Rubens's workshop*); F. Antal, 'Zwei flämische Bilder der Wiener Akademie', *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XLIV, 1923, p. 71; Cat. Budapest, 1924, (as *Rubens*); Bock—Rosenberg, *Verzeichnis*, 1930, p. 124, under no. 3241 (as *Rubens*); F. Lugt, 'Beiträge zu dem Katalog der niederländischen Handzeichnungen in Berlin', *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, LII, 1931, pp. 44-45; Kieser, *Antikes*, 1933, p. 126; H. Konow, 'Eine Zeichnungssammlung aus dem Besitz Matthäus Merians des Jüngeren', *Berliner Museen*, LXI, 1940, pp. 53, 61, 62; Burchard—d'Hulst, *Drawings*, 1963, I, p. 134; A. Pigler, *Katalog der Galerie Alter Meister. Museum der bildenden Künste*, Budapest, 1967, pp. 594-596, no. 749 (as *Rubens and Van Dyck*); K. Garas, review of Pigler's catalogue in *Acta Historiae Artium*, XIV, 1968, p. 311 (as *Rubens*); the original painting for the Alcázar; M.

Haraszti-Takács, *Rubens and his Age. Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest*, Budapest, 1972, colour pls. 8-9, with commentary; Volk, *Salón Nuevo*, 1980, p. 176 (as *copy*); Held, *Sketches*, 1980, p. 384, under no. 286; Orso, *Alcázar*, 1986, p. 56, fig. 31; K. Garas ed., *The Budapest Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest*, 1988, p. 67, colour repr.; M. Jaffé, review of Held, *Sketches*, 1980 in *Apollo*, CXV, 1982, p. 62; Jaffé, *Rubens*, 1989, p. 217, no. 366, repr. (as *studio replica*); Wood, *Scaevola*, 1989, p. 26, fig. 1 (as *studio version*).

(2) Painting (Fig. 164), in brown monochrome heightened with white, pink and yellow, perhaps for an engraving, showing the composition extended at the top, private collection, London; panel, 31.1 × 24.5 cm. PROV. A.C.H. His de la Salle (Paris, 1795-1878); dealers Thibaudeau and Danlos, Paris ('ancienne grisaille... faite pour le graveur'; 1889: seen by Rooses); ? E. Calando, Paris, sale, Paris 11-12 December 1899 ('Rubens, Mucius Scaevola, étude pour le tableau du Musée de Berlin [sic]; 31 × 35 cm. '); Louis Deglatigny (1854-1936), Rouen, sale, Paris (Charpentier), 28 May 1937, lot 143, pl. xxiv (as *attributed to Rubens*); dealer Curt Benedict (1937); dealer Frederick H. Stern, New York, by 1938, from whom bought by M. Jaffé. EXH. *New York*, 1942, no. 14 (as *grisaille study for Budapest painting*); *Flemish Art, 1300-1700*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, Winter 1953-54, no. 505 (as *Rubens*); *Seventeenth Century Flemish Drawings and Oil Sketches*, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, May-June 1958, no. 42 (as *Rubens*); *King's Lynn*, 1960, no. 17; *London*, 1961, no. 17 (as *Rubens, grisaille for engraving, early 1620s*); *Rubens and Printmaking*, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 25 September-9 December 1990, no. 13 (as *Rubens, model for engraving*). LIT. Rooses, *Oeuvre*, 1886-92, IV, p. 23, under no. 808; Valentiner, *America*, 1947, no. 62; Larsen, *Rubens*, 1952, p. 220, no. 113 (as *Rubens, c. 1617*); A. Pigler, *Katalog der Galerie Alter Meister. Museum der bildenden Künste*, Budapest, 1967, under no. 749 (as *copy*); M. Haraszti-Takács, *Rubens and his Age. Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest*, Budapest, 1972, under no. 8 (as

copy); Held, *Sketches*, 1980, p. 631, no. A14 (as copy); Jaffé, *Rubens*, 1989, pp. 269-270, no. 695, repr. (as *Rubens*, c. 1622); C. Hartley, [Cat. Exh.] *Rubens and Printmaking* (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 1990), Cambridge, 1990, p. 10, no. 13, repr. in colour (as *Rubens*).

(3) Painting, probably after Copy 1, showing extended top and strip at bottom with overhanging drapery, Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle, no. 1997; copper, 37.5 × 29.5 cm. PROV. Margrave of Baden (inv. 1823). LIT. Parthey, *Bildersaal*, 1863-64, II, p. 445, no. 56 (as *manner and school of Rubens*); J. Lauts, *Katalog alte Meister bis 1800*, Karlsruhe, 1966, I, pp. 261-262, no. 1997 (as *copy, probably after the sketch*); II, pl. 295.

(4) Detail of *Picture Gallery* (Fig. 169) attributed to W. van Haecht, Marquess of Bute collection, ? Mount Stuart, Rothesay, Bute; panel, 73 × 104 cm. LIT. J.P. Richter, *Catalogue of... paintings lent by the Marquis of Bute*, London (South Kensington Museum), 1883, no. 247 (as *Frans Francken*); Speth-Holterhoff, *Cabinets*, 1957, pp. 212-213, n. 138.

(5) Detail of *Artists' feast* by Gonzales Coques (Fig. 166) showing the composition expanded to the right to include other tents and the scribe without outstretched arm, Paris, Musée du Petit Palais, inv. no. DUT 943; copper, 59 × 75 cm. LIT. A. Pigler, *Katalog der Galerie Alter Meister. Museum der bildenden Künste*, Budapest, 1967, p. 595; F. Heilbrun in *Cat. Exh. Paris, 1977-78*, pp. 58-59, no. 22, repr.; K. Van der Stighelen, 'Self-portraits of Gonzales Coques and a Study of his Portrait of Jacques Le Merchier', in *Die Malerei Antwerpens—Gattungen, Meister, Wirkungen (Internationales Kolloquium, Wien 1993)*, eds. E. Mai, K. Schütz, H. Vlieghe, Cologne, 1994, p. 117 and fig. 7.^b

(6) Painting, with straight steps under throne, which also has scrolls instead of lions' feet, the dagger at a different angle (and the dead man himself), the head of Porsenna nearer the top of the throne, and one tent rope, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 63 × 55 cm. (or 76 × 73 cm.?). PROV. ? De Bors, sale,

Mechelen, 2 August 1822, lot 3 (as *Rubens*; 74.5 × 71 cm.); Baron E. de Beurnonville, sale, Paris (Charles Pillet), 9-16 May 1881, lot 444 (as *school of Rubens*; 76 × 70 cm., with reference to the Schmutzer print, Copy 15); H. Bukowski sale, Stockholm, 28-30 September 1937, lot 113, pl. 7; ? dealer, Sven Boström, Sweden (1938); C.R. Lamm, Näsby slott.

(7) Painting, whereabouts unknown (photograph in *Rubensiana*); panel, 66 × 53 cm. PROV. Coll. John and George B. Laffan, Dublin (1958).

(8) Watercolour, probably by Cornelis de Bie, reproducing the composition somewhat crudely, without the soldier in the centre looking at Scaevola; included among the manuscript additions to the copy of Cornelis de Bie's *Het gulden cabinet oft Schatkamer van de Edele vry schilder-const*, edn Lier, 1675 in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale (MS 14648, fol. 117). LIT. Van der Stighelen, op. cit., 1994, under Copy 5, p. 117 and n. 31.^c

(9) Drawing, attributed to Theodoor van Thulden (1606-1669), with straight steps and scrolls instead of lions' feet (cf. Copy 6, but without extra strip at bottom), Paris, Louvre, inv. no. 20.332; black and red chalk, 236 × 220 mm., with mark of the Louvre (L. 1886). PROV. 'ancien fonds'. EXH. *Paris, 1978*, no. 165 (as *Theodoor van Thulden*). LIT. *Lugt, Cat. Louvre*, 1949, no. 1165; *Sérullaz, Rubens*, 1978, p. 149, no. 165.

(10) Drawing, probably by Willem Panneels (1600/5-34), of top of Lars Porsenna's throne, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', VI, 100; black chalk, 217 × 312 mm. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen, presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum.

(11) Drawing by Willem Panneels of the leg of Scaevola and the leg and arm of the soldier seen from behind, inscribed by Panneels, partly in cipher, *naer musius schevola tot Rubens* ('after Mucius Scaevola at Rubens's'), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', I, 33;

black and white chalk on greyish paper, 216-20 × 337-39 mm. PROV. As for Copy 10. LIT. *Garff—Pedersen, Panneels, 1988, I, p. 50, no. 26; II, pl. 26.*

(12) Drawing (Fig. 167) by Willem Panneels of the left arm of the dead man in the foreground, inscribed in code in pen and brown ink bottom centre *dit is eenen omtrek van eenen mans arm, maer is wel een wijnich te lanck, naar dat hij int principael was van rubbens, en is den arm van de cancelier van porsenna* ('this is an outline of a man's arm, but it is perhaps a little too long compared with Rubens's original, and it is the arm of Porsenna's secretary') and on the verso the number 659, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', I, 35; black, red and white chalk on yellowish paper, 176 × c. 306 mm. PROV. As for Copy 10. LIT. *Garff—Pedersen, Panneels, 1988, I, p. 40, no. 2; II, pl. 2.*

(13) Drawing by Willem Panneels of the right leg and foot of Porsenna, inscribed below in pen and brown ink by Panneels (in his code) *voet van porsenna naer rubb* and on the verso the number 652, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', I, 34; black and red chalk on yellowish paper, 215 × 125 mm. PROV. As for Copy 10. LIT. *Garff—Pedersen, Panneels, 1988, I, p. 39, no. 1; II, pl. 1.*

(14) Drawing, probably by Willem Panneels, of Scaevola's breastplate and armour, inscribed on verso with the number 102, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', VI, 70; black, red and white chalk on greyish paper, 304 × 208-18 mm. PROV. As for Copy 10. LIT. *Rodee, Armor, 1967, p. 226, fig. 4; Garff—Pedersen, Panneels, 1988, I, pp. 57-58, no. 42; II, pl. 42.*

(15) Engraving by J. Schmutzer, dedicated to Prince Wenzel Anton Kaunitz, Vienna, 1776, omitting the right arm of the dead man and showing additions at the top, 482 × 468 mm., three states (cf. Dutuit). LIT. *Mémoires et journal de J.-G. Wille, graveur du Roi*, ed. G.

Duplessis, Paris, 1857, II, pp. 56-57, 61-62; *Dutuit, Manuel, 1881-85, VI, pp. 161-162; V.S., p. 139, no. 33; Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92, IV, pp. 22-23, under no. 808, pl. 256.*

(16) Engraving by G. Marchand, also with the dead man's right arm absent, but taller at the top, 491 × 402 mm. LIT. *Mercur de France*, June 1784, p. 38; *V.S., p. 139, no. 34.*

LITERATURE: *Cruzada Villaamil, Rubens, 1872, pp. 306, 311-312, no. 7, pp. 352-353 and 380; Justi, Velazquez, 1888, I, p. 240; Rooses, Vie, 1903, pp. 453-455; Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92, IV, p. 22, no. 808; K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921, pp. 151, 460; W. von Bode, Die Meister der holländischen und vlämischen Malerschulen, edn Leipzig, 1917, p. 383; Bottineau, Alcázar, 1958, p. 42 (no. 69); Burchard—d'Hulst, Drawings, 1963, I, p. 134; A. Pigler, Katalog der Galerie Alter Meister. Museum der bildenden Künste, Budapest, 1967, pp. 594-596, under no. 749; E. Harris, 'Casiano dal Pozzo on Diego Velázquez', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXII, 1970, p. 372; M. Haraszti-Takács, *Rubens and his Age. Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest*, Budapest, 1972, pls. 8-9, with commentary; *Held, Sketches, 1980, I, p. 384; Volk, Salón Nuevo, 1980, pp. 176* (with the wrong picture in Budapest identified), 179; *Orso, Alcázar, 1986, pp. 56, 71, 75, 79-80, 82, 87-88, 99, 110, fig. 31; Inventarios, 1975-, III, 1985, p. 415; Jaffé, Rubens, 1989, p. 217, under no. 366; Wood, Scaevola, 1989, pp. 26, 29, 36; Vosters, España, 1990, pp. 118-120.**

The Alcázar inventory of 1636 records a painting by Rubens of the story of Mucius Scaevola in the *salón nuevo* (later Hall of Mirrors).⁸ This was evidently the composition recorded in the painting now in Budapest (Fig. 163), which, before the additions to top and bottom, would likewise have been square. The Budapest picture cannot, however, be that which was sent to Madrid, as is sometimes supposed,⁹ since the canvas in the Alcázar is recorded as being much larger. The Budapest painting would therefore be a studio replica, a view which is consistent with the routine quality of its exe-

cution, and even draughtmanship. The figures appear to have been cramped together, and the drawing in Paris and a painted copy (Copies 9 and 6) may reproduce more accurately the original composition.¹⁰

The *Fortitude of Scaevola* was one of the eight pictures which Rubens brought to Madrid in 1628.¹¹ They had evidently been commissioned by Philip IV through the agency of the Archduchess Isabella.¹² Of these, six were pendants and are designated as such in the later inventories; the other two, of which the *Scaevola* picture was one, seem to have been independent compositions.¹³ The same 'eight paintings of different things and sizes' are recorded by Pacheco as being now (before 1638) arranged in the New Room among other fine paintings.¹⁴ *The Fortitude of Scaevola* would have been there in 1633 when Carducho described the room. In 1686 it was still hanging in the room, by then renamed the *salón de los espejos* after its spectacular mirrors; it is recorded in the same place in 1700 and probably remained there until the fire of 1734, in which it seems to have been destroyed.¹⁵

The story of how Gaius Mucius gained his famous cognomen *Scaevola* (left-handed) was a favourite *exemplum* both in antiquity and in the Renaissance, and had been illustrated in different contexts. It had appeared on *cassoni*, in prints, in decorative cycles.¹⁶ The image of *Scaevola* thrusting his right hand into a fire, or sometimes simply an emblematic hand and dagger amid flames, became an obvious symbol of fortitude, and the attribute of Constancy herself (as in Ripa's *Iconologia*),¹⁷ or *Virtus Bellica* (as in a pageant at Antwerp in 1594).¹⁸

Livy, Plutarch and Valerius Maximus, for whom it illustrated the virtue of *Patientia*, were the main sources for the story, but there are numerous other references to the hero's deed in ancient writers.¹⁹ During the lengthy siege of Rome by Lars Porsenna, Gaius Mucius, a young Roman, either took it upon himself (Livy) or was delegated (Plutarch) to enter the Etruscan camp and kill the king. He went in disguise, according to Valerius as a

Tuscan soldier, but failed in his enterprise. Valerius simply says that he was discovered before he managed to assassinate Porsenna who was sacrificing before the altar. But the other historians agree that he killed the wrong man, whom he mistook for the king. Plutarch says that he picked on the man who seemed the obvious candidate; Livy adds that this was the king's secretary, who was dressed exactly like his master, and sitting nearby, occupied with the business of pay day.²⁰ Mucius was then captured and brought before Lars Porsenna. According to Livy he was still holding the blood-stained dagger; when threatened with being burnt alive unless he revealed the details of the Roman assassination plot, he showed his indifference to pain by thrusting his hand into a nearby fire which had been lit for a sacrifice, and let it burn away. Porsenna was so impressed that he set Mucius free and *Scaevola* (as he would now be called) was in turn sufficiently moved by this generosity to reveal that three hundred young Roman nobles were prepared to venture where he himself had failed—a revelation which led speedily to a truce. Plutarch's account is similar, and emphasizes the happy ending; he makes Mucius, after revealing the plot, add chivalrously that he was not sorry to have missed killing a man who obviously deserved to be a friend rather than an enemy to the Romans.²¹ But Plutarch's hero uses a sword rather than a dagger to kill his unlucky victim, and evidently leaves it behind when he attempts his escape, since Lars Porsenna returns it to him as he sets him free, the Roman receiving it in the left hand which he will thereafter use. For all these writers the high point in the drama is when Mucius burns his hand in the flaming pan or altar on which the king had been about to sacrifice, and all the time looks at Lars Porsenna steadfastly, unflinching (even Valerius Maximus is eloquent on this),²² and how Lars Porsenna feels his sense of outrage turn to admiration. Like earlier artists Rubens used this scene to illustrate the story.

Rubens judiciously selected from the different ancient accounts. He preferred Plutarch's sword to Livy's dagger,²³ and the dead man in the foreground run through by this sword is not dressed particularly like Lars Porsenna. In fact even artists who had closely followed Livy had not always reproduced the identity in dress, presumably because they did not wish in turn to confuse viewers about who really was the king.²⁴ Rubens's source for the striking figure of the transfixed corpse is of course no text, but the fresco designed by Polidoro da Caravaggio in the Villa Lante (Fig. 160), in which the dead soldier, one arm above his head, is sprawled in front of Scaevola and Lars Porsenna, his other hand and one leg illusionistically projecting over the frame of the 'picture'.²⁵ As in Rubens's painting, the scene takes place in Porsenna's tent; and Scaevola thrusts into the flames a hand which has no weapon. Rubens of course has improved on the gestures as well as enriching this simple composition. He adapted the motif of the hand grasping the dagger amid flames to Mucius's empty hand. The clenched fist is both more suggestive of endurance and resolution and more convincing psychologically than an open hand pushed into or held over a fire, as is found in those earlier illustrations which show Scaevola with no weapon: for example, the chiaroscuro woodcut by Antonio da Cremona after Parmigianino (Fig. 159), which Rubens probably knew since he depicted the same type of Roman altar. And if Rubens's composition is related to Italian precedents,²⁶ the scene is shown with some 'Netherlandish' realism, in particular the soldier holding his nose. This soldier and his companion have evidently stepped forward to pull Scaevola away from the fire, presumably in response to Porsenna's orders as described by Livy. But Scaevola is concentratedly outstaring the Etruscan king, who shifts uncomfortably; the dramatic tension lies in this wordless exchange, and Scaevola has obviously achieved a psychological dominance and already won his (moral) victory.

Rubens would have remembered how Martial says the Etruscan king could not bear the sight and Silius Italicus describes him cringing away.²⁷

Cruzada Villaamil thought of this painting as a companion to the *Meeting of Jacob and Esau* which Rubens likewise brought in 1628 for the *salón nuevo*,²⁸ but apart from being different types of subject, the two pictures were quite different sizes. As discussed below (No. 46a) the *Meeting of Jacob and Esau* was certainly designed for the upper row (see diagram on p. 205), and to hang alongside the upright compositions of the same size by Carducho, Cajés, and González, the expanded *Allegorical Portrait of Philip II* by Titian, and Velázquez's *Philip III and the Expulsion of the Moriscos*, whereas the *Fortitude of Scaevola* was for the lower level with its row of square pictures in similar frames.

A drawing by Rubens in Berlin (No. 46a; Fig. 162) which shows a composition of Jacob and Esau above another of Scaevola is, I believe, the artist's first response to the commission, made c. 1622-23, before he had the required measurements for the upper painting.²⁹ The Scaevola composition is, however, already square, in accordance with the requirements for the lower row of paintings, and shows the rough outlines of the composition which would be developed into the painting. The drawing does not yet include the dead man in the foreground, although he may have been envisaged, since there is an appropriate space and Scaevola does not hold a dagger or sword in his hand (as he would if there was to be no corpse). That the painting was made expressly for this context in the *salón nuevo*, and is not simply a reworking of an earlier design (which would be the case if we date the Budapest replica c. 1618-20, as is usually done) is suggested by the viewpoint, consistent with a painting to hang low. Rubens's picture of *Fortitude of Scaevola* was surely made at the earliest c. 1622-23 and for the room in the Alcázar. Consequently, the Budapest painting can hardly be associated,

as it often is, with Van Dyck. In any case, this association seems to have been based more on the usual dating of the picture c. 1618-20 than on any stylistic analogies with the work of Van Dyck. Müller Hofstede had proposed a dating of c. 1626 already, in discussing the Berlin drawing, and Held had objected that the Scaevola composition was too immature for this date. However, in the light of what we now know about the context—that the painting was to be square and hang in a low position—and if we take into account the fact that the Budapest painting seems to be a rather cramped version of the original composition of No. 46, this objection is minimized.

Two other considerations are worth remembering. When Rubens painted his *Fortitude of Scaevola* he would have known that it was to hang on the same level and be the same size as his *Achilles on Scyros*, a square picture of c. 1616, which was already installed in the room by 1626, and which arrived in Madrid sometime after 1618 when the artist failed to sell it to Dudley Carleton. This painting is identifiable with the picture of the subject now in the Prado.³⁰ As Harris pointed out, it must be that recorded rather sloppily by Cassiano dal Pozzo as 'uno [quadro] con figure grandi del vero cinque ò sei del Rubens' which hung, as a single painting, above the doorway in the *salón nuevo* in 1626.³¹ It seems likely then that Rubens would have tried to make his new painting look more or less compatible in style, even if he did not think of it as a pendant. It looks as if the *Achilles on Scyros* had in fact already been provided with a pendant in Artemisia Gentileschi's lost *Hercules and Omphale* which was commissioned in Italy in 1627 and arrived in 1628.³² This must have made an amusing companion to the painting which Rubens himself had years before described as '... a most delightful picture, and full of many very beautiful young girls',³³ with two counterposed examples of heroes incongruously dressed as women. Such an interpretation of course runs counter to any potential moral and heroic message such as Orso assumes

would have been drawn from the Achilles scene in the context of the *salón* (and would have been the rationale for its inclusion there). In fact by 1686 the painting by Artemisia had been removed from the room, and its place as a pendant to the *Achilles on Scyros* seems to have been taken by the *Scaevola before Lars Porsenna*.³⁴ With this pairing a more edifying meaning could have been implied: both stories after all involve a hero in disguise who, when revealed, makes a show of courage. But it can hardly be the case that Rubens intended these pictures as pendants, since one is an exemplary history and the other a love scene. When Rubens began painting the picture of Scaevola there was, however, one other square painting of this size which had already been designated for the new room. This was the version of the Master of Flémalle's *Tomyris with the Head of Cyrus* (cf. Fig. 19) which was enlarged (by Carducho) to suit the new context.³⁵ That Rubens was familiar with this composition is obvious from his own version of the story of Tomyris painted c. 1623, perhaps for Archduchess Isabella (No. 2; Fig. 8), and possibly even as a direct response to the Alcázar *Tomyris*.³⁶ At any rate, Rubens's *Scaevola before Lars Porsenna* is not only like the picture by the Master of Flémalle in being a story of uncompromising fortitude and severity, it also displays some analogies in motifs and even composition. The detail of the man holding his nose is only slightly less gruesome than the Master of Flémalle's dog lapping blood. As for the dead man sprawled in the foreground, tilted towards us, he was surely planned as the counterpart to the decapitated Cyrus in the old painting,³⁷ even if the figure itself was then modelled on one by an Italian Renaissance master (Fig. 160).

The studio version in Budapest (Fig. 163) suggests that the colours too must have made a powerful effect. The dark background sets off the central image of Scaevola's arm in the fire, and its flames in turn, reflected in Scaevola's armour, illuminate the features of Porsenna and the rich red and gold of his

clothing. Beyond the tent, day dawns and seems to cast a cold light on the soldiers at its perimeter and on the pallid corpse, dressed in pale yellow and blue, that lies disregarded in the foreground.

The 'schoustick van Sevalus' mentioned in the collection of Peter van Hecke in 1646 might have been a version of this painting.³⁸

The near monochrome sketch (Fig. 164) in a private collection in London, listed here as Copy 2, has at times been attributed to Rubens, and is included in the recent catalogue of the artist's works by Michael Jaffé. From its technique (drawing in oil, neatly with parallel lines in the background), it would appear to be a preparatory design for an engraving of the same size, although no corresponding print is extant. When he saw it in 1938 Burchard thought it was probably by Van Dyck, and made as a study under Rubens's direction for a print; he referred in this connection to Bellori's statement that Van Dyck used to reproduce Rubens's compositions 'in drawing' so that engravings could be made from them ('tradurre in disegno le sue invenzioni, per farle intagliare al bulino'), an example being the design for the *Battle of the Amazons*.³⁹ However, the preparatory design supposedly made by Van Dyck for this very large print (in six pieces) was certainly not an oil sketch, and it seems likely that Bellori was alluding in general to drawings rather than sketches for engravings.⁴⁰ (In fact we do not have much evidence of Rubens himself using oil sketches for designs for engravings before the mid 1620s.) At any rate, Burchard subsequently ruled out the idea that Van Dyck might be the author of this sketch, apparently after seeing it again in the Flemish exhibition of 1953-54. He never considered that the sketch might actually be by Rubens himself, and Held has also assumed that it must be by a later hand.⁴¹

The sketch is closely dependent in composition on No. 46, as recorded in the Budapest replica (Fig. 163), but shows the composition

expanded at the top to make it upright.⁴² This expansion was itself used by Held as an argument against the sketch being by Rubens. Still, if Rubens had indeed been reproducing an originally square composition for a print he would have adapted it either to a vertical or to a horizontal format to conform to standard paper sizes, and we find, for example, in his design for the print of *Cyrus and Tomyris* (No. 3; Fig. 13, cf. Fig. 14) which was extended at the top for this purpose—in this case becoming less horizontal—that extra swags of drapery and curtains are introduced to fill the area at the top. More significant is the argument about the style of the sketch, which Held found unacceptably pedantic. Jaffé has proposed a date of c. 1623-24, a period when Rubens was looking for a new printmaker, and suggested that it might have been made specifically as a trial piece for Pontius, whose first work for Rubens was probably the *Susanna and the Elders* of 1624 (*text ill.* 15).⁴³ The hypothesis certainly allows an explanation for the (otherwise implausible) notion that Rubens should himself have designed a print which was to be more or less reproductive of an existing picture—one for which, presumably, a preparatory oil sketch existed which the engraver could have used as a guide⁴⁴—and moreover executed this sketch in such a careful way that it looks almost like a drawing in oils. 1622 had seen Rubens's dramatic quarrel with Lucas Vorsterman.⁴⁵ As is now well known, not least from the rude words the engraver himself inscribed on the relevant sketch in 1621, Rubens and Vorsterman had particular difficulties over the portrait of Charles de Longueval which was published as a print on 1 January 1623. It seems that the pictorial qualities and the high colouring in Rubens's preparatory oil sketch⁴⁶ had presented the engraver with problems of interpretation, so much so that the latter regarded the print as effectively his own unaided work. In the period after the break with Vorsterman, when he was looking around for a new printmaker, Rubens might therefore

have experimented with the preparation of an oil sketch for a print which gave unusually precise and uncomplicated instructions, concentrating too on line rather than on blocks of light and colour. Yet, although examples can be found in Rubens's preparatory designs for prints, both drawings and oil sketches, of works which are executed with delicacy and neatness, there are no really convincing parallels to the Scaevola sketch, whose function and authorship thus remains unclear.¹⁷

1. See n. 8 below.
2. See n. 15 below.
3. It was at this date that Burchard received a photograph of the restored state from Walther Bernt.
4. See *Smith, Catalogue, 1829-42*, IX, p. 339, under no. 335. Burchard wondered if this was Count Anton Lamberg (Vienna, 1740-1822), but he donated his whole collection to the Akademie in Vienna in 1821; see T. von Frimmel, *Geschichte der Wiener Gemäldeammlungen*, IV, Leipzig etc., 1901, pp. 57-58.
5. Since this prince acquired many pictures directly from Kaunitz, Smith's reference to Lambert may be a mistake. On Esterházy see *Frimmel, Lexikon, 1913-14*, II, p. 334.
6. A painting of the story of Scaevola attributed to Rubens (canvas, 115 × 136 cm.) was in the F.J.O. Boymans sale, Utrecht (G. Klanck), 31 August 1811, lot 79; according to a handwritten note in the sale catalogue in the Gemeentearchief, Rotterdam, it included a landscape. Possibly, then, it may have resembled the picture 'recorded' by Coques.
7. I thank Katlijne Van der Stighelen for providing me with a photograph of this work.
8. 'Muçio Çebola. Otro lienço quadrado mayor que los de las furias [the Four 'Condemned' by Titian] con moldura dorada y negra de mano de Rubenes con la Ystoria de Muçio Çebola abrasandose el Braço sobre una Pira en q[ue] esta el fuego ay un Rey sentado y un hombre muerto en lo vaxo con un puñal y otras figuras en Pié'; Madrid, Archivo de Palacio, Sección Administrativa, MS leg. 768; 'Inventario de Pinturas', p. 15 (2) (the MS is unpaginated, but every group of 4 pages is numbered). I am indebted to Enriqueta Harris Frankfort for providing me with a photographic copy of the inventory. Cf. Volk, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 179; also *Orso, Alcázar, 1986*, p. 190 for an English translation; another version of this inventory is under leg. 9 [1637]. This is the text cited by Orso.
9. E.g. in Garas, *loc. cit.*, 1968, following Justi's suggestion that Prince Kaunitz could have purchased it in Madrid with other works.
10. In these, the composition is still square but extended at the top and wider; there are slight differences, as in the steps (straight) below Lars Porsenna's throne, the feet of his throne, the hair-styles of the men. That the Budapest painting (Copy 1) is, however, a reduction of the composition rather than cut down, for example at the top (where there is at present in fact an extension) is suggested by, for example, the position of the ropes holding up the tent or canopy, and the compression of the figures. As a result, and because of a slight confusion in perspective, the dead man in the foreground now lies uncomfortably close to the foot of Scaevola behind. But it is hard to be certain which if any of the copies are after Rubens's presumed original rather than the studio replica.
11. That Rubens took eight paintings to Madrid is reported by the Florentine envoy there on 25 September 1628, who adds that they were ordered by the king to hang in his palace: *Justi, Velazquez, 1888*, I, p. 240, n. 1; *Balis, Hunting Scenes, 1986*, pp. 180 and 182, n. 5. As Balis points out, Rubens may have sent the pictures ahead of him in the carriage-loads of baggage (including tapestries and canvases) that left a month before him. The paintings were paid for only in the course of 1630: see *Balis, Hunting Scenes, 1986*, pp. 180, 183, nn. 6-8.
12. See *Roses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, I, pp. 129-130 under no. 108; *Balis, Hunting Scenes, 1986*, pp. 180, 183, nn. 7-8.
13. The other was *The Reconciliation of Jacob and Esau (d'Hulst—Vanderveen, Old Testament, 1989*, pp. 67-69, no. 16, fig. 42). The pendants Rubens brought in 1628 were: *Satyr and Nymphs; Samson with the Lion and David killing the Bear*; two long hunting scenes. Ribera's *Jael and Sisera* and *Samson and Delilah*, and Camillo Procaccini's *Samson and the Philistines* and *Cain and Abel* were also pairs (and specifically commissioned as such). Cf. *Orso, Alcázar, 1986*, pp. 55-59, esp. pp. 55-56; also, for the pair of hunts by Rubens, *Balis, Hunting Scenes, 1986*, pp. 180-184 and 185-192, nos. 12 and 13. These pictures were all explicitly grouped as companions in the inventory of 1636 and have the number '2' written in the margin, whereas the others are treated singly and numbered '1' (except for Titian's 'Furias' which is treated as a set of four). Volk is surely wrong to imagine (*op. cit.*, 1980, p. 176 and n. 57) that the pictures Rubens brought were simply a miscellaneous group the artist had in hand in the studio, like the list he offered in 1618 to Dudley Carleton; previous authors also thought that Rubens had included some unsold stock (*Justi, Velazquez, 1888*, I, pp. 240-241; *Roses, Vie, 1903*, pp. 453-455) but they had wrongly assumed that the *Achilles on Scyros* was brought in 1628. Cf. *Balis, Hunting Scenes, 1986*, pp. 180 and 183, n. 9. In fact the pictures

- seem to have been designed to fit specific spaces, at least in the sense of being for the upper or lower level on a specific wall, and to have been in prescribed shapes. It is tempting to suppose that their subjects had been discussed by Rubens and Velázquez in the correspondence which Pacheco tells us preceded Rubens's arrival: F. Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, ed. F.J. Sánchez Cantón, Madrid, 1956, I, p. 154; cf. *Cruzada Villaamil, Rubens, 1872*, p. 138 and *Balis, Hunting Scenes, 1986*, p. 180.
14. Pacheco, op. cit. in n. 13, I, p. 153: 'Traxo a ... Filipino IV ocho cuadros de diferentes cosas y tamaños, que están colocados en el Salón nuevo, entre otras pinturas famosas'. The manuscript was completed in 1638 (*ibid.*, p. xlvi). Cf. Harris, op. cit., 1970, p. 372, n. 37; *Orso, Alcázar, 1986*, p. 56.
 15. *Bottineau, Alcázar, 1958*, p. 42, no. 69 (1686). It was presumably also in the same place in 1666, but that inventory does not cover the *salón de los espejos*. *Cruzada Villaamil, Rubens, 1872*, pp. 311-312 assumes that it was lost; cf. *Orso, Alcázar, 1986*, pp. 70-71. However, it is not listed as destroyed in the 'Mémoire de Ranc sur les tableaux perdus ou sauvés à la suite de l'incendie de l'Alcázar de Madrid' (Madrid, Archivo de Palacio, secc. admn. BA 38) published by Y. Bottineau in *L'Art de cour dans l'Espagne de Philippe V*, Bordeaux, 1962, pp. 624-625. Among the Rooses documentation in the Rubenianum in Antwerp is a correspondence of 1903 between Max Rooses and James Levenson of London who had been offered a picture of Scaevola which was supposedly Rubens's picture from the Alcázar; the owner, a Mr Beer, maintained it had been cut from its frame at the time of the fire. Rooses, who was sent a photograph and had perhaps already seen the picture itself, evidently did not believe it to be the lost original; Levenson accordingly decided not to buy it. Possibly this work was the same large painting of Scaevola (size unspecified) which was in the sale of Lord Kinnaird, London (Phillips), 21 May 1811, lot 15 (as *Van Dyck*, 'a grand gallery picture'); and/or the 'gallery picture' of the same subject sold London (Christie's), 12 April 1843, lot 106 (as *Rubens*). This in turn may have been the picture attributed to Rubens and Van Dyck (thus probably a large-scale work), in the (private) sale of Hastings Elwyn (Elwin), London, January etc. 1787, lot 38; Elwyn also owned the Van Dyck copy of *Ambrose and Theodosius*: see No. 55, Copy 1. It might be added that C. Hofstede de Groot reported that the best extant version of Rubens's *Fortitude of Scaevola* was not that in Budapest, but a picture in the Chanenko collection, Kiev, of which nothing else is known.
 16. See *Pigler, Barockthemen, 1974*, II, pp. 410-412.
 17. C. Ripa, *Iconologia*, edn Rome, 1603, p. 86; cf. *Held, Sketches, 1980*, I, p. 383.
 18. J. Bochiuss, *Descriptio Publicae Gratulationis... in adventu Sereniss[imi] Principis Ernesti...*, Antwerp, 1595, p. 93 and pl. p. 94.
 19. Livy, *Ab urbe condita* II.xii.1-xiii.2; Plutarch *Publicola* 17; Valerius Maximus *Dicta et facta* III.iii.1. Cf. Martial, *Epigrams* I.xxi. Scaevola is included among the list of republican heroes in Juvenal's Satire viii (254-265, esp. 264). Cf. Minucius Felix, *Octavius* xxxvii (353). Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Roman Antiquities* V.27.1-31.4) alone has a version of the story that does not involve Mucius putting his hand in the flames; not surprisingly, this version does not seem to have influenced any artists.
 20. Dionysius explains that Mucius found the secretary dressed in a purple robe and sitting on a raised throne near the general's tent (*Roman Antiquities* V.28.2).
 21. Perhaps Plutarch here wished to counteract the dour and ungrateful hero described by Valerius Maximus who wishes he could have exchanged his life for the king's.
 22. Loc. cit. in n. 19: 'He thrust the right hand which was hateful to him since it had failed its purpose into the brazier and let it be burnt away. The gods themselves never watched a sacrifice brought to their altars more attentively'.
 23. Dionysius of Halicarnassus also had Mucius use a concealed dagger (*Roman Antiquities* V.28.3), since he had supposedly come unarmed to the Etruscan camp.
 24. The effect certainly is confusing in *cassoni* which represent different episodes from the story in one picture. Cf. the *cassone* in the Courtauld Galleries; since this shows Scaevola twice, identifiable from his wearing the same dress, the secretary and Lars Porsenna would appear to be the same person. See E.H. Gombrich, 'Apollonio di Giovanni', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XVIII, pp. 22, 23. Another *cassone* in Frankfurt (*Schubring, Cassoni, 1915-23*, I, pp. 295-296, nos. 332, 333; II, pl. LXXXIX) gets round the problem by having the two Etruscans dressed in different costumes made of a similar cloth, decorated with the king's presumed *imprese* (see K. Lippincott, 'The Genesis and Significance of the fifteenth-century Italian Impresa', in *Chivalry in the Renaissance*, ed. S. Anglo, Woodbridge, 1990, pp. 59-60, pl. 5). The print by Georg Pencz (*Bartsch*, VIII, 1866, p. 341, no. 74; *The Illustrated Bartsch*, XVI, ed. R.A. Koch, New York, 1980, p. 108) is perhaps the only Renaissance illustration of the subject which shows the king and his secretary sitting side by side, identically clothed, at a table piled with money for the pay day.
 25. It is possible that the Budapest painting, or at least some later copies of Rubens's composition, showed a ledge with a piece of drapery overhanging it, in adapting the composition originally planned for a low viewpoint to a higher one.
 26. For the drawing in Oxford believed by Richard-

- son, probably wrongly, to have been retouched by Rubens see J. Wood in [Cat. Exh.] *Rubens in Oxford*, London (Colnaghi's), 1988, pp. 9-10, fig. 1. For Antonio da Cremona's print see *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon (Saur)*, IV, 1992, p. 375.
27. Martial, *Epigrams* Lxxi.6: 'hanc spectare manum Porsena non potuit'; Silius Italicus, *Punica* VIII.389: 'cernitur effugiens ardentem Porsena dextram'.
 28. As noted above (n. 13), the other paintings did indeed all form pendants.
 29. See below, under No. 46a.
 30. Madrid, Museo del Prado, inv. no. 1661; 246 × 267 cm. See Díaz Padrón, *Cat. Prado, 1975*, I, pp. 317-320, no. 1661; II, pl. 201. The picture is described as square (3 × 3 varas) in the inventory of 1636, and I suspect it has an addition of c. 20 cm. at the left made before the inventory of ?1849 which records its dimensions as 9' × 10'.
 31. The identification is confirmed by two facts: firstly a document of 1625 relates to the framing of a picture of Ulysses and Achilles for the *salón nuevo*, secondly the *Achilles on Scyros* by Rubens which was displayed in that room in the 1630s cannot have been, as was earlier assumed, one of the 8 paintings brought in 1628, since these are otherwise accounted for in the 1636 inventory. See Harris, loc. cit., 1970, esp. n. 37; Orso, *Alcázar, 1986*, pp. 46-47, 56-57.
 32. Orso, *Alcázar, 1986*, p. 55. Both pictures are listed consecutively in the inventory of 1636, were the same size, and had the same type of frame. Given Artemisia's character and predilections, it is tempting to believe that the subject was chosen by the artist herself, as a suitable companion to the Achilles story by Rubens. Orso thinks it a bad pairing and suggests that Rubens's later *Hercules and Antaeus* was commissioned as a substitute pendant to the *Achilles on Scyros* (Orso, *Alcázar, 1986*, pp. 109-110). But this ignores the fact that Rubens had provided his own pendant to the *Hercules and Antaeus*, namely the *Perseus and Andromeda* (see Díaz Padrón, *Cat. Prado, 1975*, I, pp. 265-267, no. 1663; II, pl. 177; Orso, *Alcázar, 1986*, pp. 60-63).
 33. When he was trying—unsuccessfully—to sell it to Dudley Carleton. See letter, 28 April 1618: *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, II, p. 137, doc. CLXVI; *Magurn, Letters, 1955*, p. 61. Cf. above, Chapter I, at n. 18.
 34. For the 1686 inventory see *Bottineau, Alcázar, 1958*, pp. 34-47; for the arrangement of the relevant wall in 1659 see Orso, *Alcázar, 1986*, p. 75, diagram 1 [modified in my version: p. 205 above], 78-82 (on pp. 192-194 is a translation of the 1686 inventory).
 35. See Orso, *Alcázar, 1986*, pp. 45-46.
 36. See above, under No. 2, esp. text at n. 50 (p. 20).
 37. This applies whether or not the corpse was an afterthought and not yet envisaged when Rubens made the Berlin drawing (No. 46a; Fig. 162).
 38. See E. Duverger, 'De verzameling schilderijen van de Antwerpse zijde- en tapijthandelaar Peter van Hecke de Jonghe, schoonbroer van P.P. Rubens, naar een inventaris van 1646', *Jaarboek. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen*, 1971, p. 162. It could, however, refer to a picture of Cephalus: cf. *ibid.*, n. 87.
 39. Bellori, *Vite*, ed. Borea, 1976, p. 272.
 40. See notably K. Renger in *Cat. Exh. Göttingen, 1977*, pp. 104-105, under no. 73.
 41. At one stage Burchard wondered if it might be identical with the sketch attributed to Jan van den Hoecke in the late 18th-century catalogue of the Liechtenstein collection, but concluded that this latter must be the sketch in Budapest which bears the seal of that collection (see under No. 46b).
 42. It cannot be a record of a design preceding that of the Alcázar painting; the drawing in Berlin (No. 46a; Fig. 162) shows an arrangement of figures which must be preliminary to that of the Madrid painting and indicates that from the outset its composition was to be square. Thus the London sketch (Fig. 164), which reproduces this final arrangement of the principal figures, can only be adapted from a square format.
 43. *V.S.*, p. 11, no. 90; *d'Hulst—Vandenven, Old Testament, 1989*, p. 214, no. 63, copy 2; fig. 165. Interestingly, this virtually replicates a composition which had been reproduced previously in two engravings by Michel Lasne (*V.S.*, p. 11, nos. 92, 93; *d'Hulst—Vandenven, Old Testament, 1989*, pp. 208, 209, no. 61, copies 4 and 5 and figs. 159, 160), efforts which Rubens probably found inadequate. Whether Rubens provided an oil sketch for Pontius's print of the *Susanna* is not known but seems rather unlikely, given that the preparatory drawing for the Lasne prints (?by Van Dyck) was probably still in the studio; Pontius's preparatory drawing also survives in the Louvre: *d'Hulst—Vandenven, Old Testament, 1989*, pp. 208, copy 3, 210, fig. 158 (? Van Dyck's drawing), pp. 214-215, fig. 166 (Pontius's drawing).
 44. As, for example, in the case of the *Continence of Scipio* (see No. 49c; Fig. 177 and Fig. 182), or again in the case of the drawing for the *Tomyris* print (No. 3; Fig. 13), probably made by the printmaker and then corrected by Rubens. For a possible candidate for Rubens's sketch for the Alcázar painting see No. 46b; Fig. 165.
 45. Cf. J.S. Held, 'Rubens and Vorsterman', *The Art Quarterly*, XXXII, 1969, pp. 111-129, reprinted in Held, *Studies, 1982*, pp. 114-125.
 46. Held, *Sketches, 1980*, I, pp. 395-398, no. 294; II, pl. 291.
 47. A certain 'neatness' characterizes the sketch for the print of the *Franciscan Allegory in Honour of the Immaculate Conception* (which in the past was attributed to Quellinus or Diepenbeek on account

of its 'pedantic' character; *Held, Sketches, 1980*, I, pp. 526-528, no. 390; II, pl. 380; *Judson—Van de Velde, Title-pages, 1978*, I, pp. 354-355, no. 85a; II, fig. 289) but that sketch of c. 1631-32 is much more worked up with light and shade and altogether a more assured performance. In some ways the closest stylistic analogy seems to me to be with a drawing, that for the *Annunciation* done for an edition of the *Breviarium Romanum* published in 1627 (Vienna, Albertina, no. 8205), a work whose authenticity has been sometimes questioned (see the comments in *Held, Drawings, 1986*, p. 134, no. 167, fig. 164), and which, as it happens, is also an upright composition for a print with a curtain at the top, albeit more convincingly painted.

46a. The Fortitude of Scaevola: Drawing (Fig. 162)

Watermark: double C with crown; pen and brown ink on paper, 316 × 205 mm. Inscribed above, on the left, the number 10; below on the left (by Matthäus Merian II) *P.P. Rubenius*. —*Verso* (in horizontal format) sketch of *Meleager and Atalanta*; in the centre, mark placed c. 1831 on drawings from the collection of Friedrich Wilhelm I, King of Prussia (L.1631); below on the right Z 3241 in black pencil, cut off by the margin. *Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett*. Inv. no. KdZ 3241.

PROVENANCE: Matthäus Merian II (Frankfurt, 1621-1687); Elector Friedrich Wilhelm von Brandenburg (1620-1688); Friedrich Wilhelm I, King of Prussia (1688-1740); Berlin, Königliche Bibliothek (1790); from 1814 in Akademie der Künste; 1831 transferred to the newly established Königliches Kupferstichkabinett.

EXHIBITED: *Berlin, 1977*, no. 27r; *Ex Bibliotheca Regia Berolinensi*, Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 1982, no. 37.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, V, pp. 223-224, no. 1421, p. 243, under no. 1465, pp. 246-247, under no. 1473 (as *Rubens*); *Bock—Rosenberg, Verzeichnis, 1930*, p. 124, no. 3241 (as *Van Dyck*); *F. Lugt, 'Beiträge zu dem*

Katalog der niederländischen Handzeichnungen in Berlin', *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, LII, 1931, pp. 44-45 and fig. 10 (as *Rubens*); H. Konow, 'Eine Zeichnungssammlung aus dem Besitz Matthäus Merians des jüngeren', *Berliner Museen*, LXI, 1940, pp. 61, 62, repr. on cover (as *Rubens*); *Burchard—d'Hulst, Drawings, 1963*, pp. 133-135, no. 80, fig. 80r (as *Rubens*); M. Jaffé, 'Rubens as a Draughtsman', *The Burlington Magazine*, CVII, 1965, p. 379 (as *ricordo by Van Dyck*); *Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook, 1966*, II, p. 239 under fol. 55v, fig. CLVI (as *ricordo by Van Dyck*); *Müller Hofstede, Review, 1966*, pp. 448-449, under no. 80 (as *Rubens, c. 1626-28*); J. Kuznetsov, *Risunki Rubensa*, Moscow, 1974, no. 53, repr. (as *Rubens, c. 1616-18*); *Bernhard, Handzeichnungen, 1977*, repr. p. 269; H. Mielke in *Mielke—Winner, Cat. Berlin, 1977*, pp. 76-77, no. 27r, repr. (as *Rubens*); A.-M. Logan, 'Rubens Exhibitions, 1977-1978', *Master Drawings*, XVI, 1978, p. 440 (as *not Rubens?*); *Held, Sketches, 1980*, I, pp. 384-385, under no. 286, p. 428, under no. 310 (as *Rubens, c. 1617-19*); M. Jaffé, review of *Held, Sketches, 1980* in *Apollo*, CXV, 1982, pp. 62, 64 (as *ricordo by Van Dyck*); P. Dreyer, [Cat. Exh.] *Ex Bibliotheca Regia Berolinensi. Zeichnungen aus dem ältesten Sammlungsverstand des Berliner Kupferstichkabinetts*, Berlin, 1982, pp. 28-29, no. 37, pls. 38, 39; *d'Hulst—Vandenvven, Old Testament, 1989*, pp. 65-67, no. 15, fig. 41 (as *Rubens, c. 1616-18*); *Wood, Scaevola, 1989*, pp. 28-29, fig. 3 (as *Rubens, c. 1626*).

This sheet, with its sketch of a square scene of *The Fortitude of Scaevola* below a horizontal *Reconciliation of Jacob and Esau*, has been thought puzzling, in that it appears to combine together drawings relating to compositions of quite different date. For Rubens's painting of *Scaevola* (No. 46, as reflected in the canvas now in Budapest: Fig. 163) is usually placed c. 1618-20, whereas the picture of *The Reconciliation of Jacob and Esau*, an upright composition now in Schleissheim, is securely dateable c. 1626-27.1 Yet the two drawings,

although slightly different in character—the lower one being more summarily executed—appear to have been done at the same time.

What does seem clear is that each sketch represents a preliminary design for the corresponding painting of its subject. The scene with Jacob and Esau is not yet even shown in an upright format, whereas that of Scaevola is square, but is in many respects different from and, I think, less sophisticated than the Budapest composition (No. 46, Copy 1; Fig. 163). For example, Scaevola is posed behind the altar, Lars Porsenna is more in profile. The turning of the throne and the altar (round by about 45°) and the changes in the attitudes of the principal figures, which are also seen more from above, was surely a development of the composition, as Rubens thought about the intended setting in the Alcázar (cf. above, under No. 46). Again, in the drawing Scaevola has a beard, which Rubens is likely to have removed in the light of the information in Livy and Plutarch that Scaevola was a *iuvenis*. Nor does the drawing include the dead man in the foreground, although in this hurried sketch the wavy line which continues from the bottom of the throne of Lars Porsenna could perhaps be interpreted as a pictorial shorthand for some feature which was intended to fill the lower left corner.² But if the compositions on the sheet can thus be located in Rubens's *oeuvre*, there has been no easy agreement about the date of the drawings, about whether they are first thoughts or copies of two (lost) sketches—and, if the latter, whether they are indeed by Rubens at all.

Burchard and d'Hulst called them *ricordi* by Rubens of oil sketches now lost, proposing that they had been done c. 1616-18. This view, reiterated in the recent volume by d'Hulst and Vandenven, was taken up by Mielke with some reservations; he wondered if the sheet might be a leaf from a sketchbook and dated it somewhat later. Yet, as Müller Hofstede and Held have pointed out, it is hard to understand why Rubens would have made *ricordi*

of this type. Rubens normally kept his oil sketches; but if he needed records of any, he would hardly have drawn them himself, and, moreover, done so in such a rough and schematic way—particularly for the Scaevola composition. The copying on one sheet of sketches (or any other pictures) done by Rubens at different dates would, in fact, seem more like the activity of a pupil, and Bock and Rosenberg preferred to attribute the sheet to Van Dyck, an attribution accepted in 1965 by Jaffé. Yet, although there are some analogies with Van Dyck's draughtsmanship, the drawings seem to me unmistakably Rubens's, as Lugt, Mielke and Held have in turn argued, pointing to the similar features in drawings such as those for the Medici cycle.

It seems, therefore, as Held and Müller Hofstede have proposed, that the drawings are not *ricordi* but designs for pictures penned by Rubens himself, and at the same time. Since he placed c. 1618-20 the Scaevola composition (No. 46) recorded in the painting in Budapest, Held felt obliged to date both drawings c. 1617; the Jacob and Esau scene thus became a sketch for a lost or unexecuted work made almost a decade before the Schleissheim painting. Müller Hofstede, by contrast, starting from the secure date of the painted *Reconciliation of Jacob and Esau*, concluded that the drawing was only slightly earlier, c. 1626. This proposal entails no hypothetical 'lost sketch' of Jacob and Esau, but of course requires a radical re-dating of the Scaevola composition (No. 46). For Held the Budapest picture simply seems so much less mature than the design for *The Reconciliation of Jacob and Esau* that this re-dating is unacceptable. However, as is argued above (under No. 46), the special circumstances of its context may have affected the form as well as the format of Rubens's painting of *The Fortitude of Scaevola* for the Alcázar (and therefore the Budapest replica), making a relatively 'old-fashioned' style appropriate.³ There are other reasons too for thinking that the Berlin sheet relates directly to the Madrid commission.

It was noted by Burchard and d'Hulst that in 1636 compositions by Rubens of both the subjects represented on the Berlin sheet hung together in the *salón nuevo* of the Alcázar. In fact it is clear that Rubens's *Reconciliation of Jacob and Esau* was specifically designed for the upper level and his *The Fortitude of Scaevola* for the lower row of paintings in this room, and they were almost certainly hung on the same wall.⁴ It would surely be too much of a coincidence if the unique association of subjects on the Berlin sheet was unrelated to the *salón nuevo*. But of course *The Reconciliation of Jacob and Esau* which Rubens painted for the room in the Alcázar, the picture now in Schleissheim, like the related sketch in Edinburgh,⁵ was vertical, not as in the drawing horizontal in format. It would appear, therefore, that before he painted the Schleissheim canvas, before he knew the shapes and exact dimensions required for the paintings to hang on the upper level, Rubens had sketched an arrangement for the two pictures which, alone of the group that he brought to Madrid in 1628, were not pendants (cf. above, under No. 46, esp. n. 13). In view of its theme—a meeting of brothers, one with a retinue of soldiers and another with wives, concubines and numerous children—a horizontal composition would certainly have been the most natural format for the Jacob and Esau picture.⁶ Only when Rubens learned that the pictures to hang above were to be vertical in shape must he have adapted his composition to this format. He would surely have had the necessary information at least before the end of 1626 when the identically-sized (5×3 varas) paintings by Carducho, Cajés and González commissioned for the upper level were all in place, along with Titian's *Philip II after Lepanto*, which Carducho had extended to the shape required for this level.⁷ By 1627 Velázquez's *Expulsion of the Moriscos* (also 5×3 varas) was there too.⁸

The Berlin sheet would therefore be not (simply) a pair of preliminary drawings for two separate compositions, but a proposal for the hanging of these two subjects on the main

wall of the *salón nuevo* in the Alcázar. It would have preceded the oil sketch for *The Reconciliation of Jacob and Esau* and, probably, any designs at all either for this or for the painting of Scaevola. Given the haste with which the lower part is done the sheet might even have been made in the presence of whichever agent of Philip IV first approached the artist with the Alcázar commission. The decoration of the *salón nuevo* was of course underway only by 1625, but had been envisaged some years before. It is possible that an initial approach was made to the artist c. 1622-23, when it had already been decided to include Rubens's *Achilles on Scyros* in the new room. The evidence might therefore be reconciled with a dating of c. 1622-23, rather than 1625-26.⁹

1. It is agreed that its stylistic characteristics are consistent with a dating in the mid to late 1620s, and it must in any case be the painting which Rubens brought to Madrid in 1628. See d'Hulst—Vandenven, *Old Testament*, 1989, pp. 67-69, no. 16, fig. 42. Enriqueta Harris Frankfort has pointed out to me that a marginal note in a copy of the Alcázar inventory of 1686 indicates that it was sent to Germany just after this date. See Introduction to Nos. 42-43, pp. 204-209. For its later provenance see d'Hulst—Vandenven, *Old Testament*, 1989, loc. cit.
2. In favour of this is the fact that Rubens seems to have been working increasingly rapidly as he drew the lower composition; yet it would have been easy to indicate at least the presence of a figure in a few lines.
3. For the possibility that the decoration of the *salón nuevo* was envisaged in 1622-23 see below.
4. Orso's reconstruction of the decoration of the room in 1659 is surely wrong in one respect, namely in putting the pendant *Rape of the Sabines* and *Reconciliation of the Sabines* side by side, rather than flanking the central picture (which would have been *The Reconciliation of Jacob and Esau*); but it seems otherwise plausible (cf. diagram on p. 205). Unfortunately, one cannot deduce the earlier arrangement of pictures as easily as he suggests from the order in which they are listed in the 1636 inventory, even if the sizes make it clear which paintings were for the upper and lower level on the main wall.
5. d'Hulst—Vandenven, *Old Testament*, 1989, pp. 69-71, no. 16a and fig. 43.
6. It might seem possible that Rubens produced a corresponding oil sketch which influenced the large, horizontal painting of the subject now in

the Groeningemuseum, Bruges (canvas, 237 × 378 cm.; inv. no. 0.237) by Jan van den Hoecke (for this attribution see now H. Vlieghe, *Stedelijke Musea Brugge. Catalogus schilderijen 17de en 18de eeuw*, Bruges, 1994, pp. 165-166, correcting his earlier attribution to Quellinus (H. Vlieghe, 'Erasmus Quellinus and Rubens's Studio Practice', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXIX, 1977, pp. 636-643, esp. pp. 640-643, and figs. 51-53.) A sketch in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, which Vlieghe originally supposed to be a copy of a lost Rubens oil sketch, used by Quellinus, was illustrated in fig. 57 of the 1977 article. But he has now, rightly I think, revised this view and attributes the sketch likewise to Van den Hoecke (p. 166 in the 1994 catalogue).

7. See Orso, *Alcázar*, 1986, pp. 49, 45-46. Carducho was paid in December 1625 for modifying the Titian painting. The three Spanish paintings are lost, but we know the subjects of two of them; that by González was already supplanted in 1636.
8. It is interesting to note too that the one visual record which appears to survive from the *Expulsion of the Moriscos* competition, the drawing by Carducho in the Prado, is likewise a horizontal composition, so that a vertical format for that picture may have been originally envisaged, as for Rubens's *Reconciliation of Jacob and Esau*. But it is possible that this drawing is simply for the background scene of Carducho's intended painting.
9. That the Berlin composition is an intermediate stage between the early composition recorded in No. 45 (Fig. 161) and that of the painting for the Alcázar (No. 46) is suggested by various features, among them the hint of a beard on the chin of the Roman hero. See Wood, *Scaevola*, 1989, p. 29.

46b. The Fortitude of Scaevola: Oil Sketch (Fig. 165)

Oil on panel; 44.7 × 35.5 cm. Below on the left, the number 2808.

Moscow, Pushkin Museum. Inv. no. 334.

PROVENANCE: Acquired for the Hermitage c. 1780; transferred in 1862 from there to the Rummyantsev Museum, then in 1924 moved to the Pushkin Museum.¹

COPY: ? Painting, whereabouts unknown; technique and measurements unknown. PROV. Munich, dealer Julius Böhrer, 1911. LIT. *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 460 (note to p. 151).

EXHIBITED: *Exhibition of the Masterpieces from the Tretyakov Gallery and the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts*, Tokyo—Osaka—Nagoya, 1975-76, no. 62; *Masterpieces of Foreign Painting from the Pushkin Museum Collection*, Novosibirsk—Krasnoyarsk—Irkutsk, 1987; *P.P. Rubens (1577-1640)*, Retretti Art Center, Punkaharju (Finland), 1991, no. 48.

LITERATURE: [F. Labensky], *Livret de la Galerie impériale de l'Ermitage de Saint-Petersbourg*, [St Petersburg], 1838, p. 261, no. 56; Cat. Rummyantsev Museum (in Russian), 1865, p. 2, no. 13; Hofstede de Groot in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p. 273, no. 4; Cat. Pushkin Museum, Moscow, 1948, p. 71, no. 334; B.R. Wipper, Cat. Pushkin Museum, Moscow, 1957, p. 124, no. 334; Cat. Pushkin Museum, Moscow, 1961, p. 164, no. 334, repr.; I. Antonova and K.M. Malitskaya, *Great Paintings from the Pushkin Museum*, New York, 1964, pl. 37 (cropped); Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, 1966, II, p. 239 (as *Rubens*); Müller Hofstede, *Review*, 1966, p. 449; *Held, Sketches*, 1980, I, pp. 383-385, under no. 286 (as *copy*); II, pl. 456; M. Jaffé, review of *Held, Sketches*, 1980 in *Apollo*, CXV, 1982, p. 62 (as *Rubens?*); Cat. Pushkin Museum (in Russian), Moscow, 1986, p. 156; Wood, *Scaevola*, 1989, p. 37, n. 5; Jaffé, *Rubens*, 1989, pp. 216-217, no. 365, repr. (as *Rubens, but much damaged*); X. Yegorova in [Cat. Exh.] *P.P. Rubens (1577-1640)* (Retretti Art Center), Punkaharju (Finland), 1991, pp. 144-145, no. 48, repr. in colour (as *Rubens's studio*).

Burchard, who never saw this painting except in reproduction, seems to have thought it possible that it was Rubens's sketch for No. 46, and this view has been taken by Müller Hofstede and Jaffé. But the quality of the picture does not seem to me to warrant this opinion, and the recent catalogues of the Pushkin Museum have called it a workshop version. Since it exhibits some differences from the painting as recorded in the studio replica in Budapest (No. 46, Copy I; Fig. 163)—the cloak of the soldier on the right is a grey rather than

pinkish hue, Scaevola's 'underskirt' is longer and is dark rather than mauve, and, most significantly, there appears to be no sword in the breast of the dead man—it may at least be a copy of Rubens's original sketch, which is how Held catalogues it. If it is indeed by Rubens, it must be much overpainted; one of the tent cords, for example, seems to have been misinterpreted as a spear. Wood interprets the object in Porsenna's hand, clearly a sceptre in the final painting (cf. Fig. 163), as a sword. This accounts for Scaevola's missing weapon, but does not, I feel, quite suit the gesture of the king, who falls back in wonder, and his concentration on Scaevola himself, rather than the dead secretary.

A sketch listed as formerly in the Liechtenstein collection² is often associated with the Moscow picture. However, it is almost certainly a small picture in Budapest which bears the mark of this collection.³ In that sketch Scaevola puts his left hand into the fire. It might therefore be a design for a tapestry or print, but since none of the gestures of the other figures look left-handed it may simply be that the artist made a mistake. This alone would, I think, exclude the authorship of Rubens. But in any case neither style nor composition suggest to me his hand. The artist does not look to me much like Jan van den Hoecke, to whom the sketch in the Liechtenstein inventory is attributed.⁴ Since it is based, albeit indirectly, on the Alcázar/Budapest composition (Fig. 163) it may also be the sketch recorded in the collection of Herman de Neyt in 1642 ('Een schets naer Rubens van Mutius Schevola').⁵

1. For this provenance see Yegorova, loc. cit. in bibliography, 1991.

2. *Description des Tableaux et des pièces de sculpture que renferme la galerie de Son Altesse François Joseph, Chef et Prince regnant de la Maison de Liechtenstein...*, Vienna, 1780, no. 458 (as 'Houck' [=Jan van den Hoecke]; 'peint sur bois', 32.5 × 27 cm. [i.e. 12 × 10", measured as *pieds de France*]).

3. Canvas stuck onto oak panel, 30.7 × 26.5 cm., on reverse 'P.P. Rubens' and seal of Liechtenstein collection; *Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts*, inv. no. 860.

This came from the collection of Prince Esterházy (inv. 1820, no. 1018: as *Rubens*). On this sketch see *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, p. 23, under no. 749; A. Pigler, *Katalog der Galerie Alter Meister. Museum der bildenden Künste*, Budapest, 1967, pp. 596-597, no. 860 (as *after Rubens*); M. Haraszti-Takács, *Rubens and his Age. Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest*, Budapest, 1972, pl. 7, with commentary; *Volk, Salón Nuevo, 1980*, fig. 29 (repr. by mistake as the replica of the Madrid painting); *Held, Sketches, 1980*, I, p. 384, n. 6. If this identification is right, however, the provenance given by Rooses must be wrong.

4. See above, n. 2. Admittedly this inventory talks of Scaevola putting his right hand in the fire, but this may be a case of unconscious correction on the part of the writer. For Van den Hoecke's early style see now H. Vlieghe, 'Nicht Jan Boeckhorst, sondern Jan van den Hoecke', *Westfalen*, LXVIII, 1990, pp. 166-183.

5. *Denucé, Konstkamers, 1932*, p. 110; cf. Pigler, op. cit. in n. 3, p. 596.

47. The Flight of Cloelia (Figs. 170, 171)

Oil on canvas; 236 × 343 cm.

Formerly Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum.

Inv. no. 964; destroyed in 1945.

PROVENANCE: Amalia van Solms, Princess of Orange (d. 1675), in the Huys op het Noord-einde, by 1632 (inv. 1632, 'cabinet' of Amalia van Solms);¹ inv. 1667: 'Een grote schilderije daer eenige vrouwen om haer vrijheyte te behouden door eenen stroom vluchten, daervan twee op een peert sitten, met een vergulde gesneeden lijst, gedain bij Rubbens';² inv. 1673);³ in her estate, 1676 (Division of property, Part A, no. 61: 'Clelia met d'andere Maaghden door den Tiber vlughtende uyt het leger van Porsenna, door Rubens geschilderd', estimated at 2600 fl.);⁴ allotted to Maria, Pfalzgräfin von Simmeren in the division of her property; in her estate, 1688, no. 362 (127); allotted to her sister Albertine-Agnes van Nassau-Dietz; in her estate, 1697, no. 64 (as *Van Diepenbeek*); bequeathed (test. no. 6)⁵ to Elector Frederick III of Brandenburg but evidently did not reach him immediately (Boedelscheiding Albertina-Agnes),⁶ going instead to

Henriette Catharina von Anhalt-Dessau, sister of Albertina-Agnes (inv. Oranjewout, 1696);⁷ presumably bequeathed by her to Frederick III, from 1701 Frederick I, King of Prussia (d. 1713); Königliche Schlösser, Berlin; given to Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin, in 1830 (no. 964); Berlin, Flakturm, 1945, where destroyed by fire.

COPIES: (1) Painting, 17th-century, showing the composition cropped at the left and expanded on all other sides, Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten, Wörlitz, near Dessau; canvas, 116.5 × 157.6 cm. PROV. ? Amalia van Solms. LIT. W. Hosäus, *Wörlitz*, edn Dessau, 1902, pp. 22 and 86 (illustrated in error as No. 47 in the study by Plomp of 1986 cited in the bibliography below).

(2) Painting, Opocno Castle, no. 58; canvas, 240 × 330 cm.

LITERATURE: *Waagen, Kunstwerke, 1837-39*, III, p. 573, n*; *Smith, Catalogue, 1829-42*, IX, pp. 284-285 (as *Rubens [rather than Van Diepenbeeck]*, but with assistance of *Wildens and others*); *Parthey, Bildersaal, 1863-64*, I, p. 326, no. 36 (as *Van Diepenbeeck*); C. Rost, 'Der alte Nassau-Oranische Bilderschatz und sein späterer Verbleib', *Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft, herausgegeben von Dr. A. von Zahn*, VI, 1873, pp. 52-98, esp. pp. 57, 63, 65, 66, 71, 84, 91, n. 7; *Cat. Berlin, 1883*, pp. 121-122 (as *Van Diepenbeeck*); *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, pp. 23-24; R. Muther and G. Hirth, *Der Cicerone in der Königlichen Gemäldegalerie in Berlin*, Munich—Leipzig, 1889, p. 244 (as *Van Diepenbeeck*); *Cat. Berlin, 1891*, pp. 69-70; A. Kleinschmidt, *Amalia von Oranien*, Berlin, 1905, p. 267 and n. 6; *Bode, Cat. Berlin, 1906*, p. 492 (as *Van Diepenbeeck*; banished to the reserve); *Cat. Berlin, 1912*, p. 555; K. Zoege von Manteuffel, in *Thieme—Becker*, IX, 1913, p. 243, s.v. *Diepenbeeck*; *Drossaers, Inventaris, 1930*, p. 212, no. 78, fig. VI (as *Abraham van Diepenbeeck*); *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Gemälde im Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum und deutschen Museum*, ed. I.

Kunze, Berlin, 1931, p. 641 (as *Rubens school*); *Van Gelder, Holland, 1950*, pp. 110, 112, p. 116, fig. 6 and 136; *Bernhard, Verlorene Werke, 1965*, p. 26; H. Miedema, 'De Tiber en de zwemmende maagden: een afknapper', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, XIX, 1968, pp. 133-155, esp. 136-138 and fig. 1; *Drossaers—Scheurleer, Inventarissen, 1974-76*, I, p. 191, no. 218 and note; p. 286, no. 1256; p. 321, no. 798, p. 369, no. 1401; II, p. 209, note to no. 70, p. 224, no. 59; H. Börsch-Supan, 'Die Gemälde aus dem Vermächtnis der Amalie von Solms und aus der oranischen Erbschaft in den brandenburgisch—preussischen Schlössern. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der hohenzollernschen Kunstsammlungen' *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XXX, 1967, pp. 148, 191, no. 44 and fig. 4; J. van Gelder, 'Rubens Marginalia IV', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXIII, 1981, p. 545 and n. 9; *Hairs, Sillage, 1977*, p. 79; *Steadman, Van Diepenbeeck, 1982*, pp. 18 and 89 (under no. 13); M. Plomp, "'Een merkwaardige verzameling Teekeningen" door Leonaert Bramer', *Oud Holland, C*, 1986, pp. 111-112 and fig. 16a (erroneously reproducing the version in Wörlitz: Copy 1).

This picture, destroyed in 1945, was demoted by many earlier authors to Van Diepenbeeck, and sometimes doubted even as a record of a lost Rubens composition. It was, as the author of the 1889 guide to the Berlin gallery put it, lacking in warmth, movement and the essential Rubensian sparkle (*Glanz*). However, Burchard was surely right to associate the design with Rubens, and consider the picture as the artist's first version of the theme of the escape of Cloelia, dating from shortly before 1620 and executed with the help of the studio. The picture was certainly highly regarded in the seventeenth century. It must be the 'oblong painting with the river god and other figures of women on horseback and on foot ... serving to be put before the chimney' ('Een lanckwerpige schilderij daerinne sit den godt der wateren ende eenige figuren van vrouwpersonen te peerde ende te voet... dienende om voor de schoorsteen te stellen') attributed to

Rubens or Van Dyck ('door Rubbens off Van Dijck gedaen') which in 1632 hung along with Rubens's *Alexander and Roxana* (No. 15; Fig. 58) in the chamber of Amalia van Solms, and which, notwithstanding the uncertainty about its authorship, was evidently a prized possession.⁸ In the inventory of Amalia's property made after her death, in 1676, it is valued higher than any of her other paintings, and it seems that there may have been a family wrangle over it. It was inherited by Maria von Simmern, who in turn bequeathed it to one of her sisters. From this lady it should have passed to Frederick III of Brandenburg. But in 1697 he evidently had not received it. The documents suggest that another sister, the Duchess of Anhalt, who had in fact inherited a picture of Cloelia by Poelenburgh from Amalia in 1676⁹ (and perhaps found this a poor substitute for a Rubens?), had appropriated the family Rubens, or rather borrowed it, since we know it ended up in the possession of Frederick. Perhaps she did this only to have her own copy made. For an old and accurate copy of the Berlin painting—except that it is somewhat expanded to give more space around the central group—is now at Wörlitz (Copy 1), having apparently come to Schloss Wörlitz along with other pictures from the Duchess of Anhalt's Orange inheritance, although there are early references to copies after Rubens's *Cloelia* which could also be connected with the Wörlitz picture.¹⁰ Whatever the case, this copy provides a valuable record of the colours, revealing that the two figures on the central horse were dressed in shimmering pink and yellowish silk respectively, and the only strong hue was the red garment being removed by the woman in the right foreground. The *Flight of Cloelia* inspired P. C. Hooft to compose a Latin epigram, extant in several versions, whose rhetorical conceits testify to the poet's ingenuity, even if they may not tell us much about the artist's own intention.¹¹

Livy relates how the Roman maiden Cloelia, sent with other hostages to Lars

Porsenna during a lull in the Etruscan wars, escaped to Rome by swimming across the Tiber with some companions 'under a hail of missiles'.¹² Even if she was immediately returned to Porsenna, since her exploit threatened the precarious treaty, the Etruscan king celebrated Cloelia's courage by sending her, with a selection of hostages, back to Rome. There the extraordinary woman was honoured with a statue on the *Via sacra*, which depicted her on horseback.¹³

Dionysius of Halicarnassus gives a slightly different and more elaborate version of the story, as does Plutarch in his *Life of Publicola* and his treatise on the *Virtues of Women*.¹⁴ Plutarch tells us, for example, that the female hostages were ten in number; Dionysius records that the equestrian statue was by his time (late first century BC) destroyed in a fire;¹⁵ and both report that, as a tribute to Cloelia, Lars Porsenna presented her with a splendid war-horse.¹⁶ Plutarch, who wonders if it has something to do with the gift of the horse, adds that Cloelia is said to have made her escape on horseback, leading and encouraging her comrades as they swam together beside her.¹⁷ From Plutarch and Dionysius too we learn that the young women made their escape while bathing, since for modesty's sake they had been allowed to do this unguarded, in a quiet bend in the river. The escape on horseback became an essential feature of the Renaissance iconography of the subject, even for illustrations to Livy's (horseless) text, and the single horse of other historians was freely multiplied.¹⁸ Before Rubens, however, artists were evidently unaware of the bathing context and its justification of female nakedness in a heroic Roman *exemplum*—one which Valerius Maximus put second only to the feat of Horatius in his chapter on *fortitudo*,¹⁹ and which was said to be one of the three heroic exploits (along with those of Horatius and Scaevola) which led Lars Porsenna to abandon his siege of Rome.²⁰

Earlier paintings of the Flight of Cloelia for the most part belonged to cycles of Roman

history or ancient *exempla*.²¹ Rubens effectively invented the theme as an independent cabinet picture. He took over familiar iconographic elements, such as the River Tiber, who reclines in the foreground of most sixteenth-century Italian versions of the subject; but he particularly selected entertaining features. Thus the sturdy young woman seen from behind and precariously perched on the central horse was inspired by a group in a Vicentino print, which the artist had sketched years before (Fig. 172) as a good motif for a 'women on horseback' picture.²² Nudity of course has now a new prominence, on the authority of Plutarch and Dionysius, though Rubens characteristically expanded on other elements in the textual sources where it suited his artistic purpose. He included no less than five horses—one of them already well on its way across the Tiber with its rider—and thus contrived a nice variety in the composition with both naked and clothed figures—the latter, mostly in pairs, of course on horseback. He introduced two old 'nurses' to tend to the maidens, one helping her charge to mount and the other gazing up to the central figure, obviously Cloelia, who looks back warily to check if the escape is unobserved.²³ The fact that all the figures are concentrating on their goal, or looking to Cloelia, and that Rubens gives us no glimpse of the Etruscan soldiers, whether sleeping (Valerius Maximus) or in pursuit (Livy etc.), as they usually appear in previous representations of the theme, contributes to the atmosphere of tension and the moral seriousness, so that the nudity, although undoubtedly diverting—and intended as such—is hardly frivolous, whatever scruples about decorum it may have aroused in Hooft, or other contemporary viewers.²⁴ In the final version of his poem, as Miedema shows, Hooft suppressed such reactions and called the picture an illustration of the Ovidian maxim of how virtue wins out against all odds (*in via virtuti nulla est via*) (cf. *Metamorphoses* XIV.113). The subject may indeed have appealed to the Orange family too

as one which could on occasion be amenable to a political application to other, contemporary, 'freedom fighters'.

With only old photographs to rely on, it is difficult to speculate now on the possible share of individual pupils in the picture's execution. However, the early attribution to Van Dyck as well as Rubens seems likely to have had some basis and certainly suits a dating (proposed by Burchard and Van Gelder) of shortly before 1620.²⁵ In addition, the landscape and foreground greenery looks very much like the work of Wildens, which would accord with such a date.²⁶ The composition seems rather cramped in a manner typical of pictures of this period, and the execution particularly recalls that of the Prado *Achilles on Scyros*, a painting of c. 1617-18 which is almost certainly the collaborative effort of Rubens and Van Dyck.²⁷ The faces, attitudes and even hair-styles of some of the young women are similar. The *virago*, Cloelia, is not unlike the disguised Achilles, even if the forms seem harder in outline in the Berlin *Cloelia*. The pose of the young woman in the foreground, with outstretched arms, presumably in preparation for swimming—the water near the outlet of the Tiber's urn being, apparently, relatively deep—is adapted, with appropriate modification of male musculature, from that of the blind man in the *Miracles of St Francis Xavier* in Vienna,²⁸ or rather from the preparatory drawing for this man, from which it even reproduces the pattern of shading.²⁹ This means that we can date No. 47 after 1617. The fact that the first version of Hooft's epigram was composed in 1619-20 provides a *terminus ante quem*; it also, as Miedema points out,³⁰ rules out any possibility of the participation of Abraham van Diepenbeek.³¹

1. *Drossaers—Scheurleer, Inventarissen, 1974-76*, I, p. 191, no. 218, with note. See also below, at n. 8.
2. *Ibid.*, I, p. 286, no. 1256.
3. *Ibid.*, I, p. 321, no. 798.
4. *Ibid.*, I, p. 369, no. 1401. See also Rost, loc. cit. in bibliography, 1873.
5. See Rost, loc. cit. in bibliography, 1873, p. 63, and n. 7.

6. Drossaers—Scheurleer, *Inventarissen*, 1974-76, II, p. 209, note to no. 70.
7. *Ibid.*, II, p. 224, no. 59.
8. *Ibid.*, I, p. 191, no. 218. Van Gelder, loc. cit., 1981, took the phrase 'dienende om voor de schoorsteen te stellen' to mean that it was over the fireplace; and this indeed might seem to be the natural interpretation. The phrase is similar to that used in the same inventory for the location of Rubens's painting of Artemisia (No. 13; Fig. 51), and for two other pictures which we know to have been installed as chimney-pieces in other Orange palaces (said to be 'voor de schoorsteen'): for these, and more on the question of the meaning of this phrase see above, No. 13, at n. 36. But in the case of Amalia's painting of Cloelia, such an interpretation creates two problems. Firstly we already have a chimney-piece for the room: Rubens's *Alexander and Roxana* (No. 15; Fig. 58), described as 'eene houten schoorsteenmantel'; secondly the Berlin picture seems rather too large for such a location—and Van Gelder already excluded it from consideration in this context for that reason. There may have been two chimneys in Amalia's chamber; or else the picture was indeed somehow placed in front of the fireplace—a temporary, summer arrangement? A distinction seems to be made in the inventories between pictures permanently fixed above the mantelpiece, and those simply hanging or 'standing' 'before the chimney-piece'. That the picture in Amalia's collection was indeed No. 47 is supported by the compositions by Dutch artists which derive from it, for example, the drawing by Bramer after Couwenbergh; see Plomp, op. cit., 1986, pp. 111-112, fig. 16, with reference to other Cloelia compositions by Northern painters. Somewhat confusingly a 'Clelie Romano van Rubbens voor de schoorsteen' is recorded in the Orange palace of Het Loo in 1713 and reappears with a similar designation in other 18th-century inventories. This is certainly a different painting, namely the version now in the Louvre (Fig. 176), for which see below, No. 48b.
9. Drossaers—Scheurleer, *Inventarissen*, 1974-76, I, p. 372, no. 1502: 'Clelia, van Poelenburgh gedaan'.
10. See below, under No. 48, *ad finem*.
11. See Miedema, loc. cit., 1968.
12. Livy, *Ab urbe condita* II.xiii.
13. Rubens discusses this in his account of ancient statues in the lost 'pocketbook' (Jombert, *Théorie*, 1773, p. 40), pointing out that this woman must have been one of the first Romans accorded an equestrian monument.
14. Dionysius, *Roman Antiquities* V.32-35; Plutarch, *Publicola*, 18.2-19 and *Mulierum virtutes* 14 (*Moralia* 250C-F).
15. The statue must have been replaced by Seneca's time: see his *Ad Marciam de consolatione* xvi.2 and, for the original, Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XXXIV.xiii.28-29.
16. Dionysius's general attitude is unequivocal in expressing Porsenna's admiration for Cloelia: thus he says that Cloelia was allowed to take home with her every one of the Roman hostages. For all the classical sources see Pauly—Wissowa, IV, i, 1900, cols. 110-111.
17. Cf. Florus, *Epitome* I.x.7 and Valerius Maximus, *Dicta et facta* III.ii.2; cf. Boccaccio, *De claris mulieribus*, chapter 50, who claims that this was the first time Cloelia had ever ridden a horse. Most authors, like Livy and Dionysius, speak of her swimming across the river: cf. Vergil, *Aeneid* VIII.651; Servius on *Aeneid* VIII.646; Juvenal, *Satires* viii.264-265.
18. See E.W. Braun in *Reallexikon*, III, 1954, cols. 796-798, though he implies that Livy mentions a horse. There are already 2 horses in the illustration to the 1508 German Livy published at Strasbourg by Grüninger.
19. Valerius, loc. cit. in n. 17. This (bald) version of the story seems to imply that Cloelia fled alone (cf. Plutarch, *Publicola* 19.4, who cites this as the opinion of some people) but claims that the escape took place by night.
20. See Livy, *Ab urbe condita* II.x-xiii; Florus, *Epitome* I.x.3; Juvenal, loc. cit. in n. 17. For Renaissance and later representations of the subject see Braun, op. cit. in n. 18, cols. 796-801 and Pigler, *Barockthemen*, 1974, II, pp. 379-380.
21. Apart from those mentioned in the works by Braun and Pigler (cited in n. 20 above), a Cloelia swimming the Tiber appears as the *exemplum of fortitudo* on an arch erected for the entry of Charles V into Naples in 1535 (M. Gachard, *Voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*, II, Brussels, 1874, p. 579).
22. Pen and ink, 180 × 94 mm.; Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins. Inv. no. 22.606. For the wood engraving by Vicentino reproducing a composition by Maturino see Bartsch, XII, 1866, p. 96, no. 5; *Le Peintre Graveur Illustré. Italian Chiaroscuro Woodcuts (Bartsch Volume XII)*, ed. C. Karpinski, University Park, Pa, and London, 1971, no. 96.5. Rubens may also have had in mind an ancient precedent: the *Amazon Dismounting*; see Bober—Rubinstein, *Handbook*, 1986, pp. 177-178, no. 141, repr.
23. Burchard noted that this figure recalls the old serving woman in the Louvre *Hercules and Omphale* (Jaffé, *Rubens*, 1989, p. 150, no. 27, repr. p. 151).
24. In one version of his epigram (Miedema, op. cit., 1968, esp. pp. 139-152) Hooft makes the Tiber turn hot with excitement at the sight of the girls then cool with disapproval as, in unmaidenly fashion, they plunge in to swim.
25. Cf. also Steadman, *Van Diepenbeeck*, 1982, p. 89 (under no. 13) where the picture is attributed to

- 'a member of the Rubens school before 1620'.
26. On Wildens's activity in Rubens's workshop see Balis, *Studio Practices*, 1994, p. 122, n. 77, with further references; also above, No. 34, at n. 46.
27. K.d.K. ed. *Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 130; Díaz Padrón, *Cat. Prado*, 1975, I, pp. 317-320, no. 1661; II, pl. 201.
28. K.d.K. ed. *Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 205; *Vlieghe, Saints*, 1972-73, II, no. 104, fig. 6.
29. *Vlieghe, Saints*, 1972-73, II, no. 104d, fig. 13.
30. Op. cit., 1968, pp. 139, 151; cf. *Steadman, Van Diepenbeeck*, 1982, p. 18.
31. And indicates that the picture cannot have been commissioned by Amalia van Solms, who became Princess of Orange (on her marriage to Frederick Hendrik) only in 1625.

48. The Flight of Cloelia: Painting by ?Rubens and ?Jan Boeckhorst (Figs. 173, 175)

Oil on canvas; 180 × 267 cm. Below on the right, the number 63.B.
Dresden, Gemäldegalerie. Inv. no. 1016 A.

PROVENANCE: ? Diego Duarte, Antwerp (inv. 1682: 'een seer groot stuck de historie van Clelie te peert passerende den Tyber met veele naecte figuren van Joannes Bouckhorst alias Langen Jan');¹ ? passed in 1690 to Manuel Levy Duarte, his executor, and sold in 1692 (along with a picture by Snyders, for 700 florins; asking price for the *Cloelia* was 300 florins) to Don Estevan de Andrea;² Dresden, by 1722 (inv. 1722, no. A 63b as 'durch Ihre Majestät die Königin', i.e. as coming from Christiane Eberhardine von Brandenburg-Bayreuth, Queen of Poland, wife of August II of Poland);³ by 1762 in picture gallery of the Electors of Saxony, then Königliche Gemälde-Galerie and Staatliche Gemäldegalerie.

COPIES: (1) Painting, with some variations in the rendering of the landscape, omitting the broken bridge, featuring a different view of Rome in the background—more like the Renaissance city—and showing a clump of reeds in the foreground which obscures the Tiber's legs and urn, Paleis het Loo, Apeldoorn; canvas, 117 × 170 cm. PROV. Sold in Holland or

England in 1929; W. Doorn, Apeldoorn (1951, 1979). LIT. *Van Gelder, Holland*, 1950, p. 112, n. 1.

(2) Painting, with small variations and omitting the broken bridge, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 157.5 × 183 cm. PROV. Leger Galleries, London, 1969.

(3) Painting, showing the composition cut at the bottom and still more on the right, omitting some figures (notably the woman in the water at the bottom right, the two figures removing clothes just above her and the woman trying to mount the horse just above them) and slightly rearranging others, attributed to Hendrik van Balen, whereabouts unknown; copper, 51 × 65 cm. PROV. ? Matthew Mitchell, Enfield, Middlesex, sale, London (Christie's), 8 March 1819, lot 79 ('V. Balen: Clelia escaping across the Tiber'); sale, Munich (Weinmüller), 27-28 June 1962, cat. 90, no. 991, pl. 87 (as 'mythological scene').

LITERATURE: *Catalogue des tableaux de la galerie électorale à Dresde*, Dresden, 1765, no. G.E. 273 (as *Rubens*); [J.A. Lehninger], *Abregé de la vie des peintres, dont les tableaux composent la galerie électorale de Dresde...*, Dresden, 1782, p. 326, no. 273; *Catalogue des tableaux de la Galerie Royale de Dresde*, Dresden, 1826, p. 56 (in both cases as *Rubens*); *Parthey, Bildersaal*, 1863-64, II, p. 428, no. 256; F. Muller, 'Catalogus der Schilderijen van Diego Duarte te Amsterdam in 1682 met de prijzen van aankoop en taxatie', *De Oude Tijd*, Haarlem, 1870, p. 410, no. 118; C. Rost, 'Der alte Nassau-Oranische Bilderschatz und sein späterer Verbleib', *Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft herausgegeben von Dr. A. von Zahn*, VI, 1873, p. 84; K. Woermann, *Katalog der königlichen Gemäldegalerie zu Dresden. Grosse Ausgabe*, Dresden, 1887, no. 978; edn 1896, p. 336 (as *Van Diepenbeeck*); J. Schnorr, 'Tagenbücher', in *Dresdner Geschichtsblätter*, IV, 1895, I, p. 168; *Rooses, Oeuvre*, 1886-92, IV, pp. 23-24 (as *not Rubens, perhaps after him*); *Burckhardt, Rubens*, 1898, p. 137 (as *best version of the theme, but by Van Diepenbeeck*); *Staatliche Gemäldegalerie zu Dresden: Katalog der alten*

Meister, Dresden, 1930, no. 1016A; *Van Gelder, Holland*, 1950, p. 112; E.W. Braun in *Reallexikon*, III, 1954, col. 801; H. Miedema, 'De Tiber en de zwemmende maagden: een afknapper', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, XIX, 1968, pp. 136 and 140, fig. 2 (as *Rubens*); *Hairs, Sillage*, 1977, pp. 78-79 (as *Van Diepenbeeck*); *Lahrkamp, Bockhorst*, 1982, pp. 178-179, no. A 22, repr. (as *Boeckhorst*); *Cat. Exh. Boeckhorst, Antwerp—Münster*, 1990, pp. 19, 34, doc. 11.

The picture presented here as No. 48 (Fig. 175) is usually dismissed as the work of Rubens himself, and sometimes even as the product of his studio. Roose is inclined to this view, and since the late nineteenth century the Dresden catalogues have consistently given it entirely to Van Diepenbeeck, thus presumably equating it with a picture with this attribution mentioned in the later Orange inventories. That work, however, is certainly the abbreviated version of the composition now in Paris (No. 48b; Fig. 176)—although in my view it is not in fact by Van Diepenbeeck. Others (Braun, Miedema) called the Dresden work a school piece, which might or might not imply an original by the master himself. Burchard likewise left the question open, when he suggested it should be identified with the 'very large piece, the story of Cloelia on horseback crossing the Tiber and lots of naked figures' by Jan Boeckhorst in the collection of Diego Duarte by 1682.⁴ The identification and attribution has been accepted, tentatively, by Lahrkamp;⁵ it would not perhaps be very compelling were it not the case, as I believe, that the artist was here reproducing the style as well as the composition of Rubens. It is thus with works executed by Boeckhorst to the instructions of Rubens that the Dresden painting should be compared,⁶ and such a comparison is certainly suggestive, if far from conclusive.⁷ But whether or not Boeckhorst was the assistant involved, it seems possible that Rubens himself had some part in the execution, perhaps retouching it.⁸

That the design at least is Rubens's is sug-

gested by the existence of another, abbreviated version of the subject from Rubens's workshop (No. 48b; Fig. 176), as well as three copies, which, however, include some variations, as discussed below. Iconographic arguments too can be invoked, for this composition, astonishing indeed as an illustration of ancient Roman *virtus*, can nevertheless—or perhaps rather for this very reason—be seen as a characteristic product of Rubens's imagination. It seems to belong to an idiosyncratic, even playful approach to ancient history and mythology sometimes evident in the last decade of the painter's life and exemplified in the *London Rape of the Sabines* (No. 40; Fig. 127) or the *Pan seducing Diana* formerly in Berlin.⁹

This time, elaborating his first version of the subject (No. 47; Fig. 170), we see the Etruscan camp and the hillside and a group of soldiers already in pursuit, raining down on the fleeing maidens the missiles which Livy described.¹⁰ This time too no less than twenty-three girl-hostages are escaping with Cloelia, there are no less than eight horses, and altogether there is much more varied activity. Among the new attractions are the two (somewhat unconvincingly) swimming maidens—one virtually a reversed figure from the *Battle of the Amazons*¹¹—and a maiden rather coquettishly posing in the attitude used for the ivory statuette of 'Venus pulling her smock over her head very rarely made, the invention of sr Peter Rubens' which was recorded in the artist's collection at his death.¹² This time too the motif which Rubens copied from Vicentino (Fig. 172)¹³ and used in the Berlin painting (No. 47; Fig. 170) is wholeheartedly taken over to make the amusing group of the young woman being heaved and pulled with difficulty onto the central horse. The attitudes and antics of the others in trying different ways of mounting the horses, sheltering their heads (in one case with a cloak!) from the weapons, tearing off their clothes—those in the foreground readily, another in the centre quite reluctantly, and only with assistance from a clothed riding companion—make for a di-

verting spectacle, and one which seems to have caused the River Tiber to fall back clumsily over his urn onto a sculpture of the Roman she-wolf with Romulus and Remus. In sixteenth-century representations of the theme, the Tiber had often been shown accompanied by the wolf and twins. Presumably the ancient statue of the Tiber, now in the Louvre (see Fig. 119), was Rubens's model here.¹⁴ He made the group of wolf and twins alone into a sculpture, the identifying attribute of the living river god, and he showed the wolf licking the infants,¹⁵ adapting the classical source (cf. Fig. 119).

