

CORPUS RUBENIANUM

LUDWIG BURCHARD

PART XVIII

LANDSCAPES AND HUNTING SCENES

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II • HUNTING SCENES

BY ARNOUT BALIS

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  
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# RUBENS HUNTING SCENES

BY ARNOUT BALIS

TRANSLATED FROM THE DUTCH  
BY P.S. FALLA



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D. Bodart, [Cat. Exh.] *Rubens e la pittura fiamminga del Seicento nelle collezioni pubbliche fiorentine - Rubens et la peinture flamande au XVIIème siècle dans les collections publiques florentines* (Palazzo Pitti, Florence, 1977), Florence, 1977.
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ABBREVIATIONS

- Kruyfhoofst-Buys  
 L.  
 Lacambre, *Chasse au tigre*  
 Larsen, *Rubens*  
 Liedtke, *Cat. Metropolitan Museum*  
 Logan-Haverkamp Begemann, *Dessins*  
 López Navío, *Leganés*  
 Lugt, *Cat. Louvre, École flamande*  
 Magurn, *Letters*  
 Manneback, *P. de Vos*  
 Martin, *Cat. National Gallery*  
 Martin, *Pompa*  
 Mayerhofer, *Schleissheim*  
 Michel, *Histoire*  
 Michel, *Rubens*  
 Mielke-Winner  
 Miesel, *Rubens and Ancient Art*  
 Mitsch, *Rubenszeichnungen*  
 Müllenmeister, *Meer und Land*  
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- Munich, *Jagd-museum, 1980*  
*Wittelsbacher Jagd, Deutsches Jagdmuseum, Munich, July-October 1980.*



# INTRODUCTION

THIS CATALOGUE comprises all Rubens's dynamic hunting scenes—including those with mythological subjects—in so far as they have not been treated in previous volumes of the *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard* (see e.g. *Alpers, Torre*, No.20; *Adler, Landscapes*, Nos.18, 41, 46, 49). It does not cover such scenes as *Diana departing for the Chase* or *Diana and Nymphs returning from the Hunt*, which will be dealt with in Part XI (*Mythological Subjects*). On the other hand, the present volume includes some compositions which, while not actually hunting scenes, formed part of a hunting series (Nos.22, 25). The classification is roughly chronological. The catalogue is preceded by an introductory text in which specific problems are discussed.

R.Hecquet, in his *Catalogue des estampes gravées d'après Rubens* (1751), was the first to present a picture of Rubens's contribution to hunting iconography, by listing about ten compositions that existed in the form of prints. His survey was supplemented by *Basan* (1767), *Voorhelm Schneevogt* (1873) and *Dutuit* (1885). It was, however, far from complete, as many of Rubens's 'Hunts' were never engraved, while on the other hand several wrong attributions found their way into the list.

After the appearance of *John Smith's Catalogue Raisonné* (1830) more emphasis was laid on the paintings themselves. The prints still played an important part, but the material was enriched with excerpts from sale and museum catalogues as well as *Smith's* observations based on his experience of the London art market. Finally *Max Rooses*, in his incomparable *L'Œuvre de P.P.Rubens*, laid the basis for modern scientific study. He not only supplemented the material considerably and carried out the first critical analysis of it, but also made the first attempt to establish connections between the hunting scenes known to him and those recorded in documents. *Rooses's* catalogue is, however, very summarily illustrated, and the volume on Rubens in the *Klassiker der Kunst* series also gives an imperfect account of Rubens's hunting scenes. Only the recent publications by *Isermeyer* (1963) and *Kruyfhooft and Buys* (1977) give anything like a visual conspectus of Rubens's work in this line, and it is still a limited one.

The *Burchard* archives are remarkably rich as regards Rubens's hunting scenes, both originals and copies. Only some minor additions could be made as a result of visits to the *Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie* at The Hague, the *Witt Library* and the *Warburg Institute* in London, and the *Frick*

Art Reference Library in New York. I have endeavoured to incorporate in the catalogue as much of this priceless store as possible. Not only am I indebted to Burchard for his copious material, but I have learnt much from the rigour of his methods: his attention to detail, and the admirably persistent and systematic way in which he followed a trail. He attached particular importance to distinguishing the various versions and copies and identifying the origins of all the pieces concerned. I have made as much use as possible of his collection of excerpts from sale catalogues, which was as complete as he could make it.

As a newcomer to Rubens studies I found Burchard's connoisseurship to be a guiding thread amid the jungle of attributions. Certainly, as time went on, I felt able to make my own judgements and have occasionally sounded a critical note; but there are few essential points on which my final conclusions differ from his. In some cases (Nos.9, 15, 16) I defend attributions that were proposed by Burchard but disputed in more recent literature: here the scale was turned by new evidence as regards iconography and the borrowing of motifs. Naturally I have tried to see as many of the paintings and drawings as possible. This ideal could not always be achieved, owing to practical difficulties and the inaccessibility of certain pieces; the most important of such cases are expressly mentioned in the text.

As already mentioned, Rooses' reconstruction of the genesis of Rubens's hunting scenes was based in the first instance on documents, especially Carleton's correspondence, which, however, he did not always interpret satisfactorily. It was Burchard's achievement to provide a key to the reading of that correspondence by disentangling the history of two *Lion Hunts* (Nos.6 and 11) which both found their way to the Munich collection. From this foundation Rosand in a masterly article gave a conspectus of Rubens's early hunting scenes, not only illuminating their chronology but also identifying Rubens's sources of inspiration and sketching the significant context to which the pieces belonged. Also of importance for these early hunting pieces is the relevant text by Gregory Martin in the National Gallery catalogue.

Burchard had evidently not yet formed a coherent view of the later hunting scenes. He had come to the conclusion that certain compositions of which only sketches and copies are preserved belonged together as companion pieces, but in some cases, as it now appears, he postulated the wrong connections. Rooses, and after him Alpers, showed from documents that at the end of his life Rubens painted a substantial hunting series for the King of Spain. On the basis of Burchard's material I had made some progress in reconstructing this series, and my task was suddenly much facilitated by the appearance of Julius Held's *Oil*

*Sketches*: one of the surprises of that work was the discovery of 'The Paintings of Hunts for Philip IV', a series of eight oblong canvases. As far as these are concerned, my reconstruction differs from Held on only a few points. However, the documents speak not of eight, but of eighteen paintings commissioned from Rubens in 1639. The other ten can, in my opinion, also be identified: they mostly represent Hercules and other mythological subjects. Although there is clearly an iconographic link between the eight-part hunting series and the scenes of Hercules, it was thought preferable not to include the latter in this catalogue, but to deal with them fully in Part XI: *Mythological Subjects*.

Rubens's hunting scenes are among the best documented of all his works. In only a few cases do we not have information as to their date of origin and destination. The Carleton correspondence, our chief source for the early hunting scenes, was first published by Smith, Carpenter and Sainsbury and, after being once again collated, was republished in full in the *Rooses-Ruelens Correspondance*. All my quotations are from this last version: only in a few cases, where there was doubt as to the correctness of the transcription, was this checked against photocopies of the original documents. For the correspondence of the Cardinal Infante Ferdinand, I have made use of Justi's edition. As these Spanish letters are generally paraphrased in the text, no translation is given (there is a French version in *Rooses-Ruelens*). Of the Spanish royal inventories, only the Alcázar lists of 1686 and 1700 have been published; the most important excerpts from other inventories relating to Rubens's paintings have, however, been published by Cruzada Villaamil. To complete the picture I consulted the typed transcriptions by F. J. Sánchez Cantón of the following inventories in the Prado library: 1623 (Palacio Real de Madrid); 1636 (Alcázar); 1666 (Alcázar); 1674 (Pardo); 1700 (Casa de Campo, Zarzuela, Pardo, Buen Retiro, Alcázar Madrid, Escorial, Alcázar Valladolid, Casa real de la Ribera, Granada: Alcázares and Alhambra, Aranjuez, Alcázar Toledo, Alcázar Sevilla, Alcázar Segovia); 1747 (Buen Retiro, Casas Arzobispales); 1794 (Palacio Madrid, Buen Retiro, Torre de la Parada, Batuecas, Viñuelas, San Lorenzo, Zarzuela, Aranjuez, San Ildefonso-La Granja, Pardo: Quinta del Duque del Arco). For the Alcázar inventories of 1636 and 1666 I consulted the originals in the Archivo de Palacio in Madrid. As regards the *Wolf Hunt* (No.2) some random checks were made in the Arenberg archives in Brussels (without result) and the Archivo Histórico de Protocolos in Madrid. In connection with the *Lion Hunt* (No.11) I consulted photocopies of some inventories of the Hamilton possessions.

# I. Chronological Survey

## THE FIRST PERIOD

The first known hunting scene by Rubens, a *Calydonian Boar Hunt* (No.1; cf. Fig.31), was probably painted in about 1614–1615. It is still primarily the illustration of an antique myth, and there is little in it to suggest that the artist would soon devote himself in a surprisingly wholehearted manner to the iconography of the chase, a type of subject that was seldom treated in his day. Between 1616 and 1621 he painted in rapid succession a number of highly dynamic hunting scenes embodying creative solutions that were constantly repeated and perfected, culminating in the famous *Lion Hunt* in the Alte Pinakothek at Munich (No.11; Fig.74). With this painting Rubens seems to have solved the problem that had exercised him up to then. The many hunting scenes that he painted thereafter followed a different course; they appear more routine and are distinguished more for their formal diversity than for their dramatic impact.

The *Wolf and Fox Hunt* (No.2; Fig.33—I shall refer to it for short as the *Wolf Hunt*) is the starting-point of the ascending spiral. It was probably painted in 1616, or perhaps in the previous year. We are well informed about it thanks to the correspondence of Sir Dudley Carleton, English ambassador to the United Provinces at The Hague, who bought and sold works of art in addition to being a connoisseur and collector.<sup>1</sup> His letters provide information concerning Rubens's later hunting scenes such as the Schleissheim *Lion Hunt* (No.6; cf. Fig.51), the *Tiger Hunt* (No.7; Fig.57) and the *Lion Hunt* at Munich (No.11; Fig.74). Carleton himself purchased two hunting scenes, but both were copies; moreover he soon offered his entire Rubens collection for sale, including these works, so that we are forced to suppose that his interest in Rubens's art was not merely that of an enthusiastic collector. In any case Carleton is not typical of the public for whom Rubens's hunting scenes were intended. Fortunately we are well informed as to their purchasers. One or more were probably acquired by the arch-

1. For the life of Sir Dudley Carleton, later Viscount Dorchester, see *Sainsbury, Papers*, p.9, n.27; *Dictionary of National Biography*, IX, London, 1887, pp.87ff. For his contacts with Rubens see pp. 44–46 below; for other references to his interest in art see *Sainsbury, Papers*, *passim*.

ducal couple Albert and Isabella;<sup>2</sup> the Duke of Aarschot purchased one,<sup>3</sup> as did the Duke of Hamilton;<sup>4</sup> Maximilian of Bavaria acquired four,<sup>5</sup> and about ten were purchased by Philip IV of Spain.<sup>6</sup> All these were people of noble and ancient lineage, and most of them, as befitted their station, were passionate lovers of the chase. It was in such circles that the tradition of courtly hunting scenes had come to flourish, and it was Rubens's intention to revive that very tradition.<sup>7</sup> Thus most of his hunting scenes found a home in congenial surroundings: often a hunting lodge or a country house, or a gallery devoted to works of this type or to scenes of country life. In fact the iconography of such paintings long retained their full significance, at any rate for those who commissioned them, as we shall have occasion to show in detail.<sup>8</sup> There is one exception: Lord Danvers ordered a *Tiger Hunt* for the Prince of Wales, the future Charles I, but the work was in the end rejected (see under No.7). It had been intended for the prince's gallery, containing 'many excelent worukes w<sup>ch</sup> ar ... of all the best masters in Christendoum'; a major work by Rubens was lacking, but the prince did not specially want a hunting scene, and eventually the gap was filled by a *Daniel in the Lions' Den*. However, most of the other purchasers of Rubens's hunting scenes were particularly interested in the subject, though naturally aesthetic considerations played a part also. Later, as pictures changed hands, it could of course happen that they were admired purely as specimens of the great artist's creative power. This was the case, for instance, with the *Lion Hunt* at Munich (No.11; Fig. 74), which found its way into the Rubens collection of the duc de Richelieu.

Rubens was no doubt well aware of the kind of interest that his hunting scenes aroused, and he set out to appeal to the large potential market for such paintings.<sup>9</sup> But this does not fully account for the explosion of creativity by which it was accompanied. Rubens's main concern was clearly aesthetic: he was struggling with a problem that challenged him as an artist, and that deserves analysis.<sup>10</sup>

2. Under No.7 I shall argue that the archducal couple possessed a version of Rubens's *Tiger Hunt*, viz. the one represented in Jan Brueghel's *Allegory of Sight* (Fig.61). Documents of 1617 and 1622 record their possession of other monumental hunting scenes; these may have been by Rubens (cf. under No.7, p.145, n.37), although Frans Snyder's is also a possibility, at least for the works recorded in 1622.

3. See under No.2, and also pp.22-25.

4. See under No.11.

5. See under Nos.4-7, pp.111-112.

6. See under Nos.12, 13, 16, 20-27, and also pp.29-31.

7. See pp.54-55.

8. This is illustrated in particular by the four hunting scenes for Maximilian of Bavaria (Nos.4-7), which were kept in the duke's country residence at Schleissheim (see p.26), and by those painted for the King of Spain (Nos.20 to 27, 12 and 13), which were displayed in the Alcázar in an iconographically significant order (see pp.225-226).

9. See also Chapter III, esp. pp.54-55, where it is pointed out that Rubens expressly paraphrased the traditional, familiar type of hunting scene.

10. See Chapter III, esp. pp.63-67.

The first picture that may be called a hunting scene pure and simple is the *Wolf Hunt* (No.2; Fig.33). It was in all probability not commissioned, but painted by the artist of his own accord, as we find it in his studio at a time when he was waiting for customers. It soon appeared that he had somewhat miscalculated, not in his choice of subject but in its format. The picture was unsaleable because of its enormous size (c.330 × 516 cm.), no doubt inspired by tapestries that were meant to cover a whole wall. We learn from the correspondence that Archduke Albert was interested, but had no room for a work of such dimensions. Very probably Rubens had painted it with the Brussels court in view: Isabella, in particular, was very fond of hunting,<sup>11</sup> and might have been expected to welcome a glorification of her favourite pastime. There is indeed evidence that the archducal couple purchased one or more of Rubens's later hunting scenes,<sup>12</sup> and that they commissioned from him and from Jan Brueghel some smaller cabinet pieces depicting the huntress Diana.<sup>13</sup>

By 9 October 1616 Rubens had still not found a buyer for his *Wolf Hunt*, but two new prospects arose. Carleton, mentioned earlier, found the price too high and instructed his agents in the Southern Netherlands to try and beat the artist down. Meanwhile another potential customer appeared: Philip Charles of Arenberg, who had recently become Duke of Aarschot and was on good terms with Archduke Albert, who probably encouraged him to buy the picture. Aarschot was later appointed grand falconer of the Netherlands and chief huntsman of Flanders, so he seemed a very suitable owner.<sup>14</sup>

Years later, in 1633, Rubens was again in contact with the Duke of Aarschot, in very painful circumstances. The episode properly belongs to the political history of the Netherlands, and shows Rubens more as a diplomat than as a painter. However, it happens to be connected with the later history of the *Wolf Hunt* and may therefore be briefly outlined here, since it characterizes the typical collector of Rubens's hunting scenes.

By the time in question, the Duke of Aarschot had become one of the most prominent members of the national aristocracy, with political ideas increasingly

11. For Isabella's interest in the chase see M. de Villermont, *L'Infante Isabelle, gouvernante des Pays-Bas*, Taminés-Paris, 1912, I, pp.43-44; II, pp.48-66.

12. See n.2.

13. For these pictures of Diana see p.57. There were also some drawings by Jan Brueghel: a sheet with studies of motifs on both sides, and another sheet with a composition sketch, representing a hunt witnessed by the archducal couple on 14 October 1618; these may have been intended as sketches for a painting (see K. Boon, in [Cat. Exh.] *L'Époque de Lucas de Leyde et Pierre Bruegel; dessins des anciens Pays-Bas, collection Frits Lugt*, Institut Néerlandais, Paris, 1981, pp.68-69, No.48, pl.110-111; Ertz, *Brueghel*; p.392, fig.467). Also relevant to Isabella's interest in hunting is a picture of *Doña Juana de Lunar with the Infanta's Hounds* (De Maeyer, *Albrecht en Isabella*, p.171) which was in the castle at Tervuren as early as 1617.

14. For Aarschot's biography see L. P. Gachard in *Biographie nationale belge*, I, 1866, cols.388-401.

divergent from those of the Spanish rulers. Rubens, on the other hand, had become a trusted adviser of Isabella's since the death of the archduke, and his sympathies tended to be pro-Spanish. The Flemish nobility, alarmed by the threat of war from the north and the rapidly worsening situation in the Spanish Netherlands, decided to hold independent peace talks with the Dutch. For this purpose the Duke of Aarschot persuaded Isabella to recall the States General, the political authority representing the Southern Netherlands, which had been dissolved since 1612. Isabella's attitude was somewhat ambiguous. The rebellion of part of the aristocracy in the previous year, 1632, which had been suppressed with difficulty, had convinced her that the grievances aroused by the inflexible Spanish policy must be taken seriously, and on that occasion she had implored Aarschot—with tears, according to his account—not to desert her. The duke seems at first to have favoured the rebel cause, but he afterwards came to the view that more could be achieved by diplomatic negotiation between the States General of the Southern Netherlands and those of the North. The Infanta finally acquiesced in this course, while realizing that Philip IV of Spain could not be counted on to approve it unconditionally. To make sure that Spanish interests would not be prejudiced by the negotiations she sent Rubens to The Hague, where they were to take place, to act as an observer or even a separate negotiator, independent of the southern States. The latter got wind of this and protested violently. Isabella, when challenged, replied evasively that Rubens was only going to The Hague to facilitate the talks with the aid of certain documents; but these he could of course have presented to the States in Brussels. Aarschot and the other representatives of the States General now expected that he would hand the documents over when they passed through Antwerp on the way to The Hague. But Rubens—no doubt on Isabella's orders—failed to keep the appointment and sent only a brief note of excuse to Aarschot. The duke replied with one of the best-known letters in the Rubens correspondence, impugning Rubens's honesty in ironical terms and admonishing him that a man of his station should not address him, the duke, in a short note such as would be proper between equals. ('Tout ce que je vous puis dire, c'est que je seray bien ayse que vous apprenies d'ores en avant comme doibvent escrire à des gens de ma sorte ceux de la vostre.')15

15. Letter from Aarschot to Rubens, 30(?) January 1633 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, pp.34-35, docs.DCCLVI; cf. also docs.DCCLIV, DCCLV, DCCLXI, DCCLXXV, DCCLXXVII, DCCCLXXXVI, DCCCLXXXIX). For the political context of this episode and the sequel as outlined in the text, and for the interpretation of Rubens's part in it, see Rooses' comments on the above-quoted documents in *Rooses-Ruelens* and also T. Juste, *Conspiration de la noblesse belge contre l'Espagne en 1632*, Brussels, 1851; *Sainsbury, Papers*, docs.CMLIX, CL, CLIV, CLXI, CLXIII, CLXIV, CLXV, CLXVII; L.P.Gachard, *Actes des États généraux de 1632*, II, Brussels, 1806, *passim*;

While Aarschot is known to have been an irascible man and fond of standing on his dignity, the context of the letter and some other facts that have come down to us suggest that his anger and suspicion of Rubens were deep-seated.<sup>16</sup> There is reason to think the hostility was reciprocated, especially after this painful incident,<sup>17</sup> which some regard as a proof of Rubens's treachery and opportunism while others see in it only a piece of foolish arrogance on Aarschot's part. Some go so far as to charge Rubens with having played a part in Aarschot's capture in 1634, when he was accused of high treason to the King, and hence indirectly in his death.<sup>18</sup> In this connection much is made of Rubens's continuing friendship with Balthazar Gerbier, who brought about Aarschot's arrest by disclosing the part he had played in the rebellion of the Flemish nobles in 1632. That curious friendship with the perfidious Gerbier is still one of the mysteries of Rubens's biography, but this is not the place for speculation about it.

It is Aarschot's arrest which brings us back to the story of the *Wolf Hunt*. The duke, who had been regarded by the King as a loyal and reliable subject, left for Madrid on 16 November 1633 to plead the cause of the States General; but on arrival he found the situation drastically changed. Gerbier's accusations, conveyed by a special messenger, had reached the King a few days before: a secret investigation was ordered, and on 15 April 1634 Aarschot was arrested. Apart from his original assent to the conspiracy, of which Isabella was in any case aware, he seems to have done no more than keep its extent secret in order to spare members of his own family. But the judicial proceedings dragged on, and it is not clear to this day why the King did not rehabilitate the duke until after the latter's death on 17 December 1640. The last seven years of the duke's life were

- P. Henrard, *Marie de Médicis dans les Pays-Bas*, Brussels–Leipzig, 1876, pp.228ff., 344ff., 436ff.; L. P. Gachard, *Histoire politique et diplomatique de Pierre-Paul Rubens*, Brussels, 1877, pp.232ff.; M. de Villermont, op. cit. (cf. n.11 above), II, pp.386–440; P. Frédegand d'Anvers, *Étude sur le Père Charles d'Arenberg, Frère Mineur Capucin (1592–1669)*, Paris–Rome, 1919, pp.204ff.; J. Cuvelier and L. Lefèvre, *Correspondance de la cour d'Espagne sur les affaires des Pays-Bas au XVIIe siècle*, II, Brussels, 1927, *passim*; A. Leman, 'Contribution à l'histoire de la conspiration des nobles belges en 1632', in *Mélanges de philologie et d'histoire publiés à l'occasion du cinquantenaire de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université Catholique de Lille*, Lille, 1927, pp.121–157; Evers, *Rubens*, pp.329–336; see also n.18.
16. Later, when he was a prisoner in Madrid, the duke accused Rubens of having made 'patternes of tapistry hangings for the Prince of Orange, in<sup>wh</sup> the king of Spaine, and his subjects most hideously represented' (quoted by Gerbier in a letter to Sir Arthur Hopton, 23 May 1634; *Rooses–Ruelens*, VI, p.65, doc.DCCLXXV, and see also pp.67–68, doc.DCCLXXVII. Rubens's reaction appears on p.275, doc.DCCCLXXXIX). See also Aarschot's reference to Rubens in a document published by M. Warnke, *Kommentare zu Rubens*, Berlin, 1965, p.95, n.168.
17. Rubens's own words have not survived, but it seems unlikely that he would have contradicted Gerbier's reference to the duke as 'that swine Aarschot' ('dat veercken van Arscot'): see Gerbier to Rubens, 29 April 1640, *Rooses–Ruelens*, VI, pp.274–275, doc.DCCCLXXXIX; see also p.266, doc.DCCCLXXXVI.
18. R. van Roosbroeck, 'De diplomaat Rubens', *De Vlaamsche gids*, 1940, pp.460–468; id., 'Bij de briefwisseling van Peter Rubens', *Nederlandsche historiebladen*, III, 1941, pp.135–148; J. Brans, *Rubens zonder aureool*, Brecht–Antwerp, 1977, pp.132–139.



thus spent in confinement at Madrid, albeit with special privileges. He was allowed to remain in the house which he had rented shortly after his arrival—following a brief period as guest of the Marquis of Leganés—and took care that his apartments were richly furnished. Rather surprisingly in view of his quarrel with Rubens, one of the works he brought there was the latter's *Wolf Hunt*, which Leganés purchased from his estate after his death.<sup>19</sup> Aarschot had also ordered several hunting scenes and pictures of animals by Paul de Vos, showing that his interest in such themes was of a lasting kind.<sup>20</sup> We are well informed on the subject of Leganés's collection, and he too was much interested in monumental Flemish hunting and animal pictures, owning no fewer than seventy-odd paintings, mostly of this kind, by Paul de Vos and Snyders.<sup>21</sup> Both Aarschot and Leganés, then, are typical of the collector who felt attracted to Rubens's hunting scenes by reason of their subject. The numerous purchases by such patrons made possible the remarkable development of Flemish hunting scenes and animal pictures that was beginning to emerge, a development itself greatly inspired by Rubens's work.<sup>22</sup> Philip IV of Spain, of course, also belongs to this category of patron,<sup>23</sup> as well as the two noblemen.

The series of four hunting scenes (Nos.4–7) commissioned by Maximilian of Bavaria must have been painted shortly after the *Wolf Hunt*, probably c.1617. It is quite surprising that the foreign public should so soon have become aware that Rubens was concerned with hunting scenes, a genre which, as we shall see,

19. See under No.2, pp.99–100.

20. According to M.Manneback (*Cat. Exh. Brussels, 1965*, p.283, apparently using information from M.E.Laloiere, the archivist of the Duke of Arenberg) Aarschot bought 'Chasses, oiseaux, et autres animaux' from Paul de Vos between 1633 and 1640. I have not found this reference in the archives of the Arenberg family (which are unclassified) in the Archives Générales du Royaume, Brussels, but was able to trace other relevant documents with the help of the National Archivist, Mr C. Wyffels. In a personal memorandum book the duke noted in October 1633, before his departure for Madrid, that he owed Paul de Vos 200 pounds ('Au peintre de Vos sur ses Peintures'; Brussels, Archives Générales du Royaume, Arenberg, LA 6603, not foliated). In the account books kept for the duke by Anne de Navarre from 28 September 1638 to 31 August 1643 we find the following items. On 22 September 1640: 'Par la copie du contract arreste avecq Paul de Vos peintre le 27 de Juin 1638 pour vingt pieces de peinture qu'il a fait au service de Mond(ict) Seign(eur) le Ducq a deux cent flr piece reuenant a quatre mille florins...' (Brussels, Archives Générales du Royaume, Arenberg, LA 4682, *Sixiesme compte*, fols.17–18). On the same date: 'Item at encore esté paillé aud(ict) Paul de Vos sur sa quittance du mesme iour la somme de deux cents florins pour 2. autres peintures des fables d'Aesope liurées au s(er)vice et enuoiées es Espagne comme dessus icy—200-0'. These paintings, however, do not seem to have reached their destination: 'Item se fait icy Recepte de la som(m)ie de mille trois cents soixante cinq livres quatre solz six deniers arthois du prix de trente deux pieces de toille achaptées de l'an 1638 par ordre de mond(ict) feu Seig(neu)r Ducq pour envoyer en Espagne, et q(ue) du depuis l'on a trouvé conuenir de retenir et les revendre, comme at esté fait en suite de la liste ...' (Brussels, Archives Générales du Royaume, Arenberg, LA 4682, *Sixiesme compte*, fol.10). See also F.-C. Legrand, *Les peintres flamands de genre au XVIIe siècle*, Brussels, 1963, p.267, n.374, for the commission of 24 paintings from 'Snayrs'. Guidi, an Italian diplomat, wrote to Velázquez to ask his opinion of 14 hunting scenes by Paul de Vos that were to be sold from the Duke of Aarschot's estate (*Justi, Velazquez*, II, p.225).

21. López Navío, *Leganés*, *passim*.

22. See Chapter IV, especially pp.76–77.

23. See pp.29–31.

had by then almost been forgotten.<sup>24</sup> Presumably Maximilian knew of the existence of Rubens's *Wolf Hunt*, most probably through his contacts with the archducal court at Brussels. We do not know if he himself suggested a series of hunting scenes, or whether it was Rubens's idea. It seems to me quite possible that the artist, encouraged by the success of his *Wolf Hunt*, went on to paint one or more hunting scenes that appealed to the duke or to his agent in Brussels, and that he then agreed to make up a set of four.<sup>25</sup> The pictures were suitably housed in the Altes Schloss at Schleissheim, where the main theme of the decoration was agriculture, animal husbandry and country life (the frescoes, executed in 1617 by assistants of Pietro Candido, were unfortunately destroyed in the Second World War).<sup>26</sup> Hunting was often regarded as part of a wider context of this kind, especially in treatises on the domestic economy of the countryside.<sup>27</sup>

One of the paintings sold to Maximilian, the *Boar Hunt* (No.4; Fig.40), represented a European scene, like the *Wolf Hunt* (No.2; Fig.33); but the other three are more exotic and enabled the artist to portray ferocious beasts from tropical countries. The *Hippopotamus and Crocodile Hunt* (No.5; Fig.46) is probably the most fearsome of these and must have been even more so to Rubens's contemporaries, to whom the hippopotamus was practically unknown.<sup>28</sup> As in the *Wolf and Fox Hunt*, the artist did not confine himself to a single quarry: he evidently wanted to make the action as complex as possible, involving not only a fight between men and beasts but between beasts themselves. All the animals, including the horses, display wildly aggressive behaviour, and the huntsmen acquire heroic proportions as they dominate the turbulent scene. In the *Calydonian Hunt* (No.1; cf. Fig.31) Rubens had already depicted a lifeless human figure, and this dramatic note was present in most of his subsequent exotic hunting scenes. A dead man, or one dragged to the ground by a fierce animal and fighting for his life, cannot fail to impress the spectator with a sense of horror. Such features occur in the *Lion Hunt* (No.6; cf. Fig.51), painted for Maximilian, and in the *Tiger Hunt* (No.7; Fig.57) the centre of the composition is

24. See Chapter III, especially pp.50–52.

25. See also p.112.

26. On the Altes Schloss at Schleissheim see F. D. Schmid, *Schloss Schleissheim. Die barocke Residenz mit Altem Schloss und Schloss Lustheim*, Munich, 1980, pp.22–50; for the interior decoration in particular see B. Volk-Knüttel in [Cat. Exh.] *Peter Candido, Zeichnungen*, (Staatliche graphische Sammlung, Munich, 1979), pp.72ff., Nos.85–92; id., in *Cat. Exh. Munich*, 1980, II, pp.353ff., Nos.906–911.

27. The most important work on the agrarian domestic economy is Pietro de' Crescenzi, *Liber Ruralium Commodorum*, which inspired many imitations. Maximilian's interest in hunting is well known: see e.g. *Cat. Exh. Munich*, 1980, II, pp.177–183. Part of the interior decoration of the Residenz at Munich was also devoted to hunting themes: see B. Volk-Knüttel, *Wandteppiche für den Münchener Hof nach Entwürfen von Peter Candido*, Munich, 1976, pp.10–11, 90, n.307, and *Cat. Nos.*37, 40, 44 and 63.

28. See pp.72–74.

formed by a dramatic group consisting of a man who seems about to be dragged backwards off his rearing horse by a tiger that is clawing his shoulder. Shortly before, but probably in the same year 1617, Rubens had tried out this motif in a work which he never finished: the sketch, in oil on panel, of a *Lion Hunt* in the National Gallery, London (No.3; Fig.39). Evidently he was not fully satisfied with the composition as developed there. In the *Tiger Hunt* he added new figures to supplement that of the Oriental attacked from behind by a wild beast, and this new composition, with some variations, was repeated many times by studio workers, showing that he regarded it as a successful answer to the problem. The *Lion Hunt* at Dresden (No.8; Fig.63) was, in my opinion, painted after the *Tiger Hunt* and may be regarded as a variation of it. The number of these repetitions suggest that his hunting scenes were highly popular. The Oriental figure attacked by an animal from behind occurs again, probably some years later, in a composition which I shall call *Lion Hunt of the King of Persia* (No.9; Fig.65), but which does not seem to have progressed beyond the state of a sketch. In the 1630s the motif was once more used for *Alexander's Lion Hunt* (No.16; cf. Fig.93).

These exotic hunting scenes bear a close formal resemblance to Rubens's scenes of fighting on horseback.<sup>29</sup> Both depict violent action with horses and men displaying the most diverse attitudes and strong emotions of every kind. In the scenes so far discussed, the artist was at pains to make the action as elaborate as possible, with different focuses of danger and violence competing for our attention, and the technical problem was to confer unity and clarity on these multiple compositions. The synthesis seems to be most successful in the *Hippopotamus Hunt* (No.5; Fig.46), possibly because this is the least complicated of all the hunting scenes. The *Tiger Hunt* (No.7; Fig.57), by contrast, lacks unity; in some repetitions of it, however, the composition is extended on either side, giving a more satisfactory picture, and this may have been Rubens's original intention.<sup>30</sup> Nevertheless, the composition cannot be regarded as wholly coherent even in this form.

Only when we come to the *Lion Hunt* at Munich (No.11; Fig.74), probably painted in 1621, does Rubens appear to have found the classic formula. We can trace its genesis in two preliminary oil sketches (Nos.11a and b; Figs.75, 76). Here the ferocious intensity of the earlier lion hunts is preserved and even increased. Again one of the huntsmen is being dragged off his rearing horse by a lion. But already in the first sketch (No.11a; Fig.75) the artist has so transposed the motif

29. See Chapter III, especially pp.61-63.

30. See under No.7, p.140 and Fig.60.

that, instead of being almost entirely in profile, and as it were caught in a horizontal plane—as in the *Tiger Hunt* (No.7; Fig.57)—the group now consists of a flexible tangle of bodies in strong *contrapposto*, with a sense of space in all directions. In the second sketch (No.11b; Fig.76) this effect is intensified, and at the same time the bodies of the horse and rider are made to form a single oblique line. In the final painting (No.11; Fig.74) other figures are disposed about this whirling diagonal, the effect of which is emphasized to the utmost by its light colouring. The head of the lion mauling the rider is approximately in the centre of the composition; directly below it is the head of the screaming Oriental and above it, in effective contrast, the self-possessed figure of the horseman in a helmet, poised to strike the animal dead. The lion, and its mate below on the left, form the twin objects of the hunters' attention; they are close enough together for the spectator to perceive them at a single glance, and thus our concentration is not diffused as it is in the *Tiger Hunt*. On the right a man lies on the ground, no longer touched by the conflict, with the stillness of death about him. In this painting it seems as though Rubens had exhausted his chosen subject: the hunting scenes that followed conform to a quite different plan, and no longer have the same effect in view.

Before discussing the second group of hunting scenes, painted by Rubens between c.1620 and 1640, we should notice a number of works which preceded the Munich *Lion Hunt* (No.11; Fig.74). The basic composition of the *Boar Hunt* at Marseilles (No.4; Fig.40) was the point of departure for the Dresden *Landscape with a Boar Hunt* (Fig.26):<sup>31</sup> in both pictures the boar, pursued by a pack of hounds, rushes in from the right and hurls itself at the spears of a group of beaters standing on the left, while a nobleman on horseback prepares to deliver a mortal blow with his sword. However, in the Dresden painting the closely interwoven, relief-like composition of the earlier work is made looser and more complex by the addition of several subsidiary lines of movement, and is set in a broad landscape. The *Calydonian Hunt* at Vienna (No.10; Fig.69) follows the *Landscape with a Boar Hunt* in some details but also recalls the Marseilles *Boar Hunt* (No.4; Fig.40); its basic structure conforms to the early *Calydonian Hunt* (No.1; cf. Fig.31), mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, which was inspired by Roman reliefs. This is a good example of the way in which Rubens's compositions evolve. At first his design is determined by the initial choice of a type of composition, which in this case, given the mythological subject, is almost necessarily a sarcophagus relief. Even the *Boar Hunt* at Marseilles (No.4; Fig.40),

31. K.d.K., p.184; Adler, *Landscapes*, pp.72–76, No.18, fig.53; see also Winner, *Eberjagd*.

which lies outside the mythological sphere, is clearly dependent on Roman reliefs of Meleager (cf. Fig.27). Then by degrees other elements are added: both new motifs and new procedures which give greater complexity to the composition itself and to its dramatic construction. The culmination of this development—in the present case the *Calydonian Hunt* at Vienna (No.10; Fig.69), which must date from about 1618–1620—bears the mark of its descent from the antique prototype, but is richer psychologically and shows more mastery in the handling of space and the ‘orchestration’ of the dynamic elements. A similar evolution can be followed in the *Lion Hunts* or hunting scenes with exotic animals, with the difference that, as will be suggested in a later chapter,<sup>32</sup> the point of departure is to be found in Stradanus’s and Tempesta’s compositions (Figs.16, 17, 20) rather than antique reliefs.