In contrast to the Berlin scene (No. 47; Fig. 170), Cloelia is not at the centre of the picture. Rather she is leading the troupe, clinging onto the horse's mane as well as the reins as it enters the water—Rubens, like Boccaccio, evidently imagined that the maidens were riding horses for the first time¹⁶—and already under cover of the rocky bank as she directs her companions to safety.¹⁷ She has a pearl necklace and a smile of satisfaction at her exploit, both telling features in this light-hearted version of the theme. The darkening sky suggests that Rubens remembered that Valerius Maximus sets the scene by night,¹⁸ though he ignored that author's implication that the Etruscans were therefore sleeping. This allowed for bright camp fires on top of the hill—persuasively painted, and an indication that this is far from a routine studio work. The Roman background as much as anything suggests that Rubens was the author of the composition. For the collapsed bridge to the left is no gratuitous ruin, but alludes to the fact that Cloelia's escape took place just after the heroic feat of Horatius (to which Cloelia's deed was compared by many ancient writers and according to Livy by Lars Porsenna himself) in holding the bridge across the Tiber single-handed against the Etruscans until it was broken beneath him by the Romans.¹⁹

Even if the Dresden picture was executed entirely by one or more assistants, it may have been the only large-scale version of the com-

position to emerge from Rubens's studio, and accordingly is listed here as No. 48. It is likely that there was a preliminary sketch by Rubens, as is discussed below, under No. 48a. Still, there may have been a Rubensian original, now lost, of which the Dresden work was more or less a reproduction. For the paintings listed here as copies of No. 48 (1-3) are not straightforwardly derived from it. For one thing they all show Cloelia with her 'riding crop', while the young woman trying to mount the dappled horse at the right in the Dresden picture does not yet have her leg over the animal's back in Copies 1 and 2.²⁰ On the other hand, none of the versions except the picture in Dresden include the broken bridge. It is tempting to connect a lost prototype with a painting of the 'Flight of Cloelia' submitted by the heirs of the former burgo-master Jan van Weerden in September 1686 to the judgement of the Antwerp guild of St Luke, who attributed it to Rubens.²¹ Still, in the absence of other evidence of any such lost picture, the Dresden picture remains effectively the Rubensian original.

The persistent attributions of both the painting in Dresden and the variation on the composition in Paris (No. 48b; Fig. 176) may account for some of the old references to pictures of this subject by Van Diepenbeeck, or copies after him.²² This artist has also been associated with No. 47 (Fig. 170) or the copy of it in Wörlitz.²³

There are a few other pictures of Cloelia listed in seventeenth-century inventories, though these are not usually connected with Rubens's name. However, the picture of the 'the maid Acclertia' swimming the Tiber, a large piece on canvas in the inventory of Victor Wolfvoet (1612-1652),²⁴ was almost certainly a copy made by Wolfvoet himself after Rubens (either No. 47 or No. 48).²⁵ It was surely the picture bought by Musson as a 'Clelia naer Rubbens' on 1 March 1653 from 'Fictor Saeliger' [i.e. Wolfvoet], and offered for sale for 48 florins to one Hugo, a city councillor, some months later.²⁶ Possibly then

Wolfvoet was the author of one of the first two copies of No. 48, listed above.

1. Muller, *op. cit.* in bibliography, 1870, p. 401, no. 118; G. Dogaer, 'De Inventaris der schilderijen van Diego Duarte', *Jaarboek. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen*, 1971, p. 210, no. 156.
2. This man had already purchased several other pictures, including a *Battle of the Amazons* attributed to Rubens and Jan Brueghel: see E.R. Samuel, 'The Disposal of Diego Duarte's Stock of Paintings 1692-1697', *Jaarboek. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen*, 1976, pp. 305-324, esp. p. 315, no. 156 and pp. 317-318.
3. Rost seems to have thought the picture mentioned in the 17th-century Orange inventories was the present Dresden painting rather than the Berlin one (No. 47; Fig. 170) (Rost, *loc. cit.* in bibliography, 1873); but apart from anything else, the chronology rules this out, since the Dresden composition could not date from before 1620, when Hooft saw the painting that was in Amalia van Solms's collection: cf. above, under No. 47.
4. See Muller, *op. cit.*, 1870, p. 401, no. 118. See further under the suggested provenance above. This picture could have been the one owned previously by Albert Rubens and described as a copy; though the fact that it served in his house as a chimney-piece favours an identification instead with the smaller painting which later performed the same function in Het Loo, namely No. 48b (Fig. 176).
5. Lahrkamp, 1982, *loc. cit.*
6. On these see, notably, H. Vlieghe, 'Jan Boeckhorst als medewerker', in *Cat. Exh. Boeckhorst, Antwerp—Münster*, 1990, pp. 75-81.
7. If the drawing of a naked Mary Magdalen in the Louvre is accepted as a work by Boeckhorst, made while under the influence of Rubens (A.-M. Logan, 'Jan Boeckhorst als tekenaar' in *Cat. Exh. Boeckhorst, Antwerp—Münster*, 1990, p. 128, fig. 88), this would provide an interesting point of comparison.
8. As in the case of the picture in the 1655 inventory of the estate of Anna de Smidt-Fraryn, recorded as 'Silenus, van Lange Jan [i.e. Boeckhorst], by myn Heer Rubens geretocceert': *Denucé, Konstkamers*, 1932, p. 172. Vlieghe considers (*op. cit.* in n. 6, p. 75) that this was probably a composition by Boeckhorst himself, but I feel it would be more likely for Rubens to retouch something which was the product of his own workshop, and invention.
9. *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 429; for the subject see E. McGrath, 'Pan and the Wool', *The Ringling Museum of Art Journal*, 1983, pp. 52-69.
10. Livy, *Ab urbe condita* II.xiii.6: 'dux agminis virginum inter tela hostium Tiberim tranavit'. For the story see above, under No. 47.
11. *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 196.
12. The French version of the inventory calls it 'Une Venus se depouillant de sa chemise, de l'invention de feu Mons. Rubens'. See Muller, *Collector*, 1989, p. 145 and pl. 118. For the statuette, now in St Petersburg and attributed to Artus Quellinus, see A. Schädler in K. Feuchtmayr *et al.*, *Georg Petel, 1601/2-1634*, Berlin, 1973, pp. 180, 181, under no. 140 and figs. 247, 249. A drawing supposedly made after the life by Rubens was used for the back of the ivory figure (Schädler, fig. 248; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre*, 1949, no. 1031, repr.); this sheet has, however, been attributed instead to Quellinus: A.-M. Logan, 'Rubens Exhibitions, 1977-1978', *Master Drawings*, XVI, 1978, p. 427. Still, there must have been some Rubensian drawing or design for the figure. The woman at the far right pushing her dress over her head is related to figures in a late drawing in Berlin of bathing women (*Mielke—Winner, Cat. Berlin*, 1977, pp. 106-110, no. 38, repr.).
13. See above, under No. 47 at n. 22.
14. For this see above, under No. 34.
15. For this motif see above, under No. 34.
16. See Boccaccio, *De claris mulieribus*, chapter 50.
17. In all the copies (1-3), she points forward with an improvised riding crop; for the notion that this might have been a feature of a lost original, entirely by Rubens, see below.
18. Valerius Maximus, *Dicta et facta* III.ii.2.
19. Livy, *Ab urbe condita* II.x; II.xiii.8. The relevance of the broken bridge is noted by the 1826 Dresden catalogue, though the deed is mistakenly called Scaevola's. For the association of the deeds of Cloelia and Horatius see No. 47 at nn. 19 and 20. The tapestry series which included the scene of Cloelia which Burchard attributed to Rubens (No. 29; cf. Fig. 110), also featured the story of Horatius (see discussion on the tapestry cycles, p. 130, Series IIb); that Cloelia scene included no Horatian bridge.
20. These two pictures are not, however, simply dependent one on the other, since the Leger picture (Copy 2) more or less reproduces the background of the Dresden picture, but is shown differently in the Apeldoorn painting (Copy 1).
21. 7 September 1686. See *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, p. 24. Van Weerden had died on 25 April 1686: see *Denucé, Konstkamers*, 1932, p. 339. The date excludes any idea that this was the painting in the possession of Duarte (see above, at n. 1).
22. For example, there is the 'schlechte copey nach Diepenbeek', estimated low in the Orange inventory of 1708: Rost, *op. cit.*, 1873, p. 71.
23. See above, under No. 47.
24. His estate (inv. 24-26 October 1652); see *Denucé, Konstkamers*, 1932, p. 141.
25. For Wolfvoet's copies of Rubens's sketches of the Rape and Reconciliation of the Sabines see No. 42b (Copy 2) and No. 43c (Copy 2).

26. 1 November 1653, as a 'Clelia, op doek' See *Du-verger, Musson, 1968*, pp. 81, 82. It was not sold. The 'Cloelia crossing the Tiber...' which Musson delivered on 1 August 1651 to a Heer Vinck (*Du-verger, Musson, 1968*, p. 77) must have been a different painting.

48a. The Flight of Cloelia: Oil Sketch

? Panel; measurements unknown.
Whereabouts unknown, presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: ? Richard Clark, sale, London (Abbott), 15 September 1809, lot 101 (as *Rubens*, a 'very spirited and fine coloured sketch' showing 'Clelia escaping from the camp of Porsenna'); ? Earl of Mulgrave, sale, London (Christie's), 12 May 1832, lot 16 ('*Rubens: Clelia—a finely coloured, and very spirited sketch of the master*').

EXHIBITED: ? British Institution, June 1829 (as *Rubens: 'Escape of Cloelia'*).

LITERATURE: None.

If Rubens designed No. 48 to be executed in his workshop it is virtually certain that he made an oil sketch to serve as a model. The references in early nineteenth-century English sale catalogues to a 'very spirited' coloured sketch by Rubens of the Flight of Cloelia might therefore be connected with such a work.¹ They could, however, simply record a copy of No. 48.

1. It is just possible that these references should be connected too with the picture supposedly by Rubens (size unspecified) in the sale of John Cecil (of Merton Abbey, Surrey), London (Browning), 5 June 1760, lot 81 ('The Roman Virgins' Flight from the Sabine [*sic*] Camp').

48b. The Flight of Cloelia: Painting by ?Rubens and ?Jan van den Hoecke (Figs. 174, 176)

Oil on canvas, transferred from wood before 1795; 113.5 × 144 cm.

Paris, Musée du Louvre. Inv. no. 1210.

PROVENANCE: ? Albert Rubens (1614-57), ceded from his father's effects for 54 florins, 1640/45 (as 'a copy' of a 'Cuelia');² his inv. 1657 ('eene schilderye voor de schouwe representerende Clelien');³ William III (1650-1702), Prince of Orange; brought 1696 from Honselaarsdijk to Het Loo (inv. ?31 December 1695: 'Clelia Romana die door den Tyber swemt van Rubbens'; inv. 1713: 'Clelie Romano van Rubbens voor de schoorsteen'—in the bedroom of the Prince;⁴ inv. 1757/1763: 'Ontvlugting van Clelie voor de schoorsteen';⁵ inv. made between 1768 and 1795 of paintings of Willem V: 'van het Loo: De Amazonen vlugtende door een Rivier, in de manier van Rubbens, op doek' as 114 × 142.5 cm. and by *Jordaens*);⁶ brought from The Hague to France in 1795, where exhibited in the château of Rambouillet; Musée Napoléon (inv. 1815-20, Louvre archives, fol. 173, said to have come from the Stadtholder and ascribed to Van Diepenbeek).⁷

LITERATURE: *Waaen, Kunstwerke, 1837-39*, III, p. 573 (as *Van Diepenbeek*); here the dimensions are given as 145 × 145 cm.;⁸ F. Villot, *Notice des tableaux exposés dans les galeries du Musée national du Louvre*, II, Paris, 1852, p. 60, no. 118 (as *Van Diepenbeek*); *Walpole, Anecdotes, 1826-28*, II, p. 189 (as *Van Dyck*); *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92* IV, p. 23 (as *not Van Diepenbeek*); M. Rooses in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1897, p. 19; A. Philippi, *Die Blüte der Malerei in Belgien*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 131; K. Zoëge von Mantuffel, in *Thieme—Becker*, IX, 1911, p. 234, s.v. *Diepenbeek*; L. Demonts, *Musée national du Louvre, catalogue des peintures exposées dans les galeries*, III, Paris, 1922, p. 82, no. 1958; *Drossaers, Inventaris, 1930*, p. 212, no. 78, repr.; *Van Gelder, Holland, 1950*, p. 112, fig. 7, p. 117; H. Miedema, 'De Tiber en de zwemmende maagden: een afknapper', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, XIX, 1968, p. 136 and n. 15; *Drossaers—Scheurleer, Inventarissen, 1974-76*, I, p. 668, no. 550, with note; II, p. 608, no. 156,

with note; III, p. 218, no. 75; *Hairs, Sillage*, 1977, pp. 79 and 142; A. Brejon de Lavergnée, J. Foucart, N. Reynaud, *Catalogue sommaire illustré des peintures du Musée du Louvre. I. Écoles flamande et hollandaise*, Paris, 1979, p. 47 (as Van Diepenbeeck); Steadman, *Van Diepenbeeck*, 1982, pp. 18 and 89, no. 13 (as Van Diepenbeeck); N. Volle and C. Naffah, 'A propos d'une très importante campagne de restauration des peintures des Écoles du Nord: quelques grands formats flamands', *La revue du Louvre*, XLIV, 1994, 1, p. 65, figs. 9-11; J. Foucart in [Louvre] *Guide du Visiteur. Les peintures flamande, hollandaise et allemande (XV^e, XVI^e, XVII^e siècles)*, Paris, 1995, p. 81 (as partly by Rubens?).

This painting, which presents a variation on the composition of No. 48 (Fig. 175)—or rather part of it—was until recently attributed to Van Diepenbeeck in the Louvre, and withdrawn from public view; at present, however, it is displayed as a work from Rubens's studio, perhaps executed in part by the artist himself. Burchard's opinion on the status of the picture is equivocal. But it seems to me that it must indeed have been designed by Rubens, and then executed by an assistant in the workshop—an artist of some competence, who gave the work its distinct stylistic character. Taking into account the figural types, colouring and manner of rendering the landscape, Jan van den Hoecke would appear the best candidate.⁹ Van den Hoecke is documented as a pupil as well as a collaborator of Rubens,¹⁰ and one work suggested by Balis as executed by him under Rubens's direction, in his studio, namely the *Entry of Christ into Jerusalem*, now in Dijon, seems to me to betray quite similar characteristics.¹¹

In the present version of the Flight of Cloelia (Fig. 176), which focuses on the central group, the landscape setting is much simplified (cf. Fig. 175), and fewer soldiers menace over the brow of a smaller hill. The 'bathers' in the foreground are omitted, and the river god, still starting in surprise, has moved much closer to the escaping women. He now leans,

not on a statue of the wolf with Romulus and Remus, but on a much smaller stone decorated with a relief of the twins. This change was perhaps simply dictated by demands of space; the relief shows the twins themselves exactly as in the group beneath the famous ancient sculpture of the Tiber which is now in the Louvre, but only provides the barest suggestion of the accompanying she-wolf (cf. Fig. 119).¹² Possibly, however, the picture is slightly cut at the left and would originally have included the lupa's now missing head.

Given the size of the painting, and the fact that it was surely produced to Rubens's instructions in his workshop, it may be that this work was the picture of Cloelia, which went to Rubens's son Albert after the painter's death and served as a chimney-piece in his house.¹³ In this case the term 'copy', used to describe that work, should not be taken too literally. The fact that the present abbreviation of the Dresden composition (No. 48; Fig. 175) restores to the subject something of its character as a heroic ancient *exemplum*—an aspect of the theme which was cheerily dissipated in the large picture (contrast No. 47; Fig. 170)—might have given this version of the escape of Cloelia (Figs. 174, 176), which is still entertaining enough, a particular appeal to a scholar and humanist, such as Albert.

A sketch considered by Burchard to be the work of Rubens, but rightly questioned by d'Hulst and Vandenven,¹⁴ depicts an encounter between a young man newly arrived from (or about to leave on?) a ship and an older couple, who seem to be offering him the hand of their daughter,¹⁵ and sets it in a landscape reminiscent of that in No. 48b; it even includes a river god in the foreground in an attitude very similar to the Tiber in the present work. Might this sketch, which features a number of plump young women (as well as a plump young man) also be attributed to Van den Hoecke? Whatever the case, the subject should perhaps be connected not with the Old Testament, but with ancient myth or history.

1. P. Génard, 'De Nalatenschap van P. P. Rubens', *Antwerpsch Archiefblad*, II, 1862, p. 88, no. LXVIII; cf. *Denucé, Konstkamers*, 1932, p. 78, doc. LXVIII (from Helene Fourment, 9 April 1646, no. 6, referring to 'een Cuelia'); cf. M. Rooses, 'De verdeeling van Rubens' Nalatenschap...', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, 1896, p. 241. Génard concluded that this painting was of St Cecilia, but this idea must be ruled out, even if there is no *Flight of Cloelia* in the inventory of Rubens's estate: see *Muller, Collector*, 1989, p. 114, under no. 93; indeed the picture is described as illustrating Cloelia in Albert's inventory in the following reference.
2. M. Rooses, 'Staet ende inventaris van den sterffhuysse van mynheer Albertus Rubens ende vrouwe Clara del Monte', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1897, p. 19; cf. M. Rooses, 'Oeuvres de Rubens. Addenda', *ibid.*, p. 95.
3. Geheimnis Staatsarchiv, Berlin, Rep. 64, R.I. no. 67, p. 1 (cf. p. 2).
4. *Drossaers—Scheurleer, Inventarissen*, 1974-76, I, p. 668, no. 550 with note (the reference in my previous note is to the source they could not trace for the transfer to Het Loo).
5. *Drossaers—Scheurleer, Inventarissen*, 1974-76, II, p. 608, no. 156.
6. *Ibid.*, III, p. 218, no. 75; cf. *Musée royal de La Haye (Mauritshuis). Catalogue raisonné des tableaux et des sculptures*, edn The Hague, 1914, p. xvii, no. 30, among paintings taken from the collection of William V and not returned in 1815 (likewise as *Jordaens*, in the manner of Rubens).
7. In the catalogue of the Musée Napoléon the picture was said to measure 135 × 164 cm., whereas its dimensions in the inventory made before 1795 are almost identical to those of the present canvas. This cannot be explained by the discrepancy between Paris and Amsterdam measurements of the period since, as Miedema points out, Amsterdam feet were smaller (op. cit., 1968, p. 137, n. 10), so that the Dutch inventory must refer to Paris measurements, and the larger size in the Musée Napoléon inventory would be explained by the inclusion of a frame.
8. Curiously, these are the dimensions given for the mysterious painting on canvas attributed to the 'École de Rubens', in the Billaudel sale, Paris, 31 March-2 April 1813, lot 74, which showed 19 figures, horses and a recumbent Tiber. This sounds like a version (copy?) of the present work (Fig. 176).
9. On the early work of this artist see, notably, H. Vlieghe, 'Nicht Jan Boeckhorst, sondern Jan van den Hoecke', *Westfalen*, LXVIII, 1990, pp. 166-183.
10. See *Balis, Studio Practices*, 1994, pp. 115-116; also above, under No. 23.
11. *Balis*, op. cit. in n. 10, fig. 13; *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 323.
12. See above, under No. 34.

13. See Provenance, above.

14. *d'Hulst—Vandenven, Old Testament*, 1989, pp. 64-65, no. 14, fig. 44 (as *The Meeting of Jacob and Joseph*).

15. In fact it would appear that there are two candidates on offer, one presented by the father and the other by the mother and also indicated by a soldier; it is this latter woman that the young man seems to focus on.

49. The Continnence of Scipio

Oil on canvas; 214 × 366 cm.

Lost; destroyed by fire in London in 1836.

PROVENANCE: Queen Christina of Sweden (1626-1689), in Palazzo Riario, Rome, by (probably) 1662;¹ bequeathed in 1689 to Cardinal Deccio Azzolino; passed 1689 to Marchese Pompeo Azzolino (d. 1696); bought (with the collection of Christina) in 1696 by Prince Don Livio Odescalchi, Duke of Bracciano (d. 1713); bequeathed to his nephew, Marchese Baldassare Odescalchi; sold in 1721 to Philippe (le Régent), duc d'Orléans (1674-1723), displayed in Palais Royal, Paris; by descent to Philippe-Egalité (1747-1793), who sold it (with other paintings from the Orléans collection) in 1792 to Thomas Moore Slade (agent of Lord Kinnaid, and of Messrs Morland and Hammersley); bought by Lord Berwick from the 'Orléans collection' in 1798;² his sale, London (Phillips), 6-7 June 1825, lot 158 (bought in); his sale, London (Phillips), 14-15 April 1826, lot 192 (called 'a companion to the picture in the possession of Lord Darnley' [i.e. No. 2; Fig. 8]), bought by Mr Yates; destroyed by fire at the Western Exchange, London, 26 March 1836, while in the possession of Yates and deposited there.³

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 178), perhaps by Theodoor Boeyermans, pair to a *Tomiris and Cyrus* (No. 2, Copy 1; Fig. 12), whereabouts unknown; canvas, 215 × 336 cm. PROV. ? Charles-Gaspard-Guillaume de Vintimille, Archbishop of Paris, (d. 1746; inv. 24 March 1746);⁴ Mesdames Dumont de Frainays, Saint-Maur-

lez-Fosses, near Vincennes (recorded 1831-33), ? bought in 1833 by Alexandre Lenoir (Paris 1761-1839), who claimed it was the original from the Orléans collection; A. Dusautoy, Paris (1867);⁵ ? Porges, Paris; dealer F. Kleinberger, Paris, mid 1930s until 1946 or later; Mme Paul Martin, sale, Versailles (Trianon), 14-15 May 1966, lot 166, repr. (still with *Tomyris and Cyrus*: lot 165); with Sotheby's (Rome), 1996. LIT. A. Lenoir, *Description historique et raisonnée d'une collection de tableaux... appartenant à mesdames Dumont de Frainays...*, Paris, 1831, pp. 16-24, esp. p. 23, n. 1 and edn Berlin, 1836, pp. 13-14;⁶ Berger, *Tomyris*, 1979, pp. 32-33 and fig. 14.

(2) Painting, pair to a *Tomyris and Cyrus* (No. 2, Copy 2), probably made c. 1721 to replace the original, Palazzo Odescalchi, Rome; canvas, exact measurements unknown, but approximately the same size as the original.

(3) Painting (Fig. 179), ? 17th-century Flemish, perhaps showing the composition cut at the top, panel, 180 × 356 cm., private collection, Belgium. PROV. ? Sale, London (Christie's), 4 April 1975, lot 38 (as *after Rubens*; withdrawn); sale, London (Christie's), 11 July 1975, lot 28 (as *studio of Rubens*); Lokeren (De Vuyst), sale, 20 February 1982, cat. 33, pp. 110-111, no. 216.

(4) Painting, showing the soldiers to the right in a different attitude, whereabouts unknown; panel, 74 × 105.2 cm. PROV. Diplock, London (before 1940); sale, London (Christie's), 14 October 1955, lot 83 (as *Wtewaël*),⁷ bought by Sternberg; sale, London (Sotheby's), 9 December 1992, lot 241, repr. in colour (as *follower of Rubens*).

(5) Painting (cropped on all sides, especially top and left), ? 17th-century Flemish, pair to a *Tomyris and Cyrus* (No. 2, Copy 6), Museo Perrot-Moore, Cadaqués; canvas, 189 × 280 cm. PROV. Spanish private collection (1939), entered the museum 1992. LIT. [Cat. Exh.] *Dalí i Picasso*, Museo Perrot-Moore, Cadaqués, p. T, no. M, repr.

(6) Painting, Musée Chéret, Nice; canvas, 105 × 209 cm. PROV. Philéas Vassal, Paris

(1913), who presented it to the museum. LIT. C. Stryiński, *La galerie du Régent Philippe, duc d'Orléans*, Paris, 1913, p. 113; J. Müller-Hofstede, 'Neue Ölskizzen von Rubens', *Städel-Jahrbuch*, N.F. II, 1969, pp. 209, 237, n. 94.

(7) Painting on a miniature box, representing the central figures, half length, with Allucius in a yellow coat and the bride in yellow, red and white instead of red and white (perhaps after the print by Dambrun: Copy 8), whereabouts unknown; technique and measurements unknown. PROV. Sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), 18 June 1985.

(8) Engraving (Fig. 181) by Jean Dambrun after a drawing by A. Borel, apparently showing the painting somewhat enlarged, 1786, reproduced in J. Couché, *Galerie du Palais Royal*, Paris, 1786-1808; 135 × 207 mm. LIT. *V.S.*, p. 140, no. 36; *Roses*, *Oeuvre*, 1886-92, IV, p. 25, under no. 809; C. Stryiński, *La galerie du Régent Philippe, duc d'Orléans*, Paris, 1913, p. 188; A. Czobor, 'An Oil Sketch by Cornelis de Vos', *The Burlington Magazine*, CIX, 1967, p. 351 and fig. 32.

EXHIBITED: *The Orléans Gallery, now exhibiting at the Great Room late the Royal Academy*, London, April 1793, no. 194; *The Orléans Gallery, now exhibiting at No. 16, Old Bond Street*, London, May 1795 no. 56.

LITERATURE: I.M. Silos, *Pinacotheca sive romana pictura et sculptura*, Rome, 1673, p. 56, epigram XCVIII;⁸ L.F. Dubois de Saint-Gelais, *Description des tableaux du Palais Royal*, Paris, 1727, pp. 411-412; M[...] D[...], *Voyage Pittoresque de Paris...*, Paris, 1778, p. 107 ('Grand Salon', Palais Royal); L.-V. Thiéry, *Guide des amateurs et des étrangers voyageurs à Paris*, I, Paris, 1787, p. 257 ('Grand Sallon à la lanterne': with *Tomyris and Cyrus*); W. Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting*, London, 1824, I, p. 168, no. 4; Smith, *Catalogue*, 1829-42, II, pp. 201-202 and IX, p. 314, no. 252; A. Lenoir, *Description historique et raisonnée d'une collection de tableaux... appartenant à mesdames Dumont de Frainays...*, Paris, 1831, pp. 16-24, esp. p. 23, n. 1 and edn Berlin,

1836, pp. 13-14; *Mariette, Abécédario, 1851-60*, V, pp. 117-118; *Waagen, Treasures, 1854*, II, p. 502, no. 4; G. Campori, *Raccolta di cataloghi ed inventarii inediti...*, Modena, 1870, p. 371 (inv. 1689); *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, p. 25, no. 809; O. Granberg, *La galerie de tableaux de la reine Christine de Suède*, Stockholm, 1897, p. lxxxiii, no. 247 and p. cvi, no. 228 (inv. 1721); *Rooses, Vie, 1903*, p. 279; C. Stryiński, *La galerie du Régent Philippe, duc d'Orléans*, Paris, 1913, pp. 112, 113, 188, no. 467; *Tessin, Studieresor, 1914*, pp. 185 and 265n.; B. Teyssèdre, 'Une collection française de Rubens au XVIIIe siècle: Le cabinet du duc de Richelieu décrit par Roger de Piles (1676-1681)', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, LXII, 1963, pp. 263-265, 294; F. Baudouin, 'Deux tableaux de Rubens de la collection de la Reine Christine: "Hercule et Omphale" et "La Mort d'Adonis"' in *Queen Christina of Sweden. Documents and Studies. Analecta Reginensia*, I, ed. M. von Platen, 1966, pp. 20, 30, n. 3; A. Czobor, 'An Oil Sketch by Cornelis de Vos', *The Burlington Magazine*, CIX, 1967, p. 351; C. Van de Velde, 'Rubens als schilder van historische taferelen', *Spiegel Historiae*, XII, 1977, pp. 348, 350; *Berger, Tomyris, 1979*, pp. 4-35, esp. pp. 30, 32; *Held, Sketches, 1980*, I, pp. 385-386; *Meijer, Scipione, 1992*, pp. 131-132, 136; J. Wood, 'Van Dyck's pictures for the Duke of Buckingham. The elephant in the carpet and the dead tree with ivy', *Apollo*, CXXXVI, 365, 1992, p. 38; D. Kunzle, 'Van Dyck's *Continnence of Scipio* as a metaphor of statecraft at the early Stuart court', *Sight and Insight. Essays on art and culture in honour of E.H. Gombrich at 85*, ed. J. Onians, London, 1994, p. 169.

Rubens's *Continnence of Scipio*, first recorded in Queen Christina's collection in Rome in 1662 and destroyed by fire in London in 1836, is most accurately reproduced not, as is sometimes assumed, in the engraving by Schelte à Bolswert (Fig. 182), which is actually based on Rubens's sketch (No. 49c; Fig. 177), but in a late eighteenth-century French print (Copy 8; Fig. 181) and, even more, in several paintings,

some certainly made in the seventeenth century (Copies 1-6; see Figs. 178-179). These indicate too that Roger de Piles's detailed description of a *Continnence of Scipio* by Rubens refers to another composition (cf. below, No. 50).⁹ Two of these painted copies have recently appeared on the market (Copies 3 and 4; see Fig. 179); another (Copy 1; Fig. 178) has just surfaced in Italy. This last was probably the large picture mentioned in the inventory of the Vintimille collection in 1746. Here it was paired with a copy of the Boston *Tomyris* (No. 2, Copy 1), appropriately enough, since both are sumptuous compositions involving soldiers, columns, fancy costume and a nice iconographic counterpoint—a man's generosity as against a woman's revenge. The originals too were evidently hung as 'companions' in Queen Christina's collection,¹⁰ and Christina may have acquired them as such.¹¹ But since its early provenance is different, it is unlikely that Rubens actually painted the Boston *Tomyris and Cyrus* as a pendant to his *Continnence of Scipio*—an idea proposed by Burchard. Still, the subjects could readily have been viewed as contrasting *exempla*, and presumably were by Queen Christina when she displayed the two paintings by Rubens together,¹² whether or not this was seen as the artist's original intention.

The *Continnence of Scipio* was a favourite Renaissance subject, especially popular since it combined a love-interest with a moral both chaste and pragmatic. The story of how Scipio, after the capture of New Carthage in Spain, generously respected the virtue of a particularly beautiful Celtiberian captive and restored her intact to her betrothed, Allucius (or Indibilis, according to Valerius Maximus)—even adding as a wedding present the gold her parents had brought for a ransom—is a prime instance of sexual abstinence. It heads Valerius Maximus's chapter on *abstinentia et continentia*,¹³ and all the classical sources emphasize how hard it was for the Roman commander, young and fond of women as he was (Polybius calls him *philogynês*), to resist his

immediate inclination. It is also, of course, a lesson in political calculation: the discovery that the young woman's fiancé is an influential local nobleman whose loyalty might be valuable, is evidently a determining factor in Scipio's conduct, if not its real motivation.¹⁴ However, for most artists it is Scipio's chastity and generosity, sometimes quite romantically perceived, which supplies the relevant motive. This too is what Roger de Piles saw expressed in Rubens's rendering of the subject in No. 50.

Rubens's picture (No. 49) owed much to previous representations of the subject, but characteristically introduced compositional and psychological nuances: Scipio had often been depicted to one side, on his throne, and flanked by soldiers, but usually with the captive maiden still in his custody, and just coming forth to be restored to her kneeling parents and fiancé.¹⁵ From the outset, as the drawings (Nos. 49a, 49b; Figs. 183, 184) reveal, Rubens thought of illustrating the young couple already happily united and kneeling not in supplication but in grateful acknowledgement of Scipio's generosity. The ransom brought by the girl's parents has evidently been offered back already as a gift,¹⁶ and is thus shown being returned by the Roman commander as a dowry. Typically too, Rubens interpreted Scipio's magnanimity as directed to the young woman herself, rather than to her betrothed who for the ancient historians is the main object of his concern. It was presumably partly a feeling that he should not become the principal character that led Rubens to depict Allucius from behind, still prominent, but primarily as companion and supporter of the maiden who is for the artist the true protagonist—a brilliant solution, as Held observed, to the problem, as yet unsolved in the preliminary drawings, of how to give him a central but secondary role. A fresco by Zelotti in Thiene seems to provide a suggestive precedent, particularly interesting if the relationship points to a lost work by Veronese: ¹⁷ here too Allucius is seen from behind, bending for-

ward graciously—though in a vaguely antique robe and with nothing approaching the elegant swagger, much imitated in later seventeenth-century Flemish painting, of Rubens's young gallant.¹⁸ His dress, and that of the whole Celtiberian retinue, was certainly a Rubensian invention, and one not envisaged in the drawings (Nos. 49a, 49b).¹⁹ Loosely based on Burgundian fifteenth-century dress, it was evidently intended to provide both variety and a distinctively 'Hispanic' flavour (old, but non-Roman). For Roger de Piles it had a Spanish association.²⁰ In his description of the Richelieu version of the *Continence of Scipio*, which in respect to the costume of the protagonists at least seems to have been very similar to the present work, Roger de Piles refers to Allucius's 'saye', i.e. the Spanish *sayo*, a kind of jerkin with a skirt much worn in sixteenth-century Spain and in fact inspired by Burgundian fashion.²¹ The clothing of the women can likewise be paralleled in fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Spanish images, at least in a general way, and with elements borrowed inventively from different types and periods of costume: thus the sleeves of the bride, joined at the top and then above the wrist, resemble a type found, for instance, in a portrait of the Duchess of Alba of around 1550-60,²² while her dress, with its rounded neckline (modestly covered with a gauze 'filler' in the print after the sketch: Fig. 182) has parallels in late fifteenth-century costume.²³ Rubens made no systematic survey of Spanish dress and may not even have had specifically Hispanic precedents in mind; the general effect owes much to his early studies of Burgundian court figures in the *Costume Book*, not only for the clothes themselves, but for the deportment of the wearers. The elegant inclination of the ladies, especially the woman seen from behind who holds her mistress's trailing cloak, is influenced by images such as the group of dancers from Israel van Meckenem's *Dance of Salome*, which Rubens copied in a drawing which is now in the British Museum,²⁴ one of these dancers, with her

head-dress and panels of drapery pendent from either shoulder, was perhaps a specific source.²⁵

Presumably this lost picture (No. 49) dates from around 1620, somewhat later than the Brussels *Judgement of Solomon* (cf. Fig. 26) and just before the *Justice of Cambyses* (No. 6; cf. Fig. 24) and *Tomyris and Cyrus* (No. 2; Fig. 8). Certainly it seems to have corresponded more closely than the Richelieu *Contenance of Scipio* (No. 50), both in dimensions and in number of figures, to the surviving sketch (No. 49c; Fig. 177), which Held convincingly placed between 1618 and 1620. Besides, the painting, or at least the sketch, must already have been familiar to Van Dyck when he painted his *Contenance of Scipio* in Christ Church (datable c. 1620-21) which includes, among other suggestive parallels, an Allucius in Burgundian dress.²⁶

To judge from literary testimonies, the picture must have made a sumptuous effect.²⁷ The painted copies at least reflect something of this. The bejewelled bride was dressed in red brocade over an underdress of white, trimmed at the foot with ermine; her foremost attendant (seen from behind) wore a golden-yellow robe, and the other was in shades of grey-blue. Allucius's fur-fringed *sayo* was of dark blue-green, the sleeves slashed with white; his white silk stockings must have contrasted vividly with the oriental rug. Scipio's cloak, though red like the bride's dress, was appropriately of plainer stuff. Appropriately too while Allucius, as a fashionable Spaniard, sported a dapper beard, Scipio appeared clean-shaven: Aulus Gellius and others report that he was the first Roman to shave daily.²⁸

A painting attributed to the school of Rubens when sold in 1925,²⁹ looks as if it might be an early work by Theodoor Boeyermans, inspired by various versions of the subject both by Rubens and Van Dyck. Boeyermans produced at least two important pictures of the *Contenance of Scipio*, apparently in the 1670s,³⁰ and, as Arnout Balis has suggested to me, he might even have been the author of

the work listed here as Copy 1 (Fig. 178), along with its companion piece: No. 2, Copy 1 (Fig. 12).

1. See inventory, probably 1662 (Stockholm, Riksarkivet, Azzolinosammlingen K 441, vol. 48, fol. 50); probably acquired by Christina in Antwerp, perhaps along with the *Tomyris and Cyrus* (No. 2; Fig. 8): see C. de Bildt, 'Queen Christina's Pictures', *The Nineteenth Century and After*, LVI, 334, 1904, p. 1002 who mentions only the picture of Tomyris. The pictures are not, however, recorded in the 1656 inventory of items to be shipped from Antwerp to Rome (for this see E. Duverger, *Antwerpse Kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, VII, Antwerp, 1993, pp. 222ff., doc. 2074).
2. See Smith, *Catalogue*, 1829-42, II, p. 202.
3. Smith, *Catalogue*, 1829-42, IX, p. 314, no. 252.
4. M. Rambaud, *Documents du Minutier central concernant l'histoire de l'art*, I, Paris, 1964, p. 615 (as one of a pair, with Cyrus and Tomyris, of 'deux grands tableaux d'après Rubens' valued together at 320 livres).
5. Documentation in the Roosees file in the Rubenianum.
6. For Lenoir's claims see above, under No. 2, Copy 1.
7. The literature cited there refers to an entirely different painting.
8. Ed. M.B. Bonsante, Rome, 1979, I, p. 56; II, pp. 57 and 330 (with a slight mistake in the Italian translation). For the poem see below, n. 9.
9. By contrast, the slight discrepancy with the 'account' of the picture in the epigram composed by Silos in 1676 can easily be attributed to poetic licence and metrical necessity. Here Scipio is described as wearing a helmet, an attribute presumably suggested to the poet (who almost certainly did not write his verses with Christina's paintings in front of him) by the Roman military context. The epigram, entitled 'P. Scipionis Africani Maioris continentia', runs: 'Sub galea, hastatumque vides florentibus annis/ Scipiadem, est roseo martius ore vigor./ Stat proprius forma supplex pulcherrima virgo,/ Pro spoliis forti ducta puella Duci./ Aestuatur an Iuvenis formosa Virgine visa?/ Illam a deliciis destinatur ipse suis?/ I procul, i Cypridis Romano a pectore flamma: / Illibata Patri pulchra Puella redit./ Qui sic se vicit, Numides post vicit: at ista/ Palma quam longe est palma Africana minor?/ Excellens hac arte Rubens his edocet, acri/ Quod semper Marti non sit amica Venus'. ('Beneath his helmet—and you see a Scipio armed in the bloom of youth—is martial strength on a rosy cheek. Nearby stands suppliant a maiden of excellent beauty, a girl brought as spoils to the powerful commander. But is the young man aflame at the sight of the lovely

- maiden? Is she being specially chosen by him for his pleasure? Away with you, fire of Venus, away from a Roman's heart! the fair maid returns to her father untouched. He who thus masters himself will go on to master Numidians; yet how much inferior is his African palm to this palm [of victory]? The excellent master Rubens here teaches that Venus is not always the friend of fierce Mars'.
10. Cf. *Berger, Tomyris*, 1979, p. 32, pointing out that in the inventory of Christina's collection of 1689 the Boston *Tomyris and Cyrus* is called the *compagno of the Continnence of Scipio*.
 11. Of the paired copies extant, it seems likely that Copy 1 at least was made in Antwerp (and probably also Copies 3-5), since, whether or not the attribution to Boeyermans is accepted, it is surely by a Flemish artist. It seems possible therefore that the Antwerp dealer who sold the pictures to Christina (probably Musson) was responsible for the pairing of the subjects.
 12. Burchard's negative view of the Tomyris story as 'insatiability' opposed to Scipio's 'abstinence' is, however, probably not the moral Christina and other 17th-century viewers would have extracted. For the positive interpretation of the story of Tomyris see above, under No. 2 and Volume I, Chapter I, p. 38.
 13. Cf. the inscription on Schelte à Bolswert's print after Rubens's sketch (Fig. 182). The title of Silos's epigram on Rubens's painting (cf. above n. 9) likewise refers to *continentia*.
 14. Livy, *Ab urbe condita* XXVI.50; Valerius Maximus, *Dicta et facta* IV.iii.1; Polybius, *Histories* X.19. For the latter alone the political motive is subservient: he sees Scipio's action primarily as an example to his troops. As Held noted (*Held, Sketches*, 1980, I, pp. 385-386; also *Held, Drawings*, 1986, p. 117), Machiavelli (*Discorsi sopra la prima decia di Tito Livio* III.xx, xxxiv; *L'arte della guerra* VI.xvi) predictably saw it in political terms. In Castiglione's *Cortegiano* it is proposed as a model of chastity, but then qualified as tainted by self-interest (B. Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. T. Hoby, ed. J.H. Whitfield, edn London-New York, 1975, pp. 221 and 226).
 15. Particularly important in this context was the composition by Giulio Romano reproduced in several prints, most notably perhaps one by Domenico Ghisi inscribed 'Liberalitatis et Continentiae exemplum' (*Bartsch*, XV, 1867, p. 446, no. 33; *The Illustrated Bartsch*, XXXI, ed. S. Boorsch and J. Spike, New York, 1986, p. 273). Of the relatively few illustrations which show the betrothed girl together with Allucius before the throne of Scipio, one may have influenced Rubens. A fresco by Giambattista Zelotti and Giovanni Antonio Fasolo in the Villa da Porto-Colleoni (now Thiene) at Thiene surely reflects a composition by Veronese. This must have represented the young couple together before Scipio, with Allucius leaning towards him and shown from behind, and Scipio's throne not only raised on steps and flanked by guards and naked slaves depositing the ransom, but also set in an open loggia of Corinthian columns. For the Thiene fresco and its context, see L. Crosato, *Gli affreschi nelle ville venete del Cinquecento*, Treviso, 1962, pp. 194-197 and figs. 22, 23; also K. Brugnolo Meloncelli, *Battista Zelotti*, Milan, 1992, pp. 119-121, under no. 33 and pl. XXXVI (colour). For the subject in general see *Pigler, Barockthemen*, 1974, II, pp. 424-428.
 16. Cf. especially Livy, loc. cit. in n. 14.
 17. Cf. above, note 15.
 18. Rubens's figure could, however, have simply been evolved from the 'good' mother, likewise seen from behind, in the *Judgement of Solomon* for the Brussels Town Hall (cf. Fig. 26), a picture which, as Held observes, has many compositional parallels.
 19. Rubens originally thought of using Roman costume for the Spanish people as well, to judge from these, though in the Bayonne drawing at least (No. 49b; Fig. 184) he gave a 'modern' feathered hat to the foremost lady on the right: this, as has been noted (*Belkin, Costume Book*, 1978, pp. 132-133), is taken from an early 16th-century German woodcut.
 20. For de Piles' description of the version in the collection of the duc de Richelieu see No. 50. For the tradition of putting ancient non-Romans into late medieval dress see *Belkin, Costume Book*, 1978, pp. 56, 132-133; also Van de Velde, loc. cit., 1977. Rubens had already used this type of costume for early Netherlandish history, regardless of the period—e.g. in *The Conversion of St Bavo (Vlieghe, Saints*, 1972-73, I, nos. 71, 72; figs. 122, 123; cf. p. 105), following the example of Otto van Veen, who gave it to his Batavians.
 21. For this see C. Bernis, *Indumentaria española en tiempos de Carlos V*, Madrid, 1962, pp. 16, 23-24, 103, and esp. fig. 5 (young knight with puffed, slashed sleeves, *sayo* reaching to above the knees and cap with a feather in it, rather like that of Rubens's Allucius); R.M. Anderson, *Hispanic Costume 1480-1530*, New York, 1979, pp. 45-52, with many illustrations (esp. fig. 83 for sleeves).
 22. See Bernis, op. cit. in n. 21, fig. 18. Cf. also the portrait of Isabel de Valois copied by Rubens in the *Costume Book* (*Belkin, Costume Book*, 1978, figs. 168, 176).
 23. Anderson, op. cit. in n. 21, esp. figs. 373-375.
 24. *Belkin, Costume Book*, 1978, figs. 113, 114.
 25. Another derivation from the Meckenem figure appears in the curious picture after Rubens of the *Madonna and Saints* in Pommersfelden (*Belkin, Costume Book*, 1978, fig. 41); here she is accompanied by two other women, one in profile and one facing out, rather similar in grouping to the companions of the bride in the *Continnence of Scipio*, and one

also wearing a comparable starched head-dress (for which, incidentally, there seems to be no precise parallel in real late medieval costume). For the two separated ringlets hanging from the servant girl's head-dress cf. the woman seen from behind offering the chalice to the protagonist in the Rubens school picture of *Alboin and Rosamunde* in Vienna (*Belkin, Costume Book, 1978, fig. 45*).

26. For this picture see J. Byam Shaw, *Paintings by Old Masters at Christ Church Oxford*, Oxford, 1967, pp. 125-126, no. 64; [Cat. Exh.] *Van Dyck in England*, ed. O. Millar, London, 1982-83, pp. 43-44, no. 3; *Meijer, Scipione, 1992*, pp. 131-144; Wood, op. cit., 1992, pp. 37-47; Kunzle, op. cit., 1994, arguing for a topical reading. For Van Dyck's drawings of the subject see H. Vey, *Die Zeichnungen Anton Van Dycks*, Brussels, 1962, I, pp. 176-178, nos. 106, 107; II, figs. 141-143; also Meijer, loc. cit. (though I am not persuaded that the picture he publishes from a private collection—fig. 141—is indeed by Van Dyck).
27. Cf. in particular *Mariette, Abécédario, 1851-60, V*, pp. 117-118.
28. Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* III.iv; cf. Pliny, *Historia naturalis* VII.211.
29. Sale, Paris (Hôtel Drouot), 6 May 1925, lot 118, repr.; canvas, 120 × 165 cm.
30. One is in a private collection in Brussels (canvas, 200 × 260 cm.), the other was formerly in Potsdam (G. Eckardt, *Die Gemälde in der Bildergalerie von Sanssouci, Potsdam-Sanssouci, 1975, p. 93, no. 7586, repr. p. 98; cf. Meijer, Scipione, 1992, p. 139*).

49a. The Continnence of Scipio: Drawing (Fig. 183)

Pen and brown ink on greyish paper; the high absorbency of the paper has resulted in spotty effects; 237 × 343 mm. Bottom right corner the mark of Reynolds (L. 2364); slightly to the left the mark of Houlditch (L. 2214), with the number 9.—*Verso*, the mark of the Printroom, Berlin (L. 2504).

Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett. Inv. no. KdZ.5685.

PROVENANCE: R. Houlditch, London (d. 1736); Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792); Adolf von Beckerath, Berlin (1834-1915); acquired by the Museum in 1902.

EXHIBITED: *Berlin, 1977, no. 24*.

LITERATURE: J. Rosenberg, 'Weitere Federzeichnungen von Rubens im Kupferstichkabinett', *Berliner Museen*, XLIX, 1928, pp. 58-60, and fig. 4; Bock—Rosenberg, *Verzeichnis, 1930, p. 251; Held, Drawings, 1959, I, pp. 24, 70, 110, no. 38 and II, pl. 40; A. Czobor, 'An Oil Sketch by Cornelis de Vos', *The Burlington Magazine*, CIX, 1967, p. 351 and fig. 31; H. Mielke in *Mielke—Winner, Cat. Berlin, 1977, pp. 72-73, no. 24, repr.; E. Hubala, 'Figurenerfindung und Bildform bei Rubens. Beiträge zum Thema: Rubens als Erzähler' in *Rubens. Kunstgeschichtliche Beiträge*, ed. E. Hubala, Constance, 1979, esp. pp. 162-175; Held, *Sketches, 1980, I, p. 385, under no. 287; G. Lepper-Mainzer, *Die Darstellung des Feldherrn Scipio Africanus*, Bochum (Studienverlag Dr N. Brockmeyer), 1982, pp. 63-68; Held, *Drawings, 1986, p. 117, no. 123 and pl. 123; Meijer, Scipione, 1992, pp. 131-132, fig. 135*.***

This drawing, full of *pentimenti* both in the figures and in the proportions of the composition, must be a first idea for one or other (if not both) of Rubens's lost paintings of the Continnence of Scipio (Nos. 49, 50). It has been noted that the composition is not particularly close to that of the Orléans painting (No. 49; cf. Figs. 178, 179, 181), though it may be rather nearer the elusive Richelieu version (No. 50). As in all Rubens's illustrations of the subject, Allucius and his betrothed are shown together before the Roman commander's throne, although here there is evidently as yet some uncertainty about their final union, since the girl's parents are represented as protective and solicitous, and Scipio's gesture is perhaps, as Mielke observes, not yet that of a self-denying dismissal.¹ Presumably he is just about to reveal his decision both to surrender the girl and to turn her intended ransom into a wedding gift; certainly the girl's father, still unsure of the fate of his daughter, persists in pressing him to accept it. Altogether, the arrangement of the group around Scipio, as perceived by Hubala, suggests a hopeful anticipation of his judgement.

As in the case of the Judgement of Solomon, where a subsequent version reversed a composition used earlier,² Rubens's *Contenance of Scipio* was initially planned with the throne of the protagonist to the right. The transposition, already evident in the Bayonne drawing (No. 49b; Fig. 184), might, as Mielke argues, be directly related to the evolution of the Solomon composition and thus to the composition reproduced in the Copenhagen picture (Fig. 26) which moves the judge to the left. Since this picture can be dated to 1617-19,³ Held's dating of the Berlin *Scipio* drawing to about 1617-18 carries added conviction.

It is notable that Jordaens's drawing of the *Contenance of Scipio* in the Boymans-van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam,⁴ is more closely related to this than to any later version by Rubens of the subject.⁵

It seems unlikely that either this or the Bayonne drawing (No. 49b; Fig. 184) can be related to the two drawings of the *Contenance of Scipio* in the collection of P. Wauters in 1797,⁶ since these were both done in pen, ink and wash; they may therefore have been two of the drawings of the subject by Van Dyck. Just possibly, however, the 'free pen sketch' of the *Contenance of Scipio* attributed to Rubens in the sale of William Young Ottley in 1807 was in fact No. 49a.⁷

1. For the story and the classical sources see above, under No. 49.
2. See *d'Hulst—Vanderveen, Old Testament, 1989*, nos. 45 and 46; figs. 100-102. Cf. Fig. 26.
3. Cf. *d'Hulst—Vanderveen, Old Testament, 1989*, p. 149: a *terminus ante quem* of 1619 is established by a derivative *Judgement of Solomon* by Gaspar de Crayer. See also above, under No. 6.
4. *d'Hulst, Jordaens Drawings, 1974*, I, pp. 195-196, no. A.96; II, fig. 106.
5. It is also, as *d'Hulst* notes (*ibid.*), strongly influenced by Rubens's *Justice of Cambyses* (No. 6; cf. Fig. 24).
6. See his *Catalogue, Brussels, 1797*, nos. 66 and 1062.
7. Ottley sale, London (T. Philipe), 10 July 1807, part of lot 509.

49b. The Contenance of Scipio: Drawing (Fig. 184)

Pen and ink on grey paper; 255 × 354 mm. Below on the right the mark of Léon Bonnat (L. 1714); also on the right, but slightly higher the mark of J. Richardson Junior (L. 2170). *Bayonne, Musée Bonnat*. Inv. no. 1414 (formerly 1436).

PROVENANCE: Jonathan Richardson, Junior (London, 1694-1771); Léon Bonnat (1833-1922), by whom bequeathed to the Museum.

EXHIBITED: *Exposition d'oeuvres de Pierre Paul Rubens (1577-1640). Peintures et dessins appartenant au musée, Musée Bonnat, Bayonne, 1965*, no. 7.

LITERATURE: *Les dessins de la collection Léon Bonnat au Musée de Bayonne*, II, Paris, 1925, pl. 20; M. Delacre, *Le dessin dans l'oeuvre de Van Dyck*, Brussels, 1934, pp. 190-191, fig. 89 (as *Van Dyck*; this taken back in the *erratum*); Glück—Haberdtzl, *Handzeichnungen, 1928*, p. 39, no. 84 and pl. 84; Held, *Drawings, 1959*, I, p. 110, no. 39 and II, pl. 41; Bernhard, *Handzeichnungen, 1977*, p. 249, repr.; E. Hubala, 'Figurenerfindung und Bildform bei Rubens. Beiträge zum Thema: Rubens als Erzähler' in *Rubens. Kunstgeschichtliche Beiträge*, ed. E. Hubala, Constance, 1979, esp. pp. 162-175; Held, *Sketches, 1980*, I, pp. 385-386, under no. 287; G. Lepper-Mainzer, *Die Darstellung des Feldherrn Scipio Africanus*, Bochum (Studienverlag Dr N. Brockmeyer), 1982, pp. 63-68; Held, *Drawings, 1986*, p. 117, no. 124, pl. 124; Meijer, *Scipione, 1992*, pp. 131-132, 136 and fig. 134.

In this drawing the composition has changed, not only in direction but very subtly in mood, with an illustration of a point in the story momentarily later than in the Berlin drawing (No. 49a; Fig. 183) which is presumably the earlier work. As Hubala has noted, this change is revealed not so much in Scipio's own gesture, in itself not dissimilar to that in

the previous drawing, nor in the reactions of the spectators, more or less non-committal observers, but rather in the response of the principal figures as they approach the throne: no longer hesitant and appealing, they move forward with expressions transformed to joyful relief and gratitude.

Allucius is now seen from the front, but is placed further back in the composition than his bride. This arrangement may possibly be related to the lost Richelieu painting of the subject (No. 50).

The drawing is dated c. 1617-18 by Held, who compares the costume of the lady with the feathered hat to that of the figure at the right in the *Wolf and Fox Hunt* and the *Boar Hunt*¹ which he dated to 1615, but which should probably be placed c. 1616-17.²

1. *Balis, Hunting Scenes, 1986*, no. 2, fig. 33 and no. 4, fig. 40; cf. p. 116.

2. Cf. *Balis, Hunting Scenes, 1986*, p. 111.

49c. The Continnence of Scipio: Oil Sketch (Fig. 177)

Oil on oak panel; 31.3 × 49.7 cm. (panel made up of two boards joined 21.7 cm. from the left edge). On the reverse the number 47.¹

Bielefeld, Professor A. Oet ke.

PROVENANCE: duc d'Ursel, Brussels, at least by 1855;² d'Ursel family (still in 1957, when in Paris with the Marquise de Meaupou, daughter of the late Duke; ? with Brussels dealer, 1968;³ sale, London (Sotheby's), 8 December 1971, lot 14, bought by W. Hallsborough Galleries, London; dealer L. Koetser, London, 1973.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 180), whereabouts unknown; panel, 33 × 53.34 cm. PROV. ? Lenglier, sale, Paris, 24 April 1786, lot 52; ? J.-B.P. Le Brun, sale, Paris, 11 April 1791 (as 32.5 × 49 cm.),⁴ lot 77 (sold to Constantin for 361 fr.); Dowdeswell, London (photograph in Witt Library, Courtauld Institute); Henry J.

Pfungst (d. 1917), sale, London (Christie's), 15 June 1917, lot 152 (sold to 'Carwicker'); sale, London (Christie's), 13-14 November 1919, lot 219 (sold to 'Carroll').

(2) Painting, showing a more 'finished' composition, Mus e des Beaux-Arts, Tournai; panel, 33 × 53 cm. PROV. Jean-Baptiste Marie Fauquez (d. 1843), by whom bequeathed to the Museum.⁵ LIT. H. Hymans, 'Zur neuesten Rubensforschung', *Zeitschrift f r bildende Kunst*, N.S., IV, 1893, p. 16 (as reduced copy of No. 49); Cat. Tournai, 1971, p. 79, no. 524 (giving the size wrongly as 43 × 53 cm. and the subject as 'Pr sentation de la Vierge'); S. Le Bailly de Tillegem, *Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Doornik* (Museum Nostra), Brussels, 1989, p. 55, repr. in colour (with same measurements and as 'The Wedding of Esther and Ahasuerus').

(3) Painting, Schloss Ehreshoven; ? panel, measurements unknown (photograph Getty Centre, no. 0292309).⁶

(4) Engraving (Fig. 182) by Schelte   Bolswert, showing the composition extended at the top (though not as in the final painting), and made in the direction of the sketch; 400 × 580 mm. (3 states, the second with address of Gilles Hendricx; the third with address of Gaspar Huberti and bearing the inscription: *Valerius Max.: Lib. 4 de abstinentia et continetia*). LIT. V.S., p. 140, no. 35; *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, p. 25 and pl. 257; *Hollstein (Dutch and Flemish)*, III [n.d.], p. 86, no. 290; *Held, Sketches, 1980*, I, p. 386.

EXHIBITED: *Exposition au profit des pauvres... dans l'ancien palais d'Orange, aujourd'hui du duc de Brabant*, Brussels (Soci t  de St-Vincent de Paul), 1855, no. 44; Gallery L. Koetser, London, 11 April-31 May 1973, no. 7, repr. in colour.

LITERATURE: [M.C. Marsuzi de Aguirre] in *Revue Universelle des Arts*, I, 1855, p. 56; *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, p. 25, under no. 809; V, p. 334; J. M ller-Hofstede, 'Neue  lskizzen von Rubens', *Stadel-Jahrbuch*, N.F. II, 1969, p. 237,

n. 94 (as *pupil's copy after a lost modello*); Held, *Sketches*, 1980, I, pp. 385-386, no. 287 and II, pl. 278 (as c. 1618-20); Bodart, *Rubens*, 1985, p. 77, repr.; Held, *Drawings*, 1986, p. 117, under no. 123 (as 1617-19); Meijer, *Scipione*, 1992, p. 131; D. Kunzle, 'Van Dyck's *Contenance of Scipio* as a metaphor of statecraft at the early Stuart court' in *Sight and Insight. Essays on art and culture in honour of E.H. Gombrich at 85*, ed. J. Onians, London, 1994, pp. 169-170, pl. 70.

This panel, which was first published by Held, but had been seen by Burchard in the d'Ursel collection already in 1949,⁷ is evidently Rubens's sketch for the lost Orléans version of *The Contenance of Scipio* (No. 49). It shows the composition essentially as it appeared in the final picture, which, however, was extended at the top, and thus gave the impression of a more grandiose setting. The drapery over the throne was adjusted accordingly, and Scipio's dais was raised on two steps, rather than one, while the young couple had to climb two levels to approach him; in the painting too the carpeted area is limited, whereas in the present sketch it extends under the throne. Some details were obviously clarified and others altered. Thus in the sketch the bride is not yet depicted with a crown; she has a simple floral garland (only faintly indicated in the sketch, but present in the copies)⁸ and her hair falls straight down her back. As for Allucius, he is still beardless; perhaps he was given a beard in the final version to distinguish him from the unshaven Scipio.⁹ The soldiers to the right hold two halberds, which later became four (more classical-looking?) lances (or spears) with tassels, and the statue in the niche nearby looks like a standing female figure, rather than the Jupiter-like deity that appears in the painting.¹⁰

The general effect of the painting must of course have been quite different—weighty, sumptuous, and rich in textures and tone. The sketch, delicate, with paler hues (although copies of the painting—cf. Figs 178, 179—show that the colours of costumes re-

mained the same),¹¹ and deft in its evocation of light, skimming paint over the thinnest ground, testifies to Rubens's artistry. It is especially valuable as the only surviving record by his hand of this splendid composition.

The print by Schelte à Bolswert (Copy 4; Fig. 182) was made after this sketch—or possibly after Copy 1 (Fig. 180)—rather than (as is usually stated) the lost Orléans painting.¹² Through the print, the composition had an enormous vogue, and is found adapted in many late seventeenth-century contexts. It was almost as influential as Rubens's *Tomyris and Cyrus*, in the print by Pontius (Fig. 14);¹³ and for his *Beheading of John the Baptist*, itself popularized in prints, Erasmus Quellinus II plagiarized both at once.¹⁴ With equal evenhandedness, in his illustrated bible of 1670, Claes Jansz. Visscher immediately preceded the scene of the Mocking of Christ, into which he transplanted the bystanders from the print of *Tomyris*,¹⁵ with a Flagellation attended by the soldier from the foreground of Bolswert's engraving.¹⁶

Smith and Rooses refer to a sketch for the painting of the *Contenance of Scipio* on the reverse of a portrait of 'Isabella Brant' in Windsor,¹⁷ but, as Burchard recognized,¹⁸ this is in fact an early version of the allegory of *Henri IV grasping Opportunity*.¹⁹

1. See Held, *Sketches*, 1980, I, p. 385.

2. In the sale catalogue of 1971 the picture is said to have been in the family since the 17th century, but there is no documentary evidence for this. See below, n. 4.

3. See Müller Hofstede, loc. cit. in bibliography, 1968.

4. These measurements actually correspond more closely with those of No. 49c, which is only securely documented in the d'Ursel family in the mid 19th century. They also correspond to those of Copy 2, which might be the picture in question.

5. For its possible earlier provenance see above, n. 4.

6. I thank David Kunzle for bringing this work to my attention.

7. Burchard appears initially to have considered the panel once in the Dowdeswell Gallery (Copy 1) as Rubens's original sketch, but to have changed his mind after seeing the d'Ursel picture.

8. Possibly there has been some damage in this area of the panel.

9. For Scipio's famous shaving habits see No. 49, at n. 28.
10. The figure with a sun-crown in the Dambrun print (No. 49, Copy 8; Fig. 181) may, however, have been added when the painting was expanded. Some of the copies (e.g. Fig. 179) do not show any statue clearly.
11. For a description of the colours see *Held, Sketches, 1980, I*, pp. 385-386.
12. But cf. *Held, Sketches, 1980, I*, p. 386.
13. Unlike this print, however, Bolswert's engraving was almost certainly not made under Rubens's supervision. The fact that the composition is extended at the top in a similar way to Copy 1 may indicate that it was made after this sketch, rather than the original.
14. See J.P. De Bruyn, 'Erasmus II Quellinus (1607-1678) en de graveerkunst', *Jaarboek. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen, 1987*, pp. 292-293, nos. 32-33, figs. 33-34; *De Bruyn, Quellinus, 1988*, pp. 152-153, no. 79. For the influence of Rubens's Scipio painting through the print see, for example, A. Czobor, 'An Oil Sketch by Cornelis de Vos', *The Burlington Magazine*, CIX, 1967, p. 351.
15. See above, No. 3, at n. 9.
16. *Veteris et Novi Testamenti Sacrae Imagines*, Nuremberg, 1670, pl. 111 (Biblia Ernestina; available in facsimile in edn Banca Piccolo Credito Bergamesco, *Monumenta Bergomensia*, XX, Bergamo, 1967).
17. *Smith, Catalogue, 1829-42, II*, p. 160; *Roses, Oeuvre, 1886-92, IV*, p. 132.
18. *Glück, Rubens, Van Dyck, 1933*, pp. 385-386.
19. See *Held, Sketches, 1980, I*, pp. 347-349, no. 257; *II*, pl. 259. For the connection of the subject with Henri IV see also B. Descheemaker, 'Over enkele allegorische composities van Rubens en hun samenhang met de Hendrik IV-cyclus', *Jaarboek. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen, 1989*, pp. 343-359 and fig. 3.

50. The Contenance of Scipio

? Oil on canvas; c. 195 × 260 cm.

Lost.

PROVENANCE: Armand-Jean de Vignerolt de Plessis, duc de Richelieu (1629-1715) (acquired c. 1682; still there in 1683, the date of the last edition of de Piles's description of the collection).

LITERATURE: R. de Piles, *Le Cabinet de Monseigneur le duc de Richelieu*, [Paris, 1681], in *Dissertation sur les ouvrages des plus fameux pe-*

intres, edn Paris, 1681 (the passage on No. 50 only present in exemplar in London, British Library, in a series of pages, following on from p. 135, which are marked with asterisks); R. de Piles, *Dissertation* (as above), edn Paris, 1682 (again inserted into the copy of the edition in the British Library, as pp. 135ff. (a series of pages marked with asterisks), following on from p. 136; R. de Piles, *Le Cabinet de Monseigneur le duc de Richelieu*, [Paris, ?1682], pp. 45-50; R. de Piles, *Dissertation* (as above), edn Paris, 1683, pp. 135ff.; M. Rooses, 'Les Rubens de la Galerie du duc de Richelieu', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1900, pp. 140, 145-147; B. Teyssèdre, 'Une collection française de Rubens au XVIIe siècle: Le cabinet du duc de Richelieu décrit par Roger de Piles (1676-1681)', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, LXII, 1963, pp. 243-244, 281-283, 294, 296; *Berger, Tomyris, 1979*, pp. 4-35, esp. pp. 30, 32.

It has always been assumed that the *Contenance of Scipio* which Roger de Piles described in detail in some editions of his *Cabinet du duc de Richelieu*¹ was identical, at least in composition, with the picture that perished in London in 1836.² However, too many details are inconsistent or incompatible with the abundant evidence about this latter work for his description to be an account of it, however vaguely remembered. In the first place, there is the question of size: six by eight feet (c. 195 × 260 cm. calculating the French *pied* at roughly 32.5 cm.) with life-size figures give us proportions altogether different from those of No. 49, as well as of Rubens's sketch for it (No. 49c; Fig. 177) and S. à Bolswert's engraving after this (Fig. 182). Besides, although de Piles tells us that Scipio was seated to the left on a throne surrounded by his soldiers, he indicates that his head was inclined not to the left, but rather to the right, that is out of the picture, and suggests that his right hand, *avancé*, was pointing towards the young couple in the centre of the composition, rather than to the collection of ransom he intended to return.³ Moreover, if the attitude of the captive maiden

was presumably rather similar—just beginning to fall to her knees in gratitude before Scipio and supported with one hand by her betrothed—and if the costumes of the young couple must have been also similar in style, the bride was wearing white satin with an ermine trimming, not the red dress of No. 49, and had a blue velvet cloak, while Allucius (whom de Piles calls *Indibilis*) likewise wore a cloak, which de Piles found suitably Hispanic. There may have been an important compositional difference too, since nothing in de Piles's elaborate description suggests that Allucius was portrayed from behind, one of the most novel features of the composition of No. 49. He is described as exhibiting suitable Spanish pride and dignity while giving the maiden his hand and supporting her arm as she falls to her knees. Other elements likewise indicate differences, appropriate to the narrower format. The bride's companion women were evidently only three. For two of them the heads alone, elaborately coiffured, were visible; the third, more modestly got up (and presumably this time shown full-length), was holding her train.

It seemed at first to me that some record of the lost Richelieu work might be preserved in the picture shown partly hidden by a curtain in the *Artist's Atelier* by David Teniers the Younger in the collection of Lord Barnard (Raby Castle, Steindorp, Durham) (Fig. 168).⁴ Certainly, while clearly having some close connection with the lost Orléans *Contenance of Scipio*, the version illustrated by Teniers is by contrast much more square in format (i.e. closer to 8 × 6 *pieds*) and contains fewer figures. However, although Allucius is here shown differently, more erect, he is still viewed (unusually) from behind and has no cloak such as de Piles specifies; moreover, even if Scipio and his gesture are tantalizingly concealed behind the fictive curtain so that one might be tempted to invent an attitude to fit the description of the Richelieu picture, it seems likely that he would have been shown pointing to the pile of ransom (partly re-

vealed) in exactly the same way as in the Orléans version (No. 49). The relationship of this rather stiff and upright variation on the Orléans picture to the Richelieu composition thus remains obscure. Can it point to yet another (lost) Rubensian painting of the *Contenance of Scipio*?⁵

Alternatively, one of the drawings of the *Contenance of Scipio*, which seem so remote from the Orléans version (No. 49), may provide some reflection of the Richelieu composition. Certainly both have proportions which approximate more to this latter. In addition, the Bayonne drawing (No. 49b; Fig. 184) shows Allucius facing outwards and the Berlin drawing (No. 49a; Fig. 183) has him in profile, both attitudes being at once more conventional (and therefore unremarkable) for the character. However, neither drawing can be very close to the final Richelieu picture, since Allucius is still shown in Roman costume, Scipio is simply inclining his head forwards, and the bride is already kneeling, rather than about to do so.

Whether any of Van Dyck's versions of the subject, in which Allucius invariably wears a cloak, contain elements derived from this Rubensian composition is still more difficult to assess;⁶ perhaps the most that can be said is that, assuming de Piles was right about the extended right arm, the Scipio in the Christ Church painting⁷ may reflect his attitude. Again, this, and other poses and figures may be partly transmitted in the picture formerly in Potsdam by Theodoor Boeyermans, in which the captive girl is indeed standing in an attitude marked by *pudeur*.⁸ But these suggestions perhaps simply serve to illustrate the difficulties of reconstructing the appearance of a lost picture from any verbal description alone.

1. For the complex matter of the editions of de Piles's text see Rooses, *op. cit.*, 1900, pp. 138-148 and Teyssède, *loc. cit.*, 1963. However, as Fritz Grossmann discovered long ago (his notes are in the *Rubensianum*), there are various additions and omissions to the text in exemplars of the different

editions in the British Library: the references to the picture of Scipio in these are noted in the bibliography above.

2. Teyssède (op. cit., 1963, p. 294) supposes that the confusion in the different accounts of the provenance implies two versions of the subject, but does not suggest that they were different; in *Berger, Tomyris*, 1979 (p. 32) only the disparity in dimensions is noted. De Piles's account of the picture (omitting his admiring preliminaries about its effect, and his explanation of the subject) is as follows: 'Rubens dans l'expression de ce sujet a choisi le moment que Scipion en presence des parens de cette Captive, la remet entre les mains d'Indibilis auquel elle avoit esté promise. Ce Conquérant est assis sur son Trône à costé gauche du Tableau, environné de ses Gardes, & habillé à la Romaine, de ses armes, & de son paludament. Il a la teste un peu panchée sur l'épaule droite, les yeux à demy baissez, & le bras droit avancé, comme s'il ordonnoit à Indibilis de recevoir de sa liberalité la main de sa Captive, & de se promettre l'un à l'autre une foy mutuelle, adjoûtant à la dot de cette fille les vases d'or qu'on avoit donnez pour sa rançon. / De l'autre costé & vis-à-vis de Scipion est cette Captive debout dans l'action de se jeter aux pieds de ce grand Capitaine, pour le remercier des marques sensibles qu'elle vient de recevoir de sa générosité. Parmi la beauté extraordinaire de cette Dame il y a une pudeur & une majesté capables de faire autant de Scipions qu'elle aura de spectateurs. Elle est habillé d'un satin blanc doublé d'hermine, avec une espee de manteau de velours bleu par dessus; Et quoique ces vestemens soient magnifiques par les ornemens & les pierrieres qui sont dessus, ils le sont encore davantage par le beau choix de leurs plis, par la simplicité ingénieuse dont ils sont accommodez, & par la belle negligence que le hasard paroist y avoir mise. / Indibilis luy donne la main, & soutient son bras dans le moment qu'elle se jette à genoux. Le Peintre qui entre merveilleusement dans le caractere des choses qu'il represente, a mis dans toute la figure de ce Prince celuy de la fierté si essentiel à sa nation, & ceux qui connoissent les manieres graves des Espagnols n'auront pas de peine à les reconnoistre dans toute la contenance de cet Amant. Il semble mesme que les habits dont les Espagnols se servent aujourd'huy ont pris leur origine de ceux que le Peintre a donnez à cet Espagnol ancien, car les modernes tiennent beaucoup de la façon dont son manteau est retroussé, de celle dont il porte ses cheveux, de la ceinture de sa saye, & de sa chaussure étroite. / Derriere la Captive sont deux filles qui l'accompagnent, dont il ne paroist que les testes; & qui à voir la delicatessse de leur air, & la façon galante de leur coiffures, sont plutôt de sa parenté que de sa suite, y en ayant une autre moins parée qui luy

porte la queue. / A costé de la Captive & au milieu du Tableau sont le pere & la mere qui estant venus pour obeir aux ordres du Vainqueur, se prosternent à ses pieds, & le reconnoissent pour leur bienfaiteur...'. He goes on to evoke the beauty of the picture with colours 'aussi fieres que celle du Silene & de la Madelaine chez Simon, mais...encore plus suaves' but he does not actually describe these colours; he also praises the attitudes of the different figures: 'la moderation & la sagesse' in the young Scipio, the girl's 'pudeur', 'noblesse' and 'beauté extraordinaire qui attire le respect'; in the parents there is 'un malheur sans tristesse, une soumission sans abatement, & une reconnoissance affectueuse, capable d'exciter la pitié & la liberalité du Victorieux'. Everything in short expresses the principal subject of continence.

3. De Piles's description, however, leaves it uncertain exactly where in the composition the ransom was located; it could have been in the centre, as in many versions of the subject, so that Scipio was simultaneously pointing to it. It could of course be supposed that de Piles was talking of 'right' in relation to the viewer, i.e. Scipio's left; but this would seem odd in the case of the right arm.
4. For this see *Speth-Holterhoff, Cabinets*, 1957, pl. VI (colour), opp. p. 152, and pp. 155-157, 217, n. 183; and A. Scarpa Sonino, *Cabinet d'amateur. Le Grandi Collezioni d'Arte nei Dipinti dal XVII al XIX Secolo*, Milan, 1992, pp. 102-103, also illustrating a replica of the painting (whereabouts unknown). Its pendant is signed and dated 1651.
5. According to *Speth-Holterhoff, Cabinets*, 1957, p. 157, an inscription on the painted frame of the Scipio picture (wrongly referred to as *Esther and Ahasuerus*) reads 'F. Francken'.
6. For Van Dyck's illustrations of the subject see *Meijer, Scipione*, 1992, pp. 131-144.
7. For this picture see J. Byam Shaw, *Paintings by Old Masters at Christ Church Oxford*, Oxford, 1967, pp. 125-126, no. 64; J. Wood, 'Van Dyck's pictures for the Duke of Buckingham. The elephant in the carpet and the dead tree with ivy', *Apollo*, CXXXVI, 365, 1992, pp. 37-47, fig. 1 (colour); also above, No. 49, at n. 26.
8. See G. Eckardt, *Die Gemälde in der Bildergalerie von Sanssouci*, Potsdam—Sanssouci, 1975, p. 93, no. 7586, repr. p. 98 (though here Scipio is rising, rather than sitting, and the bride is not yet beginning to fall to her knees).

51. The Vindication of Tuccia: Drawing (Fig. 185)

Watermark: fragment of a large frame. Pen and brown ink, with traces of preliminary

work in black chalk; 227 × 314 mm.; upper right corner torn and restored. Below, on the left, the upper part of an incomplete inscription (in pen): *P.P.RUB.*; below, to the right of centre, mark of the Louvre (L. 2207).—*Verso* (a separate piece of paper, 218 × 216 mm., pasted onto the back of the sheet): sketch for the *Majority of Louis XIII* from the Medici cycle; below, on a different piece of paper, likewise attached, the inscriptions: *vestale portant de l'eau du Tibre dans un crible pour preuve de son ... / a la plume / au revers un Roy de France environné des figures allégoriques de les vertu / tel...Prudence, la Constance, force, renomé etc. a la plume* and 8760 (in pen by an unknown, ? 19th-century hand).

Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre. Inv. no. 20.199.

PROVENANCE: de St-Maurice (St-Morys), sale, Paris, 1 (postponed until 6) February 1786, lot 806, purchased by Lenglier; confiscated from émigrés at the end of the 18th century; entered *Museum National* during the Revolution.

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp*, 1956, no. 97; *Dessins de Pierre-Paul Rubens*, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris, 1959, no. 5; *Antwerp*, 1977, no. 154; *Paris*, 1978, no. 21.

LITERATURE: *Inventaire manuscrit des dessins du Louvre établi par Morel d'Arleux, Conservateur du Cabinet des Dessins du Louvre, de 1797 à 1827*, VI, no. 8760; *Rooses, Oeuvre*, 1886-92, V, pp. 245-247, nos. 1474, 1471 (verso); F. Lugt, 'Notes sur Rubens', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser 5, XII, 1925, pp. 185, 193, repr. pp. 191 (recto) and 180 (verso); Glück—Haberdtz, *Handzeichnungen*, 1928, p. 50, no. 154; p. 49, no. 147 (verso), both repr.; E. Kieser, 'Die Rubens-Literatur seit 1935', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, X, 1941-42, p. 312; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre*, 1949, II, p. 14, nos. 1015, 1016 (verso), pl. XVII; *Burchard—d'Hulst, Tekeningen*, 1956, pp. 85-86, no. 97 and pl. XLII; [Cat. Exh.] *Dessins de Pierre-Paul Rubens* (Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris, 1959), Paris, 1959, no. 5; *Held, Drawings*, 1959, I, pp. 114-115, no. 50; II, pls.

52 (recto), 53 (verso); *Burchard—d'Hulst, Drawings*, 1963, I, pp. 200-203, no. 129; II, pl. 129; J. Thuillier and J. Foucart, *Rubens. La Galerie Médicis au Palais du Luxembourg, (Les sommets de l'art*, ed. P. Lecaldano), Milan—Paris, 1969, pp. 60, n. 108, p. 82 (under no. 12) and p. 92, fig. 67; E.M. Vetter, 'Rubens und die Genese des Programms der Medici-galerie', *Pantheon*, X, 1974, pp. 357-358, fig. 6; *Pigler, Barockthemen*, 1974, II, p. 347; Y. Kuznetsov, *Risunki Rubensa*, Moscow, 1974, no. 91, repr.; *Bernhard, Handzeichnungen*, 1977, p. 338, repr.; *Cat. Exh. Antwerp*, 1977, pp. 344-345, no. 154, repr.; *Sérullaz, Rubens*, 1978, pp. 40-41, no. 21, repr.; *Held, Drawings*, 1986, pp. 130-131, no. 156 and pl. 151; R.F. Wolf and R.E. Millen, *Heroic Deeds and Mystic Figures. A New Reading of Rubens' 'Life of Maria de' Medici'*, Princeton, 1989, pp. 96-97.

The Vestal Virgin Tuccia, accused of unchastity, is here shown proving her innocence by confounding the proverb and carrying water in a sieve.¹ The event is recorded as a marvel by Pliny, as indeed it is by St Augustine and Tertullian (who call it a pagan miracle), but only Valerius Maximus and Dionysius of Halicarnassus recount the story.² Under the heading *de iudiciis publicis* (on trials before the public) Valerius describes how Tuccia, accused of the *crimen incesti*—the gravest offence for vestals—boldly seized a sieve, and calling on Vesta vowed that she would return to the goddess's temple with water from the Tiber in it.³ So, he laconically concludes, 'rerum ipsa natura cessit': the natural order of things was suspended. Dionysius's account is the most detailed, especially in relating the miraculous story to the customs of the vestals. He emphasizes the role of the priests, who not only choose vestals but pass judgement on and punish any misdemeanours,⁴ and tells us that Tuccia, after gaining their consent and invoking Vesta, was accompanied to the river by a great crowd of Romans who watched as she collected the water and carried it all the way back to the Forum, where she poured it out at

the feet of the pontiffs.⁵

Virtuous Tuccia, whether as a representative 'famous woman' (the filled sieve her attribute), or in a narrative *storia*, was a familiar character in Italian Renaissance painting (cf. *text ill.* 3), particularly because of her inclusion in Petrarch's *Triumph of Chastity*.⁶ Tuccia's story was especially popular on *assoni*, and is almost everywhere an *exemplum* of chastity, despite Valerius Maximus's different categorization.⁷ Indeed Valerius himself could be cited to support that meaning, since the seated Tuccia painted by Moroni, an enigmatic figure of chastity maligned, was accompanied by an inscription actually taken from the ancient author's account: *Castitas infamiae nube obscurata emergit* ([Her] Chastity comes forth from the dark clouds of infamy).⁸ Occasionally, however, Tuccia's vindication appears in a civic context, and in the frescoes for the Palazzo del Consiglio dei Nobili at Belluno painted by Pomponio Amalteo in 1529 (*text ill.* 4) it was evidently a justice scene, as in Valerius Maximus.⁹

Amalteo's fresco followed Dionysius of Halicarnassus in making the vestal present her water-filled sieve to the astonished priests, and before a crowd representing the populace of Rome. His scene was set in a loggia, which is probably the Forum, although there is also a statue of a woman holding a torch, who must be Vesta.¹⁰ Most artists indeed chose to illustrate Tuccia returning with the full sieve and represented her at the temple of Vesta. However two outstanding Netherlandish versions of the subject—the prints by Matham after Spranger¹¹ and by Theodoor Galle after Stradanus (Fig. 186)¹²—made the collection of water from the Tiber, a muscular River God, the principal scene. Rubens may well have been inspired by these to combine Tuccia's vindication with the figure of the Tiber, who now has a more symbolic role. In Stradanus's design (Fig. 186), the river god pours water into her sieve, which refuses to leak, but remains altogether detached from Tuccia's plight; Spranger's Tiber exhibits more

interest, but is too occupied in coping with his attributes—especially a recalcitrant wolf and twins—to be practically helpful. Rubens's river god, placid among the reeds, stretches forth effortlessly to support the vestal's sieve, thus simultaneously suggesting the nature of the contents and helping to contain them. Tuccia has no need to tip up her sieve, as she did in some sixteenth-century paintings; we can 'see' that it holds water from the Tiber. We can also see that this is an extraordinary event, made possible by the intervention of the gods.

Rubens's Tiber is half-immersed in his own waters, and Tuccia seems to step straight out of these, bare-footed, onto the steps of a building. It is not clear that this is meant to be the temple of Vesta, even if there is a fire burning on an altar, since Vesta's fire was kept in the innermost sanctum of her round and columned temple, inaccessible to men, even the priests,¹³ and the only indication of an architectural setting is a portico behind. Probably, as in Amalteo's fresco, the scene is set in the Forum, and Tuccia is meeting the priests at the entrance to the Regia, the official headquarters of the Pontifex Maximus which adjoined the temple of Vesta.¹⁴ The fire burning on the altar between the two priests who stand there to confront Tuccia must, however, allude to the Vestal flame and the fact that the Pontifex Maximus had special jurisdiction over vestals, particularly in relationship to their care for the fire. Moreover, Dionysius tells us that Tuccia's anonymous accuser could not point to the extinction of the sacred flame, generally held a suspicious circumstance, as a 'proof' of a guilty secret; so that the flaming altar reinforces the goddess's support of her innocent priestess. As she approaches her astonished judges, Tuccia is defiant, proud in her vindication. Her fellow vestals gather round her, less wondering than relieved. With Tuccia they number four, which was the original complement in early days; this was later increased to six.¹⁵ The precise identity and role of the two men farthest to the left is not clear: one appears to wear on

his head something with a wreath and the other has a kind of tiara. These might be the distinctive bonnets worn by certain Roman priests: the first, the *albogalerus* of the *Flamen Dialis*, which had an olive wreath around it, and the second the *apex* worn by the *Salii* as well as the *Flamines*, which had a pointed rod at the top covered in white wool.¹⁶ But the two men who look most astonished are certainly *pontifices*, their cloaks over their heads, in the manner of those about to sacrifice,¹⁷ and the foremost one, at whom Tuccia is looking, is presumably the *Pontifex Maximus*.

No painting by Rubens of Tuccia is recorded. In view of this, and the fact that the drawing has a sketch for the *Majority of Louis XIII* on the verso, Kieser suggested that the Tuccia scene might in fact be the abandoned composition for the Medici cycle mysteriously referred to in the correspondence between Rubens and Peiresc as *il Flamineo* (or *il quadro del Flamineo*, or again, *quel Flamineo*).¹⁸ We know only two things about this subject: firstly that Peiresc professed to find it 'il piu vago et piu nobile di tutti' but that its 'gentilezza del concetto' and 'eruditione' failed to be appreciated by 'the others', and secondly that it must have been intended as one of the upright compositions for the first long wall of the Luxembourg gallery, preceding the *Coronation*, and was probably that immediately before it. The evidence comes mainly from a letter of 22 April 1622. Peiresc writes that one subject from the first part of the series has to be dispensed with if all the themes now proposed for the second half are to be accommodated; so the obvious candidate is this *Flamineo* which has failed to please. Its removal will, however, entail moving the *Coronation* backwards into an upright space, which Peiresc realizes will be artistically disastrous since that scene demands a horizontal format. The only way to keep the *Coronation* in its proper place is to drop at least one subject later in the series, for example by compressing the material on the double marriage of the queen's children into three rather than

four pictures.¹⁹ This way too the *Flamineo* can stay, or—better still (in view of the reservations expressed about it)—another subject can be substituted from the first phase of Maria's career: he suggests two possibilities, either the arrival of the Queen in Paris or 'il tempo che il Re defunto cominciò di fare partecipe la Regina delli consigli e negotii piu importanti del governo di questo stato, quando egli andava preparando la sua protectione fuori del regno', with the emphasis on his second idea. And this latter was in fact what Rubens finally illustrated in the *Transfer of the Regency to Maria*.

Since this new subject occupied the space immediately before the *Coronation*, it is tempting to assume that the *Flamineo* would also have been intended for this space, and this is what writers on the subject have usually done. As Burchard observed, this is not necessarily the case, since Peiresc proposed as alternatives two subjects which would have occupied quite different places on the first wall, and in any case implied that neither of these involved the same theme as that of the *Flamineo*. However, one phrase in the letter suggests that the *Flamineo* indeed came just between the *Birth of the Dauphin* and the *Coronation*, for Peiresc says that if the *Flamineo* is retained, the *Coronation* will have to move along a little. This seems to indicate that no other movements on the first wall would be involved, and therefore that the *Flamineo* and the *Coronation* were neighbours.²⁰

We know from the correspondence between Rubens and Peiresc that there were in fact considerable difficulties with the new subject of the *Transfer of the Regency* particularly connected with the malicious rumours of the queen's supposed complicity in the murder of her husband—this having occurred not long after Henri IV had delegated the country to her on his departure for war—so that when Rubens's first design for the *Transfer of the Regency* included Furies leading the King away these were censored out.²¹ With the political problems in mind, Kieser thus con-

cluded that *il Flamineo* had taken its title from 'the priest' confronting Tuccia in the Louvre drawing (being an Italian equivalent for the Latin *flamen*, a priest) and that Tuccia's vindication was to be included in the Medici cycle as an allegory of the Queen's innocence of the rumoured charges. This theory has been accepted by several scholars, including Burchard and d'Hulst in 1963. However, there are several reasons why it seems to me quite improbable.

Firstly philological: as Vetter already noted, the Italian word for the Latin *flamen* is *flamine*, not *flamineo*.²² The only possible Latin equivalents would, it seems to me, be either *flaminus*, the assistant to a Roman priest, or *flaminium*, the office of priesthood (assuming, that is, that the term is nothing to do with the Roman family, the *gens Flaminia*). But even if it could mean 'priest' and refer to the foremost male figure in the drawing, why should Rubens and Peiresc have designated a scene of Tuccia in such an oblique way, by talking of 'the priest'?²³ And even if they had wanted to do so, and to refer to the priest of Vesta, they would surely have talked not of 'the *flamen*' (or '*flaminus*'), but rather of 'the *pontifex*' ('*il pontifice*'), since, as we have seen, it was the *Pontifex Maximus* who had jurisdiction over vestals.

Secondly, there is no necessary connection between the recto and verso of No. 51; as Held pointed out, the sheet consists of two drawings pasted back to back.²⁴ In any case, as Held also observes, there are plenty of instances when Rubens used the recto and verso of a sheet at quite different dates.