## THE SECOND PERIOD

The great majority of Rubens’s later hunting scenes, between c.1620 and 1640, were painted for Philip IV of Spain. There is ample evidence of the King’s passion for hunting,<sup>33</sup> which is reflected in his collection of works of art. Many of the tapestries and paintings on hunting themes, displayed in the Alcázar and other royal palaces, were inherited from his Hapsburg ancestors, whose devotion to the chase had led them to commission many imposing works. The Emperor Maximilian I was the first to do so,<sup>34</sup> and his example was followed by Charles V. Philip IV possessed Cranach’s painting of *The Deer Hunt of Charles V and the Elector Johann Friedrich of Saxony* (Fig.11), which had belonged successively to Charles V and his sister, Mary of Hungary.<sup>35</sup> The Spanish royal collection also included an edition of the famous set of tapestries in the Louvre designed by Bernard van Orley, entitled *The Hunts of Maximilian* (cf. Figs.12, 13) and probably also commissioned by Charles V, his sister or someone of their immediate entourage.<sup>36</sup> Philip IV’s interest in the series is shown by the fact that in 1663 he

32. See Chapter III, especially pp.60–62.

33. For details of the King’s interest in hunting see *Alpers, Torre*, pp.103–104.

34. See G.Schack, *Der Kreis um Maximilian I.*, (*Die Jagd in der Kunst*), Hamburg–Berlin, 1963.

35. Prado, No.2175; panel, 114 × 175 cm., dated 1544; see M.J.Friedländer and J.Rosenberg, *The Paintings of Lucas Cranach*, London, 1978, p.152, No.411. For the provenance see A.Pinchart, *Archives des arts, sciences et lettres. Documents inédits*, III, Ghent, 1881, p.293.

36. One tapestry of this series is still in Spanish possession: A.F.Calvert, *The Spanish Royal Tapestries*, London–New York, 1921, pl.237. C.Ceulemans (*De zogenaamde Jachten van Maximiliaan*, unpublished thesis, Katholieke Universiteit, Louvain, 1975–1976, pp.190–196) established the connection with the set of twelve entitled ‘*La Gran Caza*’, formerly in the possession of the Empress Maria of Austria (d. 1603), which can be traced in the archives until c.1700. See also p.51, n.5.

instructed the Brussels art dealer Van den Wouwer to look out for painted copies of this *Gran Caza*, as it was called in the Spanish archives.<sup>37</sup> The inventories of Philip IV's collection mention several hunting scenes painted in water-colour on canvas,<sup>38</sup> while other descriptions recall the hunting compositions of Stradanus or Tempesta.<sup>39</sup> At an early stage the King showed interest in hunting scenes and animal pictures by Paul de Vos and Snyders, and he ordered sixty of these for the decoration of one of his hunting lodges, the Torre de la Parada.<sup>40</sup> He also commissioned from Pieter Snayers in Brussels a number of paintings of his own exploits in the hunting field, and similar documentary works were executed by Velázquez and Mazo.<sup>41</sup> Thus the hunting scenes painted by Rubens for Philip IV offer the best opportunity of discerning the customer's special interest, and for the first time we shall be able to give some detailed account of the background to a particular commission.

This does not apply to the first of the commissions in question, that is the *Calydonian Boar Hunt* (No.12; cf. Fig.81) and *Diana and Nymphs hunting Deer* (No.13; cf. Fig.83), which were delivered in 1628. These are companion pieces and it can be assumed that the chase was their principal theme, though their deeper content is a matter of less certainty, as the other pictures displayed in the same apartment (the *pieza nueva* in the Alcázar)<sup>42</sup> were on a great variety of subjects. The position is different, however, with the well-documented order of 1639 for eighteen paintings including eight hunting scenes (Nos.20–27). If my reconstruction is correct, the two main themes of this series were the chase and Hercules. I also believe that we can identify the specific purpose of the commission and thus throw light on its ethical and political significance.<sup>43</sup>

Philip IV possessed a painting by Rubens of *Alexander's Lion Hunt* (No.16; cf. Fig.93); not much is known of this work, but it may be dated c.1635. We should

37. See Van den Wouwer's letter to Musson, 17 November 1663: 'Voorders ick hebbe occasie ende last om voor den Coninck [Philip IV] te koopen een quantiteyt van schilderyen van allen sorten van Jachten om een paleys buyten te meubleren, maer het moeten syn groote stucken ende wordt begeert onder anderen aude stucken oft copeyen van de oude Jachten, van Vrouwe Marie, keyser Carel, hertogen van Burgundien ...' (*Denucé, Na Rubens*, p.290, doc.339). Perhaps the copies in question were in fact delivered and are to be identified as the following items in the Pardo inventory of 1674: '16—Vn lienzo copia de la tapicería de la gran Caza en que está vn moro [mozo?] pintado dando de comer a los perros. 18—Otra copia de la tapicería referida en que está vn venado en grande en medio del lienzo. 20—Otra copia de la Gran cazería en que estan comiendo los cazadores quisando la comida' (quoted after the transcript in the Prado library, *carpeta II*).

38. E.g. in the Alcázar inventory of 1686: '... Payses ... al temple ... de vnas cazerías flamencas' (*Botineau, Alcázar*, 1958, Nos.1208–1211, 1216, 1222, 1249–1267).

39. E.g. the hunting scenes with the most varied native and exotic beasts, listed in the Pardo inventory of 1674.

40. See *Alpers, Torre*, pp.116–122 (where, however, Snyders' role is unduly minimized).

41. See *Alpers, Torre*, pp.122–128, figs.24, 26, 28–30.

42. For further references see p.183, n.4.

43. See pp.67–68, and more details in the introduction to Nos.20–27, pp.225–227.

also mention two hunting scenes from the Spanish collection that have been fully discussed in Part XVIII Volumes I and in Part IX of the *Corpus Rubenianum*. The first is a *Landscape with the Calydonian Boar Hunt* (Fig.25),<sup>44</sup> the figures in which are based on the *Calydonian Boar Hunt* (No.20; cf. Fig.106) in the set of eight hunting scenes, so that it must also have been painted in 1639–1640; the second is a *Diana and Nymphs hunting Deer* (see the sketch, Fig.6),<sup>45</sup> which belonged to the decoration of the Torre de la Parada and was painted c.1636–1637.

Only three of Rubens's late hunting scenes did not become part of the Spanish royal collection: these are the pair consisting of *Diana and Nymphs hunting Deer* (No.17; Fig.98) and the *Calydonian Boar Hunt* (No.18; cf. Fig.99), and a separate painting of *Diana with Attendants hunting Deer* (No.19; Fig.104), which was in Berlin until destroyed in the Second World War. These three works are distinguished by the fact that the animal painters Snyders and Paul de Vos, who had a share in other hunting scenes by Rubens, seem to have collaborated in these on an equal footing, supplying the designs for the animals themselves instead of working to Rubens's sketches.<sup>46</sup> The three paintings were executed around 1635–1640; their original destination is unknown, but the last-mentioned soon found its way into the collection of Amalia van Solms, Consort of Prince Frederick Henry of Nassau.<sup>47</sup>

As I have suggested, the hunting scenes from the second half of Rubens's career are fundamentally different from his early ones. This can be seen at once from the point of view of iconography. In the later pieces the mythological narrative predominates; deer-hunting is represented for the first time, and in most of them a prominent role is played by female figures. Rubens's discovery of Diana's realm seems to date from shortly before 1620, as may be seen from many representations of the goddess and her companions returning from the hunt.<sup>48</sup> In the *Calydonian Boar Hunt* at Vienna (No.10; Fig.69) he already introduces more huntresses than the literary sources can account for, and comely females are displayed in action in later hunting scenes also.

The main difference between the two periods, however, lies in the field of composition and dramatic *mise en scène*. The early scenes are all focused on a

44. Adler, *Landscapes*, pp.138–142, No.41, fig.115.

45. Alpers, *Torre*, pp.203–206, Nos.20 (large painting), 20a (sketch), figs.97–98. Besides the pictures already mentioned there were in the Spanish royal collection a studio replica of the *Calydonian Boar Hunt* (No.10, Copy [2], Fig.73) and a *Diana and Nymphs setting out for the Hunt* (now in the Prado: Díaz Padrón, *Cat. Prado*, I, pp.297–298, No.1727; II, pl.191).

46. See p.82.

47. Amalia van Solms' interest in the iconography of hunting and especially of Diana is seen in the decoration of the Great Hall of the castle at Honselaarsdijk, which included a *Diana* by Rubens (Fig.3) and several other representations of the goddess. See esp. D.P.Snoep, 'Honselaersdijk: restauraties op papier', *Oud Holland*, LXXXIV, 1969, pp.270–294; see also p.184, n.28.

48. See p.57.

single point. From every side our attention is guided towards an area in or near the centre, where the dramatic action takes place. The hunters have already encountered their quarry, and the fight has reached its climax. From the point of view of composition and psychology the action is enclosed within the four corners of the painting, defining the place where the issue is to be settled. By contrast, in nearly all Rubens's hunting scenes of the second period the composition is developed in a frieze-like manner: the action extends in a plane parallel to the picture surface, with a vigorous momentum that seems about to burst through the frame on either side. The human and animal figures are now mostly seen in profile, instead of from the front or rear as formerly. Elaborate diagonal and centripetal compositions are replaced by relatively simple horizontal movements, sometimes cautiously contrasted with a reciprocal movement in the same plane. The psychological pattern is also less concentrated: the moment depicted is usually just *before* the decisive clash, from which we are fractionally removed in both time and space, as the hurtling movement carries it towards a point outside the picture-frame.

Some of these compositional innovations were anticipated in earlier hunting scenes. The two versions of the *Calydonian Boar Hunt*, for instance (Nos. 1 and 10; cf. Figs. 31, 69) depict a moment just before the climax, in imitation of ancient sarcophagi. But attention is still concentrated on the centre of the picture, and this centre is motionless by reason of the boar's sitting position. In the Dresden *Landscape with a Boar Hunt* (Fig. 26) this central emphasis still predominates, despite the stronger effect of horizontal movement created by the group consisting of the boar and hounds.

The work which most markedly anticipates the later frieze-like composition is the *Boar Hunt* (Fig. 23) painted by Anthony Van Dyck and Frans Snyders in about 1618–1620.<sup>49</sup> Here the dominant horizontal movement from right to left,

49. Dresden, Gemäldegalerie; canvas, 191 × 301 cm.; Cat. Dresden, 1979, p. 304, No. 1196. Other version in Munich, Alte Pinakothek; canvas, 205 × 305 cm.; *Alte Pinakothek München. Kurzes Verzeichnis der Bilder*, 3rd edn., Munich, 1969, p. 31, No. 311; U. Krempel, in *Cat. Munich*, 1983, p. 180, No. 311, repr. A version in the Uffizi at Florence (canvas, 214 × 311 cm.; *Bodart, Coll. florentine*, p. 264, No. 115, repr.) shows the same animals—except that a hound is missing on the right and one has been added in the centre—but quite different human figures. Burchard attributed these to Boeckhorst, but I believe them to be by Cornelis de Vos (Hans Vlieghe agrees; oral communication). Unlike the animals in the Dresden and Munich versions, those at Florence do not seem to me to be Snyders' work: possibly the young Paul de Vos? In addition to those mentioned, other versions or copies of this composition are known. A canvas measuring 174 × 303.5 cm., showing the same composition as the Dresden and Munich versions but omitting both the huntsmen behind the boar, was sold in London from the estate of the second Duke of Westminster (Sotheby's, 8 July 1958, lot 67); this may be the painting which figured in the antique dealers' exhibition at Madrid in 1966 (repr. in catalogue, p. 67) as belonging to the Madrid firm of Alvaro Paternina Cruz. A version similar to the Florence composition was sold from the Hutchinson House Collection (London, Christie's, 4 April 1952, lot 223; 79 × 104 cm.). Another of the same type was sold by Christian Rosset at Geneva on 4–5 October 1973 (lot 216, repr.; 47 × 63 cm.); and there is said to be another in the Galleria d'Arte Antica in Rome.



parallel with the picture surface, is enhanced by the rectangular form of the canvas. The counter-movement from left to right is not firm enough to dispel the impression that the action is about to burst through the left-hand side of the frame. It has often been thought that this picture, though executed by Van Dyck and Snyders, was designed by Rubens.<sup>50</sup> Burchard rejected this hypothesis, but I believe it to be worthy of consideration: not that Van Dyck was incapable of devising a new type of composition, but because the motifs show a strong affinity with Rubens's work. The fact that several figures in the painting closely resemble those in Rubens's earlier *Boar Hunt* at Marseilles (No.4; Fig.40) is not in itself decisive. The injured hound lying on the ground to the left is repeated almost literally in a late version of the *Calydonian Boar Hunt* (No.18; cf. Fig.99), but this is not decisive either, as both are from the hand of the same animal painter, Frans Snyders.<sup>51</sup> It seems to me more significant that Rubens himself used a figure from Van Dyck's painting in the *Calydonian Boar Hunt* (No.12; cf. Fig.81) which he took to Madrid in 1628: namely the man seen in profile, holding his spear upwards at an angle and moving in a direction parallel to the boar. This figure recurs in Rubens's painting, albeit in reverse, in the same attitude and in the same position relative to the boar.<sup>52</sup> It is hard to say whether the master borrowed this idea from his pupil or whether the pupil—if that is a proper term for Van Dyck at the period in question—was executing a design of his master's in the earlier *Boar Hunt* (Fig.23).<sup>53</sup> In any case the latter shows so clearly the author-

50. Karsch's *Désignation exacte...* (Düsseldorf, 1719, No.170) already ascribed the Munich painting to Rubens as regards the human figures and Snyders for the animals; this attribution has been preserved in later catalogues and in the literature: *Smuh, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.77, No.235; *Michel, Rubens*, fig.269; H. Knackfuss, *Peter Paul Rubens*, 6th edn., 1901, p.41, fig.38; *Dillon, Rubens*, p.200, No.12. Oldenbourg first pointed out that the execution was by Van Dyck, but added: 'Es kann jedoch kein Zweifel bestehen, dass die grossartige Erfindung (namentlich auch der geistvoll bewegten Figuren) auf Rubens selber zurückgeht' (*K.d.K.*, pp.116, 459). Glück also originally thought that the work was a Rubens composition but that only studio versions were known to exist ('Anmerkungen zu einer Zeichnung von Rubens [1924]', in *Glück, Rubens, Van Dyck*, p.185). H. Rosenbaum (*Rosenbaum, Van Dyck*, p.48) spoke of Van Dyck as having painted the figures in the Dresden and Munich versions, but also suggested that he might be responsible for the composition as well ('selbst für die Komposition könnte Van Dyck verantwortlich sein'). Burchard wrote similarly in his *Nachträge to Glück, Rubens, Van Dyck* (p.398[d]): 'Auf der Wildschweinjagd von Snyders in Dresden (Kat.-Nr. 1196; Kopien in München und Florenz) sind die Tiere derart die Hauptsache und die Menschen in solchem Grade akzessorisch, dass Rubens als Erfinder der Staffage nicht in Frage kommen kann. In der Tat rühren die Gestalten der Jäger, in Entwurf und Ausführung, von van Dyck her'. Meanwhile Glück had come to the same view in his *Van Dyck. Des Meisters Gemälde (Klassiker der Kunst, XIII, 2nd edn., Stuttgart-Berlin, 1931, pp.20, 519)*, with some hesitation as regards the design ('vielleicht auch ihre Erfindung').

51. Moreover this motif was of Rubens's invention: see pp.78–79.

52. A further motif in this *Calydonian Boar Hunt* (No.12; cf. Fig.81) by Rubens was borrowed from the *Boar Hunt* (Fig.23) by Snyders and Van Dyck, viz. the hound lying on its back in the centre.

53. The figures on the left of this *Boar Hunt* bear a resemblance to those on the right of Van Dyck's drawing of *Horatius Cocles defending the Bridge over the Tiber* (Chatsworth, The Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement); this suggests that Van Dyck played a part in the invention of the *Boar Hunt*, but is of course not a decisive argument. See H. Vey, *Die Zeichnungen Anton van Dycks*, Brussels, 1962, I, pp.108–109, No.39; II, fig.48.

ship of Van Dyck and Snyder as to the human and animal figures respectively that it seems reasonable to separate it from Rubens's own hunting scenes.

As I have pointed out, there is not a single deer hunt among Rubens's earlier hunting scenes. He may have thought the subject less dramatic and spectacular, but his *Diana hunting Deer* (No.13; cf. Fig.83), painted shortly before 1628, shows that it too gave scope for pathos. Instead of a single hunted animal, Rubens here represents a couple: a galloping hart is struck down by a spear and set upon by savage hounds, while the doe flees for her life. The combination, in one motif, of the stricken animal and its fleeing, defenceless mate is extremely moving and was often imitated, by Snyder among others.<sup>54</sup> In the *Diana hunting Deer* (Fig.6) for the Torre de la Parada this motif is even more touching, as the link between the two animals is made almost human: the male deer turns abruptly to face the hounds, giving his mate a chance of escape. The same can be seen in the sketch of a *Deer Hunt* in the Antwerp museum (Fig.7),<sup>55</sup> which must date from the same period. There too the hart tries to hold off the hounds while the doe flees on; this time she is accompanied by a calf which, however, stops short before a yawning precipice, so that the fate of all three animals is apparently sealed. Once again the motif of two deer fleeing side by side occurs in the Berlin painting (No.19; Fig.104), and here too it is the male which tries to fight off the hounds. Compared to all these versions of a deer hunt, the picture of *Diana hunting Deer* (No.17; Fig.98), in which Paul de Vos painted the animals, seems rather thin and lacking in psychological effect, which is one reason for thinking that Rubens did not himself design the animals in this case but left it to Paul de Vos to do so.

The *Deer Hunts* cannot, like Rubens's early hunting scenes, be thought of as representing a heroic conflict between man and beast. What we are shown is

54. See p.81.

55. Held, *Oil Sketches*, I, pp.633-634, No.A18; II, pl.484; Adler, *Landscapes*, pp.149-150, No.46, fig.125. Contrary to Held and Adler, I believe that this sketch is in fact by Rubens: I find in it the same flowing, suggestive handling of line as in the sketches for the late hunting series (Nos.20-27). Held thought the 'mechanical and undifferentiated rendering of the foliage' was unlike Rubens, but it is paralleled in the sketch for the Calydonian Boar Hunt in the Cook collection (No.20a; Fig.105). I very much doubt the view that the composition of the Antwerp sketch was invented by another artist on the basis of the sketch at Luton Hoo of *Diana hunting Deer* (Fig.6). True, the Luton Hoo sketch already shows the central motif in an almost identical form; but the motifs in the Antwerp sketch recall so many other compositions by Rubens that I do not see who else could be responsible for them. For instance, the neck of the doe behind the hart is not outstretched as in the Luton Hoo sketch, but upright as in the picture formerly in Berlin (No.19; Fig.104) and the *Diana hunting Deer* of shortly before 1628 (No.13; cf. Fig.83). The nymph just in front of Diana in the latter painting is in the same attitude as the man in the Antwerp sketch. The motif in that sketch of the hounds clambering over a fallen tree is also found in the left corner of the *Calydonian Boar Hunt* in the Cook collection (No.20a; Fig.105). Finally, the calf in the Antwerp sketch strongly resembles the animal directly beneath the point of Diana's spear in the sketch for the *Fallow Deer Hunt* (No.21a; Fig.110).

not a violent encounter between two equal adversaries, but the brave, hopeless resistance of creatures that present no risk to the hunter. Only occasionally in his late hunting scenes did Rubens revert to the inspiration of his early pictures of exotic adventure. In *Alexander's Lion Hunt* (No.16; cf. Fig.93) he tried to recapture the old sense of terror, but with less success. Only the *Bull Hunt* (No.26; Fig.126) reproduces something of the old excitement and pathos. Thus, compared to his early works, Rubens's hunting scenes of the 1620s and 1630s appear somewhat tame. He was clearly interested in different aspects of the theme: a sentimentalized idea of animal psychology, elegant huntresses, literary allusions such as the very unusual *Death of Silvia's Stag* (No.25; Fig.124). With remarkable virtuosity he succeeded repeatedly in devising compositions that were more compelling in their representation of movement as such than for their dramatic content.

## II. Execution: Studio Participation, Copies

### INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

In studying Rubens's hunting scenes we cannot avoid the problem of deciding how large a part he played in their execution. It is generally thought to have been very small,<sup>1</sup> but this judgement seems to some extent to be based on *a priori* assumptions. For instance, the fact that animals are portrayed causes many to think automatically of Snyders. In addition, a controversy reflected in Carleton's letters concerning the authenticity of a particular hunting scene commissioned from Rubens seems to have fostered a general suspicion of all such pieces. I propose to leave to a later chapter the problem of collaboration by specialized animal painters such as Snyders and Paul de Vos,<sup>2</sup> and to deal first with other aspects of the practical execution of these pictures.

In discussing the complex of problems it will be helpful to distinguish at the outset between a number of categories which can be documented on a purely historical basis. Certain paintings are entirely by Rubens's own hand, while for others he employed assistants. The latter were of two kinds: in the first place there were independent masters with specialities of their own, whose task was to fill part of the picture surface with, for example, a landscape setting or animal figures; the second type of assistants were members of Rubens's studio who helped to execute the painting in his style and to his instructions. A third category of works were copies made under the master's eye, in which the original compositions were sometimes slightly varied, some of these 'studio replicas' being retouched by Rubens himself. Then there are the innumerable copies made outside the studio—usually with a view to the organized art market, but also some drawings intended as studies.

Some authors, including Van Puyvelde and more recently Hairs, have denied

1. For instance, Rooses writes: 'In all his hunting-pieces Rubens was helped by his pupils and collaborators... Rubens treated his hunting-pieces in a lighter and more superficial manner than his other creations, than his altar-pieces especially. To him they were decorative paintings, which he had in great part carried out by others, while he confined himself to retouching them' (*Rooses, Life*, I, p.263).

2. See Chapter IV, especially pp.83-87.

or greatly minimized the importance of the second category of assistants.<sup>3</sup> They reject the idea that Rubens had throughout his career a well-equipped studio to which he entrusted part of the practical execution of his paintings. The documentary grounds for this hypothesis are in their opinion insufficient or related only to a limited period. Nevertheless, the evidence of studio participation or of the fact that Rubens had pupils and assistants extends throughout the length of his career.<sup>4</sup> It seems to me beyond doubt therefore that he had a well organized studio; the problem is to form a picture of its actual operation, which may well have taken different forms at different times.<sup>5</sup>

The types of cooperation that are documented for the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*<sup>6</sup> or the decoration of the Torre de la Parada<sup>7</sup> are somewhat untypical and do not seem to apply to the hunting scenes. In those cases it was chiefly artists independent of the studio who executed Rubens's designs on a large scale. As regards the ceiling paintings for the Jesuit church at Antwerp, the division of labour was laid down by contract and provided that the bulk of the execution could be left to 'Van Dyck and some other pupils (*discipelen*) of [Rubens]': this was probably not the normal practice but was related to the speed with which the enormous task was to be carried out. None the less, it is evidence that at that time (1620) Rubens could call on experienced collaborators, including Van Dyck—himself already a master—to help in the work of material execution. It is natural to suppose that these 'disciples' were more or less constantly at work in Rubens's studio. His customers were naturally aware of this, and their familiarity with the practice is confirmed by the stipulation in the contract for the Medici series that the work should be done by Rubens's own hand, at all events 'p̄r ce qui concerne les figures'.<sup>9</sup> Another clear piece of evidence is the letter of 23 February 1621 in which Duke Wolfgang-Wilhelm of Pfalz-Neuburg instructs his agent Reyngodts to find out whether Rubens intends to execute the commissioned painting of St Michael with his own hand or merely to retouch the

3. See L. Van Puyvelde, 'L'Atelier et les collaborateurs de Rubens', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XXXV, 1949, pp.115–128; XXXVI, pp.221–260; L. Van Puyvelde, *Rubens*, Paris-Brussels, 1952, pp.105–192; *Hairs, Sillage*, pp.7–12, 87, 121 and *passim*.

4. See *Rooses, Life*, I, pp.207–212, 314–321; II, 440–444, 611–614.

5. The chief writer to have discussed the actual working of the studio is R. Oldenbourg: see *Peter Paul Rubens, Sammlung der von Rudolf Oldenbourg veröffentlichten ... Abhandlungen...*, ed. by W. von Bode, Munich-Berlin, 1922, pp.58–59, 116–125, 148–168; see also H. Vlieghe, *De schilder Rubens*, Utrecht-Antwerp, 1977, pp.34–40; id., 'Erasmus Quellinus and Rubens's Studio Practice', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXIX, 1977, pp.636–643.

6. See *Martin, Pompa*.

7. See *Alpers, Torre*.

8. See J. R. Martin, *The Ceiling Paintings for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, I)*, Brussels-London-New York, 1968, p.214.

9. 'Les contrats passés entre Rubens et Marie de Médicis concernant les deux galeries du Luxembourg', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1897–1910, p.218.

work of a pupil, and in either case what the price will be.<sup>10</sup> In his much quoted letter to Carleton of 28 April 1618 Rubens noted scrupulously how much of the work had been carried out by himself, how much was incidental painting by specialized masters, and how much was painted by a 'discepolo' and only retouched by Rubens.<sup>11</sup> He thus distinguished between painting done by his own hand and the retouching of studio work, and in a letter of 12 May 1618 he made it clear that this was reflected in the price. He hastened to add, however, that the second category was not to be disparaged: he could retouch a studio painting in such a way as to make it a fully authentic 'Rubens', worthy to stand beside a work entirely by his own hand.<sup>12</sup>

The letters referred to here are often cited by biographers to refute the charges of greed and dishonesty that other writers have brought against Rubens,<sup>13</sup> and indeed they show that he conducted his business in an atmosphere of mutual confidence. This does not mean, however, that Rubens always made his position perfectly clear or, in my opinion, that everything he said is to be taken literally. Our information in regard to the hunting scenes makes it possible to investigate this a little further.

## THE SHARE OF THE STUDIO IN THE ORIGINAL PAINTINGS

As mentioned above, critics seldom regard Rubens's hunting scenes as being by his own hand. They are mostly large canvases, often part of a series, and it is therefore supposed that the studio must have been involved. None the less, one of Rubens's letters speaks of a *Lion Hunt* being entirely his own work ('toute de ma main et de meilleures selon mon opinion').<sup>14</sup> This is usually supposed to refer to the one at Munich (No. 11; Fig. 74), a canvas which indeed shows little trace of studio workmanship.<sup>15</sup>

10. '... wan Er vermög des Abriss eine Taffell mitselbshanden, oder allen von Ime revidirt zue machen, was Er für eines undt andre davor haben wölle, unnd wie balt Er sich getrauet damit fertig zu werden...'. Previously, in his letter of 11 October 1619, Rubens himself pointed out to the duke that part of the execution might be confided to a pupil, though in the immediate instance he thought it less desirable owing to the complexity of the composition: 'Per conto del soggetto di santo Michele, egli e bellissimo e difficillimo e perciò mi dubito che difficilmente si trovara fra li mei discepoli alcun sufficiente di metterlo bene in opera ancorche col mio disegno; in ogni modo sara necessario chio lo retocchi ben bene di mia mano propria' (see *Vlieghe, Saints*, II, pp. 127–128, under No. 135, with further references).

11. *Rooses–Ruelens*, II, pp. 135–144, doc. CLXVI.

12. See the quotation under No. 6, p. 129, n. 7.

13. See e.g. P. Colin, *Correspondance de Rubens*, 5th edn., Brussels, 1934, I, p. XVII; J. Brans, *Rubens zonder aureool*, Brecht–Antwerp, 1977, pp. 51ff.

14. See the quotation under No. 11, p. 171, n. 3.

15. See pp. 165–166.

The four hunting scenes commissioned by the Duke of Bavaria (Nos.4-7; Figs.40, 46, 57, cf. Fig.51), on the other hand, appear to be the result of a division of labour. Here again Rubens himself must have been at work, but certainly he did not wield the brush at every stage. He was aided by other hands, and, we may say in this case, on an intensive scale. The somewhat earlier *Wolf Hunt* in New York (No.2; Fig.33) also shows signs of studio participation, though to a lesser extent than the Bavarian series.

It is generally hard to determine who the particular assistant was. In the case of the *Boar Hunt* at Marseilles (No.4; Fig.40) we are inclined to think of Van Dyck, because the latter's own *Boar Hunt* (Fig.23), discussed in the previous chapter, displays figures and attitudes that clearly recall Rubens's work.<sup>16</sup> Moreover there is something in the style of the Marseilles picture and also in that of the *Hippopotamus Hunt* at Munich (No.5; Fig.46) that resembles Van Dyck's technique, though not so closely as in other cases in which the two masters are thought to have collaborated.<sup>17</sup>

In the *Calydonian Boar Hunt* at Vienna (No.10; Fig.69) Rubens seems have entrusted much more of the execution to the studio. In the original part we see a practised but less personal hand at work, with retouching by the master himself. In the second phase, when the canvas was enlarged, we encounter a strong artistic personality, probably once again Van Dyck, working in a style that has evolved somewhat since his participation in the Bavarian series (Nos.4-7).<sup>18</sup>

The idea that Van Dyck as a young man helped to paint Rubens's early hunting scenes is supported by a reference in the documents. Toby Matthew, Carleton's agent in the Southern Netherlands, wrote to his master on 25 November 1620 suggesting that Rubens's famous pupil ('allievo') Van Dyck might be asked to deliver a painting in place of one by Rubens.<sup>19</sup> Matthew considered that the copy of the *Tiger Hunt* (see No.7 below) that Rubens had had painted by his studio was of inferior quality; he thought Van Dyck might have taken to England drawings of similar hunting scenes by Rubens, and might be induced to

16. See pp.33-34 and p.116.

17. For the young Van Dyck and his collaboration with Rubens in general see *Rooses, Life*, I, pp.314-319; W.von Bode, *Rembrandt und seine Zeitgenossen*, Leipzig, 1906, pp.255-282; Rosenbaum, *Van Dyck*; N. De Poorter, *Bijdrage tot de studie van Antoon van Dycks eerste Antwerpse periode*, (unpublished thesis, Rijksuniversiteit Ghent, 1966-1967); A.McNairn, [Cat. Exh.] *The Young Van Dyck—Le jeune Van Dyck* (The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 1980), esp. pp.10-17; C.Brown, *Van Dyck*, Oxford, 1982, pp.9-60; M. Roland, 'Van Dyck's Early Workshop, the Apostle Series, and the Drunken Silenus', *The Art Bulletin*, LXVI, 1984, pp.211-223.

18. See p.159.

19. See the full quotation under No.7, p.144, n.13.

provide a better and cheaper copy. If this interpretation of Matthew's letter is correct,<sup>20</sup> we may infer that he believed Van Dyck to have been closely involved with the execution of these paintings. We should also note here the reference by Nicodemus Tessin in 1687 to 'ein schön jachtstijck mit Tigern undt Leuen van Van Dijck',<sup>21</sup> and the fact that a *Tiger Hunt* by Van Dyck appears in an inventory of Frans Snyders' estate dated 1659.<sup>22</sup>

Another name that figures in connection with Rubens's early hunting scenes is that of Pieter Soutman. The legend 'P. Soutman inventit' appears on four of his etchings after hunting scenes by Rubens, namely the *Lion Hunt* (No. 6; Fig. 56), the *Wolf Hunt* (No. 2; Fig. 37), the *Boar Hunt* (No. 4; Fig. 43) and the *Hippopotamus Hunt* (No. 5; Fig. 49); in the first two of these Rubens is also mentioned as 'inventor', but in the others we read 'P. P. Rubens Pinxit'. According to several sources Soutman was a pupil of Rubens;<sup>23</sup> he is also known to have been in Antwerp around the time when these works were painted,<sup>24</sup> so that it is very possible that he had a hand in their execution.

However, unless we suppose that Soutman was ignorant of the true meaning of 'inventit',<sup>25</sup> he seems to have laid claim to a more important role than that of mere execution. Can we suppose that he himself devised the composition or any part of it? No preliminary oil sketches for these early works have survived, so there is no evidence by which to judge such a claim. Did Rubens make a hasty compositional sketch, as he did for the *Lion Hunt* (No. 6a; Fig. 53), and leave it to Soutman to give it a definite form; or did Soutman do no more than execute

20. I read Matthew's words 'desseigne of his pieces' as referring to hunting scenes by Rubens and not to Van Dyck's own compositions.

21. See under No. 7, Copy (20), p. 135.

22. 'een Tieghers Jaecht van Dyck—140 gl.' (*Denucé, Na Rubens*, p. 188, doc. 232; however, on p. LXXI Denucé speaks of a 'Reigersjacht' (heron-hunt) instead of a *Tijgerjacht*). In a list of paintings which Peter van der Heyden pawned to Hans Verluyten on 26 March 1642 we read 'Een leeuken naer van Dyck' (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 93, doc. 26). The inventory of Jeremias Wildens's estate, dated 30 December 1653, mentions 'Een jacht van van Dyck geschetst, op panceel, n<sup>o</sup> 689' (*ibid.*, p. 170, doc. 41); this may be Van Dyck's sketch of *Diana Hunting*, discussed under No. 19, p. 217, n. 12.

23. That Soutman was a pupil of Rubens is stated by Philip Rubens in his *Vita Petri Pauli Rubenii* and by Cornelis de Bie in his *Gulden Cabinet* (see *Hairs, Sillage*, pp. 55, 56).

24. Soutman is first mentioned at Antwerp in the guild year 1619–1620, when he admitted an apprentice, Jan Tilman, to St. Luke's Guild; he became a burgher of Antwerp on 18 September 1620 (P. Rombouts and T. van Lerijs, *De liggeren en andere historische archieven der Antwerpsche Sint Lucasgilde...*, Antwerp, [1872], I, p. 558, n. 1). His time as Rubens's pupil was probably shortly before this, but it is not known when he joined the studio.

25. 'Wenn wir nicht in dem Zusatz "inventit" eine leere Formel sehen wollen, welche Soutman anderen Stechern nachgeahmt hat, ohne sich um ihren Sinn zu kümmern...' (*Rosenberg, Rubensstecher*, p. 28). The possibility that Soutman used the term 'inventit' in a different sense from the usual one may be suggested by the formula 'P. Soutman Inuen. Effigiauit et Excud.' which appears on Pieter Sompelen's engraving of the *Portrait of Paracelsus*. The painting by Quentin Metsys is represented thereon, and Soutman can hardly be termed the 'inventor' of that composition (see *Cat. Exh. Göttingen, 1977*, p. 83, No. 55, repr.).



Rubens's design on a large scale? Or—another possibility—was he among those who helped to make studio replicas and variants? It may also be that he regarded himself as joint 'inventor' on the strength of the unimportant variations that he himself introduced at the etching stage. The main reason to doubt that Soutman played a genuinely creative part in relation to these works is that we know no other examples of elaborate, ambitious compositions of this sort by his hand.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, as I shall show at the end of this chapter, his etchings were probably not produced until after Rubens's death—and hence not under the latter's eye or at his suggestion, as had long been supposed—so that he ran no risk of being disavowed by the master.

To sum up, we may say that in his early hunting scenes Rubens made much use of assistants, including Van Dyck and Soutman. This applied especially to the series for Schleissheim (Nos.4–7), which was probably executed in great haste, and the *Calydonian Boar Hunt* (No.10; Fig.69), a piece which evidently did not satisfy the master, as he had it enlarged and reworked. He took more trouble, however, with the *Wolf Hunt* (No.2; Fig.33), his first venture into hunting iconography, and the Munich *Lion Hunt* (No.11; Fig.74), and in this work in particular he concentrated on purely pictorial qualities.

In the case of Rubens's later hunting scenes we have no information about studio participation but, as will be seen, we do know something of the part played by animal painters.<sup>27</sup> Many of these works have been lost and others are not available for study, so that connoisseurship is of little use to us here. Of the eight scenes painted for the King of Spain in 1639–1640 (Nos.20–27) two or possibly four have survived. One of these, *Diana and Nymphs attacked by Satyrs* (No.22; Fig.112) is rightly considered to be Rubens's own hand, apart from Snyder's (and possibly also Wildens') contribution. The nature of the subject may have motivated his decision to paint the work himself, but the fragment of the *Bear Hunt* in Raleigh (No.27; Figs.132, 136) is also of rather high quality, although not wholly by Rubens. The status of two paintings at Gerona, *The Death of Silvia's Stag* (No.25; Fig.124) and a *Bull Hunt* (No.26; Fig.126), is at present not quite clear to me: are they copies or heavily restored originals? This is particularly hard to decide in the case of the former, but the *Bull Hunt* inspires more confidence and seems to fit into the category of a studio painting retouched

26. It must be admitted that our knowledge of Soutman's *œuvre*, especially his early work, is scanty; what we know of him dates from his Haarlem period: see *Rooses, Life*, I, pp.320–321; J.G. van Gelder, 'De schilders van de Oranjezaal', *Nederlandsch kunsthistorisch jaarboek*, II, 1948–1949, p.10, figs.3, 8–10; J. Hughes, 'For a woman's charms are the greatest there are ...', *Preview—York Art Gallery Bulletin*, XXX, 1977, pp.1027–1031; S. Slive, *Frans Hals*, III, London, 1974, pp.156–157, No.D80, fig.202; *Hairs, Sillage*, pp.56–57, figs.9, 10.