Thirdly, as Burchard and d'Hulst themselves noted, the Tuccia composition is in a horizontal format, which surely excludes a composition for an upright space on the first wall of the Luxembourg Palace. They themselves resolve this by suggesting that the Tuccia (i.e. in their argument *il Flamineo*) was actually intended to occupy a horizontal place, namely that now taken by the *Coronation*, but this, as Thuillier and Foucart noted, goes

against the evidence presented in the letters which we have already discussed.²⁵

Finally, it is hard to believe that Rubens would have thought of including a familiar and generalized *exemplum* from ancient history (and one that was normally simply a story of chastity) in the middle of his very 'personalized' and specifically historical glorification of Maria, or that the French courtiers would have found the subject hard to understand. And, as Thuillier and Foucart point out, it seems virtually unthinkable that the tactful Rubens, so anxious elsewhere to suppress the more embarrassing circumstances of the Queen's life,²⁶ would have chosen to allude to charges made against her—or that Peiresc in turn would have found this witty and erudite.²⁷

The discussion by Peiresc surely suggests that *il Flamineo* involved some allegorical conceit of the kind which likewise failed to please in the scene of the *Proxy Marriage*.²⁸ I find nothing in the letters to suggest that it was politically sensitive, as Kieser implies; on other occasions Peiresc is quite explicit when this is the problem about a composition. If then the theme somehow concerned ancient Roman priests, conceivably it related to the phrase *flaminio abire*, to give up the priesthood, and illustrated Henri IV as he went to battle consigning the government to Maria.²⁹ But the idea that the picture involved something 'priestly' may be completely off the mark. After all Peiresc's term was *il flamineo*, not *il flaminio*. In Italian this would most naturally mean 'something [masculine] red or orange'.³⁰ Given that it involved a conceit *all'antica*, this then might have been a bridal veil, for, even if this should, strictly speaking, be *il flammeo* (Latin: *flammeum*), Rubens himself describes the veil in the ancient painting known as the Aldobrandini wedding as a *flamineo*.³¹ Still, as we have seen, the *quadro del Flamineo* was probably concerned with an event after Maria's wedding, indeed after the birth of her son.³²

The context of the Tuccia drawing thus re-

mains an open question. It probably does indeed date from c. 1622.³³ but need not have any connection with France. In format it is rather similar to the *Cyrus and Tomyris* of about the same date (No. 2; Fig. 8), and is likewise an exemplary story of female virtue. Could it have been Rubens's first idea for a large picture for Archduchess Isabella, to whom a subject with a vestal seems more appropriate than to Maria de' Medici?

In the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome is a tapestry, dated 1768 and showing Tuccia collecting water from the Tiber (this time not personified), which has sometimes been associated with Rubens's name in old guide-books.³⁴ This is the 'Rubens' tapestry of the Vestal Tuccia of Roman manufacture mentioned by Thomson.³⁵ It was one of a series of four made in the 1760s; the others are: *Triumphant Roma, Camillus and the Schoolmaster of Falerii*, after Poussin, and *The Finding of Romulus and Remus*, after Rubens's painting in the Capitoline Gallery (No. 34; Fig. 117: see Copy 15). The *modello* for this latter, by Domenico Corvi (1721-1803), survives (No. 34, Copy 4), as does that for the scene of Tuccia.³⁶ Whether or not the Tuccia design was entirely the invention of Corvi, it seems to have no connection with Rubens. There is no evidence that the present drawing was ever used for a tapestry, even if one vestal at least looks suspiciously left-handed.

1. The sieve thus becomes an unlikely and ambiguous emblem for female purity: see C. Ripa, *Iconologia*, Rome, 1593, s.v. *Castità* (p. 39), and, for a whole range of associations, M. Warner, *Monuments and Maidens. The Allegory of the Female Form*, London, 1985, pp. 241-266, esp. pp. 241-244. For the proverb, *cribro aquam haurire* (= the impossible) see Erasmus, *Adagia* IV.60 (*Erasmus, Opera*, 1703-06, II, col. 171C-D).
2. Pliny, *Historia naturalis* XXVIII.12; Augustine, *Civitas dei* X.xvi; Tertullian, *Apologia* 22; Valerius Maximus, *Dicta et facta* VIII.i.5; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* II.69.
3. In modern discussions of the story Tuccia is usually said to have been accused of incest, but this is misleading. For the vestals the *crimen incesti* encompassed any offence against their sacerdotal

chastity. See F. Guizzi, *Aspetti giuridici del sacerdozio romano. Il sacerdozio di Vesta* (Publicazioni della facoltà giuridica dell' Università di Napoli, LXII), Naples, 1968, pp. 141-158. Rubens would have read the relevant chapter (xiii) in Lipsius's *De Vesta et vestalibus* (Lipsius, *Opera*, 1675, III, pp. 1104-1108). The sieve was presumably at hand because a bronze one was used to carry the vestal fire: cf. Festus, recorded in Lipsius, *Opera*, 1675, III, p. 1090.

4. Cf. Dionysius, *Roman Antiquities* II.67; see further Lipsius, *Opera*, 1675, III, pp. 1104-1108.
5. It is Dionysius who mentions the Roman proverb equating carrying water in a sieve with the impossible; cf. above n. 1.
6. Petrararch, *Trionfi* 148-151. For illustrations of this see V.M. Essling and E. Muntz, *Pétrarque: ses études d'art, son influence sur les artistes*, Paris, 1902; also above, Volume I, Chapter I, text at nn. 9 and 39-41. For the subject generally see Pigler, *Barockthemen*, 1974, II, pp. 346-347. Petrararch's text, which talks of how she 'ran to the Tiber' ('corse al Tibro'), presumably accounts for Tuccia's haste, even when returning with full sieve, in some Renaissance paintings—Tintoretto's illustration of the story, for example (Art Gallery, Glasgow: see R. Pallucchini and P. Rossi, *Tintoretto. Le Opere sacre e profane*, I-II, Milan, 1982, I, p. 147, no. 98; II, fig. 125), or Jacopo del Sellaio's *Triumph of Chastity* (text ill. 3), in which she rushes along beside walking companions (Museo Bandini, Fiesole: see Schubring, *Cassoni*, 1915-23, I, pp. 307-308, no. 373; II, pl. LXXXVII).
7. For illustrations of the narrative (as distinct from single figures of Tuccia with emblems of her virtue) see Schubring, *Cassoni*, 1915-23, I, pp. 143, 343, no. 516 and II, pl. CXX; I, pp. 146, 350, no. 551 and II, pl. CXXV; I, pp. 157-158, 364-365, no. 630 and II, pl. CXXXVII (paired with a curious example of chastity from St Jerome). In decorative cycles too the context is usually that of female virtue, as with Lattanzio Gambara's fresco in the Palazzo Calini, Calino (Brescia): see P. V. Begni-Redona and G. Vezzoli, *Lattanzio Gambara, pittore*, Brescia 1978, pp. 166-71.
8. Valerius introduces the story: '...Tucciae, virginis Vestalis, incesti criminis reae, castitas infamiae nube obscurata emersit'. In Moroni's inscription only the tense of the verb has been changed. For this painting, in the National Gallery, London, see C. Gould, *The Sixteenth-Century Italian Schools* (*National Gallery Catalogues*), London, 1975, p. 170, no. 3123; also now *The National Gallery Complete Illustrated Catalogue*, London, 1995, p. 477, repr. For an interesting discussion see Warner, op. cit. in n. 1, p. 241 and fig. 69 and A. Vannugli in [Cat. Exh.] *Alessandro Bonvicino, Il Moretto* (Brescia, Monasterio di S. Giulia, 1988), Brescia, 1988, pp. 128-130, under no. 58, in connection with a Tuccia by Moretto, who bears a tablet inscribed *Pudicitiae*

- testimonium* (from St Augustine); here the source of Moroni's inscription is also identified.
9. See [Cat. Exh.] *Temi profani nell'Amalteo* (Castello-Palazzo Troilo, Spilimbergo, 1980), Spilimbergo, 1980, pp. 13-25 and fig. 8. The theme connecting the scenes in the cycle (known only from early 19th-century engravings) is obviously judgement.
 10. The temple of Vesta was nearby, but not actually in the Forum Romanum. However, Dionysius (*Roman Antiquities* II.65.1) implies that it is there.
 11. *Bartsch*, III, 1854, p. 183, no. 203; *The Illustrated Bartsch*, IV, ed. W.L. Strauss, New York, 1980, p. 188.
 12. *Hollstein*, VII [n. d.], p. 86, no. 397. Here the Roman context is underlined by a personification of Roma with her seven hills (rock-crowned infants).
 13. See *Lipsius, Opera, 1675*, III, pp. 1079-1080. It should of course have been accompanied by the palladium, as in Rubens's illustration of *Mars and Rhea Silvia* (Fig. 101; also Fig. 102); cf. *Lipsius, Opera, 1675*, III, pp. 1093-1095.
 14. See *Lipsius, Opera, 1675*, III, pp. 1082-1083.
 15. *Lipsius, Opera, 1675*, III, pp. 1084-1085. Plutarch says that it was Servius Tullius who added two; Dionysius (loc. cit. in n. 10) that it was Tarquinius Priscus. In either case this would of course be long before the date of Tuccia's feat, which according to Pliny took place in 124 BC (AUC 609).
 16. These *pilei* had been discussed in detail by Philip Rubens in his *Electa (Electorum libri duo, Antwerp, 1608, cap. xxv [de sacris Apicibus...]*, pp. 71-74), and examples of different types illustrated by Peter Paul for his brother on p. 73 and the folding plate to p. 74 (for these see *Judson—Van de Velde, Title-pages, 1978*, I, pp. 83-85, nos. 4 and 5; II, figs. 44, 46). In the Tuccia drawing the tiara seems much higher than the headgear illustrated for this; however, it is worth noting that Philip specifically points out (p. 72) that the visual evidence from sculpture (as illustrated) does not quite correspond with the literary descriptions, which talk of conical rather than semicircular *pilei*. For these see *Montfaucon, Antiquité, 1719*, II, pp. 39-41, pls. IV and V. Vetter (op. cit., 1974, p. 370, n. 38) in fact referred to the discussion of the *pilei* of the *flamines* in Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica* in connection with the question of the meaning of the term *flamineo* (for which see below) and concluded (correctly) that the two foremost priests could not be *flamines* since they were shown without the proper headgear, even if the two other men might be.
 17. As Burchard observed, they resemble the priests in the Decius Mus cycle: *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921*, p. 143, 144.
 18. Letters of 22 April and 6 May 1622: *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, II, pp. 388-392, 403. See Kieser, loc. cit., 1941-42.
 19. In fact the later events were also compressed—the negotiations for the double marriage taking up less space.
 20. The *Flamineo* was thus probably intended for the 8th place. The proposal to keep the *Flamineo* and thus move the *Coronation* 'poco piu' was evidently made by the abbé de St Ambroise. See esp.: 'In questo modo [i.e. by the new proposed arrangement, which makes the *Incoronamento* the 8th picture, following immediately after *la Nascita del Delphinio*] si preterisce il soggetto intiero del quadro dove V.S. rappresentava il Flamineo, che mi pare a me il piu vago et piu nobile di tutti, ma non a gli altri che non capiscono la gentilezza del concetto et l'eruditione che visi scorge, et si casca in un gran inconveniente, poscia che l'Incoronamento non s'incontra piu ne'luoghi maggiori, anzi nell'ultimo delli piccioli del primo lato di che io ho fatto gran rumore. Et finalmente mi disse il Sgr Abbate che si poteva ridurre il negotio delli matrimonii in due quadri soli, egli lasciava alla disposizione di V.S. di rimettere nel suo ordine il quadro del Flamineo, accio di slontare l'Incoronamento un poco piu oltre et di collocare nel luogo destinatogli prima cioè nel nono vano ch'è il primo delli grandissimi'.
 21. A serpent was probably removed from the arm of Prudence for the same reason. See E. McGrath, 'Tact and Topical Reference in Rubens's "Medici Cycle"', *The Oxford Art Journal*, III, 1980, pp. 11-17, esp. 11-12; Wolf and Millen, op. cit., 1989, pp. 98-99.
 22. Vetter, op. cit., 1974, p. 370, n. 33, observing that the word *flamen* in any case cannot be used for every Roman priest.
 23. Cf. the comments of Vetter (op. cit., 1974, pp. 357-358, 370, n. 38), although Vetter is not aware that the *pontifices* are connected both with vestals and with Tuccia by Dionysius. The *Flamen Dialis*, however, has no particular role over vestals or in the Tuccia story.
 24. Even if this was probably done before the inscription about Tuccia was made on the verso, there is no reason to presume the drawings were joined in Rubens's workshop.
 25. Thuillier and Foucart, op. cit., 1969, pp. 59-60, n. 52. Vetter (op. cit., 1974, n. 34), agreeing with this, wonders, however, if the *Flamineo* might at an early stage have been for one of the long compositions, but there is no evidence—apart from the hypothesis of a connection with the Tuccia drawing!—to suggest this.
 26. Cf. especially his famous comments in the letter on the *Felicity of the Regency*: letter of 13 May 1625 (*Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, III, p. 353).
 27. Cf. the comments of Thuillier and Foucart (op. cit., 1969, p. 60, n. 53), even though they accept a connection between the Tuccia composition, the *Flamineo* and the Medici cycle. Also Wolf and Millen, loc. cit., 1989, emphatically rejecting the con-

nection.

28. For a discussion of the conceit of Juno and the rainbow which was not appreciated here see Wolf and Millan, *op. cit.*, 1989, pp. 56-57; also Rubens's comments on Moriso's poem of 1626 (letter to Pierre Dupuy of 29 October 1626: *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, IV, pp. 1-2, doc. CCCCXV).
29. Alternatively, since Rosinus's *Roman Antiquities*, a book Rubens owned, equates the term *flaminius* with *camillus*, a boy attendant, the subject might have related to the young Louis XIII. See *Rosinus, Antiquitates*, 1663, pp. 215, 232 (III.xv and xxxi, referring to Festus). For Rubens's purchase of this book see Volume I, Chapter II, at n. 24. Von Simson, who assumed the phrase referred to some allegorical conceit, wondered if the term might be connected with a Catholic priest: O. G. von Simson, *Zur Genealogie der weltlichen Apotheose im Barock, besonders der Medicigalerie des P.P. Rubens*, Strasbourg, 1936, pp. 280-281, esp. n. 1.
30. In old Italian dictionaries I have found only the rare vernacular term *flammineo*, for 'scarlet' or 'flame-coloured'.
31. See *Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, IV, pp. 406-407: 'La sposa è vestita di un Flamineo bianco...grandissimo'. For Peiresc's definition of the ancient *flammeum* see *Van der Meulen, Antique*, 1994, I, p. 156, no. 4; also *ibid.*, pp. 114-115.
32. The tempting idea that the *Flammineo* might be the *oriflamme* (the flame-coloured banner which was borne forth ceremoniously before the French kings when they went to battle, and in use from 1108 until the time of Charles VII) has to be discounted: firstly, the French word for this banner is feminine, so that the same gender would be expected in an Italian equivalent (unless it was an adjective qualifying e.g. *gonfalone* rather than *baniera*); secondly, there existed an Italian word 'orifiamma', used by Dante; thirdly, unless the image was presented in conjunction with some abstruse classical reference, it would seem that such a theme would have been easily appreciated by French courtiers.
33. Held cites a number of figural and stylistic parallels with the Medici and Constantine cycles: Held, *loc. cit.*, 1986.
34. Cf. M. Petrassi and O. Guerra, *Il Colle Capitolino*, Rome [n. d.], pp. 113 and 115, repr. in colour; C. Pietrangeli, *Musei Capitolini. Guida breve*, edn Rome, 1966, p. 87.
35. Thomson, *Tapestry*, 1930, p. 468 (in a list of tapestries made at the papal manufacture).
36. R. Bruno, *Roma. Pinacoteca Capitolina (Musei d'Italia—Meraviglie d'Italia)*, Bologna, 1978, p. 127, repr.

52. The Death of Cleopatra (Fig. 187)

Oil on oak panel; 122 × 98 cm.

Potsdam-Sanssouci, Bildergalerie. Inv. no. I 2622.

PROVENANCE: Schloss, Berlin, at least in the later 19th century; 1890-1942 in Bildergalerie, Potsdam; 1942-45 transferred to Rheinsberg; 1945-58 in USSR; since 1959 again in Bildergalerie.

EXHIBITED: *Ausstellung von Werken der niederländischen Kunst des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts... im Berliner Privatbesitz, Königliche Akademie*, Berlin, 1890, no. 242; *Works of Art from Museums in the G.D.R.* (in Russian), Hermitage, Leningrad, 1958, p. 32, repr.; *Schatze der Weltkultur von der Sowjetunion gerettet, Staatliche Museen*, Berlin, 1958, no. E.143.

LITERATURE: *Rooses, Oeuvre*, 1886-92, V, p. 337, under no. 6041; A. Rosenberg in *Kunstchronik*, 1889-90, p. 344 (as *Rubens*, and as the *Death of Dido* in Rubens's estate); W. Bode in *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XI, 1890, p. 203; P. Seidel, W. Bode and M.J. Friedländer, *Gemälde alter Meister im Besitz Seiner Majestät des Deutschen Kaisers und Königs von Preussen*, Berlin, [1906], p. 88, repr. p. 87; *K.d.K. ed. Rosenberg*, 1906, p. 116; *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 58; E. Henschel-Simon, *Die Gemälde und Skulpturen in der Bildergalerie von Sanssouci*, Berlin, 1930, p. 27, no. 90, repr.; G. Poensgen, *Die Gemälde in der preussischen Schlössern: Das Neue Palais*, Berlin, 1935, no. 13 (as *Rubens*, c. 1615, unfinished); *Malerei und Plastik. Meisterwerke aus acht Jahrhunderten*, Berlin, 1960, p. 62, repr. in colour; [Cat.] *Die Gemälde in der Bildergalerie von Sanssouci*, Potsdam, 1962, p. 19, no. 60 and pl. 6; G. Eckardt, *Die Gemälde in der Bildergalerie von Sanssouci*, Potsdam, 1964, no. 82; J. Linnik in *Festschrift Lasarew*, Moscow, 1969 (in Russian), p. 305, n. 1; G. Eckardt, *Selbstbildnisse Niederländische Maler des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1971, p. 180; G. Eckardt and B. Spindler, *Die Bildergalerie im Park von Sanssouci*, Potsdam,

1973, pp. 33-34, no. 63, repr.; G. Eckhardt, *Die Gemälde in der Bildergalerie von Sanssouci*, Potsdam-Sanssouci, 1975, p. 60, no. 113, repr.; G. Eckhardt, *Die Gemälde in der Bildergalerie von Sanssouci*, Potsdam-Sanssouci, 1990, p. 62, no. 56 (as *Rubens, c. 1615, unfinished*).

This picture, among the less seductive examples of the popular Renaissance theme of the dying Cleopatra,² was published by Rosenberg as a work of Rubens, and accepted as such by Bode and Oldenbourg, with the qualification that it was an unfinished picture of c. 1615, an opinion reiterated by Eckhardt in the recent Potsdam catalogues. Burchard evidently had a similar view, and was particularly dissatisfied with the finish of the background and the drapery in the foreground, as well as the quality of the head. The pose of the figure, which is rather hard to discern beneath the swathes of drapery in the foreground, suggests a (half-)reclining figure. Presumably the artist had in mind the ancient statue in the Vatican, now known as Ariadne but restored in the Renaissance as the dying Cleopatra.³ This statue is in fact singled out for mention (as a Cleopatra) in the category of languishing figures in the essay on ancient sculptures included with one copy of Rubens's lost 'pocketbook'.⁴ The reclining, sleeping posture has here been adapted to a more upright position, though the adaptation is not entirely successful, combined as it is, curiously, with other elements from the Cleopatra story, especially the dish of figs in which an asp was concealed to provide the Egyptian queen, closeted in the tomb of her dead lover, Antony, with an instrument of suicide.⁵ To judge from Cleopatra's somnolent state, the snake should already have administered the fatal bite (or two).⁶ But it is still attached to her arm, which rests rather unconvincingly on the elaborate metal basket—an object which looks as if it was added to the picture at a late stage. (Might it even be a contribution by Frans Snyders?)

In the context, Cleopatra's exposed breast

and unbound hair are presumably signs of the dishevelment which accompanied her grief for Antony, but the image has little of the pathos of some more famous dying Cleopatras, such as the half-length figures by Guido Reni.⁷ Reni followed a Renaissance pictorial convention, supported by some medical opinion, which sanctioned the notion that the distraught queen applied the serpent to her breast.⁸ In the present work the bared breast seems, confusingly, to allow for this alternative possibility; moreover, the attitude of Cleopatra might seem to invite quite a different diagnosis of the cause of coming death, for the fact that her hair is undone and her hand is at her head might recall one version of the story given by Plutarch, that she took poison from a secret compartment in a hairpin she wore.⁹ This may point to the fact that the picture was started by someone—possibly Rubens—with the idea of showing the poisoned hairpin, but was then taken over by an artist who adapted the figure to a more conventional iconographic scheme.

Without a technical examination of the picture any such theory remains pure speculation. In its present state I can find no very compelling reason, whether of style or iconography, to attach the picture to Rubens. However much allowance is made for lack of finish, or again reworking by another hand, the smoothly-painted figure looks to me decidedly uncharacteristic of Rubens's work at any period (those scholars who accept it as his work date it c. 1615). Nor do the facial features correspond to those of any Rubensian female type. There is a certain resemblance to a type occasionally used by Jan Boeckhorst: a fleshy but elegant woman with a long face, narrow eyebrows and something of a double chin.¹⁰ Moreover, Cleopatra's combination of plump arms and tapering fingers seems much more characteristic of Boeckhorst than of Rubens. Possibly, therefore Boeckhorst was largely responsible for this problematic work.¹¹

A 'Cleopatra van Rubbens' sent to Vienna in 1676 by Gilliam Forchoudt¹² might have

been the present painting. But, like several other references to paintings by Rubens of Cleopatra in old sale catalogues and elsewhere, it may well have been a misidentification. This is certainly the case for the 'Cleopatra' in Prague, actually *Hygeia* (cf. *text ill.* 25),¹³ and probably also for the 'Cleopatra drinking the dissolved pearl', measuring 139.7 × 188 cm., recorded in an English collection in 1821,¹⁴ which may have been a version of *The Devotion of Artemisia* (No. 13; Fig. 51).¹⁵

1. This, however, must have been the splendid painting now in the Louvre: *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 408; see *Muller, Collector*, 1989, p. 125 and pl. 83.
2. For the tradition of the subject see *Pigler, Barockthemen*, 1974, II, pp. 398-403.
3. *Bober—Rubinstein, Handbook*, 1986, pp. 113-114, no. 79, repr.
4. *Van der Meulen, Antique*, 1994, I, pp. 255, 257, 261, n. 20.
5. See, notably, Plutarch, *Antony* 85-86; Dio Cassius, *Roman History* li.14; Suetonius, *Augustus* 17.
6. Caesar certainly seems to have credited the account that Cleopatra was found with a pair of small snake bites on her arm, for he had an image of this, with a serpent clinging to her, carried in his triumph: Plutarch, *Antony* 85-86; Suetonius, *Augustus* 19.
7. For these see D.S. Pepper, *Guido Reni*, Oxford, 1984, pp. 266-267, no. 136 (pl. 161) and p. 283, no. 181 (pl. 211).
8. For the Renaissance debate about where Cleopatra received her snake bite, see F. Sbordone, 'La Morte di Cleopatra nei medici greci', *Indo-Greco-Italica*, XIV, 1930, pp. 3-22. In his *Variae lectiones* (Lyons, 1554, p. 62 [IV.xxiii]) Pier Vettori denounced the common artistic tradition as spurious (Sbordone, p. 17), but certain doctors held that the poison would have worked quickly only if administered near the heart.
9. See Plutarch, *Antony* 85-86.
10. See e.g. the *St Helena* from St-Jacobskerk, Antwerp (*Lahrkamp, Boeckhorst*, 1982, pp. 70-71, no. 36; *Cat. Exh. Boeckhorst, Antwerp—Münster*, 1990, pp. 172-173, no. 16, repr.).
11. For Boeckhorst's collaboration with Rubens, and the idea that he completed unfinished paintings after Rubens's death see esp. H. Vlieghe, 'Jan Boeckhorst als medewerker', in *Cat. Exh. Boeckhorst, Antwerp—Münster*, 1990, pp. 75-81. (For the argument that the painting of a woman with a mirror, now in Kassel, is not, however, such a work, see B. Schnackenburg, "'Das Mädchen mit dem Spiegel". Ein Gemälde der Rubens-Nachfolge aus der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts', *West-*

falen, LXVIII, 1990, pp. 160-165.)

12. J. Denucé, *Kunstuitvoer in de 17e eeuw in Antwerpen. De firma Forchoudt (Bronnen voor de geschiedenis van de Vlaamse kunst, I)*, Antwerp, 1931, p. 149 (13 November 1676). Cf. Eckhardt, loc. cit., 1975, 1990.
13. On this picture, a version of *text ill.* 25, see J.S. Held, [Cat.] *Flemish and German Paintings of the 17th Century. The Collections of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, Detroit, 1982, pp. 82-84 and pl. VII; L. Slavicek in J. Kotalik ed., *Národní Galerie v Praze, I*, Prague, 1984, pp. 130-131, repr.; *Jaffé, Rubens*, 1989, pp. 197-198, nos. 263, 264, repr. See also Volume I, Chapter III, at n. 105, for Peiresc's comments on how the images of women with snakes can be confused one for another.
14. James Parr, sale, Liverpool (Winstanley), 2 March 1821, lot 44.
15. Burchard in fact wondered if the Potsdam *Cleopatra* might have been the 'Sophonisba' recorded as coming from Honselaarsdijk to Het Loo in 1696 (*Drossaers—Scheurleer, Inventarissen*, 1974-76, I, p. 481, no. 4); but this was in fact No. 13 (for which see above, under the provenance of that painting).

53. Nero contemplating the Dead Agrippina: Drawing (Fig. 188)

Pen and wash in bistre, over black chalk, heightened with white; 224 × 281 mm. Inscribed (lower right) *VDijck*. Below on the left the mark of Houlditch (L. 2214), with the number 4, and slightly to the right the mark of Léon Bonnat (L. 1714); mark of Earl(s) Spencer in lower right corner (L. 1531). *Bayonne, Musée Bonnat*. Inv. no. 1432.

PROVENANCE: R. Houlditch, London (d. 1736); ? his sale London (Langford), 12-14 February 1760 (with Rubens drawings, no details provided); John, 1st Earl Spencer (1734-1783), Althorp; George John, 2nd Earl Spencer (1758-1834); ? his sale, London (Philippe), 10-17 June 1811; Léon Bonnat (1833-1922), by whom bequeathed to the Museum.

LITERATURE: *Evers, Neue Forschungen*, 1943, pp. 131-133 and fig. 33 (as 'Death of a martyr'); *Held, Drawings*, 1959, I, no. 13; II, pl. 13 (as 'The Death of Creusa'); *Burchard—d'Hulst, Drawings*, 1963, p. 66 (as 'Porcia proving her courage');

Held, *Drawings*, 1986, pp. 92-93, no. 59, and pl. 46 (as 'The Death of Creusa').

This drawing, once attributed to Van Dyck as the inscription at the lower right indicates, was first associated with Rubens by Evers, even though he had some doubt as to whether it might be a copy, or a reworked original. That it is indeed by Rubens was convincingly argued by Held and by Burchard and d'Hulst.

Following a suggestion of Panofsky, Held proposed that the subject of the drawing was the death of Creusa, the bride of Jason who was killed—either burnt or eaten away—by a garment soaked in poison that had been sent to her by the jealous Medea.¹ However, the naked woman at the centre is surely not writhing in her last agonies, nor can the cloth beneath her which is calmly gathered up by one of the bystanders be Creusa's poisoned dress, fatal to the touch. Slumped on a flat stone, her lolling head gently supported by the figure behind, this woman is evidently already a corpse and is being washed for burial; the cloth must be her shroud and the rocky structure behind, which looks like a cave by the sea-shore, her tomb.² The attendants are concentrating on washing the dead woman's limp right hand, which might seem to imply a particular wound there—as in the drawing of c. 1600-2 of the *Entombment of Christ*³—but is also a discreet and expressive motif for the ablution of a corpse, and one which suggests that preparations for burial are near completion.

The action centres upon the display of the body by the five attendant women to a sixth figure, who might at first sight be taken for a female. For it seems to have a band in its hair, the chest is shaded, suggesting breasts, and the costume is similar to that of the other characters. But the thickset features, broad neck, musculature and very large feet are unequivocally masculine. The scene thus involves a female corpse exposed to male view. The man, who has evidently himself pulled aside the shroud, can best be explained as an ancient

Roman, wearing a toga, and specifically as an emperor, the band in the hair being an imperial wreath.

The body on display might be meant to excite pity, but it can hardly be the corpse of a martyr, as Evers suggested; not only is the exposure simply too indecorous, but there is no hint of sanctified martyrdom or indeed of any kind of Christian context. Burchard's idea was that it might show Portia, either after her stoical self-mutilation in the thigh, or after her death by consuming burning coals;⁴ but this must likewise be ruled out for lack of any of the essential elements of these stories (the wound in the thigh for example, or the brazier with coals). In any case, for the exemplary Portia too (cf. *text ill.* 11) this display of nakedness is inappropriate. Nor would her husband Brutus be wearing a wreath. And even if the shading in wash obscures the exact expression with which the figure on the right is contemplating the dead woman, it does not look like the emotion of a grieving husband or lover, however stoical. It seems to be a deliberately 'dark' expression.

There is I think only one subject which fits, involving a Roman emperor looking coldly at a naked female corpse. This is the notorious inspection by Nero of the body of his dead mother, Agrippina.⁵ The man's physical characteristics and heavy features are consistent with his identification as the gluttonous and depraved emperor.⁶

In 59 AD, Nero, increasingly irked by his mother's domination, had resolved to do away with her.⁷ After the failure of his plan to drown her in a ship specially designed to fall apart, he had her murdered in bed by soldiers, led by his freedman Anicetus. Agrippina's last act, as she realized that Nero had ordered her death, was to invite the assassins to strike her in the stomach, the womb in which she had borne her monstrous son.⁸ For the ancient historians the final horror of the matricide lay in Nero's subsequent behaviour. He was said to have come to view his mother's corpse and commented on her physical attributes and at-

tractions, even, according to Suetonius, handling her arms and legs, and drinking as he did so.⁹ Dio Cassius makes him remark that he had not realized he had such a beautiful mother, an observation which at least seems inconsistent with the allegation of previous incest with her.¹⁰ As Boethius eloquently puts it: 'Running his eyes over her cold body, he let no tear wet his cheek, but actually passed judgement on the charms that were now annihilated'.¹¹ He then had her buried ignominiously and without ceremony that same night.¹²

Rubens has conjured up a scene quite different from that later pictured by the seventeenth-century Italian artists who took up the theme.¹³ They concentrate on the horror of the murder, and imagine Nero arriving shortly thereafter, while Agrippina is still lying on her bed; the assassins are still present, and other bystanders are reacting with shock, distress or gloating curiosity. Rubens is not concerned with the more sensational aspects—the awful wound in her stomach is only suggested, Nero is contemplating rather than touching his mother, and his expression is left deliberately obscure—with the result that the psychological impact of the scene is more subtly sinister. Nero is no braggart cynically exposing his mother to the sight of men; all the subsidiary characters are servant women who seem to be unaware that the emperor is responsible for the cruel end of their mistress.¹⁴ The parricide is essentially alone with his thoughts, whose depraved nature the viewer is left to fathom. As for Agrippina's corpse, it is the pathetic remnant of an object of proud luxury, the face and features distorted, its beauty, to use Boethius's phrase, annihilated. In confronting his dead mother, Rubens's Nero seems also to contemplate how nothing now checks his absolute power. The stage is set for the final degeneration documented by the historians, and above all by Tacitus.

It is appropriate to talk of the inspiration of texts, for Rubens probably had no pictorial models in mind when he drew the scene this

way. The grisly medieval elaboration of the story, in which Nero has his mother's womb cut open in a kind of autopsy,¹⁵ had occasionally been illustrated before, for example in manuscripts of the *Roman de la Rose*,¹⁶ and, more accessibly, in a woodcut illustration to the German translation of Petrarch's *De remediis* and in Laurent van Haecht's *Microcosmos* (cf. Fig. 189) as a spectacular example of *impietas in parentes*.¹⁷ In this latter case it was a telling contrast to the filial piety of Aeneas, thus reflecting satirical verses quoted by Suetonius which ironically relate the two.¹⁸ Rubens almost certainly owned van Haecht's book, at least by c. 1615.¹⁹ But if van Haecht's image had any relevance to the Bayonne drawing it was only to inspire the artist to a very different and more chillingly convincing evocation of the authentic classical story.

There is no evidence that Rubens ever painted a picture of the theme, and this striking drawing may simply document Rubens's fascination with the character of the emperor whose career illustrates the deterioration of a weak individual who gains supreme power, a process in which the enforced suicide of his former tutor Seneca was a final turning point.²⁰ Like the paintings of the *Death of Seneca* (Nos. 54, 54a, 54b) the drawing of Nero inspecting the corpse of Agrippina may have been done for or with the encouragement of one of those learned friends who shared the artist's interest in Nero and Seneca, perhaps his brother or some other disciple of the philosopher Justus Lipsius. Rubens would have consulted Lipsius's edition of Tacitus for the story and he must have been familiar too with Lipsius's remarks on the decay in Nero's character as he gradually distanced himself from the influence of Seneca. He may have recalled too how in his *Monita et exempla politica* Lipsius includes Nero as an instance of a prince who started his rule well but turned into a monster ('magnus initio princeps, magnum postea monstrum').²¹ Also relevant, however, is Juvenal's condemnation of the matricide in Satire viii, for Rubens knew this poem inti-

mately.²² Nero's crime is introduced by Juvenal with the words 'if the people had a free vote, who is so far gone as to doubt they would prefer Seneca to Nero...';²³ a passage which had perhaps encouraged the artist to juxtapose on a single panel the contrasting heads of the philosopher and his infamous pupil.²⁴

Possibly this drawing was made in Italy, but the parallel seen by Held as well as Burchard and d'Hulst with the early *Entombment of Christ* in Rotterdam, which is certainly relevant to the interpretation of the subject,²⁵ seems to me to illustrate how far removed this sheet is in figural style from No. 53. In technique the present drawing appears to me much closer in style to the *Susanna* in Montpellier,²⁶ or even the expressive *Venus clasping the dying Adonis* in the British Museum,²⁷ both of which were probably made shortly after Rubens's return to Antwerp.

of any such visit, the *editio princeps*, as well as later Renaissance editions, including that of Casaubon, had argued for a reading ('Viditque mortuam Cleopatram') which reinforced the evidence of Dio Cassius. But there is nothing to suggest that this supposed visit was to her tomb, which was certainly no rock, but the monument she was to share with Antony; nor is there any reason to show her so naked.

1. Held (loc. cit., 1959, 1986) cites the two versions of the story in which Creusa is not explicitly consumed by fire, but they still talk of the burning corrosion of the poison.
2. In fact all of the comparisons that Held makes with the woman's pose involve dead bodies, as does his point that the ultimate source was Giulio Romano's *Death of Procris*, as engraved by Ghisi (Bartsch, XV, 1867, p. 409, no. 61; *The Illustrated Bartsch*, XXXI, eds. S. Boorsch and J. Spike, New York, 1986, p. 131).
3. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, inv. no. Rubens 7: Burchard—d'Hulst, *Drawings*, 1963, no. 36; Held, *Drawings*, 1986, pp. 69-70, no. 12, fig. 13.
4. For the story of Portia see notably Valerius Maximus, *Dicta et facta* III.ii.14; IV.vi.6; Plutarch, *Brutus* 2, 13, 15, 23, 53.
5. I first considered that it might represent Augustus viewing the dead Cleopatra. For, although there are none of the familiar elements from illustrations of Cleopatra's death itself (regal emblems, royal robes, basket of figs and serpent(s), dead or dying handmaidens; see also No. 52), according to the ancient historians Augustus had tried to prevent Cleopatra's suicide (after the death of Antony), and it was his soldiers who found her, just too late (Suetonius, *Augustus* 17). Indeed Dio Cassius also relates (*Roman History* LI.14) that Augustus himself subsequently came to see the corpse, and if the modern text of Suetonius includes no mention

6. For Rubens's drawings of Nero after ancient coins (or Renaissance imitations) see *Van der Meulen, Antique*, 1994, II, pp. 223-224, nos. 194-195a; III, figs. 384, 386, 383. For his fascination with the character of Nero and other bad emperors see E. McGrath, "'Not even a fly': Rubens and the mad emperors", *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXXIII, 1991, pp. 699-703.
7. See notably Tacitus, *Annals* XIV.3-13; also Suetonius, *Nero* 34; Dio Cassius, *Roman History* LXI.12-14.
8. Tacitus, *Annals* XIV.8. Cf. Ps. Seneca, *Octavia* 371-372. Dio claims that she tore her dress open as she said this: Dio Cassius, *Roman History* LXI.12-13.
9. Suetonius, *Nero* 34. Cf. Tacitus, *Annals* XIV.9, reporting that some deny the story.
10. Suetonius, *Nero* 28; Aurelius Victor, *Epitome v; De Caesaribus v*.
11. Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae* II.vi: '...Corpus et visu gelidum pererrans / ora non tinxit lacrimis, sed esse / censor extincti potuit decoris'.
12. See Tacitus, *Annals* XIV.9.
13. For these see Pigler, *Barockthemen*, 1974, II, p. 412.
14. Rubens may have been thinking of Tacitus's account of how Agrippina's servants managed to raise a small tomb to her: *Annals* XIV.9.
15. See C. Pascal, *Nerone nella storia aneddotica e nella leggenda*, Milan, 1923, esp. pp. 169-172.
16. See E. Langlois, *Les Origines et sources du Roman de la Rose*, II, Paris, 1920, p. 129. For the text see idem (ed.), *Le Roman de la Rose*, II, Paris, 1920, pp. 287, 349-350; C. Dahlberg (tr.), *The Romance of the Rose...*, Princeton, 1971, pp. 122, 380.
17. F. Petrarca, *Von der Artzney bayder Glück des güten und widerwertigen*, Augsburg, 1532, I, fol. LXVIII (I.iii) (for this work see Volume I, Chapter IV, pp. 108-109); *Haechtmanus, Microcosmos*, 1579, no. 25; cf. *Vondel, Gulden Winckel*, 1613, no. 24.
18. Suetonius, *Nero* 39: 'Quis neget Aeneae magna de stirpe Neronem? / Sustulit hic matrem, sustulit ille patrem' ('Who can deny Nero is a true scion of great Aeneas: Aeneas made off with his father, he made away with his mother'), a pun on the two meanings of the word *sustulit*.
19. Cf. Volume I, Chapter IV, text at nn. 14, 62, 69) also under Nos. 7 and 12.
20. G.B. Pittoni later painted a pair of scenes showing Nero viewing the corpses of Agrippina and of Seneca: for these pictures of c. 1715, formerly in Dresden, see F.Z. Boccazzi, *Pittoni*, Venice, 1979,

- pp. 190-191, nos. 301-302 and pls. 12, 13.
21. *Monita et exempla politica* II.vi ('de principum inclinatione; deteriores eos saepe fieri, & mutari'): *Lipsius, Opera*, 1675, IV, pp. 234, 236. For Rubens's knowledge of this work, published in 1601, see Volume I, Chapter III, pp. 70-72.
 22. For the importance of *Satire viii* for the Decius Mus series, see Volume I, Chapter III, pp. 80-81.
 23. 'Libera si dentur populo suffragia, quis tam/ perditus, ut dubitet Senecam praeferre Neroni...': *Juvenal, Satires viii*.211-224.
 24. London, private collection; panel, 71 × 90 cm. For this painting see *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, 1977, p. 66 and pl. 221; also J. Müller Hofstede, 'Beiträge zum zeichnerischen Werk von Rubens', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXVII, 1965, pp. 281-284 and *Jaffé, Rubens*, 1989, p. 161, no. 73. This may be a study of character heads to which drapery was added by a later hand; it probably dates from c. 1600-1602. Cf. Volume I, Chapter IV, p. 109.
 25. See above, text at n. 3.
 26. *Burchard—d'Hulst, Drawings*, 1963, no. 70; *Held, Drawings*, 1986, no. 52, pl. 52 (reversed), dating it c. 1608-12.
 27. *Burchard—d'Hulst, Drawings*, 1963, no. 66, dating it c. 1612; *Held, Drawings*, 1986, no. 57, pl. 56, dating it c. 1608-12.

54. The Death of Seneca (Fig. 195)

Oil on oak panel; 184.5 × 155.5 cm. (expanded to the left, right and below by between 17.5 to 19 cm., apparently by Rubens himself, some time after the original painting).¹

Munich, *Alte Pinakothek*. Inv. no. 305.

PROVENANCE: Düsseldorf, Electoral Gallery by 1719; Hofgartengalerie, Munich, 1806; in 1836 transferred to *Altere Pinakothek*.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown, presumably lost; canvas, c. 264 × 167 cm. PROV. Marquis of Leganés (inv. 1655, no. 882: 'otro [sic] en lienzo de un martirio de seneca, sangrandole, de los braços, y pies metidos en una vazia, y uno questa escribiendo y otras dos figuras, de alto tres baras y sesma y de ancho dos baras').²

(2) Painting, 'school of Rubens', numbered on the bottom left 181 (Fig. 196), whereabouts unknown; canvas, laid down on masonite, 168.2 × 117.5 cm. PROV. Giovanni Costano,

Boston; Revd Thomas Connelly; bequeathed 1964 to Xavier University Museum, Cincinnati, Ohio; sale, New York (Christie's East), 14 March 1985, lot 56, repr. ('property offered by a Midwestern Institution'; presumably withdrawn); sale, New York (Christie's East), 8 November 1985, lot 45, repr.

(3) Painting, with garbled words in the book, *Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen*, Munich, no. 7119; panel, 115.1 × 78.7 cm.

(4) Painting showing the composition with Rubens's additions, whereabouts unknown; canvas, measurements unknown (but small). PROV. Ghent, Mr and Mrs F. Scaillet Aernouts (photograph in *Rubensianum*).

(5) Painting, showing the head only, and with some variations, Gaston Dulière, Brussels. PROV. Madame Heymans, Mechtem, Belgium. EXH. Galerie Brion, Brussels, November 1965; *Tokyo etc.*, 1985, no. 14 (no. 12 in Japanese edn), repr. LIT. J. Müller Hofstede, 'Zur Kopfstudie im Werk von Rubens', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXX, 1968, pp. 230-236 and fig. 162 (as *Rubens*); *Bodart, Rubens*, 1985, 1981, p. 162, no. 205a; D. Bodart in *Cat. Exh. Tokyo etc.*, 1985-86, pp. 29-30, no. 14, repr. pp. 22 (colour), 100 (Japanese edn: p. 133, no. 12; repr. pp. 60 [colour], 133) (as *Rubens*).

(6) Engraving, in reverse (Fig. 197), by Alexander Voet II (c. 1635-after 1695), with the inscription *LVCIVS ANNAEVS SENECA*, first state published by himself, second state by Cornelis Galle II; 403 × 274 mm. LIT. *V.S.*, p. 140, no. 39; *Rooses, Oeuvre*, 1886-92, IV, p. 28, no. 813, pl. 258 and V, p. 121, no. 1306; *Oldenbourg, Werkstatt*, 1917-18, p. 176, fig. 16; *Oldenbourg, Rubens*, 1922, p. 81 and fig. 41 (but assuming the engraver was Alexander Voet I, b. 1613); *Hollstein (Dutch and Flemish)*, XLII, 1993, p. 59, no. 11, repr.

(7) Engraving by C. von Mechel in Pigage, loc. cit. in bibliography, 1778.

For further copies see under Nos. 54a and 54b.

LITERATURE: G.J. Karsch, *Désignation exacte des peintures dans la galerie de la résidence à Düssel-*

dorf, Düsseldorf, 1719, no. 177 (third, 'Rubens' gallery); J. van Gool, *De nieuwe Schouburg der Nederlantsche kunstschilders...*, The Hague, 1750-51, II, p. 544 (third, 'Rubens' gallery); [Carl Theodor], *Catalogue des Tableaux qui se trouvent dans les Galleries du Palais de S.A. S.E Palatine à Dusseldorf*, Mannheim, [1760], p. 11, no. 15 (second gallery); Michel, *Histoire*, 1771, p. 299, no. 15; N. de Pigage, *La Galerie électorale de Dusseldorf, ou Catalogue raisonné et figuré de ses tableaux...*, contenant... de petites estampes rédigées et gravées d'après ces mêmes tableaux, par Chretien de Mechel..., Basle, 1778, I, no. 268; II, pl. xix; N. de Pigage, *La Galerie électorale de Dusseldorf, ou Catalogue raisonné de ses tableaux...*, Brussels, 1781, pp. 280-281, no. 268 (fifth, 'Rubens' room); J.G. von Dillis, *Verzeichniss der Gemälde in der königlichen Pinakothek zu München*, Munich, 1838, no. 257; Smith, *Catalogue*, 1829-42, II, p. 78, no. 239 and IX, p. 276, no. 116; Reynolds, *Journey*, 1852, p. 404 (as not Rubens?: 'copied from the statue'); Parthey, *Bildersaal*, 1864, II, p. 429, no. 260; Goeler von Ravensburg, *Antike*, 1882, pp. 184-185; F. von Reber, *Katalog der Gemälde-Sammlung der Königlichen Älteren Pinakothek in München*, ed. A. Bayersdorfer, 5th edn, Munich, 1893, no. 724; Rooses, *Oeuvre*, 1886-92, IV, p. 27, no. 812 (as c. 1606); Rooses, *Vie*, 1903, pp. 94-96, repr. p. 113; K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg, 1906, p. 28 (as 1606); *Katalog der Gemälde-Sammlung der Königlichen Älteren Pinakothek in München*, 10th edn, Munich 1908, p. 156, no. 724; Dillon, *Rubens*, 1909, pp. 19, 92, 200, pl. XVII (as 1603-6); F.M. Haberditzl 'Studien über Rubens. II. Rubens und die Antike', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen der allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XXX, 1911-1912, p. 277; L. Burchard, 'Anmerkungen zu den Rubens-Bildern der Alten Pinakothek in München', *Kunstchronik*, N.F. XXIII, 1911-12, p. 257; T. Wiegand, 'Torso eines Fischers aus Aphrodisias', *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XXXVII, 1916, pp. 1-4 and fig. 2 (as 1606); Oldenbourg, *Werkstatt*, 1917-18, pp. 176, 182-183, 195; K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921, p. 44 (as c. 1611); Oldenbourg, *Rubens*, 1922, pp. 8, 81; E.

Hollander, *Die Medizin in der klassischen Malerei*, edn Stuttgart, 1923 (1st edn 1903), pp. 359-361 and fig. 231; *Katalog. Ältere Pinakothek*, München, Munich, 1936, p. 221, no. 305 (as c. 1610); p. 233, no. 350 in English edn, Munich 1938); Evers, *Rubens*, 1942, pp. 92-95 and figs. 41, 42; Bouchery—Van den Wijngaert, *Rubens*, 1941, pp. 26-27, 78; Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, 1943, pp. 133, 202; U. Moussalli, 'Rubens et Caravage', *Études d'art publiées par le Musée d'Alger*, XI-XII, 1955-56, pp. 89-111; G. Forster, *Ansichten vom Niederrhein etc. im April, Mai und Junius 1790* (Berlin, 1791), in *Georg Forsters Werke*, ed. G. Steiner, IX, Berlin, 1958, p. 57; H. Müller, *P.P. Rubens*, Leipzig, 1959, p. 192; W. Sauerländer, *J.-A. Houdon: Voltaire*, Stuttgart, 1963, p. 7; W. Fischer, 'Claude Vignon (1593-1670)', *Niederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, CXLI, 1963, p. 143-145; V.H. Miesel, 'Rubens' Study Drawings after Ancient Sculpture', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXI, 1963, pp. 314-315 (as c. 1610); A.E. Pérez Sánchez, 'Dos Importantes Pinturas del Barroco. [1] Una "Muerte de Séneca" de Rubens, reencontrada', *Archivo Español de Arte*, XXXVII, 1964, pp. 7-12 and pl. II (as c. 1607-8); M. Warnke, *Kommentare zu Rubens*, Berlin, 1965, pp. 25-26, 86, n. 91, 87, n. 99 and fig. 8; R. Ingrams, *Rubens and Seneca. Rubens' picture "The Four Philosophers": the influence of Justus Lipsius and his circle on the painter*, unpubl. diss. University of Oxford, 1967, pp. 83-88; E. Paratore, 'Ovidio e Seneca nella cultura e nell'arte di Rubens', *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*, XXXVIII, 1967, pp. 545-546 and pl. IV; J. Müller Hofstede, 'Zur Kopfstudie im Werk von Rubens', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXX, 1968, pp. 230-236 and fig. 163 (detail); Stechow, *Rubens*, 1968, pp. 30-31 and fig. 17; P. Eberlein, *Die Darstellung des Senecatodes bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts*, diss. University of Freiburg im Breisgau, 1969, p. 16; W. Prinz, 'The Four Philosophers by Rubens and the Pseudo-Seneca in Seventeenth-Century Painting', *The Art Bulletin*, LV, 1973, pp. 410-28, esp. pp. 417-418; J. Müller Hofstede in *Cat. Exh. Cologne*, 1977, p. 246 (as c. 1610); M. Warnke, *Peter Paul*

Rubens. Leben und Werk, Cologne, 1977 (Eng. tr. New York, 1980), pp. 34-37, 44 and fig. 23; H. von Sonnenburg, 'Rubens' Bildaufbau und Technik' in *Rubens. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Technik*, Munich, 1979, p. 6, fig. 1 and p. 8, fig. 9; K. Downes, *Rubens*, London, 1980, pp. 106-107, pl. 70; G. Hess, 'Der Tod des Seneca. Ikonographie, Bibliographie, Tragödien-theorie', *Jahrbuch der deutschen Schillergesellschaft*, XXV, 1981, pp. 196ff.; [Cat. Exh.] *De Dood van Seneca door Gerard van Honthorst*, eds. L. Derks, M. Plomp and J. Speth (Utrecht, Centraal Museum, 1982), Utrecht, 1982, pp. 14-16 and fig. 16; *Held, Studies*, 1982, pp. 99-100, 160-161; U. Krempel in [Cat.] *Alte Pinakothek München*, Munich 1983, pp. 461-462, no. 305, repr.; *Ferrari, Filosofi*, 1986, p. 105 and fig. 4; *White, Rubens*, 1987, pp. 75-76, repr. in colour pp. 78, 80-81, details (as c. 1608-9); *Jaffé, Rubens*, 1989, p. 181, no. 179 (as c. 1612-13); G. Maurach, 'Tacitus und Rubens. Zwei Bilder von Senecas Tod', *Gymnasium*, XCVII, 1990, pp. 517-525; *Morford, Stoics*, 1991, pp. 185-186, fig. 23; E. McGrath in *Cat. Exh. Canberra—Melbourne*, 1992, p. 150, under no. 43; K. Renger, 'Anstückungen bei Rubens' in *Die Malerei Antwerpens—Gattungen, Meister, Wirkungen (Internationales Kolloquium, Wien 1993)*, eds. E. Mai, K. Schütz, H. Vlieghe, Cologne, 1994, pp. 158-159, fig. 7; *Van der Meulen, Antique*, 1994, I, p. 38; II, pp. 36-37; III, fig. 25.

In a striking passage in the *Annals*, Tacitus describes how Seneca, the philosopher and adviser of Nero, committed suicide by imperial order after the failure of the conspiracy of Piso (65 AD). Forbidden by the centurion who brought the death-sentence to make a will, Seneca urged his friends to take from him instead the pattern of his life (*imago vitae suae*), fortifying themselves, as he had done, with philosophy. He then denounced Nero and embraced his wife, who had resolved to die with him. Together they severed the veins in their arms. But the blood flowed so sluggishly from Seneca's body, old and 'lean from austere living' (*senile ... et parco [Lipsius: parvo] victu tenu-*

atum), that he had to cut again behind his ankles, and knees. At this point, in great pain, he sent his wife away to spare her the sight—she was subsequently revived at Nero's command—and, summoning scribes, dictated a speech which became famous.³ Then, as he still lingered in life, Seneca begged his friend Statius Annaeus, a doctor, for hemlock. Even this failed to affect him, now cold and numbed against it. So he entered a warm bath (*stagnum calidae aquae*), making libation to Jupiter the deliverer (*liberator*), and from this was carried to the steam-bath where he finally expired.⁴

Tacitus's narrative is in some ways the 'text' to Rubens's painting (Fig. 195). From Tacitus come the soldiers, the doctor (the bearded man with sleeves rolled back attending to Seneca's arm)⁵ and the young scribe intent on catching the last words which are unrecorded, but whose theme was surely, as Rubens indicates, stoic *virtus*.⁶ From Tacitus too comes the all-important bath. But, as has often been pointed out, Rubens's picture is no straightforward illustration from the *Annals*, such as subsequent artists, taking up Rubens's subject, would sometimes attempt.⁷ It is not just that Rubens has given a different role to the doctor: instead of administering hemlock he is evidently releasing the band on Seneca's upper arm after severing the artery just below it,⁸ so that to all appearances at least this *Death of Seneca* is not a representation of suicide.⁹ But the picture also assembles selected characters and motifs from the narrative in a kind of gloomy limbo around the naked philosopher, who is mysteriously illuminated in his dying moments as—in an image not obviously derived from Tacitus—he stands upright in a bronze basin.¹⁰ Both the mode and the mood invite comparisons with the passion and martyrdom of saints.¹¹ And after all not only had Seneca, the supposed correspondent of St Paul, often been considered a near Christian (and sometimes even a secret Christian), who perished for his ideals at the hand of a tyrant; his death, with the bath and libation, had even

been equated by some biographers with a rite of baptism.¹² If no such extravagant idea is implied in Rubens's painting, the tradition of Christian admiration and assimilation is nevertheless relevant, as it was to Justus Lipsius when he talked of the philosopher's *sanctitas* and, although rejecting as spurious the extant 'correspondence with St Paul', still believed in a lost exchange of letters.¹³ Lipsius's Seneca, a pagan whose moral writings are full of lessons for modern Christians and a man charged with human failings—like Lipsius himself accused of inconsistency, even hypocrisy—who met an authentically stoical end, is the Seneca that Rubens illustrates in a haunting image, which, as we shall see, is a real 'portrait' of the dying philosopher.

The death of Seneca had affected even some who felt that the *imago vitae suae* had hardly conformed to his philosophy; at least nothing became him in life like the leaving of it.¹⁴ For Lipsius, Seneca's death in fact served to vindicate the *virtus* of his life, and he devoted a whole chapter in the introduction to his edition of the philosophical works to reproducing and commenting on Tacitus's account of it.¹⁵ His suicide, on the face of it a problem for Christians, could be treated as exceptional, even excusable, as Lipsius argued in his book on Stoic philosophy, following the lead of generations of earlier biographers. After all, they had pointed out, Suetonius and Tacitus confirmed Boethius's judgment that it was not self-willed, although self-inflicted; it was (virtually) equivalent to judicial execution.¹⁶ His fate had thus served simply as another instance of the reverses of Fortune, or the cruelty of tyrants, or of the ingratitude of pupils to their teachers.¹⁷ It had indeed occasionally been illustrated in this context, and Rubens was probably struck (if perhaps amused) by the two woodcuts (cf. Fig. 203) from the German version of Petrarch's *De remediis* from which he copied figures in his youth. In both cases the philosopher is lying sprawled in a wooden tub with blood spurting from his arms as Nero watches; significantly, however,

as in Rubens's painting, the blood-letting is being done by a man with sleeves rolled up—Staius Annaeus?—allowing Seneca to remain innocent of self-murder.¹⁸ Indeed in one print (Fig. 203) the dress of the doctor, or rather barber-surgeon, is particularly close to that of Rubens's, and he has likewise applied a tourniquet, this time to the wrist. Even more curiously, two late fifteenth-century North Italian images of Nero (one in a drawing book, the other a medal) seem to show Seneca standing upright in a bath-tub, naked and gesticulating.¹⁹ But nothing in this odd collection of visual precedents would have prompted Rubens to undertake what is the first painted representation of the Death of Seneca. The image which inspired him, indeed provided the *raison d'être* of the picture, was of course, as Rubens intended us to recognize, the ancient black marble statue now generally taken for an *African Fisherman*, but previously exhibited in the Borghese gallery as the dying Seneca (Fig. 192), to the admiration of generations of travellers.²⁰

The 'Seneca' had probably been discovered in the late sixteenth century; at any rate its finding is first recorded, as a past event, by Flaminio Vacca in 1594.²¹ It was found with legs broken or severed below the knee; this, its prominent veins, and a perceived resemblance to the bust of Seneca recently identified by Fulvio Orsini,²² must have encouraged its restoration (with additions to the nose, arms, belt and one thigh) in a stone basin full of porphyry, to make a blood-stained bath.²³ It is tempting to suppose that the fifteenth-century 'Nero' medal may have been influential, while it may also have been recalled that Seneca himself urges the good stoic to die resolutely upright.²⁴ At any rate the statue was already a dying Seneca when Rubens saw it in Rome, although perhaps still in the collection of the Duke of Altemps, who presented it to his nephew Scipione Borghese.²⁵ The image evidently fascinated Rubens both as artistic model and iconographic document. He made at least six detailed drawings (cf. Fig.

193) from all angles of this emaciated, yet sinewy and powerful figure, significantly omitting to include more than the rim of the urn, probably because he judged it incorrect.²⁶ The bronze basin in his painting, as we shall see, makes a more authentic effect; it also has pictorial point, setting off the now pale body of the philosopher and reflecting back the light that shines on him. Even as he drew it, the ancient sculpture must have seemed to Rubens a prime candidate for transformation into paint and into palpitating flesh.²⁷ Indeed in the drawings made from the ancient statue Seneca is already curiously whitened; and it is interesting to note that the lighting effects recorded in the frontal view are more or less preserved in the painting, in which the black figure, liberated from his solid block of bath and blood, has undergone a sort of transmutation.²⁸

Rubens was also, as is well known, particularly interested in the writings and personality of Seneca, and perhaps his most prized memento of Italy, brought back to Antwerp, was the marble portrait bust, a replica of the 'Seneca' identified by Orsini, which he included, reverently, as a presiding genius, in the group portrait of himself, his dead brother Philip, Jan Woverius and their dead mentor Justus Lipsius.²⁹ In fact the painting of the dying Seneca must belong in the context of—if it was not actually painted for a member of—the Antwerp circle of Lipsius's pupils and admirers.

The Death of Seneca has a peculiarly close connection with the illustrations which Rubens made for the edition of the philosophical works of Seneca with Lipsius's commentary which was published by Moretus in 1615. The first edition of this book, printed in Lipsius's lifetime, in 1605, had, on his suggestion, been decorated with two 'portraits' of Seneca: one based on the bust included in Fulvio Orsini's *Imagines*;³⁰ and the other an *imago* of the dying philosopher, which the accompanying inscription relates to the evocative sculpture of the dying Seneca in Rome

and to ancient gems which, supposedly, illustrate the same. By the sculpture Lipsius obviously meant the Borghese 'Seneca' (Fig. 192), since he refers to how the philosopher seems to be in a bath and, as he passes away, to be uttering golden words of wisdom, adding that the image makes a particular impression of vividness and intensity.³¹ But in fact the engraved *imago* (Fig. 202)—a profile bust of an emaciated beardless man with a pointed nose and chin and a drawn-in mouth who is looking upwards—betrays a suspicious resemblance to the bronze bust made c. 1602 (if with the ancient statue in mind) by Guido Reni.³²

Whether or not he was aware of any 'contamination' from a modern 'portrait', Lipsius subsequently realized that the 'dying Seneca' (Fig. 202) which he had chosen in 1605 to introduce and encourage readers to the philosopher's works—his *Invitatio ad lectorem* is printed under the *imago*—was not an accurate illustration of the ancient statue; as Moretus explains in his preface of 1615, Lipsius had been misled by a picture provided by a friend in Rome, which was more notable for its stylishness (*elegantia*) than its accuracy.³³ (This friend, as Ingrams has noted, was evidently Wenceslas Coberger.)³⁴ Fortunately, Moretus goes on, his own hopes to remedy this after Lipsius's death were fulfilled when Rubens opportunely arrived back from Italy with his treasures and produced for him not just one, but two authentic Seneca portraits. One of these was the bust which the artist had himself acquired; Rubens's illustration of it (Fig. 201) was substituted for the 1605 reproduction after Orsini.³⁵ The other was the dying Seneca, now shown full-length and after the Borghese sculpture (Fig. 190).³⁶ With this Moretus announced he could present to his readers the true image such as Lipsius had described.

We know that in 1605 Lipsius's pupil Philip Rubens, then in Rome, had been entrusted by the scholar with presenting his Seneca edition to its dedicatee, Pope Paul V.³⁷ It seems natural

to suppose that it was Philip, prompted by his brother Peter Paul, who pointed out to Lipsius that his *imago* (Fig. 202) was no true reproduction of the statue in Rome. Rubens's detailed drawings (cf. Fig. 193) may therefore have been partially intended to show to Philip's teacher. At any rate Rubens and Moretus must have used them to study the characteristics of the statue (and its relationship to the portrait bust) in connection with the new *imago* for the book (Fig. 190), and their conclusions are evidently reflected in Moretus's preface of 1615, which is worth recalling in connection with the Munich painting too. As Moretus remarks, the *Dying Seneca* (Fig. 190) nicely conforms with Tacitus's account: the extended hands and fingers indicate his dictation of 'precepts of wisdom and constancy', while his face suggests the torments of approaching death. That his 'rather ugly' features 'have something African about them' must be attributed to his Cordovan origin (Cordova being the nearest Spanish province to Africa).³⁸ The body is worth special consideration: at once attenuated and firmly muscular, it presents a brilliant illustration by the sculptor of the final emaciation of a man who had however developed his physique by work and exercise.³⁹ It is tempting to imagine that the precisely physical description of the body comes from Rubens himself—especially since we know that he associated African features with corporeal fitness and strength⁴⁰—and Moretus's closing words on the sculpture suggest that the artist found a real artistic challenge in its reproduction for the book: 'Truly Rubens was determined that nothing should be left to be desired either in artistic skill or fidelity to the model, except that, having regard for decency, he veiled that part of the body which modesty does not allow to be seen'.⁴¹ It is easy to understand why Rubens should have tackled the still more interesting challenge of bringing the cold, dark stone to life, and of paying tribute to the philosopher's life, work and death in a full-scale painting.

³⁸Moretus presents the 1615 *imago* (Fig. 190)

as a 'literal' illustration of the sculpture, altered only in the extent of his loin cloth. However, Seneca also has a different kind of bath. In his commentaries on the successive baths described by Tacitus, Lipsius had interpreted the first *stagnum*, literally a pool, as a *solium*, a tub or basin, of warm water and the second bath as a kind of sauna, a 'Laconicum'.⁴² Roman tubs could be quite capacious, and Lipsius's commentary does not specify an individually sized basin. But he is emphatic about Seneca's asceticism and the fact that it was not his habit to indulge in bathing: this, his last hot bath, was also his first.⁴³ A small basin must have seemed to Rubens the most appropriate illustration of this, particularly since, in his famous letter denouncing the extravagances of modern bathing, Seneca himself had praised by contrast the 'tiny bath in a dark corner'; which Scipio had used.⁴⁴ Basing the tub for his 1615 illustration on ancient examples with lion's head rings (cf. Fig. 191), he produced a scaled-down version, with only one handle visible.⁴⁵ He also set it and the dying philosopher within a single niche of a kind found in rows in ancient *thermae*, and here perhaps used to underline the small scale of Seneca's (narrow) bath. As in one of the plates to Boissard's *Antiquitates* (Fig. 191) which he obviously consulted,⁴⁶ Rubens's bath-tub is evidently bronze, and portable (substantially more portable than Boissard's weighty object), with the ring functioning as a handle.⁴⁷ In the Munich painting the basin can be perceived as bronze (so that the inclusion of lion rings was perhaps thought unnecessary) and is placed in a small, gloomy chamber, the kind of dark corner lit only by chinks of light that suited the old heroes of Rome.⁴⁸

More significantly, Rubens contrived in his illustration to give a more tranquil and dignified expression to the head which Moretus had pronounced *parum formosa*, rather ugly.⁴⁹ This effect is already felt in the St Petersburg drawing (Fig. 193).⁵⁰ Indeed a second version of this drawing, also in the Hermitage, further 'refines' the ancient statue's appearance, also

presenting the torso as more slender; this remodelling has been convincingly connected by Arnout Balis with Rubens's preparation for the Munich painting;⁵¹ particularly interesting in this context is the fact, noted above,⁵² that Rubens reproduced in his painting the pattern of light and shading in these two drawings. Since the second St Petersburg drawing departs too from the illustration for the 1615 edition of the works of Seneca (Fig. 190), it probably postdates it, or at least the drawing by Cornelis Galle I for the print, done in 1614.⁵³ The Munich painting thus presumably dates from late 1614 at the earliest. In the painting, the head of Seneca has been modified still more with particular reference to the bust owned by the artist (cf. Fig. 201). As it now appears, however, the head may not be exactly as Rubens originally painted it. It may have been reworked in the light of Rubens's efforts to reconcile the physiognomy of the bust he owned and the statue.⁵⁴

This is particularly likely given that there is other evidence for the Munich painting having been modified in appearance. Additions to the sides and at the bottom of the panel can be discerned, and these are clearly visible in X-ray photographs (cf. Fig. 194).⁵⁵ Oldenbourg, who first drew attention to the additions, assumed that Rubens made them himself, and that the original state of the painting is reflected in the engraving by Voet (Fig. 197). Burchard likewise felt that Rubens had reworked the painting, though he does not seem to have been convinced that the artist also added to the panel, at least to the right. But he certainly thought the Voet print (Copy 6; Fig. 197) recorded the artist's original version of the composition. Two painted copies seem to reproduce this first state of the picture (Copies 2-3; cf. Fig. 196); indeed they should surely be relied on more than the Voet print.⁵⁶ There is, moreover, a version of the composition now in Madrid, certainly from Rubens's studio and in some parts at least retouched by him (No. 54a; Fig. 198), which has a head more or less entirely based on the bust, like the

picture of the *Dying Seneca* commissioned in 1613-16 by Moretus himself (cf. Fig. 200).⁵⁷ Although this latter could be seen as the ultimate attempt at a composite Seneca portrait, the head given to Seneca in the Munich painting seems altogether a more subtle and effective solution.

Whatever the case about the head, the copies indicate that the composition was originally different. Technical examination of the painting in Munich confirms this—and for the following observations I am indebted to Konrad Renger. The joins are easy to distinguish, particularly that on the left, where much of the original paintwork is lost. The lower addition was smoothed down at the joint after being added, for the ground of the original part is rubbed over. It follows that the paintwork was thoroughly dried out when the addition was made. On the right, the foot of the doctor, which was evidently not originally present (cf. Copies 2-3; Fig. 196), was painted at the same time as the leg; here too, as in the other additions, the paint is applied more loosely and thinly, and presumably belongs to a later phase of Rubens's style. The same applies to other new features. For example, the hair of the centurion was originally rendered in thick impasto, to produce those glossy dark curls which Rubens enjoyed painting in the years just after his return from Italy, whereas the later parts have the character rather of works of 1618-20.⁵⁸

The expanded sections, particularly those to the left and at the bottom, introduce significant changes: a couple of books are strewn on the ground, suggesting a certain desperation on the part of the young scribe, while the centurion is now much more prominent and his companion is provided with a lance.⁵⁹ With these changes the balance of colour is affected: there is greater emphasis on the light entering from the upper left, while the red of the centurion's cloak, picked up in the red tassel on the lance, directs us more strongly to the reddening water in the bronze basin. The scene becomes less cramped as well as less gloomy,

more like a traditional *istoria*, even if the final painting is still strangely hieratic, an image of the dying philosopher designed for meditation, with the surrounding context, appropriately, more evocative and symbolic than literally narrative—an image that Heinse justly saw as courageously stark and uncompromising, unlikely to appeal to a wide public.⁶⁰

In this context it is, as Müller Hofstede has indicated, hard to follow Warnke's argument, which he himself modified in 1977, that this picture embodies a criticism of Seneca in his ineffectual resistance (suicide) to tyranny, and therefore also of the philosophy of Lipsius. Certainly Rubens was never a wholehearted neo-Stoic and had increasing difficulties with its doctrine of *apatheia*—as indeed did many seventeenth-century admirers of Stoicism. But the idea that he based his Seneca on the ancient statue in order to suggest the 'stone-coldness' of the philosopher seems at variance with the evidence of Rubens's transformation of that sculpture. Again, it is easier (and more satisfying) to suppose that the scribe has left incomplete the word *virtus* because Seneca's last speech which emphasized this is lost, than because Rubens found Stoic virtue deficient. The analogy with the scribe in Raphael's *Disputa* or at the feet of Homer in the *Parnassus* surely underlines a positive interpretation of what he is writing.⁶¹ In any case, Warnke's argument centres on Stoic suicide, and, as we have seen, Rubens seems to have taken pains to underplay this.

Much more relevant is Warnke's comparison with the *Death of St Anthony the Hermit*, which shows the dying master surrounded by followers who receive symbols of his spiritual inheritance.⁶² As for many a Christian saint, Seneca's death is a vindication of his work and of his life. Dying, Tacitus tells us, Seneca left the legacy of the *imago vitae suae* along with those last words whose loss Lipsius passionately laments. But at least, he thinks, we can be sure that these words, with which on the point of death he sought to guide future generations, were precepts of constancy and

wisdom, since otherwise why would they have become famous?⁶³ For Lipsius of course Seneca's death itself was the best testimony to his truly virtuous character, showing how he despised the world and gave himself up to God. The chapter on his virtues, indeed his 'sanctity and piety', thus closes with an invitation to consider now not his words, but the facts of his death.⁶⁴ It is hardly strange that he should have used the picture of the dying Seneca as an *invitatio* to the whole book, with the implication that the upward glance related to the philosopher's real concern with things heavenly.⁶⁵ But it is Rubens's Seneca, illuminated from above as he turns his eyes heavenwards in his last moments, who is the true image of Lipsius's ideal, bearing witness to his *virtus*, even *sanctitas*, in a vivid representation of his final spiritual 'test' and triumph. Like a true stoic too he dies on his feet.⁶⁶

Roses dated the Munich painting c. 1606, but Oldenbourg placed it among the 'classifying' works from the first years after his return from Italy. This seems to have been Burchard's opinion. The dating is complicated, however, by the fact of the picture's expansion, for Rubens presumably repainted some parts of the original panel in the process. Nonetheless, as has been argued above, I am inclined to date the original somewhat later than is usual, c. 1614-15, and to associate it with the planning of the illustrations for the 1615 edition of Lipsius's Seneca. In this case Boissard's *Antiquitates* (cf. Fig. 191) may have been bought specifically with the painting in mind.⁶⁷

No workshop copies exist of the expanded composition, which might suggest that the demand for images of the dying Seneca was satisfied by the time it was finished.⁶⁸ Quite probably the Munich *Death of Seneca* was still in Rubens's house or studio when the additions were made;⁶⁹ presumably it then passed to another admirer of Seneca and of Lipsius. One obvious candidate, Moretus, seems to be ruled out, since he ordered the different *Por-*

trait of Seneca (cf. Fig. 200).⁷⁰

The painting of Seneca's head listed here as a partial copy (Copy 5), unknown to Burchard, was published by Müller Hofstede as a study for the Munich painting. He argued that it could not be a copy after the Munich painting since it represented an intermediate stage between the ancient statue and that painting, before the expression on the face had been established. But it seems more likely to be a variation on No. 54, especially since the quality of the work does not appear to me to warrant an attribution to Rubens. It may, however, be a copy of Rubens's first attempt to transform the Borghese Seneca into a painted representation of the *Dying Seneca*.

1. See further below; also Renger, loc. cit., 1994.
2. López Navío, *Leganés*, 1962, p. 306, no. 882.
3. This Tacitus does not provide, since he says it is known and published.
4. Tacitus, *Annals* XV.60-64. See esp. 64: 'Postremo stagnum calidae aquae introiit, respiciens proximos servorum addita voce, libare se liquorem illum Iovi liberatori, exim balneo inlatus et vapore eius exanimatus, sine ullo funeris sollemni crematur'.
5. His action (cf. n. 8 below) indicates that he is not just a slave, as Wiegand and Rooses suggested.
6. Rubens has appropriately shown the scribe beginning the page he is writing with the letters 'VIRT...'. Cf. Maurach, op. cit., 1990, pp. 520, 521. In Stoic teaching, and in particular in Seneca's writings, *virtus* was the means to happiness.
7. For these see Sauerlander, op. cit., 1963; Eberlein, op. cit., 1969; [Cat.] *Dood van Seneca*, op. cit., 1982, esp. pp. 13-21; Pigler, *Barockthemen*, 1974, II, pp. 430-431; Ferrari, *Filosofi*, 1986, pp. 123-125, 165-167 and figs. 61, 63-66.
8. The doctor's action has frequently been misunderstood, even though Hollander (loc. cit., 1923) used the picture to illustrate phlebotomy. Rubens has in fact shown the standard procedure, as recommended and depicted in Renaissance treatises and illustrated in prints and paintings: a tourniquet was first applied above the place where the artery was to be cut, to enlarge the artery. The elbow was (as now) the favourite spot for blood-letting, and the patient would be asked to open and close his or her hand (often by grasping a stick) to encourage the flow as the artery was cut and the tourniquet removed. See M. Davis and T. Appel, *Bloodletting Instruments*, Arlington, Ma, 1983, esp. pp. 8-12; also H. Vogt, *Das Bild des Kranken*, Mu-

nich, 1969, pp. 24-25, 122-127 with several 15th- to 17th-century illustrations; also Hollander, op. cit., 1923, pp. 357-362, with No. 54 illustrated in fig. 231. Rubens may have been advised by a medical friend, especially since the constricting band was evidently an afterthought. It is not present in the copies and replicas of the original version of the composition (Copies 2-3; cf. Fig. 196), nor in No. 54a (Fig. 198), or No. 54b (cf. Fig. 199).

9. The point seems to have been appreciated by contemporaries, even if it is not by most modern scholars (although Krempel draws attention to the fact that here Rubens contradicts Tacitus by indicating that the doctor has cut the artery); several artists who followed Rubens's iconography in other respects omitted the doctor (e.g. Claude Vignon, whose *Death of Seneca* of 1633 includes only the watching soldier and busy scribe: see [Cat.] *Dood van Seneca*, op. cit., 1982, p. 16 and fig. 17 and Fischer, op. cit., 1963, pp. 143-145) or changed him to one giving hemlock (e.g. Honthorst: see *Dood van Seneca*, op. cit., 1982). In a drawing by Jacob de Gheyn, also directly inspired by Rubens, the action of the man with Seneca's arm is obscure. (For this drawing see J.R. Judson, *Jacob de Gheyn*, pp. 45, 103-105, 195-197, no. 106 and figs. 45, 50; I.Q. van Regteren-Altena, *Jacques de Gheyn. Three Generations*, The Hague—Boston—London, 1983, II, no. 144; III, pl. 435; cf. Warnke, op. cit., 1977, fig. 24.)
10. Evers talks of the group around Seneca as an aureole; he also suggests that the relative position of figures from background to foreground reflects their temporal role in the story as told by Tacitus.
11. See especially Stechow, *Rubens*, 1968, p. 31; also Downes, op. cit., 1980, p. 106. It is interesting that the version of Rubens's *Death of Seneca* in the Leganés collection was described as 'un martirio de Seneca' (see above, under Copy 1).
12. See esp. the early Renaissance biographies of Seneca discussed in L. Panizza, 'Biography in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance: Seneca, Pagan or Christian?', *Nouvelles de la République des lettres*, 1984, II, pp. 47-98; also A. Momigliano, 'Note sulla leggenda del cristianesimo di Seneca', *Contributo alla storia degli studi classici*, Rome, 1955, pp. 13-32. The sources about Seneca (up to Erasmus) are conveniently assembled in W. Trillitzsch, *Seneca im literarischen Urteil der Antike*, I-II, Amsterdam, 1971. The association of bath and libation with baptism is first made by Boccaccio, who was in fact the first to use Tacitus (Panizza, pp. 67-69); other biographers felt that Seneca's faith and/or martyrdom entitled him in any case to baptism by fire and/or by blood (*baptisma flaminis, sanguinis*) if not by water (*fluminis*): Panizza, pp. 77-80.
13. For the forged medieval correspondence see L.D. Reynolds, *The Medieval Tradition of Seneca's Letters*, Oxford, 1965. The principal authority for the let-

- ters, supposedly written while Seneca was the tutor of Nero, is St Jerome, *De viris illustribus* xii; in this influential passage Jerome adds that he would thus include 'noster Seneca' (cf. *Adversus Iovinianum* I.49) 'in catalogo sanctorum', a phrase sometimes interpreted as meaning 'in my list of saints', and obviously relevant to Lipsius's discussion of *sanctitas*. For this latter see Seneca, *Opera*, ed. J. Lipsius, Antwerp, 1605, pp. xx-xxi, and, for his view on the letters, p. xxv.
14. For medieval and Renaissance criticism of Seneca—praising poverty and asceticism while living in riches, serving and flattering the tyrant Nero—what Petrarch called his *inconstantia*, see Panizza, *op. cit.* in n. 12, esp. pp. 66-67, 70, 72. Cf. also, more generally, M.T. Griffin, 'Imago Vitae Suae' in *Seneca*, ed. C.D.N. Costa, London—Boston, 1974, pp. 1-38, esp. pp. 1-2, 29-34 and G.M. Ross, 'Seneca's Philosophical Influence', *ibid.*, pp. 116-165, *passim*.
15. See L. Annaeus Seneca, *Opera*, Antwerp, 1605, pp. xxi-xxiii (reproduced in edn 1615). This commentary is not identical to that to his edition of Tacitus (see Tacitus, *Opera*, ed. J. Lipsius, Antwerp, 1627, pp. 286-287 [1st edn 1575, but with additions, esp. in 1605]); not only is the Seneca commentary less concerned with philological issues, it is much more emotional in its praise and defence of the philosopher.
16. For the early biographies see Panizza, *op. cit.* in n. 12, esp. pp. 62, 67, 68, 73-74, 86. Cf. Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae* III.v. Lipsius's arguments are of course much more sophisticated philosophically than those of the late medieval (hagio-)biographers. He admits that the case is difficult, even if treated as obedience to the law of the time, and that the views of theologians differ, but concludes that Seneca could be thought of as having been appointed his self-executioner. See *Manuductio ad stoicam philosophiam* (1st edn 1604) III.xxii-xxiii, in *Lipsius, Opera*, 1675, IV, pp. 808-818, esp. pp. 812, 818. It seems significant, however, that Lipsius brings up the issue only in connection with the discussion of the Stoic attitude to suicide, which he must, as a Christian, condemn, in his book on Stoic philosophy—a work in which he aimed to indicate the extent to which Stoicism was incompatible with Christianity (for his general argument, see J. L. Saunders, *Justus Lipsius. The Philosophy of Renaissance Stoicism*, New York, 1955, pp. 111-116); he does not mention the question at all in the biography of Seneca which introduced his edition of the *Opera*, where Seneca's comportment during his lingering death is unequivocally praised.
17. Cf. Volume I, Chapter IV, pp. 108-109.
18. F. Petrarca, *Von der Artzney beyder Glück des guten und widerwertigen*, Augsburg, 1532, I, fols. XCVI-IIr-v (I.lxxx), as an example of the conduct of high-ranking pupils (Fig. 203) and II, fols. XXXVIv-XXXVII (II.xxviii), as an example of ingratitude. See above, Volume I, Chapter IV, pp. 108-109. The designs, by an anonymous artist, were devised and perhaps sketched out by Sebastian Brant.
19. The former, from a book of drawings in the British Museum now ascribed to Marco Zoppo, has the inscription 'Nero Claudii.' at the top left, which seems to rule out the suggestion that the subject might be Alexander and Diogenes; it also has two soldiers standing behind Seneca, watching as he appears to argue from his half-submerged (?) wooden tub with a seated soldier whom I take for Nero. See L. Armstrong, *The Paintings and Drawings of Marco Zoppo*, (Garland Series. Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts), New York—London, 1976, pp. 301-302, 422 and pl. XXIII at end. The latter, by the anonymous 'Medallist of the Roman Emperors' shows the emperor sitting next to a palm tree and Seneca (?) rising naked from a large decorated urn, apparently remonstrating with his former pupil. See esp. H. Möbius, 'Zur Nero-Medaille des Quattrocento', *Festschrift für Gerhard Kleiner*, Tübingen, 1976, pp. 197-204 and pls. 39-41. The two images must surely be related (and mutually reinforce Armstrong's and Möbius's interpretation of their respective subjects).
20. Paris, Louvre, no. 1354. See *Haskell—Penny, Antique*, 1982, pp. 21, 27, 30, 45, 46, 102, 104, 303-305, figs. 12, 160-161; *Van der Meulen, Antique*, 1994, II, pp. 34-36; III, fig. 19. Cf. n. 23 below.
21. See F. Vacca, *Memorie di varie antichità trovate in diversi luoghi della città di Roma. Scritti di Flaminio Vacca nell'anno 1594* published at the end of F. Nardini, *Roma Antica*, edn Rome, 1704, p. 15, no. 85; cf. *Haskell—Penny, Antique*, 1982, pp. 27, 303; *Ingrams, op. cit.*, 1967, p. 83. Vacca does not provide a date, and in his preface (p. 3) indicates that his recollections go back to the time of his youth (his age being 56). However, it seems unlikely that it was available, or at least interpreted as Seneca, before 1565, when the learned Annibale Caro was unable to locate any ancient portrait of the philosopher (cf. *Prinz, op. cit.*, 1973, p. 410, n. 4).
22. Cf. below, n. 29. It was first published in his *Illustrium Imagines*, edn Antwerp, 1598, p. 74, and no. 131; cf. *Prinz, op. cit.*, 1973, pp. 410-411 and fig. 3.
23. See *Haskell—Penny, Antique*, 1982, figs. 160, 161 and fig. 12, after Sandrart, showing Seneca spurning blood from all the places Tacitus says were cut; cf. also *Prinz, op. cit.*, 1973, fig. 9 and *Wiegand, op. cit.*, 1916, pp. 1-3 (fig. 1). On the restoration of the statue and the 'bath', probably made by Nicholas Cordier, see notably J. Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture. The Industry of Art*, New Haven—London, 1989, pp. 153-155, also quoting further appreciations of travellers. John Evelyn's description

- can be added (*The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E.S. de Beer, Oxford, 1955, II, p. 253; cf. p. 405): he talks of how 'the most incomparable Seneca of touch' was 'bleeding in a huge vasa of porphyrie, resembling the dropps of his blood'. The basin was removed sometime between 1870 and 1922 and banished to the reserve of the Louvre, but it has very recently been reunited with the statue, to turn the ancient 'fisherman' back into the admired Borghese Seneca (see Fig. 192)—although he is now set on such a high plinth that it is impossible to see the 'blood' in his bath.
24. Seneca, *Epistles* xxxvii.2 ('recto tibi invictoque moriendum est'); cf. lxxxii (on the death of Leonidas and the Spartans) (*Opera*, 1605, pp. 449, 544).
 25. We do not know exactly when it entered the Borghese collection; it is first recorded there in 1613. See *Haskell—Penny, Antique*, 1982, p. 303. Haskell and Penny do not, however, note its earlier provenance, to which Moretus testifies in his preface to the 1615 Seneca (*Judson—Van de Velde, Title-pages*, 1978, I, pp. 161, 162, n. 1; cf. *Van der Meulen, Antique*, 1994, II, p. 34).
 26. For the drawings, some of which exist only in copies, see *Van der Meulen, Antique*, 1994, II, pp. 34-40, nos. 7-13 and III, figs. 21-24, 26-30. But see also below, text at nn. 51-53.
 27. For Rubens's famous recommendation to breathe life into ancient statues, first published by Roger de Piles (*Cours de peinture par principes*, Paris, 1708, pp. 139ff.) see J.M. Muller, 'Rubens's Theory and Practice of the Imitation of Art', *The Art Bulletin*, LXIV, 1982, pp. 229-247.
 28. I am most grateful to Arnout Balis and to Ladislav Bugner for discussing these and other features with me.
 29. See notably Prinz, op. cit., 1973, esp. pp. 412-423; also M. Vickers, 'Rubens's bust of "Seneca"?', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXIX, 1977, pp. 643-645 and figs. 59-60 and *Judson—Van de Velde, Title-pages*, 1978, I, pp. 165-166, no. 32 and II, figs. 111-113; *Van der Meulen, Antique*, 1994, II, pp. 185-138, no. 117 and cf. III, figs. 218-224.
 30. Prinz (op. cit., 1973, pp. 411-412) suggests that this identification might have been made in Rome by Lipsius himself, although Lipsius's uncomplimentary account of its features (cf. n. 35 below) hardly supports this.
 31. 'Exstat Romae in marmore, et est effigies, ut videtur, in balneo animam iam exhalentis, et in verbis monitisque aureis deficientis. Similem insculptam reperiri in gemmis etiam aiunt. Vividum, acre, igneum aliquid refert'. See Seneca, *Opera*, 1605, pl. opp. p. i. That these words were composed by Lipsius himself is made clear by Moretus in the 1615 preface, as also is the fact that they refer to the Borghese sculpture, since Moretus triumphantly quotes them as a description of the 'true image' which he now includes. Cf. C. Van de Velde, 'Rubens' illustraties bij klassieke auteurs', *Hermeneus*, XLIX, 1977, pp. 207-216, esp. p. 210, figs. 11, 6 (n. 7 quotes the 1615 preface); also *Judson—Van de Velde, Title-pages*, 1978, pp. 160-163, under no. 31.
 32. For this see O. Kurz, 'A Sculpture by Guido Reni' (first published in *The Burlington Magazine*, LXXXI, 1942), reprinted in O. Kurz, *Selected Studies. II*, London, 1982, pp. 129-133; and [Cat.] *Dood van Seneca*, op. cit., 1982, pp. 16ff. Reni's bust was much copied by artists, and was in fact preferred to the ancient 'portraits' for several 17th-century pictures of the death of Seneca (including that by Vignon; cf. above, n. 9). If it influenced Lipsius's illustration, this would perhaps be the earliest instance of its being mistaken for an ancient original.
 33. For the text see *Bouchery—Van den Wijngaert, Rubens*, 1941 p. 135; Van de Velde, op. cit. in n. 31, p. 211 and n. 5. As for the bust which was taken from his friend Fulvio Orsini's *Imagines*, this is specifically criticized by Lipsius in the annotated copy of his 1605 Seneca preserved in the Plantin Museum (A 1161): cf. *Bouchery—Van den Wijngaert, Rubens*, 1941, p. 135.
 34. Ingrams, op. cit., 1967, p. 93, pointing out that in a letter of 1604 from Philip Rubens to Jan Woverius, Coberger, then in Rome, is designated as the man who is to supply the image of Seneca for Lipsius: see S. Asteri *Episcopi Amaseae Homiliae graecae et latine nunc primum editae Philippo Rubenio interprete. Eiusdem Rubeni carmina, orationes, et epistolae selectiores; itemque amicorum in vita functum pietas*, Antwerp, 1615, p. 258.
 35. *Judson—Van de Velde, Title-pages*, 1978, I, pp. 165-166, no. 32 and II, fig. 111, quoting Moretus's opinion that its intelligent features will encourage readers to the philosopher's works. In 1605 Lipsius had in fact only been able to comment on how the head illustrated Seneca's lack of physical beauty: Seneca, *Opera*, 1605, p. xxiii, quoting from Seneca's letters to support this.
 36. *Judson—Van de Velde, Title-pages*, 1978, I, pp. 160-163, no. 31; II, fig. 108.
 37. See A. Miraeus's *Vita* included in *Lipsius, Opera*, 1675, I, p. 22 (of *Vita*). The Pope's letter of thanks to Lipsius is recorded (*Rooses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, I, pp. 295-297, doc. LXXII); for Lipsius's letter of 17 December 1605 to Puteanus about it, see I, pp. 340-341; cf. Paratore, op. cit., 1967, pp. 543-544.
 38. 'Facies parum formosa nescio quid Africanum prae se fert, bucca hianti, turgentibus labris, naribus distentis': *Judson—Van de Velde, Title-pages*, 1978, I, p. 162. It seems likely that the interpretation of the physiognomy as African was influenced by the blackness of the statue. Still, as Van der Meulen observes, similar African traits were observed in the white marble Hercules Farnese in

- a passage from Rubens's lost 'pocketbook': *Van der Meulen, Antique, 1994*, II, p. 35, n. 6; in this book Rubens also commented on the admirable physique of Ethiopians and Africans in ancient statues, citing the Hercules Farnese: *Jombert, Théorie, 1773*, p. 4.
39. The point about his work and exercise had been made, with reference to *Epistles* civ, cxii, and *Quaestiones naturales* III.vii, by Lipsius in 1605 (Seneca, *Opera, 1605*, p. xxiii). How disappointed Moretus and Rubens would have been with the image which is now recognized as the 'portrait' of Seneca, nicely characterized by Kurz (op. cit. in n. 32, p. 131) as 'a fat man with commonplace features and a friendly expression'!
40. See n. 38.
41. See Judson—Van de Velde, *Title-pages, 1978*, I, pp. 160-163. Cf. Moretus's praise of Rubens's accuracy in the letter to Hubert Audejans of 5 March 1615 (op. cit., II, p. 325, no. 5; also Van de Velde, op. cit. in n. 31, p. 211 and n. 4).
42. Seneca, *Opera, 1605*, p. xxiii (reproduced in edn 1615); Tacitus, *Opera, edn Antwerp, 1627*, p. 287. That Lipsius meant the word 'solium' to be taken as a tub, and equivalent to what is usually called the *labrum* or *lavacrum*, is confirmed in a note he added to the chapter on baths in his *Admiranda*; here he distinguishes the *solium* from the *sella* or seat (J. Lipsius, *Admiranda, sive de magnitudine romana, Antwerp, 1609*, pp. 139-141 and esp. note, p. 208). This seems to be how it is used too in Seneca's famous letter about baths (*Epistles* lxxxvi: *Opera, 1605*, p. 557). An illustration to H. Mercurialis's *De arte gymnastica* (Venice, 1601, p. 45), supposedly taken from Pirro Ligorio (cf. p. 44), in fact applies the term *solium* to a seat, but there seems to be no corresponding reference in the text, where the word is not employed at all. Mercurialis discusses the different types of *labrum* or *lavacrum*, some permanent, and others portable; they were most commonly made of marble or bronze (pp. 44-46). His illustration shows a *labrum* with lion's head rings. A painting from the Baths of Titus, in the Maffei collection, shows a similar *labrum* in use in the *balneum*, next to the sweating-room with its furnace labelled 'laconicum'; this term was also applied to the dry sweating room, as a whole: see Mercurialis, op. cit., pp. 41-42; also the discussion in *Montfaucon, Antiquité, 1719*, III, 2, pp. 202-204, and pl. CXXII. Lipsius considers the *laconicum* further in his commentary on Seneca, *Epistles* lxxxvi (*Opera, 1605*, pp. 555-559, esp. nn. 12, 13 and 27).
43. See Seneca (1605, 1615), loc. cit. in n. 42, and Tacitus (1627), loc. cit. in n. 42. Cf. also Seneca, *Opera, 1605*, p. xx where Lipsius discusses Seneca's *abstinentia*, quoting from *Epistles* cviii, on which this statement is based (cf. p. 635). Lipsius's emphasis has to be seen against the background of criticism of the philosopher's life-style. At least one medieval critic had in fact claimed that Seneca's death was hypocritical self-indulgence. Ross (op. cit. in n. 14, pp. 138-139) quotes Walter of St Victor (d. after 1180), who vividly presents the suicide as a voluptuous experience, inconsistent with Stoicism.
44. Seneca, *Epistles* lxxxvi, in *Opera, 1605*, p. 556: 'Balneolum angustum, tenebricosum...'; 'In hoc angulo...'
45. Mercurialis's illustration (cf. above, n. 42) shows a large, apparently marble tub with two visible handles and containing nine people. The second volume of J.J. Boissard's *Antiquitates romanae seu topographia romanae urbis...* (II, edn Frankfurt, 1627, pl. opp. sig. M5; the plates are the same in the earlier edition of 1596-1602) shows (Fig. 191) a smaller one at the centre of a tall round room with niches; its shape suggests that it is bronze, but it still contains two boy-attendants as well as a standing man. This is reproduced and discussed in *Montfaucon, Antiquité, 1719*, III, 2, p. 205 and pl. CXXIII. Montfaucon later published an illustration from a manuscript of Boissard illustrating the 'Baths of Metellus' which shows a single man sitting on the rim of a similar bath with two handles (*Montfaucon, Supplément, 1724*, III, pl. LXII and p. 166)—illustrating the source of the confusion between seat and tub—a bath which, however, is still much larger than Rubens's.
46. For Rubens's purchase of this book in May 1614 see *Roses, Moretus, 1883*, p. 189; also Volume I, Chapter II, at n. 33.
47. Cf. Boissard, loc. cit. in n. 45; cf. also the illustration from the Boissard manuscript (above, n. 45).
48. See Seneca, *Epistles* lxxxvi (*Opera, 1605*, pp. 556-557).
49. See above, n. 38.
50. *Van der Meulen, Antique, 1994*, II, p. 36, no. 8; III, fig. 22 (as a copy).
51. See *Van der Meulen, Antique, 1994*, II, pp. 36-37, no. 9, esp. n. 2; III, fig. 23. Van der Meulen herself rejects this drawing too as Rubens's work.
52. At n. 28.
53. For the print see Judson—Van de Velde, *Title-pages, 1978*, I, no. 31 (II, fig. 108); for the drawing, I, no. 31b (II, fig. 109). We know that Galle was paid for making the print of the title-page between 15 May and 15 December 1614: *ibid.*, p. 457, appendix III, 24. For the dating see below, *ad finem*.
54. The thinking behind this is reflected in the comparison of the different portraits in Moretus's preface. See Judson—Van de Velde, *Title-pages, 1978*, p. 166, n. 1.
55. The photograph reproduced here was kindly provided by Konrad Renger, who has generously helped with comments and information. See also Renger, loc. cit., 1994, and fig. 8.
56. The Voet in question was not Alexander I (b. 1613), as Oldenbourg thought, but Alexander II (b. c. 1635): see under Copy 6; he obviously could not have seen the original state of Rubens's Munich

- painting—and, since the head of Seneca departs considerably from any of Rubens's extant illustrations of it, he may have been working from an inexact copy.
57. For this picture, probably the painting now in the Plantin-Moretus Museum (though there is a rival candidate in Karlsruhe: see under No. 54a), see *Jaffé, Rubens, 1989*, p. 194, no. 242, repr.; *Van der Meulen, Antique, 1994*, III, fig. 227; also Volume I, Chapter IV, at n. 80.
58. The head of this figure is close to, and presumably based on, the study (Fig. 206) used more directly in the *St Ambrose and Theodosius* (No. 55; Fig. 204), which might support a dating of the original state of the present work c. 1615, rather than earlier.
59. It should be noted that the lower addition with the books does not feature in the small print after the picture included in Pigage's catalogue of the Düsseldorf gallery (Copy 7); but this crude print is evidently not to be relied on; Pigage himself talks of books strewn on the ground.
60. 'Der starke Mann allein gibt sich an's Schwere: Sophokles an den Ödip, Agesander an den Laokoon, Rubens an den sterbenden Seneca, Raffael an den Johannes; underhält oft den Beifall nicht, den er vorher mit Läufen, Sprüngen, Terzen und Sexten, jungem Kolorit von der unwissenden Menge hatte'. J.J.W. Heinse, *Briefe aus der Düsseldorfer Gemäldegalerie 1776-1777*, ed. A. Winckler, Leipzig—Vienna, 1912, pp. 119-120. I thank Konrad Renger for this reference.
61. Cf. Warnke, op. cit., 1965, p. 87, n. 99, comparing the pose of the body in the first, and of the head in the second.
62. Warnke, op. cit., 1977, pp. 44-47. For the altarpiece of St Anthony see *Vlieghe, Saints, 1972-73*, I, pp. 92-95, no. 64, fig. 113.
63. 'O virum, o animi robur! in ipsa etiam morte dicere, quod posteros iuvaret. Neque enim ambigendum, talia fuisse, ac constantiae et sapientiae mera praecepta. Argumentum quod in vulgus edita: haud futurum, nisi praeclara aliqua essent. Et quid edita, Tacitus omisit. o improvide factum! et nobis quoque cygnaeas illas voces audire vel levi aure esset!' See Seneca, *Opera*, 1605, p. xxiii. This note is omitted from the more sober Tacitus edition. Cf. above, n. 15.
64. Seneca, *Opera*, 1605, pp. xx-xxi. The chapter on *Mores, et primum abstinentia, veritas, sanctitas pietasque* closes: 'At enim de veris virtutibus eius quidam dubitant, et verba haec ad scaenam fuisse. An igitur in morte fidem non fecit, quam omnia humana in levi haberet, quam Deo se praeberet?'. The chapter on his death follows. Cf. p. xxiii, commenting on the words *imaginem vitae suae*.
65. That this is the message of his philosophy is emphasized in the poem beneath the picture. Seneca, *Opera*, 1605, pl. opp. p. i.
66. Cf. above, at n. 24.
67. Cf. above, at n. 46.
68. For the version of the original composition with a different head, more like the ancient bust, see below under No. 54a; see also the version listed as No. 54b.
69. For Rubens's practice of making additions to panels see Von Sonnenberg, op. cit., 1979, pp. 3-9; Renger, op. cit., 1994. No. 54 is not, however, in his inventory of 1640.
70. See above, n. 57, and under No. 54a.