27. See Chapter IV, especially p.83, and also pp.218–219.

to a limited extent by the master. Thus the quality of execution of this hunting series seems very uneven.<sup>28</sup>

Only one other hunting scene of Rubens's late period is well known, namely *Diana with Attendants hunting Deer* (No. 19; Fig. 104): this is often referred to in the literature, but seldom discussed. Dillon thought it a very minor work, only 'touched' by Rubens.<sup>29</sup> As it was destroyed in the Second World War, it is difficult now to form an exact impression of it, but on the basis of a clear photograph I am inclined to form a very favourable judgement. As between the two extremes of a fully autograph work and a pure studio product, it stands very close to the former as far as the painting of figures is concerned.

Although it seems doubtful whether Soutman could have played any creative part in the early hunting scenes, there is among the late pictures one composition, *Alexander's Lion Hunt* (No. 16; cf. Fig. 93), in which it seems to me quite possible that a pupil played the part of inventor. This work has generally been regarded as a pastiche, and so in a sense it is, but it is one that Rubens himself sanctioned. On the basis of the available material it seems to me that a member of the studio must have made a first sketch of the composition, naturally following the master's indications, and that Rubens himself then gave the composition its definitive form in a second sketch, after which the large canvas was painted.<sup>30</sup> As the latter has been lost we cannot tell in this case how much of the execution was left to the studio.

Another problem which should be mentioned is that of the part played by the landscape painter Jan Wildens. In his monograph on this artist Wolfgang Adler defends the traditional ascription to him of the landscape background in the *Calydonian Boar Hunt* in Vienna (No. 10; Fig. 69),<sup>31</sup> while he expressly rejects the idea that Wildens had a part in the *Marseilles Boar Hunt* (No. 4; Fig. 40).<sup>32</sup> Indeed, despite a certain resemblance to Wildens's treatment of foliage, the denser effect in that painting perhaps reveals the hand of another collaborator of Rubens. After about 1620, according to Adler, Wildens did no further work for Rubens.<sup>33</sup> This statement<sup>34</sup> contradicts the judgement of authors who attribute

28. See pp. 219–220.

29. Dillon, *Rubens*, p. 191, No. 22.

30. See pp. 202–203.

31. Adler, *Wildens*, pp. 33, 102, No. G38.

32. Adler, *Wildens*, p. 22.

33. Adler, *Wildens*, pp. 10, 11, 12, 35 and *passim*.

34. That Rubens did employ Wildens as a collaborator after 1620 may be seen from *Samson and the Lion* (formerly in the collection of the Duque de Hernani, Madrid). The landscape in this painting is rightly attributed to the latter artist in Adler, *Wildens*, pp. 101–102, No. G36, fig. 53; but, like all other writers (cf. below, p. 146, n. 48), Adler dates the picture too early, at c. 1616–1617. It was probably painted shortly before 1628, in which year Rubens brought it to Madrid: for this delivery of eight paintings to the King of Spain see p. 180.

to Wildens the landscape backgrounds in many later paintings by Rubens. I would suggest that the whole problem be re-examined. In several late hunting scenes by Rubens we find a type of landscape that is certainly not his own<sup>35</sup> and is closely similar to what we know of Wildens: the very detailed treatment of plants, bushes and trees in the foreground, the distant atmospheric vistas and the airy handling of foliage. Rubens's own plants and trees are much more carelessly depicted, with more impasto and less precise outlines. I am therefore inclined to attribute to Wildens the landscape of the *Deer Hunt* formerly in Berlin (No.19; Fig.104), the two late mythological *Hunts* forming a pair (Nos.17 and 18; Fig.98, and cf. Fig.99), *Diana and Nymphs attacked by Satyrs* (No.22; Fig.112), and perhaps also the whole series of *Hunts* painted for the King of Spain (Nos.20–27). Parallels to the three first-named may be sought first and foremost among the large paintings in which Wildens collaborated with such artists as Snyders, Paul de Vos, Abraham Janssens and Gerard Seghers.<sup>36</sup> The more intimate landscape of *Diana and Nymphs attacked by Satyrs* (No.22; Fig.112) may be compared with Snyders' small *Hunts* and animal pieces, several good examples of which are in the Prado.<sup>37</sup> Díaz Padrón thought the landscape in these works was painted by Snyders in the style of Wildens.<sup>38</sup> If so, the landscape of Rubens's *Diana and Nymphs attacked by Satyrs* (No.22; Fig.112) must also be attributed to Snyders.<sup>39</sup> But, in view of the extreme virtuosity of the 'Wildens forms',<sup>40</sup> I would attribute to the latter artist the backgrounds of these and many other *Hunts* and animal pieces by Snyders, as well as similar landscapes in animal paintings by Paul de Vos, also in the Prado, and finally the backgrounds of Rubens's series of eight hunting scenes (Nos.20–27).

35. Cf. Rubens's own landscapes, including the landscape backgrounds of his later figure paintings, e.g. the outside of the St Ildefonso Triptych in Vienna (K.d.K., p.326; *Vlieghe, Saints*, II, No.118, fig.61); the *Judgement of Paris* in the National Gallery, London (K.d.K., p.344; *Martin, Cat. National Gallery*, No.194, pp.153–63) and that in the Prado, Madrid (K.d.K., p.432; *Díaz Padrón, Cat. Prado*, No.1669); *Nymphs and Satyrs* in the Prado (K.d.K., p.381; *Díaz Padrón, Cat. Prado*, No.1666); *Mercury and Argus*, Gemäldegalerie, Dresden (K.d.K., p.410), etc.

36. For examples see *Adler, Wildens*, Nos. A1–A7, figs.331–337.

37. *Díaz Padrón, Cat. Prado*, Nos.1752–1756, 1759, 1762, 1763, 1772.

38. *Adler* also states this in one instance: *Adler, Wildens*, p.111, under No.G82.

39. In the correspondence between the Cardinal Infante Ferdinand and Philip IV it is expressly stated that both the human figures and the landscape in this late hunting series were painted by Rubens and the animals by Snyders: see quotation on p.228, n.9. But I am not convinced that this excludes the possibility that Rubens was assisted by Wildens.

40. Cf. the following works by Wildens: *Adler, Wildens*, Nos.G48, G65, G75, G82, G99, G112, G119.

## REPLICAS AND COPIES

As regards the hunting scenes, we are well informed concerning copies or replicas made in the studio, as these figure prominently in the correspondence with Carleton. The first replica we hear of is the *Wolf Hunt* (No.2, Copy [I]), which Rubens was to paint for Carleton. He had assured the latter's agent, Toby Matthew, that he would make it 'of as much perfection as the other (the original), if not more', and that it 'wilbe better finished'.<sup>41</sup> Matthew himself thought very highly of its quality.<sup>42</sup> It is nowhere stated that this replica was only a studio work retouched by Rubens, and we must therefore admit the possibility that Rubens made the copy himself; but I think it improbable, especially in view of its size. This replica may be the painting now at Corsham Court (Fig. 34),<sup>43</sup> and the latter is more like a studio product with extensive retouches by Rubens than a fully autograph work.

Carleton was also to acquire a replica of the *Lion Hunt* (No.6), one of the paintings that Rubens explicitly stated to be by a pupil but extensively retouched by himself.<sup>44</sup> As a condition of accepting it as one of a number of paintings in exchange for his collection of antiquities, Carleton required an assurance from Rubens that he would retouch it further so that it would appear to be entirely from his own hand.<sup>45</sup> It may be that the copy here referred to is identical with a painting now in a private collection in Madrid (Fig. 51). It is brilliantly executed but shows little or no trace of having been retouched by Rubens.

Rubens's business relations with Carleton differed in some respects from those with his other customers.<sup>46</sup> In the two cases mentioned, the English envoy was not making a straightforward purchase against a fixed price: both for the *Wolf Hunt* and for the *Lion Hunt* he proposed an exchange, and in each instance he used pressure to secure a better bargain. However, the artist dealt skilfully with these attempts and proposed a compromise that satisfied both parties. In their frequent correspondence on the subject the two men certainly did not reveal their real thoughts, but it is clear that each divined the other's intention through the smoke-screen of compliments. The courtesy that pervades the

41. See under No.2, p.102, n.6.

42. See quotation under No.2, p.103, n.9.

43. See No.2, Copy (1) and p.99.

44. See quotations under No.6, pp.128–129, n.4.

45. See quotations under No.6, p.129, nn.6, 7.

46. For Carleton see p.20, n.1; see also *Rooses, Life*, I, pp.253–258, 274–277; [T. Longueville], *Policy and Paint or some Incidents in the Lives of Dudley Carleton and Peter Paul Rubens*, London, 1913. The correspondence between Rubens and Carleton comprises the greater part of *Rooses–Ruelens*, II.

correspondence should not, I think, be confused with scrupulous honesty. Yet each respected the other and knew where he stood with him, as is shown by the fact that Rubens appealed successfully to Carleton for support after the failure of his initial attempts to obtain a privilege for his engravings from the States General of the United Provinces.<sup>47</sup>

Only against this background can we gain some insight into the episode of the *Tiger Hunt* painted for Lord Danvers.<sup>48</sup> This was a particularly unpleasant one for Rubens, and we can only understand the course of events by bearing in mind the wide gap between what was intended in the negotiations and what was actually stated, either by Rubens or by Carleton, who acted on behalf of Lord Danvers. The most surprising feature is no doubt that Carleton did not realize at an early stage that events were taking a wrong turning. Not being fully informed of all aspects of the affair and acting purely as an agent, he perhaps took matters less to heart. As far as Rubens was concerned, he had only been asked by Carleton to supply a painting in exchange for one by Jacopo Bassano. When Bassano's work reached Antwerp it proved to be so damaged as to be almost worthless. It was therefore agreed that Carleton should pay a certain sum towards the exchange. From the unbusinesslike nature of the original terms Rubens must have concluded that he was not expected to produce a genuine masterpiece. He had his studio make a copy of the *Tiger Hunt* (No.7; the copy in question may be identical with Fig.59), and offered it to Carleton in return for the Bassano plus a payment of 100 philips. Toby Matthew considered this a scandalously high price for such a mediocre painting—the work was indeed judged very severely by several critics, despite Rubens's assurance that he had himself fully retouched it. Carleton, however, decided to accept Rubens's offer. At this point Rubens was informed for the first time that the picture was for 'an English friend'. What neither of them knew was that Carleton's friend, Lord Danvers, intended to offer it to the Prince of Wales. When the picture reached London the prince's advisers judged it unworthy of a place in his famous collection, and it was returned to the artist. Thus the affair had a disagreeable outcome for all concerned, the blame for which surely lay with Lord Danvers for his thoughtless and amateurish approach and for failing to convey the full import of the commission.

In addition to the painting for Lord Danvers, Rubens evidently had further

47. See *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, pp.197, 215–218, doc.CLXXXVII. Rubens showed his gratitude in 1620 by dedicating to Carleton Vorsterman's engraving of the *Deposition* (V.S., p.49, No.342; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p.102, No.718).

48. For further details of this affair see under No.7, pp.136–138.

copies of his *Tiger Hunt* painted in the studio. There is no way of telling whether he did so on his own initiative, as with the *Lion Hunt* he offered to Carleton, or whether the works were commissioned. The attribution of some copies to the studio rather than to later copyists is based on criteria of quality and style and on particular significant departures from the original composition. In some cases it is a question of variants rather than literal copies. The Dresden *Lion Hunt* (No.8; Fig.63) can be regarded in this sense as a variant of the *Tiger Hunt*, executed in the studio and retouched by the master.

In the case of Rubens's later hunting scenes there is no documentary evidence concerning studio replicas. However, it is probable that in the 1620s and 1630s he continued to have copies made by his assistants and to retouch some of them. For instance, as regards the *Calydonian Boar Hunt* and *Diana hunting Deer*, which Rubens took to Madrid in 1628, there are copies which can be attributed to the studio on stylistic grounds (No.12, Copy [1]; Fig.81, and No.13, Copy [2]; Fig.86).

The eight hunting scenes for the King of Spain were painted in the last months of Rubens's life, when he was also completing various other commissions. I therefore think it unlikely that the original-size copies that exist were painted in the studio. There are indications, on the other hand, that the studio produced a few slightly varied replicas of cabinet size (see under Nos.23 and 25).

Naturally most of the copies recorded in this catalogue were not made on Rubens's initiative.<sup>49</sup> Some, however, are of special importance because they reproduce lost originals (Nos.1, 16, 20, 21, 23, 24). Only seldom can these copies be precisely dated or associated with a particular artist. We know, however, that the copy of *Alexander's Lion Hunt* (No.16, Copy [1]; Fig.93) is by J. B. Martínez del Mazo, and Willem van Herp can be credited with several cabinet-size hunting scenes copied from Rubens.<sup>50</sup> Among copies dating from later centuries, those by Delacroix and Géricault should be mentioned.<sup>51</sup>

## PRINTS

These occupy a special place among the copies of Rubens's hunting scenes. Some were only produced in later centuries, and are therefore of less interest to our study. Among those made in the seventeenth century the etching of the *Caly-*

49. Thus, e.g., in 1670 Abraham Willemsen copied a Rubens of *Diana Hunting* for Musson (*Denucé, Na Rubens*, p.376, doc.435).

50. See p.222.

51. See No.2, Copies (4), (8) and (9); No.6, Copy (8); No.8, Copies (2) and (3); No.11e, Copy (4); No.11, Copy (7).

*donian Boar Hunt* (No. 1, Copy [5]; Fig. 32) was probably not made on Rubens's initiative.<sup>52</sup> Only those by Schelte a Bolswert or Pieter Soutman were, it is generally thought, produced with Rubens's knowledge or under his responsibility.

This is in any case true of the *Lion Hunt* (No. 11e, Copy [8]; Fig. 80), engraved by Schelte a Bolswert, as Rubens's threefold privilege is marked on it.<sup>53</sup> We may also assume on stylistic grounds that the drawing used as a model for this engraving (No. 11c; Fig. 79), though executed by another hand, was retouched by Rubens.

Since Hymans's time it has generally been accepted that Soutman's etchings of the *Boar Hunt* (No. 4, Copy [13]; Fig. 43), the *Hippopotamus Hunt* (No. 5, Copy [14]; Fig. 49), the *Lion Hunt* (No. 6, Copy [9]; Fig. 56) and the *Wolf Hunt* (No. 2, Copy [11]; Fig. 37) were made to Rubens's order at the same time as the respective pictures or shortly afterwards, in about 1615–1620.<sup>54</sup> The fact that these etchings only bear the inscription 'cum priuil.' and do not expressly refer to the three privileges obtained by Rubens was explained by Hymans on the ground that they must have been made before the foreign privileges were granted to him.<sup>55</sup> In the recent literature this is strongly disputed and the absence of the usual threefold formula is ascribed to the fact that the prints were not made on Rubens's initiative.<sup>56</sup> Burchard reached the same conclusion by a different route: he believed that the audacious signature 'Soutman invenit' on the four etchings of hunting scenes<sup>57</sup> excluded the possibility that they were made in Rubens's lifetime. This seems to me quite plausible. A late date for the prints would also explain their close stylistic resemblance to Soutman's etching of a *Boar Hunt* dated 1642 (Fig. 24),<sup>58</sup> which is copied from the central part of Rubens's *Landscape with a Boar Hunt* at Dresden (Fig. 26). It should be noted that none of Soutman's etchings can be reliably dated before 1642. This may suggest that he practised etching only around that time and not during his Antwerp period

52. This is not quite certain, however: see under No. 1, pp. 92–93.

53. I.e. the privileges granted by the King of France, the archducal couple, and the States General of the United Provinces. On these privileges see Hymans, *Gravure*, pp. 117–129, 359–384; Rooses–Ruelens, II, pp. 196–198, 208–212; Rooses, *Life*, I, pp. 327–329.

54. Hymans, *Gravure*, pp. 105–106, 113–114; see also Van den Wijngaert, *Prentkunst*, p. 92.

55. Hymans, *Gravure*, p. 116. Hymans was well aware that this was an inconclusive argument, and pointed out that the formula *cum privilegio* was much used by Dutch engravers.

56. See Renger, *Rubens Dedit*, I, p. 151 (implicitly); K. Renger in *Cat. Exh. Göttingen*, 1977, p. 86 under No. 57; Hella Robels (*Robels, Rubensstecher*, p. 79) also seems to doubt whether Soutman's engravings were commissioned by Rubens, but thinks the latter must have approved or encouraged them ('Vielleicht hat Soutman aber auch ohne direkten Auftrag, von Rubens wohl ermutigt, die Radierkunst erprobt').

57. See p. 40.

58. This resemblance was also noticed by Hymans: 'C'est ainsi que la grande *Chasse au Sanglier* de 1642 ... diffère peu, en somme, des planches gravées à Anvers' (Hymans, *Gravure*, p. 137).

or when he was still a pupil of Rubens, as has generally been assumed since Hymans.<sup>59</sup>

It might be objected to this that one of Soutman's etchings of hunting scenes is recorded in 1619: so at least Hymans believed, and it is his only serious argument for an early dating of Soutman's work as an etcher. In Rubens's letter of 28 May 1619 to Carleton, thanking him for intervening with the States General of the United Provinces in the matter of the privileges, the artist said that it had proved very opportune to have presented 'those gentlemen' with works depicting the *Miraculous Draught* and a hunting scene with wild beasts, as it had helped to secure the States' consent.<sup>60</sup> Hymans believed that the 'caccia de tanti animali formidabili' referred to Soutman's etching of the *Lion Hunt* (No.6, Copy [9]; Fig.56);<sup>61</sup> Rooses, however, thought Rubens was speaking of Bolswert's engraving of the same subject (No.11e; Copy [8]; Fig.80).<sup>62</sup> Renger agreed with the latter hypothesis, except that he thought the work in question was not the engraving itself but a preliminary drawing for it, and that it was submitted for approval rather than presented as a gift.<sup>63</sup> However, as the Munich *Lion Hunt* (No.11; Fig.74) reproduced in Bolswert's engraving, was only painted in 1621,<sup>64</sup> this identification must be rejected. Moreover it is clear from the context of Rubens's letter that he was not talking about designs to be approved by the States but about gifts, probably to certain individuals only, which were intended to secure their favour.<sup>65</sup> It is nowhere stated that these were engravings or designs

59. Soutman possessed drawings, not only of Rubens's hunting scenes but of dozens of his other compositions, which were clearly made for engraving purposes. In most cases other artists did the engraving, with Soutman as publisher (See *Van den Wijngaert Prentkunst*, Nos.429–433 (Jan Louys); 622–627 (Pieter van Sompelen); 628–648 (Soutman); 655–663 (Jonas Suyderhoef); 678–683 (Corneel Viischer). As far as I know, none of the existing drawings (modelli) for these engravings is by Rubens (cf. several pertinent remarks by Anne-Marie Logan in her 'Review: Rubens Exhibitions 1977', *Master Drawings*, XV, 1977, p.405). Probably Soutman himself made the copies during his time in Rubens's studio. Admittedly it is curious that if, as I suppose, he made no engravings himself at that period, he should have collected so much preparatory material.

60. 'Non mi sono ingannato di un punto credendo V.E. esser quella sola, che possa colla sua destrezza condur ad effetto li negocij altri<sup>e</sup> impossibili. Certo che fu opportuna la caccia de tanti animali formidabili chella diede à quei Sig<sup>ri</sup> si come ancora la pescagione delli apostoli che da vero sono riusciti per noi piscatores hominum, come V.E. argutamente mi accenna...' (*Rooses–Ruelens*, II, p.215, doc. CLXXXVII).

61. Hymans, *Gravure*, p.124.

62. *Rooses–Ruelens*, II, p.218.

63. 'Rubens musste nach der Ablehnung seines ersten Privilegien-gesuches für seinen neuen Antrag schnell neue "suggjetti" schaffen, die der neue Vermittler, Carleton, als Zeichnungen bei den Generastaaten vorlegte...' (*Renger, Rubens Dedit*, I, p.152).

64. For the date of the painting see under No. 11, especially pp.164–165.

65. That Rubens was prepared to pay some kind of *douceur* in order to obtain the privilege is clear from his letter of 23 January 1619 to Pieter van Veen: 'Ne mancarò di mantener tutto quello che V.S. haverà pagato, donato ò promesso al S<sup>e</sup> Secret<sup>o</sup> Arsens [Cornelis Van Aerssen, clerk to the States General] ò altri per questo rispetto' (*Rooses–Ruelens*, II, p.199, doc. CLXXXIV). The same appears from some sentences in the letter to Carleton of 28 May containing the references to 'caccia' and 'pescagione': cf. quotation in n.60, followed by the words: '... ne mi par strano poiche tutte le cose sono di maggior efficacia sotto il suo proprio clima. In effetto senza questi



for engravings: they may equally well have been pictures. Following Burchard's suggestion, the only correct interpretation seems to me to be that Carleton on Rubens's behalf presented 'quei Signori' with two paintings (perhaps reduced copies), one of the *Miraculous Draught* and the other of big game hunting. In view of the date this can only have been one of Rubens's earliest hunting scenes, i.e. those of which Soutman was to make engravings; but the letter is no evidence that the engravings already existed.

It is of course no disparagement of Soutman's masterly etchings to say that they were not in fact made on Rubens's initiative. Van den Wijngaert was of the opinion that they were entirely worthy of the painter's graphic ideal.<sup>66</sup> They do indeed reflect the dynamism of Rubens's painting better than Schelte a Bolswert's copper engraving. It is another question, however, whether they conformed to Rubens's idea of what engraving should be. The fame of his early hunting scenes is no doubt largely due to Soutman's etchings: for instance, it was only through these that Delacroix was able to study Rubens's hunting compositions.<sup>67</sup>

mezzi s'otteneva niente...' (Rooses-Ruelens, II, p.215, doc.CLXXXVII). After the privilege (or rather 'atto di proibitione') was granted, a certain 'covetous man'—according to Rooses this was Junius, secretary to the Prince of Orange—seems to have expected further tokens of Rubens's gratitude, as to which the artist wrote contemptuously to Pieter van Veen on 11 March 1620: 'Toccante quel miserone ... mi remitterf à quanto lei consigliara, perche potendo far di manco senza alcun pregiudicio per l'avenire io non vorrei buttar le cose mie a che nolle merita perche dar poco a un personaggio di quel grado esset contumeliae proximum' (Rooses-Ruelens, II, p.248, doc.CC).

66. Van den Wijngaert, *Prentkunst*, p.9; see also L. Lebeer in *Cat. Exh. Brussels, 1965*, pp.341–342. Rosenberg seems to have thought that these prints by Soutman were not real etchings but copper engravings in which the etching technique was imitated: 'Er führte den Grabstichel mit der Leichtigkeit, welche der kalten Nadel eigen ist, und wenn sich auf seinen Blättern Spuren des Ätzwassers nachweisen liessen, würde man geneigt sein, sie für Nadelarbeiten zu halten, so sehr machen sie den Eindruck von Malerradierungen. ...' (Rosenberg, *Rubensstecher*, p.29). Van den Wijngaert (*Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p.93), rightly spoke of etchings touched up with the burin. On the assumption that they were made before 1620 he ascribed the burin work to Lucas Vorsterman—a supposition which of course loses probability if the prints are dated c.1642.

67. Delacroix mentions Soutman's etchings in his *Journal* of 25 January 1847 (*Journal de Eugène Delacroix*, ed. by A. Joubin, Paris, 1932, I, p.168). For the influence of Rubens's *Hunts* on Delacroix see Kliman, *Delacroix's Lions*, pp.454–457, 464–465.

### III. Rubens and the Iconography of Hunting

#### THE ICONOGRAPHY OF HUNTING IN WESTERN EUROPE

Rubens's interest in hunting scenes is rather unusual for an exponent of the grand style in painting. The subject played little part in the humanistic art of the Renaissance, but it had flourished in the period known from Huizinga's book as the 'Waning of the Middle Ages'.<sup>1</sup> At that time hunting was a popular pursuit in courtly circles, and it was therefore natural for the nobility to give it a prominent place in the decoration of their houses.<sup>2</sup>

The hunting lodge was the obvious place for scenes of this kind, but one or more rooms in large town houses were sometimes set apart for them.<sup>3</sup> The owners of these palaces surrounded themselves with portraits of their favourite hounds or pictures of game, and decorated the walls with hunting trophies. More important to our subject are scenes of actual hunts in wall-painting or tapestry, where a firm tradition had gradually established itself.<sup>4</sup> For instance, a typical feature of such scenes was their 'encyclopedic' quality. Instead of simply portraying a particular moment of the hunt, artists would depict several successive phases, or they would illustrate different kinds of hunting or different species of game. This was done either by combining several representations in a single picture or, more usually, by means of a series. A hunting series of this sort was a visual encyclopedia, and recourse was often

1. J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (Eng. trans. 1924; original title *Herfsttij der middeleeuwen. Studie over levens- en gedachtenvormen der veertiende en vijftiende eeuw in Frankrijk en in de Nederlanden*, Haarlem, 1919).
2. For the iconography of hunting in general see W. A. Baillie-Grohman, *Sport in Art. An Iconography of Sport*, London, 1925, (reprint: New York-London, 1969). For the period around 1400 in particular see R. Van Marle, *L'Iconographie de l'art profane au Moyen Age et à la Renaissance et la décoration des demeures*, The Hague, 1931, I, pp. 197-278; Joan Evans, *Pattern. A Study of Ornament in Western Europe from 1180 to 1900*, Oxford, 1931, I, pp. 48ff. Relatively few of the early hunting decorations have survived (they were mostly wall paintings that were painted over as tastes changed, or tapestries highly subject to wear), and our knowledge of them has to be supplemented by excerpts from literature and inventories: see the collection of such excerpts in J. von Schlosser, 'Ein veronesisches Bilderbuch und die höfische Kunst des XIV. Jahrhunderts', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XVI, 1895, pp. 215-228, *passim*). Examples of tapestries are collected in G. W. Digby, *The Devonshire Hunting Tapestries*, London, 1971. For wall paintings see e.g. J. Weingartner, 'Die profane Wandmalerei Tirols', *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, N.F., V, 1928, pp. 1-63. For Jan van Eyck's possible role in the field of hunting iconography see E. Dhanens, *Hubert en Jan van Eyck*, Antwerp, 1980, pp. 155-168.
3. E.g. the 'Chambre du cerf' in the papal palace at Avignon (see e.g. R. André-Michel, *Avignon. Les fresques du Palais des Papes*, Paris, 1920, pp. 19ff.).
4. See Balis, *Jachten van Maximiliaan*.

made to illustrated treatises on hunting. Another feature of the genre was a fondness for depicting richly appavelled troops of riders consisting of loving couples—a link with the *Gardens of Love* which were another popular form of courtly iconography. Further ingredients were portraits of individuals and the exact reproduction of buildings, where the connection with an aristocratic public is especially evident.

In northern Europe this genre survived into the first half of the sixteenth century. The so-called *Hunts of Maximilian* (e.g. Fig.12), a set of tapestries designed by Bernard van Orley about 1530, are a typical example,<sup>5</sup> as are Cranach's numerous hunting scenes (e.g. Fig.11).<sup>6</sup> Subsequently, however, northern artists too seem to have taken the genre less seriously, and we find it relegated to masters of secondary rank.

In Italian art, hunting scenes had declined in prestige a century earlier. Their disfavour with Renaissance artists owes something to their strong association with the international Late Gothic style and with the tradition of courtly chivalry. The atmosphere of a typical hunting scene appeared incongruous against the new artistic ideal, which was far less decorative. The humanistic theory of art took no interest in it, and none of the great masters of the new style sought inspiration from such material. Only occasionally was a hunting subject chosen, for instance by Uccello<sup>7</sup> or Giulio Romano.<sup>8</sup> In 1565 Federico Zuccaro painted a large hunting scene as a curtain for the comedy *Cofanaria*, performed in the

5. See e.g. P. Alfassa, 'Les tapisseries des "Chasses de Maximilien"', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXII, 1920, pp.127-140, 233-256; Balis, *Jachten van Maximiliaan*; Sophie Schneeberg-Perelmann, *Les Chasses de Maximilien. Les énigmes d'un chef-d'œuvre de la tapisserie*, Brussels, 1982 (unreliable).

6. See K. Sternelle, *Lucas Cranach d. Ä. (Die Jagd in der Kunst)*, Hamburg-Berlin, 1903; D. Koepplin and T. Falk, in [Cat. Exh.] *Lucas Cranach*, (Kunstmuseum, Basle, 1974), I, p.196 and Nos.137-155; M. J. Friedländer and J. Rosenberg, *The Paintings of Lucas Cranach*, London, 1978, Nos.281, 411, 412. Besides the examples already mentioned we should note the wall paintings formerly in the Hertensteinhaus at Lucerne, associated with Hans Holbein the Younger: see P. Ganz, *Hans Holbein d. J. (Klassiker der Kunst)*, 1911, pp.155, 156, 246.

7. It has been suggested that Uccello's hunting scene in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford was not an independent painting but originally formed part of a painted *cassone*; see J. Pope-Hennessy, *The Complete Work of Paolo Uccello*, London, 1950, p.154. Certainly in the Italian (Florentine) Quattrocento the iconography of hunting survived chiefly in the more decorative genres such as panels for *cassoni* and *spalliere*. Vasari, for instance, speaks of 'alcuni cassoni, spalliere e cornici nelle camere del magnifico Lorenzo vecchio de' Medici, nei quali era dipinto ... cacce ...' (G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori ...*, ed. by G. Milanesi, II, Florence, 1878, p.149); cf. a panel of this kind in the Musée des Augustins, Toulouse (M. Laclotte, "'Une chasse" du Quattrocento florentin', *Revue de l'art*, Nos.40-41, 1978, pp.65-70). Hunting scenes are also met with in other branches of Italian decorative art; cf. J. Pope-Hennessy, 'Two Chimney-Pieces from Padua' in his *Essays on Italian Sculpture*, London-New York, 1968, pp.92-94. There is a celebrated *Calydonian Boar Hunt* in a rock crystal intaglio by Giovanni dei Bernardi which adorns the Cassetta Farnese in the Museo Nazionale at Naples: see E. Kris, *Meister und Meisterwerke der Steinschneidekunst in der italienischen Renaissance*, Vienna, 1929, (repr. 1979), fig.248. In Germany there are the innumerable hunting prints of Virgil Solis (I. O'dell-Franke, *Kupferstiche und Radierungen aus der Werkstatt des Virgil Solis*, Wiesbaden, 1977, pls.71-78, 168-171).

8. For Giulio Romano's *Calydonian Boar Hunt* (Fig.28) see p.56 and n.31. Two other hunting scenes by him in the Palazzo del Te at Mantua have an astrological interpretation, as pointed out by E. Gombrich, 'The Sala dei Venti in the Palazzo del Te', in his *Symbolic Images. Studies in the Art of the Renaissance*, London, 1972, pp.109ff.

Palazzo Vecchio at Florence. As Winner points out,<sup>9</sup> this was a paraphrase, evident, for example, in the old-fashioned costumes, of hunting scenes from the Grimani book of hours, painted by a Flemish artist at the beginning of the century, and based in its turn on older models. Zuccaro's imitation of it goes to confirm that hunting scenes were regarded as a fossilized or antiquated genre.

However, it was revived on Italian soil around this very time. Cosimo I de' Medici ordered from Jan van der Straet of Bruges (1523–1605), generally known as Stradanus, 28 tapestries of hunting scenes for the Medici villa at Poggio a Caiano.<sup>10</sup> Woven between 1567 and 1577, these depicted various types of game and hunting methods, based on a treatise of the chase, and in this 'encyclopedic' approach they resembled the courtly hunting scenes of an earlier period. They differed in style and atmosphere, however, as Stradanus followed the academic ideal of Vasari, whose assistant he was. Stradanus had these compositions engraved, and they were so successful that he later designed over 100 engravings of hunting scenes. Most of these were of an exotic type (e.g. Figs. 18, 19, 20) and drew inspiration from ancient writers (Pliny, Homer, Herodian, Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Oppian) as well as contemporary ones (Oviedo, Maffei).<sup>11</sup>

Stradanus's compositions provided the genre with a new starting-point. His work fully conformed with the up-to-date aesthetic doctrine which called for complex compositions and idealized figures in studied poses, and it bore a close relation to the heroic depiction of fights on horseback as developed by Leonardo, Raphael, Giulio Romano and Vasari. His success was enormous. As early as 1582 there appeared a series of hunting prints designed by Hans Bol and clearly inspired by those of Stradanus; his influence is also seen in Jost Amman's illustrations to *Neuw Jagd und Weydwerck*, which appeared in the same year.<sup>12</sup> Stradanus's pupil Antonio Tempesta was also deeply indebted to his master for the style of his etchings of the chase, which numbered about 180.<sup>13</sup>

Thus the new style of exotic and heroic hunting scene was much imitated, but only in engraving and decorative art or by less important masters. Painters of the first rank around 1600 still did not regard hunting as a fully established theme. Only Rubens was to perceive the possibilities of the subject and exploit them to the full.

9. M. Winner, 'Federico Zuccari und der Codex Grimani', in *Festschrift für Otto von Simson zum 65. Geburtstag*, Frankfurt-on-Main-Berlin-Vienna, 1977, pp. 305–306; see also Winner, *Eberjagd*.

10. See e.g. R. Kultzen, *Jagddarstellungen des Jan van der Straet auf Teppichen und Stichen des 16. Jahrhunderts (Die Jagd in der Kunst)*, Hamburg-Berlin, 1970; *Bok-van Kammen, Stradanus*.

11. *Bok-van Kammen, Stradanus*, pp. 57–64.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 71–84.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 76–78; N. Beets, 'Herscheppingen', in *Feestbundel Dr. Abraham Bredius aangeboden*, Amsterdam, 1915, pp. 1–7; *Bartsch 991–1117; Hamilton Hazlehurst, Wild Beasts*, figs. 7, 8, 15, 17, 20, 23, 24, 28.

Despite the reluctance of Renaissance artists to handle the genre, it had never quite died out. The nobility continued to demand illustrations of one of their favourite pursuits, and artists responded in a pragmatic fashion. German and English Renaissance castles were decorated with stucco friezes depicting the chase,<sup>14</sup> and it was a frequent subject of Flemish tapestries.<sup>15</sup> The output was, however, somewhat anaemic, for lack of any fresh creative impulse; the genre could only flourish when a strongly motivated patron such as Cosimo I de' Medici found an artist with the requisite talent, such as Stradanus. A combination of this kind occurred in about 1636, when Philip IV of Spain gave detailed instructions to Pieter Snayers concerning the documentary hunting scenes for the Torre de la Parada.<sup>16</sup> These scenes by Snayers and the related paintings by Mazo and Velázquez were not carried out in an idealizing Italian manner like those of Stradanus, but are to be regarded as a conscious revival of the old courtly style and more especially the panoramic type developed by Cranach: it is probably not an accident that the Spanish King's collection contained a hunting scene by this German artist (Fig. 11).<sup>17</sup> During the seventeenth century, when so many specialized genres came to flourish and were gradually codified in artistic theory, courtly hunting scenes appear once more to have taken firm root: in place of the occasional specimens found in the sixteenth century we now have a steadily increasing stream which attained its greatest volume in the rococo period.<sup>18</sup> This was not unconnected with the growth of princely absolutism, with its love of decoration and self-glorification.

14. For an account of such friezes in stucco and other decorations connected with hunting see C. Knupp, *Jagdfriese in Renaissanceschlössern (Die Jagd in der Kunst)*, Hamburg-Berlin, 1970.

15. Most of these tapestries are very mediocre in design (see e.g. E. Duverger, 'Tapijtwerk uit het atelier van Frans Geubels', in *De bloeitijd van de Vlaamse tapijtkunst. Internationaal Colloquium 23-25 mei 1961*, Brussels, 1969, esp. pp. 178-184; J. Versyp, 'Zestiende-eeuwse jachttapijten met het wapen van de Viduni en aanverwante stukken', *Artes Textiles*, VII, 1971, pp. 23-46), but some are of importance, viz. (1) those designed by Pieter de Witte (Candido) c. 1612 (see B. Volk-Knüttel, *Wandteppiche für den Münchener Hof nach Entwürfen von Peter Candid*, Munich, 1976, Nos. 37, 40, 44); (2) those designed in 1619 by Karel van Mander the Younger (see G. T. van Ysselsteyn, *Geschiedenis der tapijtweverijen in de Noordelijke Nederlanden*, Leiden, 1936, I, pp. 252-253, 255, figs. 56-58); (3) the series in the Brussels Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, inspired by Tempesta's engravings and Rubens's *Death of Decius Mus* (see G. Delmarcel in [Cat. Exh.] *Brusselse wandtapijten in Rubens' eeuw*, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, 1977, pp. 85-102, Nos. 25-32); (4) the so-called 'English hunting scenes' woven by Van der Gucht in 1647 (see U. Cederlöf, 'Paintings and Tapestries of the Hunt in Swedish Royal Collections', *The Connoisseur*, December 1977, pp. 254-261). However, with these last examples we are already beyond the period in which Rubens designed hunting scenes.

16. See p. 30, n. 41.

17. See p. 29 and n. 35.

18. Some important examples are: (1) *Louis XIV Hunting* by Adam Frans van der Meulen (Paris, Musée de la Chasse, Louvre repository; see P. Rosenberg et al., *Musée du Louvre. Catalogue illustré des peintures. École française XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, II, Paris, 1974, p. 134, No. 840); (2) the interior decoration of the Venaria Reale at Turin (c. 1600, by Jan Miel and others; see description in *Alpers, Torre*, pp. 114-115); (3) Battista Curlando's hunting scenes for Schloss Lustheim at Schleissheim (c. 1690; see *Kurfürst Max Emanuel. Bayern und Europa um 1700*, I, *Zur Geschichte und Kunstgeschichte der Max-Emanuel-Zeit*, Munich, 1976, pp. 176-178; II, *Katalog der*

Alongside courtly paintings of the hunt there developed in Flanders a type of scene without human figures, in other words a straightforward animal painting. This too was tremendously popular for a time. The genre was inspired by Rubens,<sup>19</sup> but should not be placed on the same footing as his hunting scenes. The animal paintings were the work of 'specialists', and the artistic theory of the time considered them inferior on account of the limited nature of the subject. Rubens's hunting scenes, on the other hand, must be regarded as history painting, since they depict human actions with a seriousness and dramatic force which go beyond mere anecdote.<sup>20</sup>

### THE COURTLY ICONOGRAPHY OF THE HUNT

It was suggested earlier that in his first hunting scenes Rubens appealed to what he knew to be a latent interest in such themes. The nobility was certainly interested in the iconography of the hunt, but Renaissance artists had not been much disposed to comply with such demand. In tapestry the genre had been revived to some extent, but this had little effect on painting. Rubens was the first painter of importance who reverted to the theme and clearly took more than a superficial interest in it.

In several of his early hunting scenes it is clear that Rubens was inspired by older examples of the courtly style, and also that he wanted his public to be aware of the fact. The enormous size of his *Wolf Hunt* (No.2; Fig.33, originally c.330 × 516 cm.) recalls the great hunting tapestries woven in Flanders in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. There seems to be a direct reference to 'Burgundian' hunts<sup>21</sup> in the medley of old-fashioned costumes<sup>22</sup> of the hunters in that piece, as in the *Boar Hunt* at Marseilles (No.4; Fig.40), the falconry scenes (Nos.14a, 15; Figs.90, 92) and the later *Bear Hunt* (No.27; Fig.132). Other features

*Ausstellung im Alten und Neuen Schloss Schleissheim*, Munich, 1976, p.1, No.1); (4) the series painted by Jan Weenix for Schloss Bensberg (c. 1715; see P.Eikemeier, 'Der Jagdzyklus des Jan Weenix aus Schloss Bensberg', *Weltkunst*, XLVIII, 1978, pp.296-298); (5) the set of tapestries designed by Jean-Baptiste Oudry c.1740, entitled *Les chasses royales* or *The Hunts of Louis XV* (see e.g. H.N.Opperman, 'The Genesis of the "Chasses Royales"', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXII, 1970, pp.217-224); (6) the nine exotic hunts by François Boucher, Carle Vanloo and others for the Petite Galerie of Louis XV at Versailles (see *Hamilton Hazlehurst, Wild Beasts*). For hunting pieces by P.J.Horemans see [Cat. Exh.] *Wittelsbacher Jagd* (Deutsches Jagdmuseum, Munich, 1980), pp.85-101.

19. See Chapter IV, esp. pp.76-83.

20. G. F. Waagen (*Kleine Schriften*, Stuttgart, 1875, p.290) and M. Winner (*Winner, Eberjagd*, p.176) have emphasized that Rubens's hunting scenes must be regarded as 'history' paintings.

21. I use the term 'Burgundian' to suggest the atmosphere of aristocratic hunting in c. 1400-1500, which is generally associated with the brilliant court of the Dukes of Burgundy in the Netherlands.

22. For Rubens's use of archaic costume in general see *Belkin, Costume Book*, pp.52-53.

that seem to recall the courtly tradition are the noblewoman with a hawk on her wrist in the *Wolf Hunt* (No.2; Fig.33) and the male and female riders grouped together on the right of the *Boar Hunt* (No.4; Fig.40): these have no dramatic function but recall the processions of richly clad, elegant courtly couples in the 'Burgundian' scenes. They can also be seen in sketches for the *Hawking Party* (Nos.14a, 15; Figs.90, 92). That Rubens knew and was interested in hunting tapestries of earlier centuries is clear from studies of them in his so-called *Costume Book* (Figs.1, 2);<sup>23</sup> moreover he possessed a fragment of a drawing by Bernard van Orley for his *Hunts of Maximilian*, and this he retouched and elaborated.<sup>24</sup>

Thus the idea of reviving the old type of courtly hunting scene, which in his time was regarded as, so to speak, a fossilized genre, may have led Rubens to embark on compositions of this kind. But other sources of inspiration were also present.

## THE CHASE IN ANCIENT MYTHOLOGY

A substantial number of Rubens's hunting scenes drew their material from classical mythology. It was natural for a humanistic artist to turn to antique sources, where hunting was much in evidence both in literature<sup>25</sup> and in art. It is in fact surprising that this aspect of ancient iconography was almost entirely neglected by the Italian Renaissance painters. They knew the descriptions of the Calydonian boar hunt by ancient authors, and that Diana was worshipped as the goddess of hunting; moreover they had descriptions of pictures of the hunt in the *Eikones* of the elder and younger Philostratus. One might also have expected that the innumerable representations of the hunt in Roman sarcophagus reliefs (Meleager, Hippolytus, Imperial lion hunts), or the famous tondo hunting-reliefs on the arch of Constantine—which were then thought to represent Trajan, not Hadrian as is now believed<sup>26</sup>—would have inspired Renaissance

23. Belkin, *Costume Book*, No.14v., fig.68 (*Hawking Scene*) and No.24, fig.115 (*Boar Hunt*).

24. See A.E.Popham, 'An Orley Drawing Retouched by Rubens', *Old Master Drawings*, I, 1927, pp.45-47; Rowlands, *Rubens Drawings*, No.49, repr.

25. I have in mind not only *belles-lettres* but treatises on hunting such as those by Xenophon, Gratius Faliscus, Nemesianus and Oppian. I do not think it likely that Rubens made use of this specialized literature; at all events I have found no indication that he did.

26. See E.Strong, *La scultura romana da Augusto a Costantino*, Florence, 2nd edn. 1926, pp.217-224, figs.131-138. That the figures were thought to represent Trajan appears from *Admiranda romanarum antiquitatum ... notis Io. Petri Bellorii illustrata*, Rome, 1664-1667, pl.24-31.

painting on this theme. But, as I have already pointed out, the Italian painters only depicted hunting in the most incidental way.

It was precisely Rubens's aim to bring back an ancient genre into favour. This was his objective even before he thought of reviving the tradition of the European courtly hunt—for he had painted a *Calydonian Boar Hunt* (No.1; cf. Fig.31) before the *Wolf Hunt* (No.2; Fig.33)—and it remained his purpose throughout his career.

Rubens's first *Calydonian Boar Hunt* (No.1; cf. Fig.31) seems to be an attempt to reconstruct an ancient work of art: it follows very closely the compositions on Roman sarcophagi (e.g. Fig.27) supplemented by details from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.<sup>27</sup> His later versions of the subject are variations on the same basic plan. That Rubens made use of Ovid's account is shown, for example, by the fact that Ancaeus, the man lying dead on the ground, is wounded by the boar in the under-belly (No.1; cf. Fig.31),<sup>28</sup> and has an axe as his weapon (No.12; cf. Fig.81);<sup>29</sup> also in Rubens's painting, as in Ovid,<sup>30</sup> Atalanta has hit the boar with an arrow behind the ear.

Giulio Romano had already used antique sarcophagi for his composition of the *Calydonian Boar Hunt*<sup>31</sup>—a work of which only a preliminary sketch (Fig.28) and several copies are known—and Alpers has pointed out that Rubens knew this composition, which was probably one of a set of four in the Gonzaga hunting lodge at Marmirolo. The nymph on the extreme right of Rubens's *Diana hunting Fallow Deer* (No.21a; Fig.110), holding two pairs of hounds on the leash and with her left arm round a tree, is borrowed literally from Giulio's *Calydonian Boar Hunt*.<sup>32</sup> In one of his own paintings of this subject (No.20a; Fig.105) Rubens also borrowed from Giulio's version the hound trampled on by the boar and biting its ear from below. Very possibly Rubens possessed a drawn copy of the work of his famous Italian predecessor, since he possessed at least two other drawings of compositions of the Marmirolo series, *The Death of Adonis* and *Hylas and the Nymphs*.<sup>33</sup> In the 'Rubens Cantoor' of the printroom of the Statens

27. See in more detail under No.1, esp. p.91.

28. See p.94, n.2.

29. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VIII 397: 'ancipitemque manu tollens utraque securim'.

30. Ibid., VIII 382: 'fixa sub aure feri summum dextrinxit harundo'.

31. See Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, I, pp.225, 305, No.293; II, fig.472; P.Pouncey and J.A.Gere, *Italian Drawings in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum. Raphael and his Circle*, London, 1962, I, pp.64–65, No.85; II, pl.78.

32. Alpers, *Torre*, p.111, n.237.

33. See M.Jaffé, 'Rubens and Giulio Romano at Mantua', *The Art Bulletin*, XL, 1958, pp.326–327, n.16; [C. Van Hasselt], [Cat. Exh.] *Vlaamse tekeningen uit de zeventiende eeuw, verzameling Frits Lugt, Institut Néerlandais, Parijs* (Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, 1972), pp.103–105, No.72, pl.35; M.Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, Oxford, 1977, p.43, fig.107.



Museum for Kunst at Copenhagen there is a drawing by an unknown hand (Fig.29)<sup>34</sup> of Giulio's *Calydonian Boar Hunt* that is probably based on the one owned by Rubens.

Besides Meleager and Atalanta, another favourite mythological theme of Rubens was Diana hunting. Diana was a frequent subject of Renaissance art, but was very seldom portrayed as a huntress. The most popular themes were *The Punishment of Callisto* and *The Punishment of Actaeon*. In France, in the mid sixteenth century, a very complex iconography of the goddess was inspired by Diane de Poitiers, but there too she is seldom seen pursuing game through the woods.<sup>35</sup>

On his visit to Madrid in 1628–1629 Rubens was to have the opportunity of seeing and copying Titian's pictures of Diana in the Alcázar, but he had by then already developed his own iconography of the goddess. What first attracted him was the opportunity to depict a sensual female nude. In his many scenes of the sleeping Diana and her nymphs being spied upon by satyrs he expressed a piquant contrast between the lascivious intruders and the passive, naked women vowed to chastity.<sup>36</sup> The dead game and hunting gear furnish the only allusion to the chase. Later he would depict Diana and her attendants, in a less naked condition, setting out for the hunt or returning from it.<sup>37</sup>

Rubens paid more attention to hunting in a number of cabinet-size paintings executed in about 1620 in collaboration with Jan Brueghel, probably for the Archduchess Isabella (cf. Fig.5). Here Diana and her companions are surrounded by a variegated pack of hounds, all kinds of game are displayed around them and the nymphs are busy unloading the booty; the hunt itself is not shown, however.<sup>38</sup>

34. 'Rubens Cantoor', No.IV, 42: red chalk, 219 × 344 mm.; see G.Falk, 'En Rubenselevs Tegninger', *Kunstmuseets Aarskrift*, 1918, p.76, repr. (as *W.Panneels*). It is noteworthy that in this drawing the first huntsman behind the boar holds his right arm in front of his face and stretched out over his shoulder. This is one of the two possible positions of the arm indicated in Giulio's drawing in the British Museum (Fig.28), but the other copies known to me (the engraving and the drawing in the Louvre, mentioned by Hartt) show the alternative pose with the arm stretched upward. None the less it is clear that the copyist of the 'Rubens Cantoor' was not following the drawing in the British Museum: for that does not show the prostrate dog in the foreground, which is present in the other copies mentioned.

35. See Françoise Bardou, *Diane de Poitiers et le mythe de Diane*, Paris, 1963; pl.XVa shows a tapestry design by Luca Penni (?) representing *Diana hunting Deer*.

36. *Rooses*, III, pp.81–83, Nos.599, 600; K.E.Simon, 'Rubens' Satyren und die ruhende Diana', *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, LXIII, 1942, pp.110–113.

37. *K.d.K.*, pp.123, 127; *Rooses*, III, pp.72–73, 77–80, Nos.586, 587, 595–597.

38. Four compositions are involved here, with some further variations. Of one of these (*Ertz, Brueghel*, fig.476: *Unloading Booty*) no original appears to have survived. The other titles are: *Departure for the Hunt* (*Ertz, Brueghel*, No.354, fig.464; Paris, Musée de la Chasse); *Return from the Hunt* (*Ertz, Brueghel*, No.356, fig.472; Munich, Alte Pinakothek); *Satyrs spying on Sleeping Nymphs* (*Ertz, Brueghel*, No.355, fig.471; Paris, Musée de la Chasse; variants: *Ertz, Brueghel*, Nos.357, 358, figs.473, 477). According to an 18th-century source three such hunting

Only in *Diana hunting Deer* (No.13; cf. Figs.83, 85), painted shortly before 1628, do we see the goddess fully in action: this is surprisingly late, considering that Rubens had then been painting hunting scenes for more than ten years. It is not clear whether this picture and later ones of the same subject (Nos.17, 19, 21) were inspired by antique iconographical sources. Naturally Rubens well knew the antique representations of Artemis or Diana—sometimes as an Amazon, with one breast exposed—advancing with rapid strides, accompanied perhaps by a hound or a young doe;<sup>39</sup> but as far as I know the actual theme of *Diana hunting Deer* does not occur in ancient art. Rubens's sources were rather literary ones, which described the goddess as *Elaphebolos* (deer-hunter)<sup>40</sup> and as being accompanied on the chase by nymphs and dryads.<sup>41</sup> Another title was *Potnia Theron* (Mistress of Beasts), and Rubens portrayed her in this guise also (Fig.3).<sup>42</sup>

### THE EXOTIC ICONOGRAPHY OF THE CHASE

Rubens's scenes of the hunting of exotic animals have received most attention in the literature. He himself described one of them—a copy, offered to Carleton, of the *Lion Hunt* painted for Maximilian of Bavaria (No.6; cf. Fig.51)—as 'alla moresca e turcesca molto bizarra'.<sup>43</sup> These paintings do indeed represent Moors<sup>44</sup> and Near Eastern figures, and the source of this iconography may no doubt be looked for in the numerous prints of exotic hunts by Stradanus and Tempesta.<sup>45</sup> But, as we should expect from the 'pictor doctus' *par excellence*, Rubens enriched the theme from the most varied literary and iconographical

pictures (which exactly?) then at Nymphenburg had been painted for the hunting lodge of Albert and Isabella at Tervuren. As Ertz observed, the fact that the Infanta commissioned such hunting scenes seems to be confirmed by De Piles's statement that Isabella's pack of hounds was depicted in *Departure for the Hunt*, then in the possession of the duc de Richelieu. It is less clear, in my view, whether Ertz is right in supposing that the three paintings for Tervuren never reached their destination but remained with Rubens. Two such compositions do figure in the inventory of his estate, but it may be that the archducal couple possessed other versions (for this problem cf. Ertz, *Brueghel*, pp.391–407).

39. See e.g. S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, Paris, 1897, I, pl.302–311; II, pl.310–317.

40. See Schreiber, 'Artemis', in *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, ed. by W.H. Roscher, Leipzig, I, 1884–1890, cols.558–608, esp. cols.581, 582.

41. 'Cervos quoque cornutos in venatione insequi videbatur, circa quam, sive ad eius latera, erant Dryadum, Hamadryadum, Naiadum et Nereidum: et chori nympharum ... cum choris et satyrorum cornutorum' (Alberic of London, *De deorum imaginibus libellus*, VII: *De Diana*, quoted in Françoise Bardon, *op. cit.*, p.4, n.3). This is how the Renaissance poets generally imagined Diana, pursuing deer through the forest in the company of her chaste nymphs: see *ibid.*, pp.105ff. and *passim*.

42. For this painting see p.182. For Artemis (or Diana) as *Potnia Theron* see Schreiber, *op. cit.*, cols.564–565.

43. For the full quotation see p.129, n.6.

44. See e.g. the Moor in the *Tiger Hunt*, inspired by the portrait of Mūlay Ahmad (see No.7, n.51).

45. The importance of these engravings by Stradanus and Tempesta (see above, p.52) to Rubens's hunting scenes has often been pointed out; see especially *Rosand*, *Lion Hunt*, pp.33–34.

sources. Probably more features than we can now identify are based on documentation collected for the purpose. For instance, the quiver carried by the horseman on the right of the *Lion Hunt* (No.6; cf. Fig.51) occurs in several of Rubens's other paintings:<sup>46</sup> he probably had many such *exotica* in his collection, and used them to provide convincing accessories to his compositions.

Rubens also made use of ample documentation as far as animals were concerned,<sup>47</sup> but unlike Stradanus, for example, Rubens only painted those species of which he could form a realistic picture. Thus he never painted animals belonging to the New World. This seems to me an important point. Apart from courtly hunting scenes, Rubens only regarded Old World hunting as a proper subject—and, anticipating my further argument, I would add that he restricted this to types of hunting described by the Ancients.

In a number of the paintings to be discussed here, besides the hunters represented as Moors, Turks, Persians or suchlike, there are also helmeted horsemen in armour (Nos.7, 8 and 11; Figs.57, 63, 74). As appears from a comparison with other paintings by Rubens, the armour in question was regarded by Rubens as antique,<sup>48</sup> which makes it likely that the hunts are intended to be those which the Greeks or Romans conducted in their colonies.<sup>49</sup> Perhaps Rubens remembered Pliny's statement that Antiphilus had depicted a Hunt by Ptolemy,<sup>50</sup> and he certainly knew the references to another famous antique work, *Alexander's Lion Hunt*, a group of statuary by Lysippus and Leochares (Rubens, indeed was to paint a picture of this subject: No.16; cf. Fig.93).<sup>51</sup> It would certainly be going too far to seek to identify a specific historical hunt in every one of Rubens's exotic hunting scenes, but it was most probably his intention to evoke the geographical and historical setting of North Africa and Asia Minor during the Hellenistic period or under the Roman empire.

Perhaps, however, this is not true of all his exotic hunting scenes. One of his *Lion Hunts*, (No.9; Fig.65), might be interpreted as representing a hunt in Persia

46. This quiver occurs e.g. in the *St. Sebastian* in Berlin (*K.d.K.*, p.48; *Vlieghe, Saints*, II, No.145, fig.108), and in *Satyrs spying on Diana and her Nymphs* in Buckingham Palace (*Rooses*, III, pp.82–83, No.600, pl.191).

47. See Chapter IV, esp. pp.70–74.

48. Cf. H. D. Rodee, 'Rubens' Treatment of Antique Armor', *The Art Bulletin*, XLIX, 1967, pp.223–230.

49. For hunting in the ancient world see A. Reinach, in *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, edited by C. Daremberg and E. Saglio, L, Paris, 1915, pp.680–700, s.v. *Venatio*.

50. Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, XXXV, 138.

51. See in more detail on p.200. It may be mentioned here that Rubens had in his possession a gem with a hunt, described in a list of 1628 as follows: '48 Venatio Marci & Faustina v1 plerique putant'. See H. M. van der Meulen-Schregardus, *Petrus Pavlus Rybens antiquarius*, Alphen aan de Rijn, 1975, p.151, No.C71, p.208; for a possible identification see O. Neverov, 'Gems in the Collection of Rubens', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXI, 1979, p.432, fig.48.

in his own day: the figure on the extreme right of the picture was taken by Rubens from his *Costume Book* (Fig.66), where it is identified as 'King of Persia hunting'.<sup>52</sup> This hunt, moreover, is purely Oriental; there are no Europeans in ancient armour. However, the contemporary Persian costume does not in itself prove that Rubens intended to place the scene in his own time. He may have thought of it as a timeless Persian dress, and intended the picture to represent the Persian hunts in *paradeisoi*, as reported by ancient authors.<sup>53</sup>

## FORMAL ASPECTS

Rubens's dependence, at least in his early hunting scenes, on the compositions of Stradanus and Tempesta is seen in formal respects as well as in iconography. Certain motifs, such as the posture of horses and riders, seem to have been taken almost literally from the prints. For instance, a rider in a *Boar Hunt* by Tempesta (Fig.17)<sup>54</sup> is presented almost frontally, leaning to the left, and is about to deliver the death-blow to an onrushing boar. This figure appears in Rubens's *Boar Hunt* at Marseilles (No.4; Fig.40), his *Landscape with a Boar Hunt* at Dresden (Fig.26), and his *Bear Hunt* (No.27; Fig.132). There are some equally striking resemblances with particular poses in Stradanus's work: this artist used a wide range of postures of horses and riders in a great variety of combat attitudes, compiled from antique sources or the work of his Italian predecessors. These earlier models were doubtless known to Rubens as well, and in some cases he made direct use of them in preference to the stereotyped forms adopted by Stradanus. This seems to be the case, for instance, in his *Lion Hunts*. The motif of a lion leaping on to the back of an Oriental in a turban and biting his shoulder (Nos.3, 7, 8, 9, 16; Figs.39, 57, 63, 65 and cf. Fig.93) was clearly taken by Rubens from Stradanus (Figs.18, 20),<sup>55</sup> and the lion springing at a man whose horse has

52. See under No.9, p.155.

53. Information about the *paradeisoi* was collected by J.-C. Boulenger under the heading *De Venatione Persica* in his book on the Roman circus games, first published in 1598 (Julius Caesar Bulengerus, *De circo Romano...*, reprinted in J.G. Graevius, *Thesaurus antiquitatum Romanarum*, IX, Leiden, 1698, cols.750-751). This quoted *inter alia* from Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* and Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius*. There is an engraving by Stradanus showing a Persian monarch hunting; on a preliminary drawing for this work the artist wrote: 'Il Re di Persia nelle caccie ... ex Herodote' (see *Bok-van Kammen, Stradanus*, pp.417-418, No.61).

54. W. A. Baillie-Grohman, *op. cit.* (n.2 above), pp.162-163, fig.101; the same figure appears in other Tempesta prints, see e.g. *Hamilton Hazlehurst, Wild Beasts*, figs.7 and 8. Another *Boar Hunt* by Tempesta (in the series *Bartsch 1140-1147*) seems to have influenced Rubens's *Landscape with a Boar Hunt* (Fig.26) at Dresden, as observed in N. Beets, *op. cit.* (n.13 above), p.5, n.1. Other possible sources of inspiration, though they show less resemblance to Rubens's composition, are mentioned in *Adler, Landscapes*, pp.75-76 under No.18.

55. *Bok-van Kammen, Stradanus*, Nos. *P.a.C.* 5 and *Galle* 17.

stumbled under him (No.6; cf. Fig.51) resembles a motif from an etching by Tempesta (Fig.16).<sup>56</sup> But in both cases Rubens has succeeded in depicting the beast with greater dramatic power, and in so doing he was clearly inspired by the famous antique statuary group of a lion mauling a horse, which was so admired by Michelangelo.<sup>57</sup> There is evidence that Rubens possessed a small bronze model of this group, perhaps a cast from Gianbologna's copy of it (Fig.15).<sup>58</sup> The lion in the *Lion Hunt* painted for Maximilian of Bavaria (No.6; cf. Fig.51) was clearly inspired by that example; this is even more the case with the *Lion Hunt* at Munich (above all the preliminary sketch at Leningrad, No.11a; Fig.75), where the horse's pose also recalls that in the antique group, or more particularly Gianbologna's modified version.

In addition to individual motifs, the engravings by Stradanus and Tempesta provided Rubens with useful compositional models. One of the novel features of Stradanus's hunting scenes was that he used reminiscences of equestrian combat, and this would certainly have helped to make the theme attractive to Rubens with his taste for Italian aesthetics. As has often been observed,<sup>59</sup> there are close links between Rubens's early hunting scenes and his scenes of fighting on horseback (e.g. *The Battle of the Amazons*,<sup>60</sup> *The Death of Decius Mus*,<sup>61</sup> *The Defeat of Sennacherib*,<sup>62</sup> *The Battle of Tunis*<sup>63</sup> etc.) and his equestrian pieces in general, such as the different versions of *The Conversion of St. Paul*. In both types of picture Rubens used the same motifs and similar compositional methods. Like

56. Bartsch 1171. Still more similar is a *Lion Hunt* from the series Bartsch 1148–1157 (N. Beets, op. cit., fig.4), but this is dated 1621 and is thus subsequent to Rubens's work. For yet another *Lion Hunt* by Tempesta see Rosand, *Lion Hunt*, fig.20.

57. See H. Stuart Jones, *A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures preserved in the Municipal Collection of Rome. The Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori*, Oxford, 1926, pp.249–250, No.100, pl.96. U. Aldrovandi (*Le statue di Roma*, Venice, 1558, p.270) says that this group '... è stato giudicato maravigliosissimo da Michel Angelo'. Haberditzl first pointed out its importance to Rubens's *Lion Hunts* in Haberditzl, *Studien*, pp.295–296; see also Rosand, *Lion Hunt*, p.33. Hellenistic art contains many such scenes of fighting animals, a theme from the Near East; see examples in Mary Sturgeon, 'A Hellenistic Lion-Bull Group in Oberlin', *Bulletin Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College*, XXXIII, 1, 1975–76, pp.28–43.

58. The inventory of the estate of the first Duke of Buckingham, dated 1635, lists among the 'models' said to be from Rubens's collection: '3. A Lion and a Horse in metal, being the models of those which are in the Capitol at Rome' (Sainsbury, *Papers*, p.66, n.96; see also Miesel, *Rubens and Ancient Art*, pp.11, 173, n.139). We may suppose that this was a cast of a bronze statuette modelled by Giovanni da Bologna and executed by Antonio Susini (Fig.15): see e.g. W. Valentiner, 'Another Signed Bronze by Antonio Susini', *The Burlington Magazine*, XLVI, 1925, p.315; [Cat. Exh.] *Gianbologna 1529–1608, Sculptor of the Medici* (Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh—Victoria and Albert Museum, London—Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, 1978–1979), Nos.170, 172, 174, repr. Haberditzl (op. cit., p.296, n.1) also drew attention to a drawing attributed to Rubens and sold from the Aigremont collection in 1866: 'Lion dévorant un cheval, pierre noire, sanguine'.

59. See e.g. Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, I, pp.86–87.

60. *K.d.K.*, p.196.

61. *K.d.K.*, p.146; see also under No.3, p.108.

62. *K.d.K.*, p.156; see also under No.3, pp.108–109.

63. *K.d.K.*, p.401; Held, *Oil Sketches*, I, pp.386–388, No.288; II, pl.286–289; see also p.168, under No.11.

Stradanus, he filled the space almost entirely with bodies of men and animals, depicted variously from the front, from behind or in profile, producing a lively dynamic effect which is generally focused on the centre of the picture. This centripetal tendency is reinforced by the line of sight and the direction of lances and other weapons: compare, for instance, Stradanus's *Elephant Hunt* (Fig.19)<sup>64</sup> with Rubens's *Hippopotamus Hunt* (No.5; Fig.46).

It is not, of course, suggested that Rubens was wholly indebted to Stradanus or Tempesta for the conception of an animated, dramatic composition, such as we find in constant variety in his hunting scenes. Antique sarcophagi (e.g. Fig.27), on which some of these pictures are clearly based (Nos.1, 4 and 10; cf. Figs.31, 40, 69) also furnished prototypes for these scenes with their abundance of action and dramatic contrasts.<sup>65</sup> Of the greatest importance, too, was Leonardo's *Battle of Anghiari*, the real point of departure for the genre of heroic equestrian combat as it came to full flower in Italy.<sup>66</sup> Rubens's interest in this composition is well known: he not only copied it (Fig.30),<sup>67</sup> but also paraphrased it in a drawing now in the British Museum,<sup>68</sup> and very early in his Italian period a number of drawings and paintings show that he had put his study of it to good use.<sup>69</sup> The psychological emphasis on both men and animals impressed him greatly, but he was also interested in the intertwining of forms and the development of the action on two levels: over the horses' heads, and beneath their feet on the ground. It can safely be said that in his early hunting scenes, up to and including the *Lion Hunt* at Munich (No.11; Fig.74), Rubens was striving to compete with Leonardo's work. His dependence on its composition appears most clearly in the sketch for a *Lion Hunt* in the National Gallery in London (No.3; Fig.39),<sup>70</sup> while in an early *Calydonian Boar Hunt* (No.1; cf. Fig.31) we note the literal adoption of a horse motif.<sup>71</sup> On the other hand, in the Munich *Lion Hunt* (No.11; Fig.74) Rubens appears completely emancipated from Leonardo's determining

64. Bok-van Kammen, *Stradanus*, No. Galle 5.

65. Miesel (op. cit., pp.66-69, 81) pointed out the importance of Roman sarcophagi to the compositional structure of Rubens's early hunting scenes.

66. John Smith already noted that the *Battle of Anghiari* was a source of inspiration for Rubens's hunting scenes (Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp.79-80, under No.274; see also Oldenbourg, *Flämische Malerei*, p.190; Rosand, *Lion Hunt*, pp.35-36).

67. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins (see Lugt, *Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, pp.29-30, No.1084; Held, *Drawings*, pp.157-159, No.161). Anne-Marie Logan believes this to be a drawing of unknown authorship, retouched by Rubens: see Renger, in *Kunstchronik*, XXXI, 1978, p.143.

68. British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, Inv. No.1895-9-15-1044 (see Rowlands, *Rubens Drawings*, p.34, No.22, repr.).

69. See J.Müller Hofstede, 'An Early Rubens Conversion of St.Paul. The Beginning of His Preoccupation with Leonardo's *Battle of Anghiari*', *The Burlington Magazine*, CVI, 1964, pp.95-106.

70. See p.109.

71. See p.92.

influence on the purely formal side: only in spirit is the painting akin to the *Battle of Anghiari*.

Besides that work, other Italian representations of equestrian battles no doubt contributed to Rubens's repertoire of forms.<sup>72</sup> Models of dead warriors prostrate on the ground, horsemen thrown by their rearing mounts, soldiers wielding sword and lance—all these went to supplement the lessons he had learnt from Stradanus and Tempesta.

In Rubens's late hunting scenes, the comparison with Leonardo's *Battle of Anghiari* or the compositions of Stradanus and Tempesta is less relevant. As pointed out in Chapter I, in the second half of his career Rubens no longer chose centripetal, highly interwoven compositions but a looser, horizontal, frieze-like design representing the pursuit rather than the actual conflict. This preference may have been inspired by Giulio Romano's *Calydonian Boar Hunt* (Fig.28), already discussed;<sup>73</sup> but similar horizontal scenes of pursuit were also frequent in the traditional iconography, as in Cranach's hunting scenes (Fig.11) and Bernard van Orley's *Hunts of Maximilian* (Fig.12). In any case Rubens's late hunting scenes seem to require less explanation, as far as form is concerned, than those discussed so far.

## EXPRESSIVE INTENTION

The late hunting scenes can be described as lively and skilful representations of narrative material, some of which shows originality of choice. In content they appear less complex than those of the early period, which belong more closely together and form, as it were, a single phenomenon, as witness the very extensive treatment accorded to them in the literature. The group has often been trenchantly defined; features to which attention is repeatedly drawn are the extreme dramatic and emotional force of these works, the almost archetypal forms of violence, the expressive physiognomy of men and animals, and the horrific character of some details.<sup>74</sup>

72. For the importance of the *Battle of Constantine*, designed by Raphael and executed by Giulio Romano, to the development of Rubens's equestrian motifs, see under No.3, p.108.

73. See p.56.

74. 'Si jamais Rubens a fait connoître l'étendue et la vivacité de son génie, c'est assurément dans les tableaux de chasses qui sont sortis de ses mains...' (*Abécédario de P.J. Mariette et autres notes inédites de cet amateur sur les arts et les artistes*, ed. by P. de Chennevières and A. de Montaiglon, V, Paris, 1858–1859, p.137); (on the *Lion Hunt* from Schleissheim, No.6) 'The whole presents a scene of extraordinary action, and strong excitation of the passions' (Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.275, No.926); 'La chasse, comme le maître la conçoit, est d'ailleurs un genre éminemment rubénien, où sa prédilection pour l'action dramatique, pour l'effort héroïque, pour le

There is a good deal of testimony from Rubens or his immediate circle to suggest that he fully intended this expressive effect. For instance, Matthew's letter to Carleton of 25 February 1617 indicates that Rubens thought it an interesting achievement to have represented the animals in his *Wolf Hunt* (No.2; Fig.33) as 'all alive' and 'in act eyther of escape or resistance'.<sup>75</sup> Rubens himself, writing to Carleton on 28 May 1619 about one of his hunting scenes, lays stress on the depiction of 'tanti animali formidabili'.<sup>76</sup> It is also interesting that Charles, Prince of Wales, declared that Rubens's *Tiger Hunt* (No.7; Fig.57), of which he had seen a copy, was too cruel and violent for his taste and that he would have preferred a painting with 'tamer beasts'. Rubens implicitly admitted the charge by promising to paint a hunting scene 'moins terrible que celle des Lyons'.<sup>77</sup>

Compared with the art of previous ages, these hunting scenes express the very height of emotional effect. The fearsome jaws of the hippopotamus, the horse biting it in the back (No.5; Figs.46, 48), the lions and tigers sinking their fangs into the shoulder or belly of their human prey (Nos.7 and 11; Figs.57, 74), the gored hound yelping with pain (No.4; Fig.40), the huntsmen screaming as they are mauled by the savage beasts (Nos.7 and 11; Figs.57, 74)—never before had details of this kind been presented in such a lifelike manner. Only Leonardo's *Battle of Anghiari* can in some measure be compared with Rubens's hunting

mouvement fougueux, éclate mieux que partout ailleurs et trouve matière à produire coup sur coup, des chefs-d'œuvre' (*Rooses*, IV, p.330, under No.1150); 'Ausserdem hat Rubens noch eine weitere Welt für die Malerei erobert: die der *mächtigen wilden Tiere*, ... in ihrem furchtbaren Kampf mit meist berittenen Menschen. Es war ein hoher Wille seiner Natur: er muss bisweilen einsam auf seinem Kahn hinaus in die allerwildeste Sturmflut des Geschehenden, und es wird weder von Malern, noch von Beschauern verlangt, dass sie ihm dorthin zu folgen hätten; einmal aber, wie es scheint, hat es einen Menschen dieser Anlage geben müssen' (*Burckhardt, Rubens*, pp.302–303); 'Yet it was this power of conveying the impression of irresistible impetus and overflowing life that was the essential gift of Rubens... It was in certain battle and hunting scenes that Rubens had early occasion to prove his mettle as a painter of violent action' (*Dillon, Rubens*, p.115); 'Mit der nämlichen Tendenz setzen bald darauf in den Jagdbildern und den Darstellungen der letzten Dinge die stärksten dramatischen Akzente wieder ein und führen zu einige der gewaltigsten Schöpfungen des Meisters' (*Oldenbourg, Flämische Malerei*, p.38); 'Es ist nicht der Existenzkampf, der Hunger, auch nicht der Fortpflanzungskampf, die Brunst der Hirsche, kein dunkler Naturtrüb, der hier gefeiert wird, sondern es ist der Kampf als etwas Menschliches, als Geist' (*Evers, Rubens*, p.173); '... his monumental hunting pictures..., celebrating as they do not the abundance of nature but its physical energies. They are conceived ... as explosive battles' (*Rosand, Lion Hunt*, p.38); 'Die Jagdbilder, die seit um 1615 in Rubens' Repertoire auftauchen, bezogen ihre Aktualität aus den damals so lebhaft geführten Diskussionen um die Bedeutung der Affekte' (M. Warnke, *Peter Paul Rubens. Leben und Werk*, Cologne, 1977, p.109); 'Das Bildthema einer Jagd bietet ein Höchstmass an Bewegungsdarstellungen. Da aber auch der Ausdruck von Seelenstimmungen, von Affekten und Leidenschaften in der Malerei nur durch Körperbewegung bei Menschen und Tier verdeutlicht werden kann, ist die Jagdthematik von zentraler Wichtigkeit für den Maler Rubens, der sich beim Malen als Dichter versteht' (*Winner, Eberjagd*, p.176).