54a. The Death of Seneca: Painting retouched by Rubens (Fig. 198)

Oil on canvas; 182 × 121 cm. (numbered 2284 and 862 in lower left).

Madrid, Museo del Prado. Inv. no. 3048.

PROVENANCE: Palace of Buen Retiro by 1634 (cf. Manuel de Gallegos, cited in text below; inv. 1700: 'Una pinttura de dos Uaras y terçia de alto y Uara y terçia de ancho [i.e. c. 195 × 111.5 cm.], de la muerte de Seneca en el baño Copia de Rubenes Con marco tallado y dorado...' valued at 40 *doblonos*); inv. 1772: 'Otro que contiene a Séneca desangrándose; dos y media (varas) de alto y más de vara de ancho, escuela flamenca'; inv. 1794, no. 862: 'Copia de Rubens buena, Séneca cuando lo desangraron, dos varas y más de terçia de alto, vara y media de ancho'); Museo del Prado by 1849 (inv. 1849, no. 2284: 'Escuela flamenca, La muerte de Seneca'); from 1883 deposited in Consejo de Estado; returned 1962 to the Museum.

COPY: Painting (with figures in the background apparently posed differently), whereabouts unknown; technique and measurements unknown. PROV. ? Count of Sommariva; bought by Charles M. Wallace Sr, in New Orleans, c. 1860; Charles M. Wallace Jr, Richmond, Virginia, 1908 (Rooses documentation, Rubenianum).

EXHIBITED: *El Arte en la Epoca de Calderón*, Madrid 1981-82, no. 57; *Canberra—Melbourne*, 1992, no. 43.

LITERATURE: E. Tormo, 'Velázquez en el Salón de los Reinos', *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, XIX, 1911, p. 310 (also in *Pintura, escultura y arquitectura en España. Estudios dispersos*, Madrid, 1949, p. 110); A.E. Pérez Sánchez, 'Dos Importantes Pinturas del Barroco. [1] Una "Muerte de Séneca" de Rubens Reencontrada', *Archivo Español de Arte*, CXLV, 1964, pp. 7-12; R. Ingrams, *Rubens and Seneca. Rubens' picture 'The Four Philosophers': the influence of Justus Lipsius and his circle on the painter*, unpubl. diss., University of Oxford, 1967, pp. 86-88; Cat. Prado, Madrid, 1972, no. 3048; Díaz Padrón, *Cat. Prado*, 1975, I, pp. 339-340, no. 3048 and II, pl. 215; H. Vlieghe, review of Díaz Padrón, *Cat. Prado in The Art Bulletin*, 1979, p. 653 (as studio replica without any intervention by Rubens); M. Díaz Padrón in [Cat. Exh.] *El Arte en la Epoca de Calderón*, Madrid 1981-82, pp. 89-90, no. 57; M. Díaz Padrón and M. Orihuela, *Todo el Prado. V. La Escuela Flamenca del siglo XVII*, Madrid, 1983, pp. 15-16, repr.; *Museo del Prado. Inventario general de pinturas. I. La colección real*, intro. A.E. Pérez Sánchez, Madrid, 1990, p. 601, no. 2284, repr.; *Vosters, España*, 1990, pp. 271-274; E. McGrath in *Cat. Exh. Canberra—Melbourne*, 1992, pp. 150-151, no. 43, repr. in colour.

Pérez Sánchez published this painting, after having it restored and an addition at the top removed. He plausibly connected it with the picture in the Buen Retiro described enthusiastically in his *Silva Topográfica* of 1637 by Manuel de Gallegos, and subsequently mentioned (though only as a copy after Rubens) in the inventories of the palace. Tormo, who first drew attention to Manuel de Gallegos's verses, pointed out that they were written in 1634;² presumably then, the Prado version was already in the Buen Retiro at this date.

Manuel's poem turns on the conceit that in bringing the death of Seneca before our eyes, in painting the flow of blood, Rubens is effective executioner:³

'A more lugubrious sight and mournful terror awaits you [after the *Magdalen* by Luca

Cambiaso, just described in the poem] when you see Seneca portrayed by Rubens immersed in a bath of [literally: 'bathing in the sea of'] his blood and tears—for this rare artist, at once tragic and subtle, prompted by cruel audacity, thought fit to open the veins of that noble breast. If his brush, whether from mercy or pleasure, were to withhold its deep red colours Seneca would yet live today. Do not say then, Rubens, that in this brief space you have skilfully portrayed the philosopher; admit rather that you have been rigorous in the execution of Nero's sentence'.⁴

Pérez Sánchez argued that the painting now in the Prado is a good replica of the Munich painting (No. 54; Fig. 195), with some studio participation but with Rubens's hand visible in 'sus partes principales'; he dated it 1615-16. Certainly Rubens appears to have painted Seneca's head, which is based this time rather more on the ancient bust (cf. Fig. 201) and the portrait of the philosopher painted between 1613 and 1616 for Balthasar Moretus (cf. Fig. 200).⁵ It can be observed that the letters *VIRT.* are correctly reproduced in the scribe's book.

Pérez Sánchez supposed that the pupils had copied the composition perhaps from sketches by Rubens, perhaps from the Voet print (Fig. 197), to explain the suppression of the fallen books now present in the foreground of No. 54. In fact the Madrid composition is based on the first version of the Munich composition (see above, under No. 54 and cf. Fig. 196), painted before the books were added with the expansion of the panel. Probably, then, it predates the reworking of the Munich panel, which was probably done c. 1618-20.

A Death of Seneca by Rubens of similar proportions to No. 54a but larger dimensions (c. 264 × 167 cm.) is recorded in the collection of the Marquis of Leganés in the inventory of 1655.⁶ Díaz Padrón thought this must have been the painting in the Buen Retiro in 1700,⁷ disregarding the considerable disparity in

size. He assumed that Leganés passed the picture on to Philip IV, citing the similar case of the painting of *The Piety of Rudolf of Hapsburg* (No. 56; Fig. 214) now in the Prado; but that painting was not, I believe, the work given by Leganés to Philip (see below, under No. 56). Certainly it seems unlikely that the painting in the Buen Retiro in 1700, i.e. No. 54a, was not identical with that seen by Manuel de Gallegos in the same palace in 1634; and the identity of the two is accepted even by Díaz Padrón, whose hypothesis thus requires the work to have left and then, after a period with Leganés, returned to the royal collection.⁸ Probably, therefore, the Leganés picture was another version of Rubens's *Death of Seneca*; since we know no details about its appearance (except that it was not the composition with only three figures: No. 54b), it is listed above, under No. 54, as Copy 1.⁹

1. *Inventarios*, 1975-, II, 1981, p. 309, no. 409.
2. Tormo, loc. cit., 1911. He associated them with the Munich *Death of Seneca* (No. 54; Fig. 195), since he did not know of the Madrid painting.
3. Cf. *Vosters, España*, 1990, p. 272.
4. 'Mas fúnebre atención, flébil espanto
prevén agora, mientras retratado
por Rubens ves á Séneca, bañado
en el mar de su sangre y de su llanto,
cuándo este raro artífice, animado
de cruel valentía
trágico al paso, que sutil, quería
abrir las venas dese illustre pecho:
si el pincel, ó piadoso ó satisfecho,
las purpúreas colores suspendiera,
Séneca aún hoy viviera.
No digas pues, oh Rubens, que ingenioso
en este breve cuadro retraste
al Filósofo: dí que riguroso
de Nerón la sentencia ejecutaste'.

See *Varia velazqueña. Homenaje a Velázquez en el III centenario de su muerte. 1660-1960*, II, Madrid, 1960, pp. 27ff. I thank Enriqueta Harris Frankfurt for her help with the translation.

5. Pérez Sánchez (op. cit., 1964, pl. iv) illustrated the Karlsruhe version of the portrait. It is not certain whether this (*Jaffé, Rubens*, 1989, p. 200, no. 274, repr.) or the version in the Plantin-Moretus Museum (*Jaffé, Rubens*, 1989, p. 194, no. 242; *Van der Meulen, Antique*, 1994, III, fig. 227) is the original ordered by Moretus. Cf. above, Volume I, Chapter IV, at n. 80. Also *Van der Meulen, Antique*, 1994, II, p. 137.

6. López Navío, *Leganés*, 1962, p. 306, no. 882; see under No. 54, Copy 1.
7. Pérez Sánchez concluded (op. cit., 1964, p. 12) that it must be a copy of the Prado painting.
8. A further argument against the identification of No. 54a with Leganés's picture is that it does not bear the inventory number [in this case 882] usually found on works from his collection.
9. It can be assumed that the work came from Rubens's studio.

54b. The Death of Seneca

Technique and measurements unknown.
Whereabouts unknown, presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: Unrecorded.

COPIES: (1) Painting, Collection of the Earl of Derby, Knowsley Hall, Lancashire; canvas, 117 × 86 cm. PROV. 'Mr Wicters' [=Victoors?], sold 17 January 1722 to James Stanley, 10th Earl of Derby (1664-1736); first recorded in 1729 catalogue (Cat. 1860, no. 94). LIT. G. Scharf, *Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures at Knowsley Hall*, London, 1875, pp. 49, no. 92 and 231-232; *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, under no. 812; *Oldenbourg, Rubens*, 1922, p. 81 and n. 1, p. 154.

(2) Painting (Fig. 199), Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, inv. no. 740; canvas, 165 × 117 cm. PROV. Bentzelstjerna-von Engeström collection; Count L.E. von Engeström, presented to the Museum in 1864. LIT. *Oldenbourg, Rubens*, 1922, p. 81, n. 1 (as a school copy); C. Nordenfalk, [Cat.] *Äldre Utländska Målningar och Skulpturer*, Stockholm, 1958, p. 175, no. 740; G. Cavalli-Björkman, [Cat.] *Nationalmuseum. Äldre utländskt Måleri*, p. 318, no. 740, repr.

(3) Painting, private collection, San José, Costa Rica; ? canvas, measurements unknown. PROV. ? Private collection, Rugby; ? dealers Appleby Bros., London, 25 February 1953; private collection, San José, Costa Rica. (I have seen only a poor photograph.)¹

To judge from the existence of three related paintings, Rubens appears to have designed,

perhaps for execution in the workshop, a reduced version of the Madrid composition (No. 54a; Fig. 198), in which the two soldiers on the left are omitted. The head of Seneca is of the same, rather straggly-haired type, based largely on the ancient bust which supposedly pictured the philosopher. The painting which is recorded here as Copy 1 in fact appears to have been regarded by Burchard as a possible product of Rubens's studio (perhaps simply as a result of the reference to it as such by Oldenbourg), but I have been unable to make any judgement on this, not even having obtained a photograph of the work. The copy in Stockholm reproduced here does not look to me like a picture from Rubens's workshop. It may be noted that the scribe has nothing written in his book.

1. I thank Matías Díaz Padrón for drawing my attention to this work.

55. St Ambrose and Theodosius (Figs. 204, 208, 210)

Oil on canvas; 308 × 246 cm. (formerly 362 × 246; the rounded top and a strip at the bottom were removed in 1951; triangular corners were then added to complete the present rectangular shape).

Vienna, *Kunsthistorisches Museum*. Inv. no. 524.

PROVENANCE: ? Antwerp, Sebastian Leerse (inv. 1691: 'een groot stuck schilderye, representierende Ambrosius ende Theodosius van dHeer Antonio van Dyck, in vergulde leyste');¹ or, alternatively ? Franz von Imstenraedt, offered to Fürst Karl Eusebius von Liechtenstein, 11 February 1678: 'Nr. 106. St. Ambrosius dort er den Kayser Theodosium wegen des Ehebruchs [sic] excommunicirt; dieses ist vom Discipel von Rubens' (for 200 Reichsthaler);² Emperor Charles VI, Stallburg, Vienna, 1733; Belvedere, Vienna, 1878; from where it passed to the Museum.

COPIES: (1) Painting by Van Dyck (Fig. 205),

with the attitudes of some figures altered and a dog added, London, National Gallery, no. 50; canvas, 149 × 113.2 cm. PROV. ? Rubens's possession (inv. 1640, no. 233: 'Vn S. Ambrose, du mesme' [i.e. Van Dyck] / 'st Ambrose by the same vpon Cloth'; *Muller, Collector, 1989*, pp. 134-135); ? Roger Harenc, sale, London (Langford), 1-3 March 1764, lot 50; Lord Scarborough (1725-82); bought from his heir by Hastings Elwyn (or Elwin) (by 29 December 1785); put up for sale privately, January etc. 1787, lot 17 (unsold); still in Elwyn's possession 13 April 1799; sold to John Julius Angerstein by 1807 (when lent to British Institution for copying); purchased by National Gallery with Angerstein collection, 1824. EXH. *Five Centuries of European Painting*, Whitechapel Art Gallery, London, 1948, no. 12; *Anthony van Dyck*, National Gallery of Art, Washington, 11 November 1990-24 February 1991, no. 10. LIT. *Smith, Catalogue, 1829-42*, III, p. 76, no. 252; M. Passavant, *Tour of a German Artist in England*, London, 1836, I, p. 44, no. 3; *Waagen, Treasures, 1854*, I, p. 223; *Rooses, Schilderschool, 1897*, p. 433; *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, II, pp. 215-216, under no. 387; L. Cust, *Anthony Van Dyck. An Historical Study of his Life and Works*, London, 1900, pp. 13, 233, no. 10; *National Gallery. Catalogue*, London, 1929, pp. 108-109, no. 50; W. Bode, *Rembrandt und seine Zeitgenossen*, edn Leipzig, 1907, p. 269; *K.d.K. Van Dyck, 1931*, p. 18, repr. p. 519; *Glück, Rubens, Van Dyck, 1933*, p. 281; A.J.J. Delen, *Het Huis van P.P. Rubens*, Antwerp, 1940, p. 61; L. van Puyvelde, 'The Young Van Dyck', *The Burlington Magazine*, LXXIX, 1941, p. 185, pl. 10; L. van Puyvelde, *Van Dyck*, Brussels, 1950, pp. 50-51 (as *Rubens*); H. Vey, 'Anton van Dycks Ölskizzen', *Bulletin. Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts*, V, 1956, p. 174; H. Gerson and E.H. ter Kuile, *Art and Architecture in Belgium, 1600-1800*, (The Pelican History of Art), Harmondsworth, 1960, p. 113; *Martin, Cat. National Gallery, 1970*, pp. 29-34, no. 50; H. Vlieghe, review of *Martin, Cat. National Gallery, 1970*, *The Burlington Magazine*, CXVI, 1974, pp. 47-48; W. Prohaska in *Cat. Exh. Vienna, 1977*, p. 78;

McNairn, *Van Dyck, 1980*, pp. 15, 17, 93-95, no. 35; C. Brown, *Van Dyck, Oxford, 1982*, pp. 30-31, fig. 19; J.R. Martin, 'The Young van Dyck and Rubens', *Essays on Van Dyck*, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 1983, p. 40 and fig. 6, p. 39; Larsen, *Van Dyck, 1988*, I, p. 98, no. 199 and fig. p. 99 (as 1618-19); Muller, *Collector, 1989*, pp. 134-135, under no. 233; S.J. Barnes in [Cat. Exh.] *Anthony van Dyck*, (National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1990-91), eds. A.K. Wheelock and S.J. Barnes, Washington, 1990, pp. 100-102, no. 10, repr. in colour; C. Brown in [Cat. Exh.] *Von Brueghel bis Rubens*, eds. E. Mai and H. Vlieghe, Cologne—Antwerp—Vienna, 1992-93, pp. 319-320, no. 34.3, repr. in colour.³

(2) Painting, ?late 17th-century, called by Burchard 'style of Beschey', numbered 62 (?) on lower left of frame, whereabouts unknown; ? canvas, c. 40 × 30 cm. PROV. London, dealer Wildenstein, 1947 (where seen by Burchard).

(3) Painting (same as Copy ??) showing the acolyte more in profile, whereabouts unknown; oil on paper laid down on panel, 59.7 × 43 cm. PROV. Sir Archibald Campbell, Garscube, sale, London (Christie's), 19 July 1946, lot 66 (as 44.5 × 38 cm.); dealer Wildenstein, exported to New York July 1948.⁴

(4) Painting, ? Knowsley Hall, Derbyshire; canvas, 161.3 × 119.4 cm. LIT. G. Scharf, *Catalogue of Paintings at Knowsley Hall*, London, 1875, p. 139, no. 254.

(5) Painting in grisaille, with step at the bottom missing and the architecture hardly indicated, stopping short of the archway, and showing no crozier or cross in the hands of Ambrose's attendant,⁵ whereabouts unknown; panel, 53.4 × 48.9 cm. PROV. ? Widow of Don Emanuel de Fraula (Brussels), sale, Brussels, 1741, lot 161 (as 'grisaille' and c. 54 × 50 cm.); sale, London (Christie's), 3 May 1946, lot 147 (as *Rubens*); New York, Ephron Gallery, 1966. LIT. Martin, *Cat. National Gallery, 1970*, p. 32, n. 14 (as ? copy after the lost sketch).

(6) Painting, with the number 77 [backwards] upper right, perhaps identical with

Copy 5, whereabouts unknown; technique unknown, 54 × 50.5 cm. PROV. London, dealer Robert Frank, August 1938.

(7) Painting, 18th-century, attributed to Le Frère Thys, Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, no. 622; 324 × 275 cm. PROV. Antwerp, St Paul's Church, at the exit to the choir; removed in 1794 and deposited in École Centrale, then transferred to Petits-Carmes. LIT. [G. Berbie], *Description des principaux ouvrages de peinture & sculpture actuellement existans dans les églises, couvens & lieux publics de la ville d'Anvers*, edn Antwerp, 1768, p. 72; C. Piot, *Rapport à Mr le Ministre de l'Intérieur sur les tableaux enlevés à la Belgique en 1794 et restitués en 1815*, Brussels, 1883, Annexe LXXXIV, p. 271, no. 9 (cf. p. 299, no. 5), Annexe LXXXV, pp. 271-272, no. 11; Annexe LXXXVIII, pp. 274-275, no. 13; J. de Wit, *De Kercken van Antwerpen, met aanteekeningen door J. de Bosschere en grondplannen (Uitgaven der Antwerpsche Bibliophilen, XXV)*, Antwerp—The Hague, 1910, p. 54; A.J.J. Delen, *Musée Royal des Beaux-Arts, Anvers. Catalogue I*, Antwerp, 1948, p. 252; *Catalogus schilderkunst. Oude meesters*, Antwerp, 1988, p. 368 (as *Pieter Thys?*).

(8) Painting, 'signed' lower right G. Crayer ft, J.C. van der Male, Zierikzee (1984); canvas, 94 × 79 cm. (photograph in Rubenianum).

(9) Painting, of the two protagonists in upright format with two bystanders on the left and three, bearing tapers, on the right—these bystanders being in different attitudes from those in the Vienna painting—and showing small differences too in the costume of Ambrose and of Theodosius, whereabouts unknown; ? canvas, 106 × 72.4 cm. PROV. Sale, London (Sotheby's), 25 May 1953, lot 23 (to C.R. Morrah).

(10) Painting of the figure of St Ambrose, whereabouts unknown; technique and measurements unknown. PROV. ? Sale, London (Christie's), 16 May 1829, lot 32 (as *Van Dyck: 'a whole-length figure of St Ambrose—study for the large picture'*); Pierre Cornette de Saint-Cyr, Paris (1975: photograph in Rubenianum).

(11) Painting, perhaps by Theodoor van Thulden (1606-69), of the head of St Ambrose alone, private collection, England; oil on paper laid down on panel, 54 × 31 cm. (enlarged in 19th century to 64 × 50 cm.). PROV. Paris, Dr Curt Benedict, 1958; dealer Cailleux, Paris, 1958; C.G. Hoare, 1969. LIT. C. Thompson and H. Brigstocke, *National Gallery of Scotland. Shorter Catalogue*, Edinburgh, 1970, p. 84, under no. 2097.

(12) Painting with the heads of two soldiers; see No. 55c for more details, and for other possible copies of No. 55.

(13) Drawing from Rubens's workshop, possibly by Willem Panneels (1600/5-1634), of armour and sword of Theodosius, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', VI, 71; black chalk, 155 × 182 mm. PROV. Acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen, presumably in the 17th century; since 1835 in the Museum. LIT. *Martin, Cat. National Gallery*, 1970, p. 32, n. 5; *Rodee, Armor*, 1967, p. 227 and fig. 6.

(14) Drawing from Rubens's workshop, possibly by Willem Panneels, of armour and right arm of soldier at the far left, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', VI, 72; black chalk and wash on blue paper, 155 × 182 mm. PROV. As for Copy 13. LIT. *Martin, Cat. National Gallery*, 1970, p. 32, n. 5; *Rodee, Armor*, 1967, p. 227 and fig. 7.

(15) Drawing by Willem Panneels (Fig. 213) of right leg and arm of soldier on the far left and of right leg and bare arm of Theodosius, inscribed by Panneels, at top centre 't'*Theodosius naer van Dijck!*; and, in cipher, as follows: top left *hieronderdehasen/ is[[a]ckachtich oock/ desch[a]dven—* ('here below the hamstring it is red lake, even the shadows—'); bottom left *naer den teodosius naer van dijck/ isditgeeteekentendesijnheel goetgecopieertende/ warengellenockergecoloreert ende sombergeschaeijt/ vanschedtgeel endekeulswertendeal-watgebrokenmet/ geelenocker endeblauswert!*— ('This is drawn after the Theodosius after Van

Dyck and (they) are extremely well copied and were coloured in yellow ochre and shaded with shit-yellow and coal-black, and slightly broken with yellow ochre and blue-black!—'); in the middle *desen washeelhelw[i]t/ geschieldert alheel/ geloijent lackachtich/ ende met-schetgeel/ gemerbet!*— ('This was painted very bright white paint all glowing with lake and marbled with shit-yellow!—'); bottom centre *ditafschaeijendaer/ den dachafschitis heel/ blauachtich metlack/ achticheijtschietendeint/ licht!*— ('This modelling where the highlight fades is very bluish with red lakes blending into the light!—'), Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', II, 5; black and white chalk, pen and brown and black ink on greyish paper, 231/235 × 335/344 mm.⁷ PROV. As for Copy 13. LIT. *Falck, Tegninger*, 1918, pp. 75-76; *Martin, Cat. National Gallery*, 1970, p. 32, n. 5; *Garff—Pedersen, Panneels*, 1988, I, pp. 49-50, no. 25; II, pl. 26.

(16) Drawing by Antoine Watteau of the second head from the left, whereabouts unknown; sanguine, 155 × 130 mm. PROV. H. Michel-Lévy, sale, Paris (Georges Petit), 12-13 May 1919, lot 141; Ludwig Burchard, London. LIT. K.T. Parker and J. Mathey, *Antoine Watteau. Catalogue complet de son oeuvre dessiné*, Paris, 1957, I, p. 42, no. 275, repr.

(17) Drawing by Nicolas Vleughels (1668-1737) of the same head as Copy 16, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, inv. no. 34.935. LIT. B. Hercenberg, *Nicolas Vleughels*, Paris, 1975, p. 168, no. 380, fig. 226.

(18) Etching by Anton von Prenner in F. von Stampart and A. von Prenner, *Prodromus...*, 1735 (op. cit. in bibliography). Inscribed below: 'Terruit Ambrosius dictis, quem barbarus ensis/ fecit terribilem caede Theodosium./ O bona Pastoris vox! quae mutare leonem/ scivit, et ex dira tygride fecit ovem' (Ambrose used words to strike fear in Theodosius, a man whom barbarian combat made fearful in slaughter. What a good shepherd's voice that could transform a lion, making a sheep of a dread tiger!). LIT. *V.S.*, p. 95, no. 4.

(19) Engraving by Jacob Schmutzer, Vienna, 1784; 501 × 467 mm. (first state without name of printer or engraver; second state with their names and arms of Austria; third state adds title and dedication to Catherine the Great). LIT. V.S., p. 95, no. 2; *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, II, p. 215, pl. 133; J. Friesen, 'Kupferstecher der Wiener Akademie im späteren achtzehnten Jahrhundert', *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vergleichende Kunstforschung in Wien*, XXXII, 1980, 3/4, p. 7, fig. 3.

(20) Engraving by J. Axmann after drawing by Sigmund von Perger, 194 × 135 mm., in C. Haas, *Kaiserliche königliche Bilder-Gallerie im Belvedere zu Wien. Nach den Zeichnungen des Hofmalers Sigm. v[on] Perger, in Kupfer gestochen von verschiedenen Künstlern...*, IV, Vienna-Prague, 1828.

(21) Engraving by J. Hahn. LIT. *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, II, p. 215.

(22) Engraving by W. Unger. LIT. *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, II, p. 215.

EXHIBITED: Peter Paul Rubens, 1577-1640. *Ausstellung zur 400. Wiederkehr seines Geburtstages*, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, April-June, 1977, no. 21.

LITERATURE: *Neu Eingerichtetes Inventarium der Kayl.-Bilder Gallerie in der Stallburg... von Ferdinand à Storffer gemahlen worden* (MS in Gemäldegalerie des Kunsthistorisches Museums, Vienna), III, 1733, no. 159, repr.; F. von Stampart and A. von Prenner, *Prodromus...*, Vienna, 1735 (reprinted in *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, VII, 1888, II.Theil), pl. 21, repr. after p. xiv; Michel, *Histoire, 1771*, p. 305, no. 7; C. von Mechel, *Verzeichnis der Gemälde der kaiserlich königlichen Bilder Gallerie in Wien*, Vienna, 1783, p. 113, no. 8. E.1162 (as Rubens [French edn, 1784]); Smith, *Catalogue, 1829-42*, II, p. 89, no. 287; D.E. Williams, *The Life and Correspondence of Sir Thomas Lawrence*, Kt, II, London, 1831, p. 131 (preferring Van Dyck's copy to Rubens's original, though this is 'fine and splendid'); F.X. de Burtin, *Traité théorique*

et pratique des conaissances, qui sont nécessaires à tout amateur de tableaux, edn Valenciennes, 1846, p. 107 (as entirely by Rubens); E.R. von Engerth, *Kunsthistorische Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses. Gemälde. Beschreibendes Verzeichniss*, II. *Niederländische Schulen*, Vienna, 1884, pp. 383-384, no. 1162; *Rooses, Schilderschool, 1897*, p. 433; *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, II, pp. 214-216, no. 387; Michel, *Rubens, 1899*, I, pp. 248-250 and II, 306, 312; *Rooses, Vie, 1903*, pp. 289-290, repr.; Knackfuss, *Rubens, 1904*, p. 86; K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg, 1906, pp. 186, 475; W. Bode, *Rembrandt und seine Zeitgenossen*, edn Leipzig, 1907, p. 269; idem, *Great Masters of Dutch and Flemish Painting*, trans. M.L. Clarke, 1911, pp. 324-325, n. 2 (as Van Dyck, with only the top part retouched by Rubens); K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921, pp. 191, 462 (as with assistance of Van Dyck); G. Glück, *Die Gemäldegalerie... in Wien*, Vienna, 1923, p.175 (as Van Dyck after a sketch by Rubens); K.d.K. Van Dyck, 1931, p. 18; Glück, *Rubens, Van Dyck, 1933*, pp. 275ff., esp. p. 281; *Katalog der Gemäldegalerie*, Vienna, 1928, pp. 180-181, no. 850; L. van Puyvelde, *Van Dyck, Brussels—Paris, 1950*, pp. 50-51; H. Gerson and E.H. ter Kuile, *Art and Architecture in Belgium, 1600-1800, (The Pelican History of Art)*, Harmondsworth, 1960, p. 113; *Kunsthistorisches Museum. Katalog der Gemäldegalerie, II. Vlamen, Holländer, Deutsche, Franzosen*, edn Vienna, 1963, p. 48, under no. 136 (under Van Dyck, but actually attributed probably to Rubens, c. 1610); Martin, *Cat. National Gallery, 1970*, pp. 29-34, under no. 50; Vlieghe, *Saints, 1972-73*, II, p. 170, under no. 157; M. Jaffé, review of Martin, *Cat. National Gallery, 1970*, *The Art Bulletin*, LV, 1973, p. 642; H. Vlieghe, review of Martin, *Cat. National Gallery, 1970*, *The Burlington Magazine*, CXVI, 1974, pp. 47-48; W. Prohaska in *Cat. Exh. Vienna, 1977*, pp. 77-79, no. 21 and pl. 31; G. Biavati in [Cat. Exh.] *Rubens e Genova* (Palazzo Ducale, Genoa, 1977-78), Genoa, 1977, pp. 165-168 and fig. 65; B. Fredlund, in *Rubens i Sverige*, ed. G. Cavalli-Björkman, Stockholm, 1977, pp. 54-55, 60, 152-153 and figs. 36, 37; McNairn, *Van Dyck, 1980*,

pp. 15, 17, 93-95, under no. 35 and fig. 50 (as *Rubens*); Held, *Sketches*, 1980, I, pp. 145, 603, 610 and fig. 46 (detail); Larsen, *Van Dyck*, 1988, I, pp. 98-99, no. 200 and pl. VIII (colour) (as *Van Dyck*, taking up an idea of *Rubens*); C. Brown, *Van Dyck*, Oxford, 1982, pp. 30-31, fig. 20 (as *Rubens*); J.R. Martin, 'The Young van Dyck and Rubens', *Essays on Van Dyck*, [Ottawa], National Gallery of Canada, 1983, p. 40 and fig. 5, p. 39 (as *Rubens*); W. Prohaska in *La Peinture flamande au Kunsthistorisches Museum de Vienne (Flandria extra muros)*, Antwerp, 1987, pp. 148-149, repr. in colour; Muller, *Collector*, 1989, pp. 134-135, under no. 233, pl. 97; Jaffé, *Rubens*, 1989, p. 227, no. 424, repr. (as *Rubens*, c. 1616-17); S.J. Barnes in [Cat. Exh.] *Anthony van Dyck*, (National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1990-91), eds. A.K. Wheelock and S.J. Barnes, Washington, 1990, pp. 100, 102, under no. 10.

This painting shows St Ambrose, Archbishop of Milan, refusing to allow the Emperor Theodosius to enter the cathedral after the massacre he committed at Thessaloniki. Burchard evidently regarded the protagonist as Theodosius rather than Ambrose and therefore included the theme with Roman history, not Saints.⁸ However, the pictorial tradition of the subject, and of the related scenes of the penitence of Theodosius and his reconciliation with Ambrose,⁹ suggests that Rubens's picture was designed for a religious context, and probably as an altarpiece. Significantly, the copy of the present work probably made by the eighteenth-century Dominican, Thys (Copy 7), was for a church. The scene features in cycles on the life of St Ambrose;¹⁰ and from the mid sixteenth century, when exemplary stories (rather than simple figures) of saints begin to feature on altarpieces, it becomes a standard theme for a picture dedicated to St Ambrose.¹¹ It is, as would be expected, particularly popular around Milan and/or in churches of St Ambrose.¹² It is obviously seen as the most telling episode of the saint's career in that it underlines the power of church

over state, while also alluding to the virtue of the sacrament of penance, both important Counter-Reformation concerns.¹³ Vlieghe thought that the theme would be unexpected outside Lombardy and Liguria,¹⁴ and wondered if Rubens's painting might have been intended for the Jesuit Church in Genoa. Rubens had in 1605 supplied a *Circumcision* for the high altar of this church, a commission probably obtained through the Mantuan banker, Niccolò Pallavicini,¹⁵ and in 1620 his *Miracles of St Ignatius of Loyola* arrived in Genoa to serve as the altarpiece for Nicolò's family chapel in the same church.¹⁶ The church's patron had originally been St Ambrose, even if, like the Gesù in Rome, it was in 1596 dedicated to the name of Jesus (hence the subject of the high altar);¹⁷ by convention therefore St Ambrose should have been accorded at least an honourable second place.¹⁸ A painting by Giovanni Andrea de' Ferrari of *St Ambrose and Theodosius* was subsequently placed, and still hangs, on the altar of the first chapel to the right of the entrance.¹⁹ This painting might therefore, as Vlieghe supposed, have been commissioned to take the place originally intended for a picture by Rubens.²⁰ Given our ignorance about the early provenance of the Vienna painting, this must remain a hypothesis, but it at least provides a plausible context; and it is interesting that *St Ambrose and Theodosius* not only shares some stylistic features with the St Ignatius altarpiece, but like it includes unusually specific scenes on the vestments of the protagonists.

Evidently the picture was never installed as an altar in Genoa or anywhere else.²¹ It was perhaps still in Rubens's workshop in 1628, if the drawings by Panneels (and others?) now in Copenhagen (Copies 13-15) were indeed made during the master's absence from that year until 1630.²² A picture by Rubens of St Ambrose ('il suo S. Ambrosio') is mentioned by Peiresc in a letter of 1622 as having allegedly been offered by the artist to Vivot for a mere 200 livres; Rooses was probably right to suggest that it was the present work, for, if the

price mentioned seems ridiculously low, this is precisely the point Peiresc intends to make to Rubens.²³ It seems not to have been in Rubens's possession by the time of his death, unless it, rather than the picture in the National Gallery (Copy 1; Fig. 205), is the 'St Ambrose' by Van Dyck in the 1640 inventory.

Several modern scholars, notably Bode and Glück, have attributed the Vienna picture to Van Dyck. Indeed it has recently been proposed that even the composition is not by Rubens, and that the smaller version of the subject in the National Gallery (Fig. 205), universally given to Van Dyck, is that artist's preliminary sketch.²⁴ This, however, cannot be the case. X-ray photographs indicate that the London picture originally followed the Vienna painting much more exactly; it is thus undoubtedly a copy made by Van Dyck and then accommodated more to his style and taste.²⁵ (If the National Gallery painting is the *St Ambrose* by Van Dyck in Rubens's 1640 inventory, it might have been a gift from the younger artist upon his departure for Italy, like the larger *Crowning with Thorns*, *Capture of Christ* and the *St Martin and the Beggar*, all of which give Rubensian compositions or motifs a Van Dyckian flavour.)²⁶ The whole stylistic character of the Vienna picture, as Gerson in particular has emphasized,²⁷ is as typical of Rubens as the changes in the London copy are of Van Dyck, and I am convinced, like Burchard, that it is a Rubensian invention. It does, nevertheless, seem to me virtually certain that Van Dyck was extensively involved in the execution of *St Ambrose and Theodosius*, even if Rubens was in charge overall, and would have given the finishing touches. In the first place, the picture in Vienna was probably that recorded as the 'great piece by Van Dyck' in the Leerse collection in 1691.²⁸ Secondly, as Gregory Martin already noted,²⁹ a drawing by Panneels (Copy 15; Fig. 213), certainly made in Rubens's workshop, and in view of the colour notations clearly done after the original painting, ascribes the painting unequivocally to Van Dyck.³⁰ This, then, was presumably a

Van Dyck in the same sense as the *Achilles on Scyros*,³¹ which Rubens described in 1618 as the work of his best pupil, retouched by himself.³² Van Dyck's participation in the Vienna painting would help explain why he wanted to make his own variation on its subject.

For the standard account of the story Prohaska refers to the *Golden Legend*, but Rubens would have turned to the scholarly compilations of Surius and Ribandineira,³³ and even more to the extensive account in the *Annales ecclesiastici* of Cardinal Baronius. Here Baronius describes how Ambrose, after having written to the emperor, urging the need for penitence, confronted him when he came to Milan and tried to enter the church. Advancing right outside the entrance (*extra sacra vestibula*),³⁴ he rebuked him for thinking that his rank granted him some immunity from guilt—God sees the crimes of everyone—and with the divine power vested in him to bind and loose sins, Ambrose bound him. At this Theodosius, recognizing that here the power of the priesthood overruled his own ('divinus educatus eloquiis, accurate notat tum quae essent officia sacerdotum, tum quae Regum propria'), retreated in tears and sorrow to his palace. Eventually, through the agency of his majordomo, Ruffinus, who established with Ambrose the nature of the penitence the emperor would have to undergo, Theodosius made his peace with the Church and was shriven.³⁵

Rubens showed St Ambrose confronting Theodosius before a doorway very like the portico that the artist designed for his house in Antwerp. Whether or not this banded Tuscan order was chosen to suggest the early simplicity of the Church,³⁶ or Ambrose's firmness of purpose (or both things) it is certainly unlike anything in Milan cathedral. (It is an architectural motif that was to be used repeatedly by Van Dyck.)³⁷ The emperor, his way barred, recoils; his attitude and gesture seem to express at once surprise and a reluctant submissiveness. Ambrose, the representative of the (literally) higher spiritual power, uses no

obvious physical means to assert his authority—the crozier which Rubens usually gives the saint as an attribute, and which he might have raised against Theodosius, is here held by his attendant; compared to earlier representations of the subject—such as that on the choir stalls in Milan, where Ambrose pushes Theodosius,³⁸ or that by Giovanni Antonio Fasolo, probably done for S. Ambrogio in Vicenza, where the saint shoos the emperor away³⁹—this is a very anti-rhetorical interpretation. The point is the psychological exchange between the two protagonists; the bystanders, both clerics and soldiers, attend rather than react openly to the event; the assertion of the power of church over state, the power Christ gave to Peter when he handed him the twin keys to the kingdom of heaven, is greeted with appropriate acceptance. Rubens underlined the point of the encounter in an ingenious ‘picture within the picture’. On the back of Ambrose’s elaborate cope is a scene (Fig. 208) showing Christ, his right arm raised, standing on a rock in what appears to be a mountainous landscape, while to his right St Peter, the two keys in his hand, presents a kneeling man who carries the cross of a bishop. The formulation is strongly reminiscent of Early Christian images of Christ on the rock of the Church flanked by SS. Peter and Paul,⁴⁰ as well as of the *Traditio legis*, as illustrated, for example, in S. Costanza, Rome.⁴¹ The special care taken over this motif—Rubens was not normally given to borrowing Early Christian compositions—suggests that the picture was intended for a relatively sophisticated clerical patron, and makes our ignorance of the intended context all the more frustrating.⁴² Where Rubens found a model for his scene is not clear; the famous passage about the donation of the keys to Peter (*Matthew* 16.19) he would of course have known by heart, as the catechism’s justification of penance (and the subject of the reading on the feast of his birthday).⁴³

Burchard dated the painting c. 1620, but in my opinion it is probably slightly earlier, as Martin and Vlieghe have suggested.⁴⁴ A date

of c. 1618 is also supported by the use of a whole collection of studies of heads, and the fact that familiar faces recur in paintings of this period—including some in which Van Dyck evidently had a hand. The curly-haired soldier farthest to the left in fact reappears in Van Dyck’s own *Crowning with Thorns* formerly in Berlin.⁴⁵

The study for that head (Fig. 206), a familiar model for Rubens and his studio, is extant, in a private collection in Germany.⁴⁶ Burchard thought that a lost study existed for the two soldiers behind Theodosius (cf. Fig. 209); but this seems doubtful, especially given that the younger man is based on the (slightly more youthful, and beardless) head of a soldier (of c. 1614-15), first published in 1964 by Vey (Fig. 207).⁴⁷ Among the followers of Ambrose, the man farthest to the right, whom Smith identified as a portrait of Carlo Borromeo,⁴⁸ is very close to a painting in Göteborg which Fredlund has demonstrated to be part of a dismembered panel showing three heads done from the same model, and perhaps painted by Van Dyck himself.⁴⁹ The other head on the right is the young man used for the *St Thomas Aquinas*, recorded only in copies.⁵⁰ The large bearded figure in the doorway features on a sheet of studies of heads, probably made by Van Dyck (Fig. 45), and resembles, for example, the St Paul from Rubens’s series of Apostles.⁵¹ The man between Ambrose and Theodosius, evidently the model used for Rubens’s head study in Liechtenstein,⁵² appears to be derived from another study, reflected in a sheet in the British Museum,⁵³ which was exploited for St Joseph and again, for example, for a bystander in the Lyons *Adoration of the Magi*.⁵⁴ Theodosius himself recalls St Joseph in the Brussels *Adoration of the Magi*,⁵⁵ and is the man recorded in two head studies in Sorrento.⁵⁶

As for St Ambrose, Rooses already noted his resemblance to the corresponding figure (in reverse) in *St Dominic and St Francis of Assisi protecting the World from the Wrath of Christ*, the painting of c. 1618 formerly in

St Paul's, Antwerp.⁵⁷ Both relate to a head study in Edinburgh (Fig. 211), which most scholars have seen as a specific study for No. 55.⁵⁸ Such indeed was Burchard's opinion, and it would certainly be justified if the drapery was original, indicating that the model had been posed in a gold vestment. X-ray photographs are inconclusive on the matter, although they reveal that the old man was originally shown more in profile. But the shoulders and chest seem to fit rather awkwardly and the drapery, particularly at the top right, has evidently been overpainted, as has the background.⁵⁹ Moreover, the yellow highlights seem uncharacteristic of Rubens. I suspect therefore that the drapery was added later—perhaps by a seventeenth-century Dutch artist⁶⁰—to turn this study into a saleable picture. The head appears on a sheet in the British Museum, in which the same model is shown from two other views,⁶¹ and it was copied in combination with two other heads to make a half-length picture of the Magi.⁶² Another painting of the head of St Ambrose, now in a private collection in England, seems to be, as Burchard thought, a partial copy of No. 55 rather than another study for it, as Jaffé once suggested;⁶³ this is accordingly included above as Copy 11. Prohaska noted a resemblance with the figure holding the legs of the corpse in the *Entombment of St Stephen*.⁶⁴ Still, we need not, therefore, date the *Ambrose and Theodosius* to exactly the same period, c. 1615-16; it seems to have been painted a couple of years later.

Panneels was not the only student of Rubens to admire *St Ambrose and Theodosius*. Whether or not he too thought of it as the work of Van Dyck, Jan Boeckhorst clearly used the Vienna painting as the model for his *St Francis Xavier before the Emperor of Japan*, now in Pommersfelden.⁶⁵ There is a nice irony in the borrowing, for in this very different confrontation between church and state the scene is one of welcome rather than repudiation, and Boeckhorst effectively translated the massive forms in Rubens's picture into his own stylish idiom.

1. *Denucé, Konstkamers, 1932*, p. 366. Burchard assumed that this was a reference to the picture in the National Gallery (Copy 1), but the term 'groot stuck' seems to rule this out.
2. See V. Fleischer, *Fürst Karl Eusebius von Liechtenstein als Bauherr und Kunstsammler (1611-1684)*, Vienna—Leipzig, 1910, p. 60.
3. The following are copies after this copy by Van Dyck rather than after No. 55:
 - (a) Painting by Sir George Hayter, with head of a man on the verso, whereabouts unknown; panel, 44.5 × 33 cm. PROV. London, dealer Agnew (March–April 1968; summer 1987). EXH. Agnew's Summer Exhibition 1987. LIT. *Martin, Cat. National Gallery, 1970*, pp. 31 and 33, n. 29.
 - (b) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 148.5 × 118 cm. PROV. Sale, New York (Christie's East), 14 March 1985, lot 57.
 - (c) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 162.5 × 120.5 cm. PROV. E. Willmer, Berlin—Charlottenburg, 1928 (photograph in Rubenianum).
 - (d) Painting, signed *Jone Robins after Vandyck*, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 154 × 117 cm. PROV. Sale, Cologne (Kunsthau am Museum), 21 June 1974, lot 981, pl. 47.
 - (e) Drawing by Sir David Wilkie, whereabouts unknown; 311 × 267 mm. PROV. Sir Bruce Ingram, sale, London (Sotheby's), 20 January 1965, lot 555.
 - (f) Engraving by R.W. Siever published in J. Young, *A Catalogue of the... Collection of the late John Julius Angerstein*, London, 1823, no. 2.
 - (g) Engraving by J.H. Robinson.
 - (h) Engraving by S. Freeman in *The National Gallery of Pictures by the Great Masters...*, II [1838], no. 101. LIT. (for all three engravings) *Martin, Cat. National Gallery, 1970*, pp. 31, 33.
4. Possibly this work should be associated with two further references to a picture of this subject with slightly different dimensions (43.3 × 34 cm.): M. de Preuil, sale Paris (Poultier—Lebrun), 25 November 1811, lot 184; sale Paris (Lebrun—Charrot), 2-11 February 1813, lot 86.
5. Burchard thought it a record of the lost sketch (No. 55a), but it is evidently after the painting, as the details on Ambrose's cope are too specific.
6. It might be thought that the term *schedtgeel* could be derived from *verschieten*, unstable; but, as Paul Taylor has pointed out to me, 'shit-yellow' (yellow lake) does indeed seem the right translation, to judge from the comments in Wilhelmus Beurs's *De Groote Waereld in't klein geschildert, of Schilderachtig Tafereel van's Weerelds Schilderyen...*, Amsterdam, 1692, pp. 13-14: '...de beste Geele schijfgeel is die Hoog-geel is, en dan minst besterft, wanneerze in Privaten, of andre stinckende plaatzen gehangen heeft'.
7. I thank Paul Taylor as well as Arnout Balis for help in interpreting the inscriptions.

8. Smith also lists it as 'historical' (*Smith, Catalogue*, 1829-42, II, p. 390). Voorhelm Schneevooft, however, included it in the category of 'Saints'.
9. Pictured most notably in the altarpiece commissioned by F. Barocci, and executed by A. Vitale in the Duomo at Milan (illustrated in [Cat. Exh.] *Federico Barocci*, ed. A. Emiliani, Museo Civico, Bologna, 1975, fig. 328, and discussed in E. Arslan, *Le Pitture del Duomo di Milano*, Milan, 1960, p. 35) and in the painting by Andrea Ansaldo in S. Ambrogio, Voltri (near Genoa; G.V. Castelnovi, in *La Pittura a Genova e in Liguria*, Genoa, 1987, II, p. 62, fig. 51); as Ratti already commented in a note to his edition of Soprani (*R. Soprani, Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti genovesi*, ed. C.G. Ratti, Genoa, 1768, I, pp. 202) this is not the repudiation of the emperor, but the prescription of his penance.
10. See E. Sauser in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (Herder), V, 1973, pp. 118-119. For extensive treatment of the saint's life in the choir stalls for Milan cathedral (executed between 1567 and 1614) see A.M. Brizio in *Sant' Ambrogio nell'arte del Duomo di Milano*, Milan, 1973, pp. 59-231; pl. p. 161 shows the repulsion of Theodosius, completed after a design of Francesco Brambilla by 1596.
11. On earlier St Ambrose altarpieces it might appear in the predella, as, for example, in the case of the panel by Ambrogio Bergognone (now in Bergamo) from his altar of S. Ambrogio (1490) for the Certosa at Pavia. See F. Rossi, *Accademia Carrara, Bergamo. Catalogo*, Bergamo, 1979, p. 83, no. 614 and pl. p. 23. I know of only two examples of the subject which do not belong to a religious context. One is the 'early 16th-century Italian print (*Bartsch*, XV, 1867, p. 22, no. 1; *The Illustrated Bartsch*, XXVIII, ed. S. Boorsch and J. Spike, New York, 1985, p. 31) mentioned in *Pigler, Barockthemen*, 1974, I, p. 414; but since this shows the penitence of Theodosius (not his expulsion from the church, as Pigler has it) it was probably intended too as a picture of St Ambrose and about penance. The other, certainly more relevant to Rubens, was the small scene beneath the image of the Emperor Theodosius on the Portico of the twelve emperors erected for the entry of Archduke Ernest into Antwerp in 1594. This likewise showed Theodosius reconciled to the church and had the motto *Deo et Ecclesiae reconciliatur*: J. Bochiuss, *Descriptio publicae gratulationis, spectaculorum et ludorum, in adventu... Ernesti...*, Antwerp, 1595, p. 126; cf. pl. p. 127. (For the Renaissance categories of *imagini* and *storie* in relation to altarpieces see *Hope, Altarpieces*, 1990.)
12. See *Pigler, Barockthemen*, 1974, I, pp. 414-415. The picture by Tizianello in the Frari, Venice, is not an altarpiece, but was for the chapel of the Milanese and was the pendant to a scene with Carlo Borromeo.
13. Cf. the comments of Michel, op. cit., 1899, I, pp. 248-250 and Sauser loc. cit. in n. 10.
14. It should be pointed out that there was a painting by Nicolas de Liemaker in St-Jacobskerk, Ghent, but this was presumably inspired by Rubens, like the picture (Copy 7) by Thys in the Dominican church in Antwerp.
15. K.d.K. ed. *Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 21. See Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, 1977, p. 11; W. Prohaska in *Cat. Exh. Vienna*, 1977, p. 52. Despite Held's doubts (*Held, Sketches*, 1980, I, pp. 458-459), the picture was certainly commissioned by a Pallavicini (Father Marcello, Niccolò's brother), and it was in place by the end of 1605. See J. Müller Hofstede, 'Bildnisse aus Rubens' Italienjahren', *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg*, II, 1965, pp. 100-102; and idem in *Cat. Exh. Cologne*, 1977, p. 160, no. 15; also G. Frabetti in [Cat. Exh.] *Rubens e Genova* (Palazzo Ducale, Genoa, 1977-78), Genoa, 1977, pp. 221-229, no. 5 and fig. 84; and M. Jaffé, Rubens and Nicolò Pallavicino', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXX, 1988, pp. 523-527, esp. p. 525.
16. See now Jaffé, op. cit. in n. 15, p. 527, publishing new documentary evidence; also *Vlieghe, Saints*, 1972-73, II, pp. 78-80, no. 116 and fig. 46, dating it c. 1620; Frabetti, loc. cit. in n. 15, pp. 229-237, no. 6 and fig. 86.
17. See Frabetti, loc. cit. in n. 15, pp. 224-225. See also E. Gavazza, *Chiesa del Gesù (SS. Ambrogio e Andrea)*, Genoa, 1975, pp. 7, 13.
18. Cf. Biavati, op. cit., 1977, p. 166.
19. See Soprani (ed. Ratti), op. cit. in n. 9, I, p. 267.
20. Cf. Biavati, op. cit., 1977, pp. 165-168, where, however, it was pointed out that the chapel with de' Ferrari's painting was in 1605 (when it was still unbuilt) intended by its Spinola patrons to be dedicated to SS. John the Baptist, Francis of Paola and Catherine.
21. If it too had been associated with Nicolò Pallavicini (proxy godfather for Rubens's second son in 1618; see Jaffé, op. cit. in n. 15, p. 523, and *passim*, for Rubens's relationship with Nicolò), the commission could have fallen through with his death on 23 January 1619.
22. He had left Panneels in charge of the studio. See P. Huvenne in *Cat. Exh. Cantoor, Antwerp*, 1993, pp. 16-37, esp. pp. 23-24, with earlier literature. However, the drawings done after finished paintings, as distinct from the more private material in Rubens's 'cantoor' (probably study) proper, may well have been executed before Rubens's departure, and some (e.g. those after the Eucharist cartoons) undoubtedly were. Moreover, Panneels may have arrived in Rubens's studio already by 1622: see A. Balis, 'Van Dyck: Some Problems of Attribution' in *Van Dyck 350*, eds. S.J. Barnes and A. Wheelock, Washington (National Gallery of Art), 1994, pp. 183, 195, n. 37.
23. Letter of Peiresc to Rubens, 14 April 1622: *Roozes—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, II, p. 380; cf. p. 386. If it was simply called a *St Ambrose*,

- both here and in the reference to Van Dyck's copy in the 1640 inventory, this is another indication that it was regarded as a religious subject (although the theme of the submission of a prince to a priest might have had a particular resonance in France, given the example of the conversion of Henri IV). The suggestion by Knackfuss (loc. cit., 1904) that No. 55 was painted as a present for the abbé de St Ambroise, as a reward for his helping Rubens get the commission for the Medici cycle, can probably be ruled out, since it involves dating it rather too late (1621, at the earliest).
24. See Larsen, loc. cit., 1988.
 25. See esp. Martin, *Cat. National Gallery*, 1970, pp. 29-30; cf. McNairn, *Van Dyck*, 1980, pp. 93-94 and fig. 51. The evidence of the X-rays is unaccountably ignored by Larsen.
 26. Prohaska (op. cit., 1977, p. 78) thinks that the painting in Rubens's inventory is not likely to be *St Ambrose and Theodosius* (whether in the London or Vienna version), since the designation of the subject is too imprecise (cf. Muller, *Collector*, 1989, p. 135); but Van Dyck's *St Martin and the Beggar*, an equally elaborate history painting, is simply referred to in Rubens's inventory as 'St Martyn' (Muller, *Collector*, 1989, p. 135, no. 234). A similar argument could be drawn from the reference to the 'St Ambrose' in the Peiresc letter (see above, n. 23), if we believe that it refers to the Vienna painting.
 27. In Gerson and ter Kuile, loc. cit., 1960; cf. also Prohaska, op. cit., 1977, p. 78; McNairn, *Van Dyck*, 1980, pp. 93-95 and Brown, loc. cit., 1982.
 28. It should, however, be emphasized that there is another possibility for the early provenance of the Vienna picture: it could be identical with the painting sold to Fürst Karl Eusebius von Liechtenstein in 1678 (see above, under Provenance). Still, in this case too the reference to the picture having been executed by 'Rubens's pupil' would point to Van Dyck.
 29. Martin, *Cat. National Gallery*, 1970, p. 32, n. 5.
 30. The many exclamation marks seem to indicate Panneels's excitement in copying the picture and satisfaction with his results; cf. Garff—Pedersen, *Panneels*, 1988, I, p. 14. For the circumstances of Panneels's copies see Huvenne, loc. cit. in n. 22. Panneels's interest in the colours used for highlights and shadows, and the technique used to achieve a 'glowing' effect, particularly in the projecting arm of the soldier to the left, reflects a contemporary preoccupation of Netherlandish art theory, as Paul Taylor demonstrated in a paper on 'The glow in Dutch art', forthcoming in *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*.
 31. K.d.K. ed. *Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 130.
 32. *Roses—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, II, p. 137, letter of 28 April 1618 to Dudley Carleton, doc. CLXVI; *Magurn, Letters*, 1955, p. 61. See also Díaz *Padrón, Cat. Prado*, 1975, I, pp. 317-320, no. 1661; II, pl. 201. As Gregory Martin pointed out to me, it is interesting to compare the (rather peculiarly) muscular legs of the men on the right with those of the soldiers of Theodosius in No. 55.
 33. See L. Surlus, *De probatis sanctorum historiis*, Cologne, 1570-75, esp. ed. Lippomani, II, 1618, p. 58 (cf. the comments of Martin, *Cat. National Gallery*, 1970, pp. 29-30, in connection with Van Dyck.); also P. Ribandineira and H. Rosweydyus, *Generale Legende der Heylighen*, Antwerp, 1619. Rubens could possibly have read this latter in proof since he designed the title-page. The story appears in P. Ribandineira, *Flos sanctorum, sive vitae sanctorum*, edn Cologne, 1630, pp. 590-591, where the deed is characterized as '(res) notissima, celebratissima laudatissimaque'. The treatment of the story in the *Golden Legend* is in any case rather summary. See Jacobus a Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, ed. T. Graesse, Bratislava, 1890, p. 252, cap. LVII, 3.
 34. In the *Flos sanctorum* (cf. above, n. 33) it is simply stated that he met the emperor as he approached the cathedral.
 35. C. Baronius *Annales ecclesiastici*, Antwerp, 1597-1617, IV, pp. 618-627, esp. p. 624. It is notable that Baronius emphasizes the aspect of penance. On Baronius see also Volume I, Chapter II, text at nn. 54, 55; Chapter III, at n. 13.
 36. Tuscan architecture also appears in the *Martyrdom of St Adrian*, known only from a copy: *Vlieghe, Saints*, 1972-73, I, no. 61 and fig. 107.
 37. See McNairn, *Van Dyck*, 1980, p. 149, under no. 69.
 38. Cf. above, n. 10.
 39. See E. Arslan, *Catalogo delle cose d'arte et di antichità d'Italia*. Vicenza. I: *Le chiese*, Rome, 1956, p. 7, no. 36 and pl. III. The painting now belongs to Ospedale Civile beside the church of S. Bartolomeo since S. Ambrogio was secularized in 1772. Even if there are some compositional similarities to both of these representations it seems doubtful that Rubens could have been familiar with either of them. More probably he would have known of those by Barocci and Ansaldo of the penitence of Theodosius (for which see above n. 9: in the latter case Theodosius, like Rubens's figure, is distinguished by a beard and laurel wreath).
 40. See R. Garucci, *Storia della arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della Chiesa*, Prato, 1873-81, V, pls. 324, 1; 327, 2; 331, 1; 335, 2-4. It is not clear if Rubens's rock is shown with the four rivers too.
 41. For the *traditio legis* see Garucci, op. cit., pp. 326, 1; 328, 1; 331, 3; 332, 2; 334, 1-3; 335, 4; 342, 3; 347, 2; 349, 1. Cf. also the mosaic of Christ (on a globe) between SS. Peter and Lawrence with Pelagius and a Bishop as their protegés in S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura. I am not sure if Rubens meant us to identify the kneeling 'donor': he is dressed as an ecclesiastic; the cross clearly has two bars in the representation of the scene on the cope in Copy

- 5, which may then mean it is an archiepiscopal cross. It is interesting that Ambrose himself had this type of cross instead of the crozier in the sketch for the Vienna painting (No. 55a; cf. Fig. 212). Possibly the scene has been obscured by overpainting as may be the case for the other pictures on Ambrose's cope.
42. The 'embroidered' scenes on the vestments of clerics in Rubens's paintings are generally more conventional, in the sense that they follow the conventions of Flemish 17th-century vestments. Thus in the *Four Doctors of the Church* (actually executed by Jordaens) St Ambrose has scenes from the Passion (reading from the bottom up), and the Crucifixion on his back (*Vlieghe, Saints, 1972-73, I, no. 60, figs. 104, 105*).
43. The fact that Van Dyck's copy of *St Ambrose and Theodosius* (Copy 1; Fig. 205) does not show this scene on the cope, or rather renders it unintelligibly, is a further indication that the composition is nothing to do with his invention. Of the other scenes on St Ambrose's cope in the Vienna painting, that at the top shows a seated saint, probably an Evangelist; the two below are harder to decipher. The middle scene shows a picture reminiscent of Rubens's composition for the *Martyrdom of St Adrian* (for which see n. 36 above), in that there is a man on a four-legged stool with his leg raised up in the foreground, but this is probably a leg which is being healed, rather than amputated in martyrdom; there seems to be either a man preaching on a dais or a statue on a pedestal in the right background. The lowest scene features a single figure who might be a huntsman (or a Turk?). It would be illogical (as well as unlikely) to suppose that these are episodes from the life of St Ambrose.
44. Prohaska's dating of c. 1615-16, before the Decius Mus cycle (loc. cit., 1977) seems too early; he later put it c. 1616-17 (loc. cit., 1989). Cf. below, at n. 64.
45. *K.d.K. Van Dyck, 1931, p. 48*.
46. Panel, 49 × 37 cm. PROV Rolph Grosse, Berlin. IIT Jaffé, *Rubens, 1989, p. 227, no. 423*, repr. Jaffé notes that the shoulders were painted by a later hand. The figure appears, slightly adapted, in the *Death of Seneca* (No. 54; Fig. 195) which I have suggested was painted c. 1615: see No. 54, esp. n. 58 and text at n. 67.
47. Duisburg, Dr G. Henle; panel, 51 × 41.3 cm. See H. Vey, [Cat. Exh.] *Die Sammlung Henle*, Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, 1964, no. 50; the attribution to Rubens was made by E. Plietzsch. Cf. *Held, Sketches, 1980, I, pp. 609-610, no. 443; II, pl. 429; Jaffé, Rubens, 1989, p. 224, no. 406*, repr. A drawing in the 'Rubens Cantoor' (*Held, Sketches, 1980, I, fig. 45*) shows this head together with a study of the same model in another position.
48. Perhaps because he connected the subject with Milan.
49. Fredlund, loc. cit., 1977, pp. 52-61 and figs. 35, 42 and 43. A drawing after this panel (Fredlund, fig. 41) is in the 'Rubens Cantoor' in Copenhagen (Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', II, 6; black chalk done over with pen, 147 × 278 mm.); cf. *Martin, Cat. National Gallery, 1970, p. 32, n. 5*; the three heads also appear on a sheet in the British Museum (inv. no. Oo.9-36) which is probably after Rubens, rather than by him: A.M. Hind, *Catalogue of Drawings by Dutch and Flemish Artists... in the British Museum*, II, London, 1923, no. 98 and pl. XIII (as *Rubens*). The other part of the original panel is in the collection of the Earl of Pembroke, Warwick Castle (Fredlund, fig. 42). A copy of these two downturned heads features on a sheet at Chatsworth (*Held, Sketches, 1980, I, p. 598 and fig. 49*); the upturned Göteborg head appears on another such sheet, also at Chatsworth (Fig. 45) (*Held, Sketches, 1980, I, pp. 598, 602, and fig. 48*). Held is probably right to attribute both to Van Dyck. The Göteborg head (in reverse) is on the plate with nine heads in Pontius's so-called *Libre à dessiner: Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst, 1940, no. 577.14; Fredlund, fig. 40*. The original panel, as Fredlund points out, evidently did not include the drapery which now adorns the figure (as in the other fragment); both fragments have thus been enlarged and turned into 'finished' paintings, in the case of the Göteborg panel by adding a cope. The heads are related, if only vaguely, to figures in the *Last Communion of St Francis* (*Vlieghe, Saints, 1972-73, I, no. 102, fig. 178*), the head of the dying saint being at a slightly different angle from that on the right. Fredlund thinks that the studies were done for the St Francis painting and that the one on the right was later used for *St Ambrose and Theodosius*; even if this is not the case both paintings were probably executed at around the same time, c. 1618. Cf. *Göteborgs Konstmuseum. Måleri-samlingen (Catalogue of Paintings)*, Göteborg, 1979, p. 34, no. 933 and fig. 49 (as *Van Dyck, c. 1618*). The study of the three heads was, I suspect, done (whether by Rubens or Van Dyck) with no specific painting in mind.
50. See *Vlieghe, Saints, 1972-73, II, pp. 170-171, no. 157 and fig. 129*. This head was adapted to serve as one of the soldiers in the *Adoration of the Magi* in Mechelen (*K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921, p. 164*).
51. *Vlieghe, Saints, 1972-73, I, no. 18, fig. 62*; for the sheet of studies, in Chatsworth, see n. 49 (Fig. 45); also above, No. 12, at n. 20.
52. See *Held, Sketches, 1980, I, p. 611, no. 445; II, pl. 432*.
53. See under n. 49.
54. *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921, p. 162*.
55. *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921, p. 192*. Cf. also the apostle at the left, seen from the opposite direction, in *Christ's Charge to Peter* (Wallace Collection: *Freedberg, Christ after the Passion, 1984, no. 24, fig. 54*).

56. Museo Corraale, panel, 49 × 64 cm. R. Causa, 'Il riordinamento del museo Corraale di Sorrento', *Bolletino d'arte*, XXVIII, 1953, pp. 90-93 (as *Van Dyck*); [Cat. Exh.] *100 Opere di Van Dyck* (Palazzo dell'Accademia), Genoa, 1955, no. 4, pl. 4. The panel was attributed by Burchard to Rubens himself. Both heads figure on the sheet in the British Museum mentioned above, n. 49.
57. See *Vlieghe, Saints*, 1972-73, I, pp. 134-136, no. 88 and fig. 151.
58. National Gallery of Scotland. inv. no. 2097; cradled panel; 49.6 × 38.1 cm. PROV. ? Major-General Sir Claud Alexander of Ballochmyle (1831-1899); Sir Claud Alexander, 2nd Bt (d. 1945); London, dealer Edward Speelman, 1945 then dealer Agnew, 1947; purchased by the Museum in 1947 [Cowan Smith bequest]. LIT. *National Gallery of Scotland. Catalogue of Paintings and Sculptures*, Edinburgh 1957, p. 236; C. Thompson and H. Brigstocke, *National Gallery of Scotland. Shorter Catalogue*, Edinburgh, 1970, p. 84, no. 2097; Prohaska, op. cit., 1977, p. 79; *Jaffé, Rubens*, 1989, pp. 224, no. 407, repr. p. 225.
59. The area to the left, from about the centre of the old man's forehead downwards, bears traces of lighter paint beneath. Some paint losses have also been repaired (over a vertical crack at the centre and towards the lower left). I am most grateful to the late Hugh MacAndrew for showing me the X-rays.
60. I owe this suggestion to Nico Van Hout, who commented that the technique recalled that of Lievens.
61. See above, n. 49. Cf. Thompson and Brigstocke, loc. cit. in n. 58.
62. Whereabouts unknown; panel, 105 × 90 cm. PROV. George Earl Gower, 1st Marquess of Stafford, then 1st Duke of Sutherland (d. 1833); his son, Lord Francis Egerton (Leveson-Gower), Earl of Ellesmere, London, Bridgewater House (1844); by descent to Earl of Ellesmere, sale, London (Christie's), 18 October 1946, lot 144 (as *after Rubens*). Burchard thought it was by a 17th-century Dutch artist. LIT. W. Hazlitt, *Criticisms on Art*, 2nd series, 1844, appendix V, p. XLIII, no. 247 (as *Van Thulden*); Mrs Jameson, *Private Galleries of Art in London*, London, 1844, p. 157, no. 269 (as *Van Thulden*); *Catalogue of the Bridgewater Collection...* 4th edn, London, 1851, no. 133. A copy of this painting is an engraving in W.Y. Otley, *Stafford Collection*, London, 1818. There is also a painted copy (?) with the three heads only: whereabouts unknown; canvas, 36.5 × 65 cm. PROV. London, W.E. Duits; Berlin, F. Rothmann (? 1933).
63. Cf. Thompson and Brigstocke, loc. cit. in n. 58. Jaffé evidently thought it was done subsequent to the Edinburgh head, for the further guidance of the assistants involved in the painting. This head wears a mitre, not decorated in the same way as that in the Vienna picture, which might support

the idea of the painting being a more detailed help to the pupils. But the shape of the mitre is not correct—it should have a seam coming down from where the two parts meet. In any case it seems improbable that Rubens would have felt the need to provide a second head study (on paper) for a figure that was to be executed by the capable Van Dyck, and it seems likely to me that Burchard was right. (It is not included in *Jaffé, Rubens*, 1989.)

64. *Vlieghe, Saints*, 1972-73, II, no. 148, fig. 117; cf. Prohaska, op. cit., 1977, p. 79.
65. For this work, first attributed to Boeckhorst by Julius Held, see *Cat. Exh. Boeckhorst, Antwerp—Münster*, 1990, pp. 170-171, no. 15, repr., with earlier literature.

55a. St Ambrose and Theodosius: Oil Sketch

? Oil on panel; measurements unknown.
Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: ? Antwerp, Jeremias Wildens (1621-1653; inv. 1653);¹ ? Edmund Antrobus, London (d. 1788), sale, London, 1 February 1788 *et seq.*, lot 57; his sale, London (Christie's), 12 March 1788, lot 32 (as *Rubens*. 'Theodosius's Submission to St Ambrose'; and panel *c.* 46 × 39.5 cm.), bought by John Purling; his sale, London, 16-17 February 1801 (giving measurements with frame as *c.* 45.5 × 40.5 cm.); ? London, Sir Thomas Baring, later 19th century ('Esquisse du tableau de saint Ambrose refusant à Théodore [*sic*] l'entrée du temple').²

COPY: Etching (Fig. 212) by Philip Spruyt (Ghent, 1727-1801), with Ambrose's assistant holding a tall cross, inscribed *Saint Ambroise et Théodose le Grand. Dedié à Monseigneur Le Comte de Lightervelde, Eveque de Namur. Par son Très humble serviteur Phi. Spruyt*,³ 302 × 230 mm. LIT. *V.S.*, p. 95, no. 3; D. Duverger, 'Filip Spruyt en zijn inventaris van kunstwerken in openbaar en privaat bezit in Gent (ca. 1789-1791)', *Gentse bijdragen tot de kunstgeschiedenis*, XIX, 1961-66, p. 160.

LITERATURE: *K.d.K. Van Dyck, 1931*, note to p. 18; *Martin, Cat. National Gallery, 1970*, pp. 29-34, under no. 50; *W. Prohaska in Cat. Exh. Vienna, 1977*, p. 78.

Glück reasonably supposed that the sketch of 'eenen Keyser ende Sinte Ambrosius' by Rubens recorded in 1653 in the inventory of Jeremias Wildens, the son of Rubens's collaborator, Jan Wildens,¹ was Rubens's lost sketch for the painting now in Vienna.⁵ Since a print by Philip Spruyt (Fig. 212, probably made in the 1780s) reproduces a slightly different version of the composition of the Vienna painting (No. 55; Fig. 204) Burchard took it for a record of this lost sketch. His hypothesis might be supported by the fact that Spruyt appears not to have visited Vienna and to have made his reproductive prints only from paintings in the Netherlands, as well as the circumstance that the dedication of the print is to the Bishop of Namur, who may well have owned the sketch. If this presumed Rubens sketch then went to England it may have been cut at the top and/or bottom, since the dimensions recorded for the Antrobus sketch give proportions squarer than those illustrated in the print.

In the Spruyt print Ambrose has a bishop's cross, rather than the ornate crozier of the final version (also present in Van Dyck's variation [No. 55, Copy 1; Fig. 205], even if it is turned sideways). In addition, the portal of the door is perhaps more square, giving a plainer look. Still, Spruyt's print looks as if the figures are already painted with the various study heads in mind, which seems odd, even though it might be argued that this was because Rubens intended the final painting to be executed largely by an assistant.

An 'esquisse, S. Gregoire chassant Theodose de l'Eglise' by Rubens was recorded by Michel in 1771 as in the palace of Elector of Bavaria, Munich, along with other paintings now in the Alte Pinakothek;⁶ this appears to be the work on canvas, 59.5 × 48.7 cm., supposedly from 'S. M. le Roi de Bavière' in the

sale of Alexandre d'Allard in Vienna,⁷ later in the Gsell collection.⁸ The fact that it is called a 'careful study', as well as its canvas support, probably indicates that it was a copy of the Vienna painting. Michel's text is presumably the source of Smith's confusing reference to a sketch of 'Saint Ambrose refusing the Emperor Theodosius admittance into the Church. A Study for the finished picture in Vienna' in the 'Munich Gallery' and engraved by Schmuzer [sic],⁹ the print by Jacob Schmutzer is actually after the Vienna painting (No. 55; Copy 19).

The references to a sketch (or rather small painting: 'petit tableau') with small figures of 'un Evêque qui reçoit un Empereur' by Rubens in the Palazzo Carrega, Genoa in the later eighteenth century,¹⁰ seem to relate, as Martin pointed out, to the *Conversion of St Bavo* in the National Gallery, London.¹¹ The idea that the iconographic confusion in the references to that work might reflect the fact that a sketch by Rubens of *St Ambrose and Theodosius* actually was once in Genoa (connected with the hypothesis that the Vienna painting had originally been intended for the *Gesù* in Genoa),¹² seems rather remote, and would presumably be ruled out if we identify Rubens's sketch with that in Wildens's collection in 1653.

1. *Denucé, Konstkamers, 1932*, p. 165.
2. Cf. A. Lavice, *Revue des Musées d'Angleterre*, Paris, 1867, p. 140.
3. The print can be dated between 1779 and 1796, the period during which Albert-Louis de Lichtervelde served as Bishop of Namur (until his death): see *Biographie Nationale [de Belgique]*, Brussels, XII, 1892-93, col. 99.
4. *Denucé, Konstkamers, 1932*, p. 165.
5. *K.d.K. Van Dyck, 1931*, note to p. 18.
6. *Michel, Histoire, 1771*, p. 310 (along with the *Lion Hunt* and sketches for the Medici cycle).
7. Sale, Vienna (Artaria & Co), 28 November 1821, lot 348.
8. F.J. Gsell, sale, Vienna (G. Plach), 14 March 1872, lot 94.
9. *Smith, Catalogue, 1829-42*, II, p. 79, no. 245.
10. C.N. Cochin, *Voyage d'Italie*, III, Paris, 1758, pp. 262-263; in 1768 in the *Description* (p. 92) of the palazzo of Ferdinando Spinola there was a 'pic-

colo quadro il cui soggetto sembra un Vescovo che riceve un Imperatore, forse Teodoro [sic] battezzato da S. Ambrogio: see [G. Brusco], *Description des Beautés de Gênes et de ses environs*, Genoa, 1773, p. 111 (as 'L'Empereur Théodose aux pieds de S. Ambroise'); C.G. Ratti, *Istruzione di quanto può vedersi di più bello in Genova...*, edn Genoa, 1780, p. 280 (as 'S. Ambrogio, chi assolve l'Imperador Teodosio').

11. See Martin, *Cat. National Gallery*, 1970, pp. 127, 133, nn. 57 and 60; cf. Vlieghe, *Saints*, 1972-73, I, p. 103. A drawing by Fragonard, probably made in 1761, proves this point.
12. G. Biavati in [Cat. Exh.] *Rubens e Genova* (Palazzo Ducale, Genoa, 1977-78), Genoa, 1977, p. 167.

55b. Study of Drapery for St Ambrose

Black chalk, touched with white, presumably with the marks of Lankrink (L. 2090) and Richardson; 584 × 571 mm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: P.H. Lankrink (London, 1628-1692); Jonathan Richardson, Senior (London, 1665-1745); Sir Thomas Lawrence (London, 1769-1830); acquired from his estate by S. Woodburn in 1835 and offered for sale in *The Lawrence Gallery...* (see Woodburn, *op. cit.*, 1835, in bibliography below).

EXHIBITED: First Lawrence Exhibition, May 1835, no. 59.

LITERATURE: S. and A. Woodburn, *Catalogue of One Hundred Original Drawings by Sir Peter Paul Rubens, Collected by Sir Thomas Lawrence*, London, 1835, no. 59 ('A study of the drapery of St Ambrose, in the famous picture of *Theodosius*, at Vienna: black chalk, touched with white. Size, 23 inches by 22½. From the Collections of P.H. Lankrink and Mr Richardson').

The inventory of Thomas Lawrence's collection records a black chalk study by Rubens of drapery for one of the figures in the Vienna *Ambrose and Theodosius*—the inventory talks

of a 'Study of Drapery of the Figure of Theodosius', but Woodburn's catalogue corrects this to the figure of St Ambrose (in the painting of *Theodosius*); this latter is indeed more probable. The drawing was judged 'capital'. Given its provenance, and Woodburn's competence, the identification should surely be taken seriously, and the attribution to Rubens may be correct.

1. See *Inventory of the Collection of Drawings by Old Masters formed by Sir Thomas Lawrence...* (MS in Burchard Documentation, Rubenianum), p. 77 (Case 7, Drawer 2).

55c. Heads of two Soldiers

Technique and measurements unknown. *Whereabouts unknown, presumably lost.*

PROVENANCE: Brussels, F. Las (1764).

COPIES: (1) Painting, according to Burchard Austrian, 18th-century, whereabouts unknown; ?panel, 43 × 58.5 cm. PROV. sale, London (Christie's), 25 January 1957, lot 151.

(2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 57 × 45 cm. PROV. Dealer D.-J. Schalk, Bad Salsufler-Wusten, 1974. LIT. *Die Weltkunst*, LIV, 1974, pp. 1496-1497, repr.

(3) Engraving (Fig. 209) by Herman Gillis (or Gilis, Gilisen), 1764 (in opposite sense from the picture), inscribed *Duas modo Rubenius facies depinxit, Imago / monstratur ut [?] artificis percelebretur Opus* (after a prototype owned by Las); 176 × 176 mm. LIT. *V.S.*, p. 191, no. 316 (2 states); *Smith, Catalogue*, 1829-42, II, p. 304, no. 1109; *Mariette, Abécédario*, 1851-60, V, p. 118; *Rooses, Oeuvre*, 1886-92, II, p. 215, under no. 387.

(4) Engraving, in reverse, by Joseph Fischer (1769-1822); 155 × 137 mm. LIT. *V.S.*, p. 191, no. 317.

(5) Facsimile print in the manner of a pen drawing, after a drawing in his own collection, by James Hazard (London 1748-Brussels 1787), inscribed *Rubens del. Feder*, in *Recueil de*

Dessins...gravés par Monsieur Hazard.
LIT. Wurzbach, I, 1906, p. 652, no. 3.

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue, 1829-42*, II, p. 304, no. 1109; *Mariette, Abécédario, 1851-60*, V, p. 118; *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, II, p. 215, under no. 387.

Burchard supposed that the prints and the painting mentioned above as Copies 1-5 might record a lost sketch for the Vienna painting (No. 55; Fig. 204). However, since Rubens surely used an earlier head study (Fig. 207) of a youth in armour (of c. 1614-15), unknown to Burchard, for the younger man,¹ it becomes more difficult to posit a further study combining the two soldiers, even if in the Vienna painting the young man was to appear rather differently, bare-necked and with chin whiskers. It seems possible that the lost picture listed here as No. 55c, like the items included as copies of it, was simply a partial copy after the painting (No. 55) now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum (See No. 55, Copy 12).

1. Duisberg, Dr G. Henle; panel, 51 × 41.3 cm. See above, No. 55, at n. 47.

56. Rudolf of Hapsburg and the Priest (Figs. 214, 215)

Oil on canvas; 198 × 283 cm.; a strip of c. 12 cm. has been added on the left.
Madrid, Museo del Prado. No. 1645.
Numbered 1575 at lower left.

PROVENANCE: Philip IV of Spain; Madrid, Alcázar, in the *pieça en que duerme su Mag^d en el quarto vajo de Berano* (inv. 1636: 'Prinçipio de la grandça de La Casa de Austria: Otro lienço de quarto [recte tres] baras y m[edi]a de largo con moldura dorada y negra de mano de rubenes, en que esta la ystoria de Un principe de la Casa de Austria que llebade diestro su cavallo y encima del... Un saçerdote con sobrepelliz que lleva en la mano una custodia con el Santissimo y detras un Sacristan con

Sobre Pelliz tambien y una linterna con luz en la mano y le lleba del diestro un criado... cavallos Junta a ellos dos Perros';¹ inv. 1666, no. 68: 'Otro del mismo género [i.e. as the *Garden of Love*: 'un Sarao de tres varas de largo y dos de ancho'] y tambien de Rubens, de la casa de Austria';² inv. 1686, no. 618: 'Otro quadro del mismo genero, y original de Rubenes marco tallado y Dorado de la Catholica y reverente Devoçion, y demonsttraçion que hizo de ella, al Santissimo Sacramento el Sor Conde de Abspurg Rodulfo, Projenitor y Primer Emperador de la Augustissima Cassa de Austria';³ inv. 1701-1703: 'Otro quadro de el mismo Genero [as the *Garden of Love*] y Original de Rubenes con marco tallado y dorado de la Cattholica y reberentte deboçion y demonsttraçion que hizo de ella de el Santtissimo Sacramento el Señor Conde de Abspurg Rodulfo projenittor y primer Emperador de la Augustissima Casa de Austria';⁴ inventory of paintings saved from the fire in 1734, no. 841 [deposited in the house of the Marquis of Bedmar]: 'Otra de tres varas de ancho y dos varas de alto, con marco tallado y dorado, del Conde de Flandes, acompañando al Santissimo Sacramento, con el caballo del diestro, de Rubens';⁵ Buen Retiro (inv. 1746 [1748?], no. 841); Palacio Nuevo, *paso de tribunas y Trascuartos* (inv. 1772, no. 841: 'Un cuadro que representa un sacerdote que lleva el Viático, y el sacristan, con un escudero del Señor. Original de Rubens'); Palacio de Madrid, *cuarto de la Reina, salón grande* (1776)⁶, then *pieza de trucos* (inv. 1794, no. 810: 'Lienzo de tres varas y cuarta de largo y dos de alto. Pais en el va un sacerdote con el Viático, de Rubens');⁷ Real Museo, 1826,⁸ transferred to the Prado by 1849.

COPIES: (1) Painting, with slightly different background, by Jan Wildens, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 184.8 × 271.8 cm. PROV. ? Don Diego Mexía Felípez de Guzmán, first Marquis of Leganés (Madrid, ?1580-1655) (inv. 1642, no. 105: 'un quadro del milagro del principio de la casa de Austria con el conde de

absburgh y su criado que llebaron al cura y sacristán con sus caballos y mo de wildens';⁹ inv. 1655, no. 105: 'un quadro del principio de la casa de Austria, con el conde de Absburgh y su criado que llevan al cura y sacristan en sus caballos, de mano de Wildens, en 400'); Spencer-Churchill family, Northwick Park, by 1864; sale, London (Christie's), 29 October 1965, lot 41, repr. (as *Rubens and Wildens*). LIT. *Catalogue of the Pictures... at Northwick Park*, 1864, no. 77 (as *school of Rubens*); [T. Borenius], *Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures at Northwick Park*, London, 1921, no. 157; López Navío, *Leganés*, 1962, p. 274, no. 105 and p. 325, n. 17; Adler, *Wildens*, 1980, pp. 30, 99, no G.27, and p. 159, fig. 43 (as *perhaps by another hand*).

(2) Painting with a slightly different background, possibly a replica by Jan Wildens, Herentals, Ste-Waldetrudiskerk; canvas, 118 × 195 cm. LIT. J. Gabriels, *Herentals, Monumenten on merkwaardigheden*, 1936, p. 27; Adler, *Wildens*, 1980, pp. 30, 99, no G.26, and p. 159, fig. 42; J. Jansen, *Provincie Antwerpen. Kanton Herentals (Fotorepertorium van het meubilair van de Belgische bedehuizen)*, Brussels—Antwerp, 1977, p. 27 (as *Willem van Herp and Verwildert*).¹⁰

(3) Painting of figures only (with horses and two dogs), whereabouts unknown; panel, 25.5 × 35.5 cm. PROV. Brussels, dealer Miodrag Boskovitch, 1969; sale, Brussels (Palais des Beaux-Arts), repr. in advertisement section of *The Burlington Magazine*, January 1969 (as *sketch by Rubens*).

(4) Painting, whereabouts unknown; technique unknown, 244 × 142.5 cm. PROV. Sale, London (Christie's), 26 March 1965, lot 16.¹¹

(5) Lithograph by L. Asselineau. LIT. J. Madrazo, *Colección de cuadros del Rey de España el Señor Don Fernando VII* ('Real Establecimiento Litográfico'), Madrid, 1826, III, cxxxix; *Roses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, p. 31, under no. 815, pl. 259.

EXHIBITED: *Madrid*, 1977-78, no. 116; *El Arte en la Epoca de Calderón*, Madrid, 1981-82, no. 59.

LITERATURE: P. Rodríguez de Monforte, *Descripción de las Honras que se hicieron a la Católica Magestad de D. Phelipe Quatro*, Madrid, 1666, fol. 23v; A. Conca, *Descrizione odeporica della Spagna*, 1793, I, p. 132; J. A. Céan Bermúdez, *Diccionario histórico de los más ilustres profesores de las bellas artes en España*, Madrid, 1800, IV, p. 272; J. Madrazo, *Colección de cuadros del Rey de España el Señor Don Fernando VII* ('Real Establecimiento Litográfico'), Madrid, 1826, III, cxxxix (text by Musso y Valiente); J. Rousseau, *P.P. Rubens. Sa vie et ses oeuvres. L'Oeuvre de Rubens en Espagne*, Paris [1889], p. 54; *Smith, Catalogue, 1829-42*, IX, p. 471; Mrs [Ann] Jameson in G.F. Waagen, *Peter Paul Rubens, his Life and Genius*, trans. R.R. Noel, ed. Mrs Jameson, London, 1840, p. 104 n.; *Cruzada Villamil, Rubens, 1872*, pp. 348-351, no. 8, pp. 371-372; *Roses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, pp. 30-31, no. 815; *Michel, Rubens, 1899*, II, pp. 206-207, repr. p. 209; *Roses, Vie, 1903*, pp. 602-604 (as c. 1630-36), repr. p. 464; *Knackfuss, Rubens, 1904*, p. 82; *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg, 1906*, pp. 332, 484 (as *Rubens and Wildens*); P. Beroqui, 'Adiciones y correcciones al catálogo del Museo del Prado', *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellana de Excursiones*, 1917-18, p. 360; *K.d.K., ed. Oldenbourg, 1921*, pp. 183 (as 1618-20), 461; A.L. Mayer, *Meisterwerke der Gemäldesammlung des Prado in Madrid*, Munich, 1922, p. 247; P. Beroqui, 'Apuntes para la historia del Museo del Prado', *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, 1932, p. 88; *Knipping, Iconografie, 1939-40*, II, p. 305; *Evers, Rubens, 1942*, p. 494 and n. 195 (as *Wildens*); M. de Madrazo, *Historia del Museo del Prado, 1818-1868*, Madrid, 1945, pp. 260-267; D. Antonio Ponz, *Viage de España* (VI, 1776), ed. C.M. del Rivero, Madrid, 1947, p. 528; *Van Puyvelde, Rubens, 1952*, p. 163; *Bottineau, Alcázar, 1958*, pp. 302-303; López Navío, *Leganés*, 1962, p. 274, no. 105 and p. 325, n. 17; F. Sopena and A. Gallego, *La música en el Museo del Prado*, Madrid, 1972, p. 163; *Knipping, Iconography, 1974*, II, p. 305; *Díaz Padrón, Cat. Prado, 1975*, I, pp. 323-324, no. 1645; II, pl. 203; *Cat. Exh. Madrid, 1977-78*, pp. 129-130, no. 116, repr.; Adler, *Wild-*

ens, 1980, pp. 30-31, 84, n. 189, 99, no. 25, fig. 41; M. Volk, 'New Light on a Seventeenth-Century Collector: The Marquis of Leganés', *The Art Bulletin*, LXII, 1980, pp. 262-263, 267 and fig. 11; M. Díaz Padrón in [Cat. Exh.] *El Arte en la Epoca de Calderón*, Madrid, 1981-82, pp. 92-93, no. 59, repr. p. 168; H. Devisscher in *De Vlaamse Schilderkunst in het Prado*, eds. A. Balis, M. Díaz Padrón, C. Van de Velde, H. Vlieghe, Antwerp, 1989, pp. 157-158, no. 50, repr. in colour; *Vosters, España*, 1990, pp. 282, 304-306; *Museo del Prado. Inventario general de pinturas. I. La colección real*, intro. A.E. Pérez Sánchez, Madrid, 1990, p. 423, no. 1575, repr.

This painting illustrates a story beloved of the Hapsburgs, relating the origin of the family's greatness to its devotion to the Eucharist. Philip II is said to have enjoyed recounting it to his chamberlains, as the cause of the rise of the house of Austria.¹² The picture itself was equally a family favourite; it hung in the bedroom of Philip IV in the Alcázar along with the portraits of his dearest relatives, and treasures such as Rubens's *Garden of Love*, and Titian's *Faith (Religion succoured by Spain)*, both now in the Prado. It continued to hang in the King's Sleeping Chamber throughout the reign of Charles II, along with the *Garden of Love*, presiding over the deathbed of each monarch in turn.¹³ Interestingly, as Cruzada Villamil points out, when it was saved from the fire in 1734 and taken to the new palace, it was very much demoted. The later inventories reveal that its meaning was forgotten; under the new Bourbon dynasty it languished in a games room, an outdated Hapsburg emblem.

Despite the eucharistic reference, Rubens's picture was not a devotional subject, as Volk implies,¹⁴ nor would Philip and his family have thought of it as such. The subject was rather an exemplary history, an illustration of Hapsburg *pietas*—and the practical benefits that can come from piety. It is classed as such in Justus Lipsius's *Monita et exempla politica*, which Lipsius had dedicated to Archduke Al-

bert with the wish that he would find in it inspiring deeds performed by his Hapsburg ancestors.¹⁵ Rubens certainly consulted this book, as well as earlier representations of the story in Hapsburg propaganda. But, as is obvious from Rubens's illustration of it, the subject was one which evidently did not need to be treated with high seriousness. No doubt the story itself had not always been taken solemnly by Philip II, or his chamberlains.

When still a count, Rudolf (1273-1313) was out hunting one rainy day and met a priest taking the sacrament (*viaticum*) to a sick man; the roads were 'broken and muddy' (*fractae et sordentes*) and the priest was struggling along on foot.¹⁶ Striking his breast in devotion, Rudolf immediately jumped from his horse and handed it to the priest: he should ride since he was carrying Christ. It was an order, not a request, so the priest complied. Rudolf then followed, cap in hand, accompanying him all the way to the sick man's house, then returning with him. The priest thereupon prophesied the coming of *imperium* to Rudolf (although another story had it that the prophecy came from a Swedish anchorite woman, and some versions combined the two prophecies).¹⁷

The tale had been variously illustrated in the pageantry organized for the inauguration of Albert and Isabella as rulers of the Spanish Netherlands in 1599-1600. At Douai a pageant featured the anchorite prophetess and an eagle above Rudolf's head, holding a diadem in its claws; the whole story of Rudolf's piety with the subsequent history of Hapsburg greatness (and, finally, Albert and Isabella promising a golden age) was then acted by the students of the Jesuit college.¹⁸ There was indeed a painting of the subject on the arch set up by the Fuggers at Antwerp in 1599, as an exemplary German theme.¹⁹ The statue of Rudolf in the Entry of Ferdinand designed by Rubens himself in 1635 had a similar inscription and the story was discussed by Gevartius in his commentary, quoting the supposed prophecy.²⁰

Rudolf's piety was also the subject of more permanent forms of art. The illustration in a late seventeenth-century Bruges tapestry series on the rewards of virtue, where it typifies humility exalted (*Humilitas exaltata in Rudolpho*),²¹ was probably done with a knowledge of Rubens's precedent. The stained glass window of 1626 in St-Jacobskerk in Antwerp attributed to Jan de Labaer, and perhaps designed by Hendrik van Balen,²² may, however, predate Rubens's picture. In this window, various episodes of the story are represented in a single scene—Rudolf and his squire (Regulus Kyburg) kneel before the priest and his acolyte in the foreground. Certainly earlier than Rubens's painting is the print which Jan Wierix contributed to Thierry Piespord's *Serenissimorum potentissimorumque Principum Habsburgi-Austriacorum Stemma* which shows Rudolf I and his succession. This print, published at Brussels in 1617, may be directly related to Rubens's illustration. One scene shows Rudolf with a single page kneeling before the priest and his attendant and offering them their horses.²³

Rubens made something quite different of the subject. In particular he introduced an unexpected element of humour. For, as has often been noted, this is one of the few paintings by Rubens which involves a burlesque joke, especially notable since it is directed against a servant of religion, the figure called the sacristan in the Alcázar inventories. (Indeed some critics have found the tone incompatible with Rubens's authorship.) The horse that he is trying to mount, so clumsily that he has set the open lamp on its rump, has stopped dead in its tracks, ears flattened, and is just about to throw him in irritation (Fig. 215). Padrón compares the motif to Cloelia and her maidens (cf. Nos. 47, 48; Figs. 170, 175), but here there is no protesting animal; in any case the inexperience of Cloelia's maidens was surely meant by Rubens to look charming, not simply ungainly. Burchard rightly recalled the role of comic servants to noblemen in Spanish seventeenth-century drama. Also relevant is

the role of the fool in Spanish court life, as well as the courtly passion for horses; for this picture was, I believe, made expressly for Philip IV. Rubens, himself an expert horseman, evidently enjoyed depicting an unsophisticated retainer oblivious to familiar equine signals.

The nervous reaction of the sacristan's horse underlines another aspect of the intricate social relationships, both animal and human, involved in the painting. For this horse is a highly strung arab beast, grey and mottled with fine features and a delicately tended mane. The priest on the other hand is relatively securely mounted on a more stolid piebald. Clearly Rudolf has put the priest on his attendant's safer mount, which he himself leads, so that the Eucharist will be carried securely. Rudolf has his eyes lowered, not only in devotion, but to indicate his concentration on controlling the horse. The poor sacristan, presumably a worse rider than the priest, is thus left with the difficult animal and only Rudolf's relatively inexpert attendant to help him. These subtleties would have been immediately appreciated by Philip IV and his courtiers, even if they escape modern viewers less attuned to such class-indicators.²⁴ Burchard wondered if the dogs should be related to biblical references to canine unworthiness,²⁵ but in the present context it seems to me more appropriate to think again in terms of social distinction—in this case underlined by the behaviour of Rudolf's pointers and his attendant's beagles.

Roose saw the collaboration of Wildens in the landscape, an opinion generally shared and endorsed by Adler—Van Puyvelde seems to be exceptional in attributing the painting entirely to Rubens. Evers in fact thought that the figures too might be by Wildens, and noted that Burchard shared this opinion. However, Burchard's view altered after he saw the painting in 1952; he concluded that the entire design (including the initial underpainting) was by Rubens, the picture being then worked up by the studio (with the landscape essentially the responsibility of Wildens) and finally re-

touched by Rubens, above all in the figures and the animals, but also the tree and water to the right.²⁶

Roses dated the picture shortly before 1636, when it first appears in the Alcázar inventory. Oldenbourg put it much earlier, c. 1618-20, just after Wildens's return from Rome; 1616 or shortly after is the date suggested by Adler. But the Rubens figures look to me to have been painted in the mid 1620s, a date still compatible with Wildens's participation.²⁷ That this is indeed a work of collaboration is supported by the fact that the figures are painted in a different, less finished manner than the landscape; the coat of Rudolf is much more thinly rendered. True, this portion might be unfinished,²⁸ or, more probably, has simply been overcleaned.²⁹ The collaboration is, however, notably successful: the varied greys and browns of Rubens's figures, broken only by the white of the clerical surplices and flashes of colour on the squire's costume, blend well with the tones of Wildens's landscape.

Díaz Padrón thought that the picture now in the Prado was indeed a painting, undoubtedly representing the same subject and composition, which is attributed to Wildens in the 1642 inventory of the Leganés collection.³⁰ Volk has also implied an identification of the Leganés work with No. 56, and both authors assumed that, like the *Immaculate Conception* from Leganés which Philip hung in his private chapel,³¹ this picture had been a present from the Marquis. Certainly many other Leganés paintings ended up in the royal collection, such as the *'St Eustace'*, correctly attributed in the 1642 inventory to Rubens and Brueghel. But the painting of *Count Rudolf and the Priest* now in the Prado cannot possibly be the 'Wildens' in the Leganés inventories, since, as we have seen, it had already gone to Philip IV by 1636, and thereafter remained hanging in the king's bedroom.³² It seems obvious, therefore, that there were two pictures, one by Rubens and Wildens and a replica by Wildens alone. There is no reason to suppose that the first painting was given to Philip by Leganés,

although as ambassador to Flanders from Madrid in the 1620s it is possible that the Marquis had some role in ordering the original picture for Philip. Probably it was during his period in the Netherlands that Leganés commissioned a replica for himself, being familiar with that which had gone to Philip IV. Leganés liked the work of Wildens, to judge from the number of pictures by him in the inventory.³³ Indeed just such a replica survives, and was formerly in the Spencer-Churchill collection; Burchard who saw it twice, thought it might be by Wildens.³⁴ This, therefore, is probably the Leganés picture.

1. Madrid, Archivo de Palacio, Sección Administrativa, MS leg. 768; 'Inventario de Pinturas', p. 36 (3-4) (the MS is unpaginated, but every group of 4 pages is numbered). I thank Enriqueta Harris Frankfort for providing me with a photographic copy of the inventory. Cf. *Cruzada Villaamil, Rubens, 1872*, pp. 348-349. Another copy of the inventory is leg. 9 [1637].
2. *Cruzada Villaamil, Rubens, 1872*, p. 349.
3. *Bottineau, Alcázar, 1958*, p. 302.
4. *Inventarios, 1975-*, I, 1975, p. 51, no. 339.
5. *Cruzada Villaamil, Rubens, 1872*, pp. 349-350.
6. See Ponz, loc. cit. in bibliography, 1947.
7. For all these references see *Cruzada Villaamil, Rubens, 1872*, p. 350.
8. See Madrazo, loc. cit. in bibliography, 1945.
9. Volk, op. cit. in bibliography, 1980, p. 267.
10. Possibly this was the picture (canvas, 119 x 187 cm.) in the J.F. Wolschot sale, Antwerp (A. van Camp), 1 September 1817, lot 63 (as *school of Rubens*).
11. In the sale catalogue this picture is said to have been made over a print; if this is so, the print in question (evidently not of the present subject) must have been a very large one. Another picture of the subject associated with Rubens (technique unknown; 81.3 x 119.4 cm.) was sold in London (Christie's), 10 December 1965, lot 25 (as *Rubens*); Díaz Padrón (loc. cit., 1977-78, below) mentions two further copies in private collections in Madrid.
12. Cf. B. Porreño, *Dichos y hechos del señor rey don Philippe Segundo*, Cuenca, 1628 (ed. Saeta), p. 97, as quoted in López Navío, *Leganés, 1962*, p. 325, n. 17). On account of this, kings of Spain would accompany the sacrament on foot when they met a priest taking it to the sick. For the use of the story by Calderón, see Díaz Padrón, op. cit. 1981-82, p. 92. An etching by Romeyn de Hooghe shows Charles II of Spain offering his carriage to a priest carrying

- the host—an event which occurred on 20 January 1685, the king then proceeding on foot; appropriately the *exemplum* of Rudolf is shown in a medallion above: L. Font et al., *La Eucaristía. El tema eucarístico en el arte de España*, Barcelona, 1952, p. 141, fig. 131; *Hollstein (Dutch and Flemish)*, IX, [n. d.], p. 122, no. 136, repr. I thank Arnout Balis for this reference.
13. See esp. Monforte, op. cit., 1666, as quoted by Volk (loc. cit., 1980); also Cruzada Villamil, loc. cit., 1872, commenting that it was presumably painted to satisfy the vanity of the Hapsburgs or of Philip IV. The titles given to the painting in the early inventories, quoted above, indicate the significance the picture had for the family.
 14. Loc. cit., 1980.
 15. See dedication in *Lipsius, Opera*, 1675, IV, pp. 123–124. Lipsius specifically refers to Rudolf in this preface. For the exemplary value not just of the story, but of the image of it, see the print by de Hooghe, cited above in n. 12.
 16. In one version of the story he was approaching a stream that had to be crossed, a detail which seems to have been recalled by Rubens: see Porreño, loc. cit. in n. 12.
 17. J. Lipsius, *Monita et exempla politica*, I, ii de religione, III: 'Tuitio sacrorum famam et potentiam donat', no. 4 (*Lipsius, Opera*, 1675, IV, p. 135). For the story see also H. Pezius, *Scriptores rerum austriacarum*, I, Leipzig, 1721, pp. 839 and 1084.
 18. See *Bochius, Narratio*, 1602, pp. 386–387. The Latin inscription to the scene was: *Pietatis proemium: & Pietas homini tutissima virtus*. Cf. the account in L.P. Gachard and E. Piot, *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*, IV, Brussels, 1882, p. 548. Here, as in Lipsius's account of the story, there is no mention of any companion present.
 19. *Bochius, Narratio*, 1602, p. 286. The corresponding scene was the story of the women of Weinsberg, who carried off their husbands when told they could leave carrying one single possession after a siege. *Bochius's* account does not describe these paintings, placed on the the exterior sides of the passageway through the arch, but gives only the corresponding inscriptions. Facing east was the inscription: 'Rudolfus Habsburgius ob pium ministrium deo et ecclesiae exhibitum, ad culmen Caesareae Maiestatis euectus, Austriae familiae eiusque potentiae atque amplitudinis incrementa dare meruit'. Since we are told that the picture itself was a *historia*, it seems likely that it was an illustration of Rudolf's act of piety, probably with the prophecy. Evers (loc. cit., 1942) already mentioned this picture, as a precedent.
 20. The inscription he had in the *Portico of the Austrian Caesars* refers to this event: 'Augustae diadema domus mihi suevica vates./ Fatidicaque pius firmavit voce sacerdos'. See *Gevarcius, Pompa*, 1641, pl. 17 to p. 51 and esp. p. 45. For the statue see *Martin, Pompa*, 1972, fig. 38. For the story *Gevarcius* refers further (p. 45) to Franciscus Guliman, *Habiburgiaci*, VI, cap. iv, as well as Lipsius's *Exempla Politica*, cap. ii (cf. above, n. 17), remarking that it showed Rudolf's singular *pietas* and devotion to the Eucharist.
 21. See E. Duverger in [Cat. Exh.] *Bruges et la tapisserie*, eds. G. Delmarcel and E. Duverger, Bruges—Mouscron, 1987, pp. 493–497; cf. J. Versyp, *De Geschiedenis van de tapijtkunst te Brugge*, Brussels, 1954, pp. 102–103, pl. XLIV; also, for the series, Volume I, Chapter I, at nn. 50, 51.
 22. See now Y. Vanden Bemden, C. Fontaine-Hodiamont and A. Balis, *Cartons de vitraux du XVIIe siècle. La Cathédrale Saint-Michel, Bruxelles. (Corpus vitrearum Belgique, Études, I)* Brussels, 1994, pp. 182, 186 and fig. 187, rejecting the usual attribution of the designs to Van Diepenbeeck; also J. Helbig, *Meesterwerken van de Glasschilderkunst in de oude Nederlanden*, Antwerp, 1941, p. 32; idem, *De Glasschilderkunst in België. Repertorium en Documenten*, Antwerp, 1943, p. 34, figs. 213–216, for details. At the foot appear the donors, Juan de Cachiopin and Madeleine de Lange.
 23. See *Maucquoy-Hendrickx, Wierix, 1978–82*, III, 1, pp. 429–430, no. 2142 and pl. 326.
 24. These observations emerged in conversation with Fiona Healy in front of the picture in Madrid. I thank her very much for her perceptive comments.
 25. Matthew 7.6 and 15.26. These passages are indeed sometimes associated with the Eucharist and seem relevant to the *Last Supper* in the Brera, Milan (K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg, 1921, p. 203), where a dog knaws a bone under the seat of Judas; cf. the scene in the *Breviarium* of 1614 (Judson—Van de Velde, *Title-pages*, 1978, I, no. 26; II, fig. 89). Still more explicit are the begging dogs in Lastman's *Christ and the Woman of Canaan* (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum), hoping, like the Canaanite woman, for the 'crumbs that fall from master's table': see A. Tümpel in [Cat. Exh.] *Pieter Lastman (Rembrandthuis)*, Amsterdam, 1991, pp. 104–105, no. 10, repr.
 26. Despite the fact that in the Madrid catalogue of 1980–81, cited above, No. 56 appears to be attributed in the caption to Wildens, and the execution is judged rather timid in places, Díaz Padrón in fact takes a similar position.
 27. Cf. the comments in *Balis, Studio Practices*, 1994, p. 122, n. 77; also above, under No. 34, n. 46.
 28. The view of Müller Hofstede, according to *Adler, Wildens*, 1980, p. 30.
 29. It may be significant that Michel (*Michel, Rubens*, 1899, II, p. 206) talks of Rudolf's whitish-grey costume, and that this is the colour of the comparable costume worn by St Hubert in the painting by Jan Brueghel and Rubens (*Díaz Padrón, Cat. Prado*, 1975, I, pp. 65–67, no. 1141; II, pl. 48), whereas at present Rudolf's coat is light brown, showing

traces of underpainting. And the coat in the Copies 1 and 2, which are probably by Wildens, looks decidedly dark.

30. See above, under Copy 1.
31. Díaz Padrón, *Cat. Prado*, 1975, I, pp. 224-226, no. 1627; II, pl. 162.
32. López Navío, by contrast, thought it might be a present from Philip IV to Leganés (loc. cit., 1962), but we would have to suppose both that the Marquis then de-attributed it, and that it returned after his death to Philip, to be back in the bedroom for the king's death in 1666.
33. Leganés was in touch with Rubens at least by 1625, when his portrait was made. See Volk, loc. cit., 1980, p. 263.
34. This version does not include the addition to the left in the Prado painting, nor the church in the background, a feature quite relevant to the story.

57. Joan of Arc (Fig. 221)

Oil on canvas; 181.5 × 116 cm.

Raleigh, North Carolina, *The North Carolina Museum of Art*. Inv. no. 52.9.111 (cat. no. 1645).

PROVENANCE: ? Rubens's possession (inv. 1640, no. 159: 'La Pucelle d'Orleans sur toile' / 'A peice of Pucelle d' Orleans vppon Cloth');¹ ? Jan Baptista Cachiopin de la Redo, Antwerp (inv. 1662: 'Een contrefeytsel van de Maecht van Orleans, van Rubens');² ? David [De] Amory, sale, Amsterdam, 23 June 1722, lot 4 ('De Maegd van Orleans in't volle Harnas, levensgroote knielende voor een Crucifix door P.P. Rubbens', with similar dimensions to No. 57, as c. 185 × 128 cm.);³ ? sale, Amsterdam, 16 October 1736, lot 1;⁴ ? Dr Bragge, sale, London (Mr Prestage), 20 March 1750/51, lot 59 (as 'The Pucelle D'Orleans. Rubens'); Abraham Johann Ant. Schaaffhausen, Cologne (1756-1824), where seen by Johanna Schopenhauer;⁵ sale, Paris, 1868;⁶ Sibilla von Wittgenstein (d. 1918), sale, Cologne (Lempertz), 16 May 1919, lot 659, pl. I, bought by D. Hjorth Jr, Malmö, Sweden; Baron von Platen, Sweden; New York, dealers Rosenberg and Stiebel, 1952 (cleaned by W. Suhr, summer 1952), by whom sold to the Museum (Original State Appropriation and Gift of the North Carolina Art Society, Robert F. Phifer Funds) in 1952.

COPIES: (1) Drawing from Rubens's workshop (Fig. 218) of the figure of Joan and the rug with helmet and gauntlets, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, inv. no. Tu. 82g, no. 12; black and white chalk on blue paper, wash in black ink, 328 × 262 mm. LIT. J. Müller Hofstede, 'Beiträge zum zeichnerischen Werk von Rubens', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXVII, 1965, p. 304, n. 120; M. Jaffé, 'Rubens as a Collector of Drawings. III', *Master Drawings*, IV, 2, 1966, p. 131, nn. 20, 21.

(2) see under No. 57a.

EXHIBITED: Orléans, ? 1932; *The Robert F. Phifer Collection*, North Carolina Museum of Art, 1973, p. 80, repr. p. 81; *Masterpieces from the North Carolina Museum of Art*, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Va, 1975; *Antwerp*, 1977, pp. 114-115, no. 46.

LITERATURE: Köln und Bonn mit ihren Umgebungen, 1828, p. 131; Johanna Schopenhauer, *Ausflug an den Niederrhein und Belgien*, I, Leipzig, 1831, p. 221; J.J. Merlo, *Nachrichten von dem Leben und den Werken kölnischer Künstler*, Cologne, 1850, pp. 382-383; Parthey, *Bildersaal*, 1863-64, II, p. 430, no. 285; *Rooses, Addenda*, 1910, p. 309; *Rooses, Oeuvre*, 1886-92, IV, pp. 31-32, no. 816; O.H. Förster, *Kölner Kunstsammler vom Mittelalter bis zum Ende des bürgerlichen Zeitalter*, Berlin, 1931, pp. 62 and 142, n. 150; A. de Hevesy, 'Rubens à Paris', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th per., XXXIV, 1948, pp. 101-102 and fig. 7 (as ? Rubens); W. Valentiner, *Catalogue of Paintings, The North Carolina Museum of Art*, Raleigh, 1956, pp. 20 and 66, no. 133, repr.; W. Valentiner, 'Joan of Arc by Rubens', *North Carolina Museum of Art Bulletin*, I, 3, 1957, pp. 11-16, repr. (as Rubens, 1615-20); J. Müller Hofstede, 'Beiträge zum zeichnerischen Werk von Rubens', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXVII, 1965, pp. 304-306 and pl. 217 (as Rubens); M. Jaffé, 'Rubens as a Collector of Drawings. III', *Master Drawings*, IV, 2, 1966, p. 131, nn. 20, 21 (as Rubens); F. Huemer, 'A Rubens Portrait of Charles the Bold', *North*

Carolina Museum of Art Bulletin, IX, 1970, p. 56; *Cat. Exh. Antwerp, 1977*, pp. 114-115, no. 46, repr.; M. Jaffé, review of Rubens exhibitions, *The Burlington Magazine*, CXIX, 1977, p. 625; W. Sauerländer, in *Pantheon*, 1977, p. 340; J. Foucart, 'Rubens, l'année du quatorcentenaire', *Encyclopedia universalis*, Paris, 1978, p. 512 (as apparently a copy); K. Renger, review of exh. *Antwerp 1977* in *Kunstchronik*, XXXI, 1978, p. 5; [Cat. Exh.] *Images de Jeanne d'Arc*, Paris, Hôtel de la Monnaie, 1979, p. 51, no. 41; M. Warner, *Joan of Arc. The Image of Female Heroism*, London, 1981, p. 196 and pl. 8 (colour); *Held, Drawings, 1986*, p. 102; *d'Hulst—Vandeven, Old Testament, 1989*, p. 140, n. 6 (doubting the attribution to Rubens); Jaffé, *Rubens, 1989*, p. 240, no. 493, repr. p. 241; Muller, *Collector, 1989*, p. 123, no. 159, pl. 75.

As Burchard recognized when he learned of its existence in the mid 1920s, this painting must be connected with the 'Pucelle d'Orléans' on canvas,⁷ by Rubens, recorded in the inventory of the artist's possessions taken at his death. Like Valentiner, Jaffé and Müller Hofstede, he identified the Raleigh canvas as Rubens's original painting, and related it to a drawing formerly in Wrocław, Museum Narodowe (No. 57a; Fig. 219), which he thought was a study for that painting. Müller Hofstede also drew attention to a copy of the composition in Copenhagen (Copy 1; Fig. 218).

There can be no doubt that, whatever its exact status—it is at present relegated to the reserve of the North Carolina Museum—the Raleigh painting records, at least in part, a Rubensian composition. But, in view of its disappointing quality, it seems to me distinctly possible that it is a copy, rather than Rubens's original.⁸ It is notable that the drawing formerly in Wrocław (Fig. 219), and the copy of the figure of Joan of Arc in Copenhagen (Fig. 218) coincide in showing some features of the composition in a slightly different way from the Raleigh painting. The hands of Joan are more convincingly held, with a twist on the little finger; her face is represented

more in the round; her spurs are larger, as is her sword, which is also in a different position. Given that the Wrocław drawing also records the setting in detail in a way that would be surprising in a preliminary draft by Rubens,⁹ and presents a more grandiose scene, with an extensive curtain, balustrade and column, as well as a more lavishly plumed helmet, it is tempting to see the two drawings as copies of a lost original painting by Rubens, a work which is also reproduced in the Raleigh picture, but in a reduced and impoverished version. Still, the Raleigh picture is surely unfinished, and some of its deficiencies at least may be attributable to this circumstance.

The painting in Raleigh shows Joan of Arc, in full armour, kneeling before a crucifix on a small stone altar. She appears to be in deep concentration, and is presumably, as Valentiner and others have supposed, praying before a battle,¹⁰ probably that of Orléans, the victory which had such a crucial role in the legend of Joan.¹¹ Light from the right-hand side of the crucified Christ suffuses her face and glances off her armour, and indeed she appears to be turning and looking in the direction of this light, rather than up at the crucifix. This is probably the light of dawn,¹² but it is possible that Rubens also intended to show the Maid inspired by her heavenly 'voices', and perhaps just about to communicate with them in turn, to judge from her glance and slightly parted lips. Rubens may well have been thinking of how she herself reported that they spoke to her before the defence of Orléans, warning her that she would be wounded in it (or how they forewarned her of her capture).¹³

This effect is even more noticeable in the drawing formerly in Wrocław (No. 57a; Fig. 219). Whether or not an original study by Rubens, this drawing, which shows a more extensive space, with a balcony, may reflect the artist's original intentions more accurately than the painting. The execution of the Raleigh picture is coarse; the background is

sketchily indicated, the red drape roughly outlined.¹⁴ The more carefully rendered armour too seems mechanically painted, especially the gold parts and, for example, the spurs. The slightly awkward outline of Joan's face makes it look as if the background has been painted over afterwards. The helmet appears to have been crammed in and the Turkish carpet, evidently intended to act as a sumptuous foil to the severity of Joan's appearance and armour, is disappointingly flat and sketchy. (There is no indication of a patterned rug in the Copenhagen copy.) Nor, I think, are these features explained simply by calling the painting a studio work to which Rubens himself contributed relatively little.¹⁵ Renger, pointing to the gaps in our knowledge of the provenance, thought the picture too feeble in quality to be firmly identified with the painting recorded in Rubens's collection in 1640. In addition, there are slight discrepancies with the copy in Copenhagen (Fig. 218)—the shape of the nose, the width of the thighs, the hair falling down on Joan's right side—which might indicate that this copy was done after another figure. But the Raleigh painting corresponds well enough to the work enthusiastically described by Johanna Schopenhauer in 1831,¹⁶ and is virtually identical in size to that in the 1722 sale. It may indeed therefore be the painting in Rubens's inventory. In this case its defective appearance has to be explained by supposing that it was left unfinished by the master and gone over later in a summary manner—possibly after Rubens's death?—by another artist. The Copenhagen copy (Fig. 218) suggests a composition extended at the right. X-ray photographs, recently taken by the museum (cf. Fig. 220), seem to confirm that the original plan has been altered, in particular that there was a column behind Joan, as in the drawing formerly in Wrocław (Fig. 219). Presumably there was also a balustrade. The picture might then have been cut down as well as overpainted when it was rapidly finished for the sale of Rubens's effects after his death.

The sketchily indicated background, like the roughly painted red drape or the position of the helmet, need not therefore reflect Rubens's exact compositional ideas. He may have intended to illustrate a battle scene in the distance. We need hardly suppose either, as Valentiner did, that the picture's presence in the 1640 inventory indicates that it was painted for the artist's own pleasure; rather it could have been an abandoned commission. In any case, had Rubens painted a picture of Joan of Arc entirely for himself it is a little hard to imagine that he would have chosen to depict her in this restrained, contemplative way, as a single praying figure, whose feelings are externalized neither in action, nor even in any allegorical accompaniment—all the more so since in Rubens's time the Maid of Orléans was neither canonized nor beatified, so that any celebration of her heroic chastity was essentially secular, as Amazon, *virago*, virginal knight.¹⁷

Burchard dated the picture *c.* 1620, Müller Hofstede a few years earlier, comparing the facial type to that of *Artemisia* (No. 13; Fig. 51—he dates both 1614-18), and Jaffé *c.* 1617-20. Given the state of the painting, it is difficult to be definitive, but an estimate of *c.* 1620 or slightly earlier for the composition seems to me plausible on iconographic as well as stylistic grounds. It places the painting just at the time when there was a particular interest in Rubens's circle in the glorification of the Maid, and when his friend Gevartius was labouring on a Latin poem in her honour, which the French scholar Peiresc had requested for the monument to Joan at Orléans. And, as is generally agreed, the one visual precedent that lies behind the iconographic peculiarities of the picture is this very Orléans monument.

In 1456, when, some twenty-five years after her condemnation, Joan of Arc was officially rehabilitated, it was resolved that a monument be set up on the bridge at Orléans.¹⁸ This was erected, at the expense of a devout local family and the aldermen, in 1502, and showed the dauphin and Joan kneeling in armour and

bare-headed (so that Joan's hair fell loose down her back) on either side of a tall crucifix: its appearance is recorded in a woodcut of the late sixteenth century.¹⁹ It was, however, partly demolished by Calvinists in 1562, and subsequently took on a different appearance when restored: a new figure of the Virgin was made and the original body of the crucified Christ was now used for a Pietà, at the foot of the cross. Of the original statue of the Maid only the arms, hands and legs had been preserved, so that a new body had to be provided, but the pose and attributes remained essentially the same, to judge from the images based on this new monument, particularly the illustration by Gaultier, the title-page to Hordal's account of the Joan of Arc, published in 1612 (Fig. 217), and a painted banner in the museum in Orléans.²⁰ The monument was a favourite tourist attraction: John Evelyn, for example, describes Joan as 'booted & spurred *en Cavaliere*, with deschevel'd haire'.²¹ We learn further from Joseph Spence, who saw it in 1741, that Joan's hair was 'collected in a knot and then falls in eight or nine waving lines all down her back',²² a detail which seems to have inspired Rubens's half-undone plait. In other ways too Rubens's picture is closely related to the monument. For this private image Rubens has made Joan kneel before a small crucifix, apparently on a household altar, but it is striking that she *does* kneel before a crucifix, as in the monument, rather than before an image of the Virgin or of the favourite saints, to whom she said she prayed. Indeed, as Burchard observed, Rubens may have been familiar with the original form of the Orléans monument, not only the restored statue. Nor could he have simply derived all the details in his painting from the illustrations of the monument in published sources. For example, the knot in Joan's hair, a feature at least of the second version of the statue, is not visible in any of the contemporary published illustrations. The artist must have had at least a detailed drawing; he may even have been to Orléans and seen the monument him-

self, as Jaffé supposed, commenting that the prints were hardly sufficient to have inspired him.²³ And Joan's hair, cascading down her back, is auburn in colour as in the sixteenth-century banner preserved in the town hall of Orléans.²⁴

Interestingly, however, Joan of Arc's armour does not seem simply to copy that on the restored monument. The helmet (*salade*) does not, for example, have the neck extension, and it has feathers. It seems as if Rubens has more or less accurately depicted early fifteenth-century armour, in some cases improving on the late sixteenth-century monument. But like the sculptor of the monument he made a mistake: Joan is supposed not have worn a face guard, since her aim was to be recognized, serving as a mascot to her army rather than a fighting soldier.²⁵

That Rubens should have produced such a historically accurate image, and one which depends so much on the details of the monument, surely indicates some connection with the project for the inscriptions, in which Peiresc was a central figure. In 1613, Charles du Lis, a supposed descendent of the d'Arc family, had published a series of proposals for the texts to the sculptural group;²⁶ Peiresc was involved and solicited from his learned friends all over Europe further inscriptions: these subsequently appeared in a published collection.²⁷ In his efforts to get a poem out of Gevartius, Peiresc wrote several times to Rubens,²⁸ but he did not receive Gevartius's contribution until 1622-23, at a time when Rubens was actually visiting Peiresc. Possibly the painting was planned on this occasion.²⁹ Rubens's first contact with Peiresc seems to have been only late in 1619, so that if he was helped by the Provençal scholar with a drawing or description, it means that the painting was done at the earliest in 1620. But Gevartius had been working on his poem at least since 1617, when he was in Paris,³⁰ and Rubens's picture could rather have been associated with this.

Not that Rubens's picture was influenced

by his friend's poem in any direct way. The only analogy I can see is in the rather obvious circumstance that the picture, like the poem, seems to refer to the siege of Orléans. Rubens did not borrow any of Gevartius's classicizing imagery—the comparisons with Tomyris, Camilla, Atalanta etc. Nor did he follow another line in the poems and make her a Virtue personified, nor a *femme forte*, brandishing a sword. This image of a woman in armour is at once chaste and pacific, drawing on the image of Joan as a model of chivalry. Her solitary prayer before the battle is perhaps, or has been, a vigil, the testing time of the spirit when the battle to be faced is a *psychomachia*. Thus without any inappropriate appeal to the imagery of sanctity, Rubens seems to have characterized Joan as a holy warrior, and tried to capture something of the intensity of this woman, communing directly with the deity without intervention of the church or its rituals.³¹ Perhaps most strikingly, Rubens, who never hesitated to give sensual, even sexual appeal to his virgin saints and martyrs, seems to have tried to capture and celebrate here the curiously unsexual beauty of the Maid, to which her soldiers testified in wonder.³²

Apart from the Orléans monument, and the painted banners related to it, pictures of Joan of Arc before Rubens's had generally been half-length 'portraits' destined for galleries of famous men (and women), usually modelled on the portrait commissioned by the aldermen of Orléans c. 1580, which shows her as a female worthy (*Preuse*), brandishing her sword and in a plumed hat (and female dress).³³ It is just possible that Rubens's painting too may have been intended for some such context. Certainly it seems likely that it was meant for a French client, if not Peiresc himself.

A painting of the 'Maid or Girl of Orléans' is recorded in the 1641 inventory of Cardinal Giovanni Francesco Guidi di Bagno (1578-1641) as hanging in his Villa at Castel Gandolfo.³⁴ No size is given and the picture is not attributed to Rubens, but, given Guidi di Bagno's relationship with Rubens and interest

in his work,³⁵ it seems possible that this was a version of No. 57, though it is unlikely to have been the work which featured in Rubens's own inventory.

A drawing in Berlin on the verso of a study for Bathsheba shows a group of people including a standing man in what looks like Burgundian costume (Fig. 216).³⁶ Burchard wondered if this might depict the condemnation of Joan of Arc, a suggestion considered possible by Mielke, but dismissed by Held. The 'Burgundian lord' seems to be pushing away a kneeling knight, but this does not to my mind add up to a plausible representation of the rejection of Joan of Arc, especially since the figure to his right recalls in pose and costume the stout Turk who appears, for example, as an exotic bystander in *Tomyris and Cyrus* (No. 2; Fig. 8). In fact, as Mielke has pointed out, there is a certain relationship with the scene in the upper right of the sheet illustrated in Fig. 16 and discussed under No. 2a. It seems to me that the subject might be oriental, rather than medieval,³⁷ though I have no useful suggestion to offer. It certainly does not appear to relate to the theme of Bathsheba on the other side of the sheet.

1. Muller, *Collector*, 1989, p. 123.

2. Denucé, *Konstkamers*, 1932, p. 230.

3. Hoet, *Catalogus*, 1752-70, I, p. 259.

4. Hoet, *Catalogus*, 1752-70, I, p. 473.

5. Loc. cit. in bibliography, 1831. She reported that it had been given to the Archbishop of Cologne by a French king. However, it may be noted that a 'Pucelle d'Orléans' after Rubens was in the sale of Jan Henri de Gise, Bonn, 30 August 1742, lot 50. Might this have been the picture which subsequently entered the Schaffhausen collection and passed, eventually, to the Raleigh Museum?

6. Cf. *Chefs d'oeuvre de l'art français*, Paris, 1937, p. 99, no. 198.

7. See above, at n. 1.

8. This too was the view of Susan Barnes and Barry Hannegan of the Raleigh Museum when we corresponded on the matter in 1981. I am most grateful to them for their helpful comments.

9. Though see the arguments of Müller Hofstede, cited below.

10. If she was giving thanks after battle, she would surely be laying down her sword before the crucifix.

11. Cf. Warner, op. cit., 1981, pp. 63-69. This might be supported by the fact that Rubens's composition is based on the famous monument to Joan at Orléans. See further below.
12. Cf. below.
13. Warner, op. cit., 1981, p. 91.
14. Again I am grateful to Susan Barnes and Barry Hannegan for their account of the condition of the painting.
15. This is the view taken in *Jaffé, Rubens, 1989*, p. 240.
16. The only discrepancy might seem to be in the colour of Joan's hair which Schopenhauer calls blonde (rather than auburn), but this is how several modern writers describe it in the Raleigh painting.
17. For the different facets of the celebration of Joan of Arc see Warner, op. cit., 1981, esp. pp. 159-236 *passim*.
18. No other images or epitaphs were to be set up.
19. According to a description of 1557 (*Thomas und Felix Platters etc. Lebenbeschreibungen*, ed. O. Fischer, Munich, 1911, p. 244) it was made of stone, but this means only the base; the statues were of bronze: cf. P.-M. Brun, 'Le premier monument à Jeanne d'Arc sur l'ancien pont d'Orléans', *Dossiers d'archéologie*, XXXIV, 1979, pp. 70-76, esp. pp. 71-73.
20. See Brun, op. cit. in n. 19, pp. 73-75, repr.; Warner, op. cit., 1981, pp. 191-197; also J. de la Martinière, 'Trois bannières de la ville d'Orléans', *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique de l'Orléanais*, XXII, 1933, pp. 262ff.; idem, 'Le monument de la Pucelle sur le pont d'Orléans', *Mémoires de la Société archéologique et historique de l'Orléanais*, XXXVII, 1936, pp. 109ff., fig. 166. Jean Hordal's book is *Heroinae nobilissimae Ioannae Darc...historia*, Pont-à-Musson, 1612.
21. *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E.S. de Beer, Oxford, 1955, I, p. 90 (1644).
22. Joseph Spence: *Letters from the Grand Tour*, ed. S. Klima, Montreal—London, 1975, p. 405.
23. Hevesy (loc. cit., 1948) supposed that Rubens might have sketched the monument when he (presumably) passed through Orléans in 1627, not realizing that the painting must be earlier than this.
24. Cf. Warner, op. cit., 1981, colour pls. 7 and 8, and p. 192.
25. The long hair might seem to be wrong too, to judge from what the chroniclers say about her having cut it short in the fashion of young men (Warner, op. cit., 1981, p. 143) but the earliest known illustration of Joan of Arc, a marginal drawing in the register of the Paris Parlement of 1429 (Warner, op. cit., 1981, pl. 16) shows her with long hair flowing freely down her back.
26. *Inscriptions pour les statues du roi Charles VII et de la Pucelle d'Orléans, qui sont sur le pont de la dite ville*, Paris—Orléans, 1613.
27. *Recueil de plusieurs inscriptions proposées pour rem-
plir les tables d'attente estans sous les statues du Roy Charles VII et de la Pucelle d'Orléans, qui sont élevées, également armées, et à genoux, aux deux costez d'une Croix, et de l'image de la Vierge Marie estant au pied d'icelle, sur le pont de la ville d'Orléans, dès l'an 1458. Et de diverses poésies faites à la louange de la mesme Pucelle, de ses frères et de leur postérité...*, Paris, 1628.
28. *Rooes—Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909*, II, pp. 368, 410, 435; III, pp. 170, 178-179.
29. There is no mention of the painting in the correspondence.
30. See M. Hoc, *Étude sur Jean-Gaspard Gevaerts, philologue et poète (1593-1666)*, Brussels, 1922, pp. 35-38, 171.
31. At her trial Joan insisted she had never shed blood: Warner, op. cit., 1981, pp. 68, 165, 182.
32. For this testimony, and in particular the squires who slept by her, see Warner, op. cit., 1981, pp. 15-20.
33. For the ambivalent feelings of Renaissance writers about Joan's image and specifically her male dress see Warner, op. cit., 1981, pp. 185ff.
34. Inv. October 1641: 'Un altro quadro dipinto a olio, nel quale e rappresentata la Donzella ovvero Zitella d'Orleans, senza cornice'; see P. Torelli, 'Notizie e documenti Rubeniani in un archivio privato', *Miscellanea di studi storici. Ad Alessandro Luzio gli archivi di stato italiani*, I, Florence, 1933, pp. 189-190.
35. See above, under No. 34, *ad finem*.
36. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. KdZ 5397v. See *Burchard—d'Hulst, Drawings*, 1963, p. 131, under no. 78; H. Mielke in *Mielke—Winner, Cat. Berlin*, 1977, p. 64, no. 18v, repr.; *d'Hulst—Vandenven, Old Testament*, 1989, p. 140, under no. 43.
37. Significantly, it is hard to find any real parallel to the costume of the central man among the material in Rubens's *Costume Book*: see *Belkin, Costume Book*, 1978.

57a. Joan of Arc: Drawing (Fig. 219)

Pen and brown ink over black chalk; 219 × 203 mm.; mounted onto a larger sheet which is inscribed, lower right, *Van Dyck*, and was once part of an album.

Lost, formerly Breslau, Schlesisches Museum der bildenden Künste (Wroclaw, Museum Narodowe).

LITERATURE: J. Müller Hofstede, 'Beiträge zum zeichnerischen Werk von Rubens', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXVII, 1965, pp. 304-306 and pl. 217 (as *Rubens*).

This drawing, published by Müller Hofstede in 1965 on the basis of a photograph provided by Vitale Bloch, was evidently discovered by Dr E. Göpel, who connected it with Rubens even before the appearance of the painting now in the Raleigh Museum (No. 57; Fig. 221), and who sent Burchard a photo from Leipzig in 1932. Burchard apparently considered it an original drawing for the painting of Joan of Arc recorded in Rubens's inventory, though he seems never to have had the opportunity to see the sheet itself. It is hard to judge the quality of this work from the reproductions available, but it looks to me more like a copy than a preliminary draft for a painting. In this case it would seem to record the lost original of the picture of Joan of Arc rather than a first idea for it. The fact that it agrees in some respects with the drawing in Copenhagen listed above as a copy of the Raleigh picture (No. 57, Copy 1) tends to support this interpretation. It is accordingly mentioned simultaneously under No. 57 as a possible copy.

Müller Hofstede, who considered it to be by Rubens, suggested that the Wrocław drawing might have been presented to the patron instead of an oil sketch. Such a procedure would be most likely to happen in the case of a work which was to be sent to a client abroad, especially perhaps if this client was Peiresc, who received so much from Rubens by post. But whether or not the drawing was made by Rubens himself, it preserves his conception for his painting of Joan of Arc, and perhaps does so more accurately—at least in some respects—than the painting in Raleigh (No. 57; Fig. 221).¹

1. See the discussion under No. 57.

58. The Battle for Tunis (Figs. 222, 223, 226, 228)

Oil on cradled oak panel; 76.5 × 120 cm. The panel is composed of five boards, joined horizontally; their width is respectively (from the

top of the panel): 12.5 cm.; 19 cm.; 19.5 cm.; 19.5 cm. and 7.5 cm. The last board was a late addition, and is primed in brown, rather than the greyish tone of the rest.¹

Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Inv. no. 798G.

PROVENANCE: ? Antwerp, dealer Forchoudt, then sent to the Forchoudt sons in Vienna (inv. 1671: 'Battalie van Rubbens van Keyser Kaerel'), where, apparently exchanged (with some other paintings) for an agate chest ('cantoort') owned by Count Ferdinand Ernst von Hermerstein ('van Hermerstyn');² bought from the porter of the Hermitage, St Petersburg, who had it on sale for 650 roubles, by Peter Semenov, by whom presented to Wilhelm Bode; sold by him to the Kronprinz for his gallery, entering the Museum in 1872.³

EXHIBITED: 120 *beroemde schilderijen uit het Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum te Berlijn*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam and Palais de Beaux-Arts, Brussels, 1950, no. 94; *Chefs-d'Oeuvres des musées de Berlin, Petit Palais, Paris*, 1951, no. 75.

LITERATURE: *Königliche Museen zu Berlin: Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Gemälde*, Berlin, 1874, p. 10, no. 13; *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, p. 32, no. 817; *Rooses, Vie*, 1903, pp. 299, 369; *Dillon, Rubens*, 1909, p. 191, no. 9; H. Posse, *Die Gemäldegalerie des Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums. II: Die Germanische Länder*, Berlin, 1911, pp. 337-338, no. 798G, repr. p. 338 (as c. 1618, unfinished); *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg*, 1906, pp. 179, 475 (as 1618-1620); L. Hourticq, *La Galerie Médicis de Rubens au Louvre*, Paris, 1920, p. 154; *K.d.K. ed. Oldenbourg*, 1921, p. 401 (as 1635-1640); F. Weinitz, 'Der Schimmelreiter auf der "Eroberung von Tunis" des Peter Paul Rubens', *Der Kunstwanderer*, 1921-22, p. 317; W. Pinder, 'Antike Kampf motive in neuerer Kunst', *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, N.F. V, 1928, pp. 353-375, *passim*, esp. pp. 354-359 and fig. 3; W. von Bode, *Mein Leben*, Berlin, 1930, I, pp. 54, 65; *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Gemälde im Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum und*

Deutschen Museum, ed. I. Kunze, Berlin, 1931, p. 413, no. 798G; G. Glück, 'Bildnisse aus dem Hause Habsburg: III. Kaiser Karl V', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, N.F. XI, 1937, pp. 177-178; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, 1940, no. 28; E. Kieser, review of *Evers, Rubens*, 1942 and *Evers, Neue Forschungen*, 1943, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XIII, 1950, p. 139 n.; *Van Puyvelde, Rubens*, 1952, p. 85; *Held, Drawings*, 1959, p. 135, under no. 97 (as c. 1620); *Burchard—d' Hulst, Drawings*, 1963, p. 247, under no. 159v; J. Müller Hofstede, 'Rubens und Tizian: Das Bild Karl V', *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, XVIII, 1967, pp. 81 and 96, n. 215; M. Warnke, *Flämische Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Bilderhefte der Staatliche Museen Berlin. Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, I, Berlin, 1967, pp. 11-12; W. Stechow, 'Some Thoughts on Rubens as a Copyist of Portraits' in J.R. Martin ed., *Rubens before 1620*, Princeton, 1972, p. 24 (as c. 1620); W. Schulz in *Gemäldegalerie Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Katalog der ausgestellten Gemälde des 13.-18. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1975, p. 374, repr.; J. Kelch, *Peter Paul Rubens. Kritischer Katalog der Gemälde im Besitz der Gemäldegalerie Berlin*, Berlin, 1978, pp. 73-79, figs. 59, 60 and pl. 5; *Held, Sketches*, 1980, I, pp. 5, 386-388, no. 288; II, pls. 286-289 and colour pl. 24; *Balis, Hunting Scenes*, 1986, pp. 61, 168, 169, 177; *Gemäldegalerie Berlin. Gesamtverzeichnis der Gemälde*. [Complete Catalogue of the Paintings], London, 1986, p. 66, fig. 537, repr. p. 245 (as c. 1638-39); *Jaffé, Rubens*, 1989, p. 371, no. 1374, repr. p. 370; H.J. Horn, *Jan Cornelisz Vermeijen painter of Charles V and his Conquest of Tunis*, Doornspijk, 1989, I, pp. 291, 326, nn. 317-320; II, fig. C95.

This vivid evocation of a battle between Turks and Christians is recognizable from the sixteenth-century costumes and from the presence of the Emperor Charles V (Fig. 226) as a representation of the Battle for Tunis (1535). It is therefore likely to be the 'Battalie van Rubens van Keyser Karel' valued by the Forchoudt firm at 20 guilders in 1671 when it

formed part exchange for an agate cabinet acquired in Vienna.⁴ Nothing more is known about its early history and context: the important recent discussions by Kelch and Held emphasize rather than resolve the uncertainty about its function—whether it is a sketch or a unfinished painting—and Rubens's motivation in making it. The technique and condition of the picture have been thoroughly investigated;⁵ here it need only be underlined that Rubens evidently expanded the composition as he worked on it, adding a strip of wood along the bottom on which the details—including the long left leg of the bounding German soldier—are only roughly indicated over the brown layer of priming.⁶ The sketchiness of the foreground combined with the military subject suggests an obvious comparison with the unfinished battle scenes for the cycle of Henri IV, especially since some of the soldiers there have a similar, long-legged look.⁷ But these are large-scale studio pictures in which the foreground figures, to be contributed by the master, were left blocked out, whereas the relatively small Berlin painting is covered with light sketchings by Rubens.

Even the dating of the picture has produced widely divergent proposals, ranging from 1618-20 to the last years of Rubens's life. The first date, suggested by Bode, was based on figural analogies with pictures of that period, and in particular the Munich *Lion Hunt* of 1621,⁸ and was originally preferred by Burchard.⁹ He later came to associate it with the pictures for the Henri IV cycle, as did Müller Hofstede, who dated it c. 1630.¹⁰ Held has, however, convincingly argued that the greater freedom of handling indicates a still later dating, supporting Oldenbourg's proposal of c. 1635.¹¹

A military and historical subject generally implies a patron, and Held took it for granted that *The Battle for Tunis* would be an unlikely theme for a work undertaken by Rubens simply for his pleasure, as might otherwise have been proposed for a late picture of this size and in this technique. He wondered, there-

fore, if it might have been a Hapsburg commission which came to nothing.¹² And since Rubens's pictures for the Spanish court are usually well documented, he proposed as patron, or at least intended recipient, the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand. This at first sight seems inherently plausible; after all, the capture of Tunis was a famed Hapsburg triumph, and successive Spanish monarchs used every ceremonial occasion to exhibit the tapestry series designed by Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen which celebrated the campaign.¹³ It can be added too that when Ferdinand was invited to imitate his ancestor Charles V in the pageantry which greeted him at Ghent in 1635, one picture showed, in allegory, the Emperor's African enterprise.¹⁴ However, as we shall see, the Berlin picture need not be viewed primarily as a glorification of the Hapsburg triumph at Tunis.

The one fixed point in the picture, amid the swirling mass of men, dust and horses is, on the left, the figure of Charles V on horseback, in the attitude of Titian's great equestrian portrait. Rubens probably knew that this painting commemorated another, later battle (1547), but used it as the obvious icon of the emperor as warrior.¹⁵ He would have known Titian's painting intimately since he designed his own portrait of the triumphant Philip IV as its pendant in the *Salón Nuevo* in the Alcázar.¹⁶ In front of Charles V, on the white horse which rears as the Turkish opponent before it is unseated—to fall, head first, in a pose adapted from the earlier *Lion Hunt*¹⁷—is an armed figure who, as Weinitz pointed out, must be Charles's second-in-command, the Marchese del Vasto.¹⁸ Otherwise no identifiable personalities emerge. The foreground, however, is taken up by mostly victorious individual encounters involving German lansquenets, distinctive in their slashed and parti-coloured costumes. Rubens probably recalled the prominence given to these soldiers in Taddeo Zuccaro's fresco of the Siege of Tunis in the Sala Regia of the Vatican; it has recently been observed that a workshop drawing in Copen-

hagen records what was evidently a copy by Rubens of Zuccaro's principal figure, seen from behind.¹⁹ The costumes in Rubens's *Battle for Tunis* are, however, more convincing. And the spectacular and savage encounters he has depicted invite comparison not with Zuccaro, but with Leonardo's *Battle of Anghiari* (cf. Fig. 227), clearly the principal artistic inspiration throughout. The combat is chiefly focused around the group near the Marchese del Vasto then decreases in clarity but gains in suggestiveness as it merges into the background.²⁰ Altogether, though, the impression is that the imperial forces, which press forward from left to right, are prevailing.

Like Rooses, Held assumed that the conflict took place before the town of Tunis, and referred to the events surrounding its capture on 19 July 1535.²¹ Kelch, however, wondered if the fortress looming in the background might rather be La Goletta, the first objective of the imperial troops after landing the month before. Both authors concluded that Rubens's illustration made no more specific reference to the fighting. But if it is in no sense a historical reconstruction, I am sure that Rubens did base his imaginative recreation on a particular circumstance, even a particular episode. Central to his picture, rising up from the group to which most pictorial attention is devoted, is a dark cloud. This is not simply smoke (from guns, or fire), but is a cloud of dust. Contemporary accounts make much of the difficulties Charles V's forces had in coping with the heat, sand and dust of the desert terrain around La Goletta.²² Indeed it was while they were fighting for the fort that the worst sandstorm of the campaign blew up. Taking advantage of this, the Turks, who had previously been under pressure, emerged in force from the fort and renewed their attack, deliberately stirring up more sand and dust against their enemy. It was only as the storm subsided that the imperial army began to prevail and the Turks were obliged to retreat into La Goletta.²³ This incident was illustrated, albeit without much atmospheric detail, in the background of the

fourth of Vermeyen's tapestries, and, to judge from the inscriptions, should have been the principal subject of the scene.²⁴ Whether or not Rubens had seen this tapestry, the details visible in his painting support the idea that this sandstorm was his central theme, and that the fortified building in the background is La Goletta, for it was during the siege of this fortress that the infantry particularly distinguished itself and that the Marchese del Vasto and the German soldiers played the most important role.²⁵

The siege and battle of Tunis had been celebrated before in art—most immediately on the triumphal arches put up for Charles V in the Italian cities he visited after returning from Africa;²⁶ most accessibly as an episode in the print series devoted to his life by Maarten van Heemskerck and by Tempesta,²⁷ and most extensively in the twelve-part tapestry cycle by Vermeyen already mentioned. Here, as was noted above, one scene, the fourth, included the dust storm before La Goletta. But it was not given prominence even there, and it certainly would have been an unlikely episode to chose as a representative image of the battle; if the campaign was summed up in one event (rather than allegorically, as on the arch at Ghent) it was usually either in a panoramic view of the siege, as in the medal of Bernardi,²⁸ or in the final capture of Tunis, as was the case in Heemskerck's and Tempesta's prints.²⁹ Thus, unless we suppose Rubens's picture to have been part of a projected cycle, otherwise undocumented and lost, these pictorial precedents would seem only to underline the Berlin painting's idiosyncrasy.

It seems clear that the episode attracted Rubens's interest not so much as an historian (or propagandist) but as an artist. The effect of dust and the light glimmering behind it, so much part of his evocation of the atmosphere of the battlefield was here crucial. It has often been pointed out that details of the encounters (down to the fearsome horses) derive imaginatively from parts of Leonardo's *Battle of Anghiari*, a painting primarily preserved in

Rubens's version—the brilliant drawing now in Paris (Fig. 227).³⁰ Held eloquently characterized the Berlin picture as 'a last tribute to the artist to whom Rubens was most indebted for the concept of reckless ferocity, informing man and beast alike'. But Rubens's scene equally recalls Leonardo's explicit formulation in his notebooks of what interested him as a painter in the theme of a battle of horse-men—above all this was the mingled effects amid the conflict of smoke, dust and light. This passage, reproduced as chapter lxvii in the published *Traité de la Peinture* of 1651,³¹ must in some form have been known to Rubens, who had seen the *trattato* and had admired Leonardo's drawings at Pompeo Leoni's house in Milan in 1603.³² Rubens certainly shared Leonardo's relish for the effect of light and dust on a battlefield, as is already documented in his annotations to the youthful sheet of studies for a *Battle of the Amazons* in Edinburgh (Fig. 224). In the top left corner the word *Sol* indicates the position of the sun; above the head of the left-hand horseman appear the words: *Maxima pulvis nubis instar aut Caliginis* ('the greatest dust like a cloud or fog'). Nearby, above another head, is: *pulvis longo tractu a tergo albescit* ('the dust from being drawn out in a trail becomes white at the rear'); lower, on the left is: *ad pedes lux clarior* ('at their feet the light is brighter').³³ Jaffé dated this drawing c. 1605, but, to judge from the character of the script, it should be placed rather earlier, perhaps even in the last years of Rubens's apprenticeship with Otto van Veen.³⁴ Surely when Rubens read or otherwise learned of the account of the dust storm, amid the heat and desert sand at Tunis in 1535, he must have realized that here at last was the ideal subject for a 'dust battle picture', doubly attractive in that it allowed him to introduce the exotic element of Turkish opponents. It seems worth mentioning here that the painted copy of the *Battle of Anghiari* in the Akademie, Vienna, plausibly attributed to Rubens,³⁵ turns the standard, by the addition of three Turkish crescents, into an emblem of Islam, which

suggests that its author already had in mind an adaptation to a battle of Turks and Christians.

In the Berlin painting the dust indeed concentrates into a dark cloud, whiter round the edges; the light shining through from behind is not fire, as Held supposed, but the desert sunset—or as much of it as can penetrate the sandstorm. The very unfinishedness, with the relatively monochrome brownish colour-scheme, only punctuated by reddish patches—sky, cloaks, blood—contributes greatly to the effect, as well as recalling the colours that Leonardo recommends. Could Rubens, like Leonardo, have left his picture unfinished because it was an artistic exercise that he felt was satisfactorily completed? At any rate it is hard to see how he could have improved the effect by working up the details of the picture.

It might be that Rubens began the picture in response to a commission, one which, like Leonardo's for the *Battle of Anghiari*, gave him a welcome opportunity to evoke the atmosphere of battle. But it seems more likely that it was done on Rubens's own initiative. This accords too with the fact that it appears to be a final summation of artistic ideas on battle pictures, with motifs taken too from Rubens's hunting scenes. As was already noted, the 'moor' falling from his horse is a version of the striking figure from the Munich *Lion Hunt*, brought down by wounded lion,³⁶ while his rearing horse is a variation on the animal in the Munich *Battle of the Amazons*.³⁷ In the present work, the terrified horse is bitten by another on the neck, and the man falls, pierced by a weapon from an uncertain source—evidently not from the hand of the Marchese del Vasto who still wields a sword as he looms over him on his white horse.³⁸ One study that seems particularly close to the central group in the *Battle for Tunis* is an interestingly messy drawing from the Seilern collection (Fig. 225). This sketchy battle scene, drawn over a group of three women, appears on the verso of a sheet with studies related to the lost late painting (c. 1635-40) of *Diana and Actaeon*.³⁹ The

battle scene has usually been associated with the Munich *Lion Hunt* and dated much earlier than the studies of *Diana*, but Balis rightly pointed out that it seems to illustrate an exclusively human combat.⁴⁰ Stylistically, the drawing, with its roughly rounded forms, makes sense as the product of the last years of Rubens's life. Given its lack of any specific features of costume or character, it cannot be associated definitely with No. 58, but the fact that it seems to combine motifs from the *Battle for Tunis* with reminiscences of Leonardo's *Battle of Anghiari* suggests that it may be a related study, perhaps made before the specific subject of No. 58 occurred to Rubens, or again perhaps as an afterthought—in an attempt to devise a more 'logical' relationship of victor and vanquished between the horseman with arm upraised and the man falling headlong from his horse.⁴¹

None the less, Rubens's immediate impetus for composing the Berlin picture might well have been some topical circumstance, such as the commemoration of the centenary of the battle, or again perhaps the insistent message about the Turkish threat to Europe in the poems of Mathias Casimir Sarbiewski. The artist designed a title-page for these in 1632,⁴² and they would be plundered for the 'political' text to the print by Soutman after Rubens's drawing of Turks (after Elsheimer).⁴³

Whether intended for a patron and not delivered, or, as I think, undertaken for pleasure and left unfinished, the *Battle for Tunis* might have been expected to stay in Rubens's house, especially as it is a late work; it is therefore puzzling that nothing in the inventory of 1640 appears to correspond. It seems possible that it was simply regarded as one of the sketches and included with the 'great parcell of draughts' or 'tresgrande quantité des desseins' at the end of the list of paintings.⁴⁴

It might be noted here that a work attributed to Rubens by Waagen and others, and described as showing 'The Emperor Charles V conferring Commercial Privileges on the City

of Antwerp',⁴⁵ is actually a sketch by Cornelis de Vos representing the Kolveniers guild.⁴⁶

1. See Held, *Sketches*, 1980, I, p. 386; also the diagram in Kelch, op. cit. in bibliography, 1978, fig. 56.
2. See J. Denucé, *Kunsttuivoer in de 17e eeuw in Antwerpen. De firma Forchoudt (Bronnen voor de geschiedenis van de Vlaamsche kunst, I)*, Antwerp, 1931, p. 121, no. 12; pp. 160-161, esp. no. 12. That the *cantoor* belonged to this man can be deduced from the context in the Forchoudt accounts, as Arnout Balis observed; in particular, his name occurs on the beginning of the account on p. 160.
3. See W. von Bode, *Mein Leben*, Berlin, 1930, I, pp. 54, 65.
4. Denucé, loc. cit. in n. 2.
5. See Held, loc. cit., 1980 and Kelch, loc. cit., 1978.
6. The primer for the rest of the painting is greyish: see above, at n. 1.
7. See esp. the painting of the *Battle near Paris* now in the Rubenshuis (no. S.181): P. Huvenne, *Het Rubenshuis*, Antwerp, 1989, p. 159, repr.: *Vlieghe, Portraits*, 1987, fig. 81; *Jaffé, Rubens*, 1989, p. 313, no. 965, repr. For the other battle scenes see I. Jost, 'Bermerkungen zur Heinrichsgalerie des P.P. Rubens', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch jaarboek*, XV, 1964, pp. 175-219, esp. pp. 185-192, figs. 8-10.
8. *Balis, Hunting Scenes*, 1986, no. 11, fig. 74; cf. pp. 168, 169.
9. Cf. Burchard—d'Hulst, *Drawings*, 1963, p. 247 (under no. 159v).
10. See Müller Hofstede, loc. cit., 1967, pointing to analogies with the Henri IV paintings. Burchard in fact thought it might belong with the preparation for that series, even doubting the identification of the subject as the battle for Tunis, but, as is noted above, the subject surely involves German soldiers and Charles V.
11. Burchard's notes indicate that at one stage he also shared this view, for he speculated as to whether the painting somehow celebrated the centenary of the capture of Tunis.
12. Cf. the comments of Horn, loc. cit., 1989.
13. The series of twelve pieces was commissioned apparently on behalf of Charles V himself by his sister Mary of Hungary in 1545—the contract is dated 1546—and woven in Brussels between 1548 and 1554; a second set was made for Mary herself by 1558. Both were sent to Spain. For the commission and the later weavings and derivations see now Horn, op. cit., 1989, *passim*, esp. I, pp. 115-140. See also R.-A. d'Hulst, *Vlaamse wandtapijten van de 14de tot de 18de eeuw*, Brussels, 1960, pp. 221-230; P. Junquera de Vega and C. Herrero Carretero, *Catálogo de tapices del Patrimonio Nacional. Volumen I: Siglo XVI*, Madrid, 1986, pp. 73-92, series 13, all repr. in colour. For the public display of the series—both in Madrid and in other towns—see d'Hulst, loc. cit. but esp. *Orso, Alcázar*, 1986, pp. 124-125, 135-143 and Horn, op. cit., 1989, I, pp. 136-138.
14. Here Charles steps from a boat to grasp the surper personification of Africa by the arm: see C. Van de Velde and H. Vlieghe, *Stadsversieringen te Gent in 1635 voor de Blijde Intrede van de Kardinaal-Infant*, Ghent, 1969, pp. 57-59, 91-93, no. 14 and figs. 44, 45; also Horn, op. cit., 1989, I, p. 291 and fig. C94. It was part of the decoration of the *Arcus Caroli* (see Volume I, Chapter III, at n. 63 and text ill. 18), in which Charles's deeds were paralleled with precedents from antiquity. Charles V was a special Ghent hero, having been born there (Van de Velde and Vlieghe, op. cit., p. 49).
15. Titian's painting of 1548 shows Charles in the armour he had worn at Mühlberg; the spear, which has been accorded various symbolic meanings (see esp. E. Panofsky, *Problems in Titian, mostly iconographic* [The Wrightsman lectures], New York, 1969, pp. 85-87, fig. 97) seems to have been carried by the emperor on that occasion: W. Boheim, *Handbuch der Waffenkunde*, Vienna, 1890, pp. 319-320. (I thank Charles Hope for this reference.) Rubens here represents Charles V with the usual commander's baton. He appears to have been uninfluenced by the armour which the emperor is shown wearing in 16th-century prints of the conquest of Tunis—whether the fanciful armour of Heemskerck's version (No. VII) or the plainer suit in Tempesta's plate of the Capture of Tunis—or in Vermeyen's series (cf. Panofsky, op. cit., figs. 99-101; also below n. 27). I cannot follow Horn in seeing Vermeyen's figure, rather than Titian's, as Rubens's source. Interestingly a medal by Giovanni Bernardi (Horn, op. cit., 1989, I, p. 289; II, fig. C88) whose reverse illustrates the siege of Tunis likewise models its portrait of the emperor on the painting by Titian.
16. Cf. above, under No. 46. This in itself would suggest a dating after 1628, even if he had seen the portrait before. The partial copy, now in the Courtauld Gallery—if indeed it is not by Van Dyck after a lost Rubens: see J. Wood in *Cat. Exh. Canberra—Melbourne*, 1992, pp. 140-143, no. 40—was probably painted in 1603, on Rubens's first visit to Spain (H. Braham, *The Princes Gate Collection, Courtauld Institute Galleries*, London, 1981, p. 39, no. 58, repr.).
17. *Balis, Hunting Scenes*, 1986, no. 11, fig. 74; cf. pp. 168, 169.
18. This figure had previously been misidentified as Don John of Austria.
19. See F. Baudouin, 'Slotbeschouwingen' in *Aspecten van vijftig jaar kunsthistorisch onderzoek, 1938-1988*, Brussels, 1990, pp. 122-123, figs. 3 and 1-2 (for Zuccaro's fresco). Just possibly, though, the Copenhagen drawing is a copy after a drawing retouched by Rubens rather than made by him directly from Zuccaro's painting. On Zuccaro's

- fresco (1565-66) see J.A. Gere, *Taddeo Zuccaro. His Development studied in his Drawings*, London, 1969, pp. 103, 105-106 and pls. 156, 159; also Horn, op. cit., 1989, I, p. 290; II, fig. C91. It presents the subject as an example of the defence of the Christian faith. Charles V himself is not included.
20. As Rooses observed: 'Tous les personnages et groupes sont individuels, confondus dans un pêle-mêle sauvage, mais fortement reliés ensemble'.
 21. Horn suggests an allusion to the Battle of the Wells that preceded this, illustrated in the eighth tapestry of Vermeyen's series: Horn, op. cit., 1989, II, figs. B.64a-b.
 22. See, e.g. P. de Sandoval, *Historia de la Vida y Hechos del emperador Carlos V*, Pamplona, 1634, II, pp. 222-247, *passim*, esp. 228-229, 231, 244-245.
 23. Sandoval, op. cit. in n. 22, II, pp. 244-245. Sandoval reports that the Turks had been provoked by hearing the cries of the enemy that La Goletta was taken.
 24. See Horn, op. cit., 1989, I, pp. 193-195; the texts are reproduced on p. 238, nn. 132, 135. The storm is accorded even more importance in the Latin than in the Spanish text; since it is slightly mis-transcribed by Horn, who also omits a phrase in his translation, I reproduce it here: 'Castra movet Carolus. Sed dum deducitur agmen/ Hostis in extremos ruit atque moratur euntes./ Agmine converso poene interclusus iniquo/ Ipse loco refugit. magno quum turbine ventus/ Incubuit nostris densa caligine caecis/ Callidus erumpens hostis convertit arenam./ Non minus ut validis pugnet quam pulvere telis/ Protinus ut venti posuere repellitur hostis'. ('Charles moves [not 'pitches', as in Horn] camp. But as the army is on the march the enemy attacks the rear and impedes its progress. The army turns about and the enemy, virtually cut off in a place of disadvantage, is taking flight, when suddenly a wind of great force descends on our troops, blinding them with its thick fog. The enemy cleverly throw sand back. They fight as much with dust as with weapons of war. As soon as the wind falls the enemy is repulsed'.) Horn points out (pp. 195, 239, n.152) that the historical sources place the sandstorm on different dates; Sandoval (loc. cit.), used here as the source nearest in time to Rubens, puts it on 28 June.
 25. Cf. the observations of Kelch (op. cit., 1978, p. 74) on the role of the Marchese in the taking of La Goletta on 14 July.
 26. At Naples, for example, one arch featured in five episodes the assault on and capture of La Goletta and in two more the flight of Barbarossa and the capture of Tunis itself. See M. Gachard, *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*, II, Brussels 1874, pp. 575-576; J. Jacquot, 'Panorama des fêtes et cérémonies du règne' in *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance. II: Fêtes et cérémonies au temps de Charles Quint*, Paris 1960, pp. 429-433; R. Strong, *Art and Power. Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650*, Woodbridge, 1984, pp. 82-85. There were also (later) some Netherlandish pageants: a tableau vivant of the Capture of Tunis was displayed at Lille in 1549 (J.C. Calvete de Estrella, *El felicísimo viaje del muy alto y muy poderoso Príncipe Don Felipe*, edn Sociedad de bibliófilos españoles, Madrid 1930, I, pp. 373-374).
 27. For the Heemskerck series of 1555 see W. Stirling Maxwell, *The Chief Victories of the Emperor Charles V. Designed by Martin van Heemskerck in M.D.L.V.*, London—Edinburgh, 1870; *Hollstein (Dutch and Flemish)*, VIII, [n.d.], p. 24, nos. 167-178; for that by Tempesta engraved by J. de Gheyn III and published in 1614 see *Hollstein (Dutch and Flemish)*, VII, [n.d.], p. 193, nos. 1-9.
 28. For this see above, n. 15.
 29. In the Tempesta series (for which see above, n. 27) this is the fourth scene; here German soldiers, looking much like Rubens's, are seen advancing with fife and drum. In his fresco in the Sala Regia (see above, at n. 19) Zuccaro, however, represented a battle for La Goletta, which, however, is curiously being besieged by sea.
 30. This is invariably illustrated as the best record of the lost painting. See *Held, Drawings*, 1986, pp. 85-88, no. 49, pl. 50; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, 1977, pp. 29-30, fig. 54; *Sérullaz, Rubens*, 1978, pp. 82-84, no. 79. It may indeed be a reworking of an 16th-century Italian drawing and a more accurate record of Leonardo's original than is usually thought: see F. Zöllner, 'Rubens Reworks Leonardo: "The Fight for the Standard"' in *Achademia Leonardi Vinci*, IV, 1991, pp. 177-190. Anne-Marie Logan suggested already in 1977 that it was a reworked drawing; see K. Renger in *Kunstchronik*, XXXI, 1978, p. 143.
 31. For the history of the *Trattato* and its publication at Paris, see C. Pedretti, *The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci, compiled and edited from the original manuscripts by Jean Paul Richter. Commentary*, Oxford, 1977, I, pp. 31-36.
 32. See R. de Piles, *Abrégé de la Vie des Peintres*, Paris, 1699, pp. 94, 95; cf. *Jaffé, Antwerp Sketchbook*, 1966, I, pp. 33-35, 43.
 33. See M. Jaffé, 'A Sheet of drawings from Rubens' Italian period', *Master Drawings*, VIII, 1970, pp. 42-50; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, 1977, pp. 70-71, pl. 227; also K. Andrews, *Catalogue of Netherlandish Drawings in the National Gallery of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1985, I, pp. 69-70, no. D.4936; II, fig. 465.
 34. 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, p. 246 (esp. n. 8) and pl. 52b. These annotations, though not identical with any of Leonardo's phrases, may indicate that he was already aware of some of Leonardo's prescriptions. The first

- phrase is rather similar to Leonardo's 'The smoke which is mingled with the dust-laden air will, as it rises to a certain height, look like a dark cloud; and at the top the smoke will be more distinctly visible than the dust'. Leonardo goes on to remark that the smoke will assume a bluish tinge, and that the cloud will look lighter from the side from which light comes. See J.P. Richter, *The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci*, edn London—New York—Toronto, 1939, pp. 348-350, nos. 601, 602; also Pedretti, *op. cit.* in n. 31, I, p. 353.
35. See J. Müller Hofstede in *Cat. Exh. Cologne, 1977*, no. 9; Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy, 1977*, pl. VI, also pp. 29-30.
36. See above, at n. 8.
37. K.d.K. ed. *Oldenbourg, 1921*, p. 196; cf. the horse (in reverse) in the pictures of the *Conversion of St Paul* in the Courtauld Institute Galleries and formerly in Berlin: Freedberg, *Christ after the Passion, 1984*, no. 30, fig. 67; no. 31, fig. 74.
38. This horse is a variation on the splendid animal on the bridge in the *Battle of the Amazons*, a painting which provides numerous other parallels for riders and frantic horses.
39. See [A. Seilern], *Flemish Paintings and Drawings at 56 Princes Gate, London SW7*, London, 1969, pp. 103-104, no. 65, pls. CXXV-CXXVI; idem, *Corrigenda and Addenda to the Catalogue of Paintings at 56 Princes Gate, London*, London, 1972, p. 83; Burchard—d'Hulst, *Drawings, 1963*, pp. 245-247, no. 159, repr.; Held, *Drawings, 1986*, pp. 155-156, no. 220, pl. 210 (recto only); and esp. Balis, *Hunting Scenes, 1986*, pp. 168-169, 172, nn. 28-30, 175; H. Braham, [Cat. Exh.] *Rubens. Paintings, drawings, prints in the Princes Gate Collection*, London (Courtauld Institute Galleries), 1988-1989, pp. 37-38, no. 41, only recto repr. The inscription on the verso: *dese dry vraukens half ghecleed voorvan den Broeck* (see Balis, *op. cit.*, p. 172, n. 30) refers to the drawing of the women.
40. Balis, *Hunting Scenes, 1986*, pp. 168-169, 172, 175.
41. Two other drawings have been connected with the *Battle of Tunis*. One is a sheet which seems to be related to the Seilern drawing. It was published by Anne-Marie Logan in her review of Held, *Drawings, 1986: Master Drawings, XXV, 1987*, p. 73, fig. 5; this drawing, on the verso of a study of a woman with a baby, was then in the collection of N.G. Stogdon Inc.: see [Cat.] *Drawings from the 15th to the 20th Century. N.G. Stogdon Inc., New York*, London (Artemis Fine Arts Ltd), 1986, no. 7. (Logan did not, however, connect it with No. 58.) The other is a small drawing in Yale showing two fighting soldiers who appear to wear early Renaissance armour: A.-M. Logan, 'Two Armored Soldiers Fighting', *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin, XXIV, 1972*, pp. 16-18; Held, *Drawings, 1986*, p. 159, no. 231, pl. 209. This circumstance has prompted an association with No. 58, but the drawing does not seem to me sufficiently mature in style to accord with this idea; in any case, there was no place in a combat around Tunis for a confrontation of two armed European soldiers on foot.
42. Judson—Van de Velde, *Title-pages, 1978*, I, pp. 265-268, nos. 62 and 62a; II, figs. 212-213; also E. McGrath, 'Rubens's *Musathena*', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, L, 1987*, pp. 237-238 and pl. 66c.
43. The precise identification of the sources of these verses is given in Anne-Marie Logan's review of Held, cited above at n. 41, pp. 68-69, under no. 31. Logan herself doubts Rubens's authorship of the drawing in the British Museum; she would prefer an attribution to Soutman. But I am inclined to retain it as a work by Rubens. See also C. Hartley [Cat. Exh.] *Rubens and Printmaking*, Cambridge (Fitzwilliam Museum), 1990, pp. 8-9, nos. 7-8. Balis may well be right that it is a drawing by Rubens worked up for publication by Soutman (Balis, *Hunting Scenes, 1986*, pp. 122 and 123, n. 11). A similar position will be argued in detail in the forthcoming volume on copies after Northern artists by Kristin Belkin.
44. Muller, *Collector, 1989*, p. 145.
45. In the catalogue of the exhibition at the Grosvenor Gallery, *IIIrd National Loan Exhibition, Winter 1914-15*, no. 33. See also *Waagen, Treasures, 1854*, II, p. 261 and IV (Supplement), 1857, p. 111; *Rooses, Oeuvre, 1886-92*, IV, p. 33, no. 818; Dillon, *Rubens, 1909*, p. 234.
46. Panel; 59.4 × 126 cm., Sudeley Castle, Winchcombe, coll. Lady Ashcombe. PROV. Daniel Danoot, sale, Brussels (Nillis), 22 December 1828; Fonthill, John Morrison; Basildon Park; James Morrison, London (1857); Charles Morrison (1909) (as *Rubens*). The sketch was correctly identified in N. De Poorter, 'Rubens "onder de wapenen": De Antwerpse schilders als gildebroeders van de kolveniers in de eerste helft van de 17de eeuw', *Jaarboek. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen, 1988*, pp. 234ff., figs. 7-10; see also K. Van der Stighelen, *De portretten van Cornelis de Vos (1584/85-1651): een kritische catalogus (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie...van België. Klasse der Schone Kunsten, LII, Brussels, 1990*, pp. 238-240, no. 108.

INDEXES



Index I: Collections

This index lists (as far as their present whereabouts are known) all works catalogued in the present volume. Copies, apart from prints, have also been included. These works are listed alphabetically according to place. The number of the catalogue entry is given first, followed by copy numbers where relevant, by references to illustrations in italics and page references in Volumes I and II. Works the present whereabouts of which are unknown can be found in Index II by subject matter or in Index IV under names of earlier owners or collectors.