75. For the full quotation see p.104, n.27.

76. For the full quotation see p.48, n.60.

77. See under No.7, p.144, nn.19, 21 and 22.



scenes as regards the depiction of violent emotions. Leonardo in fact devoted much attention to this aspect of painting, and discussed it in his writings.<sup>78</sup> The principle of depicting the emotions had been introduced into humanistic art theory by Leone Battista Alberti, who held that history painters, in order to arouse the spectator's feelings, should portray emotion through bodily movements.<sup>79</sup> This view was developed in sixteenth-century theoretical writings within the general framework of the philosophical theory of emotion (first that of scholasticism, later that of the Stoics). As far as practical application was concerned, ancient treatises of rhetoric and physiognomy were consulted, as well as the observation of nature and works of art, both plastic and literary. In this way the theory of expression became one of the most important branches of the humanistic theory of art.<sup>80</sup>

Rubens's interest in this subject is well documented. Bellori, for instance, stated in his *Vite* that Rubens was known to have compiled a notebook with observations on such themes as optics, the theory of proportion, anatomy, and also a dissertation on the emotions; for the most important of these, quotations from literary classics were accompanied by drawings of appropriate works of art.<sup>81</sup> (Unfortunately only a few sheets of this notebook have survived). This combination of examples reflected the basic humanistic principle that poetry and painting were related arts pursuing the same purpose, namely the 'imitation' of both visible phenomena and inward emotions. Rubens was not the first to offer a concrete adaptation of these premisses to the theory of expression: Lomazzo in his *Trattato* collected, for the benefit of artists, a number of poetical excerpts classified according to the emotion they expressed, and advised his

78. For Leonardo's theory of expression and of the emotions see e.g. R. W. Lee, *Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting*, New York, 1967, pp.25–26, 73; H. Ost, *Leonardo Studien*, Berlin–New York, 1975, pp.72–70; J. P. Richter, *The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci*, 3rd edn., New York, 1970, I, pp.28–30, 341–342, No.584; II, p.86, No.797; C. Pedretti, *The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci. A Commentary to Jean Paul Richter's Edition*, Oxford, 1977, I, pp.343–348, No.584; II, pp.90–91, No.797. R. de Piles states that Rubens was acquainted with Leonardo's studies in the realm of physiognomy (*Abrégé de la vie des peintres*, Paris, 1699, p.168). The importance of Leonardo's theory of expression to Rubens's hunting scenes has been emphasized by R. Baumstark ('Peter Paul Rubens—Bildgedanke und künstlerische Form', *Jahrbuch der Liechtensteinischen Kunstgesellschaft*, II, 1977, pp.28–30) and by M. Winner (*Winner, Eberjagd*, pp.173–174).

79. 'Poi movera l'istoria l'animo quando li huomini ivi dipinti molto porgeranno suo proprio movimento d'animo ... Ma questi movimenti d'animo si conoscono dai movimenti del corpo... Vedrai a chi sia malinconico il fronte premuto, la cervica languida, al tutto ogni suo membro quasi stracco et negletto cade [etc.]' (*Leone Battista Alberti's kleine kunsttheoretische Schriften* ed. by Janitschek, Vienna, 1877: *Della pittura*, p.121).

80. See R. W. Lee, *op. cit.*, p.23–32, 71–74; M. Barash, 'Der Ausdruck in der italienischen Kunsttheorie der Renaissance', *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft*, XII, 1967, pp.39–69.

81. P. Bellori, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti moderni*, Rome, 1672, p.247 ('... & vna ricerca de' principali affetti, ed attioni cauati da descrittioni di Poeti, con le dimonstrazioni de' pittori...'); see M. Jaffé, *Van Dyck's Antwerp Sketchbook*, London, 1966, I, p.16 and *passim*; J. Müller Hofstede, 'Rubens und die Kunstlehre des Cinquecento. Zur Deutung eines theoretischen Skizzenblattes im Berliner Kabinett', in *Cat. Exh. Cologne, 1977*, I, pp.50–67.

readers to study works of art depicting the same emotions.<sup>82</sup> Quite possibly Rubens followed Lomazzo's indications in his study of methods of portraying emotion. If he did read the *Trattato* he would have been especially interested in its further chapters on the theory of expression: in some cases Lomazzo paints a lively and incisive picture of specific emotional situations. Lomazzo had a taste for the spectacular, and his descriptions give the impression that he often strove after emotional effect for its own sake.<sup>83</sup> Originally 'expression' had the auxiliary function of illustrating the content of the *istoria*, but here it becomes an end in itself. The same may be said of Rubens's early hunting scenes: what seems to have chiefly attracted him is the opportunity of depicting violent emotion and gruesome details. Clearly he was prompted in this direction by the strikingly dramatic example of Leonardo's *Battle of Anghiari*, while Lomazzo's work may have inspired him further in a genre which had never before been practised in such an extreme form. The iconography of the hunt, especially that created by Stradanus, provided a framework in which the ideal could be contained. This penchant for drama and violence continued for some years to inspire Rubens to paint one hunting scene after another; but with the Munich *Lion Hunt* he seems to have found a satisfactory formula, and in his subsequent works the quest for dramatic effect is less evident.

It was, of course, not only hunting scenes that gave Rubens an opportunity to paint dramatic emotions: the same inspiration is seen in his equestrian battles and versions of *The Last Judgement*, which date from the same period. Such pictures evoke in the spectator a sense of pleasing horror: he trembles, but remains fascinated. Not everyone however, enjoyed this state of emotional tension, as we saw from the reaction of the Prince of Wales to the *Tiger Hunt*. We also know of reactions by Rubens's contemporaries to such horrific pieces of his. Thus

82. G. P. Lomazzo, *Trattato dell' Arte de la Pittura*, Milan, 1584, libro II, pp. 105–186, and see also libro VI, cap. XIXff., and cap. LXVI: *De varij affetti umani*. Dilthey wrote as long ago as 1904 about the importance of the Renaissance rediscovery of the theory of emotion and its manifestations, and the inspiration this provided to art and literature, cf. e.g.: '... man findet sich versucht zu vermuten, dass Rubens unter dem Einfluss der geistigen Atmosphäre stand, welche die starken Bewegungen, die Affekte der Seele, die daraus entspringenden starken Handlungen auf eine neue Weise nachempfand, schätzte und zergliederte' (W. Dilthey, 'Die Funktion der Anthropologie...', in his *Gesammelte Schriften*, Berlin, 1921, p. 438; see also M. Warnke, *Kommentare zu Rubens*, Berlin, 1965, p. 28).

83. See for instance his prescription for a scene depicting an attack (*Composizione d'assalti*): '... si hanno da vedere romori, strepiti, percosse, gridi, smarrimenti, stragi, sangue, fughe, crudeltà, uccisioni, meraviglie, & simili...'. '... se vi sono animali vogliono essere mostrati fieri, si che saltino, abbaino & mordano per l'honore dello spettacolo' (Lomazzo, op. cit., libro VI, cap. XXXVI, pp. 369–370). In his cap. XXXVIII: *Composizioni di spaventii* he describes a scene comparable to Rubens's *Lion Hunts*: '... diverso spavento fu quello ch'ebbero in Samaria gl'Assirij, quando per tutte le parti furono assaliti et occisi da leoni arrabiati. Perché si hanno da fingere che fuggano gridando per il dolore d'esser morsi e sbranati, che voltino gl'occhi per di sopra, che allarghino le braccia, calcitrino, torcano i corpi, voltino le teste e le braccia e si lamentino'.

Constantijn Huygens remarks that when suddenly confronted with Rubens's *Medusa*—the painting which Huygens saw in Amsterdam was usually concealed by a curtain—one is frightened but none the less enjoys looking at the picture, blood-curdling though it is. 'All the same', Huygens adds, 'I would rather see such a work in a friend's house than in my own.'<sup>84</sup> Dominicus Baudius refers to the same pleasing horror apropos of the *Prometheus*: 'Horror adstantes habet'.<sup>85</sup> However, what is gruesome in real life may be beautiful in art: this aesthetic principle was familiar to humanistic art-lovers and to Rubens in particular.

## THE DEEPER CONTENT

Courtly hunting scenes were never a purely decorative genre: their object was not merely to depict the aristocratic way of life, but to glorify it. Sometimes this purpose was very clearly stated. For instance, the *Hunts of Maximilian* include an allegorical scene (Fig. 13) in which a princely youth in hunting costume does homage to King Modus and Queen Ratio ('Practice' and 'Theory'), founders of the art of hunting, who are seated on thrones, trampling underfoot two personified vices, Sloth and Gluttony (according to the legend in an explanatory cartouche).<sup>86</sup> Contemporary literature on the subject of hunting describes it as an ideal cure for idleness and therefore a means of overcoming the lower passions. In this way hunting iconography could be used to support the ethical pretensions of the nobility.

In addition hunting was regarded as a good training in the use of weapons and a school of courage and will-power: in short, an excellent preparation for war. This idea seems to have led to Rubens producing his late series of hunting pictures for the King of Spain (Nos. 20–27).<sup>87</sup> This series was linked with another depicting the labours of Hercules, and Philip IV seems to have intended it to commemorate a heroic feat by the young Infante Baltasar Carlos. Aged only nine, the young prince had intrepidly slain a huge boar, an exploit which made his father extremely proud and was talked of even in the court at Brussels. As

84. Quoted in J.G. van Gelder, 'De waardering van Rubens, een terugblik', *Antwerpen, Tijdschrift der stad Antwerpen*, XXXIII, Dec. 1977, p. 5. Van Gelder (pp. 5–7) connects this 'pleasing horror' with the aesthetic theory of the sublime which was to be developed later.

85. *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p. 56, doc. CXXXIII; see also J. S. Held, 'Prometheus Bound', *Bulletin Philadelphia Museum of Art*, LIX, 1963, pp. 16–32; C. Dempsey, 'Euanthes redivivus. Rubens' Prometheus Bound', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXX, 1967, pp. 420–425; J.G. van Gelder, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 6.

86. See Balis, *Jachten van Maximiliaan*, pp. 32–39.

87. For more detail see the introduction to Nos. 20–27, esp. pp. 225–227.

appears from an engraving on the subject (Fig. 145), a political moral was drawn from the story: just as the prince had slain the savage beast of the forest, so he would one day, as a new *Hercules Hispanicus*, defeat the monsters that threatened the state. Rubens's series may also have been intended to reflect the idea that hunting symbolized a victory over one's lower passions. The feats of Hercules were sometimes interpreted in the same sense, as was the theme of the huntress Diana.<sup>88</sup>

While Rubens's patrons thus attached lofty political and ethical significance to his later hunting scenes (Nos. 20–27), such ideas do not seem to have been decisive as regards his own inspiration at that moment. The scenes are not imbued with the heroic atmosphere appropriate to such a purpose. Rubens's early hunting scenes, by contrast, are eminently heroic; they seem to present symbols or archetypes of courage and daring, and we can readily believe that they reflect the artist's idea of manly prowess. Unfortunately we have no precise documentary evidence of how Rubens or his patrons envisaged these early works, or how they were interpreted. However, there are some indications that throw light on the problem.

The fact that Rubens's early hunting scenes were conscious imitations of their courtly predecessors suggests that he also intended to reproduce the atmosphere and purpose of the earlier genre. We may notice how, both in the *Wolf Hunt* (No. 2; Fig. 33) and in the *Boar Hunt* (No. 4; Fig. 40), the courtly huntsmen are clearly contrasted with the humble beaters: seated aloft on horseback, in their elegant costume and calm, self-possessed attitudes,<sup>89</sup> they dominate the scene and it is they who give the quarry its death-blow. In this fashion the nobility saw itself idealized in these hunting scenes, albeit the effect was subtly veiled by the archaic style of dress.

In the exotic hunting scenes, on the other hand, we do not find these direct references to a courtly public, and one might think that the artist's main purpose was simply to paint a dramatic scene in an exotic setting. Nevertheless, in their stress on heroic courage these scenes too seem a deliberate allusion to the scale of values appropriate to an aristocratic public. Attention should be drawn not only to many reminiscences of Rubens's own paintings of equestrian fights, but also to several motifs which seem to have had an almost symbolic value for the artist, and vaguely suggest a Christian interpretation. For instance, in the *Tiger Hunt* (No. 7; Fig. 57) he depicts a man tearing open the jaws of a lion—a

88. See p. 226.

89. This has been pointed out by Rosand (*Rosand, Lion Hunt*, pp. 36–37) and Winner (*Winner, Eberjagd*, p. 173).

motif which at once recalls the story of Samson, the prototype of a biblical hero, and which indeed Rubens later used in a *Samson and the Lion* (Fig.62).<sup>90</sup> Again, in the Munich *Lion Hunt* (No.11; Fig.74) we find a man on horseback, helmeted and clad in armour, in the same pose as St. George—another heroic prototype—slaying the dragon in a painting of ten years earlier. The whole composition is dominated by this triumphant figure.<sup>91</sup> It was thus not inappropriate for Schelte a Bolswert to dedicate his engraving of this composition to Alexandre de Croy et d'Arenberg, who is apostrophized in the inscription as 'Hero'.<sup>92</sup>

90. For the Samson motif see under No.7, p.141. The lion in Scripture often symbolizes the devil, and in Christian iconography Samson slaying the lion signifies the victory of Christ (or mankind) over evil. See W. A. Bulst, 'Samson', in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, ed. by E. Kirschbaum et al., Rome-Freiburg-Basel-Vienna, IV, 1972, cols.30-38; J.J.M. Timmers, *Christelijke symboliek en iconografie*, 3rd edn., Haarlem, 1978, p.204, Nos.552, 553.

91. Rosand's theological interpretation of this huntsman, reminiscent of St. George, is attractive but difficult to prove: '... the hunter's triumph assumes an almost theological significance as the realization of the words of Ecclesiasticus (17:4): "He put the fear of man upon all flesh, and gave him dominion over beasts and fowls". The privileged position of the hunter would then reflect the special place of man in the hierarchy of creation and endow his victory with divine sanction' (*Rosand, Lion Hunt*, p.37).

92. 'Excellentissimo Heroi Alexandro Croy...' (see the full quotation under No.11c, Copy [8], pp.177-178).

## IV. Rubens as an Animal Painter

### INVENTION

Rubens's talent as an animal painter was praised by Reynolds, who particularly admired the dog which appears in the *Elevation of the Cross*.<sup>1</sup> Still more impressive, however, are the innumerable exotic beasts that occur in his pictures, such as tigers, lions, leopards, crocodiles, hippopotamuses etc. In such paintings as *The Four Continents* in Vienna,<sup>2</sup> *Neptune and Amphitrite* formerly in Berlin,<sup>3</sup> *Daniel in the Lions' Den* in Washington,<sup>4</sup> and *The Leopards* at Montreal<sup>5</sup> the animals play such an important part that we can no longer think of them as mere accessories: such works are on the borderline between history painting and pure animal painting. But in other pictures by Rubens, birds and animals also play an important part, for example the eagles in *Prometheus*,<sup>6</sup> *Ganymede*<sup>7</sup> and *Cupid with Jupiter*,<sup>8</sup> the snakes in *Medusa*,<sup>9</sup> and the dogs, cows and horses in innumerable other works. Naturally his hunting scenes present an especially rich variety of animals. Few artists before Rubens's time took so close an interest in the animal kingdom, except specialists who depicted various species for scientific purposes.

Rooses traced some accounts for books on zoology supplied to Rubens by Balthazar Moretus between 1613 and 1617,<sup>10</sup> showing that the artist took more than a superficial interest in the subject. From an early age he had copied animal motifs from engravings, like those of Jost Amman,<sup>11</sup> and later, in Italy, he made drawings from antique statues and reliefs; but he must at all times have been

1. J. Reynolds, 'A Journey to Flanders and Holland in the Year MDCCLXXXI', printed in *The Literary Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, ed. by H. W. Beechey, London, 1852, II, p.165.
2. *K.d.K.*, p.111; *Cat. Exh. Vienna, 1977*, No.19.
3. *K.d.K.*, p.108 (destroyed).
4. See M. Jaffé, 'Some Recent Acquisitions of Seventeenth-Century Flemish Painting', in *National Gallery of Art. Report and Studies in the History of Art 1969*, Washington, 1970, pp.7-19.
5. See J.S.Held, 'P.P. Rubens "The Leopards"—"Original de mia mano"', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXV, May 1973 (Advertisement Supplement). For a possible antique source see C. Paxton, 'Rubens, Poussin and the Antique: New Observations on the Leopards', *M27—The Montreal Museum of Fine Art*, VII, 1975, No.3, pp.15-18.
6. For references see p.67, n.85.
7. *K.d.K.*, p.39; *Cat. Exh. Vienna, 1977*, No.8.
8. J.R. Martin and C. Lazzaro Bruno, 'Rubens's Cupid Supplicating Jupiter', in *Rubens before 1620*, edited by J.R. Martin, Princeton, NJ, 1972, pp.3-21.
9. *K.d.K.*, p.80; *Cat. Exh. Vienna, 1977*, No.23.
10. M. Rooses, 'P.P. Rubens en Balthasar Moretus, IV', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, II, 1883, pp.187-191.
11. *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, p.36, No.1124, pl.LVI.

interested in obtaining information at first hand. The illustrations of exotic beasts that were then available, even in authoritative works such as those of Aldrovandi and Gesner,<sup>12</sup> were frequently inadequate and misleading. It was not Rubens's habit to paint such animals unless he could supplement his information from other sources or, better still, observe them for himself. It is clear that he wanted his animals to be as lifelike as possible, and his own studies from nature answered the purpose best; but he also frequently borrowed motifs from other works of art, varying them slightly and using his own impressions to give them verisimilitude. For instance, as Rosenberg first pointed out, the lioness on the extreme right of *Daniel in the Lions' Den* is copied from a Paduan bronze statuette of the sixteenth century.<sup>13</sup> The same motif, seen from the front instead of from behind, recurs in the *Tiger Hunt* (No.7; Fig.57) and the *Lion Hunt* at Dresden (No.8; Fig.63). In other cases, for instance an early *Hercules and the Lion*, Rubens made use of an antique relief.<sup>14</sup> For his *Lion Hunts* also, as we have seen, he sought inspiration from an ancient statuary group of a lion attacking a horse. (He probably used a small copy of the group: see Fig.15).<sup>15</sup> What attracted him in the model was its dramatic effect, suitable to a hunting scene. He had previously been able to make drawings of a living lion, which he put to use in *Daniel in the Lions' Den*; but the animal had evidently behaved tamely, and he therefore sought the required drama in an ancient model. At the same time, he was no doubt helped in giving life to the picture by the fact that he had seen a real lion and knew how it moved and what its pelt looked like.

Lions were quite common in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century zoos. In the Netherlands, Rubens might for instance have seen them at Ghent.<sup>16</sup> Tigers, on the other hand, were less often seen in Europe, and I think it less certain that Rubens had a chance of studying one.<sup>17</sup> Yet he portrays this animal with great

12. It was these authors' animal books that Rubens had purchased (see the reference in n.10). Gesner's *Historia animalium* was published in 5 volumes between 1551 and 1587; U. Aldrovandi's animal books appeared between 1602 and 1640. For a full bibliography of the zoological literature see C. Nissen, *Die zoologische Buchillustration*, I-III, Stuttgart, 1966ff.

13. J. Rosenberg, 'Eine Rubens-Zeichnung nach einer Tierbronze des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Pantheon*, VII, 1931, pp.105-106. For Rubens's lions see, besides the publication cited in n.4: M. Jaffé, 'Rubens en de leeuwenkuil', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, III, 1955, pp.59-67; *Held, Drawings*, I, p.131, No.83; H. G. Evers, 'Rubens und der Löwe', in *Festschrift E. Trautschold*, Hamburg, 1965, pp.127-131; M. Winner, in *Mielke-Winner*, pp.41-43, No.8; A. Balis, 'De leeuw in de Vlaamse kunst van de 16de en 17de eeuw', in *De leeuw, universeel symbool en wapen van Vlaanderen* (Publikaties van de Stadsbibliotheek en het Archief en Museum voor het Vlaamse Cultuurleven, III), Antwerp, 1983, pp.47-50.

14. See M. Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, Oxford, 1977, pp.83, 117, n.75, figs.286, 288.

15. See p.61.

16. A. Golnitzius states in his *Ulysses Belgico-Gallicus* (Leiden, 1631, p.20: quoted in *Rooses, Life*, I, p.265, n.3) that three lions were to be seen at the Prinsenhof in Ghent.

17. Leopards and cheetahs were often called 'tigers', so that it is hard to tell how often real tigers were seen in the 17th century. See e.g. *Bok-van Kammen, Stradanus*, pp.47-50.

accuracy. The first example is in *The Four Continents* at Vienna.<sup>18</sup> For the pose he seems to have relied on his studies of the Paduan bronze statuette, together with a drawing from Michiel Coxcie's circle which he had in his collection (and had himself retouched), representing a crouching lioness.<sup>19</sup> In the *Tiger Hunt* (No.7; Fig.57) the animal is the centre of attention. We also see here that Rubens made no distinction between the anatomy of lions and tigers: in the original oil sketch in the National Gallery (No.3; Fig.39) the animal leaping on to the Oriental's back is a lion; in the *Tiger Hunt* (No.7; Fig.57) the tiger appears in the same pose, and in the *Lion Hunt* at Dresden (No.8; Fig.63) it is once more a lion. Since Rubens, quite correctly,<sup>20</sup> relied on his knowledge of lions to depict the anatomy of the tiger, it may well be that he had never seen the latter, but possessed a tiger-skin and was able with its aid to portray a tiger convincingly.<sup>21</sup>

He must have proceeded similarly when it came to the hippopotamus.<sup>22</sup> It is known that in modern times no living specimen of this beast was seen in Western Europe before 1850. In antiquity, on the other hand, many were brought to Rome for the celebrated *Venationes*, in which wild beasts fought one another in the amphitheatre. Consequently there are several quite faithful representations of the hippopotamus in ancient art. The best-known was probably the frieze decorating the plinth of the statue of *Nile*, now in the Vatican museum, in which the animal appears several times, either fighting the crocodile (Fig.14) or putting to flight small pygmy-like humans.<sup>23</sup> Clearly this frieze was the starting-point for Rubens's own *Hippopotamus and Crocodile Hunt* (No.5; Fig.46), in which hunters attack a hippopotamus and a crocodile that are already fighting each other. These huntsmen with horse and hound have no iconographical or literary basis in ancient sources: the hippopotamus hunts there depicted (with which Rubens was probably unfamiliar)<sup>24</sup> always show huntsmen fighting the animal from boats.

While the frieze in the Vatican provided Rubens with an iconographic source,

18. See n.2.

19. This drawing was published by Anne-Marie Logan: 'Some Early Drawings by Rubens', *Gentse bijdragen tot de kunstgeschiedenis*, XXIV, 1976-1978, p.110, fig.3. For the connection with Michiel Coxcie see *Balis, Facetten*, p.52, n.21.

20. See C. A. W. Guggisberg, *Wild Cats of the World*, Newton Abbot-London, 1975, p.182.

21. Aldrovandi, too, had only a tiger-skin as a guide to the animal's appearance (cf. U. Aldrovandi, *De quadrupedibus digitatis viviparis libri tres...*, ed. by B. Ambrosinus, Bologna, 1637, p.105).

22. See *Balis, Hippopotamus*.

23. See W. Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums*, Berlin, 1903, I, pp.124ff.; M Bieber, *Ancient Copies. Contributions to the History of Greek and Roman Art*, New York, 1977, p.34, figs.71-73. The reliefs of the plinth are reproduced in an engraving by Nicolas Beatrizet(?) (*Bartsch 95; The Illustrated Bartsch*, XXIX, ed. by S. Boorsch, New York, 1982, pp.356-357, No.95, repr.).

24. A hippopotamus hunt occurs in a Roman mosaic discovered in Palestrina in 1614, but it is unlikely that Rubens knew this work: see *Balis, Hippopotamus*, pp.137-139, fig.10.



and no doubt helped him to form an idea of the hippopotamus, it was not a sufficient basis for the very precise depiction of the animal in his *Hippopotamus Hunt* or *Neptune and Amphitrite*. In the antique relief the animal is always seen from the side; its feet are under water, and its jaws are not seen in much detail. In Rubens's picture, on the other hand, the animal faces towards the spectator; its jaws are open, showing the peculiar fangs, and we also have a clear view of its four-toed foot. All these details are more or less correct, and we are led to wonder where Rubens got his information. Nothing that would explain this to any extent can be found in the illustrations to animal books in Rubens's time, or for a long time afterwards.

As far as I can see, the only possible explanation is that Rubens must have studied the two preserved and stuffed hippopotamuses that were exhibited in Rome in 1601 by the Neapolitan surgeon Federico Zerenghi. This exhibition aroused quite a stir, and was an important event in zoological history with regard to the hippopotamus. Until then, for lack of first-hand information and in view of the conflicting reports of ancient authors, there was much disagreement as to the creature's exact appearance. In the second half of the sixteenth century a dispute arose when Pierre Belon, who had seen a young specimen at Constantinople, gave a description of it which differed fundamentally from that of the ancients,<sup>25</sup> notably as to whether it had a cloven hoof as Herodotus and Aristotle had maintained. The learned world was divided into two camps, some upholding the ancient authors and others adhering to Belon's account. The arrival of Zerenghi's specimens in Rome showed that Belon was right as to the animals feet, and at the same time corrected certain errors of his. The facts were pointed out in books and pamphlets by Zerenghi himself, Fabio Colonna and Aldrovandi;<sup>26</sup> unfortunately the illustrations to these works were all of very poor quality.<sup>27</sup> Thus it was Rubens who first provided a picture of the hippopotamus as we know it. He did not do so in the form that would have been most useful to a scientific investigator: instead of the more instructive side view he depicted the animal more or less frontally, advancing towards the spectator and thus producing a dynamic spatial

25. P. Belon, *L'Histoire naturelle des estranges Poissons marins avec la Vraye Peinture et description du Dauphin et de plusieurs autres de son Espece*, Paris, 1551, fols. 42<sup>v</sup>-52.

26. F. Zerenghi, *La vera descrizione dell Hippopotamo*, Milan, 1603 (also printed in Zerenghi, *Breve compendio di chirurgia*); F. Colonna, *Minus cognitarum stirpium aliquot ... Ekfrasis, ... Item, De Aquatilibus, aliisq; animalibus quibusdam paucis libellus*, Rome, 1606, pp. XXVIII-XXXV of the second part; U. Aldrovandi, *De quadrupedib' digitatis viviparis libri tres...*, ed. by B. Ambrosinus, Bologna, 1637, pp. 181-194.

27. See *Balis, Hippopotamus*, figs. 5-8. As T.H. Clarke has kindly pointed out to me, there is a possibility that a stuffed hippopotamus now in the zoological museum La Specola in Florence is one of Zerenghi's animals. It certainly belonged to the grand dukes of Tuscany by the middle of the 18th century, and Mr Clarke knows of a letter of 28 November 1602 from Zerenghi to the then grand duke, offering the two animals for sale.

effect. He also wanted to give an idea of the animal's character. According to emblematic literature the hippopotamus was a fierce, ill-natured beast,<sup>28</sup> and this is shown by its pose and physiognomy in Rubens's painting (Fig.48).

In the previous chapter, I have pointed out that Rubens's hunting scenes were meant to portray violent emotion. This applied not only to the human participants but to the animals. But even in other types of painting, where the animals were not fighting or being hunted, he endowed them with emotion and gave them personalities and expressions of their own. In this way he revolutionized the Flemish art of animal painting, which had till then been mainly of a descriptive character.<sup>29</sup>

Rubens did not in fact present any new vision of the animal kingdom, but was the first to give effective form to a conception that already existed. Since ancient times men had paid attention to the habits and psychological qualities of different animals; in later antiquity this interest grew, leading to both a moralistic and anthropomorphic view of the animal kingdom, as the 'characters' of different species were defined in terms of human psychology.<sup>30</sup> In the Middle Ages, as is well known, such moralistic views of animals were very popular, but as a rule it seems to have been forgotten that living creatures were involved, and the matter was envisaged on an abstract, conceptual level. By degrees, however, people took more interest in the animal concealed under the traditional characteristics. Aldrovandi, for example, systematically grouped under the heading *natura-mores* all that was known of the behaviour and habits of a particular animal.<sup>31</sup> There was also an interest in testing the validity of ancient observations: for example in 1515 an elephant and a rhinoceros were brought together in the arena at Lisbon to see if they were in fact deadly enemies by nature.<sup>32</sup> Other animal combats were frequently organized in imitation of the *Venationes*,<sup>33</sup> showing that a dynamic view was taken of the animal kingdom.

There were further reasons for taking special interest in the character and

28. According to P. Valeriano (*Hieroglyphica*, Basle, 1575, p.208) the hippopotamus stood for 'improbitas edomita' (untamed ferocity).

29. For an account of Flemish animal painting and Rubens's part therein see Balis, *Facetten*. Illustrations will be found in Müllenmeister, *Meer und Land*.

30. E.g. Aelianus, *De natura animalium* and Plutarch, *De sollertia animalium*.

31. Aldrovandi, *op. cit.*

32. See e.g. W.S.Heckscher, 'Bernini's Elephant and Obelisk', *The Art Bulletin*, XXIX, 1947, p.170; D.F.Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, II, *A Century of Wonder*, Book 1, *The Visual Arts*, Chicago-London, 1970, pp.161-162.

33. On *Venationes* in the ancient world see L.Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*, 9th edn., II, Leipzig, 1920, pp.77-89; IV, 1921, pp.268-275. On similar spectacles in the Renaissance, when animals of all kinds (bulls, lions, horses, a giraffe etc.) were made to fight one another, see J.Burckhardt, *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*, Berlin, 1928 (1st edn. 1860), pp.288-289; R. and M. Wittkower, *Born under Saturn*, 2nd edn., New York, 1969, p.168; G.Loisel, *Histoire des ménageries de l'antiquité à nos jours*, Paris, 1912, I, pp.214, 217-219, 224 and *passim*.

emotions of animals. As we have seen, the two disciplines of physiognomy<sup>34</sup> and of human emotions were of fundamental importance to the theory of artistic expression, and in this context human attributes were often compared with those of different animals.<sup>35</sup> It was noticed that, just as the behaviour and facial expression of a human being was altered by emotion, so the appearance of an animal underwent dramatic change when, for example, it became enraged.<sup>36</sup> In literature it had long been a rhetorical commonplace to describe a hero's emotions by comparison with some animal which, so to speak, embodied them in archetypal form.<sup>37</sup>

For all these reasons the Renaissance took a dynamic view of the animal kingdom, yet we seldom meet with an animal painting where the emphasis is on expression. There were some exceptions, however. In the fifteenth century Uccello painted dramatic scenes of animals in combat,<sup>38</sup> and in Flemish tapestry the genre of *pugnae ferarum* flourished from shortly before the mid sixteenth century and was practised by several talented animal painters.<sup>39</sup> An important part was played by Leonardo's comparative study of the facial expressions of men and horses.<sup>40</sup> Stradanus treated the animal world dramatically in his hunting scenes, though it must be admitted that he seldom succeeded in giving his animals organic vitality.<sup>41</sup>

34. The best-known treatise on physiognomy is that by Giambattista della Porta, *De humana physiognomonia* (1586).

35. See pp.65–66.

36. It may suffice to quote from Seneca's *De ira*, a work that Rubens may have known as it was included in the edition of Seneca's philosophical writings with notes by Justus Lipsius, for which Rubens supplied illustrations: *L. Annaei Senecae ... opera ... omnia*, Antwerp (B. Moretus), 1615. After pointing out the physical manifestations of anger in human beings ('Flagrant, & micant oculi, multus ore toto rubor, ... labia quatuntur, dentes comprimuntur ...'), the Roman philosopher gives instances from the animal world: angry boars, bulls, lions, snakes and dogs all behave in a frightening manner: 'Spumant apris ora, dentes acuuntur attritu: taurorum cornua jactantur in vacuum, & harena pulsu pedum spargitur: leones fremunt, inflantur irritatis colla serpentibus, rabidarum canum tristis aspectus est. Nullum est animal tam horrendum, tamque perniciosum natura, ut non appareat in illo, ubi ira inuasit, nova feritatis accessio' (*De ira*, I, 1).

37. Homer's animal similes, for example, are well known; and cf. Shakespeare, *Henry V*, III, 1, 5–9:

'But when the blast of war blows in our ears,  
Then imitate the action of the tiger;  
Stiffen the sinews, summon up the blood,  
Disguise fair nature with hard-favour'd rage  
Then lend the eye a terrible aspect...'

38. The scenes of fighting animals which, according to Vasari, Uccello painted for the Palazzo Medici have not survived, but we can form an idea of them from copies, including engravings; see B. Degenhart and A. Schmitt, 'Uccello. Wiederherstellung einer Zeichnung', *Albertina-Studien*, I, 1963, pp.101–117. Uccello's *Animal Fights* introduced a new spirit into animal painting and had considerable influence: see n.42. At the same time it seems clear to me that Uccello derived inspiration from particular ancient representations of fighting animals: see p.61, n.57.

39. See M. Roethlisberger, 'La teneur de la licorne dans la collection Borromée', *Oud Holland*, LXXXII, 1967, pp.85–115.

40. See K. Clark, *The Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Windsor Castle*, 2nd edn., revised with the assistance of C. Pedretti, London–New York, 1968, I, pp.25–26, No.12326f.

41. The *Animal Fights* engraved by Tempesta (*Bartsch* 915–940) should also be mentioned.

Lomazzo was the first to emphasize the importance of animal emotions in the theory of art, and cited Leonardo as a model: the latter had depicted a fight between a dragon and a lion, in which both creatures expressed aggressive and defensive emotions.<sup>42</sup> Lomazzo urged his readers to study the nature and typical emotions of various animals and for this purpose to read the great poets such as Homer, Virgil, Ovid, Ariosto and so on.<sup>43</sup>

We do not know whether Rubens used literary sources in this way for his depictions of animals, though he may well have done so as part of his study of the emotions, already described.<sup>44</sup> In any case, as we have seen, he sought inspiration in the art of his immediate predecessors and above all in ancient sculpture. He strove to achieve a pregnant formulation of each animal motif, so that the beast was not merely described but pictured as an individual capable of willing and feeling. These formulations had enormous success among Flemish artists, and it is not an exaggeration to say that but for Rubens's example the development of animal painting in Flanders would have been completely different.

The success of Rubens's motifs is shown by innumerable instances in which they were borrowed literally by other masters.<sup>45</sup> Of still greater importance, however, is the development of a new type of monumental, dramatic animal painting which must be attributed to Rubens's influence. The new genre was practised by Frans Snyders and Paul de Vos, and later by Jan Fyt and Pieter Boel among others. Here we shall discuss only the first two.

The animal paintings of Snyders and Paul de Vos have never been systematically studied, and above all the precise chronology of their work has yet to be established, so that it is hard to tell exactly when either of them took over an idea first formulated by Rubens.<sup>46</sup> It may be asked why we should assume that

42. This painting is only known from copies: see W. Suida, *Leonardo und sein Kreis*, Munich, 1929, p.105, fig.117. Leonardo's motif was clearly inspired by Uccello's animal fights mentioned in n.38, and became very influential in its turn. It occurs, for instance, in a Flemish tapestry of the mid 16th century: see *Balis, Facetten*, pp.41, 52, n.20, fig.23. It may in general be said that the *pugnae ferarum* in 16th-century Flemish tapestry were inspired by the models of Uccello and Leonardo, which became widely known through engravings.

43. G.P. Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'Arte de la Pittura*, Milan, 1584, libro II, cap. XX: *De i moti de gl'animali in generale*: '... Et per bene investigare, & intendere la natura di tali animali, & ridursi à memoria i loro effetti, & moti, giudico espediente (lasciando quelli delle pile antiche) il leggere i poeti che ne' parangoni, & nè gli essempli gentilmente nè toccano...' (p.178).

44. See pp.65-66.

45. Lions and Leopards borrowed from Rubens already occur in Jan Brueghel's *Animals Entering the Ark of 1613* (*Ertz, Brueghel*, pp.236ff., 603, No.273, fig.307).