AMSTERDAM, L.G.A. GIER

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Cimon and Pero, No.18, copy 4; II: 97

AMSTERDAM, MUNICIPAL ARCHIVES

G. Lamberts, drawing:
representing the Trippenhuys,
with Rubens's *Cimon and Pero*, No.20,
copy 3; II: 105

AMSTERDAM, RIJKSMUSEUM

Rubens, painting:
Cimon and Pero, No.20; fig.73; II: 101,
105-107, 108, 111

ANTWERP, HUIS OSTERRIETH, BANQUE DE PARIS ET DES PAYS-BAS BELGIQUE

Rubens, oil sketches:
The Rape of the Sabines, No.42b; figs.139,
143, 144; I: 124; II: 175, 204, 206,
212, 213, 214-217, 223, 224
The Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines,
No.43c; figs.140, 145; II: 175, 199,
200, 201, 204, 206, 213, 214, 216,
218, 221, 222, 223-225

ANTWERP, KONINKLIJK MUSEUM VOOR SCHONE KUNSTEN

? Le Frère Thys, painting after Rubens:
St Ambrose and Theodosius, No.55, copy 7;
II: 298, 301, 305

ANTWERP, STEDELIJK PRENTENKABINET

Anonymous ('Soutman'), drawing after
Rubens:
Tommyris and Cyrus, No.4, copy 10;
II: 33-34, 36

APELDOORN, HET LOO

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
The Flight of Cloelia, No.48, copy 1; II: 251,
253, 254

ATTINGHAM PARK

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Tommyris and Cyrus, No.2, copy 11; II: 15

BASLE, KUNSTMUSEUM

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Alexander and Roxana, No.14a, copy 1;
fig.57; II: 84, 85

BATH, HOLBURNE MUSEUM

Anonymous, needlework picture:
Tommyris and Cyrus, No.3, copy 27; II: 30

BAYONNE, MUSÉE BONNAT

Rubens, drawings:
Nero contemplating the Dead Agrippina,
No.53; fig.188; I: 8; II: 278-282
The Continnence of Scipio, No.49b; fig.184;
II: 260, 262, 264-265, 268

Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:
Cimon and Pero, No.18, copy 6; II: 97

BEBINGTON, CHESHIRE, C. NIVEN-JOHNSTON

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Alexander and Roxana, No.14, copy 5; II: 80

BELGIUM, PRIVATE COLLECTION

Rubens, oil sketch:
Romulus appearing to Julius Proculus,
No.32; fig.91; II: 114, 115, 116, 119,
122, 123, 125, 134, 135, 136, 141,
143, 151, 156, 158-161

BELGIUM, PRIVATE COLLECTION

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
The Continnence of Scipio, No.49, copy 3;
fig.179; II: 258, 259, 262, 266, 267

BERGAMO, ACCADEMIA CARRARA

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Cimon and Pero, No.21a, copy 6; II: 108-109

BERGUES, MUSÉE MUNICIPAL

? B. Beschey, painting after Rubens:
The Justice of Cambyses, No.6, copy 2;
fig.25; II: 39, 40

BERLIN, KAISER-FRIEDRICH-MUSEUM (formerly)

Rubens and studio, painting (lost):
The Flight of Cloelia, No.47; figs.170, 171;
I: 51, 52; II: 79, 150, 246-251, 252,
253, 254, 256, 314

BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ

Rubens, painting:

The Battle for Tunis, **No.58**; figs.222, 223, 226, 228; I: 113; II: 323-330

BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ, KUPFERSTICKKABINETT

Rubens, drawings:

The Triumph of Alexander, **No.16**; fig.63; I: 8, 125; II: 84, 90-95*The Fortitude of Scaevola* (with *Jacob and Esau* above), **No.46a**; fig.162; II: 236, 237, 241, 242-245*The Continnence of Scipio*, **No.49a**; fig.183; II: 260, 263-264, 268

Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:

Diogenes seeking a True Man, **No.12a**, copy 6; II: 72

BEVERLY HILLS, CA, ALFRED S. KARLSEN

Anonymous ('T. van Thulden'), painting after Rubens:

Alexander and Roxana, **No.14**, copy 2; II: 80

BIELEFELD, PROFESSOR A. OETÉKE

Rubens, oil sketch:

The Continnence of Scipio, **No.49c**; fig.177; II: 241, 259, 261, 265-267

BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Rubens, painting:

Tommyris and Cyrus, **No.2**; figs.8, 7; I: 10, 38, 53, 64, 89; II: 14-25, 26, 27, 28, 31, 32, 34, 35, 38, 76, 237, 259, 261, 266, 274

BRESLAU (NOW WROCLAW), SCHLESISCHES MUSEUM DER BILDENDEN KÜNSTE (formerly)

? Rubens, drawing (lost):

Joan of Arc, **No.57a** (= **No.57**, copy 2); fig.219; II: 317, 318, 319, 322-323

BRUSSELS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE

? C. de Bie, watercolour after Rubens:

The Fortitude of Scaevola, **No.46**, copy 8; II: 233

BRUSSELS, GASTON DULIÈRE

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:

Head of Seneca, **No.54**, copy 5; II: 282, 290

BRUSSELS, MUSÉES ROYAUX DES BEAUX-ARTS

Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:

two satyrs, from *Pythagoras advocating Vegetarianism*, **No.7**, copy 5; II: 48

BRUSSELS, PRIVATE COLLECTION

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:

Cimon and Pero, **No.18**, copy 2; II: 97

BRUSSELS, TOWN HALL (formerly)

Rubens, painting (destroyed 1695):

The Justice of Cambyses, **No.6**; I: 7, 43, 64, 89; II: 24, 39-44, 261, 264

BUDAPEST, SZÉPMŰVÉSZETI MŰZEUM

Rubens studio, painting:

The Fortitude of Scaevola, **No.46**, copy 1; fig.163; I: 10; II: 231-232, 234, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 242, 243, 245, 246

CADAQUÉS, MUSEO PERROT-MOORE

Anonymous, paintings after Rubens:

The Continnence of Scipio, **No.49**, copy 5; II: 15, 19, 258, 259, 262*Tommyris and Cyrus*, **No.2**, copy 6; II: 15, 19, 258, 262

CAMBRAI, MUSÉE MUNICIPAL

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:

Alexander and Roxana, **No.15**, copy 1; II: 85

CAMBRIDGE, FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM

? J. Jordaens, drawing after Rubens:

three figures, from *Tommyris and Cyrus*, **No.2a**, copy 2 (= **No.2**, copy 13); fig.15; II: 15, 25, 26, 27

CLEVELAND, OHIO, THE CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART

? Rubens, drawing:

The Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines, **No.43b**; fig.151; II: 221-223

Rubens, drawing:

Tommyris and Cyrus, **No.5**; fig.17; I: 52-53; II: 37-39

COPENHAGEN, STATENS MUSEUM FOR KUNST, KONGELIGE KOBBERSTIKSAMLING

W. Panneels, drawings after Rubens:

legs and arms, from *St Ambrose and Theodosius*, **No.55**, copy 15; fig.213; II: 299, 301, 302torso of Pythagoras, from *Pythagoras advocating Vegetarianism*, **No.7**, copy 2; II: 47, 50two studies for *The Rape of the Sabines*, **No.38**, copy; fig.123; I: 121, 124; II: 181-182, 183, 184*The Rape of the Sabines*, **No.39**, copy; fig.124; I: 121, 124; II: 181, 183-184legs and arm, from *The Fortitude of Scaevola*, **No.46**, copy 11; II: 233-234left arm of dead man, from the same, **No.46**, copy 12; fig.167; II: 234leg and foot of Porsenna, from the same, **No.46**, copy 13; II: 234

- ? *W. Panneels, drawings after Rubens:*
 Roxana's upper torso, from *Alexander and Roxana*, **No.15**, copy 5; II: 85, 86, 87
 armour and sword of Theodosius, from *St Ambrose and Theodosius*, **No.55**, copy 13; II: 299, 301
 armour and right arm of soldier, from the same, **No.55**, copy 14; II: 299, 301
 figure of Lucretia, from *The Rape of Lucretia*, **No.44**, copy 5; II: 225, 227
 Pythagoras and three men, from *Pythagoras advocating Vegetarianism*, **No.7**, copy 3; II: 47, 50
 central nymph, from the same, **No.7**, copy 4; II: 47-48, 50
 top of Porsenna's throne, from *The Fortitude of Scaevola*, **No.46**, copy 10; II: 233
 breastplate and armour, from the same, **No.46**, copy 14; II: 234
 Rubens studio, drawing after Rubens:
Joan of Arc, **No.57**, copy 1; fig.218; II: 317, 318, 319, 323
- COUGHTON COURT, WARWICKSHIRE**
 Unidentified workshop, tapestry after Rubens:
The Finding of Romulus and Remus, **No.34**, copy 17; II: 166
- DETROIT, LAWRENCE A. FLEISCHMAN**
 ? Rubens studio, painting:
The Justice of Cambyses, **No.6a**, copy 1; fig.28; II: 44, 46
- DRESDEN, GEMÄLDEGALERIE**
 ? Rubens and ? J. Boeckhorst, painting:
The Flight of Cloelia, **No.48**; figs.175, 173; I: 8, 10, 51; II: 150, 251-255, 256, 314
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Tommyris and Cyrus, **No.3**, copy 5; II: 29-30
- DUNKIRK, MUSÉE DES BEAUX-ARTS**
 Anonymous ('T. van Thulden'), painting after Rubens:
Cimon and Pero, **No.21**, copy 1; fig.80; II: 108, 111, 112
- EDINBURGH, NATIONAL GALLERY OF SCOTLAND**
 Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:
Romulus and Remus suckled by the Wolf, **No.33**, copy 2; II: 161, 163
- EHRESHOVEN, SCHLOSS**
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
The Continnence of Scipio, **No.49c**, copy 3; II: 265
- ENGLAND, PRIVATE COLLECTION**
 ? T. van Thulden, painting after Rubens:
 head of St Ambrose, from *St Ambrose and Theodosius*, **No.55**, copy 11; II: 299, 304, 308
- EYNATTEN, J. DE SMETH**
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Cimon and Pero, **No.21a**, copy 1; II: 108, 109
- FRANKFURT, STÄDELSCHES KUNSTINSTITUT**
 ? J. Jordaens, painting after Rubens:
Diogenes seeking a True Man, **No.12a**, copy 1; fig.46; II: 71-72, 73
- GERMANY, PRIVATE COLLECTION**
 P. Pontius (?), retouched by Rubens, drawing:
Tommyris and Cyrus, **No.3**; fig.13; II: 18, 25, 29-33, 35, 238, 241
- GRENOBLE, MUSÉE**
 Anonymous ('Van Diepenbeeck'), painting after Rubens:
The Finding of Romulus and Remus, **No.34**, copy 3; II: 164-165
- THE HAGUE, JUEKE GEERDES**
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Cimon and Pero, **No.20**, copy 1; II: 105
- THE HAGUE, MAURITSHUIS**
 W. van Haecht, painting,
Alexander in the Studio of Apelles:
 with representation of Rubens's *Rape of Lucretia*, **No.44**, copy 1; II: 225, 226, 227, 228
- HERENTALS, STE-WALDETRUDISKERK**
 ? J. Wildens, painting after Rubens:
Rudolf of Hapsburg and the Priest, **No.56**, copy 2; II: 312, 315, 317
- ITALY, PRIVATE COLLECTION**
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Tommyris and Cyrus, **No.3**, copy 7; II: 30
- JERUSALEM, THE ISRAEL MUSEUM**
 ? Rubens or studio, painting:
Alexander and Roxana, **No.14**; figs.54, 55; I: 10, 113, 116; II: 80-84, 85, 86, 87, 92
 Rubens, oil sketch:
Reconciliation of Romulus and Titus Tatius, **No.31**; fig.86; II: 114, 115, 116, 118, 122, 123, 124, 125, 135, 141, 143, 151, 154-156, 157, 160, 161

INDEX I: COLLECTIONS

KARLSRUHE, STAATLICHE KUNSTHALLE

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
The Fortitude of Scaevola, **No.46**, copy 3;
II: 233

KNOWSLEY HALL, THE EARL OF DERBY

? Rubens studio, painting:
The Death of Seneca, **No.54b**, copy 1;
II: 296, 297

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
St Ambrose and Theodosius, **No.55**, copy 4;
II: 298, 304

LIMBOURG, PRIVATE COLLECTION

Anonymous ('Jordaens'), painting after
Rubens:
Diogenes seeking a True Man, **No.12**,
copy 5; II: 65, 68

LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM

? Rubens or Van Dyck after Rubens,
drawing:
The Fortitude of Scaevola, **No.45**; fig.161;
I: 8, 51; II: 229-231, 245

LONDON, BUCKINGHAM PALACE,
H.M. THE QUEEN

Rubens, painting:
Pythagoras advocating Vegetarianism, **No.7**;
fig.31; I: 7, 8, 61, 67, 89, 108, 110,
111, 114; II: 47-52, 66

LONDON, DULWICH COLLEGE PICTURE
GALLERY

Rubens, oil sketch:
Romulus setting up a Trophy, **No.30**; fig.89;
II: 114, 115, 116, 118, 122, 123, 124,
125, 134, 135, 141, 143, 150-153,
154, 156, 159, 160

LONDON, NATIONAL GALLERY

Rubens, painting:
The Rape of the Sabines, **No.40**; figs.127,
128, 129, 130, 131; I: 51, 89,
120-121; II: 183, 184-195, 196, 197,
199, 212, 216, 217, 227, 229, 252

Van Dyck, painting after Rubens:
St Ambrose and Theodosius, **No.55**, copy 1;
fig.205; II: 240, 297-298, 302, 304,
306, 307, 309

LONDON, NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY

G. Scharf, drawing after Rubens:
Cimon and Pero, **No.22**, copy 2; II: 110

LONDON, PRIVATE COLLECTION

Anonymous, painting (grisaille) after
Rubens:
The Fortitude of Scaevola, **No.46**, copy 2;
fig.164; II: 232-233, 238-239, 241

MADRID, ALCÁZAR (formerly)

Rubens and G. de Crayer, painting (lost):
The Rape of the Sabines, **No.42**; I: 7, 9, 51;
II: 123, 202-210, 211-213, 216, 217,
244

Rubens, painting (lost):
The Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines,
No.43; I: 7, 9, 51, 61; II: 148, 199,
200, 201, 202, 210, 211, 212, 216,
217-220, 221, 244

Rubens, painting (lost):
The Fortitude of Scaevola, **No.46**; I: 7, 51,
89; II: 141, 204, 206, 230, 231-242,
243, 244, 245, 246

MADRID, MUSEO DEL PRADO

Rubens, with J. Wildens, painting:
Rudolf of Hapsburg and the Priest, **No.56**;
figs.214, 215; I: 7, 51; II: 296, 311-317

Retouched by Rubens, painting:
The Death of Seneca, **No.54a**; fig.198; II:
280, 288, 290, 294-296

Anonymous, paintings after Rubens:
The Rape of the Sabines (deposited in the
University of Barcelona), **No.42**,
copy 1; fig.141; II: 204, 206, 209,
211, 212, 213, 216, 217, 218
The Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines
(deposited in the University of
Barcelona), **No.43**, copy 1; fig.142;
II: 148, 199, 204, 206, 209, 211, 217,
218, 222

MADRID, PALACIO DE LIRIA, THE DUCHESS
OF ALBA

Rubens studio, painting:
The Devotion of Artemisia, **No.13**, copy 1;
fig.52; I: 10, 90; II: 73-74, 77, 78, 80

MADRID, REAL ACADEMIA DE SAN
FERNANDO

Rubens, drawing:
study of a man, for *The Rape of Lucretia*,
No.44a; fig.156; II: 193, 228-229

MALIBU, J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM

? Rubens or Justus van Egmont ? after
Rubens, oil sketch:
Mars and Rhea Silvia, **No.24a**; fig.99; I: 9,
11, 116; II: 125, 128, 140, 142,
143-144, 149

MILAN, PALAZZO ANNONI, COUNT
ALESSANDRO CIGOGNA MOZZONI

Studio of Rubens, painting:
Tomyris and Cyrus, **No.4**, copy 1; fig.20;
I: 10; II: 33, 34, 36

MOSCOW, PUSHKIN MUSEUM

- ? Rubens, oil sketch:
The Fortitude of Scaevola, **No.46b**; fig.165;
 I: 10; II: 245-246

MOUNT STUART, ROTHESAY, BUTE,
THE MARQUESS OF BUTE

- W. van Haecht, painting, *Picture Gallery*:
 with representation of Rubens's *Rape of
 Lucretia*, **No.44**, copy 2; fig.169;
 II: 225, 226, 227
 with representation of Rubens's *Fortitude
 of Scaevola*, **No.46**, copy 4; fig.169;
 II: 233

MUNICH, ALTE PINAKOTHEK

- Rubens and studio, painting:
The Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines,
No.41; fig.138; I: 61; II: 125, 134,
 148, 197-202, 218, 221
 Rubens, painting:
The Death of Seneca, **No.54**; fig.195; I: 7, 10,
 108, 109, 110, 112, 113; II: 280,
 282-294, 295, 307

MUNICH, BAYERISCHE
STAATSGEMÄLDESAMMLUNGEN

- Anonymous, paintings after Rubens:
Diogenes seeking a True Man, **No.12**,
 copy 3; II: 65, 70
The Death of Seneca, **No.54**, copy 3; II: 282,
 288, 290

NEW HAVEN, YALE CENTER FOR BRITISH ART

- J. Reynolds, drawing after Rubens:
Antiochus and Stratonice, **No.17**, copy;
 fig.66; II: 95

NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

- Rubens, drawing:
Alcibiades interrupting the Symposium,
No.11; figs.41, 42; I: 8, 67, 98;
 II: 61-64

- Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
The Justice of Cambyses, **No.6a**, copy 2;
 fig.29; II: 44-45, 46, 47

NICE, MUSÉE CHÉRET

- Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
The Continance of Scipio, **No.49**, copy 6;
 II: 258, 259

OPOCNO, CASTLE

- Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
The Flight of Cloelia, **No.47**, copy 2; II: 247

OSLO, NASJONALGALLERIE

- Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
The Origin of the Lupercalia (?), **No.36**,
 copy; fig.122; II: 177-178

PALMA, CASA OLEZA

- Workshop of J.J. Tons, tapestry after Rubens:
The Finding of Romulus and Remus, **No.34**,
 copy 16; II: 166

PARIS, MUSÉE DU LOUVRE

- Rubens, painting:
Tomyris and Cyrus, **No.4**; figs.23, 22; I: 53,
 89; II: 18, 23, 31, 33-37
 ? Rubens and ? J. van den Hoecke, painting:
The Flight of Cloelia, **No.48b**; figs.176, 174;
 I: 8; II: 250, 252, 253, 254, 255-257
 Rubens studio (? Van Dyck), painting after
 Rubens:
Diogenes seeking a True Man (transferred
 to St-Etienne, Palais des Arts),
No.12, copy 1; fig.43; II: 64, 68, 71
 Rubens, drawing:
The Vindication of Tuccia, **No.51**; fig.185;
 I: 8, 38, 62, 89; II: 269-276
 ? T. van Thulden, drawing after Rubens:
The Fortitude of Scaevola, **No.46**, copy 9;
 II: 233, 235, 239

- N. Vleughels, drawing after Rubens:
 head of a man, from *St Ambrose and
 Theodosius*, **No.55**, copy 17; II: 299

- Anonymous, drawings after Rubens:
 Roxana's torso, from *Alexander and
 Roxana*, **No.15**, copy 6; II: 85
Diogenes seeking a True Man, **No.12a**,
 copy 7; II: 72

PARIS, MUSÉE DU PETIT PALAIS

- G. Coques, painting, *Artists' Feast*:
 with representation of Rubens's *Fortitude
 of Scaevola*, **No.46**, copy 5; fig.166;
 II: 233

PHILADELPHIA, PA, PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM
OF ART, JOHN G. JOHNSON COLLECTION

- Rubens, oil sketch:
The Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines,
No.43a; figs.148, 150; II: 195, 199,
 200, 206, 218, 219, 220-221, 222,
 223, 224

- Anonymous, paintings after Rubens:
The Nurture of Romulus and Remus, **No.35**,
 copy 2; fig.120; II: 174-175, 176, 177
The Seven Sages disputing over the Tripod,
No.1, copy 1; fig.1; I: 8; II: 9, 10, 12,
 14

POTSDAM-SANSSOUCI, BILDERGALERIE

- Rubens, painting:
The Devotion of Artemisia, **No.13**; fig.51;
 I: 8, 66, 89, 90; II: 13, 21, 27, 36,
 73-80, 250, 278, 319

- ? Rubens, painting:
The Death of Cleopatra, **No.52**; fig.187; I: 11;
 II: 276-278, 281
- Rubens, oil sketch:
The Justice of Cambyses, **No.6a**; fig.27;
 II: 40, 44-47
- POTSDAM-SANSSOUCI, BILDERGALERIE
 (formerly)
- Rubens, painting (presumably lost):
The Rape of Lucretia, **No.44**; figs.154, 155,
 157, 158; I: 9, 114; II: 82, 193,
 225-228, 229
- Anonymous, painting after Rubens (lost):
The Nurture of Romulus and Remus, **No.35**,
 copy 1; fig.121; II: 173, 174, 176, 177
- POTSDAM-SANSSOUCI, NEUES PALAIS
 (formerly)
- ? Rubens studio, painting after Rubens
 (lost):
The Justice of Cambyses, **No.6**, copy 1;
 fig.24; II: 39, 40
- PRINCETON, NJ, BARBARA PIASECKA
 JOHNSON COLLECTION FOUNDATION
- Rubens, painting:
Democritus and Heraclitus, **No.8**; fig.36;
 I: 103, 106, 110, 113; II: 52-57, 58, 60
- PRINCETON, NJ, PRIVATE COLLECTION
- Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Alexander and Roxana, **No.14**, copy 7; II: 80
- PUSHKIN, CATHERINE PALACE-MUSEUM
- Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
The Rape of the Sabines, **No.40**, copy 1;
 II: 184-185, 192
- RADIER MANOR, JERSEY, THE EARL OF JERSEY
- ? Justus van Egmont, painting ? after
 Rubens:
The Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines,
No.28a, copy; fig.109; II: 127-128,
 138, 144, 149
- RALEIGH, NC, NORTH CAROLINA MUSEUM OF
 ART
- ? Rubens, painting:
Joan of Arc, **No.57**; fig.221; I: 10;
 II: 317-322, 323
- ROME, PALAZZO DEI CONSERVATORI
- Workshop of San Michele, tapestry after
 Rubens:
The Finding of Romulus and Remus, **No.34**,
 copy 15; II: 166, 274
- ROME, PALAZZO DELLA CONSULTA
- ? Workshop of D. Eggermans II, tapestry
 ? after Rubens:
- Romulus and Remus suckled by the Wolf*,
No.25, tap.2 (ser.IVa.2); II: 126, 127,
 130, 131, 144
- ROME, PALAZZO ODESCALCHI
- Anonymous, paintings after Rubens:
The Continnence of Scipio, **No.49**, copy 2;
 II: 15, 19, 258, 259
Tomyris and Cyrus, **No.2**, copy 2; II: 15, 19,
 258
- ROME, PINACOTECA CAPITOLINA
- Rubens, painting:
The Finding of Romulus and Remus, **No.34**;
 fig.117; I: 61, 79; II: 133, 144, 163,
 164-173, 178, 274
- D. Corvi, painting after Rubens:
The Finding of Romulus and Remus, **No.34**,
 copy 4; II: 165
- ROTTERDAM, MUSEUM BOYMANS-VAN
 BEUNINGEN
- ? Rubens, oil sketch:
Reconciliation of Romulus and Titus Tatius,
No.31a; fig.87; II: 114, 134, 141,
 156-158
- ROUSHAM HOUSE, T. COTTRELL-DORMER
- Anonymous ('F. Francken'), painting after
 Rubens:
The Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines,
No.43a, copy 1; II: 220, 221
- ST PETERSBURG, HERMITAGE
- Rubens, painting:
Cimon and Pero, **No.18**; figs.69, 71; I: 48-49;
 II: 97-103, 104, 106, 107, 111, 113,
 114
- Anonymous, paintings after Rubens:
The Rape of the Sabines, **No.40**, copy 2;
 II: 185, 192, 217
The Rape of the Sabines, **No.42b**, copy 6;
 II: 215
- ? Worked up counterproof, ? retouched by
 Rubens:
Tomyris and Cyrus, **No.2a**, copy 1; fig.9;
 I: 10; II: 19, 20, 25-27
- P.J. Tassaert, drawings after Rubens:
The Rape of the Sabines, **No.42b**, copy 10;
 II: 215, 224
The Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines,
No.43c, copy 9; II: 215, 224
- Anonymous, drawings after Rubens:
Cimon and Pero, **No.19**, copy 1; II: 103, 104
 Cimon only, from *Cimon and Pero*, **No.21a**,
 copy 8; fig.75; II: 109

SAN JOSÉ, COSTA RICA, PRIVATE COLLECTION

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
The Death of Seneca, **No.54b**, copy 3; II: 296

SEATTLE, ART MUSEUM

J. van den Hoecke, drawing ? after Rubens:
Cimon and Pero, **No.23**, copy; fig.76; I: 11;
II: 113-114

SEVILLE, CONDES DE GÁLVEZ

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Tomyris and Cyrus, **No.3**, copy 8; II: 30

SIEGEN, MUSEUM DES SIEGERLANDES

Rubens, painting:
Cimon and Pero, **No.22**; fig.74; II: 101, 106,
107, 108, 110-113, 114

SILVER SPRINGS, MARYLAND, C.B.C. CAREY

? Rubens, painting:
Romulus and Remus suckled by the Wolf,
No.33; fig.115; II: 161-163

SINT-PIETERS-LEEUEW, A. BORLOO

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Cimon and Pero, **No.18**, copy 1; II: 97

SKOKLOSTER CASTLE, SWEDEN

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Tomyris and Cyrus, **No.2**, copy 3; II: 15

SOTTRUM, KRYSSTIAN SUROWIETZ

? Rubens or A. Wolffort, painting:
The Weeping Heraclitus, **No.9**; fig.35; I: 11;
II: 57-58

STOCKHOLM, NATIONALMUSEUM

Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:
The Justice of Cambyses, **No.6a**, copy 6;
II: 45

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
The Death of Seneca, **No.54b**, copy 2;
fig.199; II: 296, 297

STOURHEAD, DORSET

Anonymous, silver plate, after Rubens:
Tomyris and Cyrus, **No.3**, copy 31; II: 31

SWEDISH ROYAL COLLECTIONS

Unidentified workshop, tapestries ? after
Rubens:

Mars and Rhea Silvia, **No.24**, tap.1
(ser.III.1); II: 125, 130, 140

Romulus and Remus suckled by the Wolf,
No.25, tap.1 (ser.III.2); fig.103;
II: 125, 130, 144

Romulus favoured by the Augury, **No.26**,
tap.2 (ser.III.3); II: 125, 130, 145

Unidentified workshop, tapestry after
Rubens:

The Finding of Romulus and Remus, **No.34**,
copy 18; II: 166

SWITZERLAND, PRIVATE COLLECTION

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Heads of two women, from *Tomyris and
Cyrus*, **No.2**, copy 10; II: 15, 21

TOULOUSE, MUSÉE DES AUGUSTINS

N. de Largillière, painting after Rubens:
Tomyris and Cyrus, **No.4**, copy 5; II: 33, 34

TOURNAI, MUSÉE DES BEAUX-ARTS

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
The Continnence of Scipio, **No.49c**, copy 2;
II: 265, 266

UCCLE (BRUSSELS), PRIVATE COLLECTION

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Heads of two maids, from *Tomyris and
Cyrus*, **No.4**, copy 9; II: 33

VIENNA, GRAPHISCHE SAMMLUNG
ALBERTINA

? Rubens, drawing:
Study of two female heads, for *Tomyris
and Cyrus*, **No.2b** (= No.2,
copy 12); fig.10; I: 10; II: 15, 21,
28-29

VIENNA, KUNSTHISTORISCHES MUSEUM

Rubens and Van Dyck, painting:
St Ambrose and Theodosius, **No.55**; figs.204,
208, 210; I: 8; II: 21, 294, 297-308,
309, 210, 311

Workshop of F. van der Borcht, tapestry
after Rubens:

The Rape of the Sabines, **No.42b**, copy 11;
II: 215

VIENNA, FÜRST KARL ZU SCHWARZENBERG

Rubens studio, painting:
The Finding of Romulus and Remus, **No.34**,
copy 1; I: 10; II: 133, 164, 169

WINDSOR, ROYAL LIBRARY

Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:
Diogenes seeking a True Man, **No.12a**,
copy 4; II: 72, 73

WÖRLITZ, STAATLICHE SCHLÖSSER
UND GÄRTEN

Rubens, painting:
Alexander and Roxana, **No.15**; fig.58; I: 113,
116; II: 79, 81, 82, 83, 85-90, 92,
248, 250

INDEX I: COLLECTIONS

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
The Flight of Cloelia, No.47, copy 1; II: 247,
248

ZELTINGEN-RACHTIG, DR R. GREBE

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Tomyris and Cyrus, No.2, copy 4; II: 15

ZIERIKZEE, J.C. VAN DER MALE

Anonymous ('G. de Crayer'), painting after
Rubens:
St Ambrose and Theodosius, No.55, copy 8;
II: 298

Index II: Subjects

This index lists, in alphabetical order by the name of the principal character, all subjects catalogued; references to wrongly identified subjects from history are given in Index III: Other Works; mistaken attributions in Index IV: Names and Places.

Under each title are gathered all known representations, listed in the same order as in the catalogue (the paintings preceding sketches and studies); these include both works by Rubens himself and copies made by other artists after them.

The number of the catalogue entry is given first, followed by references to illustrations in italics and page references in Volumes I and II.

ALCIBIADES INTERRUPTING THE SYMPOSIUM, No.11

Rubens, drawing (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art), No.11; *fig.41*; I: 8, 67, 98; II: 61-64

ALEXANDER AND ROXANA, No.14

? Rubens or studio, painting (Jerusalem, The Israel Museum), No.14; *figs.54, 55*; I: 10, 113, 116; II: 80-84, 85, 86, 87, 92

Rubens studio, painting (formerly Hannover, Museum), No.14, copy 1; *fig.56*; II: 80, 82-83

Anonymous ('T. van Thulden'), painting (Beverly Hills, A.S. Karlsten), No.14, copy 2; II: 80

Anonymous ('T. van Thulden'), painting (formerly Eriksberg, Baron C.C. Bonde), No.14, copy 3; II: 80

Anonymous, painting (in Florence, c. 1875-1915), No.14, copy 4; II: 80

Anonymous, painting (Bebington, C. Niven-Johnston), No.14, copy 5; II: 80

Anonymous, painting (formerly Middelburg, J.W. van Sluijs), No.14, copy 6; II: 80

Anonymous, painting (Princeton, private collection), No.14, copy 7; II: 80

Anonymous, painting (sale, London, 1976), No.14, copy 8; II: 80

Rubens, oil sketch (whereabouts unknown, presumably lost), No.14a; II: 83, 84-90

Anonymous, painting (Basle, Museum), No.14a, copy 1; *fig.57*; II: 84, 85

Anonymous, painting (sale, New York, 1945), No.14a, copy 2; II: 84-85

ALEXANDER AND ROXANA, No.15

Rubens, painting (Wörlitz, Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten), No.15; *fig.58*; I: 113, 116; II: 79, 81, 82, 83, 85-90, 92, 248, 250

Anonymous, painting (Cambrai, Musée), No.15, copy 1; II: 85

Anonymous, painting (sale, London, 1953), No.15, copy 2; II: 85, 87

Anonymous, painting (sale, London, Christie's, 1990), No.15, copy 3; II: 85

Anonymous, painting (sale, London, Sotheby's, 1990), No.15, copy 4; II: 85

? W. Panneels, drawing (Roxana's upper torso) (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling), No.15, copy 5; II: 85, 86, 87

Anonymous, drawing (Roxana's torso) (Paris, Louvre), No.15, copy 6; II: 85

THE TRIUMPH OF ALEXANDER, No.16

Rubens, drawing (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett), No.16; *fig.63*; I: 8, 125; II: 84, 90-95

ST AMBROSE AND THEODOSIUS, No.55

Rubens and Van Dyck, painting (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum), No.55; *figs.204, 208, 210*; I: 8; II: 21, 294, 297-308, 309, 310, 311

Van Dyck, painting (London, National Gallery), No.55, copy 1; *fig.205*; II: 240, 297-298, 302, 304, 306, 307, 309

Anonymous, painting ('Beschey') (formerly London, Wildenstein, 1947), No.55, copy 2; II: 298

Anonymous, painting (formerly New York, Wildenstein, 1948), No.55, copy 3; II: 298, 304

Anonymous, painting (? Knowsley Hall), No.55, copy 4; II: 298, 304

Anonymous, painting (grisaille) (sale, London, 1946), No.55, copy 5; II: 298, 307

Anonymous, painting (formerly London, R. Frank), No.55, copy 6; II: 298

? Le Frère Thys, painting (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten), No.55, copy 7; II: 298, 301, 305

[ST AMBROSE AND THEODOSIUS, No. 55, cont.]

- Anonymous ('G. de Crayer'), painting (Zierikzee, J.C. van der Male), No.55, copy 8; II: 298
- Anonymous, painting (sale, London, 1953), No.55, copy 9; II: 298
- Anonymous, painting (St Ambrose) (formerly Paris, P. Cornette de Saint-Cyr), No.55, copy 10; II: 298
- ? T. van Thulden, painting (head of St Ambrose) (England, private collection), No.55, copy 11; II: 299, 304, 308
- ? W. Panneels, drawing (armour and sword of Theodosius) (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng), No.55, copy 13; II:299, 301
- ? W. Panneels, drawing (armour and right arm of soldier) (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng), No.55, copy 14; II: 299, 301
- W. Panneels, drawing (legs and arms) (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng), No.55, copy 15; *fig.213*; II: 299, 301, 302
- A. Watteau, drawing (head) (formerly London, L. Burchard), No.55, copy 16; II: 299
- N. Vleughels, drawing (head) (Paris, Louvre), No.55, copy 17; II: 299
- A. von Prenner, etching, No.55, copy 18; II: 299
- J. Schmutzer, engraving, No.55, copy 19; II: 300, 309
- J. Axmann, engraving, No.55, copy 20; I: 300
- J. Hahn, engraving, No. 55, copy 21; II: 300
- W. Unger, engraving, No.55, copy 22; II: 300
- ? Rubens, oil sketch (whereabouts unknown), No.55a; II: 304, 307, 308
- P. Spruyt, etching, No.55a, copy; *fig.212*; II: 307, 308, 309
- ? Rubens, study of drapery for St Ambrose (formerly London, T. Lawrence, 1835), No.55b; II: 310
- ? Rubens, painting (head study of two soldiers) (whereabouts unknown), No.55c (= No.55, copy 12); II: 299, 310-311
- Anonymous, painting (heads of two soldiers) (sale, London, 1957), No.55c, copy 1; II: 310, 311
- Anonymous, painting (heads of two soldiers) (formerly Bad Salsufler-Wusten, D.-J. Schalk), No.55c, copy 2; II: 310, 311

- H. Gillis, engraving (heads of two soldiers; in reverse), No.55c, copy 3; *fig.209*; II: 310, 311
- J. Fischer, engraving (heads of two soldiers; in reverse), No.55c, copy 4; II: 310, 311
- J. Hazard, facsimile print (heads of two soldiers); No.55c, copy 5; II: 310, 311

ANTIOCHUS AND STRATONICE, No.17

- Rubens, painting (whereabouts unknown; presumably lost), No.17; II: 93, 95-97
- J. Reynolds, drawing (New Haven, Yale Center for British Art), No.17, copy; *fig.66*; II: 95

THE DEVOTION OF ARTEMISIA, No.13

- Rubens, painting (Potsdam-Sanssouci, Bildergalerie), No.13; *fig.51*; I: 8, 66, 89, 90; II: 13, 21, 27, 36, 73-80, 250, 278, 319
- Rubens studio, painting (Madrid, Palacio de Liria, Coll. Duchess of Alba), No.13, copy 1; *fig.52*; I: 10, 90; II: 73-74, 77, 78, 80
- ? Rubens studio, painting (formerly Chicago, S. Eastman), No.13, copy 2; *fig.53*; I: 90; II: 74, 77, 78
- Anonymous, painting (sale, London, 1973), No.13, copy 3; II: 74, 78
- Anonymous, painting (sale, Antwerp, 1970), No.13, copy 4; II: 74

THE JUSTICE OF CAMBYSES, No.6

- Rubens, painting (formerly Brussels, Town Hall; destroyed 1695), No.6; I: 7, 43, 64, 89; II: 24, 39-44, 261, 264
- ? Rubens studio, painting (formerly Potsdam-Sanssouci, Neues Palais; lost), No.6, copy 1; *fig.24*; II: 39, 40
- ? B. Beschey, painting (Bergues, Musée Municipal), No.6, copy 2; *fig.25*; II: 39, 40
- H. van Herp II, painting (formerly Bestuur der Antwerpsche Godshuizen, 1883), No.6, copy 3; II: 39
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown), No.6, copy 4; II: 39
- ? Rubens, oil sketch (Potsdam-Sanssouci, Bildergalerie), No.6a; *fig.27*; II: 40, 44-47
- ? Rubens studio, painting (Detroit, L.A. Fleischman), No.6a, copy 1; *fig.28*; II: 44, 46

[THE JUSTICE OF CAMBYSES, No. 6, cont.]

- Anonymous, painting (New York, Metropolitan Museum), No.6a, copy 2; *fig.29*; II: 44-45, 46, 47
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Marseilles, M. Camproyer, 1890), No.6a, copy 3; II: 45, 46
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Luxembourg, N. Thibor, 1927), No.6a, copy 4; II: 45, 46
- Anonymous, painting (sale, London, 1967), No.6a, copy 5; II: 45, 46
- Anonymous, drawing (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum), No.6a, copy 6; II: 45
- R. Eynhoudts, etching, No.6a, copy 7; *fig.30*; II: 45, 46

CIMON AND PERO, No.18

- Rubens, painting (St Petersburg, Hermitage), No.18; *figs.69, 71*; I: 48-49; II: 97-103, 104, 106, 107, 111, 113, 114
- Anonymous, painting (St-Pieters-Leeuw, A. Borloo), No.18, copy 1; II: 97
- Anonymous, painting (Brussels, private collection), No.18, copy 2; II: 97
- Anonymous, painting (head and bust of Pero) (formerly London, Koetser), No.18, copy 3; II: 97
- Anonymous, painting (in reverse) (Amsterdam, L.G.A. Gier), No.18, copy 4; II: 97
- Painting, as represented in G. Thomas, *Art Gallery with a Young Artist* (sale, London, 1974), No.18, copy 5; II: 97, 101, 102, 103
- Anonymous, drawing (Bayonne, Musée Bonnat), No.18, copy 6; I: 97
- C. van Caukercken, engraving (in reverse), No.18, copy 7; *fig.70*; I: 48; II: 97-98, 100, 101
- J. Sanders, engraving, No.18, copy 8; II: 98
- Anonymous, engraving, No.18, copy 9; II: 98

CIMON AND PERO, No.19

- ? Rubens, painting (sale, Paris, 1955), No.19; *fig.72*; I: 10; II: 103-105, 106, 107, 113
- Anonymous, drawing (St Petersburg, Hermitage), No.19, copy 1; II: 103, 104
- W. Panneels, etching (in reverse), No.19, copy 2; *fig.78*; II: 103, 104

CIMON AND PERO, No.20

- Rubens, painting (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum), No.20; *fig.73*; II: 101, 105-107, 108, 111

- Anonymous, painting (The Hague, J. Geerdes), No.20, copy 1; II: 105
- Anonymous, painting (bust of Pero and head of Cimon) (formerly Cologne, W. Krakau), No.20, copy 2; II: 105
- G. Lamberts, detail of a drawing representing the Trippenhuys (Amsterdam, Municipal Archives), No.20, copy 3; II: 105

CIMON AND PERO, No.21

- Rubens, painting (whereabouts unknown; presumably lost), No.21; II: 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112
- Anonymous ('T. van Thulden'), painting (Dunkirk, Musée des Beaux-Arts), No.21, copy 1; *fig.80*; II: 108, 111, 112
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Ontario, N. Stuparyk), No.21, copy 2; II: 108
- Rubens, oil sketch (whereabouts unknown; presumably lost), No.21a; II: 106, 107, 108-110, 113
- Anonymous, painting (Eynatten, J. de Smeth), No.21a, copy 1; II: 108, 109
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown), No.21a, copy 2; *fig.81*; II: 108, 109
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Palestine, private collection), No.21a, copy 3; II: 108
- Anonymous, painting (sale, Cologne, 1977), No.21a, copy 4; II: 108
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown), No.21a, copy 5; II: 108, 109
- Anonymous, painting (Bergamo, Accademia Carrara), No.21a, copy 6; II: 108-109
- Anonymous, painting (sale, Vienna, 1985), No.21a, copy 7; II: 109
- Anonymous, drawing (Cimon only) (St Petersburg, Hermitage), No.21a, copy 8; *fig.75*; II: 109
- A. Voet II, engraving (in reverse), No.21a, copy 9; *fig.82*; II: 107, 109

CIMON AND PERO, No.22

- Rubens, painting (Siegen, Museum des Siegerlandes), No.22; *fig.74*; II: 101, 106, 107, 108, 110-113, 114
- B. Lens, miniature (sale, New York, 1979), No.22, copy 1; II: 110, 112
- G. Scharf, drawing (London, National Portrait Gallery), No.22, copy 2; II: 110

[CIMON AND PERO, No.22, cont]

? Rubens, painting (formerly Paris, prince de Conti, sale 1777), No.22a; II: 108, 110, 111, 112, 113

CIMON AND PERO, No.23

? Rubens, ? drawing (whereabouts unknown; presumably lost), No.23; I: 11; II: 113-114

J. van den Hoecke, drawing (Seattle Art Museum), No.23, copy; *fig.76*; I: 11; II: 113-114

THE DEATH OF CLEOPATRA, No.52

? Rubens, painting (Potsdam-Sanssouci, Bildergalerie), No.52; *fig.187*; I: 11; II: 276-278, 281

THE FLIGHT OF CLOELIA, No.29

General: II: 125, 128, 149-151, 254 (part of a Romulus series)

Unidentified workshop, tapestry (formerly Sturefors, Castle), No.29, tap. (ser.IIb.2); *fig.110*; II: 125, 128, 130, 149, 254

? Rubens, oil sketch (unrecorded), No.29a; I: 11; II: 150

? Rubens studio, cartoon (unrecorded), No.29b; II: 150

THE FLIGHT OF CLOELIA, No.47

Rubens and studio, painting (formerly Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum; destroyed), No.47; *figs.170, 171*; I: 51, 52; II: 79, 150, 246-251, 252, 253, 254, 256, 314

Anonymous, painting (Wörlitz, Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten), No.47, copy 1; II: 247, 248

Anonymous, painting (Opocno, Castle), No.47, copy 2; II: 247

THE FLIGHT OF CLOELIA, No.48

? Rubens and ? J. Boeckhorst, painting (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie), No.48; *figs.175, 173*; I: 8, 10, 51; II: 150, 251-255, 256, 314

Anonymous, painting (Apeldoorn, Het Loo), No.48, copy 1; II: 251, 253, 254

Anonymous, painting (formerly London, Leger Galleries), No.48, copy 2; II: 251, 253, 254

Anonymous ('H. van Balen'), painting (sale, Munich, 1962), No.48, copy 3; II: 251, 253, 254

? Rubens, oil sketch (whereabouts unknown), No.48a; II: 253, 255

? Rubens and ? J. van den Hoecke, painting (Paris, Louvre), No.48b; *figs.176, 174*; I: 8; II: 250, 252, 253, 254, 255-257

DEMOCRITUS AND HERACLITUS, No.8

Rubens, painting (Princeton, New Jersey, The Barbara Piasecka Johnson Collection Foundation), No.8; *fig.36*; I: 103, 106, 110, 113; II: 52-57, 58, 60

Anonymous, painting (formerly Düsseldorf, W.D. Drüll), No.8, copy 1; II: 52

Anonymous, painting (formerly Arezzo, Tina dei Bardi), No.8, copy 2; II: 52

Anonymous, painting (sale, London, 1965), No.8, copy 3; II: 52

'DEMOCRITUS' AND 'HERACLITUS' WITH A SOLDIER, No.10

Rubens, painting (whereabouts unknown; presumably lost), No.10; II: 58-61

Anonymous, painting (sale, London, 1958), No.10, copy; *fig.37*; II: 58-59

DIOGENES SEEKING A TRUE MAN, No.12

Rubens, painting (whereabouts unknown, presumably lost), No.12; I: 7, 66, 106, 107, 110, 113; II: 64-71

Rubens studio (? Van Dyck), painting (Paris, Louvre, transferred to St-Étienne, Palais des Arts), No.12, copy 1; *fig.43*; II: 64, 68, 71

Anonymous, painting (sale, Brussels, 1929; since cut into 2 parts), No.12, copy 2; *fig.44*; II: 64, 67

Anonymous, painting (Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen), No.12, copy 3; II: 65, 70

Anonymous, painting (sale, Munich, 1931), No.12, copy 4; II: 65, 68

Anonymous ('Jordaens'), painting (Limbourg, private collection), No.12, copy 5; II: 65, 68

C. von Mechel, engraving, No.12, copy 6; II: 65

Rubens, oil sketch (whereabouts unknown, presumably lost), No.12a; II: 68, 71-73

? J. Jordaens, painting (Frankfurt, Städtisches Kunstinstitut), No.12a, copy 1; *fig.46*; II: 71-72, 73

Anonymous, painting (sale, London, 1935), No.12a, copy 2; II: 72

Anonymous, painting (sale, London, 1974), No.12a, copy 3; II: 72

[DIOGENES SEEKING A TRUE MAN, No.12, cont.]

- Anonymous, drawing (Windsor, Royal Library), No.12a, copy 4; II: 72, 73
- Anonymous, drawing (formerly London, Colnaghi, 1943), No.12a, copy 5; II: 72
- Anonymous, drawing (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett), No.12a, copy 6; II: 72
- Anonymous, drawing (Paris, Louvre), No.12a, copy 7; II: 72

THE WEEPING HERACLITUS, No.9

- ? Rubens or A. Wolffort, painting (Sottrum, Krystian Surowietz), No.9; *fig.35*; I: 11; II: 57-58

JOAN OF ARC, No.57

- ? Rubens, painting (Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art), No.57; *fig.221*; I: 10; II: 317-322, 323
- Rubens studio, drawing (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling), No.57, copy 1; *fig.218*; II: 317, 318, 319, 323
- ? Rubens, drawing (formerly Breslau [Wroclaw], Schlesisches Museum der bildenden Künste; lost), No.57a (= No.57, copy 2); *fig.219*; II: 317, 318, 319, 322-323

THE RAPE OF LUCRETIA, No.44

- Rubens, painting (formerly Potsdam-Sanssouci, Bildergalerie; presumably lost), No.44; *figs.154, 155, 157, 158*; I: 9, 114; II: 82, 193, 225-228, 229
- Painting, as represented in W. van Haecht, *Alexander in the Studio of Apelles* (The Hague, Mauritshuis), No.44, copy 1; II: 225, 226, 227, 228
- Painting, as represented in W. van Haecht, *Picture Gallery* (Marquess of Bute), No.44, copy 2; *fig.169*; II: 225, 226, 227
- ? A. Lunden, painting (whereabouts unknown), No.44, copy 3; II: 225, 227
- Anonymous, drawing (formerly London, L. Burchard), No.44, copy 4; II: 225
- ? W. Panneels, drawing (figure of Lucretia) (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling), No.44, copy 5; II: 225, 227
- Rubens, drawing (study for Tarquin) (Madrid, Real Academia de San Fernando), No.44a; *fig.156*; II: 193, 228-229

THE ORIGIN OF THE LUPERCALIA (?), No.36

- ? Rubens, ? painting (unrecorded), No.36; II: 177-179
- Anonymous, painting (Oslo, Nasjonalgalleriet), No.36, copy; *fig.122*; II: 177-178

MARS AND RHEA SILVIA, No.24

- General: II: 125, 140-144, 149 (part of a Romulus series)
- Unknown workshop, tapestry (Swedish Royal Collections), No.24, tap.1 (ser.III.1); II: 125, 130, 140
- Unknown workshop, tapestry (formerly Stockholm, C. Bergsten), No.24, tap.2 (ser.Va.1); *fig.100*; II: 125, 132, 138, 140, 150
- Unknown workshop, tapestry (sale, London, 1952), No.24, tap.3 (ser.VI.1); I: 125, 132, 138, 140
- ? Rubens or Justus van Egmont ?after Rubens, oil sketch (Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum), No.24a; *fig.99*; I: 9, 11, 116; II: 125, 128, 140, 142, 143-144, 149
- ? Rubens studio, cartoon (unrecorded), No.24b; II: 144

NERO CONTEMPLATING THE DEAD AGRIPPINA, No.53

- Rubens, drawing (Bayonne, Musée Bonnat), No.53; *fig.188*; I: 8; II: 278-282

PYTHAGORAS ADVOCATING VEGETARIANISM, No.7

- Rubens, painting (London, Buckingham Palace), No.7; *fig.31*; I: 7, 8, 61, 67, 89, 108, 110, 111, 114; II: 47-52, 66
- Anonymous, painting (London, Sotheby's, 1973), No.7, copy 1; II: 47
- W. Panneels, drawing (torso of Pythagoras) (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling), No.7, copy 2; II: 47, 50
- ? W. Panneels, drawing (Pythagoras and three men) (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling), No.7, copy 3; II: 47, 50
- ? W. Panneels, drawing (central nymph) (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling), No.7, copy 4; II: 47-48, 50
- Anonymous, drawing (two satyrs) (Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts), No.7, copy 5; II: 48

**[PYTHAGORAS ADVOCATING
VEGETARIANISM, No.7, cont.]**

Anonymous, drawing (nymphs and satyrs)
(sale, London, 1991), No.7, copy 6;
fig.32; II: 48, 50

ROMULUS SERIES, Nos.24-29

General: I: 7-8, 11; II: 125-128, 129-134, 140-151,
176, 200 (and see also under individual
subjects, s.v. Cloelia, Mars, Romulus,
Sabines)

ROMULUS SERIES, Nos.30-32

General: I: 7-8; II: 114-125, 126-127, 129,
141-142, 143, 150-161, 176
and see also under individual subjects,
and in Index IV under Romulus and
under Cardiff Cartoons)

**ROMULUS AND REMUS SUCKLED BY
THE WOLF, No.25**

General: II: 125, 144-145 (part of a Romulus
series)

Unknown workshop, tapestry (Swedish Royal
Collections), No.25, tap.1 (ser.III.2);
fig.103; II: 125, 130, 144

? Workshop of D. Eggermans II, tapestry
(Rome, Palazzo della Consu.ta), No.25,
tap.2 (ser.IVa.2); II: 126, 127, 130, 131,
144

? Rubens, oil sketch (unrecorded), No.25a;
I: 11; II: 145

? Rubens studio, cartoon (unrecorded), No.25b;
II: 145

**ROMULUS AND REMUS SUCKLED BY
THE WOLF, No.33**

? Rubens, painting (Silver Springs, Maryland,
C.B.C. Carey), No.33; *fig.115*; II: 161-163

Anonymous, drawing (Edinburgh, National
Gallery of Scotland), No.33, copy 2;
II: 161, 163

? Rubens, painting (study for a seated infant)
(formerly G. Stratigos), No.33a (= No.33,
copy 1); *fig.114*; I: 10; II: 161,
162, 163-164

**THE FINDING OF ROMULUS AND REMUS,
No.34**

Rubens, painting (Rome, Pinacoteca
Capitolina), No.34; *fig.117*; I: 61, 79;
II: 133, 144, 163, 164-173, 178, 274

Rubens studio, painting (Vienna, Fürst Karl zu
Schwarzenberg), No.34, copy 1; I: 10;
II: 133, 164, 169

Anonymous, painting (sale, London, 1954),
No.34, copy 2; II: 164

Anonymous ('Van Diepenbeeck'), painting
(Grenoble, Musée), No.34, copy 3;
II: 164-165

D. Corvi, painting (Rome, Pinacoteca
Capitolina), No.34, copy 4; II: 165

Anonymous, painting (sale, Cologne, s.d.),
No.34, copy 5; II: 165

Anonymous, painting (formerly Madrid,
Collection Lázaro), No.34, copy 6;
II: 165

Anonymous, painting (formerly Oslo, Paul
Roer), No.34, copy 7; II: 165

Anonymous, painting (children and wolf)
(sale, Arnhem, 1983), No.34, copy 8;
II: 165

Anonymous, painting (children and wolf)
(sale, Frankfurt, 1933), No.34, copy 9;
II: 165

Anonymous, painting (children and wolf)
(formerly Rome, Maria Bruna Flacco),
No.34, copy 10; II: 165

Anonymous, painting (head of River Tiber)
(London, Christopher Powney), No.34,
copy 11; II: 165

Anonymous, engraving (in reverse), No.34,
copy 12; II: 165

R. de Saint-Non, aquatint etching (children
and wolf; in reverse), No.34, copy 13;
II: 165

I. Alberti, engraving (the children), No.34,
copy 14; II: 165

Workshop of San Michele, tapestry (Rome,
Palazzo dei Conservatori), No.34,
copy 15; II: 165-166, 274

Workshop of J.J. Tons, tapestry (in reverse)
(Palma, Casa Oleza), No.34, copy 16;
II: 166

Unidentified workshop, tapestry (in reverse)
(Coughton Court), No.34, copy 17;
II: 166

Unidentified workshop, tapestry (in reverse)
(Swedish Royal Collections), No.34,
copy 18; II: 166

? Rubens, oil sketch (formerly Lunden family,
17th century), No.34a; II: 173-174

**THE NURTURE OF ROMULUS AND REMUS,
No.35**

? Rubens, oil sketch (formerly Brussels,
D. Danoot, 1781), No.35; II: 174-177

[THE NURTURE OF ROMULUS AND REMUS, No.35, cont.]

- Anonymous, painting (formerly Potsdam-Sanssouci, Bildergalerie), No.35, copy 1; *fig.121*; II: 173, 174, 176, 177
- Anonymous, painting (Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection), No.35, copy 2; *fig.120*; II: 174-175, 176, 177

ROMULUS FAVOURED BY THE AUGURY, No.26

- General: II: 125, 145-146 (part of a Romulus series)
- Unidentified workshop, tapestry (formerly Stockholm, H.A. Johnson), No.26, tap.1 (ser.IIa.1); *fig.106*; II: 125, 129, 145, 146
- Unidentified workshop, tapestry (Swedish Royal Collections), No.26, tap.2 (ser.III.3); II: 125, 130, 145
- Unidentified workshop, tapestry (formerly Rome, private collection), No.26, tap.3 (ser.IVa.4); II: 126, 127, 131, 145
- Unidentified workshop, tapestry (formerly Mechelen, G. Dewit), No.26, tap.4 (ser.Vb); II: 132, 145
- Unidentified workshop, tapestry (fragment) (sale, New York, 1923), No.26, tap.5 (ser.Vc); II: 132, 145
- Unidentified workshop, tapestry (sale, London, 1952), No.26, tap.6 (ser.VI.3); II: 125, 132-133, 138, 145
- ? Rubens, oil sketch (unrecorded), No.26a; I: 11; II: 146
- ? Rubens studio, cartoon (unrecorded), No.26b; I: 146

ROMULUS SETTING UP A TROPHY, No.30

- Rubens, oil sketch (part of a Romulus series) (London, Dulwich College Picture Gallery), No.30; *fig.89*; II: 114, 115, 116, 118, 122, 123, 124, 125, 134, 135, 141, 143, 150-153, 154, 156, 159, 160
- ? Rubens, oil sketch (whereabouts unknown), No.30a; II: 153, 154

RECONCILIATION OF ROMULUS AND TITUS TATIUS, No.31

- Rubens, oil sketch (part of a Romulus series) (Jerusalem, The Israel Museum), No.31; *fig.86*; II: 114, 115, 116, 118, 122, 123, 124, 125, 135, 141, 143, 151, 154-156, 157, 160, 161

- ? Rubens, oil sketch (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen), No.31a; *fig.87*; II: 114, 134, 141, 156-158

ROMULUS APPEARING TO JULIUS PROCULUS, No.32

- Rubens, oil sketch (part of a Romulus series) (Belgium, private collection), No.32; *fig.91*; II: 114, 115, 116, 119, 122, 123, 125, 134, 135, 136, 141, 143, 151, 156, 158-161

RUDOLF OF HAPSBURG AND THE PRIEST, No.56

- Rubens, with J. Wildens, painting (Madrid, Museo del Prado), No.56; *figs.214, 215*; I: 7, 51; II: 296, 311-317
- J. Wildens, painting (collection Marquis of Leganés, inv. 1655), No.56, copy 1; II: 311-312, 315, 317
- ? J. Wildens, painting (Herentals, Ste-Waldetrudiskerk), No.56, copy 2; II: 312, 315, 317
- Anonymous, painting (sketchy: figures, horses and dogs) (sale, Brussels, 1969), No.56, copy 3; II: 312
- Anonymous, painting (sale, London, 1965), No.56, copy 4; II: 312, 315
- L. Asselineau, lithograph, No.56, copy 5; II: 312

THE RAPE OF THE SABINES, No.27

- General: II: 125, 147, 150 (part of a Romulus series)
- Unidentified workshop, tapestry (formerly Stockholm, H.A. Johnson), No.27, tap.1 (ser.IIa.2); *fig.107*; II: 125, 126, 129, 147, 150
- Unidentified workshop, tapestry (formerly Rome, private collection), No.27, tap.2 (ser.IVa.8); II: 126, 131, 147
- ? Workshop of J. van den Hecke, tapestry (sale, London, 1927), No.27, tap.3 (ser.IVb); II: 132, 147
- Unidentified workshop, tapestry (Milton Abbey sale, 1932), No.27, tap.4 (ser.VI.4); II: 133, 147
- ? Rubens, oil sketch (unrecorded), No.27a; I: 11; II: 147
- ? Rubens studio, cartoon (unrecorded), No.27b; II: 147

THE RAPE OF THE SABINES, No.37

- Rubens, drawing (sale, London, 1986), No.37; *fig.126*; I: 179-181, 183, 212

THE RAPE OF THE SABINES, No.38

- Rubens, ? oil sketch or drawing (unrecorded), No.38; I: 121, 124; II: 181-182
 W. Panneels, drawing (two studies) (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng), No.38, copy; *fig.123*; I: 121, 124; II: 181-182, 183, 184

THE RAPE OF THE SABINES, No.39

- Rubens, ? oil sketch or drawing (unrecorded), No.39; I: 121, 124, 129; II: 182-184
 W. Panneels, drawing (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng), No.39, copy; *fig.124*; I: 121, 124; II: 181, 183-184

THE RAPE OF THE SABINES, No.40

- Rubens, painting (London, National Gallery), No.40; *figs.127, 128, 129, 130, 131*; I: 51, 89, 120-121; II: 183, 184-195, 196, 197, 199, 212, 216, 217, 227, 229, 252
 Anonymous, painting (Pushkin, Catherine Palace-Museum), No.40, copy 1; II: 184-185, 192
 Anonymous, painting (St Petersburg, Hermitage), No.40, copy 2; II: 185, 192, 217
 Anonymous, painting (formerly F. Cook collection), No.40, copy 3; II: 185
 Anonymous, painting (formerly Rome, Baronin de Benda, 1935), No.40, copy 4; II: 185
 Anonymous, painting (sale, Vienna, 1872), No.40, copy 5; II: 185
 Anonymous, painting (sale, London, 1959), No.40, copy 6; II: 185
 Anonymous, painting (sale, Brussels, 1968), No.40, copy 7; II: 185
 Anonymous, painting (formerly Brussels, Reding), No.40, copy 8; II: 185
 A.-C. Lens, painting (private collection), No.40, copy 9; II: 185, 192
 Anonymous, painting (central couples only) (formerly Ken Hill View, Hunstanton, E. Jones), No.40, copy 10; II: 185
 P.F. Martenasie, drawing (sale, Paris, 1777), No.40, copy 11; II: 185
 P.F. Martenasie, engraving (in reverse), No.40, copy 12; II: 185-186, 192
 J.C.W., engraving, No.40, copy 13; II: 186
 J.S. Stewart, engraving, No.40, copy 14; II: 186
 T. Bolton, engraving, No.40, copy 15; II: 186

- Anonymous, engraving, No.40, copy 16; II: 186
 J. Outrim, engraving, No.40, copy 17; II: 186
 Anonymous, wood engraving, No.40, copy 18; II: 186
 J. Burnet, aquatint etching, No.40, copy 19; II: 186
 ? Rubens, oil sketch (sale, Zürich, 1978), No.40a; *figs.132, 133*; II: 191, 194, 195-197, 208, 227
 Anonymous ('Van Diepenbeeck'), painting (sale, London, 1983), No.40a, copy; *fig.135*; II: 195, 196

THE RAPE OF THE SABINES, No.42

- Rubens and G. de Crayer, painting (formerly Madrid, Alcázar; lost; pair with No.43), No.42; I: 7, 9, 51; II: 123, 202-210, 211-213, 216, 217, 244
 Anonymous, painting (Madrid, Museo del Prado, deposited in the University of Barcelona), No.42, copy 1; *fig.141*; II: 204, 206, 209, 211, 212, 213, 216, 217, 218
 J.B. del Mazo, painting (lost), No.42, copy 2; II: 210, 211
 ? Rubens, oil sketch (formerly Paris, dealers Benedict and Schaefer, 1947), No.42a; *fig.146*; II: 214
 Rubens, oil sketch (Antwerp, Huis Osterrieth, Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas Belgique), No.42b; *figs.139, 143, 144*; I: 124; II: 175, 204, 206, 212, 213, 214-217, 223, 224
 Anonymous ('T. van Thulden'), painting (sale, Brussels, 1958), No.42b, copy 1; II: 214-215, 223
 V. Wolfvoet, painting (whereabouts unknown), No.42b, copy 2; II: 214, 215, 223, 254
 J.J. van Opstal I, painting (whereabouts unknown), No.42b, copy 3; II: 215, 223
 Anonymous, painting (sale, London, 1931), No.42b, copy 4; II: 215, 217
 Anonymous, painting (formerly Amsterdam, Douwes and Goudstikker, 1930), No.42b, copy 5; II: 192, 215
 Anonymous, painting (St Petersburg, ? Hermitage), No.42b, copy 6; II: 215
 Anonymous, painting (sale, London, 1953), No.42b, copy 7; II: 215
 Anonymous, painting (sale, London, 1984), No.42b, copy 8; II: 215
 J.H. Fragonard, drawing (sale, Paris, 1934), No.42b, copy 9; II: 215, 224

[THE RAPE OF THE SABINES, No.42, cont.]

P.J. Tassaert, drawing (St Petersburg, Hermitage), No.42b, copy 10; II: 215, 224

Workshop of F. van der Borcht, tapestry (in reverse) (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum), No.42b, copy 11; II: 215

THE RECONCILIATION OF ROMANS AND SABINES, No.28

General: II: 125, 128, 148-149, 150 (part of a Romulus series)

Unidentified workshop, tapestry (formerly Stockholm, H.A. Johnson); No.28, tap.1 (ser.IIa.3); *fig.108*; II: 125, 126, 128, 129, 148, 150

Unidentified workshop, tapestry (formerly Stockholm, C. Bergsten), No.28, tap.2 (ser.Va.2); II: 125, 132, 138, 148

Workshop of H. van Assche, tapestry (formerly Rome, private collection), No.28, tap.3 (ser.IVa.9); II: 126, 127, 130, 131, 148

Unidentified workshop, tapestry (formerly New York, Gimburg and Lovey Gallery, 1964), No.28, tap.4 (ser.VI.5); II: 133, 148

? Rubens, oil sketch (unrecorded), No.28a; I: 11; II: 148-149

? Justus van Egmont, painting (The Earl of Jersey, ? Radier Manor, Jersey), No.28a, copy; *fig.109*; II: 127-128, 138, 144, 149

? Rubens studio, cartoon (unrecorded), No.28b; II: 149

THE RECONCILIATION OF ROMANS AND SABINES, No.41

Rubens and studio, painting (Munich, Alte Pinakothek), No.41; *fig.138*; I: 61; II: 125, 134, 148, 197-202, 218, 221

Anonymous, painting (sale, London, 1955), No.41, copy 1; *fig.136*; II: 197, 198, 199

A. Sintzenich, engraving, No.41, copy 2; II: 197, 198, 200

F. Piloty, lithograph, No.41, copy 3; II: 197, 198, 200

THE RECONCILIATION OF ROMANS AND SABINES, No.43

Rubens, painting (formerly Madrid, Alcázar; lost; pair with No.42), No.43; I: 7, 9, 51, 61; II: 148, 199, 200, 201, 202, 210, 211, 212, 216, 217-220, 221, 244

Anonymous, painting (Madrid, Museo del Prado, deposited in the University of Barcelona), No.43, copy 1; *fig.142*; II: 148, 199, 204, 206, 209, 211, 217, 218, 222

Anonymous, painting (sale, London, 1944), No.43, copy 2; *fig.147*; II: 204, 206, 209, 217, 218, 222

Rubens, oil sketch (Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection), No.43a; *figs.148, 150*; II: 195, 199, 200, 206, 218, 219, 220-221, 222, 223, 224

Anonymous ('F. Francken'), painting (Rousham House, T. Cottrell-Dormer), No.43a, copy 1; II: 220, 221

B. Pinelli, drawing (formerly London, Colnaghi), No.43a, copy 1; *fig.152*; II: 220, 221

? Rubens, drawing (The Cleveland Museum of Art), No.43b; *fig.151*; II: 221-223

Rubens, oil sketch (Antwerp, Huis Osterrieth, Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas Belgique), No.43c; *figs.140, 145*; II: 175, 199, 200, 201, 204, 206, 213, 214, 216, 218, 221, 222, 223-225

Anonymous ('Van Thulden'), painting (sale, Brussels, 1958), No.43c, copy 1; II: 214, 223

V. Wolfvoet, painting (whereabouts unknown), No.43c, copy 2; II: 214, 215, 223, 254

J.J. van Opstal I, painting (whereabouts unknown), No.43c, copy 3; II: 215, 223

Anonymous, painting (formerly Amsterdam, Douwes and Goudstikker), No.43c, copy 4; II: 223

Anonymous, painting (Earl of Jersey), No.43c, copy 5; II: 223

Anonymous, painting (formerly Ghent, W. Van Wassenhove), No.43c, copy 6; II: 223, 224

Anonymous, painting (formerly Bulstrode, W. Bentinck, Duke of Portland), No.43c, copy 7; II: 224

J.H. Fragonard, drawing (whereabouts unknown), No.43c, copy 8; II: 215, 224

P.J. Tassaert, drawing (St Petersburg, Hermitage), No.43c, copy 9; II: 215, 224

Anonymous, wood relief (sale, New York, 1990), No.43c, copy 10; II: 224

THE SEVEN SAGES DISPUTING OVER THE TRIPOD, No.1

Rubens, oil sketch (whereabouts unknown), No.1; I: 8, 66, 107, 113; II: 9-14, 76, 96

[THE SEVEN SAGES DISPUTING OVER THE TRIPOD, No.1, cont.]

- Anonymous, painting (Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection), No.1, copy 1; *fig.1*; I: 8; II: 9, 10, 12, 14
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Amsterdam, Goudstikker, 1939), No.1, copy 2; *fig.2*; I: 8; II: 9, 10, 12, 14

THE FORTITUDE OF SCAEVOLA, No.45

- ? Rubens or Van Dyck after Rubens, drawing (London, British Museum), No.45; *fig.161*; I: 8, 51; II: 229-231, 245

THE FORTITUDE OF SCAEVOLA, No.46

- Rubens, painting (formerly Madrid, Alcázar; destroyed), No.46; I: 7, 51, 89; II: 141, 204, 206, 230, 231-242, 243, 244, 245, 246
- Rubens studio, painting (Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum), No.46, copy 1; *fig.163*; I: 10; II: 231-232, 234, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 242, 243, 245, 246
- Anonymous, painting (grisaille) (London, private collection), No.46, copy 2; *fig.164*; II: 232-233, 238-239, 241
- Anonymous, painting (Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle), No.46, copy 3; II: 233
- Painting, as represented in W. van Haecht, *Picture Gallery* (Marquess of Bute), No.46, copy 4; *fig.169*; II: 233
- Painting, as represented in G. Coques, *Artists' Feast* (Paris, Musée du Petit Palais), No.46, copy 5; *fig.166*; II: 233
- Anonymous painting (sale, Stockholm, 1937), No.46, copy 6; II: 233, 235, 239
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Dublin, J. and G.B. Laffan), No.46, copy 7; II: 233
- ? C. de Bie, watercolour (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale), No.46, copy 8; II: 233
- ? T. van Thulden, drawing (Paris, Louvre), No.46, copy 9; II: 233, 235, 239
- ? W. Panneels, drawing (top of Porsenna's throne) (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling), No.46, copy 10; II: 233
- W. Panneels, drawing (legs and arm) (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling), No.46, copy 11; II: 233-234
- W. Panneels, drawing (left arm of dead man) (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling), No.46, copy 12; *fig.167*; II: 234

- W. Panneels, drawing (leg and foot of Porsenna) (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling), No.46, copy 13; II: 234
- ? W. Panneels, drawing (breastplate and armour) (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling), No.46, copy 14; II: 234
- J. Schmutzer, engraving, No.46, copy 15; II: 234
- G. Marchand, engraving, No.46, copy 16; II: 234
- Rubens, drawing (with *Jacob and Esau* above) (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett), No.46a; *fig.162*; II: 236, 237, 241, 242-245
- ? Rubens, oil sketch (Moscow, Pushkin Museum), No.46b; *fig.165*; I: 10; II: 245-246
- Anonymous, ? painting (formerly Munich, Böhler, 1911), No.46b, copy; II: 245
- THE CONTINENCE OF SCIPIO, No.49**
- Rubens, painting (formerly Queen Christina of Sweden and Orléans collections; destroyed 1836), No.49; II: 19, 21, 24, 257-263, 266, 267, 268
- ? T. Boeyermans, painting (formerly Paris, F. Kleinberger), No.49, copy 1; *fig.178*; II: 14, 19, 257-258, 259, 261, 262, 266
- Anonymous, painting (Rome, Palazzo Odescalchi), No.49, copy 2; II: 15, 19, 258, 259
- Anonymous, painting (Belgium, private collection), No.49, copy 3; *fig.179*; II: 258, 259, 262, 266, 267
- Anonymous ('Wtewael'), painting (sale, London, 1992), No.49, copy 4; II: 258, 259, 262
- Anonymous, painting (Cadaqués, Museo Perrot-Moore), No.49, copy 5; II: 15, 19, 258, 259, 262
- Anonymous, painting (Nice, Musée Chéret), No.49, copy 6; II: 258, 259
- Anonymous, painting (miniature box) (sale, Amsterdam, 1985), No.49, copy 7; II: 258
- J. Dambrun, engraving, No.49, copy 8; *fig.181*; II: 258, 259, 267
- Rubens, drawing (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett), No.49a; *fig.183*; II: 260, 263-264, 268
- Rubens, drawing (Bayonne, Musée Bonnat), No.49b; *fig.184*; II: 260, 262, 264-265, 268

[THE CONTINENCE OF SCIPIO, No.49, cont.]

- Rubens, oil sketch (Bielefeld, A. Oetéke), No.49c; *fig.177*; II: 241, 259, 261, 265-267
- Anonymous, painting (formerly London, Dowdeswell), No.49c, copy 1; *fig.180*; II: 265, 266, 267
- Anonymous, painting (Tournai, Musée des Beaux-Arts), No.49c, copy 2; II: 265, 266
- Anonymous, painting (Schloss Ehreshoven), No.49c, copy 3; II: 265
- S. à Bolswert, engraving, No.49c, copy 4; *fig.182*; I: 47; II: 121, 241, 259, 260, 262, 265, 266

THE CONTINENCE OF SCIPIO, No.50

- Rubens, painting (formerly duc de Richelieu), No.50; II: 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 265, 267-269

THE DEATH OF SENECA, No.54

- Rubens, Painting (Munich, Alte Pinakothek), No.54; *fig.195*; I: 7, 10, 108, 109, 110, 112, 113; II: 280, 282-294, 295, 307
- Anonymous, painting (Marquis of Leganés, 1655), No.54, copy 1; II: 282, 290, 295-296
- ? Rubens studio, painting (formerly Cincinnati, Xavier University Museum), No.54, copy 2; *fig.196*; II: 282, 288, 290, 295
- Anonymous, painting (Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen), No.54, copy 3; II: 282, 288, 290
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Ghent, F. Scaillet Aernouts), No.54, copy 4; II: 282
- Anonymous, painting (head only) (Brussels, G. Dulière), No.54, copy 5; II: 282, 290
- A. Voet II, engraving (in reverse), No.54, copy 6; *fig.197*; II: 282, 288, 293-294, 295
- C. von Mechel, engraving, No.54, copy 7; II: 282, 294
- Rubens and studio, painting (Madrid, Museo del Prado), No.54a; *fig.198*; II: 280, 288, 290, 294-296
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Richmond, Va, C.M. Wallace), No.54a, copy; II: 294
- ? Rubens, painting (unrecorded), No.54b; II: 280, 290, 294, 296-297
- ? Rubens studio, painting (Knowsley Hall, the Earl of Derby), No.54b, copy 1; II: 296, 297
- Anonymous, painting (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum), No.54b, copy 2; *fig.199*; II: 296, 297

- Anonymous, painting (San José, Costa Rica, private collection), No.54b, copy 3; II: 296

TOMYRIS AND CYRUS, No.2

- Rubens, painting (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts), No.2; *figs.8, 7, 11*; I: 10, 38, 53, 64, 89; II: 14-25, 26, 27, 28, 31, 32, 34, 35, 38, 76, 237, 259, 261, 266, 274
- ? Theodoor Boeyermans, painting (formerly Paris, F. Kleinberger, 1946), No.2, copy 1; *fig.12*; II: 14-15, 19, 21-22, 257, 258, 259, 261, 262, 321
- Anonymous, painting (Rome, Palazzo Odescalchi), No.2, copy 2; II: 15, 19, 258
- Anonymous, painting (Skokloster Castle), No.2, copy 3; II: 15
- Anonymous, painting (Zeltingen-Rachtig, Dr R. Grebe), No.2, copy 4; II: 15
- Anonymous, painting (sale, London, 1994), No.2, copy 5; II: 15
- Anonymous, painting (Cadaqués, Museo Perrot-Moore), No.2, copy 6; II: 15, 19, 258, 262
- Anonymous, painting (formerly A. Coypel, sale, Paris, 1777), No.2, copy 7; II: 15
- W. Beechley, painting (sale, London, 1836), No.2, copy 8; II: 15
- Anonymous, painting (heads of two men) (sale, London, 1935), No.2, copy 9; II: 15
- Anonymous, painting (heads of two women) (Swiss private collection), No.2, copy 10; II: 15, 21
- Anonymous, painting (Attingham Park), No.2, copy 11; II: 15
- R. de Launay, engraving, No.2, copy 14; II: 15
- T. Dick, engraving, No.2, copy 15; II: 15
- Rubens, drawing or sketch (presumably lost), No.2a; II: 25-28
- ? Worked up counterproof. ? retouched by Rubens (St Petersburg, Hermitage), No.2a, copy 1; *fig.9*; I: 10; II: 19, 20, 25-27
- ? J. Jordaens, drawing (three figures) (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum), No.2a, copy 2 (= No.2, copy 13); *fig.15*; II: 15, 25, 26, 27
- ? Rubens, Study of two female heads (Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina), No.2b (= No.2, copy 12); *fig.10*; I: 10; II: 15, 21, 28-29

TOMYRIS AND CYRUS, No.3

- P. Pontius (?), retouched by Rubens, drawing (Germany, private collection), No.3; *fig.13*; II: 18, 25, 29-33, 35, 238, 241
- P. Pontius, engraving (in reverse), No.3, copy 1; *fig.14*; I: 47; II: 15, 17, 21, 22, 27, 29, 31, 32, 36, 238, 266
- Anonymous ('H. van Balen'), painting (in reverse) (formerly Bonn, L. Röhrscheidt), No.3, copy 2; II: 29, 32
- ? A. Wolffort, painting (in reverse) (sale, Berlin, 1930), No.3, copy 3; II: 29, 32
- Anonymous, painting (in reverse) (sale, Brussels, 1926), No.3, copy 4; II: 29
- Anonymous, painting (in reverse) (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie), No.3, copy 5; II: 29-30
- Anonymous, painting (in reverse) (sale, London, 1954), No.3, copy 6; II: 30
- Anonymous, painting (in reverse) (Italy, private collection), No.3, copy 7; II: 30
- Anonymous, painting (in reverse) (Seville, Condes de Gálvez), No.3, copy 8; II: 30
- Anonymous ('Floris'), painting (in reverse) (sale, London, 1971), No.3, copy 9; II: 30
- Anonymous, painting (in reverse) (sale, Munich, 1972), No.3, copy 10; II: 30
- Anonymous, painting (in reverse) (sale, Brussels, 1967), No.3, copy 11; II: 30
- Anonymous ('T. van Thulden'), painting (in reverse) (sale, Berne, 1976), No.3, copy 12; II: 30
- Anonymous, painting (in reverse) (formerly Rathsberg, L. Schmidt), No.3, copy 13; II: 30
- Anonymous, painting (in reverse) (formerly Helmond, J.J.A. Houpperichs), No.3, copy 14; II: 30
- Anonymous, painting (in reverse) (formerly Rotorua, F. Koolen), No.3, copy 15; II: 30
- Anonymous, painting (in reverse) (formerly Ichtegem, S. Stubbe), No.3, copy 16; II: 30
- Anonymous, painting (in reverse) (sale, Arnhem, 1977), No.3, copy 17; II: 30
- Anonymous, painting (in reverse) (formerly Zürich, E. Stohler), No.3, copy 18; II: 30
- Anonymous, painting (in reverse) (formerly Rotterdam, M.J. Hager, 1908), No.3, copy 19; II: 30
- Anonymous (circle W. van Herp), painting (in reverse) (sale, Antwerp, 1976), No.3, copy 20; II: 30
- Anonymous, painting (in reverse) (whereabouts unknown), No.3, copy 21; II: 30
- Anonymous, painting (in reverse) (sale, Cologne, 1974), No.3, copy 22; II: 30
- Anonymous, painting (sale, Bologna, 1986), No.3, copy 23; II: 30, 32
- Anonymous, painting (sale, Vienna, 1986), No.3, copy 24; II: 30, 32
- Anonymous, painting (group around Tomyris) (formerly Cracow, Mr Kvól), No.3, copy 25; II: 30, 32
- ? Watteau, drawing (two 'Polish' men) (formerly London, H.M. Calmann), No.3, copy 26; II: 30
- Anonymous, needlework picture (Bath, Holburne Museum), No.3, copy 27; II: 30
- Anonymous, needlework picture (sale, London, 1971), No.3, copy 28; II: 30-31
- Anonymous, limewood relief (sale, London, 1983), No.3, copy 29; II: 31
- ? G. Gibbons, limewood relief (sale, London, 1994), No.3, copy 30; II: 31
- Anonymous, silver plate (Stourhead, Dorset), No.3, copy 31; II: 31
- G. Duchange, engraving, No.3, copy 32; II: 31
- ? P. Pontius, engraving (left half), No.3, copy 33; II: 31
- Anonymous, engraving, No.3, copy 34; II: 31
- F. Ragot, engraving, No.3, copy 35; II: 31

TOMYRIS AND CYRUS, No.4

- Rubens, painting (Paris, Louvre), No.4; *figs.23, 22*; I: 53, 89; II: 18, 23, 31, 33-37
- Studio of Rubens, painting (Milan, Palazzo Annoni), No.4, copy 1; *fig.20*; I: 10; II: 33, 34, 36
- Anonymous, painting (sale, Antwerp, 1922), No.4, copy 2; II: 33, 34
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Antwerp, F. Cuvelier), No.4, copy 3; II: 33, 34
- Anonymous, painting (grisaille) (formerly Antwerp, Léon de Burbure), No.4, copy 4; *fig.21*; II: 33, 36
- N. de Largillière, painting (Toulouse, Musée des Augustins), No.4, copy 5; II: 33, 34
- E. Delacroix, painting (sale, 1864), No.4, copy 6; II: 33, 35
- E. Aubry, painting (sale, Paris, 1811), No.4, copy 7; II: 33
- Anonymous, painting (bust-length, maids at the right) (formerly Düsseldorf, K. Beissel), No.4, copy 8; II: 33

[TOMYRIS AND CYRUS, No.4, cont.]

Anonymous, painting (heads of two maids)
(Uccle, private collection), No.4, copy 9;
II: 33

Anonymous ('Soutman'), drawing (Antwerp,
Stedelijk Prentenkabinet), No.4,
copy 10; II: 33-34, 36

TOMYRIS AND CYRUS, No.5

Rubens, drawing (Cleveland Museum of Art),
No.5; *fig.17*; I: 52-53; II: 37-39

THE VINDICATION OF TUCCIA, No.51

Rubens, drawing (Paris, Louvre), No.51;
fig.185; I: 8, 38, 62, 89; II: 269-276

THE BATTLE FOR TUNIS, No.58

Rubens, painting (Berlin, Staatliche Museen
Preussischer Kulturbesitz); No.58;
figs. 222, 223, 226, 228; I: 113;
II: 323-330

Index III: Other Works by or after Rubens mentioned in the Text

The following abbreviations are used throughout this index:

C—cartoon; D—drawing; E—engraving or etching; P—painting; S—oil sketch; T—tapestry

OLD TESTAMENT

- The Flight of Lot and his Family from Sodom* P (Sarasota, John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art) II: 67
- The Expulsion of Hagar* P (Eaton Hall, Collection of the Duke of Westminster) I: 52
- The Meeting of Jacob and Joseph* (?) S (? Rubens) (Lausanne, Jean Zanchi) II: 256, 257
- The Reconciliation of Esau and Jacob* P (Schleissheim, Staatsgalerie) II: 204, 206, 209-210, 236, 239, 242-245
- D (Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett) II: 242-245
- S (Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland) II: 244
- 'God appearing to Moses': recte Romulus appearing to Julius Proculus (see No.32) II: 158
- The Brazen Serpent* P (London, National Gallery) II: 61
- Samson breaking the Jaws of a Lion* P (Madrid, Duque de Hernani; formerly Alcázar) II: 239
- Samson and Delilah (Samson asleep in Delilah's Lap)* P (London, National Gallery) I: 50; II: 100, 103, 226, 227
- D (Amsterdam, Collection I.Q. van Regteren Altena) II: 26
- E (J. Matham) text ill.16; I: 50
- David strangling a Bear* P (formerly Madrid, Alcázar) II: 239
- David slaying Goliath* D (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen) II: 26
- The Meeting of David and Abigail* PP (various versions) II: 15, 93, 94
- Bathsheba receiving David's Letter* D (Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett) II: 321
- The Judgement of Solomon* P (Madrid, Prado) II: 264
- P (lost; formerly Brussels, Town Hall) II: 41, 42, 44, 261, 262, 265
- P (studio) (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst) fig.26; II: 40, 41, 44, 46, 261, 262, 265
- E (B. à Bolswert) II: 41, 42

- The Mocking of Job* P (lost; formerly Brussels, St Nicholas's Church) II: 50
- Daniel in the Lions' Den* P (Washington, National Gallery of Art) II: 50
- Susanna and the Elders* P (Madrid, Real Academia de San Fernando) II: 226, 227
- P (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) II: 228
- D (Montpellier, Musée Atger, Faculté de Médecine) II: 281
- E (L. Vorsterman) text ill.14; I: 49, 50
- E (P. Pontius) text ill.15; I: 49-50; II: 238, 241
- EE (M. Lasne) I: 49-50; II: 241

NEW TESTAMENT AND RELATED SUBJECTS

- The Young Virgin adorned with Flowers* S (Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection) fig.116; II: 162, 163, 164
- Adoration of the Shepherds* P (Fermo, Pinacoteca Comunale; formerly S. Filippo Neri) II: 169, 172
- The Adoration of the Magi* P (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten) II: 18, 20
- P (Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts) II: 11, 303
- P (Lyons, Musée des Beaux-Arts) II: 11, 21, 24, 303
- P (Mechelen, St-Janskerk) II: 10, 11, 20, 307
- The Circumcision of Christ* P (Genoa, S. Ambrogio [Gesù]) II: 301, 305
- The Massacre of the Innocents* P (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) II: 191, 212
- Madonna and Child with the Innocents* P (Paris, Louvre) II: 170
- Infant Christ with St John and Angels* P (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) II: 162, 163
- Holy Family with St John* P (Potsdam-Sanssouci, Bildergalerie) II: 170, 175
- Holy Family with St John and St Elizabeth* P (Chicago, Art Institute) II: 70
- The Madonna Adored by Saints (The Mystic Marriage of St Catherine)* P (Antwerp, St-Augustinuskerk, deposited in the Koninklijk Museum) II: 191

- Madonna and Saints P* (school piece)
(Pommersfelden, Schloss Weissenstein,
Count Schönborn) II: 36, 262-263
- Studies for a Baptism of Christ D* (New York,
Metropolitan Museum of Art) II: 61
- The Feast of Herod P* (Edinburgh, National
Gallery of Scotland) I: 37, 38, 39, 53
D (Cleveland, Ohio, Museum of Art) II: 37,
38
- The Miraculous Draught of Fishes S* (London,
National Gallery) II: 31-32
- Christ and the Adulteress P* (Brussels, Musées
Royaux des Beaux-Arts) I: 66, 113;
II: 11, 13, 46, 76
- Christ in the House of Simon P* (St Petersburg,
Hermitage) II: 50
- The Tribute Money P* (San Francisco, M.H. de
Young Memorial Museum) I: 66, 113;
II: 13, 76, 77
- The Entry of Christ into Jerusalem P* (Dijon,
Musée des Beaux-Arts) II: 256
- The Last Supper P* (Milan, Brera) II: 316
- The Raising of the Cross P* (Antwerp, Cathedral)
II: 102
- Dead Christ Mourned P* (Vienna,
Kunsthistorisches Museum) II: 76
- The Entombment of Christ D* (Rotterdam,
Museum Boymans-van Beuningen)
II: 279, 281
- Christ and the Penitent Sinners P* (Munich, Alte
Pinakothek) II: 57, 60
- Christ's Charge to Peter P* (London, Wallace
Collection) II: 76, 307
- The Conversion of St Paul P* (lost; formerly
Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum)
II: 330
P (London, Courtauld Institute Galleries,
Princes Gate Collection) II: 330
- '*Paul and Barnabas at Lystra*': recte *The Seven
Sages disputing over the Tripod* (see
No.1) I: 8; II: 9
- The Assumption of the Virgin P* (Brussels,
Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts) II: 107
- The Last Judgement P* (Munich, Alte Pinakothek)
II: 70
P (? Rubens) (formerly Brussels, Town Hall)
II: 41, 42
- SAINTS**
- Martyrdom of St Adrian P* (copy) (whereabouts
unknown) II: 306, 307
- St Ambrose and Theodosius*: see **No.55**
- The Death of St Anthony Abbot P*
(Pommersfelden, Schloss Weissenstein,
Count Schönborn) II: 289
- St Apollonia D* (Florence, Uffizi) II: 191, 194, 196
- The Conversion of St Bavo P* (Ghent, Cathedral)
II: 32, 35, 262
S (London, National Gallery) II: 32, 35, 262,
309, 310
D (copy by Fragonard) (London, British
Museum) II: 310
- The Mystic Marriage of St Catherine of Alexandria
P* (Houston, Texas, Sarah Campbell
Blaffer Foundation) II: 162
- The Four Latin Doctors of the Church P*
(Jordaens, from a design by Rubens)
(art market; formerly Blackburn,
Stonyhurst College) II: 307
E (C. Galle II) II: 195
- St Dominic and St Francis of Assisi protecting the
World from the Wrath of Christ P* (Lyons,
Musée des Beaux-Arts) II: 303-304
- The Four Evangelists S* (? Rubens) (Warwick
Castle, Lord Brooke) II: 11, 13
- The Last Communion of St Francis P* (Antwerp,
Koninklijk Museum voor Schone
Kunsten) II: 307
- The Miracles of St Francis Xavier P* (Vienna,
Kunsthistorisches Museum) II: 249
- The Miracles of St Ignatius of Loyola P* (Genoa,
S. Ambrogio [Gesù]) II: 301
- The Triptych of St Ildefonso P* (Vienna,
Kunsthistorisches Museum) II: 35
- The Conversion of St Hubert P* (with J. Brueghel)
(Madrid, Prado) II: 315 ('Eustace'), 316
- The Penitent Magdalen P* (lost; formerly Berlin,
Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum) II: 175, 176
- St Paul P* (Madrid, Prado) II: 303
- The Entombment of St Stephen P* (Valenciennes,
Musée des Beaux-Arts) II: 304
- St Theresa of Avila interceding for Bernardino de
Mendoza S* (Lier, Museum Wuyts-van
Campen-Caroly) II: 152
- St Thomas Aquinas P* (copies) II: 303, 307
- OTHER RELIGIOUS SUBJECTS**
- The Eucharist Series* II: 116, 124, 157, 305
- The Triumph of Faith S* (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam
Museum) *text ill.32*; I: 99-101
S (Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts)
text ill.31; I: 62, 99-101, 110; II: 143
C (Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts)
I: 101

The Real Presence in the Holy Sacrament P
(Antwerp, St Paul's Church) I: 110, 111;
II: 11

Ceiling Paintings for the Jesuit Church II: 35, 156

MYTHOLOGY

*Achilles discovered among the Daughters of
Lycomedes (Achilles on Scyros)* P (with
Van Dyck) (Madrid, Prado) I: 52; II: 20,
204, 237, 239, 241, 244, 249, 302

'*Aeneas Series*': recte *Romulus Series* (see
Nos.30-32) I: 8; II: 114, 116-117, 135,
151, 153, 156, 158

'*Aeneas with the Spoils of Mezentius*': recte
Romulus setting up a Trophy (see **No.30**,
and Index IV, s.v. Cardiff Cartoons)

'*Aeneas and Evander*': recte *Reconciliation of
Romulus and Titus Tatius* (see **No.31**,
and Index IV, s.v. Cardiff Cartoons)

'*Aeneas appearing to Ascanius*': recte *Romulus
appearing to Julius Proculus* (see **No.32**,
and Index IV, s.v. Cardiff Cartoons)

Aeneas and Turnus: recte *Romulus killing Remus*
(here not accepted as a Rubens design;
see Index IV, s.v. Cardiff Cartoons)

Mantuan Aeneas Series II: 117

Aeneas preparing to lead the Trojans into Exile P
(Fontainebleau, Musée National du
Château) II: 230

The Suicide of Dido ('*Thisbe*') D (Paris, Louvre)
II: 180

The Suicide of Dido ('*Thisbe*') D (Brunswick,
Maine, Bowdoin College Museum of
Art) II: 180

Aeneas in the Underworld S (Cardiff, National
Museum of Wales) II: 135, 154

Studies for a Battle of the Amazons and of Hercules
D (Edinburgh, National Gallery of
Scotland) fig. 224; II: 326, 330

Battle of the Amazons P (with J. Brueghel)
(Potsdam-Sanssouci, Bildergalerie)
II: 181, 182, 254 (as the work in the
collection of D. Duarte)

P (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) II: 252, 327, 330

D (copy by Van Dyck) II: 238

E (L. Vorsterman) II: 238

Bacchanal P (Genoa, Palazzo Bianco) II: 60, 61

Boreas abducting Oreithyia P (Vienna,
Akademie) II: 182, 183

The Discovery of Callisto D (Berlin, Staatliche
Museen, Kupferstichkabinett) II: 180

The Daughters of Cecrops discovering Erichthonius
PP (various versions) I: 130

P (fragment) (Oberlin College, Allen
Memorial Art Museum) II: 38

'*Death of Creusa*': recte *Nero contemplating the
Dead Agrippina* (see **No.53**) I: 8; II: 278,
279

The Crowning of Diana P (with F. Snyders)
(Potsdam-Sanssouci, Bildergalerie)
II: 79

Diana and Actaeon P (lost) II: 327

D (London, Courtauld Institute Galleries,
Princes Gate Collection) II: 327, 330

Diana and Nymphs returning from the Hunt P
(lost; formerly Dresden,
Gemäldegalerie) II: 20, 24

D (copy by ? Jordaens) (Cambridge,
Fitzwilliam Museum) II: 26

The Suicide of Dido P (Paris, Louvre) II: 228,
276, 278

Ganymede received into Heaven P (Vienna, Fürst
Karl zu Schwarzenberg) II: 170

Drunkenness of Hercules P (studio) (Dresden,
Gemäldesammlung) II: 57

Hercules and Antaeus P (New York, Central
Picture Galleries) II: 202, 203, 204, 208,
209, 241

Hercules and Omphale P (Paris, Louvre) II: 62,
63-64, 250

Ixion deceived by Juno P (Paris, Louvre) II: 228

Juno and Argos (The Death of Argos) P (Cologne,
Wallraf-Richartz-Museum) II: 169

Jupiter and Callisto P (Kassel, Staatliche
Gemäldegalerie) II: 102

The Rape of the Daughters of Leucippus P
(Munich, Alte Pinakothek) fig.125;
I: 10, 121-131; II: 92, 182, 183-184

P (copy by E. Delacroix) (London, art
market) I: 122

P (? Rubens) (Oslo, Nasjonalgalleriet) I: 126

Mars and Rhea Silvia P (Vaduz, Liechtenstein
Collection) fig.101;

I: 9, 62, 67, 114-116; II: 82, 124, 125,
140-144, 275

S (Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection) fig.102;
I: 9, 114-116; II: 124, 125, 138, 140-144

'*Mars crowning Venus*': recte *Alexander and
Roxana* (see **No.15**, copy 2) II: 85

Mars disarmed by Venus P (formerly
Königsberg, Schloss) II: 222

D (copy by ? W. Panneels) (Copenhagen,
Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige
Kobberstiksamlng) II: 222, 223

D (Cleveland, Ohio, Cleveland Museum of
Art) II: 221, 222

The Flight of Medea D (Rotterdam, Museum
Boymans-van Beuningen) II: 180

- Meleager and Atalanta* **P** (Kassel, Staatliche Gemäldegalerie) II: 228
P (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) II: 228
D (Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett) II: 242
- Neptune and Amphitrite* (lost; formerly Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum) II: 50, 176
- Pan seducing Diana* **P** (lost; formerly Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum) II: 252
- The Judgement of Paris* **P** (London, National Gallery, no.6379) II: 171
P (Madrid, Prado, no.1731) II: 210
- Studies for a Judgement of Paris* **D** (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art) II: 61
- Perseus and Andromeda* **P** (Madrid, Prado) II: 202, 203, 204, 208, 209, 241
- Psyche* **D** (Windsor Castle, H.M. The Queen) II: 24
- Satyr pressing Grapes* **P** (formerly Madrid, Alcázar) II: 239
- Silenus* **P** (Boeckhorst, retouched by Rubens) (whereabouts unknown) II: 254
- The Drunken Silenus* **P** (studio: ? Van Dyck) (lost; formerly Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum) II: 162
- Silenus and Aegle* **D** (Windsor Castle, H.M. The Queen) II: 27
- '*The Suicide of Thisbe*': recte *The Suicide of Dido* (*Mantuan Aeneas Series*, above) II: 180
- Venus and Adonis* **P** (Düsseldorf, Kunstmuseum) II: 226
- Venus clasping the Dying Adonis* **D** (London, British Museum) II: 281
- Venus in the Forge of Vulcan* **P** (Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts) II: 83, 84, 86

MYTHOLOGY: ACHILLES SERIES

- Achilles Series* I: 118-120; II: 116, 124, 139, 157
- Education of Achilles* **S** (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen) text ill.41; I: 118
- Achilles discovered among the Daughters of Lyncomedes* (*Achilles on Scyros*) I: 118-119
- Briseis restored to Achilles* **S** (Detroit, Institute of Arts) text ill.39; I: 119-120

MYTHOLOGY: TORRE DE LA PARADA

- Torre de la Parada* I: 65, 103-106; II: 207
- Democritus* **P** (Madrid, Prado) fig.38; I: 103-104, 106; II: 54, 59
- Fortuna* **S** (Berlin, Staatliche Museen) II: 160
- Heraclitus* **P** (Madrid, Prado) fig.39; I: 103-104, 106; II: 54, 59, 60

- Judgement of Midas* **P**, **S** I: 104
- Rape of Proserpina* **P** (Madrid, Prado) II: 184
S (Bayonne, Musée Bonnat) II: 184
- '*Reason*' (*Psyche* or *Pandora*?) **S** (La Coruña, Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes) I: 106
- Satyr* **P** (Madrid, Prado) fig.40; I: 104-106; II: 59, 60
- The Banquet of Tereus* **P** (Madrid, Prado) I: 53

ALLEGORY AND SCENES FROM LITERATURE

- The Apotheosis of the Duke of Buckingham* **P** (lost; formerly Osterley Park, the Earl of Jersey) I: 9; II: 126, 138
P (copy, in 17th century with Herman de Neyt): II: 138
D (copy by ? W. Panneels) (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng) II: 126
- Cimon and Iphigenia* **P** (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) II: 190, 194
- Flora* (or *Glycera*?) **P** (USA, private collection) II: 67
- Hygeia* **P** (Detroit, Institute of Arts) text ill.25; I: 93; II: 278
P (Prague, National Gallery); I: 93; II: 278
- Nature Adorned* **P** (Glasgow, Museum and Art Galleries) II: 70
- Nymphs with Cornucopia* **P** (Madrid, Prado; formerly Alcázar) II: 239
- '*Occasio*': see Henri IV Series
- The Four Rivers* **P** (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) II: 171
- Triumphant Rome* **S** (The Hague, Mauritshuis) fig.64; II: 91, 93
D (Vienna, Albertina) II: 93
- '*Triumphant Rome*': recte *The Triumph of Alexander* (see **No.16**) I: 8; II: 91
- The Horrors of War* **P** (Florence, Palazzo Pitti) II: 228
- Allegory of War and Peace* **P** (London, National Gallery) II: 217, 219, 220
- See also Torre de la Parada; Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi

HISTORY

- (subjects not covered in the present catalogue, as well as previous identifications not accepted here)
- Alboin and Rosamunde* **P** (school piece) (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) II: 36, 263
- '*Alexander crowning Campaspe*': ? recte *Alexander and Roxana* (see **No.14a**) II: 84

- 'Alexander and the Family of Darius' ('The Clemency of Alexander'): see under Miscellaneous
- 'Alexander and Dimnus': recte Alcibiades interrupting the Symposium (see No.11) II: 61
- 'The Death of Alexander': ? recte Antiochus and Stratonice (see No.17) II: 93, 96
- Alexander: see also Rubens's House (s.v. Architecture and Sculpture); Hunts
- 'Mark Antony crowning Cleopatra': ? recte Alexander and Roxana (see Nos.14a, 15) II: 84, 85, 86
- 'Consuls and Senators' (included in T editions of the Decius Mus Series) S (? after Rubens) (St Petersburg, Hermitage) I: 75-76; II: 139
- T ('Constantine with Consuls') (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) II: 134, 139-140
- 'Coriolanus meeting his Mother and Sisters': see under Miscellaneous
- 'The Emperor Charles V conferring Commercial Privileges on the City of Antwerp': see Index IV, s.v. Cornelis de Vos, Charles V with the Antwerp Kolveniers Guild
- 'Triumphant Horatius', recte Alcibiades interrupting the Symposium (see No.11) I: 8; II: 61
- 'M. Minucius and Q. Fabius Maximus': recte Romulus appearing to Julius Proculus (see No.32) II: 135, 154
- 'Numa receiving Deputies of the Roman Senate': recte Pythagoras advocating Vegetarianism (see No.7) II: 49
- Pausias and Glycera P (with O. Beert) (Sarasota, John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art) II: 50
- The Recognition of Philopoemen P (with F. Snyders) (Madrid, Prado) I: 9; II: 50
- S (Paris, Louvre) II: 50
- 'Portia proving her Courage': recte Nero contemplating the Dead Agrippina (see No.53) I: 8; II: 278, 279
- 'The Coronation of Semiramis': recte Alexander and Roxana (see No.15, copy 4) II: 85
- 'Sophonisba': recte Artemisia (see No.13) I: 8; II: 73, 75, 78

HISTORY: DECIUS MUS SERIES

Decius Mus Series: I: 7, 9, 62, 74-81; II: 116, 123, 125, 134, 138, 140, 141, 142

- Decius relating his Dream P (Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection) text ill.19; I: 74, 75, 79, 113
- The Interpretation of the Victim (The Omens) P (Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection) I: 75; II: 275
- The Consecration of Decius Mus P (Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection) II: 275
- The Death of Decius Mus P (Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection) text ill.20; I: 74, 75; II: 219
- The Obsequies of Decius Mus P (Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection) I: 75; II: 181, 219

HISTORY: CONSTANTINE SERIES

- Constantine Series: I: 7, 65, 77, 87-88; II: 93, 116, 123, 138, 151, 156, 276
- The Double Marriage of Constantine and Licinius S (whereabouts unknown) text ill.21; I: 87, 94
- The Emblem of Christ appearing to Constantine S (Philadelphia, Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection) I: 87
- The Battle of the Milvian Bridge (The Death of Maxentius) S (London, Wallace Collection) I: 87
- The Triumphant Entry of Constantine into Rome S (Indianapolis, Museum of Art, Clowes Fund Collection) I: 87
- The Baptism of Constantine S (Château de St-Aubin d'Ecrosville, Mme de la Haye Jousselein) I: 87
- Constantine investing his Son Crispus with the Command of the Fleet S (Sidney, private collection) II: 152
- Constantine defeating Licinius S (Kansas City, Nelson-Atkins Gallery of Art) I: 87
- Constantine and Helena with the True Cross S (London, N.A. Colouthros Embiricos) I: 87
- Triumphant Rome: see under Allegory

HISTORY: MEDICI SERIES

- Medici Series: I: 7, 9, 65, 89, 93; II: 156, 243, 270-276, 309
- The Presentation of the Portrait P (Paris, Louvre) II: 87, 213
- The Wedding by Proxy in Florence P (Paris, Louvre) II: 213, 273
- The Consummation of the Marriage at Lyons P (Paris, Louvre) II: 213
- The Birth of the Dauphin (Louis XIII) P (Paris, Louvre) II: 19, 36, 175, 213, 272, 275

- Henri IV transferring the Regency to Maria de' Medici* P (Paris, Louvre) II: 272, 273
- The Coronation of Maria de' Medici* P (Paris, Louvre) II: 270, 273, 275
- The Apotheosis of Henri IV and the Proclamation of the Regency* P (Paris, Louvre) II: 126, 133
- The Felicity of the Regency* P (Paris, Louvre) II: 275
- The Majority of Louis XIII* D (Paris, Louvre) II: 270, 273

HISTORY: HENRI IV SERIES

- Henri IV Series*: I: 7; II: 267, 324, 328
- The Birth of Henri IV* S (London, Wallace Collection) II: 153
- The Battle near Paris* P (Antwerp, Rubenshuis) II: 324, 328
- The Triumph of Henri IV* S (London, Wallace Collection) II: 92, 94
- S (Bayonne, Musée Bonnat) II: 92, 94
- Henri IV grasping Opportunity ('Occasio')* S (Windsor Castle, H.M. The Queen) II: 266, 267
- S (Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection) II: 266, 267

HISTORY: POMPA INTROITUS FERDINANDI

- Arch of Ferdinand* I: 123, 125
- The Triumph of Ferdinand* P (J. van den Hoecke, from Rubens's design) (Florence, Uffizi) I: 9; II: 92, 94
- Liberality* P (J. van den Hoecke, from Rubens's design) (Lille, Musée des Beaux Arts) II: 114
- Arch at St Michael's*
- Bellerophon slaying the Chimera* P (lost) I: 128
- Arch of Philip* II: 84, 89, 213
- The Marriage of Maximilian of Austria and Mary of Burgundy* P (J. Jordaens, from Rubens's design) (whereabouts unknown) I: 9, 116
- The Marriage of Philip the Fair and Joanna of Castile* P (J. Jordaens, from Rubens's design) (whereabouts unknown) I: 9, 116
- Portico of the Austrian Caesars* II: 316
- The Temple of Janus* II: 220, 228

GENRE

- The Garden of Love* P (Madrid, Prado) I: 51; II: 39, 187, 311, 313
- E (woodcut, by C. Jegher) II: 192

HUNTING SCENES

- The Hunt of Alexander* P (lost; formerly Madrid, Alcázar) I: 9; II: 91, 93
- P (copy by J.B. del Mazo) (Houston, Texas, Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation) II: 94
- S (? copy) (whereabouts unknown) II: 91
- The Calydonian Boar Hunt* P (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) II: 67
- Lion Hunt* P (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) II: 309, 324, 325, 327
- Wolf and Fox Hunt* P (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art) II: 265
- Pair of *Hunting Scenes* PP (lost; formerly Madrid, Alcázar) II: 206, 239
- Series of *Hunting Scenes* PP (with F. Snyders) (formerly Madrid, Alcázar) II: 202, 206, 207
- TT (Eggersmans) (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) II: 139

PORTRAITS

- Caspar, the Greek Magus P (Ponce, Museo de Arte) II: 10-11, 13
- Suzanne Fourment ('Chapeau de Paille')* P (London, National Gallery) II: 107
- Galba* P (English private collection) II: 55, 56
- Portrait of a Lady ('Isabella Brant')* P (Windsor Castle, H.M. The Queen) II: 266
- The Duke of Lerma on Horseback* P (Madrid, Prado) I: 103
- D (Paris, Louvre) II: 230
- Memorial Portrait of Charles de Longueval* S (St Petersburg, Hermitage) II: 238-239
- E (L. Vorsterman) II: 238
- Nero and Galba* P (Germany, private collection) I: 111
- Nero and Seneca* P (London, private collection) I: 109, 111, 113; II: 57, 281, 282
- Philip II on Horseback* P (Madrid, Prado) II: 136
- Philip IV on Horseback* P (lost; formerly Madrid, Alcázar) II: 204, 207, 210, 325
- P (copy) (Florence, Uffizi) II: 210
- Plato ('Plato Divinus')* P (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art) *text ill.* 28 I: 10, 95, 110-112
- E (L. Vorsterman) *text ill.* 29; I: 95, 100
- Nicolaas de Respaigne* P (Kassel, Staatliche Gemäldegalerie) II: 18, 24, 28
- Peter Paul Rubens, Philip Rubens, Justus Lipsius and Jan Woverius ('The Four Philosophers')* P (Florence, Pitti) II: 286

Seneca P (Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus) fig.200; I: 10, 95, 110; II: 288, 289-290, 294, 295, 296

P (Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle) I: 110; II: 294, 296

Portrait Series for Moretus PP (Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus) I: 61

Series of half-length Emperor Portraits PP II: 58

BOOK ILLUSTRATIONS AND TITLE-PAGES

Title-page for B. Cordier (Corderius), *Catena sexaginta quinque Graecorum Patrum in S. Lucam* (1628) S (London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection) II: 156, 161

Franciscan Allegory in Honour of the Immaculate Conception (S. Franciscus Seraphicus *Atlas*) S (for a thesis illustration) (Philadelphia, Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection) II: 241-242

E (P. Pontius) II: 241

Title-page for H. Goltzius, *Opera Omnia* (1645) II: 91, 94

Title-page with *Roma* (design attributed to Rubens) for J. Hemelaers (with J. de Bie), *Imperatorum Romanorum Numismata Aurea* (1615) I: 80

Illustrations for J. Lipsius, *L.A. Senecae Opera Omnia* (1615) I: 10

Bust of Seneca E (C. Galle I) fig.201; II: 286, 292

The Death of Seneca E (C. Galle I) fig.190; II: 286, 287, 288, 293

D (? copy, by C. Galle I) (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library) II: 293

Title-page for A. Mascardi, *Silvarum Libri IV* (1622) I: 105

Title-page for S. Pietrasanta (Petrasancta), *De Symbolis Heroicis* I: 62; II: 143

Title-page for P. Ribadineira and H. Rosweyde, *Generale Legende der Heylighen* (1619) II: 306

Illustrations for Philip Rubens, *Electorum Libri II* (1608) I: 56

Head of a Roman Priest and an Apex II: 275

Architrave of the Temple of Vespasian II: 275

Title-page for M.C. Sarbiewski (Sarbievius), *Lycorum Libri IV* (1632) II: 327

ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE

Palazzi di Genova (1622) with EE (by N. Ryckemans) I: 56, 94

Rubens's House (Rubenshuis, Antwerp) I: 9
Garden Pavilion (Loggia) II: 193

Satyrs on the Garden Screen (Portico) (by H. van Mildert) text ill.38 I: 80, 105; II: 302

Alexander with the Thunderbolt P (lost; formerly decorating the façade on the courtyard) I: 9; II: 92, 93

D (copy, by W. Panneels) (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling) fig.65; II: 92, 93, 94

Venus pulling off her Smock, ivory statuette (by A. Quellinus after a design from Rubens) (St Petersburg, Hermitage) II: 252, 254

(nude woman seen from the back) D (? Rubens or A. Quellinus) (Paris, Louvre) II: 254

WORKS AFTER THE ANTIQUE

Centaur tormented by Cupid (statue group) D (Moscow, Pushkin Museum) I: 118

DD (copies) I: 118

Dead Child in Swaddling Clothes (from Rubens's *Christian Sarcophagus*) D (lost) I: 59, 64

E (anonymous) I: 59, 64

African Fisherman ('Seneca', *Borghese Fisherman*) (ancient statue) D (St Petersburg, Hermitage) fig.193; II: 286, 287

D (2nd version) (St Petersburg, Hermitage) II: 287-288, 293

Head of 'Galba' (ancient bust) D (Oxford, Christ Church Gallery) II: 56-57

Horse-tamer (Montecavallo statue) D (lost) I: 125; II: 92, 184

D (copy) (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling) II: 94

Rubens's Egyptian Mummy Case D (assistant) (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale) I: 64

Figures from a Muse Sarcophagus ('Socrates and Xanthippe') D (Chicago, Art Institute) I: 98

Romulus and Remus suckled by the Wolf (from the Tiber statue) D (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana) fig.119; II: 135, 162, 167, 171

The Gem Book II: 13, 63

Battle of Alexander against the Indians D (lost) II: 93

Three Heads in Profile: Alexander as Hercules, Alexander as Jupiter Ammon, and Messalina E (? L. Vorsterman) II: 84, 88

Four Heads in Profile: Germanicus Caesar, C. Caesar Augusti Nepos, Solon and Socrates E (L. Vorsterman) I: 100; II: 13, 63

- Five Heads in Profile: C. Caesar Augusti Nepos, Germanicus, Solon, Tiberius, and Minerva* E (anonymous) II: 13
- Other Gems and Coins
- Alexander and Olympias* (the *Gonzaga Cameo*) D (lost) I: 91, 92
- Head of a Hellenistic Ruler* (gem) D (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library) II: 90
- Nero* (coin) D (Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection) II: 281
- D (? copy) (London, British Museum) II: 281
- Copies after T. Galle's Studies after the Antique
- Alexander* (coin) D (Paris, Louvre) II: 88, 90
- Apollonius of Tyana and Socrates* D (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling) II: 63
- '*Diogenes*' Seated (contorniate) E (R. Colin) II: 68
- Herm of Pittacus* D (anonymous, retouched by Rubens) (Paris, Louvre) II: 13
- Head of Socrates* D (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling) II: 63
- Series of Engravings after *Ancient Busts* (1638) I: 95
- Bust of 'Democritus'* E (L. Vorsterman) I: 103; II: 54, 60
- Herm of 'Plato'* E (L. Vorsterman) I: 110
- Head of 'Socrates'* E (P. Pontius) I: 100; II: 63
- OTHER COPIES AND ADAPTATIONS**
- Costume Book* (from various sources) DD (London, British Museum) I: 61, 101; II: 18, 24, 32, 262, 322
- After Caraglio after Raphael
- Alexander and Roxana* D (Paris, Louvre) II: 81
- After A. Elsheimer
- A Turkish Prince on Horseback with Attendants* D (Rubens, ? worked over by P. Soutman) (London, British Museum) II: 327, 330
- E (P. Soutman) II: 327
- P. Fachetti after Raphael and Titian
- PP (retouched by Rubens) (some of them in Madrid, Prado) II: 53, 54
- After H. Holbein
- Death and the Knight* D (whereabouts unknown) I: 80
- After Italian medals
- Bias* D (London, British Museum) II: 10, 13
- Solon* D (London, British Museum) II: 10, 13
- Thales* D (London, British Museum) II: 10, 13
- After Leonardo
- Battle of Anghiari* D (anonymous, reworked by Rubens) (Paris, Louvre) fig.227; I: 75; II: 325, 326, 329
- P (Vienna, Akademie) II: 326
- After Israel von Meckenem
- A Young Couple* D (Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett) II: 35, 36
- After Konrad Meit
- Female Nude* D (Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett) II: 230
- After Michelangelo
- Leda* P (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie) I: 124
- P (New York, private collection) I: 124
- After Petrarch Master DD II: 285
- After Polidoro da Caravaggio:
- The Rape of the Sabines* D (Swiss private collection) II: 181, 188, 193
- The Fortitude of Mucius Scaevola* D (? retouched by Rubens) (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum) II: 240-241
- After Primaticcio
- ? *The Seven Sages at Delphi* D (Madrid, Prado) fig.6; II: 12, 13, 14
- Andromache Fainting* D (Madrid, Prado) II: 14
- After Raphael (but see also Caraglio, Fachetti)
- Heads* (from the *Acts of the Apostles*) DD (? Rubens or Van Dyck) (London, private collection, and Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling) II: 230
- After Titian (but see also Fachetti)
- Charles V* P (? Rubens or Van Dyck after him) (London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection) II: 328
- After Vicentino
- Cloelia and Other Sketches* D (Paris, Louvre) fig.172; II: 180, 181, 249, 250, 252
- After T. Zuccaro
- Soldier* D (lost) II: 325, 329
- D (copy) (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling) II: 325, 329
- HEAD STUDIES—MALE**
- Head of a Bearded Man* P (Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection) II: 303
- Two Studies of the Head of a Bearded Man* P (? Rubens) (Sorrento, Museo Corraale) II: 67, 303, 308
- Head of a Bearded Man with Curly Hair, turned to the Right* P (Germany, private collection) fig.206; II: 294, 303, 307

- Four Studies of the Head of a Black Man* **P**
(Brussels, Musées Royaux des
Beaux-Arts) II: 67, 70
- Head of an Elderly Bearded Man, turned to the
Left* **P** (Edinburgh, National Gallery of
Scotland) fig.211; II: 304, 308
- Head of a 'Priest' P* (? Van Dyck for Rubens)
(Göteborg, Konstmuseet) II: 303, 307
two more views of the same head **P** (? Van
Dyck for Rubens) (Warwick Castle, the
Earl of Pembroke) II: 303, 307
the three views combined **D** (copy,
workshop) (Copenhagen, Statens
Museum for Kunst, Kongelige
Kobberstiksamlng) II: 307
- Head of a Youth in Armour* **P** (Duisburg,
Dr G. Henle) fig.207; II: 303, 307, 311
- Two Views of the Head of the Same Youth* **D**
(copy, workshop) (Copenhagen,
Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige
Kobberstiksamlng) II: 307

HEAD STUDIES-FEMALE AND CHILDREN

- Study of a Child with Curly Hair (Child playing
with a Bird)* **P** (Berlin, Staatliche
Museen) II: 67, 70
- Head of a Woman* **P** (lost; various copies) II: 67
- Head of an Old Woman* **P** (? Van Dyck for
Rubens) (Besançon, Musée des
Beaux-Arts) II: 67, 70, 71

HEAD STUDIES-COMBINED COPIES

- Chatsworth, The Devonshire Collection
- Sheet with eleven Head Studies* **D** drawing
(? Rubens or Van Dyck
after Rubens) fig.3; II: 10
- Sheet with eleven Head Studies* **D** (copy by ?
Van Dyck) fig.45 II: 67, 70, 303, 307
- Sheet with eleven Head Studies* **D** (copy by ?
Van Dyck) II: 307
- P. Pontius, 'Livre à Dessiner'
- Plate with five Head Studies* **E** II: 67
- Plate with nine Head Studies* **E** II: 10, 13, 70, 307
- Paris, Louvre
- Sheet with twelve Head Studies* **D** (copy)
(no.20.286) II: 67
- Sheet with Head Studies* **D** (copy) (no.20.287)
II: 67
- Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen
- Sheet with six Head Studies* **D** (copy) (no.548)
II: 70
- Sheet with Head Studies* **D** (copy) (no.549) II: 67

Sheet with eleven Head Studies **D** (copy)
(London, British Museum) II: 70, 303,
304, 307, 308

'The Three Magi' (combining three of Rubens's
head studies) **P** (copy) (whereabouts
unknown) II: 304, 308

E (W.Y. Ottley, after the former) II: 308

P (copy; heads only) II: 308

ART-THEORETICAL NOTEBOOK

- Lost original ('Pocketbook') I: 103, 105, 125;
II: 57, 61, 92, 94, 162, 163, 180, 230, 231,
250, 277, 293
- Preserved sheet, with *Studies after Raphael and
Holbein, and Texts* **D** (Berlin, Staatliche
Museen, Kupferstichkabinett) II: 61, 93,
94, 180, 181, 230, 231
- Copy (? by Van Dyck): *Antwerp Sketchbook*
(Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection)
II: 94, 180, 181, 183, 231
- Copy: *MS Johnson* (London, Courtauld Institute
Galleries, Princes Gate Collection)
- Double Herm of Democritus and Heraclitus* **D**
(fol. 121) text ill.37; I: 103, 104, 111
- Double Mask of Comedy and Tragedy* **D** (fol.
123) text ill.36; I: 104, 111
- Copy (publishing the MS de Ganay,
whereabouts unknown): Ch. A.
Jombert, *Théorie de la figure humaine*
(1773, engravings by P. Aveline) I: 105,
125; II: 57, 94, 250, 293

STUDIES

- A Bearded Man, Sitting* **D** (Vienna, Albertina)
II: 13
- A Blind Man stretching his Arms Forward* **D**
(Vienna, Albertina) II: 249
- Head of a Bald Man ('Galba')* **D** (Antwerp,
Rubenshuis) II: 57
- Head of 'Galba' as Ecorché* **D** (Chatsworth,
Devonshire Collection) II: 57
- A Woman with a Baby (Madonna)* **D** (New York,
N.G. Stogdon Inc.) II: 330
- A Young Woman Kneeling* **D** (Amsterdam,
Gemeente Musea, Fodor Collection)
II: 38, 39, 187, 191, 192, 196

MISCELLANEOUS

- Battle Scene* **D** (London, Courtauld Institute
Galleries, Princes Gate Collection)
fig.225; II: 327
- D** (New York, N.G. Stogdon Inc.) II: 330
- 'Coriolanus meeting his Mother and Sisters',
unidentified (various references) II: 93,
95

- Head of a Bearded Man ('Heraclitus')* **D** (London, British Museum) II: 56, 57
- Two Fighting Soldiers* **D** (New Haven, Conn., Yale University Art Gallery) II: 330
- Unidentified subject ('*Alexander and the Family of Darius*'; '*The Clemency of Alexander*') **S** (whereabouts unknown) *fig.67*; II: 93, 94, 95
- Unidentified subject (from medieval history?) **D** (Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett) *fig.216*; II: 321
- Studies for Various Compositions* **D** (Windsor Castle, Collection of H.M. The Queen) *fig.16*; II: 19, 24, 27, 28, 38
- Bathing Women* **D** (Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett) II: 254



Index IV: Names and Places

This index lists localities of works of art mentioned in the text (but for the works of Rubens, Indexes I and III should also be consulted, as indicated below), names of artists, authors (up to the end of the 18th century), collectors, owners and historical and mythological characters. Individual works of art are included too: either under the appropriate artist(s), or, in cases where no attribution of authorship can be given, under their titles, alphabetically; for Rubens, see Indexes II and III. An exception is made for tapestry cycles discussed as series in the text; these, whether attributed or unattributed, are collected under a single heading. Cross-references to Index I are to items listed under the same heading, unless otherwise indicated.

- Abauchas and Gyndanes II: 112
 Abigail I: 40; II: 93, 94
 Acca Larentia II: 171, 175-177
 Acciaiuoli, Domenico I: 45
 Achilles I: 117-120, 129; II: 153, 237, 241, 249
 Acquarone II: 129
 Acron II: 117, 118, 121, 137, 152
 Adamo Scultori (Ghisi): see Ghisi
 Adanovics, Valentin Andreas von II: 84
Ad Herennium: see Cicero
 Adriani, Giovan Battista I: 53-54n
 Aelian I: 111; II: 92
 Aeneas I: 8, 9, 36, 115n; II: 114, 116-117, 119, 122, 135, 151, 153, 154, 156, 158, 160, 180, 190, 230
 Aeneas killing Turnus (tapestry, Netherlandish, c. 1640), Stockholm II: 122, 134
 Aeneas killing Turnus (tapestry, Jan Raet), whereabouts unknown II: 133
 Aernouts, F. Scaillet II: 282
 Aesculapius I: 93
 Aesop I: 106; II: 66
 See also: Phaedrus
 Aetion II: 81, 82, 83
African Fisherman: see 'Seneca' in his Bath
 Agamemnon I: 119, 120
 Agathon I: 98; II: 62
 Agges, Jan II: 103
 Agnew's II: 304, 308
 Agrippina, Julia, mother of Nero I: 8; II: 278-282
 Agustín, A. II: 143
 Ahasuerus I: 41
 Ajax and Cassandra II: 141, 143
 Alba family II: 73, 77; fig. 52
 Alba, María Teresa Cayetana de Silva y Toledo, 13th Duchess of II: 73
 Albert, Archduke of Austria I: 46n, 90; II: 76-77, 164, 169, 230, 313
 Albert Casimir, Duke of Saxe-Teschen II: 28
 Alberti, Leon Battista I: 54, 127n
 Alberti, Ignaz II: 165
 Alcibiades I: 67, 98; II: 61-64
 Alciati, Andrea I: 36n, 107; II: 54, 155
 'Aldobrandini Wedding' (ancient painting), Rome, Vatican Museum II: 273
 Aldrovandi, Ulisse I: 60, 61; II: 172, 193
 Alecto: see Fury
 Alemanni, Niccolò I: 58, 62, 63
 Alexander ab Alexandro I: 62, 63, 65; II: 153, 179, 192
 Alexander the Great I: 9, 36, 42n, 43, 44, 68, 72, 78, 82, 83, 91, 92, 96; II: 80-90
 and Bucephalus I: 125n; II: 92
 and Dimnus II: 61
 and Roxana I: 116; II: 80-90
 Battle of Alexander against the Indians (ancient cameo), lost II: 93
 Alexander and Olympias (ancient cameo), Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum I: 91-92; text ill. 24
 Alexander, Major-General Sir Claud of Ballochmyle II: 308
 Alexander, Sir Claud, 2nd Bt II: 308
 Allard, Alexandre d' II: 309
 Allucius (or Indibilis) II: 259-269 *passim*
 Altemps, Giovanni Angelo, Duke of II: 285
 Amaduzzi, G.C. I: 125n
 Amalia van Solms: see Solms
 Amalteo, Pomponio
 (after) *The Vindication of Tuccia* (engraving by M. Toller) I: 38; II: 271, 275; text ill. 4
 Amasaesus, R. I: 63n
 Amazons II: 181, 182, 255
 Amazon dismounting (ancient sculpture), Rome, Palazzo Patrizi II: 250
 Ambrose, St I: 8; II: 297-311
 Amman, Jost II: 180
 Ammianus Marcellinus I: 65
 Ammon: see Jupiter
 Amory, David II: 317
 Amsterdam
 Gemeente Musea, Fodor Collection: see Index III, p. 362
 Municipal archives II: 105
 See also: Index I
 Rijksmuseum II: 105, 316; fig. 73
 See also: Index I

[Amsterdam, cont.]

- Town Hall I: 42, 45, 81; II: 43, 44
 I.Q. van Regteren Altena collection: see
 Index III, p. 354
 Amulius I: 115; II: 120-121, 136, 179
 Amyot, Jacques I: 43
 Andrea, Don Estevan de II: 251
 Andreae, Johann Valentin I: 57n
 Andromeda II: 202, 203, 208, 209
 Angeli, Giovanni Battista d' II: 172
 Angerstein, John Julius II: 184, 192, 297
 Ango, Robert II: 165
 Anguillara, Giovanni Andrea dell' II: 51
 Anhalt, Dukes of II: 85, 86
 Anhalt-Dessau, Henriette-Catherina,
 Duchess of II: 85, 247, 248
 Anicetus II: 279
 Anio, river god II: 170-171
 Anne, St II: 162
 Anne of Austria I: 86, 87
 Annoni, Gian Pietro I: 33, 37
 Annoni, Paulo I: 33
 Ansaldo, Andrea
St Ambrose and Theodosius (painting), Voltri,
 S. Ambrogio II: 305, 306
 Anthology, Greek (*Anthologia Graeca*;
Anthologia Palatina) II: 54, 56, 82,
 84, 100
 Anthology, Latin II: 100
 Anthony, St II: 294
 Antiochus I (Soter) I: 36; II: 95-97
 Antiochus III, I: 37
 Antonini, A. II: 34
 Antonio da Cremona
The Fortitude of Scaevola (chiaroscuro
 woodcut after Parmigianino)
 II: 236, 241; fig. 159
 Antony, Mark II: 86, 128, 139, 277, 278, 281
 Antrobus, Edmund II: 308, 309
 Antwerp
 Antwerpsche Godshuizen II: 39
 Begijnhof II: 123
 Cathedral: see Index III, p. 355
 École Centrale II: 298
 Huis Osterrieth II: 214, 223; figs. 139, 140,
 143-145
 See also: Index I
 Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten
 II: 102, 298
 See also: Index I; Index III, pp. 354, 355
 Museum Plantin-Moretus I: 59, 61; fig. 200
 See also: Index III, p. 360
 Rubenshuis II: 123
 portico I: 80; text ill. 38
 See also: Index III, p. 360
 St Augustine's Church: see Index III, p. 354
 St James's Church II: 278, 314
 St Paul's Church II: 298, 304, 305
 See also: Index III, p. 356
 Stedelijk Prentenkabinet II: 33
 See also: Index I
 Apeldoorn, Palace of Het Loo: see Loo
 Apelles II: 94
Alexander with the Thunderbolt (painting), lost
 I: 9; II: 91, 92, 94; cf. fig. 65
 Apollo I: 107, 119, 123, 127; II: 10, 11, 13
 Apollonia, St II: 191
 Apollonius of Tyana I: 63n
 Apollonius Rhodius I: 127n
 Apostool, Cornelis II: 106
 Appian I: 43; II: 198, 201
 Appleby's II: 44, 296
 Arachne I: 55
 Archinto, Count G. II: 113
'Ariadne' (ancient statue), Rome, Vatican
 Museum II: 277
 Aristippus I: 103
 Aristogeiton: see Harmodius
 Aristophanes II: 12, 62, 63
 Aristotle I: 95, 96, 98, 111; II: 63
 Armenia, Princess I: 122
 Armenini, Giovanni Battista I: 33, 40n, 43, 45,
 95n
 Arpino: see Cesari
 Arria and Paetus I: 109
 Arrian II: 92, 94
 Arsinoe II, II: 76
 Artemisia I, ruler of Caria (ally of Xerxes)
 I: 86
 Artemisia II, ruler of Caria and wife of
 Mausolus I: 8, 40n, 66, 86, 89, 90,
 92; II: 73-80, 250, 278
 Arundel, Thomas, Earl of I: 58
 Ascanius II: 119, 156, 158
 Ashburton: see Baring
 Ashcombe, Lady: see Cornelis de Vos
 Assche, Hendrik van II: 123, 126, 127,
 130-132, 137, 138, 139, 143, 148, 150
 Asscher, Martin B. II: 103
 Asselineau, L. II: 312
 Assum, J.-A. I: 35n
 Asterius, St II: 194
 Atalanta II: 321
 Athenaeus I: 39n; II: 70
 Athens, Sanctuary of the Dioscuri I: 122n
 Attingham Park II: 15
 See also: Index I
 Aubry, Etienne II: 33
 Audry, 'le Président' II: 71
 Audejans, Hubert II: 293

- Augsburg
House of Marx Pfister I: 46, 47, 81;
text *ill.* 12
Town Hall I: 42
- August II, King of Poland II: 251
- Augustine, St I: 77, 99, 100, 101n, 109n; II: 11,
136, 160, 177, 270, 275
- Augustus, Emperor I: 37n, 44; II: 93, 128, 159,
281
- Aurelius, Marcus, Emperor I: 45n, 58, 63, 95
- Aurelius Victor, Ps. I: 114n, 116n; II: 117, 135,
158, 160, 168, 171, 172, 177, 193, 281
- Ausonius II: 10, 11, 12, 13
- Axmann, J. II: 300
- Azzolino
Deccio, Cardinal II: 14, 257
Pompeo, Marchese II: 14, 257
- Baburen, Dirk van II: 58
Cimon and Pero (painting), York City Art
Gallery II: 101, 104, 105, 114
- Backereel, Gillis II: 136
- Backus, Roy M. I: 113
- Baden, Margrave of II: 233
- Bagno, Cardinal Giovanni Francesco Guidi di
II: 164, 167, 169, 170, 171, 173, 321,
322
- Bailleur, Cornelis de II: 215, 223
- Bajazet I: 37
- Balen, Hendrik van II: 29, 217, 251
(attr., after) *Rudolf of Hapsburg and the Priest*
(stained-glass window, by Jan de
Labaer), Antwerp, St-Jacobskerk
II: 314
- Bamberg, Bayerische
Staatsgemälde­sammlungen: see
Otto van Veen
- Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas II: 214, 223;
figs. 139, 140, 143-145
See also: Index I, s.v. Antwerp
- Barbarossa (Khair ud-Din) II: 329
- Bardi, Tina dei II: 52
- Baring, Alexander, Lord Ashburton II: 201,
211, 214, 215, 217, 223, 224
- Baring, Francis Thornhill, Lord Northbrook
II: 214, 223
- Baring, Sir Thomas II: 308
- Barnabas, St I: 8; II: 9
- Barnard, John II: 73
- Barnard, Lord II: 268
- Barocci, Federico
(after) *St Ambrose and Theodosius* (painting
executed by A. Vitale), Milan,
Duomo II: 305, 306
- Baronio (Baronius), Cesare I: 64, 72, 101n;
II: 302, 306
- Basan, F. II: 29, 185
- Basle
Kunstmuseum II: 84; *fig.* 57
See also: Index I
Öffentliche Kunstsammlung: see Holbein
Town Hall I: 42
- Bass, John II: 84
- Bath, Holburne Museum II: 30
See also: Index I
- Bathsheba II: 321
- Battle scene* (tapestry, Brussels, 17th-century),
Madrid, collection Miguel
Borondo II: 130
- Bayerische Staatsgemälde­sammlungen II: 65,
188, 282
See also: Schleissheim; Otto van Veen; and
Index I, s.v. Munich
- Bayeu, Francisco II: 209, 211
- Bayonne, Musée Bonnat II: 97, 264, 278;
figs. 184, 188
See also: Index I; III, p. 357
- Becanus, G. I: 82n; II: 171
- Becanus, Joannes Goropius I: 60
- Beccafumi, Domenico I: 46n
frescoes in Town Hall, Siena I: 37n, 46n
- Becker, Dr H. II: 158
- Beckerath, Adolf von II: 72, 90, 263
- Beckford, William II: 158
- Bedmar, Marquis of II: 311
- Beechley, Sir William II: 15
- Beer II: 240
- Beham, Barthel II: 99
- Beham, Hans Sebald
Cimon and Pero (engraving), 1544 I: 48;
II: 99, 102, 104, 107; *fig.* 77
Cimon and Pero (etching) II: 99, 102, 104, 107;
fig. 79
Scaevola (etching) II: 230, 231
Title-page to Gobler's *Der gerichtlich Process*,
1534 II: 43
- Beissel, Käthe II: 33
- Bellerophon I: 128n
- Bellier II: 113
- Bellori, Gian Pietro I: 54, 105; II: 63, 116, 134,
143, 171, 238, 241
- Belluno, Palazzo del Consiglio dei Nobili
I: 38; II: 271, 275
- Benda, Baronin de II: 185
- Benedict XIV, Pope II: 164
- Benedict, Curt II: 214, 232, 299
- Bentinck: see Portland
- Bentzelstjerna-von Engeström collection
II: 296
- Berbie, G. II: 298
- Berenice, mother of Ptolemy Philadelphus
I: 91

- Bergamo, Accademia Carrara II: 108, 109, 305
See also: Index I
- Bergognone, Ambrogio, Altar of St Ambrose
for Pavia, Certosa II: 305
- Bergonti, Giorgio II: 90
- Bergsten, Carl II: 132, 140, 148; *fig. 100*
- Bergues
Abbey of St Winoc II: 108
Musée Municipal II: 39; *fig. 25*
See also: Index I
Town Hall II: 39
- Berlin
Akademie der Künste II: 242
Bode Museum I: 38; II: 23; *fig. 19*
Jagdschloss Grünewald: see Willeboirts
Bosschaert
Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum II: 137, 246, 302,
303; *figs. 170, 171*
See also: Index I; Index III, pp. 355, 357
Königliche Bibliothek II: 242
Königliche Schlösser II: 225, 247, 276
Staatliche Museen II: 72, 90, 242, 263, 323;
figs. 63, 162, 183, 216, 222, 223, 226,
228
See also: Index I; Index III, pp. 354, 356,
357, 361, 362, 363
- Bernardi, Giovanni
Siege of Tunis (reverse of medal of Charles V)
II: 326, 328
- Berry (?Berny), de II: 223
- Bertha, mother of Charlemagne I: 91
- Berthelot, Guillaume I: 90, 91, 92, 93, 94n
- Berwick, Dukes of II: 73
- Berwick, Lord II: 257
- Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts: see Index
III, p. 362
- Beschey, Balthazar II: 39, 232; *fig. 25*
See also Index I, s.v. Bergues
Finding of Moses (painting), whereabouts
unknown II: 32
- Beschey, J.F. II: 39
- Beuningen, Jan van II: 110, 113
- Beurnonville, Baron E. de II: 233
- Beurs, Wilhelmus II: 304
- Beyerlinck, Laurent II: 37
- Bianchi, Ercole II: 37
- Bias II: 10, 12
See also: Seven Sages
Biblia Ernestina II: 32-33
- Bickert, L. II: 215
- Bie, Cornelis de II: 233
- Bie, Jacob de I: 80n, 115n; II: 152, 153, 171
- Bielke, Count Thure-Gabriel II: 149; *fig. 110*
- Bier, Herbert N. II: 58, 179
- Bier, Julius M. II: 58
- Bijlert, Jan van II: 57
- Billaudel II: 257
- Bion II: 84
- Birch, Charles II: 184
- Blainville, de I: 121n
- Blanche of Castile I: 90, 91
- Boccaccio, Giovanni I: 86; II: 194, 290
De claris mulieribus I: 33n, 37n, 39, 43, 52,
82n; II: 17, 22, 99, 143, 250, 253, 254
- Bocchi, Achille I: 47n
- Bochius, Joannes I: 46n, 65n; II: 79, 231, 240,
305, 316
- Bocksberger, J.M.
(attr.) *Rape of the Sabines* (drawing),
whereabouts unknown II: 192
- Bode, Wilhelm II: 323
- Boeckhorst, Jan II: 20, 24, 26, 27, 87-90 *passim*,
120-123, 126, 134, 136, 137,
251-254, 277, 278, 308; *figs. 173, 175*
Adoration of the Magi (painting), Greenville,
Ca, Bob Jones University II: 88,
123
(here attr.; after) *Alexander and Diogenes*
(engraving by J.P. Verhagen) II: 87,
88; *fig. 62*
(here attr.) *Alexander and Roxana* (painting),
whereabouts unknown II: 87-89;
fig. 59
(after) *Alexander and Roxana* (engraving by
S. Czetter) II: 88, 89-90; *fig. 61*
(here attr.) *Alexander cutting the Gordian Knot*
(painting), Lille, Musée des
Beaux-Arts II: 88-89, 90; *fig. 60*
Ascension (painting from Snyders triptych),
Antwerp, Begijnhof II: 123
Crucifixion (painting), Lo, St Peter's II: 121,
123
Fat Ox (painting), private collection II: 123
History of Apollo (sketches, for tapestry
designs) II: 121
Martyrdom of St James (painting),
Valenciennes, Musée des
Beaux-Arts II: 137
Martyrdom of St Lawrence (painting),
Bordeaux, Musée des Beaux-Arts
II: 137
Martyrdom of St Maurice (painting), Lille,
Musée des Beaux-Arts II: 89
(attr.) *Mary Magdalen* (drawing), Paris,
Louvre II: 254
(attr.) *Rape of the Leucippides* (painting),
Florence, Pitti I: 126
(attr.) *Rape of the Leucippides* (drawing),
Chantilly, Musée Condé I: 126;
text ill. 40
Repentant David (painting), Ghent,
St Michael's II: 122

- [Boeckhorst, Jan, cont.]
St Francis Xavier before the Emperor of Japan (painting), Pommersfelden, Schloss Weissenstein II: 304, 308
St Helena (painting), Antwerp, St-Jacobskerk II: 278
Silenus (painting), lost II: 254
Solomon and the Queen of Sheba (painting), Antwerp, private collection II: 89
 (attr.) *Woman with a Mirror* (painting), Kassel, Gemäldegalerie II: 278
- Böhler, Julius II: 177, 245,
 Boethius II: 280, 281, 285
 Boeyermans, Theodoor II: 14, 257, 261, 262, 263; figs. 12, 178
Continence of Scipio (painting), Brussels, private collection II: 261, 263
Continence of Scipio (painting), lost, formerly Potsdam, Bildergalerie von Sanssouci II: 261, 263, 268, 269
- Boissard, J.J. I: 62; II: 141, 143, 287, 289
Ancient Roman Bath Tub (engraving), from *Antiquitates romanae seu topographia romanae urbis...*, II, edn Frankfurt, 1627 II: 287, 289, 293; fig. 191
- Bol, Ferdinand I: 46, 81
 Bologna, Palazzo Magnani: see Carracci
 Bolswert, Boethius à II: 41
 Bolswert, Schelte à I: 47; II: 107, 121, 259, 262, 265, 266, 267; fig. 182
- Bolton, T. II: 186
 Bonaparte, Joseph II: 47, 51
 Bonaparte, Lucien II: 47
 Bonasone, Giulio
Cimon and Pero (engraving after Rosso) I: 48n
- Bonde, Baron Carl II: 80
 Bonnat, Léon II: 264, 278
 Bonsignori, Giovanni dei I: 56
 Bonte, Gregoire de
 printer's mark (*Cimon and Pero*) I: 48; II: 99-100, 102, 107, 114; text ill. 10
- Borcht, F. van der II: 215
 Bordeaux, Musée des Beaux-Arts II: 137
 Boreas II: 183
 Borel, A. II: 258
 Borghese collection I: 118n; II: 285-294 *passim*
 Borghese, Scipione II: 285
 Borghini, Vincenzo I: 53n, 73, 83
 Borloo, A. II: 97
 Borromeo, Carlo II: 303, 305
 Borromeo, Cardinal Federico II: 37
 Bors, De II: 233
 Bosch, Carel van den, Bishop of Bruges I: 48; II: 97, 101, 102-103
- Boskovitch, Miodrag II: 312
 Bosschaert: see Willeboirts
 Bosschaert, Jacques-Joseph II: 184; for Mme Bosschaert see Melyn
 Boston (Mass.), Museum of Fine Arts II: 14; figs. 7, 8
 See also: Index I
- Boström, Sven II: 233
 Boswell, Sir William I: 58
 Botticelli, Sandro I: 54
 Boulenger, Giovanni I: 37n
 Bourbon collection, Parma II: 228
 Bourgeois, Sir Francis II: 151
 Bouts, Dirk
Justice of Otho (painting), Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts I: 78
- Boyvin, René
Catanian Brothers (engraving) I: 47n
 Bragge, Dr II: 317
 Bramante, Donato
Democritus and Heraclitus (painting), Milan, Brera I: 102
- Brambilla, Francesco, designs for choir stalls for Milan, Duomo II: 305
- Bramer, Leonard
The Flight of Cloelia (drawing, after Couwenbergh) II: 250
- Brandenburg, Electors of: see Frederick III; Friedrich Wilhelm
- Brandenburg-Bayreuth, Christiane
 Eberhardine von, Queen of Poland II: 251
- Brant, Isabella I: 80n; II: 190, 266
 Brant, Mortimer II: 198
 Brant, Sebastian I: 50, 108-109, 291
 Bremen, Roselius collection I: 126n
 Breslau, Schlesisches Museum der bildenden Künste II: 322; fig. 219
 See also: Index I
- Breu, Jörg II
Dentatus and Fabricius (mural), Augsburg, formerly house of Marx Pfister I: 46, 47, 81; text ill. 12
- Briseis I: 119, 120
 Brisson, B. II: 194
 Bristol, 'Count of' II: 136
 Brocklebank, Ralph II: 195, 197
 Brown, Mr II: 195
 Broyen, Abraham van II: 73
 Bruegel, Pieter
Elck (engraving) I: 107; fig. 47
 Brueghel, Jan I, II: 37, 254, 315
- Bruges
 Town Hall I: 78; II: 18, 23, 43
 Groeningemuseum I: 78; II: 40, 43, 114, 245

- Brunswick (Maine), Bowdoin College
Museum of Art: see Index III,
p. 356
- Brusco, G. II: 310
- Brutus, Lucius Junius (consul) I: 42
- Brutus, Marcus Junius (tyrannocide) II: 158,
279
- Brussels
Bibliothèque Royale II: 233
See also: Otto van Veen; and Index I
Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts II: 48;
text ill. 31
See also: De Crayer; and Index I; Index III,
pp. 354, 355, 357, 362
Palace (17th-century) II: 164, 169
St Nicholas's Church: see Index III, p. 354
Town Hall I: 43, 64, 89; II: 20, 24, 39-47
passim
See also: Index I; Index III, pp. 354, 355
- Bucephalus II: 92, 94
See also: Alexander
- Buchanan, William II: 51, 214, 223
- Buckingham, George Villiers, 1st Duke of
I: 9, 92n; II: 88, 126,
- Budaëus (Budé), Guillaume I: 76n
- Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum II: 231,
241; *fig. 163*
See also: Master of the Griselda Legend; and
Index I
- Bukowski, H. II: 233
- Bulengerus (Boulanger), J.C. II: 192
- Burbure, Léon de II: 33, 36; *fig. 21*
- Burchard, Ludwig, collection II: 225, 299
- Burman, P I: 33n
- Burnet, J. II: 186
- Burton, Robert I: 34
- Busa I: 36-37
- Busscher II: 97
- Bute, Marquess of II: 225, 233; *fig. 169*
- Buttery, H. II: 214
- Cachiopin de la Redo, Jan Baptista de II: 316,
317
- Cadaqués, Museo Perrot-Moore II: 15, 258
See also: Index I
- Caesar, Julius I: 43; II: 93, 278
- Cailar, Citoyen II: 164
- Cailleux II: 299
- Cajés, Eugenio
Agamemnon and Chryses (painting), lost
II: 206, 236, 244
- Calando, E. II: 232
- Calderón, Pedro II: 315
- Caliari, Benedetto II: 96
- Calino (Brescia), Palazzo Calini II: 274
- Calleja, Andrés de la II: 209
- Calmann, H.M. II: 30, 222
- Calvaert, Denys II: 193
(after) *The Rape of the Sabines* (engraving by
Aegidius Sadeler) II: 189, 193;
fig. 134
- Calvete de Estrella, J.C. I: 42n, 79n, 88n; II: 329
- Calvert, George II: 161
- Cambiaso, Luca
Magdalen (painting), lost II: 295
Rape of the Sabines (ceiling painting),
Terralba, Villa Imperiale II: 184
- Cambio, Tomaso I: 73n
- Cambrai, Musée Municipal II: 85
See also: Index I
- Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum II: 15, 26,
226; *text ill. 32; fig. 15*
See also: Index I; Index III, pp. 355, 356
- Cambyses I: 37
Justice of I: 43, 64, 78, 89; II: 39-47
Justice of Cambyses, tapestry, 1617, Emden,
Town Hall II: 40, 43
- Camden, William I: 79n
- Camilla II: 321
- Camillus I: 34, 39, 44, 77, 83, 84-86, 88, 109n
- Campen, Jacob van
Diogenes seeking a True Man (painting),
Utrecht, Centraal Museum II: 66,
69-70
- Campbell, Sir Archibald II: 298
- Camproyer, M. II: 45
- Caraglio, Jacopo
Alexander and Roxana (engraving after
Raphael) II: 81, 83
- Caraffa, Giovanni Battista I: 60
- Caravaggio, Michelangelo da II: 226
Works of Mercy (painting), Naples, Pio Monte
della Misericordia II: 102
- Cardiff, National Museum of Wales: see Index
III, p. 356
- Cardiff Cartoons: anonymous Flemish
cartoons for tapestries of the
history of Romulus in National
Museum of Wales, Cardiff I: 7-8;
II: 114-124, 126-127, 129, 135-136,
151, 154, 155, 157, 158-161; *figs. 83,*
85, 88, 90
See also: Flemish, 17th-century
- Carducho, Vicente (Vicencio) II: 24, 56, 204,
209, 235, 236, 237, 245
Expulsion of the Moriscos (drawing), Madrid,
Prado II: 245
Scipio addressing the Romans (painting), lost
II: 206, 210, 236, 244
- Carey, C.B.C. II: 161-163; *fig. 115*
- Caritas romana II: 99, 101, 103
See also: Cimon and Pero; Roman daughter

- Carleton, Dudley I: 52, 74, 77, 237, 241;
II: 173, 239, 306
- Caro, Annibale I: 96, 291
- Caron, Antoine I: 86n; II: 78, 79
- Carpenter, James II: 186
- Carpio, Marqués del: see Méndez de Haro
- Carracci, Agostino, Annibale and Lodovico
Romulus cycle (frescoes) in Palazzo
Magnani, Bologna I: 44, 83n, 117,
120, 136, 152, 158-159, 160, 168,
179, 199, 200; figs. 92, 93
- Rape of the Sabines* II: 192, 193
- Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines* II: 199,
201
- Remus routing Cattle Thieves* II: 179
- Romulus and Proculus* II: 158-159, 160;
fig. 3
- Romulus and Remus suckled by the Wolf*
II: 168, 172
- Romulus returning with the Spoils of Acron*
II: 152, 153; fig. 92
- Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines*
(drawing), Chatsworth, The
Devonshire Collection II: 201
- Romulus and Remus suckled by the Wolf*
(drawing, ?by Annibale), Paris,
Louvre II: 168, 172
- Carroll II: 265
- Cartari, Vincenzo II: 84
- Carwicker II: 265
- Casaubon, Isaac I: 64, 65, 101n, 104n, 281
- Cassandra: see Ajax
- Cassiodorus I: 68, 69, 70, 72, 73, 84, 88
- Cassius, Caius (tyrannocide) II: 158
- Cassius Scaeva I: 36
- Castiglione, Baldassare I: 43, 45, 55; II: 262
- Castor: see Dioscuri
- Catherine, St II: 305
- Catherine II, Empress of Russia (the Great)
II: 25, 97, 98, 109, 300
- Cattaneo, Franco I: 74
- Catullus II: 87
- Caukercken, Cornelis van I: 48; II: 97, 98, 100,
101; fig. 70
- Portrait of Carel van den Bosch* (engraving)
II: 101
- Cavalleriis, J.B. de (Cavaliere) II: 51, 143
- Cavino, Giovanni da II: 76
- Cecil, John II: 255
- Cecilia, St II: 257
- Celer II: 127, 146
- Centaur tormented by Cupid* (ancient statue),
Paris, Louvre I: 118
- Cerda, J.L. de la (Cerdanus) I: 65; II: 190, 194
- Cesari, Giuseppe, Cavaliere d' Arpino
frescoes of early Roman history, Rome,
Capitol II: 167, 170
- Discovery of Romulus and Remus* II: 168,
172, 179
- Cesi collection I: 62, 111n; II: 141
- Cevat, D.M. II: 198
- Chanenko collection II: 240
- Chantilly, Musée Condé I: 126
- Charlemagne I: 42n, 91
- Charles I, King of England and Scotland
II: 217
- Charles II, King of Spain II: 209, 313, 315-316
- Charles V, Emperor I: 33n, 41, 73, 78, 82, 83,
88; II: 250, 324-330 *passim*
- Charles VI, Emperor II: 297
- Charles VII, King of France II: 276
- Charles IX, King of France I: 86
- Charondas I: 34
- Chasles, Rosine II: 64
- Château de St-Aubin d'Ecrosville, La Haye
collection: see Index III, p. 358
- Chatsworth, The Devonshire Collection
II: 201; figs. 3, 45
- See also: Index III, pp. 361, 362
- Chaucer, Geoffrey I: 98
- Chavannes collection II: 139
- Chicago
Art Institute II: 139
- See also: Index III, pp. 354, 360
- Northern Trust Company II: 74
- Chifflet, Jean Jacques I: 59, 64
- Chilon II: 10
- See also: Seven Sages
- Chiron I: 117-118
- Choul, Guillaume du II: 141, 143
- Christ, Jesus I: 99, 100, 101; II: 32, 318, 320
as Judge II: 41, 43
- Infant II: 162, 163, 170
- Christina, Queen of Sweden II: 14, 19, 20, 21,
24, 122, 257, 259, 261, 262
- Christyn, P. II: 20, 21, 51, 164, 170
- Cicero I: 33, 45n, 63, 71n, 77, 100n; II: 54, 56,
78, 160
- (attr.) *Ad Herennium* I: 34n, 39n
- Cigogna, Count Gian Pietro II: 33
- Cigogna Mozzoni, Count Alessandro II: 33;
fig. 20
- Cimon and Iphigenia II: 190
- Cimon and Pero I: 39, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50;
II: 97-114
- Cincinnati, Ohio
Xavier University Museum II: 282; fig. 196
- Claissens, A.
Justice of Cambyses (painting), formerly
Bruges, Town Hall II: 43

- Clark, Richard II: 255
 Claudian II: 84, 184
 Clement VII, Pope (Giulio de' Medici) I: 43n
 Cleobulus II: 10
 See also: Seven Sages
 Cleopatra I: 92; II: 86, 276-278, 281
 '*Cleopatra*' (ancient statue): see *Ariadne*
 Cleveland (Ohio), Museum of Art II: 37, 222;
 figs. 17, 151
 See also: Index I; Index III, pp. 355, 356
 Cloelia I: 51, 52; II: 79, 115, 125, 128, 149-150,
 202, 246-257, 314
 Clotilda, St I: 91, 93
 Clovis I: 91
 Cobentzl, Count Karl (Charles-Philippe Jean)
 II: 25, 97, 109, 215, 224
 Coberger, Wenceslas II: 286, 292
 Cochin, C.N. II: 309
 Cochin, N.R.
 Antiochus and Stratonice (etching after
 Veronese) II: 96
 Coecke, Pieter II: 102
 Cohn, Hans II: 89
 Coligny, Louise de, Princess of Orange I: 89;
 II: 73, 77, 78
 Collato, Count Basilio II: 113
 Collenuccio, Pandolfo I: 60
 Collin de Vermont II: 36
 Colnaghi's II: 72, 220
 Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum II: 290
 Colonna, Fabio I: 44n, 73
 Comans, Marc de I: 87n
 Commelijn, Protonotary II: 103
 Commynes, Philippe de I: 60, 61
 Conca, A. II: 312
 Connelly, Revd Thomas II: 282
 Constantine II: 265
 Constantine, Emperor I: 41, 64, 77, 82, 83, 84,
 87, 88, 91, 94; II: 93, 134, 135
 Constantinus, R. I: 64
 Constantius, Emperor I: 88n
 Consus II: 187, 192
 Conti, prince de II: 113
 Cook, Sir Frederick II: 185
 Copenhagen
 Royal Library II: 47-48, 85, 181, 183, 225,
 233-234, 299
 Statens Museum for Kunst II: 47, 48, 85,
 181, 183, 233, 234, 299, 317; *figs. 26,*
 65, 123, 124, 167, 213, 218
 See also: Index I; Index III, pp. 354, 356,
 357, 360, 361, 362
 Coques, Gonzales II: 233, 239; *fig. 166*
 Corderius, B. II: 156, 161
 Cordier, Nicolas II: 291-292
 See also: '*Seneca*' in his Bath
 Coriolanus II: 93, 95
 Cornarius, Ianus II: 64
 Corneille, Pierre I: 80n
 Cornelia, wife of Tiberius Gracchus the Elder
 II: 76-77
 Cornelissen, Jan Francisco II: 139
 Cornette de Saint-Cyr, Pierre II: 298
 Corregio, Antonio II: 55
 Cort, Cornelis
 Rape of Lucretia (engraving after Titian)
 II: 226, 228
 Cortona, Pietro da I: 37n, 55, 88
 Rape of the Sabines (painting), Rome, Galleria
 Capitolina II: 188, 192-193
 La Coruña, Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes:
 see Index III, p. 357
 Corvi, Domenico II: 165, 274, 276
 Costano, Giovanni II: 282
 Cosway, Richard II: 73
 Cotton, Robert Bruce I: 58
 Cottrell-Dormer, T. II: 220
 Couché, J. II: 15, 258
 Coughton Court II: 166
 See also: Index I
 Couwenbergh, Christiaen van: see *Bramer*
 Covarrubias Orozco, Sebastián de II: 63
 Cowper, 7th Earl II: 85
 Coxie, Michael
 Judgement of Solomon (painting), lost
 II: 41-42, 44
 Coypel, Antoine II: 15
 Cramer, G. II: 158
 Cranach, Lucas I, II: 43
 Craterus I: 68, 72; II: 92
 Crayer, Gaspar de II: 123, 202, 203-204, 208,
 209, 211-213, 216, 298
 Lamentation (painting), Vitoria, Santa Maria
 de Suso II: 209
 Miraculous Draught of Fishes (painting)
 Brussels, Musées Royaux des
 Beaux-Arts II: 209
 Cremer, Josef II: 110
 Creusa, wife of Aeneas I: 36
 wife of Jason I: 8, 278, 279, 281
 Crozat, Pierre II: 29
 Cupid I: 98n, 114, 116, 117, 118, 119; II: 81, 82,
 83, 140, 183, 219, 227
 Curtius, Marcus I: 39, 83
 Curtius Rufus, Quintus II: 61, 93, 94
 Cuvelier, F. II: 33
Cypria I: 127n
 Cyrus I, the Great I: 36, 37, 38, 44, 45, 52, 53,
 64, 73; II: 14-31 *passim*
 Czetter, Samuel
 Alexander and Roxana (print after ? Jan
 Boeckhorst) II: 88, 89-90; *fig. 61*

- Dambrun, Jean II: 258, 267; *fig. 181*
 Danempord II: 84
 Daniel (prophet) II: 50
 Danlos: see Thibaudeau
 Danoot, Daniel II: 173-174, 175, 176, 214, 223, 330
 Dante I: 38, 41, 77n, 99n; II: 17, 22, 23, 276
 Darius II: 93
 Darnley, John Bligh, 4th Earl of II: 14, 257
 Dasch(e) II: 95, 96
 David, Gerard
 Justice of Cambyses (painting), Bruges, Groeningemuseum I: 78; II: 40, 43
 David, King I: 38, 40, 42n; II: 26, 93, 94
 Deborah I: 40
 Decius Mus, Publius I: 62, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 113, 116n; II: 124, 134, 140-143 *passim*
 son of (also P. Decius Mus) I: 76-77, 80
 grandson of (also P. Decius Mus) I: 77
 Deglatigny, Louis II: 232
 Deidamia I: 118-119, 129
 Delacre, Maurice II: 179
 Delacroix, Eugène I: 122; II: 33, 34
 Abduction, after Rubens, whereabouts unknown I: 122n
 Delft, Nieuwe Kerk II: 77
 Delilah I: 35, 50, 114n; II: 100-101
 Democritus I: 101, 102, 103, 104, 106, 110; II: 52-61
 Demosthenes I: 95n
 Demoulins, François II: 51
 Dentatus, Marcus Curius I: 35, 46
 Derby, James Stanley, 10th Earl of II: 296
 Deruet, Claude
 Rape of the Sabines (painting), Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen II: 188
 Desborough, Ethel Anne Priscilla Fane, Lady II: 85
 Descamps, J.B. I: 122n; II: 34, 43, 174, 176, 211, 217
 Desenfans, N.J. II: 151
 Dessau, Anhaltisches Landesmuseum II: 85
 Detroit, Institute of Arts: see Index III, p. 357; *text ill.* 25, 39
 De Vries, J. II: 105
 Dewit, G. II: 145
 Diana II: 327
 See also: Tapestry Cycles
 Diana of Ephesus II: 169
 See also: Nature
 Diemen, van II: 154, 158
 Diepenbeeck, Abraham van I: 12, 14; II: 32, 77, 164, 181, 182, 195, 197, 225, 241, 246, 247, 249-256 *passim*, 316
 Dido I: 92; II: 180
 Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts II: 23
 See also: Index III, p. 355
 Dimnus: see Alexander
 Dina I: 122
 Dio Cassius I: 64, 65; II: 226, 228, 279, 281
 Diodorus Siculus I: 33n; II: 12, 13, 78, 228
 Diogenes I: 66, 96, 98n, 102, 107, 110; II: 64-73, 78
 Diogenes Laertius I: 63, 66, 97, 107; II: 10, 11, 12, 13, 49, 51, 65, 66, 69, 70
 Dionysius of Halicarnassus I: 51, 114n, 115n, 116n; II: 51, 120, 135, 136, 146, 152, 153, 155, 156, 159, 160, 161, 167, 171, 172, 177, 178, 179, 188, 192, 193, 198, 201, 228, 240, 248-250, 270, 271, 274, 275
 Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux) I: 122-128 *passim*; II: 92, 94
 Dioscuri (Horse-tamers), ancient statues, Rome, Montecavallo (Quirinal) I: 123n, 125; II: 92, 184
 other ancient statues I: 122n, 123n
 Diplock II: 258
 Dodge, William E. II: 44
 Dolce, Lodovico I: 43n, 55
 Domenichino
 David playing the Harp (painting), Versailles, Château II: 35
 Solomon and Sheba (painting), lost II: 206, 210
 Donjeux, Vincent II: 154, 158
 Doorn, W. II: 251
 Douglas II: 14
 Douwes Brothers II: 215, 223
 Dowdeswell Gallery II: 177, 265, 266; *fig. 180*
 Dresden, Gemäldegalerie II: 25, 29, 251, 281; *figs. 173, 175*
 See also: Index I; Index III, pp. 356, 361
 Drey, Mrs Elisabeth II: 222
 Dries, Andries van den II: 123, 127, 139, 143, 150
 Drüll, Wolfgang D. II: 52
 Drusus, Nero Claudius (Germanicus) I: 82n
 Duarte, Diego II, II: 182, 214, 223, 251, 252, 254
 Duarte, Gaspar I, II: 214, 223
 Duarte, Manuel Levy II: 214, 223, 251
 Dubois II: 225
 Dubois de Saint-Gelais, L.F. II: 16, 258
 Dubuisson-Aubenay (François-Nicolas Baudot, sieur du Buisson et d'Aubenay) II: 39, 41-42, 43, 44
 Duchange, Gaspar II: 31
 Dürer, Albrecht
 (school of), decorations in Town Hall, Nuremberg I: 76

- Düsseldorf
 Elector Palatine's Gallery I: 121; II: 65, 197, 282, 294
 Museum II: 33
 See also: Index III, p. 357
- Duisburg, Dr G. Henle: see Index III, p. 362; *fig. 207*
- Duits, W.E. II: 308
- Dulière, Gaston II: 282
 See also: Index I, s.v. Brussels
- Dumont de Frainays, Mmes II: 15, 257-258
- Dunkirk, Musée des Beaux-Arts II: 108; *fig. 80*
 See also: Index I
- Dupuy, Jacques I: 58n
- Dupuy, Pierre I: 58, 59n, 61n, 68, 69, 91
- Duquesnoy, François II: 111, 112
- Dusautoy, A. II: 15, 258
- Duysel, Theodorus van II: 29
- Dyck, Antony van I: 126n; II: 10, 20, 24, 27, 39, 46, 67, 68-69, 70, 89, 94, 116, 162, 163, 179, 181, 183, 191, 203, 208, 229-231, 232, 237, 238, 240, 241, 242, 243, 248, 249, 255, 263, 264, 278, 279, 297-298, 302, 303, 306, 307, 308, 309; *figs. 43, 205*
 See also: Index I, s.v. London, National Gallery; Paris, Louvre
Antiochus and Stratonice (oil sketch or drawing), whereabouts unknown II: 96
Capture of Christ (painting), Madrid, Prado II: 302
Continence of Scipio (painting), Oxford, Christ Church II: 261, 263, 268, 269
Continence of Scipio (drawings) II: 263, 268, 269
Crowning with Thorns (painting), formerly Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum II: 302, 303
Group Portrait of Brussels Councillors (painting), lost II: 42
Pentecost (painting), formerly Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum II: 137
Portrait of Nicolaas Rockox (painting), St Petersburg, Hermitage I: 95n
Portrait of Nicolaes van der Borcht (painting), Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum II: 105
 (attr.) *Rape of the Sabines* (painting), whereabouts unknown (actually by Frans Francken II?) II: 208
St Martin and the Beggar (painting), Windsor Castle, Coll. H.M. The Queen II: 302, 305
 (attr. school of) *Abduction Scene* (drawing), Paris, Louvre I: 126
- Eastman, Sidney II: 74; *fig. 53*
- Eaton Hall, Duke of Westminster collection: see Index III, p. 354
- Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland II: 161; *figs. 211, 224*
 See also: Index I; Index III, pp. 354, 355
- Edwards, Hana Cheney II: 14
- Eggersmans, Daniel ?II, II: 126, 127, 130-132, 137, 138, 139
- Egmont, Justus van II: 115, 127-128, 139, 142-143, 144-150 *passim*
- History of Antony and Cleopatra (designs for tapestries) II: 128
- History of Augustus (designs for tapestries) II: 128, 139
 (after) *Fierce Germanic Women fighting* (tapestry), Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum II: 128, 139, 148; *fig. 112*
 (after) *Reconciliation of Octavian and Antony* (tapestry), Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum II: 128, 139, 148; *fig. 113*
- History of Zenobia (designs for tapestries) II: 128, 149, 150
Zenobia before Aurelian (drawing), Chicago, Art Institute II: 128, 139
 (after) *Zenobia before Aurelian* (tapestry) II: 139
 (here attr.) *Mars and Rhea Silvia* (oil sketch: No. 24a; *fig. 99*), Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum: see Indexes I and II
 (here attr.) *Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines* (oil sketch: No. 28a, copy; *fig. 109*), whereabouts unknown: see Index I, s.v. Radier Manor
 (after) *Romulus and Remus suckled by the Wolf* (engraving) II: 144, 170; *fig. 104*
- Ehreshoven, Schloss II: 265
 See also: Index I
- Eirene kourtophros: see Peace
- Eleanora of Toledo I: 41, 90
- Eleazar I: 36
- Elizabeth, St II: 70
- Elizabeth Petrovna, Empress of Russia II: 185
- Ellesmere, Earls of II: 308
- Elwyn (Elwin), Hastings II: 240, 297
- Emden, Town Hall II: 40
- Engeström, Count L.E. von II: 296
- Ennius II: 155
- Ephron Gallery II: 298
- Erasistratus II: 96

- Erasmus, Desiderius I: 37n, 39n, 45, 46n, 71, 75n, 98, 102, 106; II: 55, 65, 69
Adagia I: 97, 107, 108; II: 51-52, 63, 65, 69, 274; cf. *fig.* 33
- Erizzo, Sebastiano II: 171, 193
- Ernest, Archduke of Austria II: 305
- Eryximachus II: 62
- Esau: see Jacob
- Escorial II: 47, 211, 217
- Esterházy, Prince Nikolaus Joseph II: 232, 239
- Esterházy, Prince Paul II: 232, 246
- Esther I: 40, 41
 and Ahasuerus II: 265, 269
- Ethiopian, pious I: 101
- Etienne, Henri I: 64
- Euclid I: 96
- Eurydice I: 70
- Evelyn, John II: 291-292, 320, 322
- Everdingen, Caesar van
Alcibiades mocking Socrates (painting),
 Strasbourg, Musée I: 98-99
Diogenes seeking a True Man (painting), The
 Hague, Mauritshuis II: 66, 69
- Evander II: 117, 135, 156
- Everyman (*Elck*) I: 107; II: 65, 66; cf. *fig.* 47
- Eyck, Jan van II: 23
- Eynhoudts, R. II: 45, 46; *fig.* 30
- Ezechiel I: 63
- Faber, Joannes I: 111; II: 51, 56, 68, 71, 79, 135, 143, 156, 172, 183, 184
- Fabius Maximus, Quintus (Cunctator) I: 44, 73; II: 135
- Fabius Pictor II: 178
- Fabricius Luscinus, Gaius I: 46
- Facchetti, Pietro II: 53
- Faid'herbe, Lucas II: 59-60
- Falck, Jeremias II: 170
- Faro, Jacques (Vaz) II: 214, 217, 223
- Fasolo, Giovanni Antonio
St Ambrose and Theodosius (painting),
 Vicenza, Ospedale Civile II: 303, 306
- Faunus I: 105n; II: 120, 176, 177
- Fauquez, Jean-Baptiste Marie II: 265
- Faustina the Elder II: 201-202
- Faustulus II: 120-121, 165, 167, 168, 169, 171, 172, 175-179 *passim*
- Fecundity (personified) II: 207, 212, 213
- Felicity (personified) II: 175
- Ferdinand, Cardinal-Infante of Spain I: 9, 82, 116n, 123; II: 14, 20, 24, 59, 60, 107, 164, 171, 202-210 *passim*, 211, 213, 313, 325
 See also, for Entry into Antwerp, 1635:
 Gevartius
- Fermo
 Pinacoteca Comunale: see Index III, p. 354
 S. Filippo Neri: see Index III, p. 354
- Ferrari, Giovanni Andrea de'
St Ambrose and Theodosius (painting), Genoa,
 S. Ambrogio [Gesù] II: 301, 305
- Ferrat II: 15
- Festus II: 101, 177, 274, 276
- Ficino, Marsilio I: 100n, 101, 106; II: 54
- Fiera, Battista I: 100n
- Fiesole, Museo Bandini I: 34n; *text ill.* 3
- Finiguerra, Maso: see Florentine Picture
 Chronicle
- Fischer, Joseph II: 310
- Flacco, Maria Bruna II: 165
- Fleischman, Lawrence A. II: 44; *fig.* 28
 See also: Index I, s.v. Detroit
- Flémalle: see Master of Flémalle
- Flemish, 17th-century (anonymous)
Romulus and Tatius (tapestry cartoon),
 Cardiff, National Museum of
 Wales I: 8; II: 114-117, 118-119,
 121, 135-136, 155, 157, 158; *fig.* 85
Romulus appearing to Proculus (tapestry
 cartoon), *ibid.* I: 8; II: 114-117,
 119, 122-123, 127, 129, 131,
 135-136, 158-161; *fig.* 90
Romulus killing Remus (tapestry cartoon),
ibid. I: 8; II: 114-117, 119-120, 121,
 122, 126, 129, 131, 135-136; *fig.* 83
Romulus setting up a Trophy (tapestry
 cartoon), *ibid.* I: 8; II: 114-117,
 118, 127, 131, 135-136, 151, 154; *fig.* 88
The Death of Turnus and another subject
 (tapestry cartoon), John and
 Mable Ringling Museum of Art,
 Sarasota, Florida II: 115, 120-122,
 137, 154; *fig.* 96
Two Romulus subjects (tapestry cartoon), *ibid.*
 II: 115, 120-122, 137, 154; *fig.* 95
- Flink, Govert I: 46, 81
- Florence
 Duomo, Cupola I: 99n
 Loggia dei Lanzi I: 125
 Palazzo Pitti I: 126
 See also: Index III, pp. 357, 359
 Sala di Venere I: 37n
 Palazzo Vecchio I: 85
 Apartments of Eleanora of Toledo, I: 41,
 42n, 90; II: 202
 See also: Vasari; Stradanus
 Sala dei Gigli: see Ghirlandajo
 Sala dell'Udienza: see Salviati
Scrittoio of Cosimo I: see Vasari

[Florence, cont.]

- Uffizi: see *Niobids*; Federico Zuccaro; and Index III, pp. 355, 359
- Florentine Picture Chronicle, London, British Museum II: 22-23
- Floris, Frans II: 30
- Florus I: 45n, 76n, 115n; II: 146, 153, 160, 250
- Fontainebleau, Château de II: 14
Cabinet du Roi I: 37
Galerie François I, I: 47n; II: 102, 112
Galerie d'Ulysse II: 14
Musée National du Château: see Index III, p. 356
- Fontana, Domenico II: 100
- Fontana, Giovanni Battista II: 152, 201
- Fontebasso, Francesco
Tomiris and Cyrus (drawing), Vienna, Albertina II: 23
- Forchoudt (Forchondt) family II: 101, 105, 114, 323, 328
- Forchoudt (Forchondt), Gilliam II: 277, 278
- Forster, Georg II: 214, 216
- Fostlus, Sextus Pompeius II: 168
- Fouquet, Jean I: 78n
- Fourment, Helene I: 120; II: 25, 190, 194, 213, 257
- Fourment, Suzanne II: 25
- Fragonard, Jean Honoré II: 215, 224, 310
- Francesco da Siena
History of Fabius Maximus (frescoes), Grottaferrata, Palazzo abbaziale I: 44n, 73
- Francis of Assisi, St II: 35, 307
- Francis of Paola, St II: 305
- Franco, Giacomo, illustrations to Ovid II: 51
- François I, King of France I: 55, 82n, 108n; II: 51-52
- Francken, Frans II, II: 220, 269
(attr.) *Rape of the Sabines* (painting), whereabouts unknown II: 208
Tomiris and Cyrus (painting), Dijon, Musée II: 23
- Frank, Robert II: 298
- Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut II: 71, 240; fig. 46
- Fraula, Don Emanuel de (widow of) II: 298
- Frederick III, Elector of Brandenburg (Frederick I, King of Prussia) II: 246, 247, 248
- Frederick II, King of Prussia (the Great) II: 39, 44, 73, 113, 174, 225
- Frederik Hendrik, Stadholder, Prince of Orange I: 89, 90; II: 73, 74-75, 77, 78, 251
- Freeman, S. II: 304
- Fregoso (Fulgosius), B. I: 45, 46n, 69, 71, 72
- Friedmann, Dr II: 9
- Friedrich Wilhelm I, King of Prussia II: 242
- Friedrich Wilhelm, Elector of Brandenburg II: 242
- Friso, Johan Willem II: 75, 78
- Fulgosius: see Fregoso
- Furini, Francesco I: 100n; II: 63
- Fury II: 227, 228, 272
- Gabriel, Archangel I: 36
- Gage, George II: 173
- Galba, Emperor II: 55, 56, 58
- Galle, Cornelis I, II: 288, 293
- Galle, Cornelis II, II: 195
- Galle, Philips I: 40, 50n
Cimon and Pero (engraving) II: 107
- Galle, Theodoor I: 57n; II: 68, 90
Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines (engraving after Stradanus) II: 199, 199, 201, 202; fig. 137
The Vindication of Tuccia (engraving after Stradanus) II: 271; fig. 186
- Gallegos, Manuel de II: 294-296
- Galluzzi, Pietro I: 37n
- Gálvez, Condes de II: 30
See also: Index I, s.v. Seville
- Gambara, Lattanzio
The Vindication of Tuccia (painting), Calino (Brescia), Palazzo Calini II: 274
- Gaultier, L.
Title-page to J. Hordal, *Heroinae nobilissimae Ioannae Darc... historia*, Pont-à-Musson, 1612 (engraving) II: 320; fig. 217
- Gautier II: 95
- Geerdes, Jueke II: 105
- Gellius, Aulus I: 47, 66; II: 75, 77, 78, 80, 171, 177, 261, 263
- Genoa
Jesuit Church (S. Ambrogio) II: 301, 305, 309
See also: Index III, pp. 354, 355
Palazzo Bianco: see Index III, p. 356
Palazzo Carrega II: 309
Palazzo Doria: see Perino del Vaga
- Gentileschi, Artemisia II: 241
Hercules and Omphale (painting), lost II: 237, 241
- Georg V, Duke of Braunschweig and King of Hannover II: 80
- George III, King of Great Britain II: 151
- Gersaint, Edme-François II: 174
- Gerson II: 154
- Gesner, Conrad I: 60
- Gesta romanorum* II: 40, 42

- Gevartius (Gevaerts), Caspar I: 58, 62n, 95, 123, 128n; II: 84, 89, 93-94, 143, 213, 220, 228, 231, 313, 316, 319-322
- Ghent
 Cathedral of St Bavo: see Index III, p. 355
 MS 16A II: 23
 Episcopal Palace II: 18
 St James's Church II: 305
 St Michael's Church II: 122
 Town Hall II: 23
- Gherardi, Cristofano
 (attr.) frescoes in Sala delle Aquile, Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori II: 202
- Gheyn II, Jacob de, *Death of Seneca* (drawing), Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum II: 290
- Gheyn III, Jacob de I: 107; II: 11, 14
Siege of Tunis (engravings after Tempesta) II: 326, 328, 329
Thales from The Seven Sages (engraving) 107; II: 11, 14; fig. 5
- Ghirlandaio, Domenico
 frescoes in Sala dei Gigli, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence I: 34n, 41, 76, 77, 81; text ill. 1-2
- Ghisi (Scultori), Adamo
Chariot of the Senses (engraving after Giulio Romano) II: 63
 See also: Giulio Romano
- Ghisi, Domenico
Continence of Scipio (engraving after Giulio Romano) II: 262
- Ghisi, Giorgio
Death of Procris (engraving after Giulio Romano) II: 281
Rape of Lucretia (engraving after Giulio Romano) II: 228
- Giambologna
Rape of a Sabine (statue), Florence, Loggia dei Lanzi I: 125; II: 188
Rape of the Sabines (bronze relief), Florence, Loggia dei Lanzi II: 182, 188, 193
- Gibbon, Edward II: 167
- Gibbons, Grinling II: 31
- Gier, G.A. II: 97
 See also: Index I, s.v. Amsterdam
- Giersburg, Paul II: 165
- Gilinus, C. I: 71
- Gillis (Gilis, Gilisen), Herman II: 310; fig. 209
- Gillis, Jan II: 68
- Gimburg and Lovey II: 148
- Giolito de' Ferrari, Gabriel I: 70n
- Giorgione II: 51
- Giovio, Paolo I: 60, 61, 73, 86n
- Giraldi, L.G. II: 84, 177
- Girolamo di Benvenuto I: 34n
- Gise, Jan Henri de II: 321
- Giulio Romano
 (after) *Abduction Scene* (engraving by Enea Vico) I: 123n, 125n
 (after) *Chariot of the Senses* (engraving by Adamo Scultori [Ghisi]) II: 63
 (after) *Continence of Scipio* (engraving by Domenico Ghisi) II: 262
 (after) *Death of Procris* (engraving by Giorgio Ghisi) II: 281
Fall of the Giants (fresco), Mantua, Palazzo del Te I: 55
 (after) *Rape of Lucretia* (engraving by Giorgio Ghisi) II: 228
 (after) *Romulus and Remus suckled by the Wolf* (engraving) II: 168, 169
- Glasgow
 Museum and Art Gallery II: 274
 See also: Index III, p. 357
 Hunterian Museum II: 75-76, 79
- Gobler, Justinus II: 43
- God the Father II: 122
- Godoy, Manuel de, Duke of Alcudia II: 185
- Golden Legend*: see Voragine
- Goldschmidt, H. II: 80
- Golnitzius, Abraham II: 39, 41-42, 44
- Goltzius, Hendrik I: 35, 40, 54, 97
Roman Heroes (cycle of engravings) I: 35
Scaevola I: 35; II: 231; text ill. 7
Tarquin and Lucretia (cycle of engravings) I: 78
- Goltzius, Hubert I: 56n, 115n, 124n; II: 91, 94, 143
 Coins illustrating the history of Romulus, plate from *Fasti Magistratum* II: 143, 152, 153, 172, 188, 193; fig. 105
- Gonzaga, Vincenzo I, Duke of Mantua II: 53, 54
- Gonzaga cameo: see *Alexander and Olympias*
- González, Bartolomé II: 210, 236, 244, 245
- Gool, J. van I: 122n; II: 65, 198, 283
- Gossaert, Jan (Mabuse)
Caritas romana (drawing), London, British Museum II: 111, 112
- Gosse, Rolph II: 307
- Göteborg, Konstmuseet: see Index III, p. 362
- Goubau, Alexandre II: 192
- Goubau, Georges-Alexandre II: 184, 191-192
- Goudstikker II: 9, 156, 215, 223
- Gracchus, Tiberius (the Elder) I: 34-35, 69, 71; II: 76-77
- Graevius, J.G. II: 194
- Grandes, de II: 113
- Graz, Jesuit College, Emblem MS, c. 1603 II: 79
- Grebe, Dr R. II: 15

INDEX IV: NAMES AND PLACES

- Greenville, Ca, Bob Jones University II: 88
 Gregory, St II: 309
 Grenoble, Musée II: 164
 See also: Index I
 Greuze, Jean-Baptiste II: 101
 Gréz, de II: 48
 Griebert, B. II: 110
 Grottaferrata, Palazzo abbaziale I: 44n, 73
 Gronovius, J. II: 69, 172
 Grünewald, Jagdschloss: see Willeboirts
 Bosschaert
 Gruter, J.G and J. I: 63
 Gsell, Friedrich Jakob II: 71, 309
 Gualdrada I: 41
 Guicciardini, Lodovico II: 44
 Guidi di Bagno: see Bagno
 Gutmann, M. II: 154
 Guyot, Mme la douairière II: 64
 Gyndanes: see Abauchas
- Habethur II: 84
 Haecht (Haechtanus), Laurent van I: 96n, 97,
 98, 107, 108; II: 17, 18, 23, 49-50,
 52, 66, 69, 280, 281
 See also: Vondel
 Haecht, Willem van II: 225-228 *passim*, 233
 Hagar I: 52
 Hager, Miss M.J. II: 30
 Hague, The
 Mauritshuis II: 66, 69, 105, 106, 225; *fig.* 64
 See also: Index I; Index III, p. 357
 Huis op het Noordeinde I: 89; II: 85, 86, 197
 Huis ten Bosch I: 90; II: 77
 Hahn, J. II: 300
 Halle, Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg II: 96;
 fig. 68
 Hallsborough, W., Galleries II: 103, 265
 Hamilton, Robert II: 78
 Hamme, Anne van II: 195
 Hamme, Guillam van II: 184, 191, 192, 195
 Hannibal I: 43; II: 135
 Hannover
 Georgspalais II: 225
 Museum II: 80
 Hansley-Read II: 147
 Harderwijk, Town Hall II: 42
 Hardwicke, Philip Yorke, 3rd Earl of II: 103,
 104, 113
 Harenc, Roger II: 297
 Harewood, 6th Earl of II: 14
 Harmodius and Aristogeiton I: 39
 Hartveld, Sam II: 25, 64, 165
 Hayter, Sir George II: 304
 Hazard, James II: 310
 Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox II: 52
- Hazlitt, William II: 187
 Hecke, Frans van den II: 89
 Hecke, Jan van den II: 132, 139, 147
 Hecke, Peter van II: 238, 241
 Hector I: 119
 Heemskerck, Maerten van I: 54; II: 57
 Siege of Tunis (print series) II: 326, 328, 329
 Heinse, Johann Jakob Wilhelm I: 122, 124,
 289, 294
 Heinsius, Daniel I: 64; II: 101-102
 Helena, St I: 87, 88n, 91
 Hendrix, Gillis II: 265
 Henri IV, King of France I: 88, 92; II: 126, 133,
 213, 266, 267, 272, 273, 306, 324, 328
 Henrietta Maria, wife of King Charles I, I: 90,
 91n
 Hephæstion I: 68, 72; II: 81, 82, 83, 88, 92
 Heraclitus I: 101, 102, 103, 106, 110; II: 52-61
 Hercules I: 37n, 50; II: 68, 181, 202, 203, 208,
 209
 Hercules Farnese (ancient statue), Naples,
 Museo Nazionale II: 292-293
 Herentals, Ste-Waldetrudiskerk II: 312
 See also: Index I
 Herkinbald: see Roger van der Weyden
 Hermerstein (Hermerstyn), Count Ferdinand
 Ernst von (van) II: 323
 Hermes: see Mercury
 Hermes Trismegistus I: 101
 Herod I: 53
 Herodias I: 53
 Herodotus I: 63, 64, 66; II: 17, 19, 22, 23, 24,
 40, 42, 112
 Herp, Hendrik van II: 39
 Herp, Willem van II: 30, 312
 Hersilia I: 41; II: 155, 183, 188, 191, 193, 196,
 199, 201, 212, 213, 216, 218, 219, 221
 Hesiod II: 217
 Heuvel, A. de II: 44
 Heymans, Mme II: 282
 Hilaira: see Leucippides
 Hippocrates I: 63, 66, 95
 Hirschberg, L. II: 132
 His de la Salle, A.C.H. II: 232
 Hjorth, D. II: 317
 Hoare, C.G. II: 299
 Hoare, Sir Richard II: 31
 Hochschild, Harold K. II: 61
 Hoecke, Jan van den II: 88, 114, 246, 255-257
 passim; *figs.* 174, 176
 Cimon and Pero (painting), whereabouts
 unknown II: 114
 (see attr.) *Cimon and Pero* (drawing; No. 23,
 copy; *fig.* 76), Art Museum,
 Seattle: see Indexes I and II