46. Marguerite Manneback's long-awaited work *Les peintres animaliers flamands au XVIIe siècle* has not yet appeared. A monograph on Snyders by Hella Robels is expected; in her very important article on his still lives (*Robels, Stillebenmaler*), animal paintings are mentioned only incidentally. *Bordley, Rubens* can only be cited for illustrative material: in other respects the book is quite unusable. For Paul de Vos see the basic article by M. Manneback (*Manneback, P. de Vos*) and id., 'Paul de Vos et François Snyders', in *Miscellanea Leo van Puyvelde*, Brussels, 1949, pp.147-152.

the influence was always in that direction, and whether Rubens may not on occasion have taken over some motif from one of the others. I do not intend to exclude this a priori; but in view of the amazing ease with which Rubens constantly developed new themes, and of the fact that both Snyders and De Vos keep to the same stereotypes whenever they move outside Rubens's domain, it seems to me that the burden of proof rests with those who suggest that he may have borrowed from them. As far as chronology goes, I have come across no single piece of evidence that any painting by Snyders or De Vos, containing a motif or formula that also occurs in a Rubens painting, was executed before the latter.<sup>47</sup> The fact that Snyders and De Vos borrowed extensively, and sometimes literally, from Rubens does not, of course, mean that they had no inventive powers of their own: they were both well able to compose a dramatic and decorative scene, and they sometimes devised forceful new motifs. However, their original motifs and principles of composition seldom equalled those of Rubens in dramatic power.

Rubens made use of Snyders' assistance at a very early date, c.1611–1612, notably for the eagle in his *Prometheus*.<sup>48</sup> No preliminary oil sketch for this work has survived, so that we do not know how it came to be painted. Probably, however, Rubens indicated the bird's attitude in his sketch and Snyders then made a nature study or, using a model from nature (a dead eagle?), painted his portion straight on to the canvas.<sup>49</sup> We know of a parallel to this procedure in *The Discovery of Philopoemen*: a sketch for this picture has survived, in which Rubens has indicated roughly the portion to be executed by the still-life painter, who was Snyders in this case also.<sup>50</sup>

The lifelike quality of the eagle in *Prometheus* was praised by the humanist poet Baudius.<sup>51</sup> This was not unmerited, but it must be acknowledged that once Rubens had indicated the main lines of what he wanted, Snyders' contribution

47. An exception is the hound knocked over by the boar and sprawling on its back in the *Boar Hunt* by Snyders and Van Dyck (Fig.23), which recurs ten years later in Rubens's *Calydonian Boar Hunt* (No.12; cf. Fig.81). But, as suggested on pp.32–34, it is possible that Rubens had a share in the invention of the former composition.

48. Rubens himself states in his letter to Carleton of 28 April 1618 that Snyders painted the bird: '... Originale de mia mano è l'acquila fatta dal Snyders' (*Rooses–Ruelens*, II, p.136, doc.CLXVI). See also Held's article cited above, p.67, n.85.

49. The precise status of the drawing of an eagle in the British Museum (*Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, p.76, No.80; as *Snyders*) is not clear to me: is it a preliminary study, as generally assumed, or rather a *ricordo* or copy after the painting?

50. See e.g. *Robels, Stillebenmaler*, pp.46–47, figs.28, 29; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, pp.374–375, No.278; II, pl.277. Unlike *Robels*, I believe that the large canvas in the Prado (*Díaz Padrón, Cat. Prado*, I, pp.371–372; II, pl.242) is in fact the original work by Snyders and Rubens, but a final judgement will only be possible after cleaning.

51. See reference above, p.67, n.85.

did not go much beyond that of a still-life painter. Rubens himself must originally have seen Snyders purely in this role.<sup>52</sup> This is clear from what he wrote in February 1617 to Matthew, who had enquired whether the animals in (a replica of) the *Wolf Hunt* (No.2b; Fig.34) were not painted by Snyders. Rubens replied that as far as the painting of animals in action was concerned he did not want to be compared with Snyders, whose talent lay in depicting dead animals, and generally birds at that.<sup>53</sup> This seems to show that up to the date of the letter Rubens had not engaged Snyders to paint any living animals in his own pictures, or at all events very few, and we may also cautiously infer that Snyders had not by then painted any hunting scenes of his own.

Rubens seems in later years to have changed his mind about Snyders' merits, as we know he sometimes got the latter to paint animals for his hunting scenes. This is probable in the two mythological *Hunts* (Nos.12, 13) that he took to Spain in 1628, and is actually documented as regards the series of eight hunting scenes executed in 1639–1640 (Nos.20–27). It is true that in both cases Rubens painted the animals in detail in his oil sketches, and that Snyders was careful to conform to the model.

It does not seem out of the question, as I argue later,<sup>54</sup> that Snyders also contributed to the set of four hunting scenes (Nos.4–7) that were being painted at the very time when Rubens expressed the above-quoted opinion of his work, or shortly afterwards. At all events Snyders' own *Boar Hunt*, painted in collaboration with Van Dyck (Fig.23)—which, apart from his *Cock Fight*,<sup>55</sup> is, as far as I know, his first dramatic animal painting—must have been executed soon after that date. It will be recalled from Chapter I<sup>56</sup> that I do not think it quite impossible that Rubens had had some part in this work, perhaps in the form of a sketch or a rapid scribble, but the animals are certainly by Snyders as far as the drawing and psychological expression are concerned. Two of them, however—the yelping hound on the left, and the one on the right lying on its back—are variations on motifs that first occur in Rubens's *Boar Hunt* at Marseilles (No.4; Fig.40). The former, in particular, has an interesting history. As Winner pointed

52. For Snyders' cooperation with Rubens in painting still lifes see, besides *Robels, Stillebenmaler*, L.Ninane, 'Rubens et Snyders', in *Miscellanea Leo van Puyvelde*, Brussels, 1949, pp.143–146; I.V.Linnik, 'Tableaux de Frans Snyders, exécutés d'après une esquisse de Rubens', *Études du Musée de l'Ermitage*, VIII, 1965, pp.178–187; M.Jaffé, 'Rubens and Snyders: A Fruitful Partnership', *Apollo*, XCIII, 1971, pp.184–196.

53. See Matthew's letter to Carleton of 25 February 1617 (quoted under No.2, p.104, n.27).

54. See pp.84–85.

55. Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie, Cat. No.878; see E.Greindl, in *Cat. Exh. Brussels, 1965*, p.248, No.261; *Robels (Robels, Stillebenmaler*, p.89, n.24) pointed out that the date on the painting reads 1615, not 1625 as stated by Greindl.

56. See pp.32–34.

out, the pose of this animal is inspired by the she-wolf with Romulus and Remus in the Belvedere *Tiber*, a detail of which Rubens had drawn.<sup>57</sup> The hound, like the she-wolf, is lying on its side, with the right foreleg bent and its head lifted back (the dog's more so than the wolf's); in both cases the left hind-leg is raised. But, in spite of these formal resemblances, the emotive effect is completely different. The she-wolf is raising her hind leg so that the infants can get at the teats, and she looks round at them with motherly concern. The hound, on the other hand, turns its head back so as not to lose sight of the onrushing boar; its hind legs are spread so as to expose its belly and genitals, giving it a pathetic and defenceless air. Snyders repeatedly used this effective motif, and so did Paul de Vos and Jan Fyt.<sup>58</sup>

Other connections between Rubens's early hunting scenes and Snyders' pictures of animals and hunts can be pointed out. For instance, two paintings by Snyders at Munich, *Two Young Lions chasing a Roebuck* (Fig.21)<sup>59</sup> and *Lioness*

57. *Winner, Eberjagd*, pp.174-175; this writer was referring to the same hound-motif as occurs in *Landscape with a Boar Hunt* at Dresden (Fig.26). For Rubens's drawing of the antique she-wolf see J.S.Held, 'Padre Resta's Rubens Drawings after Ancient Sculpture', reprinted in *Rubens and his Circle. Studies by Julius S.Held*, Princeton, NJ, 1982, pp.95, 100-101, pl.VIII.7; J.Müller Hofstede, in *Cat. Exh. Cologne, 1977*, I, pp.242-243, No.50, repr.

58. The material relating to this motif of the hound is extensive and chaotic, and requires some order: I assume that the motif was invented by Rubens; he used it in the Marseilles *Boar Hunt* (No.4; Fig.40) and the Dresden *Landscape with a Boar Hunt* (Fig.26). Snyders used it shortly afterwards in the *Boar Hunt* (Fig.23) that he painted with Van Dyck. (A variant is in the Uffizi in Florence: see p.32, n.49; the drawing in the Cooper Union Museum in New York—cf. *Bordley, Rubens*, fig.28—is copied from that version, as appears from the incomplete rendition of the left hind leg). He reused it later, scarcely altered, in the *Calydonian Boar Hunt* painted with Rubens (No.18; cf. Fig.99). In Snyders' *Boar Hunt* at Poznań (*Gerson—ter Kuile*, pl.147a; another version sold at Christie's, London, 29 June 1979, lot 83) the same motif is seen in reverse, and the animal is not a dog but a bitch. The drawing in the Ringling Museum at Sarasota is a copy of this animal, as appears *inter alia* from the reproduction of details of vegetation; it is thus not, as generally supposed (cf. W.H.Wilson, *Masterworks on Paper. Prints and Drawings from the Ringling Museum 1400-1900*, [Sarasota, Fla.], [1980], No.51), an immediate preliminary study for the *Calydonian Boar Hunt* in that museum, signed by Fyt (F.W.Robinson and W.H.Wilson, *Catalogue of the Flemish and Dutch Paintings 1400-1900. The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Fla.*, 1980, No.25, repr.). This of course does not exclude the possibility that it was Fyt who copied Snyders' motif in that drawing, since the animal he himself painted in the *Calydonian Boar Hunt* closely resembled it. Snyders' *Boar Hunt* at Poznań was engraved by J.Zaal in about 1670 (M.Rooses, *Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche schilderschool, Ghent-Antwerp-The Hague, 1879*, repr. facing p.398); a drawing of two injured dogs, attributed to Snyders by E.Greindl (in *Cat. Exh. Brussels, 1965*, p.320, No.356, repr.) is actually a copy after Zaal's engraving, as the animals are reversed as compared with the painting at Poznań. Finally, Paul de Vos used this motif in his *Boar Hunt* in the Prado: see *Díaz Padrón, Cat. Prado*, II, pl.232, No.1749 (wrongly as Snyders).

59. Canvas, 163 x 240 cm. LIT. Müllenmeister, *Meer und Land*, III, p.62, No.410, repr.; U.Krempel, in *Cat. Munich, 1983*, p.500, No.631, repr. COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; ? c.167 x 335 cm. PROV. Marquis of Leganés, inv. 1655, No.69: 'otra del mismo tamaño [2 x 4 varas] y mano ["Snyders"], con 2 leones cachorros y un corço' (*López Navío, Leganés*, p.273); (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 54.5 x 79 cm. PROV. Paul Delaroff, sale, Paris (Georges Petit), 23-24 April 1914, lot 40; (3) Painting, showing only the two lions. Zürich, Galerie Kurt Meissner; canvas, 85 x 110 cm. PROV. Thomas Sebright, Beechwood; sale, London (Christie's), 2 July 1937, lot 131; sale, London (Christie's), 8 January 1946, lot 80; with Leonard Koetsier, London, October 1956. LIT. G.F.Waagen, *Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain*, IV [the supplemental vol.], London, 1857, p.327; Müllenmeister, *Meer und Land*, III, No.411, repr. (as Snyders); (4) Painting, showing only the two lions, whereabouts unknown; 111 x 166 cm. PROV. Count Charles Proli sale, Antwerp (Grange), 23 (?) July 1785, lot 2

attacking a Boar (Fig.22),<sup>60</sup> are so similar to Rubens's style that Oldenbourg thought Snyder's must have been executing sketches by Rubens.<sup>61</sup> Certainly the beasts of prey are painted with a dynamic force that is not seen in Snyder's previous works. We are reminded of Rubens by the expressiveness of the lions' appearance, their firm muscularity and the impression of organic synthesis that they present—so different from Snyder's earlier analytic treatment of muscles, which can be seen in the roebuck in the first of these pictures. Thus it cannot be ruled out that Rubens had something to do with the invention of this composition; it seems to me more likely, however, that these paintings are wholly conceived by Snyder, but clearly modelled on Rubens. The pose of the lioness rushing at the boar seems to be inspired by the central motif of Rubens's sketch for a *Lion Hunt* (No.3; Fig.39) in the National Gallery, which was elaborated in the *Tiger Hunt* (No.7; Fig.57) and the *Lion Hunt* at Dresden (No.8; Fig.63). As for the two young lions chasing a roebuck (Fig.21), they are clearly based on the leaping animal in the *Lion Hunt* (No.6; cf. Fig.51) painted by Rubens for Maximilian of Bavaria. In addition, the *contrapposto* attitude of the first

- (as Rubens); (5) Painting, showing only the two lions, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 146 × 156 cm. PROV. S. Sellar (London), sale, Paris (Petit), 6 June 1889, lot 61; ? Rothinau, Berlin, 1926 (according to Burchard). LIT. *Rooses*, IV, p.351, under No.1165; (6) Painting, whereabouts unknown; 35 × 47.5 cm. PROV. del Marmol sale, Brussels, 24 March 1791 (as Rubens); (7) Painting, showing only the heads of the two lions, whereabouts unknown (photograph in the Burchard Documentation, Rubenianum, Antwerp); canvas, 59 × 73 cm. PROV. Dr. Richard Mead, sale, London (Langford), 20 March 1754, lot 40, bought by the Duke of Bedford; Duke of Bedford sale, London (Christie's), 30 June 1827, lot 96, bought by Baron Stockmar on behalf of Leopold, Duke of Saxe-Coburg, the future Leopold I, King of Belgium; Leopold II, King of Belgium, sale 1909, bought by F. Kleinberger, Paris; Emily Yznaga (Paris, 1861–1944), 1936. EXH. British Institution, London, 1822; *Exposition de la Société Néerlandaise de Bienfaisance*, Brussels, 1873; *Rubens et son temps*, Orangerie, Paris, 1936–1937, not numbered. LIT. T. Pennant, *The Journey from Chester to London*, London, 1782, p.355 (as Rubens); Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.268, No.903; *Rooses*, IV, pp.351–352, No.1165 (as Rubens); *The Connoisseur*, XXIV, 1909, p.210; (8) Etching by Abraham Blooteling (1640–1690), showing only the two lions. LIT. V.S., p.230, No.42.3; *Rooses*, IV, p.353; *Hollstein*, II, p.214, No.105.
60. Canvas, 164 × 239 cm. PROV. purchased by Maximilian Emanuel of Bavaria from Gisbert van Colen of Antwerp in 1698 (see *Krempel, Max Emanuel*, p.235). LIT. *Müllenmeister, Meer und Land*, III, p.62, No.409, repr.; U. Krempel, in *Cat. Munich*, 1983, p.500, No.620, repr. COPIES: (1) Painting, originally showing other animal motifs as well, whereabouts unknown. PROV. Marquis of Leganés, inv. 1655, No.67: 'otra de la misma manera y maestro ["Snayers"]', con un leon y un jauli y 5 perros peleandro con un lobo ... y un arbol con dos culebras al pie' (*López Navío, Leganés*, p.273); by descent with Count Altamira, ? sale, London (Stanley), 1 June 1827, lot 65: 'Rubens & Snyder's. A Battle between a Lioness and a Boar'; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; 135 × 165 cm. PROV. Private collection (? Marseau), Brussels, 1927–1928; sale, London (Sotheby-Parke Bernet), 11 June 1980, lot 26, repr.; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 81.5 × 102 cm. PROV. sale, Cologne (Kunsthau am Museum, Carola van Ham), 11–14 June 1980, lot 1235, pl.79; (4) Painting, whereabouts unknown; 159 × 213 cm. PROV. Lincoln sale, London (Christie's), 4 June 1937, lot 107, bought by Hartveld; (5) Painting, whereabouts unknown; 132 × 190 cm. PROV. Houston-Boswall sale, London (Christie's), 23 April 1926, lot 138 (as M. de Vos), bought by Moore; (6) Engraving (? this composition) by R. Earlom, 1772, after a painting in the collection of the Duke of Newcastle: 'The Lion and Boar' (mentioned in *Wurzbach*, II, p.635, s.v. *Snyder's*, No.5).
61. Oldenbourg, *Flämische Malerei*, p.192: '... deren Entwürfe durch Stiche für Rubens bezeugt sind'. Oldenbourg is here referring to the print by A. Blooteling in the series *Variae Leonum Icones*, inscribed 'P. P. Rubens pinxit', in which the two young lions appear in reverse, without the roebuck: see n.59, Copy (8).



of the two lions is reminiscent of the foremost wolf in Rubens's *Wolf Hunt* (No.2; Fig.35).<sup>62</sup>

Snyders' *Deer Hunts* also show the influence of Rubens. In *Diana hunting Deer* (No.13; cf. Fig.83), painted shortly before 1628, Rubens introduced the pathetic motif of the male deer sacrificing itself to enable its mate to escape. Rubens repeated this motif several times with slight variations.<sup>63</sup> Snyders was attracted by it also, and used it for his *Deer Hunt* in Brussels (Fig.9).<sup>64</sup> the attitude of the buck (a fallow deer in this case) sinking to its knees is more or less literally borrowed from Rubens's painting, as is that of the hound biting its ear. In addition Snyders adopted a second feature from Rubens, the deer attempting its flight.

These few examples may suffice to show that Rubens had a determining influence on the development of Snyders' hunting and animal pictures. It can also be shown that Paul de Vos borrowed freely from Rubens's repertoire of forms. I have already pointed out that he made use of the dog lying on its side with its hind legs sprawled out.<sup>65</sup> In a *Tiger Hunt* by Paul de Vos we recognize Rubens's tiger from *The Four Continents* in Vienna,<sup>66</sup> and other such examples could be cited. I believe, however, that Rubens's influence on De Vos was less far-reaching than on Snyders. We may imagine the position to be that Snyders on each occasion stood in need of an initiative from Rubens in order to develop his conception of a dramatic animal painting, while De Vos—younger than Snyders, and probably working in his studio—was able in each case to advance from the position achieved by his master. His variations on the themes that Snyders developed in imitation of Rubens are characterized by greater freedom *vis-à-vis* the model. Whereas at one time Paul de Vos was scarcely heard of, it is now often acknowledged that he developed a personal style in his hunting pictures. Snyders' reputation has, by contrast, declined and there is at present a tendency to deny him any merit as a painter of dramatic animal scenes.<sup>67</sup> I believe that this underestimates the importance of Snyders in the development of the genre in Flanders, but it would require a separate study to argue this.

62. The head and hind legs of the foremost lion also strongly resemble those of the foremost lion in Rubens's *The Meeting at Lyons* in the *Medici series* (Paris, Louvre; *K.d.K.*, p.249; see also A. Balis, in [Cat. Exh.] *Het Aards Paradijs. Dierenvoorstellingen in de Nederlanden van de 16de en 17de eeuw*, (Zoo, Antwerp, 1982), pp.97–98, under No.32).

63. See Chapter I, p.34.

64. For references see p.86, n.85.

65. See p.79, n.58.

66. Collection of the Duchess of Alba, Palacio de las Dueñas, Sevilla; canvas, 133 × 154 cm., signed; see [Cat. Exh.] *Homenaje a Rubens en el IV centenario de su nacimiento* (Reales Alcázares, Sevilla, 1977–1978), No.15, repr.

67. See also p.86.

Rubens used the services of Snyders, and to a lesser extent De Vos, to paint animals in hunting scenes to his own design, but there are also cases where he left it to these artists to design and execute the animals and confined himself to the human figures (Nos. 17, 18 and 19; Figs. 98, 104 and cf. Fig. 99). So at least we may suppose, judging by the character of the animals in question and their role in the composition. However, there are no preliminary studies or sketches of these pictures which would confirm that he left the animals to be contributed by others.

Monumental dramatic paintings of animals and hunting were an especially fruitful genre in Flemish art. It included both animal paintings pure and simple and hunting scenes with human figures. In old inventories and sale catalogues Rubens's name is often connected with such works, but in many cases the attribution is mistaken.<sup>68</sup> Documents show that other masters such as Boeckhorst and Van Diepenbeeck were active in the field.<sup>69</sup> As regards animal painters, besides Snyders and Paul de Vos we should bear in mind Jan Roos, Pieter

68. Hunting pictures that have, at one time or another, mistakenly been attributed to Rubens include:

- (1) *A Boar Hunt* (170 × 244 cm.) by Snyders and ? Cornelis de Vos, formerly in the collection of James Stanley, 10th Earl of Derby (1664–1736), Knowsley Hall (still there?), cf. the engraving by Winstanley of 1729 (V.S., p. 229, No. 35). В.Х.Н. *Art Treasures of the United Kingdom*, Manchester, 1857, No. 565. Lit. G. Scharf, *Description and Historical Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures at Knowsley Hall*, London, 1875, p. 30, No. 59, p. 232 (as *Rubens and Snyders*); *Rooses*, IV, p. 347 (as *not by Rubens*); Hofstede de Groot, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1897, p. 274, No. 7 (as *Rubens and Snyders*). Of this composition several versions or copies are recorded: (a) painting, c. 146 × 195 cm.; with J.-B. Pierre Le Brun (Paris, 1748–1813), c. 1810, cf. the engraving by L. Le Grand. Lit. Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 301, No. 1093; *Van Hasselt, Rubens*, p. 359, No. 1287; *Rooses*, IV, p. 346; (b) painting, dimensions unknown; c. 1935 with the art dealer De Heuvel, Brussels; (c) painting, 168 × 223.5 cm.; sale, London (Christie's), 26 October 1956, lot 97 (as *Snyders*); (d) painting, dimensions unknown; Central Picture Galleries, New York, 1967 (photograph in the *Rubensianum*, Antwerp).
- (2) *A Boar Hunt* by Paul and Cornelis de Vos, canvas, 204 × 342 cm., formerly in the Suermondt Museum, Aachen (Cat. 1932, No. 541, as *Paul de Vos and Van Thulden*), destroyed in the Second World War. This painting figures in the 1655 inventory of the Marquis of Leganés as by 'de Vos' (*López Navío, Leganés*, p. 277, No. 202); when in the collection of José de Madrazo it was considered as by Paul de Vos and Rubens (*Catálogo de la galería de cuadros del Excmo. Sr. D. José de Madrazo*, Madrid, 1856, No. 656; see also A. Lavice, *Revue des musées d'Espagne*, Paris, 1864, pp. 244, 249, No. 9).
- (3) Three sketches in the collection of the Prince of Liechtenstein, two *Lion Hunts* and one *Boar Hunt*, were attributed to Rubens in the 18th century (V. Fanti, *Descrizione completa di tutto ciò che ritrovasi nella Galleria di Pittura e scultura di sua altezza Giuseppe Wenceslao ... della casa di Lichtenstein...*, Vienna, 1767, Nos. 22, 132, 133; Michel, *Histoire*, p. 307, Nos. 2, 4, 5; see also *Bordley, Légende*, pp. 34, 36, 37, repr., as *Snyders*). They are almost certainly by Paul de Vos, as is another sketch with a *Boar Hunt* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille (Inv. No. 979; see *Bordley, Légende*, pp. 34, 35, repr.; H. Oursel, in [Cat. Exh.] *La peinture flamande au temps de Rubens* (Lille-Calais-Arras, 1977), pp. 114–115, No. 50, repr., as *School of Rubens or after Rubens*). Another sketch with a *Boar Hunt* in the same museum (Inv. No. 1051) might be by the same hand.
69. For Jan Boeckhorst cf. the 'Herten jacht van Snyers, het figuer van Lange Jan' mentioned by Forchondt in 1698 (J. Denucé, *Kunstuitvoer in de 17de eeuw te Antwerpen. De firma Forchoudt (Bronnen voor de geschiedenis van de Vlaamse kunst)*, I), Antwerp, 1931, p. 223, No. 35; *Hairs, Sillage*, p. 83). For Van Diepenbeeck see my forthcoming article on tapestry designs by Boel and Van Diepenbeeck, to appear in *Artes Textiles*. See also the recently discovered *Calydonian Boar Hunt* by Theodoor Boeyermans (D. Coekelberghs and D. Vautier, 'The "Hunt of the Calydonian Boar" (1677): a Rediscovered Work by Theodore Boeyermans', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXIV, 1982, pp. 755–756).

Boel, David de Coninck, Jan Fyt and many others.<sup>70</sup> Such works initially attracted princes and noblemen, as we have seen,<sup>71</sup> but by degrees the upper bourgeoisie seems to have developed an interest also.<sup>72</sup> Flemish hunting pictures were imitated in various countries and at various periods.<sup>73</sup> The vicissitudes of the genre in time and space would be a most rewarding subject of study, but is outside the scope of the present work.

## EXECUTION

It is generally accepted that both Frans Snyders and Paul de Vos collaborated with Rubens from time to time. As regards Snyders, Rubens himself confirmed this in connection with *Prometheus*, already mentioned,<sup>74</sup> but there is documentary evidence in the case of De Vos also.<sup>75</sup> However, there is only one hunting scene, namely *Diana Hunting* in the Torre de la Parada, where we are fairly certain that De Vos painted the animals.<sup>76</sup> Snyders' collaboration, on the other hand, is documented for eight hunting scenes (Nos.20–27) painted in 1639–1640. There is no document to show that these animal painters had any share in Rubens's early hunting scenes. We know from his letter to Matthew of February 1617, quoted above, that he did not allow Snyders to help him with the *Wolf Hunt* (No.2; Fig.33), and presumably at that time he did not expect to have

70. For Jan Roos (1591–1638) see a signed *Boar Hunt* (canvas, 186 × 248 cm.; whereabouts unknown. PROV. Princess Charles d'Arenberg, sale, Brussels (Giroux), 22–24 November 1926, lot 52, pl.5). For David de Coninck (?1636–after 1701) see the three hunting scenes formerly in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (*Cat. Rijksmuseum, 1976*, p.173, Nos.A72, A73, A618, repr.). For other examples see D. Bodart, *Les peintres des Pays-Bas méridionaux et de la principauté de Liège à Rome au XVIIème siècle*, Brussels–Rome, 1970, II, figs.303, 304. For Boel see reference in the previous note.

71. See Chapter I, pp.20–21.

72. Interesting information on hunting scenes on the art market in the 17th century can be found in *Denucé, Na Rubens*, viz. an inventory of paintings from the collection of Frans Snyders, including many hunting scenes (pp.188–190), both autograph and copies; two autograph Hunts by Snyders and a copy sent by M. Musson in 1657 to Picart in Paris (pp.168–169, 175, 183, 186, 187, 213, 216, 218, 220, 222–224; further details in E. Duverger, 'Nieuwe gegevens...', *Gentse bijdragen tot de kunstgeschiedenis*, XXI, 1968, pp.219, 221, 223); several small copies after Snyders, valued at 30 guilders apiece, sent by M. Musson to Picart (pp.127, 130–131); deliveries to Spain, between 1661 and 1667, of hunting scenes on canvas or copper, including many painted by Willem van Herp, probably after compositions by Rubens (pp.248, 256, 267, 268, 275–276, 304, 360); several large hunting scenes ordered by Picart (Paris) in 1674–1675 (pp.395–397, 404–408, 410, 437).

73. Names such as Abraham Hondius, Andreas Ruthart, François Desportes, Johann Elias Ridinger and Jean-Baptiste Oudry should be mentioned here.

74. See p.77, n.48. A review of documentary evidence connected with the collaboration between Rubens and Snyders is in *Rooses, Life*, I, pp.210, 211–212; see also *Hairs, Sillage*, pp.15–17.

75. See *Rooses, Life*, I, p.211; *Hairs, Sillage*, p.17.

76. The Torre de la Parada inventory of 1700 attributes the painting to 'Pedro de Vox' and Rubens (see *Alpers, Torre*, p.203, No.20, fig.97); to judge from the photograph the animals are indeed more like Paul de Vos's work than Snyders'.

recourse to Snyders' aid in the future, since, as mentioned, he was of the opinion that Snyders was only good at painting dead animals and especially dead birds.<sup>77</sup>

Rubens assured Matthew that the wolves and foxes in that painting were by his own hand, and his letter of 28 April 1618 stated that he had often painted animals, including in particular those in *Daniel in the Lions' Den* and the picture usually called simply *The Leopards*.<sup>78</sup> These lions and leopards are painted with broad, flowing strokes, the colour in places applied thickly with a somewhat negligent touch; nowhere is the style analytic or detailed. At first sight the *Wolf Hunt* (No.2; Figs.33, 35) differs somewhat from this, but on closer inspection we can see the same hand at work: the constant concern for clarity and simplicity of form—despite the more detailed treatment of the animals' pelts and the impetuous brushwork—the flowing outlines and powerful yet supple articulation of joints.

As we have noted, Rubens's letter to Matthew of February 1617 suggests that he originally did not intend to have Snyders paint the animals in the four hunting scenes for Maximilian of Bavaria. Rubens evidently rather prided himself on being able to paint exotic beasts, and if he needed help he could get it from his immediate assistants in the studio. Pieter Soutman, for instance, seems to have been an animal painter of some merit, as may be seen from the dog in a (very late) *Portrait of Three Children*:<sup>79</sup> the animal's powerful musculature is reminiscent of the hounds in Rubens's early *Hunts*. Thus I believe that the animals in the *Tiger Hunt* (No.7; Fig.57), the *Hippopotamus Hunt* (No.5; Figs.46, 48) and probably also the (lost) *Lion Hunt* (No.6; cf. Fig.51) were painted by Rubens, perhaps with some help from a competent pupil. In the *Calydonian Boar Hunt* at Vienna (No.10; Fig.69) the animals seem to me partly the work of an unskilful studio assistant; however, the two hounds clambering over the tree-trunk, the one pinned under the boar to the left and the one biting the boar's ear are by Rubens or at least retouched by him. In the Munich *Lion Hunt* (No.11; Fig.74) all the animals are by Rubens himself.

The *Boar Hunt* at Marseilles (No.4; Fig.40) seems to me more problematical, as the quality of the animal painting is not uniform. The light-coloured hound below on the right—the one which, as noted above, derives from the ancient

77. See p.78.

78. 'Daniel fra molti Leoni cavati dal naturale. Originale tutto de mia mano'—'Leopardi cavati dal naturale con satiri e nimfe. Originale de mia mano, ecçetto un bellissimo paese fatto per mano di un valenthuomo in quel mestiere' (*Rooses-Ruelens*, II, pp.136, 137, doc. CLXVI).

79. Formerly in Miss A. Strutt's collection in London; signed and dated 1648 (see J.G. van Gelder, 'De schilders van de Oranjezaal' *Nederlandsch kunsthistorisch jaarboek*, II, 1948–1949, p.134, n.3, fig.10).

she-wolf<sup>80</sup>—is admirably painted, with a flowing rhythm typical of Rubens's animals, and the head of the dog biting the boar's flank, also on the right, is well characterized. But the dog below on the left, for instance, is very feebly painted, and the boar itself is not wholly successful (this being due partly to a change of design, as we shall see under No.4). We have the impression that several unequally gifted artists were at work. It may be that Rubens, perhaps to save time, called in Snyders at a certain stage, and that problems arose over the integration of the latter's style with that of Rubens or his assistants. Perhaps this is too daring a hypothesis, however, in view of the perceptible difference in style between the animals in this *Boar Hunt* at Marseilles and those in Snyders' own *Boar Hunt* (Fig.23), painted shortly after. Only the hound with the brown coat on the extreme right of the picture at Marseilles (No.4; Fig.40), painted with a firm touch and with local colour, calls to mind Snyders' style at that period.<sup>81</sup>

The only substantial reason for thinking that Snyders had any part in Rubens's early hunting scenes is that, as we have seen, he quotes from them so freely in his own work. Similarly, as regards the suggestion that Snyders collaborated in the two mythological hunting scenes (Nos.12 and 13; cf. Figs.81, 83) that Rubens took to Madrid in 1628, my only serious argument is that he paraphrased one of these compositions shortly afterwards.<sup>82</sup> In this case we have even less to go on than with the early hunting scenes, as the two canvases have probably been destroyed.

As for Paul de Vos's collaboration in Rubens's hunting scenes, we know too little of his early style to affirm or deny that he had a share in Rubens's early *Hunts*. Probably De Vos worked with Snyders for a time, and that is why we sometimes find it hard to tell whether a work is by the master or the pupil. None the less, a typical work by Paul de Vos is very different from a typical work by Snyders (cf. Figs.9, 10). De Vos makes more use of middle tones, and his palette is thus more monotonous than Snyders'. Snyders, especially in his early works, aims at the greatest possible differentiation of materials, whereas in De

80. See pp.78–79.

81. At one time it was customary to ascribe the animals in all Rubens's hunting scenes to Snyders; more recent authors are much more cautious, and seldom commit themselves on the subject. E.g. Hella Robels writes: 'Nach der Ueberlieferung hat er [Rubens] Snyders auch zu seinen Jagdbildern herangezogen, die er um 1615 und in den folgenden Jahren mit Schülerhilfe schuf. Doch ist diese Beteiligung nicht nachzuweisen und bedarf noch der gründlicheren Untersuchung' (in [Cat.Exh.] *Weltkunst aus Privat-Besitz* (Kunsthalle, Cologne, 1968), p.11) and: 'Wie weit oder ob überhaupt Rubens ihn zu seinen in jenen Jahren entstehenden Jagdbildern heranzog, wie weit er selbst unter dessen Einfluss sich dem lebenden Tierbild zuwandte, muss hier unerörtert bleiben' (Robels, *Stillebenmaler*, p.55).

82. See p.81.

Vos the brush-strokes are more emphatic and serve to connect surfaces rather than separate them. Of more importance in the hunting scenes is their conception of animal forms. Snyder is a master of animal anatomy: the muscles of his beasts are tense, the joints stiffer than with Rubens, but still supple. With Paul de Vos, on the other hand, the anatomy often looks improbable, and the joints are slack. The psychological expression also differs: Snyder's animals strike me as intelligent and express more variety of feeling, while De Vos's look somewhat stupid and have less individuality.

It will be noticed that what I have said of Paul de Vos's style in the foregoing lines differs in some points from views expressed in the past by Marguerite Manneback, the specialist on this subject. She emphasized the dynamism of his compositions and particular forms<sup>83</sup> as opposed to the static quality of Snyder, whom she regarded as essentially a still-life artist. In my view this is to under-rate Snyder's talent, and above all I believe that contrasting the two artists in this way is more a hindrance than a help with the problem of attribution. Rooses had already formulated the view that Paul de Vos was a painter of 'dynamic' hunting scenes,<sup>84</sup> and Glück was evidently pursuing the same idea when he made the erroneous attribution to De Vos of Snyder's *Deer Hunt* at Brussels (Fig.9)—an attribution called in question by Manneback.<sup>85</sup> Ludwig Burchard also took the view that all dynamic hunting compositions were of the Paul de Vos type, as he called it, and he therefore thought De Vos must have assisted Rubens in all his later hunting scenes, whereas we now know for certain that Snyder painted the animals, at least in the hunting series for the King of Spain (Nos.20–27). It may well be that it was the dynamic character of Rubens's two paintings of *Diana Hunting*—the one of before 1628 (No.13; cf. Figs.83, 85) and the one formerly in Berlin (No.19; Fig.104)—that led Manneback to ascribe

83. 'Kein Gleichgewichtszustand wie in den Stilleben des Snyder, sondern ein Bildaufbau von lebendigen und bewegten Formen. Keine wörtliche Abschrift der Natur, sondern eine charakteristische Stilisierung der bald sehr schlanken und gestreckten, bald in ihren Umrissen gekrümmten Tierformen. Seinen ausgesprochenen Sinn für die Stilisierung der nervösen und ausdrucksvollen Konturen des Tierleibes unterstreicht de Vos noch durch die freiwillige Beschränkung seiner Farbenskala... Der psychologische Ausdruck der Tiere ist besonders eindringlich in den Skizzen der Hunde, die verwundet, getreten oder in die Luft geschleudert aufheulen oder sich auf der Erde wälzen und in momentanen Bewegungen aufstürzen' (Manneback, *P. de Vos*, pp.556–557).

84. Rooses, commenting on Rubens's remark (quoted by Matthew) that Snyder was only good at painting dead animals, emphasized the difference between the placid Snyder, a typical still-life painter, and the dynamic Paul de Vos ('plus fougueux et plus rude') (Rooses–Ruelens, II, p.101). Rooses had already suggested elsewhere that many of the hunting scenes traditionally ascribed to Snyder were probably by Paul de Vos (*Geschiedenis der Antwerpse schilderschool*, Ghent–Antwerp–The Hague, 1879, p.401).

85. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Inv. No.3229; canvas, 220 × 420 cm.; signed *F.Snyder fecit*. Glück (*Glück, Rubens, Van Dyck*, p.360) believed the signature to be a forgery. Manneback pointed out, however, that it did not disappear when the picture was cleaned, and she defended the attribution to Snyder on stylistic grounds also (in *Cat. Exh. Brussels*, 1965, pp.249–250, No.263, repr.).

the animals in them to Paul de Vos.<sup>86</sup> In my opinion, however, it was Snyders who assisted Rubens in both cases, though I express this view with some reserve as regards No.13, where judgement must be inconclusive.

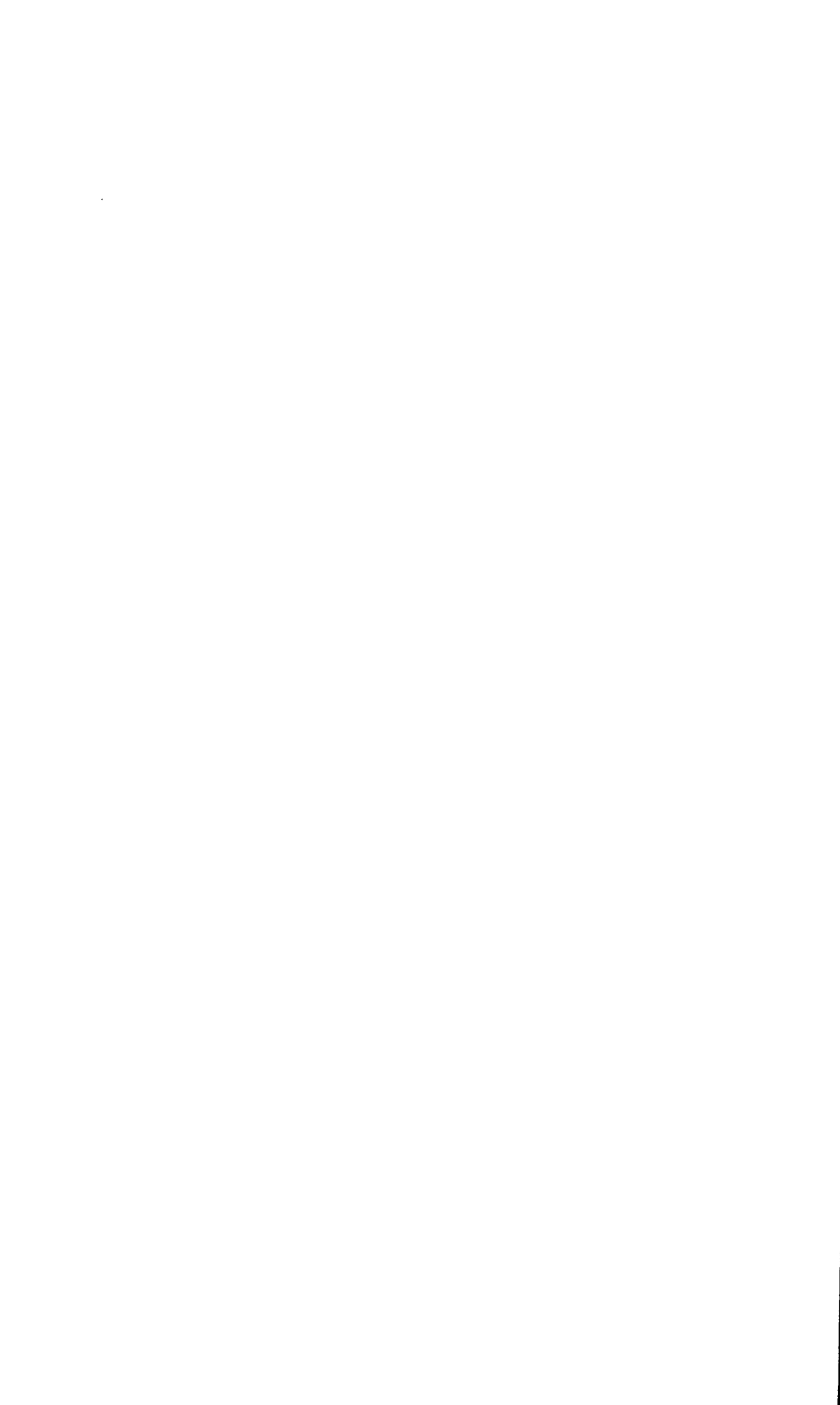
It may be that future research will question some of the conclusions drawn here as to the share of Frans Snyders and Paul de Vos in Rubens's hunting scenes. Yet I believe in principle the lines of development are clear: in his early hunting scenes Rubens seems to have painted the animals himself, perhaps with studio assistance; later he gradually resorted more to Snyders' aid, while himself prescribing details of the composition. Paul de Vos, it would appear, was only seldom assigned a part in executing the hunting scenes.

86. *Mameback, P. de Vos*, pp.557, 558. See also under Nos.13 and 19, especially p.191, n.15, and p.210.





# CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ



# CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ

## I. The Calydonian Boar Hunt

Support and dimensions unknown.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: ? Earl of Milltown, 1822 (Russborough [?], Ireland).

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig.31), whereabouts unknown; panel, 68.5 × 104 cm. PROV. ? Private collection, Russia, c.1920; private collection, Prague; Carlova Galerie, Prague, 1975. LIT. *Heinz, Jagd*, p.94; an unpublished dossier (copy in the Rubenianum, Antwerp) compiled by A. Vosátka, Director of the Carlova Galerie, Prague (1976); (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 45.7 × 61 cm. PROV. Sale, London (Christie's), 2 August 1951, lot 139; (3) Painting, in reverse, with changes, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 90 × 170 cm. PROV. Sale, Berlin (Lepke), 18–20 May 1920, lot 26, pl.5; (4) Drawing after Copy (5), Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Graphische Sammlung, Inv. No. Z4744; red chalk, 480 × 605/610 mm. LIT. *Robels, Niederländische Zeichnungen*, p.247, No.601, repr.; (5) Etching (Fig.32) in reverse; 442 × 592 mm. (for different states see below, p.95 n.17). LIT. *V.S.*, p.228, No.31.10; *Hymans, Gravure*, pp.427–428; *Dutuit*, III, p.247, No.21.10, p.265; *Rooses*, III, p.118, under No.638, pl.197; *Rosenberg, Rubensstecher*, p.157; *Hollstein*, IX, p.237, No.49; (6) Engraving, by Francis Lamb, 1822. LIT. *Rooses*, III, p.118, under No.638.

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.276, No.929; *Rooses*, III, pp.117–118, No.638; *Rooses, Life*, I, p.263; *Dillon, Rubens*, p.117; *Heinz, Jagd*, p.94.

Meleager, on the left, thrusts his spear into the shoulder of the boar at bay; two horsemen on the right also aim their spears at it. Atalanta, standing behind Meleager, has just shot an arrow. Six men, most of them only partly visible, form a screen behind Atalanta and Meleager; the man on the far left holds a dog in check; two other hounds rush at the boar, a fifth is mortally injured. In the centre the naked Ancaeus lies dead on the ground.

In this scene Rubens followed Ovid's account.<sup>1</sup> The poet relates how Diana, angered by the failure of King Oeneus of Calydon to offer sacrifice to her, sent a huge boar to ravage the land. Oeneus's son Meleager organized a great hunt in which many Greek heroes took part including the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux (seen in this painting as the two horsemen on the right). The virgin huntress Atalanta first succeeded in wounding the beast, with an arrow behind the ear. Ancaeus, who dared to challenge Diana to protect the boar, paid for his presumption with his life, as the beast ripped out his entrails. He thus died in the same manner as Adonis, and Rubens portrayed the latter's death similarly.<sup>2</sup> Finally Meleager slew the monster with his hunting-spear.

Ovid's account includes many subsidiary events. Rubens ignored these and concentrated on the dramatic climax, with Meleager slaying the boar. In this he followed the treatment of the theme in ancient sarcophagi: one which probably furnished his immediate if not his sole inspiration is now at Woburn Abbey (Fig.27) but was to be seen in Rome in the

16th and 17th centuries.<sup>3</sup> The figure of Meleager is literally borrowed from such a sarcophagus; several of those representing Meleager, though not the one at Woburn Abbey, also depict a wounded man and hounds trampled by the boar. Contrary to Rubens's composition, Atalanta generally stands on the right of Meleager, with her right arm hanging downwards. However, the pose in which Rubens represents her does occur in some sarcophagi,<sup>4</sup> and is especially common in free-standing statues of Diana.<sup>5</sup> The boar is always seen in profile on the sarcophagi; for this sitting boar, presented frontally but with head turned to one side, Rubens appears to have been inspired by the antique marble *Boar* in the Uffizi at Florence.<sup>6</sup>

The horse on the far right corresponds literally with the one furthest right in Rubens's drawn copy after Leonardo's *Battle of Anghiari* in the Louvre (Fig. 30),<sup>7</sup> except for the position of its hind legs, which derives from the horse on the left of the same composition. Rubens had previously used the horse on the left in his *Equestrian Portrait of Giancarlo Doria*.<sup>8</sup>

No original of the present work by Rubens's hand has survived.<sup>9</sup> The composition is known from a somewhat dry but apparently very faithful copy in a private collection formerly in Prague (Copy [1]; Fig. 31), and also from a reversed etching (Copy [5]; Fig. 32).

Since Basan's time<sup>10</sup> this etching has been ascribed to Theodoor van Kessel. As the latter did not settle in Antwerp till c. 1652 there was no reason to suppose that the etching was commissioned by Rubens or made during his lifetime. But the attribution, which is based on purely stylistic grounds, is thrown into doubt by the dating of this print on the basis of the publishers' addresses. The appearance of

the name *H. de Neyt* on one of the states gives as a *terminus ante quem* the date of Herman de Neyt's death, viz. 8 September 1642,<sup>11</sup> which brings us rather close to Rubens's own lifetime. The fact, moreover, that the name of Jacob Moermans figures among the editors of the print, could give rise to some conjecture.

Jacob Moermans was active as a publisher of prints, or dealer in them, from as early as 1631.<sup>12</sup> In 1622 he appears in the lists of St Luke's Guild as a pupil of Rubens, and he remained in contact with his master for many years: Rubens appointed him executor of his will, together with Snyders and Wildens. From the accounts of Rubens's estate we know that Moermans had been responsible for the sale of the master's prints,<sup>13</sup> and subsequently he performed the same service for the heirs.<sup>14</sup> All this raises the question whether Moermans was commissioned by Rubens to publish the print of the *Calydonian Boar Hunt*. However, this seems unlikely in view of the fact that De Neyt published it before him,<sup>15</sup> and also in view of the absence of the threefold privilege formula that accompanied print editions sponsored by Rubens.<sup>16</sup>

This conclusion is of importance in connection with the following problem. In the Cabinet des Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris there is a retouched first state of this print (Fig. 32);<sup>17</sup> it is in the same album as the prints, retouched by Rubens himself, from the collection of P.-J. Mariette and the royal collection,<sup>18</sup> and this makes it natural to suppose that the first-mentioned print was also retouched by Rubens. It is intensively reworked, brown ink being used to accentuate contours and deepen shadows, and white or yellowish-white (oil?) paint to correct the modelling and obliterate certain parts. Thus Meleager's left leg (in

the etching: his right leg in the painting) was made narrower, and the left wrist of the horseman on the extreme left was given a more undulating contour. In addition there are more radical changes. The right hand of the second horseman was overpainted; the horse's flowing mane was shortened, its left knee placed lower down, its hoof eliminated. Meleager was given a clearly visible moustache and beard. The head of the man left of the hornblower was erased, as were a man's leg and the hindquarters of a hound in the area between Meleager and Atalanta. In the second state of the print all these changes were maintained, except that the second horseman kept his right hand. Such modifications could only be carried out for artistic reasons, but who except the master himself would have dared thus to interfere with the composition?

In my opinion the possibility cannot be excluded, therefore, that these retouches are by Rubens himself.<sup>19</sup> But, as shown above, this view is not supported by any indication that the print was published on his initiative, and stylistic arguments also point in another direction. In general Rubens's retouches are made with assurance and economy of means and are easy to interpret. In the present case, however, the paint is applied in a rather slapdash manner and the forms are certainly not always clearly defined by it.

For some details, such as the impressive head of the wild boar, the print seems likely to give a better idea of the original than the painted copy, where the beast is depicted very schematically. On the whole, however, and especially as far as anatomy, physiognomy and the portrayal of human hair is concerned, I have the impression that the Prague copy is closer to Rubens's painting. The sharply drawn forms, the harsh treatment of

shadows and the metallic heightening in the figures' hair suggest that the original was of fairly early date. An analysis of the motifs points to the same conclusion: for instance, the pose and anatomy of Meleager are those of the *Drunken Hercules* in the Gemäldegalerie at Dresden,<sup>20</sup> while the dead Ancaeus recalls the beheaded Argus (*Juno and Argus*, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne)<sup>21</sup> and also *Prometheus* (Philadelphia Museum of Art). The same pose was used for a slain man in *The Defeat of Sennacherib* (Alte Pinakothek, Munich),<sup>22</sup> which however is somewhat later: the nude is more relaxed and less drastically foreshortened than in the present work. As already mentioned, the dead Ancaeus strongly resembles Adonis in *The Lamentation over Adonis*, formerly with Duits Ltd., London,<sup>23</sup> and other features of that work can also be compared with the present one: the profile of the kneeling Venus is the same as Atalanta's, and the somewhat timid treatment of the wooded background is common to both pictures. The hornblower's head recurs in *Meleager presenting the Boar's Head to Atalanta* at Kassel,<sup>24</sup> and is clearly inspired by a hornblower in Mantegna's copper plate engraving of *Fighting Sea-Centaurs*.<sup>25</sup>

I would date the lost original of this *Calydonian Boar Hunt* c.1614-1615, making it the earliest of Rubens's known hunting scenes, and one he repeatedly recalled in later works. The basic composition of the *Wolf Hunt* (No.2; Fig.33) is the same as this, with a figure on the left seen from behind and half cut off by the picture-edge, a horseman facing the spectator and another in profile on the right. Certain motifs recur in the *Marseilles Boar Hunt* (No.4; Fig.40), while the *Calydonian Boar Hunt* in Vienna (No.10; Fig.69) can be regarded as a revised version adapted to a later phase of the artist's style.

A poem in *La Galleria* (published in 1620) by Gian Battista Marino (1569–1625) speaks of a ‘Meleagro con Atalanta di Pietro Paolo Rubens’. It does not describe the work, but briefly recalls the story of the Calydonian hunt and the death inflicted on Meleager, through his mother, by the vengeful Diana.<sup>26</sup> It is not clear whether Marino was referring to a painting or a drawing, still less what it looked like, and we cannot even be certain that he had an actual composition in mind, as his correspondence shows that some of his descriptions are pure fiction.<sup>27</sup> However, as his description of Rubens’s *Death of Leander* does seem to fit the actual work,<sup>28</sup> we are inclined to attribute some source value to his ‘Meleagro con Atalanta’. According to a letter by Marino, a large part of *La Galleria* was ready for the press in 1613, but we do not know if it included the poem in question. At all events the latter was written before 16 November 1619, the date of the dedication of the book, and Ludwig Burchard was of the opinion that the only *Calydonian Boar Hunt* by Rubens to which it could refer was the present No.1.<sup>29</sup> This identification must be treated with caution. In any case it gives us little to go on as to the date of the composition or the original location of the painting; some of the works mentioned by Marino were in his own possession, but certainly not all. It is an open question whether he saw the present work by Rubens, or one like it, in Italy or, after 1615, during his stay at the court of Marie de’ Medici in Paris.

1. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VIII, 270–419.

2. Of the boar’s attack on Ancaeus Ovid writes: ‘summa ferus geminos direxit ad inguina dentes’ (*Metamorphoses*, VII, 400); of the boar that killed Adonis ‘totosque sub inguine dentes / abdidit’ (*ibid.*, X, 715–716). For Rubens’s *Death of Adonis*,

formerly with Duits Ltd., London, see [Cat. Exh.] P.P. Rubens. *Paintings, Oil-sketches, Drawings* (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, 1977), No.28 (repr.).

3. C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*, III, 2, *Hippolytos-Meleagros*, Berlin, 1904, No.224, pl.LXXVII. Rubens seems also to have used this sarcophagus relief for the *Marseilles Boar Hunt* (No.4; Fig.40) and the *Calydonian Boar Hunt* in Vienna (No.10; Fig.69).
4. E.g. Robert, *op. cit.*, No.221, pl.LXXIV, No.252.
5. See e.g. S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, Paris, I, 1897, pl.302–311.
6. This boar seems originally to have been part of a statuary group of the *Calydonian Boar Hunt*. It was discovered in Rome in the 16th century and belonged to the Medici in Florence, certainly from 1638 and perhaps earlier. G. A. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi. Le sculture*, I, Rome, 1957, pp.78–80, No.50, repr.
7. *Held, Drawings*, No.161; see above, p.62, n.67.
8. F. Huemer, *Portraits (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, XIX, 1)*, Brussels-London, 1977, No.10, fig.68.
9. Rooses mentions an engraving by Francis Lamb (Copy [6]) after a canvas that was in the collection of the Earl of Milltown in 1822. May we suppose that this was the original painting, or was it a copy? I have not been able to trace any specimen of the engraving. I have also not seen any reproduction of Copy (2), but Burchard noted that it was a reverse image of the print (Copy [5]; Fig.32). It should be noted that this panel is of the same dimensions as the print.
10. F. Basan, *Catalogue des estampes gravées d’après P.P. Rubens*, Paris, 1767, p.233, No.21.10. This attribution has been adopted by all subsequent authors.
11. This was pointed out to me by Carl Van de Velde. See the inventory of De Neyt’s estate in *Denucé, Konstkamers*, pp.94ff. An engraving by C. Galle after Rubens’s *The Four Latin Doctors of the Church* bears a dedication by Herman de Neyt (see *Vlieghe, Saints*, I, p.82, under No.60, fig.105).
12. From that year onwards he had plates cut for the Paris art dealer Antoon Goetkint (F.J. Van den Branden, *Geschiedenis der Antwerpse schilderschool*, Antwerp, 1883, p.803).
13. ‘... affgerekent met Jacques Moermans, van allen tgene dat hy voor den heer afflyvigen van vercochte printen, teekeningen ende anderssints ontfangen ende voor hem vuytgegeven hadde...’ (*Génard, Nalatenschap*, p.94, item CVIII; see also pp.95, 96, 141, 148).
14. Among his possessions at his death was a copperplate and two prints of a portrait of Rubens, the property of the master’s heirs (Van den Branden, *op. cit.*, p.804).
15. As far as I could see from the photographs at my disposal, the state with De Neyt’s address

- must be placed before that with Moermans' address.
16. For these privileges see p.47. This *Calydonian Boar Hunt* is inscribed 'Cum priuilegio'.
17. This state is prior to the first one mentioned by *Hollstein* (IX, p.237, No.49). The order of states given by *Hollstein*, following *Wurzbach* (I, p.259, No.6) is not quite correct: the state published by G.Huberti clearly comes after that of Moermans (specimens in the Albertina, Vienna). The following is a survey of the states: I without letters; II without letters, but reworked; III? with the letters *P.Paulus Rubens pinxit—Cum priuilegio*, but without address (unknown to me); IV with the address of H. de Neyt; V with the address of J.Moermans; VI with the address of G.Huberti; VII with the address of C. van Merlen (this state is unknown to me; Voorhelm Schneevooft places it before Huberti's). Jacob Moermans is sometimes incorrectly referred to as the engraver of a *Hunting Scene* after Rubens.
18. No.Cc 34j rés (108); photograph No.10509.
19. Hymans knew this retouched print, but doubted Rubens's authorship (*Hymans, Gravure*, pp.427-428: '...la simple présence de quelques retouches ne démontre pas nécessairement que le pinceau qui les trace est celui de Rubens'). Van den Wijngaert also declared that the retouches could not be by Rubens (*Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p.66, No.353: 'onmogelijk nog van Rubens' hand'), but his argument—namely the later date based on the attribution to Theodoor van Kessel—is invalid, as I have argued above.
20. *Cat.* 1979, No.987.
21. *K.d.K.*, p.33.
22. *K.d.K.*, p.156.
23. See n.2.
24. *K.d.K.*, p.101.
25. P.Kristeller, *Andrea Mantegna*, Berlin—Leipzig, 1902, fig.145.
26. 'Feristi al fier Cinghiale  
Il fianco à vn punto, e saettasti il core  
A l'Arciera gentil con altro strale  
Felice amante, e miser cacciatore.  
Felicissimo amore,  
Ma caccia insieme misera, e mortale,  
Ond'irata la Dea,  
Infuriata Altea,  
Con poc 'esca in poc 'hore  
La tua vita spengendo à poco à poco,  
Spenser foco per foco'  
(Cavalier Marino, *La Galleria*, Milan, 1620, p.10). The story of Meleager's death is as follows. In love with Atalanta, he offered her the head of the slaughtered boar and thus provoked the anger of his mother's two brothers, whom he slew in the ensuing fight. To avenge them Althaea, his mother, threw into the fire a brand by which the length of Meleager's life was measured, as the Fates had predicted at his birth.

27. See G.Ackermann, 'Gian Battista Marino's Contribution to Seicento Art Theory', *The Art Bulletin*, XLIII, 1961, pp.326-330.
28. See J.Müller Hofstede, in *Cat. Exh. Cologne, 1977*, I, pp.147-149, No.8, repr.
29. G.Heinz (loc. cit.) doubted whether the poem referred to this composition ('wenn sie überhaupt auf Rubens zurückgeht') or rather to the canvas in Vienna (No.10).

## 2. Wolf and Fox Hunt (Fig.33)

Oil on canvas; 245.4 × 376.2 cm. (consisting of many small pieces of canvas). Below on the left, in yellow paint, the number 1125.

*New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, John Stewart Kennedy Fund, 1910. Inv. No.10.37.*

PROVENANCE: Purchased by Philippe-Charles d'Arenberg, Duke of Aarschot (1587-1640), in 1616-1617; purchased from the latter's estate by Don Diego Mexía Felípez de Guzmán, first Marquis of Leganés (Madrid, ?1580-1655) (inv.1642, No.1126; inv.1655, No.1125); by descent in the collection of the Counts of Altamira, 1711; seized by the French and carried to Paris, 1814; restored to Vicente Isabel Osorio de Moscoso, 13th Count of Altamira (d.1816) in 1815; Vicente Isabel Osorio de Moscoso, 14th Count of Altamira, who sold it in Paris, 1820; dealer John Smith, London, 1824, who sold it to Sir Alexander Baring, 1st Baron Ashburton, The Grange, Alresford, Hampshire (1774-1848); Louisa, Lady Ashburton, Kent House, London, until 1907; dealer Wertheimer, London, 1907; A.Sulley and Co., London, 1908; purchased in 1910 by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, John Stewart Kennedy Fund.

COPIES: (1) Painting, see No.2b for more details; (2) Painting, Leningrad, Hermitage, Inv. No.9525; canvas, 240 × 363.5 cm.

PROV. ? Abbey of Vicoigne (Fr.), donated to Monseigneur Léopold Charles de Choiseuil, Archbishop-Duke of Cambrai in 1767 (cf. F. Mols, *État des tableaux de Pierre Paul Rubens existants aujourd'hui en Allemagne, en Angleterre, en France, en Espagne, en Italie, en Portugal, dans les Pays Bas et en Russie, 1775*, (Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, MS 5734), fol.137, No.559); ? Choiseuil sale, Paris (Remy), 23 January 1775, lot 4 (with the measurements: c.241 × 363 cm.); ? Mrs. Goman, sale, Paris, 6 February 1792, lot 10 ('... chasse au lion (sic); a droite un cavalier sur un cheval blanc, près d'une femme aussi à cheval, ajustée en amazône; plus loin d'autres personnages, dont un homme à cheval vu de face en ajustement noir, lançant sa pique sur le lion (sic) arrassé et arrêté par les chiens...', c.227 × 357 cm.); Prince You-souhoff, St. Petersburg, 1890; in the Hermitage since 1925. LIT. *Rooses*, IV, p.341, under No.1156; *Rooses, Life*, I, p.258 (as *studio replica retouched by Rubens*); *K.d.K.*, p.459 (as *studio replica*); *Isermeyer, Rubens*, p.28; *M. Varshavskaya, Rubens' Paintings in the Hermitage Museum* [Russ.], Leningrad, 1975, p.250, No.14 (as *17th-century copy*); *Musée de l'Ermitage. Peinture de l'Europe occidentale. Catalogue 2: Pays-Bas, Flandre, etc.* [Russ.], Leningrad, 1981, p.68, No.9525; (3) Painting, ? 18th century, in reverse, whereabouts unknown; canvas (?), 51 × 64 cm. PROV. Baron Uexküll-Fickel, c.1925 (photograph in the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague); sale, New York (Parke-Bernet), 20 February 1930, lot 82 (repr.); (4) Painting by Géricault, Museum Ordrupgaard, Charlottenlund (Den.). PROV. Wilhelm Hansen (d.1936). LIT. L. Eitner, 'Reversal of Direction in Géricault's Compositional Projects', in *Stil und Überlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes. Akten des 21. internat. Kongresses für Kunst-*

*geschichte in Bonn* 1964, Berlin, 1967, III, pl.20.2; (5) Drawing by P. Soutman (?), whereabouts unknown; pen and ink over preliminary drawing in black chalk, dimensions unknown. PROV. Dirk Versteegh, sale, Amsterdam, 3 November 1823, portfolio F, lot 27 ('Une chasse aux Loups à la pierre noire par Soutman, retouchée à la plume par P.P. Rubens, avec la gravure'); (6) Drawing (Fig. 36) by A. van Dyck (?), Chatsworth, The Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement, No.982; black and red chalk, partially colour-washed, 247 × 360 mm.; below on the left the mark of N.A. Flinck (*L.959*). PROV. N.A. Flinck (Rotterdam, 1646-1723); purchased by the 2nd Duke of Devonshire in 1723. EXH. *Old Master Drawings from Chatsworth. A Loan Exhibition from the Devonshire Collection*, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, and other places, 1969-1970, No.98; *Old Master Drawings from Chatsworth. A Loan Exhibition from the Devonshire Collection*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1973, No.98 (repr.; as ? *Van Dyck*); *Treasures from Chatsworth. The Devonshire Inheritance*, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Va., and other places, 1979, No.79 (repr.). LIT. [Cat. Exh.] *Rubens e Genova*, (Palazzo Ducale, Genoa, 1977-1978), p.213, fig.78 (as *Rubens*); (7) Drawing, after Copy (11), Antwerp, Museum Mayer van den Bergh, No.764; red chalk, 395 × 283 mm.; below on the right inscribed in pencil: *Hamilton*. PROV. Purchased before 1902. LIT. J. de Coö, *Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Catalogus I*, Antwerp, 1978, p.228, No.764; (8) Water-colour by E. Delacroix, after the left half of the composition, Montpellier, Musée Fabre; 182 × 279 mm. PROV. Delacroix's estate, Paris, 1864, part of lot 635; bequest Bruyas, 1876. LIT. J. Claparède, *Montpellier, Musée Fabre. Dessins de la collection Alfred Bruyas...*, Paris, 1962, No.60,



repr.; (9) Drawing by E. Delacroix, after the head of a wolf and of a fox, after Copy (11), Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre, Inv. No. RF 9144, fol. 14. LIT. Kliman, *Delacroix's Lions*, pp. 455, 457, fig. 24; (10) Drawing after the head of the wolf on the left, Leningrad, Hermitage, Inv. No. 3082; 405 × 310 mm.; inscribed below on the left: *fyit*; below on the right the mark of Paul I of Russia (tsar from 1796 to 1801) (L. 2061). PROV. Count Kobentzl; purchased by the Empress Catherine II of Russia in 1768; in the Hermitage ever since. LIT. M. Dobroklonski, *Catalogue Hermitage IV, Drawings of the Flemish School, 17th–18th Century* [Russ.], Moscow, 1955, p. 157, No. 755, pl. LXX (as *Fyt*); (11) Etching by P. Soutman (fig. 37), in reverse; 465 × 637 mm.; below, in the margin: *P. P. Rubens inventor. DVM VIGILAT PASTOR, VENATOR DARDA MINATVR. TVNC PECVDVM TREPIDVS DESERIT ARVA LVPVS. P. Soutman Inuenit Effigiauit et Excud. Cum Priuil.*; first state of four; second state with the address of Van Merlen, third state with the address of C. Danckerts (cf. *Dutuit*). LIT. V.S., p. 227, No. 31.5; *Dutuit*, III, pp. 245–246, No. 21.5; *Hymans, Gravure*, p. 130; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p. 93, No. 645; *Robels, Rubens-Stecker*, p. 81, fig. 84; (12) Etching by W. de Leeuw, in reverse; 422 × 567 mm.; below, in the margin: *P. P. Rubens inventor. EVGE, LVPOS MVLTÂQVE VIRI VI PERDITE, ET AVSV. PASCVA VT INNOCVO SINT SVA TVTA GREGI. W. P. Leeuw fecit*; three states (cf. *Dutuit*). LIT. V.S., pp. 227–228, No. 31.6; *Dutuit*, III, p. 246, No. 21.6; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p. 69, No. 394; *Bodart, Incisione*, p. 100, No. 208; (13) Print by Gio. Termini, after Copy (12). LIT. V.S., p. 228, under No. 31.6; (14) Print by J. Troyen, after Copy (11), but with the dress modernized. LIT. V.S., p. 228, under No. 31.5; *Dutuit*, III, p. 246, under No. 21.5.

EXHIBITED: Louvre, Paris, 1814, No. 102; *Exhibition of the Works of the Old Masters*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1871, No. 110; Grosvenor Gallery, London, 1890, No. 32; Sulley Gallery, London, 1908; *Taste of To-Day in Masterpieces of Painting*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1932.

LITERATURE: *Notice des tableaux des écoles primitives de l'Italie, de l'Allemagne, et de plusieurs autres tableaux de différentes écoles, exposés dans le grand salon du Musée Royal*, Paris, 1814, No. 102; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp. 273–274, No. 925; *Waagen, Kunstwerke*, II, pp. 84–85; *Van Hasselt, Rubens*, p. 359, No. 1288; *W. Hazlitt, Criticisms on Art. Second Series*, 1844, Appendix IV, p. XXVI, No. 37; *Waagen, Treasures*, II, p. 102; *Sainsbury, Papers*, pp. 14–17, 21, 24; *Waagen, Kleine Schriften*, p. 291; *H. Riegel, Beiträge zur niederländischen Kunstgeschichte*, Berlin, 1882, I, p. 286; *Rooses*, IV, pp. 340–343, Nos. 1156, 1158; *W. Stirling-Maxwell, Annals of the Artists of Spain*, London, 1891, II, p. 642 (as *Lion Hunt*); *Rooses–Ruelens*, II, pp. 85–87, 90, 93–94, 96, 97–98, 107–108, 119–121; *Burckhardt, Rubens*, p. 305; *Rooses, Life*, I, pp. 152–153, 158; *A. E. Hewett, 'Two Pictures from the Ashburton Collection'*, *The Burlington Magazine*, XII, 1907–1908, pp. 303–304, repr. p. 302; *Dillon, Rubens*, pp. 116, 117, 230, Pl. CXIV; *B. B. [urroughs], 'Principal Accessions'*, *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, V, 1910, pp. 120–122; *W. R. Valentiner, 'Gemälde des Rubens in Amerika, I'*, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, N.F., XXIII, 1911–1912, pp. 184, 186, 271, fig. 8; *idem, Aus der niederländischen Kunst*, Berlin, 1914, p. 152, fig. 3; *Oldenbourg, Flämische Malerei*, p. 38; *K. d. K.*, pp. 112, 459; *[R. Oldenbourg], Peter Paul Rubens. Sammlung der von Rudolf Oldenbourg veröffentlichten ... Abhandlungen über*

den Meister, ed. by W. von Bode, Munich-Berlin, 1922, p.10; O. Grossmann, *Das Reiterbild in Malerei und Plastik*, Berlin, 1931, p.90; B. Burroughs, *Catalogue of Paintings, The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 9th edn., New York, 1931, p.312, No. R82-3, repr.; P. Beroqui, 'Apuntes para la historia del Museo del Prado', *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, XL, 1932, p.96; Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, p.174; W.R. Valentiner, 'Rubens' Paintings in America', *The Art Quarterly*, IX, 1946, p.159, No.47; Goris-Held, p.41, No.94, pl.76; Larsen, *Rubens*, p.216, No.30; J.L. Allen and E.E. Gardner, *A Concise Catalogue of the European Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1954, p.87; De Maeyer, *Albrecht en Isabella*, p.118; Bordley, *Rubens*, pp.81, 86, fig.29; Speth-Holterhoff, *Cabinets*, p.205, n.55; J. Claparède, *Montpellier, Musée Fabre. Dessins de la collection Alfred Bruyas*, Paris, 1962, under No.60; Held, *Prometheus*, p.20; Burchard-Hulst, *Drawings*, I, p.87; Isermeyer, *Jagd*, pp.13, 21, 28, pl.4; *Robels, Stillebenmaler*, p.54; *Rosand, Lion Hunt*, pp.36-37, repr.23; *Martin, Cat. National Gallery*, p.184; *Martin, Pompa*, pp.213-214; *Kruijshoof-Buys*, pp.46-49; [Cat. Exh.] *Rubens e Genova*, (Palazzo Ducale, Genoa, 1977-1978), p.213; *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, p.63, under No.58; *Robels, Rubens-Stecher*, p.81; *Belkin, Costume Book*, pp.103, 132; 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.160; III, repr. p.371; *Liedtke, Cat. Metropolitan Museum*, I, pp.198-209; II, pl.XV, 77, 78; *Freedberg, After the Passion*, p.128, under No.31.

In the centre of the composition two wolves stand at bay, surrounded by huntsmen and hounds. On the left two beaters

thrust at them with spears; a young horseman with a spear in his hand, followed by a beater, gallops towards the spectator. Two more huntsmen advance, one with a cudgel, the other blowing a horn. On the right are two mounted figures, a man with drawn sword and a woman side-saddle, with a hawk on her wrist. Foxes are being hunted in addition to the wolves: one on the left tries to escape, one lies dead in the centre, and another is trampled by the horse on the right.

The first mention of a 'peece of huntinge' by Rubens is in a letter of 9 October 1616,<sup>1</sup> referring to a painting for sale in Rubens's studio. Sir Dudley Carleton, English ambassador to the United Provinces at The Hague, was much interested in it, and his correspondence with his agents in the Southern Netherlands—Toby Matthew, George Gage, and afterwards William Trumbull and Lionel Wake—contains information about the painting itself and also a replica. The subject is not at first specified, but a letter from Rubens dated 12 May 1618 finally informs us that it was a *Wolf Hunt*.<sup>2</sup> It also appears that Archduke Albert of Austria had shown interest in the painting some time before, but it was so large—11 or 12 feet high and 18 feet wide (c.315 or 344 × 516 cm.) that he had no suitable place for it.<sup>3</sup>

Carleton instructed his agents to offer in exchange for the picture a diamond chain which he or his wife wanted to dispose of. However, the chain was worth only £50 sterling (or £44, as George Gage later asserted),<sup>4</sup> whereas the artist wanted £100 for his *Wolf and Fox Hunt*. Matthew and Gage thought he would in fact take £80, but no less, and they suggested that Carleton should make up the difference in cash.

Meanwhile, however, another customer appeared in the shape of Philippe-Charles d'Arenberg, Duke of Aarschot, who bought the canvas for £ 100.<sup>5</sup> Rubens thereupon suggested to Carleton that he should paint a smaller replica, 7 feet high by 9 or 10 feet wide (c.201 × 258 or 287 cm.), which he was prepared to exchange for the diamond chain.<sup>6</sup> Carleton finally agreed to this, and used the opportunity to commission, through Rubens, works by other Antwerp artists: Jan Brueghel, Frans Snyders and Sebastiaan Vrancx.<sup>7</sup> These pictures were completed before 23 August 1617, and were sent to The Hague shortly after that date.<sup>8</sup> From Gage's letter to Carleton of 1 November 1617 we learn that they had arrived safely by that date.<sup>9</sup>

Later a possible third version of the *Wolf Hunt* is mentioned in Carleton's correspondence. Lord Danvers wished, through Carleton, to exchange a painting by Bassano for one by Rubens. The artist suggested that he might paint a *Wolf Hunt*, which however would have to be considerably smaller than Carleton's, as the Bassano was badly damaged and not worth much.<sup>10</sup> However, Danvers finally opted for a *Lion and Tiger Hunt*, and the further correspondence is accordingly described under No.7. The small *Wolf Hunt* suggested seems never to have been painted.