- [Hoecke, Jan van den, cont.]
 (attr.) *The Fortitude of Scaevola* (painting),
 Budapest, Szépművészeti
 Múzeum II: 241, 246
Jacob and Esau (painting), Bruges,
 Groeningemuseum II: 114,
 244-245
Jacob and Esau (oil sketch), Vienna,
 Kunsthistorisches Museum II: 245
 Hoet, Gerard II: 78, 104, 110, 113, 215, 222,
 224, 321
 Holbein, Hans I: 39, 42; II: 180
Dance of Death (woodcut series) I: 80; II: 181
Leaena (drawing), Basle, Öffentliche
 Kunstsammlung I: 39, 80; *text ill.*
 9
 Holcroft II: 9
 Holofernes I: 36, 38n; II: 18, 23, 32
 Homer I: 100, 101, 118, 119, 120, 127; II: 289
 Honolulu, Academy of Arts II: 97
 Honselaarsdijk, Palace of II: 73, 79, 255, 278
 Honthorst, Gerrit van II: 66, 69
Death of Seneca (painting) Utrecht, Centraal
 Museum II: 290
The Devotion of Artemisia (painting),
 Princeton, Art Museum I: 90;
 II: 75, 77, 79
 Hooft, P.C. I: 52; II: 248, 249, 250, 254
 Hooghe, Romeyn de
Charles II offering his Carriage to a Priest
 (etching) II: 315-316
 Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus) I: 105n,
 127; II: 54, 56, 170, 177
 Horatius (of the Horatii) I: 8; II: 61
 Horatius Cocles II: 248, 253, 254
Horatius Cocles defending the Bridge (tapestry,
 Brussels, 17th-century), Madrid,
 collection Miguel Borondo
 II: 130, 254
 Hordal, J. II: 320, 322; *fig.* 217
 Hostilius, Sabine husband of Hersilia II: 201
 Hotman, A. II: 194
 Houbraken, Arnold II: 70
 Houel, Nicolas I: 86; II: 75, 78, 79
 Houlditch, R. II: 263, 278
 Houpperichs, J.J.A. II: 30
 Houston (Texas), Sarah Campbell Blaffer
 Foundation: see Index III,
 pp. 355, 359
 Houwaert, J.B. I: 83n
 Hubert, St II: 316
 Huberti, Gaspar II: 29, 265
 Hudson, T. II: 61
 Hülsen, Esias van I: 35n
 Hulst, Godschalk van der II: 112
 Huygens, Constantijn II: 89
 Hygeia, daughter of Aesculapius I: 92-93, 278
 Hyginus I: 122n, 129; II: 101
 Hymenaeus (Hymen) II: 81, 82, 83, 86, 87, 89,
 207, 212, 213
 Iamblichus II: 49, 51
 Iberti, Annibale II: 53, 54, 56
 Icarus I: 71n
 Ilia: see Rhea Silvia
 Imstenraedt, Franz von II: 297
 Indianapolis, Museum of Art: see Index III, p.
 358
 Indibilis: see Allucius
 Infantado collection II: 12, 14
 Ingram, Sir Bruce II: 304
 Johnson, Harry Axelson II: 129-130, 145, 147,
 148; *figs.* 106-108
 Iphigenia: see Cimon
 Isaacs, I.
Justice of Cambyses (painting), Harderwijk,
 Town Hall II: 42
 Isabella, Archduchess, Infanta of Spain I:
 46n, 53, 89, 90; II: 14, 19-20, 76-77,
 164, 169, 230, 235, 313
 Isabella, wife of Philip IV of Spain I: 87
 Jabach, Everhard II: 33, 35
 Jacob and Esau II: 243-244
 Jacopo del Sellaio
Triumph of Chastity (painting), Fiesole, Museo
 Bandini I: 34n; *text ill.* 3
 Jael I: 36, 40; II: 17, 23
 Jaffé, Michael, collection II: 232
 James II, King of England II: 217
 Janssens, Abraham
Scaldis et Antverpia (painting), Antwerp,
 Koninklijk Museum II: 102
 Janssens, Jan II: 105
 Jason II: 132, 279
 Jegher, Christoffel II: 192
 Jerome, St I: 97-98n; II: 78, 274
 Jersey, Earls of II: 149, 223; *fig.* 109
 See also: Index III, p. 357
 Jerusalem, Israel Museum II: 80, 154; *figs.* 54,
 55, 86
 See also: Index I
 Joan of Arc I: 10; II: 317-323
 Job I: 98; II: 50
 Jode, Pieter de II: 97, 193,
 Johann-Wilhelm, Elector Palatine II: 197, 209
 John of Austria, Don II: 328
 John the Baptist, St II: 32, 37, 38, 163, 170, 305
 John of Garland I: 34
 Johnson, John G. II: 9, 174, 175, 220

- Johnson, J. Seward and Barbara Piasecka II: 52, 54; *fig.* 36
- Jombert, C.-A. II: 94
- Jones, Mrs E. II: 185
- Jones, Inigo II: 63, 64
- Jonson, Ben I: 33n, 80n
- Jordaens, Jacob II: 15, 20, 24, 25, 26, 58, 66, 72, 73, 90, 96, 164, 179, 204, 208, 209, 255, 257; *figs.* 15, 46
- See also: Index I, s.v. Cambridge; Frankfurt *Continenence of Scipio* (drawing), Rotterdam, Boymans-van Beuningen Museum II: 42, 264
- Diogenes seeking a True Man* (paintings) II: 66, 69
- Joseph, St II: 303
- Joseph (patriarch) I: 41
- Josephus, Flavius I: 64, 65, 78n
- Judas II: 316
- Judas Maccabeus I: 41n
- Judith I: 36, 38n, 40, 50n; II: 17, 18, 23, 32
- Julienne, Jean de II: 9, 108, 109, 113
- Jungermannus, G. I: 64; II: 40
- Juno II: 199, 212, 213, 219, 276
- Jupiter II: 91, 118, 126, 131, 213, 266, 284
- Jupiter Ammon I: 92; II: 82, 88, 91
- Jupiter Feretrius I: 82n; II: 117, 118, 127, 152
- Justin I: 45n; II: 22, 177
- Justinian, Emperor I: 58
- Juvenal I: 79, 80, 102, 103-104, 105n, 109, 113, 117, 118; II: 54, 56, 57, 240, 250, 280, 281, 282
- Kansas City, Nelson-Atkins Gallery of Art: see Index III, p. 358
- Karlsen, Alfred S. II: 80
- Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle II: 233
- See also: Index I; Index III, p. 360
- Karsch, G.J. I: 122n; II: 65, 198, 282
- Kassel, Staatliche Gemäldegalerie II: 228, 278
- See also: Index III, pp. 356, 357, 359
- Kaunitz-Rietburg, Prince Wenzel Anton II: 84, 231, 234
- Kaunitz-Rietburg, Prince Alois Wenzel II: 231, 239
- Keyser, Hendrik de
- Monument to William of Orange*, Delft, Nieuwe Kerk II: 77, 79-80
- Kinnaird, Lord II: 240
- Kleinberger, F. II: 15, 258; *figs.* 12, 178
- Knowsley Hall, Earl of Derby collection II: 296, 298
- See also: Index I
- Koenigs, Franz II: 156-157
- Königsberg, Schloss: see Index III, p. 356
- Koetser, Leonard II: 97, 265
- Kolb, Walter II: 57
- Koller, Wilhelm II: 185
- Koolen, F. II: 30
- Krakau, W. II: 105
- Kronberg, tapestry with justice scenes II: 43-44
- Küsel, M. II: 32
- Kurzböck, J. von II: 232
- Kvöl II: 30
- Labauer, Jan de
- (attr.) *Rudolf of Hapsburg and the Priest* (stained-glass window, perhaps after Van Balen), Antwerp, St-Jacobskerk II: 314
- Laborde-Méréville, F.L.J. II: 184
- Lackner, Charles de II: 90
- Lactantius I: 101n
- Laffan, John and George B. II: 233
- Lairesse, Gérard de I: 50n, 114n
- Lais I: 98n
- Lalande II: 166
- Lambert (?Lamberg), Count II: 232, 239
- Lamberts, Gerrit II: 105
- See also: Index I, s.v. Amsterdam
- Lamm, C.R. II: 233
- Lancker, Van II: 33
- Langaard, Christian II: 177
- Lange, Madeleine de II: 316
- Langford, H.S. II: 217
- Langlier II: 28, 113
- Lankoronski collection: see Vienna
- Lankrink, P.H. II: 61, 90, 310
- Lanz, Dr Karl II: 89
- La Perrière, Guillaume de II: 66, 69
- La Planche, François de I: 87n
- Laprelle II: 214, 223
- Largillière, Nicolas de II: 33, 34
- See also: Index I, s.v. Toulouse
- Las, F. II: 310
- Lasne, Michel I: 49n; II: 241
- Lastman, Pieter
- Christ and the Woman of Canaan* (painting), Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum II: 316
- Launay, R. de II: 15
- Laval, Antoine de I: 44n
- Lawrence, St II: 306
- Lawrence, Thomas II: 29, 229, 231, 310
- Lázaro collection: see Madrid
- Leaena I: 39
- Le Blon, Michel II: 86, 89
- Le Breton, Gaston II: 215
- Le Brun, Charles II: 36
- Le Brun (Lebrun), Jean-Baptiste Pierre II: 64, 69, 71, 84, 265
- Le Doux II: 164

- Leerse, Sebastian II: 297, 302
- Leganés, Don Diego Felipe de Guzmán,
Marqués de II: 206, 212-213, 282,
290, 295-296, 311, 315, 317
- Leger Galleries II: 251
- Le Grelle, Gérard II: 33
- Lehninger, J.-A. II: 251
- Lenglier II: 265, 270
- Lenoir, Alexandre II: 15, 21-22, 258, 261
- Lens, Andries-Cornelis II: 185, 192
- Lens, Bernhard II: 110, 112
- Leo III, Pope I: 81
- Leo IV, Pope I: 81
- Leo X, Pope I: 81
- Leonardo da Vinci II: 326-327, 329-330
Battle of Anghiari (painting), lost I: 75, 113;
II: 325-327, 329; cf. *fig.* 227
- Leoni, Pompeo II: 326
- Leoniceno (Leonicenus), Niccolò I: 63n
- Leonidas II: 292
- Leptines II: 96
- Lerma, Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas,
Duke of I: 103; II: 52-57 *passim*,
230
- Le Sueur, Eustache I: 126n
- Leucippides (Hilaira and Phoebe, daughters of
Leucippus) I: 10, 121-129 *passim*;
II: 92, 182, 184
Rape of the Leucippides (ancient relief), Rome,
Villa Medici I: 122n, 123n
Rape of the Leucippides (ancient sarcophagus),
Rome, Vatican Museum I: 123n;
II: 197
- Leunclavius, J. I: 64n
- Levenson, James II: 240
- Liberality (personified) II: 114
- Lichtervelde, Albert-Louis de, Bishop of
Namur II: 308, 309
- Licinius I: 87, 94; II: 135
- Lidow, Eric II: 154
- Liechtenstein, Karl Eusebius, Prince of
II: 297, 304, 306
- Liechtenstein, Princes of II: 114, 246
- Liemaker, Nicolas
St Ambrose and Theodosius (painting), Ghent,
St-Jacobskerk II: 305
- Lier, Museum Wuyts-van Campen-Caroly: see
Index III, p. 355
- Lievens, Jan II: 308
- Ligorio, Pirro I: 111; II: 293
- Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts II: 88-89, 90; *fig.*
60
See also: Index III, p. 359
- Lindemann, Moritz II: 156, 157
- Lindenbrogius, F. I: 65n
- Lint, Pieter van II: 71
- Lipsius, Justus I: 10, 33n, 45, 46n, 51, 56, 70,
71, 72, 95n, 108, 109, 110, 115n,
116, 119; II: 17, 22, 141, 143, 193,
219, 274, 275, 280, 281-282, 284-294
passim, 313, 316
- Lis, Charles du II: 320
- Livia, wife of Augustus I: 91
- Livy I: 9, 33, 43, 44n, 46n, 74, 75, 76n, 77, 78,
79, 82n, 114n, 115n; II: 51, 118, 119,
135, 136, 143, 146, 152, 153, 155,
156, 159, 160, 167, 171, 172, 177,
179, 188, 189, 192, 193, 198, 199,
201, 219, 226, 228, 235, 236, 240,
243, 248-250, 252, 253, 254, 262
- Lo, St Peter's Church II: 121, 123
- Lochis, Count Guglielmo II: 108
- Lomazzo, Giovanni Paolo I: 33n, 43, 44n,
113n, 114n; II: 84, 228
- Loncke, R. II: 74
- London
British Museum I: 91; II: 22-23, 111, 112,
229, 291; *text ill.* 23, *fig.* 161
See also: Index I; Index III, pp. 355, 357,
361, 362, 363
- Buckingham Palace II: 47; *fig.* 31
See also: Index I
- Courtauld Galleries, Princes Gate Collection
II: 240; *text ill.* 36, 37; *fig.* 225
See also: Index III, pp. 355, 356, 360, 361,
362
- Dulwich College Picture Gallery II: 151;
fig. 89
See also: Index I
- N.A. Colouthros Embiricos collection: see
Index III, p. 358
- Hampton Court II: 92
- National Gallery I: 81; II: 23, 184, 192,
219-220, 271, 274, 297; *text ill.* 17,
figs. 127-131, 205
See also: Index I; Index III, pp. 354, 355,
357, 359
- National Portrait Gallery II: 110
See also: Index I
- Victoria and Albert Museum: see Raphael
Wallace Collection: see Index III, pp. 355,
358, 359
- Longueval, Charles de II: 238
- Loo, Het, Palace of II: 73, 78, 90, 250, 254,
255, 257, 278
See also: Index I, s.v. Apeldoorn
- Lopez, Don Alfonso de II: 170, 173
- Lormier, Willem II: 44, 46
- Lorraine, Charles, duc de II: 185

- Lotto, Lorenzo
Lady with Drawing of Lucretia (painting),
 London, National Gallery I: 81,
 82; *text ill.* 17
- Louis I, Emperor (the Pious) I: 42n
- Louis XIII, King of France I: 83n, 87, 88, 93,
 94, 272, 276
- Louis XIV, King of France II: 33, 35
- Louis XV, King of France II: 64, 69
- Louis XVI, King of France II: 184
- Louvain, Town Hall I: 78
- Lubinus, E. I: 118n; II: 57
- Lucerne, Hertenstein House I: 39, 80
- Lucian I: 102, 103, 106, 107, 108, 110, 123, 127;
 II: 22, 23, 54, 56, 81, 82, 83, 84, 86,
 87, 90, 112
- Lucretia I: 33, 39, 78, 81, 82, 114; II: 82, 225-229
- Luini, Bernardino II: 102
- Luke, St II: 11
- Lunden, Arnold II: 225
- Lunden family II: 173-174, 225, 227
- Lunden, Joanna Catharina II: 68
- Lupa Capitolina*: see *Wolf*
- Lygdamis, (supposed) son of Artemisia I: 86
- Lyons, Musée des Beaux-Arts: see Index III,
 pp. 354, 355
- Lysippus II: 91
- MacKeith, Miss F.S. II: 95
- Machiavelli, Niccolò II: 262
- Macrinus, Emperor II: 171
- Macrobius II: 193
- Madrid
 Alcázar I: 51, 89; II: 20, 23, 47, 52, 202-213
passim, 217-219 *passim*, 230-246
passim, 311-317 *passim*, 325
 See also: Index I; Index III, pp. 354, 357, 359
- Buen Retiro II: 47, 294-296, 311
- Casa de Rebeque II: 209, 211
- Casas arzobispales II: 211
- Hernani collection: see Index III, p. 354
- Lázaro collection II: 165
- Museo del Prado II: 211, 217, 294, 311; *figs.*
 6, 38, 39, 40, 141, 142, 198, 214, 215
 See also: Van Dyck, Tintoretto, Titian,
 Velázquez, Veronese; and Index I;
 Index III, pp. 354-359, 361
- Palacio de Liria II: 73; *fig.* 52
 See also: Index I
- Palacio Real (Palacio Nuevo) II: 77, 209,
 211, 311
- Real Academia de San Fernando II: 228; *fig.*
 156
 See also: Index I; Index III, p. 354
- Magi, Three II: 10, 304
- Magnadola, Villa Giusti II: 96
- Makowsky, Y. II: 103
- Male, J.C. van der II: 298
- Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum II: 143; *fig.* 99
 See also: Index I
- Mammea, mother of Severus I: 91, 92
- Mancini, Domenico
 (attr.) *Tomyris and Cyrus* (painting),
 whereabouts unknown II: 23
- Mander, Karel van I: 56n; II: 57, 208
- Manlius Torquatus I: 75, 76n, 78
- Mantegna, Andrea
Triumph of Caesar (paintings), London,
 Hampton Court II: 92
- Mantua
 Palazzo del Te I: 40
 Palazzo Ducale I: 101n
 See also: Giulio Romano
- Marcantonio Raimondi II: 180
- Marcellus I: 82n
- Marchand, G. II: 234
- Marczell von Nemes II: 65, 89
- Margraf collection II: 134
- Maria de' Medici: see Medici
- Mariana, Juan de I: 57n
- Mariette, Pierre-Jean II: 29, 31, 32, 41, 44, 170,
 191, 229, 259, 263, 311
- Marlborough, Dukes of II: 110, 191-192
- Mark, Q. II: 90; *fig.* 62
- Mars I: 9, 62, 67, 114-116; II: 82, 84, 85, 102,
 124-125, 140-144, 153, 167, 168,
 176, 177, 184, 221, 222, 228, 261-262
Mars and Rhea Silvia (ancient sarcophagus),
 Rome, Palazzo Mattei I: 115
Mars Ultor (ancient statue), Rome, Capitoline
 Museum I: 75, 124n; II: 153
- Marselaer, Frederik de II: 42, 44
- Marsi, Paolo I: 127n
- Marsyas I: 104n
- Martenasie, Pieter Frans II: 185, 192, 194
- Martial II: 236, 240, 241
- Martin, Mme Paul II: 15, 258
- Martyn, J. II: 110
- Mary Magdalen II: 78
- Mary, Virgin I: 38; II: 11, 17, 162, 265, 320
- Mary of Hungary II: 328
- Masinissa I: 35; II: 75
- Master of Flémalle
Tomyris and Cyrus (painting), lost I: 38; II:
 18, 20, 23, 24, 34, 76, 237; *cf. fig.* 19
- Master of the Griselda Legend II: 79
Tiberius Gracchus (painting), Budapest,
 Szépművészeti Múzeum I: 35, 71;
text ill. 6
 See also: Petrarch Master

- Matham, Jacob
Samson and Delilah (engraving after Rubens)
 I: 50; *text ill.* 16
The Vindication of Tuccia (engraving after
 Spranger) II: 271
- Matthes, C.G. II: 103
- Matthias, Archduke of Austria I: 83
- Matthiesen II: 214, 223
- Maturino: see Vicentino
- Maurin II: 113
- Mausolus I: 86; II: 75, 78
 See also: Artemisia
- Mavor, W.F. II: 110
- Maxentius I: 88n; II: 137
- Maximus of Tyre I: 64
- Mazo, Juan Bautista Martínez del II: 94, 210,
 211
- Mazzo (Valtelline), Palazzo Quadrio I: 47
- Mazzoni, Giulio II: 153
- Mechel, C. von II: 65, 282, 300
- Mechelen
 St-Janskerk: see Index III, p. 354
- Meckenem, Israel van II: 35
Dance of Salome (engraving) II: 260, 262-263
- Medea II: 279
- Medici family I: 84-86
 Catherine de' I: 40n, 86; II: 76, 79
 Cosimo de', il Vecchio I: 86n-87n
 Cosimo I de', Duke of Florence I: 84, 96
 Francesco de' I: 53, 54n, 85
 Giulio de': see Clement VII
 Lorenzo de', il Magnifico I: 87n
 Maria de' I: 9, 86, 87, 89, 90, 92, 93, 95; II:
 19, 36, 76, 153, 173, 213, 272-274
- Meit, Konrad II: 230
- Melyn (Bosschaert), Isabell-Claire II: 184, 185
- Menars, A.-F. Poisson, Marquis de II: 154
- Méndez de Haro, Marqués de Heliche II: 73
- Méndez de Haro y Guzmán, Luis, Marqués
 del Carpio II: 73
- Mendoza, Don Rodrigo de II: 195
- Menippus I: 106
- Menke, J.L. II: 44
- Mensaert, G.P. II: 105, 107, 186, 192
- Mercatellis, Raphael de II: 23
- Mercurie François/Mercurie de France* I: 57;
 II: 185, 234
- Mercurie Galant* II: 34
- Mercurialis, H. II: 293
- Mercury I: 102, 123n, 127
- Merian, Matthäus II, II: 242
- Merlen, C. van II: 29
- Mérode: see Rubempré
- Merula, Georgius I: 117n, 129n
- Merz, Adrian II: 44
- Metius Suffetius II: 120
- Mettra II: 113
- Meurs, Jan van II: 197, 200
- Meyer, Dr Julius II: 110
- Mezentius II: 117, 135, 153
- Michel, J.F.M. I: 122; II: 65, 98, 105, 107, 109,
 185, 186, 192, 198, 283, 300, 309
- Michelangelo II: 55, 96
Leda (painting), lost I: 124
- 'Michele', assistant of Rubens I: 91
- Michel-Lévy, H. II: 299
- Micon II: 99, 101
 See also: Cimon
- Milan
 Biblioteca Ambrosiana: see Index III,
 p. 360; *fig.* 119
- Duomo II: 305
- Palazzo Annoni I: 33, 36; *fig.* 20
 See also: Index I
- Pinacoteca di Brera I: 102
 See also: Index III, p. 355
- Mildert, Hans van
Satyrs holding Tablet (after Rubens), Antwerp,
 Rubenshuis I: 80; *text ill.* 38
- Milton Abbey II: 132-133, 145, 147
- Minerva I: 55, 62; II: 93, 141, 143
- Minich, E. II: 98
- Minucius Felix II: 240
- Minucius Rufus II: 135
- Miraeus, A. II: 292
- Mirkinus, Conradus I: 46n
- Mitchell, Matthew II: 251
- Mitizky de Militiz, family II: 25
- Moerman, Jan I: 97n
- Mola, Pier Francesco I: 54
- Molière I: 80n
- Mol, Pieter van II: 71
Diogenes seeking a True Man (painting),
 Orléans, Musée des Beaux-Arts
 II: 71
- Mols, F.J.J. II: 69, 174, 184, 192, 227
- Monforte, P. Rodriguez de II: 312, 316
- Monogrammist R.B. II: 102
- Mont, Frederick II: 44
- Mont, Jacobus de II: 68
- Monte, Clara del II: 257
- Montaigne, Michel de II: 100, 102
- Montfaucon, Bernard de I: 123n, 127n, 128;
 II: 69, 94, 143, 202, 275, 293
- Monti, Cardinal Cesare, Archbishop of Milan
 II: 114, 116, 135
- Montpellier
 Musée Atger: see Index III, p. 354
- Morett, A. II: 94
- Moretto, Alessandro
Tuccia (painting), Rome, Palazzo Taverna
 II: 274-275

- Moretus, Balthasar I: 56, 59, 60, 61, 95n, 110, 112; II: 286, 287, 289-290, 292, 293, 295, 296
- Morisot, Claude-Barthélemy II: 276
- Morone, Domenico
The Rape of the Sabines ('A Tournament') (painting), London, National Gallery II: 192
- Moroni, Giovanni Battista
Tuccia (painting), London, National Gallery II: 271, 274-275
- Morrah, C.R. II: 298
- Morrison, John, James and Charles II: 330
- Mosch, Baroness Dorothee von II: 29
- Moscow, Pushkin Museum II: 245; *fig.* 165
 See also: Index I; Index III, p. 360
- Moses II: 95
- Mozzoni: see Cigogna
- Mount Stuart: see Bute; also Index I
- Muller, Jan
Lot and his Daughters (engraving after Spranger) II: 102
- Munich
 Alte Pinakothek II: 197, 282; *figs.* 125, 138, 195
 See also: Index I; Index III, pp. 354-357, 359
 Electoral Palace I: 42n, 309
 Glyptothek I: 105
 Hofgartengalerie II: 282
 Residenz I: 42
- Musson, Matthijs II: 14, 20, 21, 24, 79, 164, 215, 223, 253, 254-255, 262
- Muziano, Girolamo II: 52
- Myrto, wife of Socrates I: 97
- Myson II: 10
 See also: Seven Sages
- Naples
 Museo Nazionale: see *Hercules Farnese*
 Pio Monte della Misericordia II: 102
- Nardini, F. II: 291
- Nassau-Dietz, Albertine-Agnes van II: 246
- Nature (personified) I: 99, 130n; II: 70
- Nemes II: 110
 See also: Marczell
- Neptune II: 50, 187, 192, 193
 See also: Consus
- Nero, Emperor I: 109; II: 188, 278-282, 284, 285, 291, 295
- Neufchâtel, Musée II: 177
- Neumayr von Ramssla, J.W. II: 164
- New Haven, Yale Center for British Art
 II: 95; *fig.* 66
 See also: Index I; Index III, p. 363
- Newhouse Galleries II: 89
- New York
 Central Picture Galleries: see Index III, p. 356
 Metropolitan Museum II: 44, 61, 192, 193; *text ill.* 28; *figs.* 29, 41, 42
 See also: Index I; Index III, pp. 355, 357, 359
 Morgan Library: see Index III, pp. 360, 361
- Neyt, Herman de II: 138, 195, 246
- Nice, Musée Chéret II: 258
 See also: Index I
- Nicolai, F. II: 174
- Nile, river god (ancient statue), Rome, Vatican Museum II: 162, 163
- Niobids (ancient sculptural group), Florence, Uffizi II: 212, 213, 216
- Niven-Johnston, C. II: 80
 See also: Index I, s.v. Bebington
- Nonnius, Ludovicus I: 59, 95
- Nordbäck, Dr G. II: 195
- North I: 43n
- Northbrook: see Francis Thornhill Baring
- N.R. (anonymous engraver)
Cimon and Pero (engraving) II: 104-105
- Numa I: 115n, 116n; II: 47, 48, 49, 51
- Numitor I: 115; II: 120-121
- Nuremberg, Town Hall I: 47, 76; II: 44
- Oberlin College, Allen Memorial Art Museum:
 see Index III, p. 356
- Occo, Adolphus I: 60, 61
- Ocke, B. II: 74
- Oclerius, F. I: 63n
- Octavia II: 128
- Octavian: see Augustus
- Odescalchi, Baldassare, Marchese II: 14, 257
- Odescalchi, Livio, Prince Don II: 14, 257
- Odysseus: see Ulysses
- Oesterreich, M. II: 9; 39, 44, 74, 174
- Oetéke, Professor A. II: 265; *fig.* 177
 See also: Index I, s.v. Bielefeld
- Oleza, Casa: see Palma
- Olympias, mother of Alexander the Great
 I: 91, 92, 93
Olympias with a Serpent (contorniate) I: 91; *text ill.* 23
- Omphale I: 50
- Opcno, Castle II: 247
 See also: Index I
- Opstal, Jaspas Jacob I van II: 215, 223
- Orange, Princes of II: 75, 78, 79, 86, 251, 254
 See also: Louise de Coligny; Frederick Hendrik; Amalia van Solms; William I-William V
- Oreithyia II: 182, 183
- Orléans family II: 14, 15, 22, 29, 257, 258

- Orléans
 Monument to Joan of Arc II: 319-320, 322
 Musée des Beaux-Arts II: 71
 Orléans, Philippe (le Régent), duc d' II: 14, 257
 Orléans, Philippe-Egalité, duc d' II: 14, 184, 192, 257
 Orosius II: 22
 Orpheus I: 69, 70, 100n
 Orsini, Fulvio I: 105, 111; II: 13, 51, 68, 79, 88, 143, 156, 183, 285, 286, 291, 292
Masks, from Imagines et elogia virorum illustrium et eruditorum]..., Rome (Lafrery), 1570 I: 105; *text ill.* 34
 Oslo, National Gallery I: 126, 177; *fig.* 122
 See also: Index I; Index III, p. 356
 Oste, Jan I: 41
 Osterley Park, Earl of Jersey collection: see Index III, p. 357
 Otanes, son of Sisamenes II: 40, 43, 44, 47
 Ottley, William Young II: 264, 308
 Otto IV, Emperor I: 41
 Outrim, J. II: 186
 Ovid I: 10, 12, 50, 55, 56, 64, 65n, 67, 71n, 108, 114, 115, 116, 120, 122, 123, 127, 128; II: 49-51 *passim*, 141, 146, 159, 160, 161, 167, 168, 171, 172, 177, 178, 183, 192, 193, 199-200, 201, 216, 218, 219, 224, 226-228, 249
Art of Love I: 117-130 *passim*, 183-184, 194, 189-191, 197, 212
 Oxford
 Ashmolean Museum: see Index III, p. 361
 Christ Church: see Van Dyck; also Index III, p. 360
 Oxyartes II: 81
 Pacheco, Francisco II: 235, 240
 Padua, Sala dei Giganti, frescoes I: 35n
 Paetus: see Arria
 Pallas, Trojan hero II: 122
 Pallavicini family II: 157, 158
 Pallavicini, Father Marcello II: 305
 Pallavicini, Niccolò I: 74n; II: 301, 305
 Palma, Casa Oleza II: 166
 See also: Index I
 Palma, Jacopo II ('il Giovane')
Rape of Lucretia (painting), Kassel, Gemäldegalerie II: 228
 Pan I: 130n; II: 120, 176, 177, 178
 Panciroli (Pancirolus), Guido I: 61, 62n
 Panné, Philippe II: 78
 Panneels, Willem II: 47-48, 50, 52, 85, 87, 89, 103, 104, 181, 182, 183, 223, 225, 233-234, 299, 301, 302, 304, 305, 306; *figs.* 78, 123, 124, 167, 213
 Paris, son of Priam I: 119; II: 61
 Paris
 Bibliothèque Nationale: see Index III, p. 360
 Luxembourg Palace I: 90, 91, 93; II: 76, 272, 273
 Musée du Louvre I: 108, 118, 126; II: 33, 64, 72, 85, 168, 172, 192, 233, 254, 255, 270, 295; *figs.* 22, 23, 43, 172, 174, 176, 185, 192, 227
 See also: Seghers; 'Seneca' in his Bath; Tiber; and Index I; Index III, pp. 354, 356, 358-362
 Musée Napoléon II: 255, 257
 Musée du Petit Palais II: 233; *fig.* 166
 Museum National II: 270
 Palais Royal II: 14
 Parmigianino
 (after) *The Fortitude of Scævola* (chiaroscuro woodcut by Antonio da Cremona) II: 236, 241; *fig.* 159
 Parr, James II: 278
 Pasqualini, Lelio II: 68
 Pasquier II: 174, 176
 Passeri, Marcantonio II: 63
 Pastrana collection II: 12, 14
 Patroclus I: 119, 120n
 Paul, St I: 8; II: 9, 284-285, 290-291, 303
 Paul V, Pope II: 286
 Pausanias I: 39n, 63, 64, 66, 119n, 122, 123n, 125n; II: 13, 24
 Pausias II: 50
 Pauwels-Allard, Mme G. II: 64
 Pavia, Certosa II: 305
 Peace (personified) II: 207, 217, 219, 220
 Peeters (Pieters) II: 105, 106, 161
 Peeters d'Aertselaer de Cleydael, Jean Gillis II: 105, 161
 Pelagius, St II: 306
 Pellegrini, G.A. II: 151
 Pencz, Georg II: 102
Artemisia (engraving) from *Famous Women* series II: 75, 78-79; *fig.* 50
Tomyris (engraving), *ibid.* II: 17
 Peiresc, Nicolas-Claude Fabri de I: 58, 59, 87, 90, 91, 92, 93; II: 12, 32, 76, 79, 169, 173, 272, 273, 276, 278, 301-302, 305, 319, 320, 323
 Pelletan (or Pelleton) II: 9
 Penelope I: 41
 Perez collection II: 133
 Perger, Sigmund von II: 300
 Periander II: 10
 See also: Seven Sages
 Perino del Vaga
Cimon and Pero (fresco), Genoa, Palazzo Doria II: 102

- Pero: see Cimon and Pero
 Perotti, Niccolò I: 55
 Perrier, François I: 125n; II: 94
 Perrot-Moore II: 15, 258
 Persius I: 57
 Perugia, Collegio del Cambio I: 37
 Perugino, Pietro
 frescoes in Collegio del Cambio, Perugia I: 37
 Peter, St II: 57, 60, 61, 303, 306
 Petrararch I: 33n, 37, 43, 77, 108, 109; II: 280, 281, 285, 291
 Trionfi I: 35, 38, 41, 43, 50; II: 271, 274
 Petrarch Master II: 280, 281
 Justice of Cambyses (woodcut), from Petrarca, *Von der Artzney bayder Glück des gütten und widerwertigen*, Augsburg, 1532 II: 43
 On a high-ranking pupil (woodcut), *ibid.* I: 109; II: 285, 291; *fig.* 203
 Petrasancta, Silvester de I: 62n; II: 143
 Pezsius, H. II: 316
 Pfister, Marx I: 46n
 Pflugst, Henry J. II: 265
 Phaedrus (disciple of Socrates) II: 63
 Phaedrus (Roman fabulist) II: 69
 Philadelphia, Museum of Art II: 9, 174, 220; *figs.* 1, 120, 148, 150
 See also: Index I; Index III, pp. 358, 360
 Philip II, King of Spain I: 41, 51, 78, 83, 88n, 130n; II: 136, 313
 Philip IV, King of Spain I: 7, 51, 88n, 94; II: 47, 54, 59, 60, 123, 200, 202-213 *passim*, 216, 217, 220-222, 230, 231, 235, 239, 244, 296, 311-317 *passim*, 325
 Philip of Macedon I: 42n
 Philip, son of Thierry I: 42n
 Philippe-Egalité: see Orléans
 Philopoemen I: 9
 Philosophy (personified) I: 96
 Philostratus I: 63n, 118, 127n
 Phoebe: see Leucippides
 Phyllis, mistress of Aristotle I: 98
 Piasecka: see Johnson
 Pieters, Pieter
 Tomiris and Cyrus (painting), whereabouts unknown II: 18
 Pigage, N. de I: 122n; II: 65, 70, 282, 283, 294
 Pignaniol de la Force, J.-A. II: 34, 36-37
 Pighius, Stephanus Vinandus I: 66
 Piles, Roger de I: 121; II: 51, 186, 187, 189, 190, 191, 192, 194, 199, 217, 259, 260, 262, 267-269, 292, 329
 Piloty, F. II: 198, 200
 Pindar I: 122n, 127n
 Pinelli, Bartolommeo II: 220, 221; *fig.* 152
 Pintoricchio, Bernadino II: 38
 Pio, Prince Gilberto II: 164, 170
 Pio di Carpi (or di Savoia), Cardinal II: 164
 Piso II: 284
 Pittacus II: 10, 13
 See also: Seven Sages
 Pittoni, G.B.
 Death of Seneca (painting), formerly Dresden, Gemäldegalerie II: 281
 Nero viewing the Dead Agrippina (painting), formerly Dresden, Gemäldegalerie II: 281
 Platen, Baron von II: 317
 Plato I: 10, 67, 95, 96, 99, 100, 102, 107, 110; II: 10, 12, 13, 51, 61-64, 67
 Plato (ancient bust)
 Museo Capitolino I: 111n
 formerly Cesi collection I: 110-111; *cf. text ill.* 30
 Plattner, Felix and Thomas II: 322
 Plautius, Marcus I: 71
 Pliny I: 39n, 55, 69, 71, 124, 125; II: 78, 94, 101, 160, 172, 173, 177, 250, 270, 274, 275
 Plutarch I: 9, 39n, 43, 44, 45, 46n, 47, 51, 68, 71n, 72, 73, 75, 76n, 114n, 115n; II: 10, 13, 49, 51, 63, 91, 92, 93, 94, 118, 120, 135, 136, 146, 152, 153, 155, 156, 159, 160, 161, 167, 171, 172, 177, 179, 188, 192, 193, 194, 198-201 *passim*, 235, 236, 240, 243, 248-250, 275, 277, 278, 281
 Poelenburgh, Cornelis van
 The Flight of Cloelia (painting), whereabouts unknown II: 248, 250
 Poggio a Caiano, Medici villa I: 87n
 Polidoro da Caravaggio
 The Fortitude of Scaevola (fresco), Rome, Villa Lante II: 231, 236, 237; *fig.* 160
 Rape of the Sabines, painted frieze on façade of Palazzo Milesi, Rome II: 180, 181, 188, 193
 Pollux: see Dioscuri
 Polybius I: 33n, 64, 65; II: 259, 262
 Polycrates of Samos I: 37
 Polygnotus I: 119n; II: 24
 Marriage of Leucippides and Dioscuri (painting), lost I: 122, 123n
 Pommersfelden, Schloss Weissenstein II: 304, 308
 See also: Index III, p. 355
 Pompeian murals (of *Cimon and Pero*) I: 46; II: 100, 101, 107, 111
 Pompey I: 77
 Ponce, Museo de Arte: see Index III, p. 359

- Pontanus, Jacobus II: 171, 172
- Pontius, Paulus I: 47, 100n; II: 10, 15, 21, 25, 29, 31, 32, 36, 70, 238, 266, 307; *figs. 13, 14*
- See also: Index I, s.v. Germany; Index II, s.v. Tomyris and Cyrus
- Susanna and the Elders* (engraving after Rubens) I: 49; II: 238, 241; *text ill. 15*
- Ponz, Antonio II: 312, 315
- Porges II: 15, 258
- Porphyry II: 49
- Porreño, B. II: 315
- Porsenna (Porsena), Lars I: 51; II: 229-246 *passim*, 248, 250, 253, 255
- Porta, Giovanni della II: 55
- Portia I: 8, 34, 71n; II: 278, 279, 281
- Portio, Camillo I: 61n
- Portland, Henry Bentinck, 2nd Earl of II: 110
- Portland, William Bentinck, 2nd Duke of II: 224
- Portrengen, Lumen van II: 58
- Potoczky, family II: 25
- Potsdam
- Bildergalerie von Sanssouci II: 44, 73, 174, 181, 182, 225, 263, 276; *figs. 27, 51, 121, 154, 155, 157, 158, 187*
- See also: Index I, III, pp. 354, 356
- Neues Palais II: 39, 44, 225; *fig. 24*
- See also: Index I
- Schloss Brandenburg II: 44
- Potter, Paulus
- Bear Hunt* (painting), Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum II: 105
- Pourbus, Frans II: 54
- Poussin, Nicolas II: 210
- (after) *Camillus and the Schoolmaster of Falerii*, (tapestry, after cartoon by Domenico Corvi), Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori II: 274
- Rape of the Sabines* (painting), New York, Metropolitan Museum II: 192, 193
- Rape of the Sabines* (painting), Paris, Louvre II: 192, 193
- Powney, Christopher II: 165
- Pozzo, Cassiano dal II: 51, 226, 228, 237
- Pradus, H. I: 63, 64n
- Prague
- Castle Gallery II: 58
- National Gallery: see Index III, p. 357
- Praxiteles I: 105
- Prenner, Anton von II: 299, 300
- Preuil, de II: 304
- Prévost, Chrétien François II: 154, 158
- Priam I: 119
- Primaticcio, Francesco II: 12, 81, 179
- Andromache Fainting* (painting), lost II: 14
- painted cupboards, Fontainebleau I: 37
- Princeton
- Art Museum I: 90; II: 75, 77, 79
- Barbara Piasecka Johnson Collection II: 52, 54; *fig. 36*
- See also: Index I
- University Art Gallery II: 192
- Procaccini, Camillo
- Cain and Abel* (painting), lost II: 239
- Samson and the Philistines* (painting), lost II: 239
- Procopius I: 58, 62, 63, 64
- Proculus, Julius II: 117, 119, 122, 127, 131, 135, 156, 158-161 *passim*
- Propertius I: 127; II: 153
- Prudence (personified) II: 275
- Ptolemy I, Soter II: 76
- Ptolemy II, Philadelphus I: 91
- Pudicitia* (ancient statue type) II: 162
- Puget de la Serre, Jean II: 24
- Purling, John II: 308
- Pushkin, Catherine Palace-Museum II: 184-185
- See also: Index I
- Puteanus, Erycius II: 292
- Pyramus I: 71n
- Pyrrhus I: 46
- Pythagoras I: 61, 67, 89, 96, 102, 108, 110, 114; II: 47-52, 143
- Quellinus, Artus I: 42; II: 103, 254
- (attr.) *Venus Undressing* (ivory statuette), St Petersburg, Hermitage II: 254
- Quellinus, Erasmus II, II: 114, 208, 241, 245, 266, 267
- (after) *Beheading of John the Baptist* (prints) II: 266
- The Devotion of Artemisia* (painting), Glasgow, Hunterian Museum II: 75-76, 79
- The Devotion of Artemisia* (painting), private collection II: 75-76, 79
- Quellinus, Jan Erasmus II: 123
- Quintilian I: 39, 71
- Quirinus (deified Romulus) II: 136, 156, 159-160
- See also: Romulus
- Raby Castle, Steindorp, Durham II: 268; *fig. 168*
- Radetzky, family II: 25
- Radier Manor: see Earls of Jersey; also Index I
- Radziwill, Count II: 24

INDEX IV: NAMES AND PLACES

- Raes, Jan II: 133, 140, 146
 Raet (de Raedt), Jan II: 133, 140
 Raggi: see Rome
 Ragot, F. II: 31
 Rahun Benxamut I: 70, 72
 Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art
 II: 317; fig. 221
 See also: Index I
 Raleigh, Walter I: 33n
 Rambouillet, Château II: 255
 Ramdohr, F.W.B. von II: 166
 Ramsden, John II: 215
 Randon de Boisset II: 185
 Raphael II: 53, 54, 180, 200, 231
 Alexander and Roxana (drawings) II: 81, 82, 83
 (after) *Alexander and Roxana* (engraving by J. Caraglio) II: 81, 82, 83
 frescoes in Sala di Costantino, Vatican I: 75, 88
 frescoes in Stanza della Segnatura, Vatican I: 95-96
 Disputa II: 289
 Judgement of Solomon II: 180
 Parnassus II: 289
 School of Athens I: 95-96, 100n, 107, 111n; II: 62; text ill. 26, 27
 frescoes in Stanza dell'Incendio, Vatican I: 81
 frescoes in Villa Farnesina II: 84
 tapestry cartoons, London, Victoria and Albert Museum
 Death of Ananias II: 119, 122
 Sacrifice at Lystra I: 75
 (after) *Massacre of the Innocents* (engraving by Marcantonio) II: 180, 181
 Raphael, Archangel I: 35
 Ratti, C.G. II: 305, 310
 Rauchmiller, Matthias
 Rape of the Sabines (ivory tankard), Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection II: 184
 Rebecca I: 40
 Rebuffat, Fausto II: 215
 Reding II: 185
 Regensburg, Town Hall II: 43
 Regulus of Kyburg II: 314
 Reisinger, Franz, Ritter von II: 84
 Remus: see Romulus
 Remy, Pierre II: 9
 Reni, Guido
 Dying Cleopatra (paintings) II: 277, 278
 'Seneca' (bronze bust) II: 286, 292
 Respaigne, Nicolaas de II: 18, 24, 28
 Resta, Padre II: 167
 Reynolds, Joshua I: 125; II: 95, 96, 105, 106, 173-176 *passim*, 182, 184, 186, 192, 214, 216, 224, 263; fig. 66
 The Death of Cardinal Beaufort (painting), Petworth House II: 96
 Rhea Silvia I: 9, 62, 67, 114-116; II: 124-125, 140-144, 167, 170, 171
 Ribadineira, P. II: 302, 306
 Ribera, Juseppe I: 97
 Jael and Sisera (painting), lost II: 239
 Samson and Delilah (painting), lost II: 239
 Riccio, Pierfrancesco I: 85n
 Richardson, Jonathan, Jr II: 264
 Richardson, Jonathan, Sr II: 61, 62, 63, 90, 240-241, 310
 Richelieu, Armand-Jean de Plessis, Cardinal I: 83n, 89
 Richelieu, Armand-Jean de Vignerot de Plessis, duc de II: 184, 191, 262, 267, 268
 Richter, Louis II: 195
 Ringling, John II: 136
 Ripa, Cesare I: 105; II: 235, 240, 274
 Rivius, Thomas I: 58
 Roberts, Ellen II: 145
 Robins, Jone II: 304
 Robinson, J.C. II: 90
 Robinson, J.H. II: 304
 Robit II: 113
 Rockox, Nicolaas I: 50, 58, 95n
 Roer, Paul II: 165
 Röhrscheidt, Ludwig II: 29
 Rogers, Charles II: 61
 Roma (personification of Rome) II: 91, 93, 128, 141, 274
 Roman daughter (*Caritas romana*) I: 36, 39, 49; II: 99-101
Roman de la Rose I: 108n; II: 280, 281
 Rombouts, Theodoor
 (after) *Mars, father of Romulus and Remus* (engraving) II: 171
 Rome
 Castel Sant'Angelo, frescoes I: 44n
 Galleria Capitolina II: 188
 Galleria di S. Luca II: 177
 Galleria Spada II: 112
 Museo Capitolino I: 75, 111n, 124n
 Palazzo Angelo Massimo I: 115n; II: 176
 Palazzo Capitolino, frescoes I: 44n
 Palazzo Capodiferro-Spada II: 92
 Palazzo dei Conservatori II: 165, 274
 See also: Index I
 Sala delle Aquile II: 202
 Palazzo della Consulta II: 131, 144
 See also: Index I
 Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne I: 44n

[Rome, cont.]

- Palazzo Mattei I: 115
 Palazzo Milesi: see Polidoro da Caravaggio
 Palazzo Odescalchi II: 15, 258
 See also: Index I
 Palazzo Patrizi: see *Amazon Dismounting*
 Palazzo Raggi (or Razzi) II: 121, 136,
 Palazzo Riario II: 14, 257
 Palazzo Ricci-Sachetti I: 40, 115n
 Palazzo Ruspoli I: 105n
 Palazzo Senatorio I: 76n; II: 165
 Palazzo Spada II: 153
 Palazzo Taverna: see Moretto
 Palazzo Venezia II: 192, 193
 Pinacoteca Capitolina II: 164, 165; fig. 117
 See also: Index I
 Quirinal: see *Dioscuri*
 S. Costanza II: 303
 S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura II: 306-307
 Vatican
 Appartamento Borgia II: 38
 Belvedere II: 167, 168
 Museum I: 123n, 163, 273
 Sala di Costantino I: 75, 88,
 Sala Regia II: 325, 329
 Stanza dell'Incendio I: 81
 Stanza della Segnatura I: 95, 96
 See also: Raphael
 Villa Borghese: see Titian
 Villa Farnesina II: 84
 Villa Giulia II: 193
 Villa Lante: see Polidoro da Caravaggio
 Villa Medici I: 122n, 123n
 See also: Borghese collection; Cesi collection
 Rommerswael (or Reymerswael), Maria van
 II: 110, 112
 Romulus I: 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 44, 77, 115, 116n; II:
 114-225 *passim*
 and Remus I: 79, 83, 114; II: 114-179 *passim*,
 253, 256
Apotheosis of Romulus (tapestry), Coughton
 Court, Warwickshire II: 134
Apotheosis of Romulus (tapestry, signed by
 Eggermans), whereabouts
 unknown II: 126, 131; fig. 97
Apotheosis of Romulus (tapestry fragment),
 Glove, Craven Arms II: 134
Apotheosis of Romulus (tapestry, Jan Raet),
 whereabouts unknown II: 133
Romulus and Remus Fighting (tapestry),
 whereabouts unknown II: 126,
 131
Romulus and Remus with the Wolf (tapestry),
 Coughton Court, Warwickshire
 II: 133

- Romulus appearing to Proculus* (tapestry),
 Cardiff, National Museum of
 Wales I: 8; II: 114, 119, 123, 127,
 129, 131, 135; fig. 94
Romulus appearing to Proculus (tapestry),
 whereabouts unknown II: 127,
 131
Romulus favoured by the Augury (tapestry),
 Coughton Court, Warwickshire
 II: 126, 133
Romulus favoured by the Augury (tapestry, Jan
 Raes), whereabouts unknown II:
 126, 133
Romulus favoured by the Augury (tapestry, Jan
 Raet), Segovia, Alcázar II: 126,
 133
Romulus killing Acron? (tapestry, Jan Raet),
 whereabouts unknown II: 133
Romulus killing Remus (tapestry), Rome,
 private collection I: 8; II: 114,
 119-120, 123, 126, 129, 135; fig. 84
Romulus setting up the Trophy (tapestry,
 signed by Van Assche),
 whereabouts unknown II: 127,
 131
Soldiers with a Letter before Romulus (tapestry,
 Jan Raet), whereabouts unknown
 II: 133
The Youth of Romulus and Remus (tapestry),
 Coughton Court, Warwickshire
 II: 134
The Youth of Romulus and Remus (tapestry),
 whereabouts unknown II: 126,
 128, 131, 132; fig. 98
The Youth of Romulus and Remus (tapestry, Jan
 Raet), whereabouts unknown II:
 133
The Youth of Romulus and Remus (tapestry,
 signed by Eggermans),
 whereabouts unknown II: 131
 Roemer, Gaspar I: 53; II: 37-38
 Rooses, Max II: 34
 Rosa, Salvator I: 97
 Rosenberg, S. and R. II: 80
 Rosenberg and Stiebel II: 317
 Rosenkreuz, Christian I: 57n
 Rosinus, Joannes I: 60, 61, 62, 75n, 79, 105n,
 115n, 116n; II: 143, 153, 156, 160,
 161, 177, 179, 192, 194, 276
 Rossi, B. de' I: 34n, 35n, 37n, 47n; II: 63
 Rosso Fiorentino I: 48n, 55
 Rosweyde, H. II: 306
 Rothmann, Dr F. II: 57, 308
 Rothschild family II: 25
 Rothschild, Baron Alfred de II: 214, 223
 Rothschild, Edmond de II: 214, 223

- Rothschild, Lionel de II: 214, 223
 Rothschild, Max II: 136
 Rotterdam, Boymans-van Beuningen Museum
 II: 156, 264; *text ill. 41; fig. 87*
 See also: Index I; Index III, pp. 354, 355, 357,
 362
 Rousham House II: 220
 See also: Index I
 Roveray, de or du II: 29
 Roxana II: 80-90
 See also: Alexander
 Roy, Philippe le II: 203
 Rozendaal, Frederik II: 195
 Rubempré, Philippe-François de Mérode,
 prince de II: 214, 223
 Rubens, Albert I: 56; II: 68, 70-71, 160-161,
 254, 255-257
 Rubens, Marie-Constance-Albertine II: 192
 Rubens, Nicolaas II: 192
 Rubens, Philip, brother of Peter Paul I: 56; II:
 55, 56, 63, 194, 275, 286-287, 292
 Rubens, Philip, nephew of Peter Paul II: 191
 Rudolf I, Emperor I: 41, 51; II: 311-317
 Rufelaer, David I: 78n
 Ruffinus II: 302
 Rumpf, J.F.D. II: 74
 Rumina (or Rumilia, or Rumia) II: 176
- Sabin, Frank T. II: 198
 Sabine Women I: 41, 42n, 51n, 120-130 *passim*;
 II: 117, 126, 129-30, 147-149, 155,
 175, 179-225
 See also: Hersilia
Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines
 (tapestry), Coughton Court,
 Warwickshire II: 133-134
Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines
 (tapestry), whereabouts unknown
 II: 134
- Sacchi, Andrea
 (after) *Romulus with the Spoils of Acron*
 (engraving) II: 153-154
- Sachs, Hans I: 47
Sacrifice to the Gods (tapestry, signed by
 Eggermans), whereabouts
 unknown II: 127, 131-132
- Sadeler, Aegidius
The Rape of the Sabines (engraving after
 Denys Calvaert) II: 189, 193; *fig.*
 134
- Sages, Seven I: 66, 107, 108; II: 9-14
 Saint-Aignan, Beauvillier, Paul-Hippolyte duc
 de II: 164
 Saint-Aubin, Gabriel de II: 165
 St Ambroise, Claude Maugis, abbé de I: 91,
 93; II: 275, 306
- St Martin (buyer) II: 113
 St-Maurice (St-Morys), de II: 270
 Saint-Non, J.-B. Claude Richard de II: 165
 St Petersburg, Hermitage II: 25, 97, 103, 109,
 185, 215, 224; *figs. 9, 69, 71, 75, 193*
 See also: Van Dyck; Artus Quellinus; Index I;
 Index III, pp. 355, 358-360
- Salmuth, Heinrich I: 62n
 Salvati, Francesco I: 44n, 84
 History of Camillus (frescoes), Florence,
 Palazzo Vecchio, Sala dell'Udienza
 I: 44, 84-86
Camillus attacking Brennus, with *Allegory of*
Fortune I: 44, 84; *text ill. 22*
- Salome I: 53; II: 37, 38
 Samson I: 35, 50, 114n; II: 26
 Sandberg, Mrs Doris Noel II: 64
 Sanders, J. II: 98
 Sandrart, Joachim von I: 123n; II: 32, 66, 291
Diogenes seeking a True Man (painting), lost
 II: 66, 69
- Sandoval, P. de II: 329
 San Francisco, M.H. de Young Memorial
 Museum I: 36; II: 17, 38; *text ill. 5*
 See also: Index III, p. 355
- Sansedoni, Blessed Ambrogio I: 41n
 Sarasota, John and Mable Ringling Museum of
 Art II: 115, 120-122, 136, 137; *figs.*
 95, 96
 See also: Index III, pp. 354, 358
- Sarbiewski, Mathias Casimir II: 327
 Sarto, Andrea del II: 55
 Sassuolo, Palazzo Ducale I: 37n
Satyr (ancient statue), Munich, Glyptothek
 I: 105
- Saxony, Electors of II: 251
 Saxony, Elisabeth Albertine, Duchess of II: 85
 Scaevola, Gaius Mucius I: 33, 34, 36, 39, 51,
 78; II: 229-246, 248, 254
- Scaliger, J.C. I: 105n
 Scaramuccia, L. I: 46n
 Scarborough, Lord II: 297
 Schaaffhausen, Abraham Johann Ant. II: 317,
 321
- Schaefer, Joseph II: 214
 Schaeffer Gallery II: 29, 158
 Schaer-Micheluzzi, Paul II: 57
 Schalk, D.-J. II: 310
 Scharf, George II: 110
 Schickman, H. II: 25
 Schioppius, Caspar I: 111n
 Schleissheim, Staatsgalerie: see Index III, p. 354
 Schmidt, L. II: 30
 Schmutzer, J. II: 234, 300, 309

- Schön, Erhard I: 76n
The Nine Loyal Pagan Women (woodcut)
 I: 34n, 47; II: 76; text ill. 11
- Schopenhauer, Johanna II: 317, 319, 322
- Schopp, Dr II: 29
- Schottus, Andreas I: 57n, 66
- Schut, Cornelis II: 89, 90
- Schuster, Adolf II: 30
- Schwarzenberg, Count Johann Adolf zu
 II: 164
- Schwarzenberg family II: 164, 169
- Schwersenz II: 9
- Scipio (Africanus Maior) I: 33n, 43, 44, 45, 77,
 82; II: 135, 257-269 *passim*, 287
 Continnence of I: 33, 37, 47; II: 24, 85, 95,
 257-269
- Scott, Sir Murray II: 215, 223
- Seattle, Art Museum II: 113; fig. 76
 See also: Index I
- Sedelmeyer, Charles II: 71, 158
- Seghers, Gerard II: 73, 74, 77, 78, 80
Herodias and Salome (painting), Madrid,
 Palacio Real II: 77
St Francis in Ecstasy (painting), Paris, Louvre
 II: 35
- Segovia, Alcázar II: 133
- Selden, John I: 58
- Seleucus (Zaleucus), of Locri I: 37, 42
- Seleucus I (Nicator), father of Antiochus I,
 II: 95, 96
- Sellaio: see Jacopo
- Semenov, Peter II: 323
- Semiramis I: 45n, 92; II: 85
- Sennacherib I: 38n
- Seneca I: 7, 10, 12, 75, 76n, 77, 95n, 108, 109,
 110; II: 54, 56, 60, 61, 84, 250, 280,
 281, 282-297
Death of Seneca? (medal, 15th-century)
 II: 285, 291
- 'Seneca' (ancient portrait bust), whereabouts
 unknown II: 286; cf. fig. 201
- 'Seneca', in his Bath (ancient statue with tub by
 N. Cordier), Paris, Louvre I: 10,
 108; II: 285-294 *passim*; fig. 192
- Servius I: 64; II: 167, 171, 172, 177, 179, 192,
 193, 194, 228, 250
- Servius Tullius II: 275
- Severus, Emperor I: 91
- Seville, Condes de Gálvez: see Index I
- Shakespeare, William I: 43
- Shannon, C.H. II: 26
- Sheba, Queen of I: 40
- Sicilante, Girolamo
Alexander distributing Crowns (fresco), Rome,
 Palazzo Capodiferro-Spada II: 92,
 94
- Sidonius Apollinaris II: 56, 70
- Siegen, Museum des Siegerlandes II: 110; fig.
 74
 See also: Index I
- Siena
 Palazzo Bindi Sergardi I: 46n
 Palazzo Pubblico I: 37n, 41n, 46n
- Siever, R.W. II: 304
- Sigismund III, King of Poland II: 25
- Silberman, A. II: 84
- Silenus I: 103; II: 60, 61, 63
- Silius Italicus II: 241
- Silos, I.M. II: 16, 22, 23, 24, 258, 261-262
- Silvestre, J.-A. de II: 33
- Simmern, Maria, Pfalzgräfin von II: 78, 246,
 248
- Simolin, von II: 61
- Sintzenich, H. II: 198, 200
- Sisamenes II: 40, 43
- Sisera I: 36
- Six van Chandelier, Jan II: 110, 111, 112-113
- Skill, F. II: 186
- Skokloster, Castle II: 15
 See also: Index I
- Slade, Thomas Moore II: 14, 257
- Sluijs, J.W. van II: 80
- Smeth, J. de II: 108, 109
- Smidt-Fraryn, Anna de II: 254
- Smith, E. II: 103
- Smith, I. II: 98
- Smith, Consul Joseph II: 151, 153
- Snyders, Frans I: 67, 108; II: 21, 27-52 *passim*,
 79, 170, 206, 207, 251, 277
- Sochaczewer, Otto II: 154
- Socrates I: 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 102; II: 10, 11,
 61-64
- Sodoma
Alexander and Roxana (fresco), Rome, Villa
 Farnesina II: 81, 83-84
 (attr.) *Rape of the Sabines* (painting), Rome,
 Palazzo Venezia II: 192, 193
- Söder II: 96-97
- Solinus II: 101
- Solms, Amalia van, Princess of Orange I: 90;
 II: 21, 76, 78, 79, 85-87, 89, 197,
 246-251, 254
- Solomon I: 40, 42n, 63
 Judgement of I: 42, 43; II: 40-42, 43, 46, 262,
 264
- Solomon, Bernard C. II: 89
- Solon I: 107; II: 10, 12, 13
- Sommariva, Count of II: 294
- Somov, A.P. II: 103
- Sophocles II: 112
- Sophonisba I: 8; II: 73, 75, 78, 278
- Soprani, R. II: 305

- Sorrento, Museo Correale: see Index III, p. 361
 Soutl, Maréchal II: 217
 Soutman, Pieter II: 11, 12, 13, 33, 36, 327, 330
 Evangelists (painting), Stockholm, Nationalmuseum II: 11
 (her attr.) *The Seven Sages disputing over the Tripod* (painting), England, private collection II: 10, 11, 12; *fig. 4*
 Spalatin, Georg I: 108n
 Spanish Bride (Celtiberian captive of Scipio) II: 259-269 *passim*
 Spargapises, son of Tomyris II: 17, 22
Speculum Humanae Salvationis II: 11, 13, 22, 37
 Speelman, Edward II: 308
 Spence, Joseph I: 123n; II: 320, 322
 Spencer, George John, 2nd Earl II: 278
 Spencer, John, 1st Earl II: 278
 Spencer-Churchill family II: 312, 315
 Spinola, Ferdinando II: 309-310
 Spondanus, J. I: 118n, 119n
 Spranger, Bartolomeus
 (after) *Lot and his Daughters* (engraving by J. Muller) II: 102
 (after) *The Vindication of Tuccia* (engraving by Jacob Matham) II: 271
 Springell, Dr Francis II: 179
 Spruyt, Philip II: 165, 308, 309; *fig. 212*
 Stafford, George Earl Gower, 1st Marquess of II: 308
 Stahel, Peter I: 108n
 Stampart, F. von II: 299, 300
 Statius Annaeus (doctor) II: 284, 285
 Statius Papinius (poet) I: 119n, 123n
 Statius, Achilles
 Herm of Plato from Inlustrium virorum... vultus, Rome (Lafrery), 1569 I: 111; *text ill. 30*
 Steiner, Heinrich I: 108, 109n
 Stella, Antoine II: 170
 Stephens II: 195
 Stern, Frederick H. II: 232
 Sternberg II: 258
 Stewart, James S. II: 186
 Stier d'Aertselaer, Henri-Joseph II: 105, 106, 161
 Stimmer, Tobias II: 180, 181
 Stocco (or Stockoe), Dr II: 47
 Stockholm, Nationalmuseum I: 126n; II: 11, 45, 296; *fig. 199*
 See also: Index I
 Stogdon, N.G. II: 330
 Stohler, E. II: 30
 Stonyhurst College, Blackburn: see Index III, p. 355
 Storck, Ludwig Heinrich II: 33-34
 Stourhead II: 31
 See also: Index I
 Stower (or Glower), John II: 177
 Strabo II: 94
 Stradanus, Joannes (Jan van der Straat) I: 41-42n, 73
 Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines (painting after Vasari's design), Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala delle Sabine I: 41, 42n; II: 199, 201, 202; *text ill. 13*
 (after) *Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines* (engraving by Theodoor Galle) II: 199, 201, 202; *fig. 137*
 (after) *The Vindication of Tuccia* (engraving by Theodoor Galle) II: 271; *fig. 186*
 Stratigos, Georg II: 162, 163; *fig. 114*
 Stratonicè II: 95-97
 Stroefer, Theodor II: 84
 Stubbe, S. II: 30
 Stuparyk, Nadia II: 108
 Sturefors, Castle II: 149; *fig. 110*
 Sudeley Castle, Winchcombe: see Cornelis de Vos
 Suetonius II: 279, 281, 285
 Suhr, William II: 80, 83, 317
 Suidas II: 51
 Surlus, L. II: 302, 306
 Surowietz, Krystian II: 57; *fig. 35*
 See also: Index I, s.v. Sottrum
 Susanna I: 40, 49, 50, 102
 Sustermans, Justus II: 37
 Svenonius, Judge Birger II: 173
 Swedish Royal Collections II: 140, 144, 145, 166; *fig. 103*
 See also: Index I
 Sweertius, Frans I: 79n
 Sylburgius, F. I: 65-66
 Sylvester, St I: 88n
 Synesius, Bishop of Cyrene II: 143
 Taddeo di Bartolo I: 41n
 Tacitus I: 46n, 110; II: 280, 281, 284-294 *passim*
 Talasius (Talassius) II: 188, 189, 193, 199
 Tapestry Cycles
 Early Roman History (Brussels, 17th-century) II: 130
 History of Alexander (Brussels, c. 1590) I: 44n
 History of Alexander (Brussels, 17th-century, ? after Jan Boeckhorst) II: 89
 History of Antony and Cleopatra (Brussels, 17th-century, after Justus van Egmont) II: 128
 History of Apollo (after Jan Boeckhorst) II: 121

- [Tapestry Cycles, cont.]
- History of Artemisia (after Houel and Caron) I: 40, 86, 92n; II: 78
- History of Augustus (Brussels, 17th-century, after Justus van Egmont) II: 128; *figs. 112, 113*
- 'History of Constantine' (Brussels, 17th-century) II: 134
- History of Cyrus (Brussels, c. 1550; Antwerp, c. 1590) II: 17, 22
- History of Cyrus (after Stradanus): see Stradanus
- History of Diana (A. van den Dries and H. van Assche) II: 123, 127, 137, 139, 143; *cf. fig. 111*
- Diana and Callisto* (tapestry, A. van den Dries), whereabouts unknown II: 150; *fig. 111*
- History of Zenobia (Brussels, 17th-century, after Justus van Egmont) II: 128, 139, 149, 150
- Old Testament Women (Bruges, c. 1670) I: 40
- Rewards of Virtue (Bruges, 17th-century) I: 40-41, 51n; II: 314
- Humility Exalted: Rudolf of Hapsburg* II: 314
- Siege of Tunis* (after Vermeyen) II: 325, 326, 328, 329
- Tarquin and Lucretia cycles I: 78n
- Triumph of the Virtues (Brussels, c. 1535) I: 34n, 36; II: 17, 38; *text ill. 5*
- Romulus and Remus cycles I: 115n; II: 114-149 *passim*, 169, 172, 175, 200
- See also: Cardiff Cartoons; and, for individual tapestries, under subjects
- Tarquin (Sextus Tarquinius) I: 114; II: 191, 193, 225-229
- See also: Lucretia
- Tarquinius Collatinus II: 226
- Tarquinius Priscus II: 275
- Tassaert, Peter Joseph II: 215, 224
- Tatius, Titus II: 117, 118, 121, 135-136, 149, 154-158, 199-200
- Tempesta, Antonio
- (after) *Siege of Tunis* (engravings by J. de Gheyn III) II: 326, 328, 329
- Teniers, David II
- Artist's Studio*, Raby Castle, Steindorp, Durham, Lord Barnard II: 268; *fig. 168*
- Terbrugghen, Hendrik II: 59
- Terralba, Villa Imperiale II: 184
- Tertullian I: 39n; II: 192, 270, 274
- Tessin, Nicodemus II: 39, 40, 42
- Testa, Pietro
- Alcibiades interrupting the Symposium* (etching) II: 64
- Thales I: 107; II: 10, 11, 12
- See also: Seven Sages
- Theocritus I: 105, 122, 123, 127n
- Theoderic I: 68, 72
- Theodor, Carl I: 122; II: 65, 198, 283
- Theodora, Empress I: 58
- Theodosius I, Emperor (the Great) I: 8; II: 297-311
- Theon the Sophist II: 68
- Theophrastus II: 57
- Theuerdank* II: 18
- Thevet, André II: 56
- Artemisia* (engraving), from *Les vrais portraits et vies des hommes illustres*, Paris, 1584 II: 76, 78; *fig. 49*
- Thibaudeau and Danlos II: 232
- Thibor, N. II: 45
- Thierry d'Alsace I: 42n
- Thiéry, L.-V. II: 16, 258
- Thisbe I: 71n; II: 180
- Thomas Aquinas, St I: 99
- Thomas, Gerard II: 97, 101, 102
- Thomas, Jan II: 208, 218
- Thoré, M. II: 33
- Thorpe II: 89
- Thucydides I: 64
- Thulden, Theodoor van II: 14, 30, 58, 80, 108, 215, 223, 233, 299, 308
- Antiochus and Stratonice* (painting), Halle, Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg II: 96-97; *fig. 68*
- Thys, le Frère II: 298, 301
- Tiber, personified as river god II: 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 175, 249, 250, 253, 256, 271
- Tiber, river god* (ancient statue), Paris, Louvre I: 79; II: 135, 162, 167, 168, 170, 253, 256
- Tiber, leaning on his Urn* (tapestry), whereabouts unknown II: 127, 131, 138
- Tiberius, Emperor I: 45
- Tibullus I: 117n
- Tiffin II: 229
- Tintoretto, Jacopo
- Miracle of St Mark rescuing the Slave* (painting), Venice, Accademia II: 191, 194
- Rape of Lucretia* (painting), Madrid, Prado II: 228
- The Vindication of Tuccia* (painting), Glasgow, Art Gallery II: 274

- Tisiphone: see Fury
- Titian II: 50, 51, 53, 82
Charles V on Horseback (painting), Madrid, Prado II: 204, 206, 210, 325, 328
Danae (painting), Madrid, Prado I: 124
Las Furias (the 'Condemned') (paintings), Madrid, Prado (two survivors) II: 239
 mythological pictures for Philip II, I: 130n
Philip II after Lepanto (painting), Madrid, Prado II: 204, 205, 206, 207, 210, 236, 244, 245
Rape of Lucretia (painting), Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum II: 226, 228
Religion succoured by Spain (painting), Madrid, Prado II: 313
Roman Emperors (paintings), lost I: 35n; II: 54
Sacred and Profane Love (painting), Rome, Villa Borghese II: 184
 (after) *Rape of Lucretia* (engraving by Cort) II: 226
- Titus Vespasianus I: 42n
- Tizianello
St Ambrose and Theodosius (painting), Venice, Frari II: 305
- Tobias I: 35
- Toller, M.: see Amalteo
- Tolomei, Claudio I: 43n, 45
- Tomyris I: 36, 38, 47, 52, 53, 64, 89; II: 14-31 *passim*, 76, 237, 259, 261, 266, 321
- Tornioli, Nicolò
Cimon and Pero (painting), Rome, Galleria Spada II: 112
- Torre de la Parada I: 64, 103, 104n, 106; II: 54, 59, 60, 191, 203, 207, 208
- Torrentius, H. I: 55n
- Toulouse, Musée des Augustins II: 33, 121
 See also: Index I
- Tournai, Musée des Beaux-Arts II: 265
 See also: Index I
- Trajan, Emperor
 Justice of I: 33, 37, 38; II: 43
- Traversari, Ambrogio I: 63n; II: 69
- Trevor, Lord II: 52
- Triumphant Roma* (tapestry, after Domenico Corvi), Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori II: 274
- Triumph of Chastity*: see Jacopo del Sellaio
- Triumph of Justice*, from tapestry series, c. 1535 I: 34n
- Triumph of Fortitude*, *ibid.* I: 36; II: 17, 38; *text ill.* 5
- Troward II: 29
- Troy, Jean François de
Faustulus presenting Romulus and Remus to Acca Larentia (painting), Neufchâtel, Musée II: 177
Faustulus presenting Romulus and Remus to Acca Larentia (painting), Rome, Galleria di S. Luca II: 177
- Tuccia I: 34, 35, 38, 39, 62, 89; II: 202, 269-276
Tuccia at the Tiber (tapestry, after Domenico Corvi), Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori II: 274
- Tullius Hostilius II: 120
- Turnus II: 120, 121-122, 135
 See also: *Aeneas killing Turnus*
- Uden, Lucas van II: 165, 173, 179
- Ulysses I: 37n, 42n, 120; II: 14, 241
- Unger, W. II: 300
- Ursel, ducs d' II: 265, 266
- Utrecht, Centraal Museum: see Jacob van Campen; Gerrit van Honthorst
- Vacca, Flaminio II: 285, 291
- Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection *text ill.* 19, 20; *figs.* 101, 102, 116
 See also: Rauchmiller; and Index III, pp. 354, 356, 358, 359, 361
- Vaillant, Christiaan Everhard II: 95
- Valavez, Palamède de Fabri, sieur de I: 57n, 59n
- Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts II: 137
 See also: Index III, p. 355
- Valeriano, G.P (Pierio) I: 62, 63, 65; II: 57, 70, 171, 275
- Valerius Flaccus I: 127n
- Valerius Maximus I: 35nn, 37n, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49n, 51, 64n, 69, 71, 72n, 76, 77n, 78, 79, 85, 107, 109n; II: 10, 12, 17, 22, 40, 42, 43, 75, 76, 78, 95-96, 99-100, 101, 153, 179, 235, 240, 248-250, 253, 254, 259, 262, 265, 270, 271, 274, 281
- Valla, Lorenzo I: 63, 64; II: 40
- Vallardi, G. II: 113
- Varro II: 177
- Vasari, Giorgio I: 41, 54, 55n, 56n-57n, 84, 85, 107
 ceiling of *Scrittoio*, Florence, Palazzo Vecchio I: 96
 decoration of apartments of Eleanora of Toledo, Florence, Palazzo Vecchio I: 41, 90; II: 201, 202

- [Vasari, Giorgio, decoration of apartments of Eleanora of Toledo, Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, cont.]
The Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines (painting executed by Stradanus), Sala delle Sabine I: 41; II: 199, 201, 202; *text ill.* 13
 frescoes in Cupola of Duomo, Florence (lost) I: 99n
- Vasi, M. II: 166
- Vassal, Philéas II: 258
- Vasto, Marchese del II: 325, 326, 327, 329
- Vaudreuil, comte de II: 64, 69, 229
- Veen, Pieter van I: 93n
- Veen (Vaenius), Otto van I: 46n; II: 69, 182, 230, 231, 262, 326
Abauchas and Gyndanes (drawing), from *Album amicorum*, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale II: 112
Arria and Paetus (painting), lost I: 109
The Patience of Socrates (engraving), from O. Vaenius, *Emblemata Horatiana*, Antwerp, 1607 I: 98; *text ill.* 33
Triumph of the Faith (series of paintings), Bamberg, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen I: 99
- Veitch, G.T. II: 195
- Velázquez, Diego I: 55; II: 203, 204, 205, 208, 240
Aesop (painting), Madrid, Prado I: 106
Las Hilanderas (Minerva and Arachne) (painting), Madrid, Prado I: 55
Las Meninas (painting), Madrid, Prado II: 210
Mars (painting), Madrid, Prado I: 106n
Menippus (painting), Madrid, Prado I: 106
Philip III and the Expulsion of the Moriscos (painting), lost II: 204, 205, 210, 236, 244
- Venice
 Accademia: see Tintoretto
 Fondaco dei Tedeschi II: 96
 Frari II: 305
 Palazzo Ducale
 Sala del Collegio I: 37, 76; II: 35
- Venus I: 114n, 119; II: 82, 85, 94, 102, 135, 184, 207, 217, 219, 220, 221, 222, 226, 252, 254, 261-262
- Venus Gamelia II: 219
Venus and Adonis (tapestry, added to Diana series by Van Assche) II: 137, 143
- Venuti, R. I: 125n
- Verbuecken, P. II: 47
- Verhagen, J.P.
Alexander and Diogenes (engraving after ? Jan Boeckhorst) II: 87-88; *fig.* 62
- Vergil I: 38n, 64, 99n, 100, 101; II: 194
Aeneid I: 9, 34n, 77, 82, 115n; II: 93, 117, 121-122, 135, 154, 155, 158, 167, 168, 171, 172, 190, 192, 194, 200, 202, 228, 250
Vergil, portrait busts I: 100-101
- Vermanden, J. II: 173
- Vermeer Gallery II: 154
- Vermeiren, Roger II: 64
- Vermeyen, Jan Cornelisz.
 (after) *Siege of Tunis* (tapestry series) II: 325, 326, 328, 329
- Veronese, Paolo I: 37, 53, 76; II: 18, 19, 23, 24, 41, 184, 228, 260, 262
Adoration of the Magi (painting), Dresden, Gemäldegalerie II: 25
Allegories of Love and Marriage (paintings), London, National Gallery II: 219-220
Antiochus and Stratonice (painting), lost II: 96
 engraving by N.R. Cochin and painting by ?Benedetto Caliari after it II: 96
Christ and the Centurion (painting), Madrid, Prado II: 23
The Family of Darius before Alexander (painting), London, National Gallery II: 23
Justice and Peace before Venice (painting), Venice, Palazzo Ducale II: 35
- Versailles, Château II: 36
 See also: Domenichino
 Salon d'Apollon II: 33, 34, 35
- Verstegh II: 229
- Verstolk van Zoelen II: 48
- Verwildert II: 312
- Vespasian, Emperor I: 42n
- Vesta I: 115, 116n; II: 141, 142, 270, 271-275 *passim*
- Vestris, Auguste II: 185
- Vettori, Pier II: 278
- Veturia II: 95
- Vicentino, C.N.
The Flight of Cloelia (chiaroscuro woodcut after Maturino) II: 180, 181, 249, 250, 252
- Vicenza, S. Ambrogio II: 303, 306
- Vico, Enea: see Giulio Romano
- Victoria, Queen II: 47
- Victory II: 91
- Vienna
 Akademie: see Index III, pp. 356, 361
 Albertina II: 15, 23, 28; *fig.* 10
 See also: Index I; Index III, pp. 357, 362
 Belvedere II: 297

[Vienna, cont.]

- Kunsthistorisches Museum I: 91, 115n; II: 215, 245, 297; *text ill.* 24; *figs.* 204, 208, 210
- See also: Tapestry Cycles; and Index I; Index III, pp. 354, 355, 357-359
- Lanckoronski Palace II: 143
- Schwarzenburg collection: see Index I; Index III, p. 356
- Vigenère, Blaise de I: 63n, 127n
- Vignier, B. I: 83n
- Vignola, Giacomo II: 193
- Vignon, Claude
Death of Seneca (painting), Paris, Louvre II: 290, 292
- Villalpandus, J.B. I: 63, 64n
- Villeminot II: 9
- Villiers: see Buckingham
- Vinck, Heer II: 255
- Vintimille, Charles-Gaspard-Guillaume de II: 14, 257, 259
- Visconti, E.Q. I: 123n
- Virginia I: 78
- Vitale, A.
St Ambrose and Theodosius (painting after Barocci), Milan, Duomo II: 305
- Vitoria, Santa Maria de Suso: see De Crayer
- Vitruvius I: 86n; II: 78
- Vives, Joannes Ludovicus I: 48; II: 100, 102
- Vivian, Glynn II: 214
- Vivot II: 301
- Vischere, Peter de II: 37
- Visscher, Anna Roemer I: 49
- Visscher, Claes Jansz. II: 32, 266
- Vleughels, Nicolas II: 299
- Voet, Alexander I, II: 282, 293-294
- Voet, Alexander II, II: 107, 109, 177, 178, 179, 282, 293-294, 288; *figs.* 82, 197
- Volterra, Daniele da
History of Fabius Maximus (frescoes), Rome, Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne I: 44n
- Voltri, S. Ambrogio II: 305
- Volumnia II: 93, 95
- Vondel, Joost van den I: 97n, 98; II: 66
Diogenes seeking a True Man, engraving from *Den Gulden Winckel der Kunstlievende Nederlanders*, Amsterdam, 1613 I: 107; II: 66, 69; *fig.* 48
- Impietas in parentes*, *ibid.* II: 280, 281
- The Patience of Socrates*, *ibid.* I: 98; *text ill.* 35
- A Pythagorean Meal*, *ibid.* I: 108; II: 50-51, 52; *fig.* 34
- Tomyris and Cyrus*, *ibid.* II: 17, 18, 19, 23; *fig.* 18
- Voort, Cornelis van der II: 58
- Voragine, Jacobus a II: 302, 306
- Vorsterman, Lucas II: 54, 88, 238
Susanna and the Elders (engraving after Rubens) I: 49; *text ill.* 14
- Vos, Cornelis de
Charles V with the Antwerp Kolveniers Guild (painting), Sudeley Castle, Winchcombe, Lady Ashcombe II: 328, 330
- The Devotion of Artemisia* (painting), whereabouts unknown II: 76, 79
- Vos, Paul de II: 163
- Voyer, Marquis de II: 174
- Vulcan II: 102, 167
- Wallace, Charles M., Sr and Jr II: 294
- Wallace, Richard II: 215, 223
- Wallmoden, Count von II: 95
- Walter of St Victor II: 293
- Warwick Castle: see Index III, pp. 355, 362
- Washington, National Gallery of Art II: 52; *cf. fig.* 33
- See also: Index III, p. 354
- Wassenhove, Mrs Willy van II: 224
- Watteau, Antoine II: 30, 299
- Wauters, P. II: 264
- Weber, E.F. II: 110
- Weber, J.E. II: 29
- Weely, Jan de I: 54
- Weerden, Jan van II: 253, 254
- Weiditz, Hans I: 109n
- See also: Petrarch Master
- Weitzner, Julius II: 25
- Weimar, Goethe Museum II: 29
- Weimar, Grand Dukes of II: 29
- Weinsberg, Women of II: 316
- Welie, Antoon van II: 195
- Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of II: 52, 54
- Wendelinus, G. I: 59
- Westminster, Dukes of: see Index III, p. 354
- Weston, Garfield II: 214, 223
- Weyden, Roger van der II: 40, 41
Justice of Herkinbald and Justice of Trajan (paintings), lost II: 40, 43, 44
- 'Wicters', Mr (Victoors?) II: 296
- Wierix, Hieronymus
Tyrannocides (cycle of engravings) II: 22, 38
- Wierix, Jan
Cimon and Pero (engraving) I: 47; II: 107
- Rudolf I and his Succession* (engraving), from Thierry Piespord, *Serenissimorum... Principum... Stemma*, Brussels, 1617 II: 314

- Wildens, Jan II: 169, 170, 172, 247, 249, 251,
309, 311-312, 314-317; *figs.* 214, 215
See also: Index I, s.v. Herentals; Madrid
- Wildens, Jeremias II: 308, 309
- Wildenstein II: 298
- Wilhelm, Duke of Bavaria I: 42
- Wilkie, David II: 185, 192, 304
- Willeboirts Bosschaert, Thomas II: 120, 121,
136
Jason and Medea (painting), near Berlin,
Jagdschloss Grünewald II: 137
Martyrdom of St James (painting), Toulouse,
Musée des Augustins II: 121, 137
Venus and Adonis (painting), near Berlin,
Jagdschloss Grünewald II: 121,
137
- Willebroeck, Baron II: 214
- William I of Orange, the Silent I: 89; II: 77
- William I, King of Holland II: 105
- William II, King of Holland II: 29
- William III, Prince of Orange (King of Great
Britain) II: 73, 255
- William V, Stadholder, Prince of Orange
II: 88, 90, 255, 257
- Willmer, E. II: 304
- Winckelmann, J.J. I: 122n
- Windsor Castle, Coll. H.M. The Queen II: 72;
fig. 16
See also: Van Dyck; and Index I; Index III,
pp. 357, 359
- Winthrop, Victor II: 113
- Wit, Jacob de II: 72
- Wittgenstein, Sibilla von II: 317
- Wöllfeld II: 89
- Wörlitz, Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten
II: 85, 247; *fig.* 58
See also: Index I
- Woodburn, Samuel II: 29, 229, 310
- Woodner Family Collection, early
16th-century French MS II: 49,
51-52; *cf.* *fig.* 33
- Wolf with Romulus and Remus* (ancient bronze
with Renaissance additions),
Rome, Capitol II: 144, 167
- Wolffort, Artus II: 29, 57, 58; *fig.* 35
See also: Index I, s.v. Sottrum
- Democritus and Heraclitus* (paintings),
Prague, Castle Gallery II: 58
- Wolfvoet (Wolfvoet), Victor II: 71, 72, 214, 215,
223, 253-254
- Wolschot, J.F. II: 95
- Woverius, Jan II: 190, 286, 292
- Wroclaw, Museum Narodowe II: 322
- Wtewael, Joachim II: 258
(after) *Justice of Cambyses* (engraving), from
Thronus Iustitiae, 1605 II: 43
- Xanthippe I: 97, 98
- Xenophon I: 45; II: 63
- Xerxes I: 86
- Xylander, G. I: 63
- Yates II: 257
- York, City Art Gallery II: 104
- Zaleucus: see Seleucus
- Zamora, Valparaíso Monastery II: 228
- Zanchi collection, Lausanne: see Index III, p.
354
- Zelotti, Giambattista and Fasolo, Giovanni
Antonio
Continence of Scipio (fresco), Thiene, Villa da
Porto-Colleoni II: 260, 262
- Zenobia I: 45n
See also: Tapestry Cycles; Justus van Egmont
- Zenobius, St I: 41
- Zeus: see Jupiter
- Zinser, Richard H. II: 222
- Zoppo, Marco
(attr.), *Death of Seneca?* (drawing from
album), London, British Museum
II: 285, 291
- Zuccaro, Federico I: 100n
frescoes in Stanza della Solitudine,
Caprarola I: 96
Dante and Vergil with 'exempla', Florence,
Uffizi I: 38; *text ill.* 8
- Zuccaro, Taddeo II: 81
Siege of Tumis (fresco), Rome, Vatican, Sala
Regia II: 325, 328-329

Sources of Photographs

- H.M. The Queen: Figs. 16, 31
- Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum: Figs. 73, 82, 134
- Antwerp, F. Claes: Fig. 145
- Antwerp, Delville: Fig. 169
- Antwerp, J. T'Felt: Fig. 190
- Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus: Fig. 200
- Antwerp, Rubenianum: Figs. 14, 21, 70, 81, 201
- Antwerp, Rubenshuis: Text ill. 38
- Barcelona, Mas: Fig. 97
- Basle, Kunstmuseum: Fig. 57
- Bayonne, Etienne: Fig. 188
- Bayonne, Musée Bonnat: Fig. 184
- Berlin, G. Schwarz: Fig. 91
- Berlin, Staatliche Museen: Figs. 19, 63, 162, 171, 183, 222, 223, 226
- Berlin, Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten: Figs. 24, 27, 51, 154, 155, 157, 158, 187
- Boston, Museum of Fine Arts: Figs. 7, 11
- Brussels, A.C.L.: Figs. 9, 117, 177, 200, 216
- Brussels, P. Haesaerts & H. Storck: Text ill. 20
- Brussels, J. Malvaux: Fig. 8
- Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts: Text ill. 31
- Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum: Text ill. 6; Fig. 163
- Cardiff, National Museum of Wales: Figs. 83, 85, 88, 90
- Chantilly, Musée Condé: Text ill. 40
- Cleveland, Ohio, The Cleveland Museum of Art: Figs. 17, 151, 153
- Cologne, Rheinisches Bildarchiv: Fig. 206
- Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst: Figs. 26, 65, 123, 124, 167, 213, 218
- Detroit, Institute of Arts: Text ill. 39; Fig. 115
- Dresden, Deutsche Fotothek: Figs. 173, 175
- Dunkirk, M. Cousein: Fig. 80
- Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland: Fig. 224
- Florence, Alinari: Text ills. 1, 2, 3, 13, 26, 27
- Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut: Fig. 46
- The Hague, A. Frequin: Fig. 87
- The Hague, Mauritshuis: Fig. 64
- The Hague, R.K.D.: Fig. 68
- Jerusalem, Israel Museum: Figs. 55, 86
- Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts: Fig. 60
- London, British Museum: Text ill. 23
- London, Colnaghi: Fig. 152
- London, A.C. Cooper: Text ill. 25; Figs. 13, 132, 211
- London, Courtauld Institute of Art: Text ills. 36, 37; Figs. 3, 45, 225
- London, P. Laib: Text ill. 21
- London, W.F. Mansell: Text ill. 32
- London, National Gallery: Text ill. 17; Figs. 89, 125, 127-131, 205
- London, S.W. Newberry: Fig. 72
- London, Royal Academy: Fig. 140
- London, Warburg Institute: Text ills. 7, 14, 15, 16, 18, 30, 33-35; Figs. 5, 18, 30, 33, 34, 48, 50, 77, 78, 79, 104, 105, 137, 159, 161, 181, 182, 186, 189, 191, 197, 202, 203, 217
- Madrid, Museo del Prado: Figs. 6, 38, 39, 40, 141, 142, 198, 214, 215
- Madrid, D. Ramos: Fig. 156
- Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum: Fig. 99
- Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana: Fig. 119
- Moscow, Pushkin Museum: Fig. 165
- Munich, Alte Pinakothek: Figs. 138, 194, 195
- Munich, F. Hanfstaengel: Figs. 69, 170
- New Haven, Yale Center for British Art: Fig. 66
- New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art: Text ill. 28; Figs. 29, 41, 42a-c
- New York, O.E. Nelson: Fig. 37
- Oslo, Nasjonalgalleriet: Fig. 122
- Paris, J.-E. Bulloz: Fig. 25
- Paris, Giraudon: Text ill. 40
- Paris, Réunion des Musées Nationaux: Figs. 22, 23, 172, 174, 176, 185, 192, 227
- Philadelphia, The Barbara Piasecka Johnson Foundation: Fig. 36
- Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art: Figs. 1, 120, 148-150
- Potsdam—Sanssouci, Bildergalerie: Figs. 51, 187
- Raleigh, N.C., North Carolina Museum of Art: Fig. 220
- Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen: Text ill. 41
- St Petersburg, Hermitage: Figs. 71, 75, 193
- San Francisco, Fine Arts Museums: Text ill. 5
- Sarasota, John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art: Figs. 95, 96
- Schenking, H.G. Evers: Text ill. 40
- Siegen, Museum des Siegerlandes: Fig. 74
- Stockholm, Nationalmuseum: Fig. 199
- Stockholm, Royal Collections: Figs. 106-108, 110
- Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection: Text ills. 19, 20; Figs. 101, 116
- Vienna, Albertina: Fig. 10
- Vienna, Franckenstein: Text ill. 29
- Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum: Text ill. 24; Figs. 112, 113, 204, 208, 210
- Wörlitz, Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten: Fig. 58

CATALOGUE