Three painted versions of the *Wolf and Fox Hunt* require our attention: one in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (Fig.33), one in Lord Methuen's collection at Corsham Court (No.2b; Fig.34), and one in the Hermitage, Leningrad. In addition there is an etching by Soutman (Fig.37).<sup>11</sup>

The New York and Corsham Court versions show exactly the same composition, except that the latter has rather

more space above and below. I have not seen the canvas at Leningrad,<sup>12</sup> and could not obtain a photograph from which to form an opinion of it. The composition in Soutman's etching differs from the first two, though not in essentials. The extension of the composition to the left, behind the lady's back, is so clumsy that it cannot be attributed to Rubens. Other differences, however, bear witness to subtle reinterpretation, making it possible to suppose that the etching reproduces a lost painting (unless the Leningrad version shows the same features), perhaps executed by Rubens himself or under his supervision. In the etching, for instance, a third spear on the right is omitted; the rider seen in full-face has a chain across his breast; the horseman on the left has a different type of boot, with a high heel,<sup>13</sup> different stirrups, and a pattern of lilies on his saddle-cloth; the dog beneath his horse has a spotted coat instead of a uniform one as in the paintings; both this dog and the one just behind it are of a different breed, with long drooping ears. However, these variations may be the work of Soutman himself, who in the inscription to the etching claims to have played some part in designing the composition.<sup>14</sup>

The painting at Corsham Court (Fig.34) is of approximately the same dimensions as the replica bought by Carleton, and may accordingly be identified with it. The quality, however, is not such as to warrant its being wholly attributed to Rubens himself, as a sanguine reading of the correspondence might suggest. Most probably the work was executed by the studio and merely retouched by Rubens.<sup>15</sup>

The canvas in New York (Fig.33) is the largest known version of the *Wolf and Fox Hunt*. Although it is about 1 metre less high and 1.5 metres less wide than

the painting bought by the Duke of Aarschot in 1616-17, it must be identified with it. The pedigree of the New York painting can be traced back to the duke's collection without interruption. John Smith recorded its provenance from the collection of the Counts of Altamira, and stated that in the 17th century it was owned by the Marquis of Leganés.<sup>16</sup> It duly appears in the latter's inventory of 1642, though the artist's name is not given: 'n<sup>o</sup> 1126—Vna pintura de caça de lobos y çorras dos ombres a caballo y vna mug(er) que lleba vn alcón en la mano y otras figuras de caçadores tiene de alto tres varas y de largo quatro'.<sup>17</sup> In the 1655 inventory made after Leganés's death<sup>18</sup> it figures as No. 1125: this number is still to be seen in the lower left corner of the painting in New York, making its provenance unquestionable. The link with the Duke of Aarschot's collection is established by a note in the 1642 Leganés inventory (repeated in that of 1655) stating that six paintings came from the Duke of Aarschot's house;<sup>19</sup> this is to be understood as meaning the house in which he lived when under arrest in Madrid, and the contents of which were sold after his death in 1640.<sup>20</sup> In the 1642 inventory four pictures are grouped as numbers 1143-1146, all paintings of animals and hunts, measuring 3 × 5 *varas*. The other two pieces, according to the note, are listed further up in the inventory. The only two that come into question are nos. 1126 and 1127. The first of these is the *Wolf and Fox Hunt* now in the Metropolitan Museum (the same height as the other four, but somewhat less wide); the second is a *Tiger Hunt* of exactly the same measurements as nos. 1143-1146. In the 1655 inventory these six paintings (there numbered 1125, 1126 and 1141-1144) are valued at 2200 *reales* each. They thus

formed the series that the marquis had bought from the estate of the Duke of Aarschot, the same man who had purchased the *Wolf and Fox Hunt* from Rubens in 1616-1617.

If this conclusion is correct, we have the problem of the discrepancy in the dimensions. Was Toby Matthew mistaken when he gave the measurements of Aarschot's *Wolf and Fox Hunt* as 11 or 12 by 18 feet, or was the New York canvas (Fig. 33) formerly larger? If it was cut down it must have been in Rubens's studio, as the version at Corsham Court (Fig. 34) has exactly the same limits on either side and the same partially cut-off figures. I consider it possible that the canvas in New York was in fact originally wider. The figures are cramped for space at the top and bottom—an effect that is modified in Lord Methuen's version at Corsham Court—and one can also imagine the composition extending further to the left: the third spear projecting above the heads of the two beaters seems to indicate that a third man was originally intended to be present. While there is no proof, therefore, it may be that Rubens himself, realizing that the canvas was almost unsaleable on account of its enormous size,<sup>21</sup> reduced it to its present dimensions.<sup>22</sup>

However, a factor in the debate may be the strong resemblance between the composition of the *Wolf and Fox Hunt* as we know it, and that of another painting of the same period: namely Rubens's first version of the *Calydonian Boar Hunt* (No. 1), which is known only from copies (Figs. 31, 32). Some of the motifs in that painting recur in the *Wolf and Fox Hunt*, in the same direction or in reverse. Thus one may compare the central motif of the quarry beset by hounds; the horse seen frontally springing forward, and the huntsman

with a spear; above all the beater on the left, who in both compositions is cut through by the frame, suggesting that in the *Wolf and Fox Hunt* this too was where the composition originally ended. As against this, a compositional sketch for another early work, the *Lion Hunt* (No.6a; Fig.52), may support the hypothesis, defended above, that the *Wolf and Fox Hunt* originally extended further left. If we do imagine a third beater on that side, the huntsman advancing towards us will be more in the centre of the composition; and the sketch for the *Lion Hunt* shows an axial composition of this kind, though it was abandoned in the final version (No.6; cf. Fig.51).

No compositional sketch for the *Wolf and Fox Hunt* has survived; however, a drawing has recently come to light (No.2a; Fig.38) showing the group on the right consisting of the horseman in profile with his lady. The pose of the rider and his horse are nearly the same as in the painting; the lady is riding side-saddle, with a bird on her wrist, but instead of being in profile behind the horseman she is seen full-face and in front of him. Probably the sketch of a horseman was not originally intended as part of a hunting scene: the man in the drawing is in armour and holds a baton in his right hand, features that have nothing to do with hunting. But Rubens may well have immediately perceived that this figure could be used for a hunting scene, and therefore have given him a female companion with a hawk or falcon on her wrist.

The drawing in question cannot be precisely dated (see also under No.2a), and the New York canvas is varyingly dated in the literature between 1612 and 1616. It appears from the correspondence that the painting was finished before

October 1616, and may have been in the studio for some time previously, waiting for a customer. It may thus be dated c.1615-16. (Smith's statement that Rubens painted it for Leganés in 1612 is contradicted by the fact that Leganés bought it from the Aarschor estate; in any case the date is too early from the stylistic point of view).

The horse on the right, which we also saw in the drawing, is in the dressage position known as the *pesade* (except that, as Otto Grossmann remarked, the left foot is raised instead of bearing weight).<sup>23</sup> Rubens here repeats a pose of both horse and rider to which he had given definitive form in studies of dressage, assembled into a painting that was formerly in Berlin.<sup>24</sup>

Both the man blowing a horn and the female rider closely resemble figures in the *Marseilles Boar Hunt* (No.4; Fig.40). From the 18th century onwards the couple on horseback were identified with Rubens and his wife.<sup>25</sup> But the lady bears no resemblance to Isabella Brant, and although the horseman's features do remind us of Rubens it is doubtful whether this was intentional.

The execution of the New York painting has sometimes been attributed to the studio, and the animals in particular have been ascribed to Snyders. This latter attribution is contradicted by Rubens's own testimony cited in the correspondence between Toby Matthew and Carleton. Both the latter believed that in the first version of the *Wolf and Fox Hunt* the animals were painted by Snyders, and they wondered if this would be the case in the replica that Carleton had commissioned.<sup>26</sup> Matthew had the question put to Rubens, who took it rather amiss. He did not want, he said, to be compared with Snyders as an animal painter: the latter specialized

in painting dead animals, but could not depict them in action as well as Rubens himself, and those in the *Wolf and Fox Hunt* were his own work. Matthew then remembered that in the other painting by Rubens which he and Carleton had seen and knew to be partly by Snyders—a scene of Diana with naked nymphs and spoils of the chase—the animals were indeed dead, not living ones.<sup>27</sup>

In my opinion Rubens's testimony is confirmed by stylistic analysis. The finely painted dogs and foxes, and above all the wolves, can only be by his hand: they are depicted in a flowing style, with an especially lively touch and at the same time a strong sense of organic unity. Some of the figure painting, on the other hand, is hesitant and less inspired, pointing to studio participation. This must not be overstated, however: here too the master is seen to be intensively at work, not only in the final retouches but equally in the underpainting (see e.g. the hornblower). To sum up, I find Rubens's hand more visible in this *Wolf and Fox Hunt* than in most of the other hunting scenes. The high quality of execution is an additional reason to identify the New York canvas as the original version.<sup>28</sup>

1. Toby Matthew to Sir Dudley Carleton; *Roozes-Ruelens*, II, pp.85–86, doc.CXLIII.
2. Rubens to Carleton; *Roozes-Ruelens*, II, p.150, doc.CLXVIII. The relevant part of the letter (Public Record Office, London, SP 84/84, fol.1) is damaged. The transcription in *Roozes-Ruelens* reads: '... essendo questa de t[igri] e cacciatori Europei'; this emendation is followed in *Magurn, Letters*, p.62, but, as Liedtke pointed out, the illegible word is more probably 'lupi'. This is confirmed by the list of paintings offered by Carleton to Christian IV of Denmark on 11 September 1618, where the work in question is described as 'Una Caccia d'Europei con Lupi e Volpi tutto di Rubens' (*Roozes-Ruelens*, II, p.186, doc.CLXXXI).
3. Matthew to Carleton, 30 December 1616 (*Roozes-Ruelens*, II, p.93, doc.CXLVI): '... in regard of the error w<sup>ch</sup> nowe he [i.e. Rubens] acknowledgeth

himself to have committed in making the picture so very bigge, that none but great Princes have houses fitt to hange it up in (...) For whereas the great picture is eightene foote long and betwene eleven and twelve foote highe...'. Matthew to Carleton, 6 February 1617 (*Roozes-Ruelens*, II, p.97, doc.CXLVII): '... w<sup>o</sup> the Arch-Duke had bought long ere this, if anie roome of his howse at Brussels would have held it, excepting alwaies his great hall, w<sup>ch</sup> is yours, or mine, as much as his'.

4. See his letter to Carleton of 23 August 1617 (*Roozes-Ruelens*, II, p.116, doc.CLVIII).
5. Matthew to Carleton, 30 December 1616 (*Roozes-Ruelens*, II, p.93, doc.CXLVI): 'The reason of my writinge no sooner to your L<sup>p</sup> about Mr. Gage's Treaty with Rubens was this. He came by Brussels, where he staid long, but with dayly purpose of cominge hether, w<sup>ch</sup> made him forbear to write, especially considering that Rubens did absolutely refuse his offer. To that absolute refusall per-adventure Rubens was the more hastned, by reason that at the same time the Duke of Ariscott was in Antwerp, and in highe termes to buye the huntinge peece. Howe it hath succeeded I knowe not, but I rather thincke it is sold; for as the painter esteemes it to be richly worth a hundred poundes in itself, so yet he wilbe glad of fowerscore (...) But howsoever, his resolute answer was, that whether the Duke of Ariscott bought it or no, he would not sell it a peny under fowerscore pound, whereof your chaine was nowe lastly valewed in Antwerp but at fiftye'. Matthew to Carleton, 6 February 1617 (*Roozes-Ruelens*, II, p.97, doc.CXLVII): '... the other, w<sup>ch</sup> I thinke the Duke of Arscot buyeth for an hundred poundes'. Matthew to Carleton, 24 April 1617 (*Roozes-Ruelens*, II, p.107, doc.CLII): 'The great peece of huntinge is sould and carried away for an hundred pound sterlinge'.
6. Matthew to Carleton, 30 December 1616 (*Roozes-Ruelens*, II, p.93, doc.CXLVI): 'Rubens for the gusto w<sup>ch</sup> he takes in that peece of hunting, is makinge another picture of it, but much lesse. For whereas the great picture is eightene foote long and betwene eleven and twelve foote highe, this other is but ten foote long, and seven foote highe. This later picture if you like to have for your chaine, you may; and he undertakes to make it of as much perfection as the other, if not more; and if you like the matche, Mr. Gage will see that he shall performe it. He hath already seene so much of it as is done, and likes it exceedingly, and saith he had rather geve threescore pound for this then fowerscore for the other. For besides that he assureth himself that this wilbe better finished, he saith that the other picture is so bigge as that it cannot be hunge up in the house of less than a Prince'. In the list of paintings offered by Carleton to Christian IV of Denmark on 11 September 1618 the width is given as 9 feet (*Roozes-Ruelens*, II, p.186,

- doc. CLXXXI; originally it read  $9\frac{1}{2}$  feet, but the fraction is crossed out).
7. *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, pp. 97–111, docs. CXLVII–CLV.
  8. *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, pp. 116–118, docs. CLVIII, CLIX.
  9. 'I am exceeding glad your L. pictures came to your handes so well conditioned... The hunting peece of Rubens in my opinion is excellent, and perhaps preferable to the first, because when a Master doth a thing a second time, lightly it is for the better' (*Rooses-Ruelens*, II, pp. 119–120, doc. CLX).
  10. John Wolley to Carleton, 8 February 1620 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p. 245, doc. CXCIX): 'Yet he is contented either to make the hunting of the wolfe him selfe, or gett done a conflicte, lanskipis, prospectives, or flowers, by the beste Masters in these Countryes; and send it yo<sup>r</sup> Lo: and what yo<sup>u</sup> think it may be more worth, then that he hath in his hands, he will be contented w<sup>th</sup> all; but if yo<sup>r</sup> Lo: will have that of the wolfe, the posture of them must be a good deale lesse than that yo<sup>r</sup> Lo: hath at home, wherefore he thincks some one of the other would be more fitting...'
  11. The etching by W. de Leeuw is probably a copy after the drawn *modello* on which Soutman's etching was based. This drawing seems still to have been known in the 19th century: see Copy (5).
  12. *Rooses*, IV, p. 341, under No. 1156: 'le tableau est bien conservé, les couleurs brillantes, mais il est pendu trop haut pour permettre d'en juger convenablement'. *Rooses, Life*, I, p. 258: 'it was painted in Rubens's studio and retouched by the master'.
  13. The drawing by Van Dyck(?) at Chatsworth—Copy (6), Fig. 36—follows the composition of the New York painting on this point, and is thus unrelated to the Soutman etching.
  14. The inscription is quoted above under Copy (11); see also pp. 40–41.
  15. See under No. 2b.
  16. '... it was done expressly for his patron, General Legranes [sic], ... from whom it descended by inheritance to the Count Altimera [sic], at Madrid, and from whose family it was sequestered by the French during the late war in Spain, and transferred to the Louvre, where it was exhibited in 1814. Similar events restored it again to the family in 1815'. Among the paintings returned to Spain after the Napoleonic wars ('Cuadros devueltos de Francia. Caja primera') we find: 'Rubens: La caza del lobo y de la zorra (De los Grandes de Espana)' (P. Beroqui, 'Apuntes para la historia del Museo del Prado', *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, XL, 1932, p. 96, No. VIII). For a possible further reference to this restitution see p. 191, n. 1.
  17. Archivo Histórico de Protocolos, Madrid, leg. 6210, fol. 1186.
  18. The inventory of 1655 was published in full by J. López Navío (*López Navío, Leganés*; for the work here in question see p. 316). Max Rooses had previously published the entries relating to works by Rubens, but the *Wolf Hunt* was not included as the inventory did not mention the artist's name ('La galerie du marquis de Léganès', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, No. 3, 1900, pp. 164–171). In 1980 Mary Crawford Volk published several items from the 1642 inventory, including those relating to Rubens ('New Light on a Seventeenth-Century Collection. The Marquis of Leganés', *The Art Bulletin*, LXII, 1980, pp. 256–268); the *Wolf Hunt* was omitted for the same reason, but shortly afterwards Mrs Volk, independently of myself, was able to identify No. 1126 as the Rubens now in the Metropolitan Museum (see *Liedtke, Cat. Metropolitan Museum*, p. 204, n. 11).
  19. 'mas otras quatro pinturas que se truxeron de casa del duque de ariscot demas, de las dos, de arriua dhas' (Archivo Histórico de Protocolos, Madrid, leg. 6210, fol. 1186v., No. 1142). See also López Navío, *Leganés*, p. 316, under No. 1140 (should be read as pertaining to Nos. 1141–1144).
  20. For the circumstances of Aarschot's arrest see pp. 22–25.
  21. See n. 3.
  22. At my request an examination was made at the Metropolitan Museum to see if there were material indications that the canvas was ever larger. At first sight the report does not seem to encourage such a supposition: 'Dianne Dwyer of the Department of Paintings Conservation examined the edges of the paint surface and the scalloped stress patterns of the canvas and concluded that the Museum's picture was not greatly cut down (less than a foot to either side; there was no obvious or immediately accessible evidence of trimming at the top and the bottom)' (*Liedtke, Cat. Metropolitan Museum*, p. 202, n. 1).
  23. O. Grossmann described the position as the *pesade*; Liedtke, however, as the *levade* (op. cit., p. 200).
  24. The problems raised by Rubens's painting known as *The Riding School* are not yet solved. The version (now destroyed) that was in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin is generally considered the best (*Glück, Rubens, Van Dyck*, pp. 32–35, fig. 21), though it must be remarked that compared to the horse in the *Wolf and Fox Hunt* the corresponding animal in the Berlin *Riding School* is less skilfully characterized. Otto Grossmann believed that the *Riding School*, the original of which he took to be the version at Buckingham Palace, was not painted by Rubens himself and that he only used the motifs from it, in most cases not without error! As a rule, however, it is supposed that the prototype, whichever it was, came from the master's own hand, in view of the Rubensian character of the motifs; these would then have been borrowed by artists of Rubens's circle such as Jan Brueghel and Sebastiaan Vranckx. (However, the motif of horse and rider as it appears in the *Wolf and Fox Hunt* is in any case not Rubens's invention. It is very frequent in Italian art: see e.g. a soldier in Raphael's *Meeting of Attila and Leo I*, Vatican, Stanza di Eliodoro).

25. The supposition seems to have arisen independently in respect of both the New York canvas (see Cat. Exh. Paris, 1814: 'L'on prétend que les trois personnages à cheval représentent Rubens, son épouse et son fils Albert') and the replica at Corsham Court (see the Earl of Egmont's description, 1737: '... where Rubens and his wife are represented'). Both types of countenance recur, though seen from a different angle, in *The Fig* (Cardiff, National Museum of Wales), which was also thought in the 19th century to depict Rubens and his wife (see A.D. Fraser Jenkins, "'The Fig'" by Rubens and Snyders: an Erotic Masterpiece', *Amgueddfa. Bulletin of the National Museum of Wales*, XXI, 1975, p.29).
26. Matthew's letter to Carleton of 6 February 1617 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p.97, doc.CXLVII) contains a passage which is difficult to interpret consistently. Speaking of the replica of the *Wolf Hunt* that Carleton was to receive in return for the diamond chain, Matthews writes: 'Mr. Gage hath written to Rubens to know what he will undertake concerninge the paintinge of those Birds, wherin y<sup>u</sup> shalbe advertised; but we are alreadie out of doubt but that in other respects your huntinge peece will be at least as good as the other... But I verilie thinke the Painter will not take anie thing lesse then your Chaine, especially if he cause the Birds to be painted by that other Maister; and I rather doubt whether he will oblige himself to that' [my italics]. What birds can Matthew be referring to, since there are none in the *Wolf Hunt* except the hawk? (A check with the original document—Public Record Office, London, SP 84176, fol.103—has confirmed that the word is *Birds* and not, e.g., *Beasts*). Rooses (in *Rooses-Ruelens*) translated 'the paintinge of those Birds' as '(le) tableau d'oiseaux' and interpreted it to mean that there was to be a painting of birds in addition to the *Wolf Hunt*, probably by a different artist. Rooses was confirmed in this view by the fact that Matthew, some time later, bought a painting by Snyders for Carleton: see *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, docs. CLI, CLII, CLVIII, CLX. Burchard also thought that another painting was referred to besides the *Wolf Hunt*, but he believed it to be one of the compositions of *Diana and Nymphs resting after the Hunt* (*Rooses*, No. 599 or 600), on the ground that such a painting is mentioned in Matthew's letter to Carleton of 25 February 1617 (see next note). However, this letter referred to a picture that Carleton himself had seen on his way through the Southern Netherlands in August 1616: the work must have been already well advanced at that date, as Carleton had admired the birds by Snyders that appeared in it, and therefore it can hardly be identical with one that was still far from finished in February 1617. Liedtke saw three possible solutions of the problem: (1) that proposed by Rooses; (2) the less probable one that the letter of 6 Feb. 1617 did not refer to a *Wolf Hunt* but to a *Hawking Party* (contrary to what Liedtke thought, Rubens does seem to have painted *Hawking Parties*—cf. Nos.14 and 15—but not around this time); (3) 'that Carleton thought, wrongly, that a number of birds would be in the picture. There is a bird, but only one, in the *Wolf and Fox Hunt*; a reference to it by Gage may have caused some misunderstanding' (Liedtke, loc. cit.). I agree with Liedtke that 'the painting of those Birds' does not refer to a 'picture of birds' but to the birds contributed by Snyders to the *Wolf and Fox Hunt* that is here in question: this is clear from a juxtaposition of the passages from Matthew's letters quoted in this note and the next. A further interpretation of the letter of 25 February 1617 (see next note) would give the following as a possible sequence of events. When in Antwerp at the end of August 1616 Carleton visited Rubens's studio and saw there two paintings: a *Diana and Nymphs resting after the Hunt* and a *Wolf and Fox Hunt*. He wanted to buy the latter and, when unsuccessful, negotiated for a replica of it. After some months his recollection of the composition was less clear and he imagined that it included 'a gruppo of dead Birds' by Snyders, which he had actually seen in the picture of *Diana and Nymphs Resting*. Matthew, who had also not seen the *Wolf and Fox Hunt* for some time (it was George Gage who maintained personal contact with Rubens), shared Carleton's mistake until he was reminded of the true state of affairs by Rubens.
27. Matthew to Carleton, 25 February 1617 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p.99, doc.CXLVIII): 'Concerninge the causinge of anie part thereof to be made by Snyder, that other famous Painter, Y<sup>r</sup> L<sup>p</sup> and I have been in an error, for I thought as Y<sup>u</sup> doe, that his hand had been in that Peece, but sincerely and certainly it is not soe. For in this Peece the beasts are all alive, and in act eyther of escape or resistance, in the expressing whereof Snyder doth infinitlie come short of Rubens, and Rubens saith that he should take it in ill part, if I should compare Snyders w<sup>th</sup> him in that point. The talent of Snyders, is to represent beasts, but especially Birds altogether dead, and wholly w<sup>th</sup>out anie action; and that w<sup>ch</sup> y<sup>r</sup> L<sup>p</sup>, Mr.Gage, and I sawe of his hand, w<sup>ch</sup> we liked soe well was a gruppo of dead Birds, in a picture of Diana, and certaine other naked Nymphes, as Rubens protesteth, and Mr. Gage avoweth, and now myself doe well remember it. This was the ground of y<sup>r</sup> L<sup>p</sup>'s error and mine'. For the painting of Diana referred to here, see the preceding note. For discussion of Rubens's animals, especially wolves, see p.84.
28. In favour of this supposition are some *pentimenti*, e.g. in the left hind leg of the horse on the right, and the back and collar of the cream-coloured dog next to it.



**2a. Studies for Various Compositions:  
Drawing (Fig.38)**

Pen and brown ink with grey wash;  
280 × 507 mm.

Below on the left the number 150; above on the right the numbers 80 and 2510.12— (the latter upside-down).—*Verso*: Sketches for *Silenus and Aegle*. The mark of George III, King of England (reigned 1760–1820) (L.1200), which, however, was applied in the beginning of the present century by the librarian Sir John Fortescue.

Windsor Castle, Collection of H. M. the Queen.  
Inv. No.6417.

PROVENANCE: Royal Collection, England.

EXHIBITED: London, 1977, No.58.

LITERATURE: Rowlands, *Rubens Drawings*, p.63, No.58, repr.; A.-M. Logan, 'Rubens Exhibitions 1977', *Master Drawings*, XV, 1977, pp.411–413, pl.46a; Liedtke, *Cat. Metropolitan Museum*, p.202.

The verso of this sheet comprises various studies for *Silenus and Aegle* and other compositions. Held dated it c.1611–1613.<sup>1</sup> The sheet was formerly mounted, and the recto, with which we are concerned here, has only recently been visible.

This side comprises figure sketches for four different compositions. Above left is a scene of the beheading of a saint (?), with figures in Oriental costume recalling Rubens's *Tomyris with the Head of Cyrus*.<sup>2</sup> In the centre are two figures on horseback: a woman with a bird on her wrist and a man in armour, who is repeated in a rough sketch below. As pointed out under No.2, we can see in these figures the original idea for the right half of the *Wolf and Fox Hunt*, although the rider was evidently not at first intended to be a huntsman.

Below on the left are three sketches of a prostrate figure which on the one hand is reminiscent of the dead Christ in the *Lamentation* at Vienna, dated 1614,<sup>3</sup> and on the other foreshadows the sick man or demoniac who appears in *The Miracles of St. Benedict* (Brussels)<sup>4</sup> and *The Miracles of St. Francis of Paola* (Winchcombe, Sudeley Castle).<sup>5</sup> On the right half of the sheet is a group of saints including St. Sebastian, the sketch of whom is repeated twice underneath. As Logan pointed out this group is inspired by Titian's *Madonna and Saints*, now in the Pinacoteca Vaticana in Rome, or rather by Boldrini's woodcut after that composition since the figures appear in reverse sequence.<sup>6</sup> The St. Sebastian may be connected with Rubens's painting of that saint in Berlin, c.1612.<sup>7</sup>

The range of motifs suggests that the sketches on this side of the sheet cover a period of years, starting with 1612 for the right half and extending to 1614 or later (1616 according to Logan) for the left.

1. For the verso see *Glück-Haberdtz*, No.188; *Held, Drawings*, No.29; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, No.51.

2. E.g. *K.d.K.*, p.175.

3. *Cat. Exh. Vienna, 1977*, No.11.

4. *Vlieghe, Saints*, I, No.73, fig.125.

5. *Vlieghe, Saints*, II, No.103c, fig.3.

6. For the painting: H.E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian*, I, *The Religious Paintings*, London–New York, 1969, No.63, pl.23; for the woodcut: M. Muraro and D. Rosand, [*Cat. Exh.*] *Tiziano e la silografia veneziana del Cinquecento*, (Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venezia), Vicenza, 1976, No.44, repr.

7. *K.d.K.*, p.48.

**2b. Wolf and Fox Hunt:  
Painting retouched by Rubens (Fig.34)**

Oil on canvas; 201 × 279 cm.  
*Corsham Court, Wiltshire, Collection of the Lord Methuen.*

PROVENANCE: ? Sir Dudley Carleton, later Viscount Dorchester (1573–1632),

The Hague, 1617; ? offered by him to Christian IV, King of Denmark, on 11 September 1618 (who does not seem to have purchased it); in the possession of Robert Moor, through his wife, Lady Tenham, 1737 (described by the 1st Earl of Egmont, Viscount Percival: 'a large hunting piece by Rubens, where Rubens and his wife are represented on horseback with their attendants, hunting wolves'); Sir Paul Methuen (1672-1757), London, 1748; bequeathed by the latter to his cousin, Paul Methuen (1723-1795), Corsham Court; Paul Cobb Methuen (1752-1816); Paul 1st Baron Methuen (1779-1849), by descent with the present owner.

EXHIBITED: *Exhibition of the British Institution*, London, 1857, No.162; *Exhibition of Works by the Old Masters*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1877, No.55.

LITERATURE: J. Britton, *An Historical Account of Corsham House, in Wiltshire, the Seat of Paul Cobb Methuen, Esq., with a Catalogue of his Celebrated Collection of Pictures*, London, 1806, p.40, No.67; S.H. Spiker, *Reise durch England, Wales und Schottland im Jahre 1816*, Leipzig, 1818, II, p.164; id., *Travels through England, Wales and Scotland, in the year 1816*, London, 1820, II, p.128; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.274, under No.925; J.D. Passavant, *Kunstreise durch England, Belgien...*, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1833, p.22; id., *Tour of a German Artist in England...*, London, 1836, II, p.88; Waagen, *Kunstwerke*, II, p.312; G.F. Waagen, *Works of Art and Artists in England*, III, 1838, p.102; Van Hasselt, *Rubens*, p.359, No.1289; Waagen, *Treasures*, IV, p.395; Sainsbury, *Papers*, pp.16-24, 46; H. Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England with some Account of the Principal Artists*, with add. by J. Dallaway, ed. by

R.N. Wornum, London, 1876, I, pp.310-311, n.1; *Rooses*, IV, pp.341-343, No.1157; *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, pp.93-112, 116-122, 150, 152, 159-160, 186-187; *Rooses, Life*, I, p.258; *Dillon, Rubens*, pp.116, 234; *K.d.K.*, p.459; *Diary of the First Earl of Egmont (Viscount Percival)*, (*Historical Manuscript Commission. Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont*), II, 1923, p.366; T. Borenius, *A Catalogue of the Pictures at Corsham Court*, London, 1939, p.74, No.128, pl. XXXIV; *Goris-Held*, p.41, under No.94; *Isermeyer, Jagd*, pp.27-28, pl.3; *Liedtke, Cat. Metropolitan Museum*, pp.199, 204, nn. 9 and 10.

This is a copy, accurate in detail, of the canvas in New York (No.2; Fig.33). It should be noted that the composition is somewhat extended at the top and bottom. The tints are similar to those in the larger original, but slightly darker.

The dimensions of this canvas (201 × 279 cm.) agree with those (7 by 9 or 10 feet, i.e. about 201 × 258 or 287 cm.) given for the replica of the *Wolf and Fox Hunt* that Carleton received from Rubens in 1617 in exchange for a diamond chain worth £50.<sup>1</sup> The measurements, and also the fact that the canvas owned by Lord Methuen has been in England since at least the early 18th century,<sup>2</sup> seem to me strong reasons for identifying it with that acquired by Carleton. The latter work was repeatedly mentioned with admiration by Toby Matthew and George Gage in their letters to Carleton,<sup>3</sup> in which it was suggested that Rubens himself painted the copy and bestowed more care on it than on the original for the Duke of Aarschot. However, the canvas at Corsham Court cannot be regarded as wholly autograph. In my opinion it is an especially careful, perhaps over-careful studio replica, but in several places the master's

more fluent touch softens the rather stiff effect and gives life to particular features: e.g. the head of the man blowing the horn, and especially the wolves and foxes.

1. See under No.2, esp. n.6 (p.102).
2. The picture was bought in 1748 by Sir Paul Methuen (T. Borenius, loc. cit.), and probably it was previously in the collection of Robert Moor: see the description by the first Earl of Egmont, 1737, quoted under PROVENANCE, and the reference under LITERATURE.
3. See relevant passages under No.2, nn.6, 9, 10, 26.

### 3. Lion Hunt: Oil Sketch (Fig.39)

Oil on panel; 73.6/74 × 105.4/105.7 cm. (three boards joined horizontally).—*Verso*: book plate of the Mering family stuck on the reverse; brand of Antwerp and an incised six pointed star.  
*London, National Gallery. No.853P.*

PROVENANCE: Johann Engelbert von Jabach, Cologne (d. before 1754); left by him to his executor Baron Heinrich von Mering; Freiherr Everhard Oswald, Baron von Mering (1755–1820), sale, Cologne (J.G.Schmitz), 25 August 1820, lot 86 ('Eine grosse Skizze in grauer Farbe, eine Löwenhetze vorstellend; verschiedene Soldaten zu Pferd mit Spiesen streiten sich gegen wüthende Löwen ... auf Holz, hoch 2 Fuss 6 Zoll, breit 3 Fuss 7 Zoll, von Peter Paul Rubens'); ? sale, London (Stanley), 6 May 1824, lot 31 ('Rubens, A Lion Hunt...') however as 'collected in Spain', bought by Smith, (cf. note in copy of the sale cat. in the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague); sold by John Smith to the Rt. Hon. Robert Peel (later Sir Robert Peel, Bt.), London, in 1826; bought with the

Peel collection in 1871, but not catalogued until 1891.

EXHIBITED: *Pictures by Italian, Spanish, Flemish, Dutch and French Masters, Exhibition of the British Institution, London, 1835, No.93; Exhibition of the British Institution, London, 1849, No.96; London, 1977, No.88.*

LITERATURE: Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.81, No.251; Waagen, *Kunstwerke*, I, p.281, No.3; Van Hasselt, *Histoire*, p.357, No.1268; Waagen, *Treasures*, I, p.415; J.J.Merlo, *Die Familie Jabach zu Köln und ihre Kunstliebe*, Cologne, 1861, p.65; Rooses, IV, p.338, under No.1154; *National Gallery, Catalogue*, 86th edn., 1929 (reprint 1946), p.322, No.853P; O.H.Förster, *Kölner Kunstsammler*, Berlin, 1931, pp.55, 61; *National Gallery, Illustrated Continental Schools*, London, 1937, reproduced p.312; Rosand, *Lion Hunt*, pp.30–31, fig.9; Martin, *Cat. National Gallery*, pp.182–187, 289, No.853P, repr. in appendix I; A.Braham, *Rubens, (Themes and Painters in the National Gallery)*, London, 1972, pp.15–16, pl.6; *The National Gallery, January 1971–December 1972*, London, 1973, p.67, No.853P ('conservation treatment completed'); *Kruyf-hooft-Buys*, p.58, repr. p.56; Held, *Oil Sketches*, I, pp.406–408, No.298; II, pl.298; H. von Sonnenburg, 'Rubens' Bildaufbau und Technik, I, Bildträger, Grundierung und Vorskizzierung', *Maltechnik-Restaur.*, LXXXV, 1979, No.2, pp.91–93, fig.24.

In the centre a turbaned man on a rearing horse is attacked from behind by a lion, which is biting his left shoulder and dragging him backwards. Two other turbaned horsemen on the left try to drive off the animal with lances, while a mounted man on the right prepares to strike at it with

his sword. Below right, a man seated on the ground thrusts his spear into the jaws of a slain lion (or lioness). The head, chest and right arm of a dead man are visible under the centre horse. In the upper right corner is a very sketchy repetition of the principal motif, the horseman attacked by a lion. The panel is painted in brown with some reworking in black (e.g. in the clothing of the horseman on the left), white or yellowish-white accents (the neck of the centre horse is entirely filled in in white), and a little red.

The provenance<sup>1</sup> of this work can be traced as far back as the beginning of the 18th century, when it belonged to Johann Engelbert von Jabach, grandson of the Cologne collector Everhard III Jabach. It is not clear whether it was in the latter's collection; in any case it does not appear in the 1696 inventory of his estate.<sup>2</sup>

In this panel we meet for the first time the motif of an Oriental attacked from behind by a wild animal. Isermeyer and Rosand have pointed out that a similar motif occurs in hunting scenes by Stradanus,<sup>3</sup> and Rubens was indeed probably inspired by these compositions which were widely known in the form of engravings (e.g. Figs. 18, 20). The Moors in those engravings, threatening the beast with their lances, also bear some resemblance to Rubens's turbaned huntsmen. There is no question of a literal borrowing, however: reminiscences of so many other works of art known to Rubens, and the assimilation of this heterogeneous material over a period of ten years or so, make it inappropriate to think in such terms. Thus, Rubens's lion, for example, is clearly much more dynamic and impressive than Stradanus's version. The painter's imagination was probably fed by antique representations such as the marble group of a *Lion attacking a Horse*

in the Capitoline Museum (cf. the copy, Fig. 15).<sup>4</sup>

Similarly, Stradanus's engravings were no more than a point of departure as regards the pose of the terrified Oriental and his rearing horse. Both the horse and the turbaned rider falling backwards might have been taken, with slight adaptation, from Rubens's *Defeat of Sennacherib* (Munich, Alte Pinakothek), which must have been painted shortly before.<sup>5</sup> In that painting Sennacherib is dragged slightly further off his horse than the man in the London panel, and the pose of the arms is different: the King's right hand grips the horse's mane, while his left hand gropes in the air. However, the relationship between the two figures is unmistakable, and the history of this motif suggests that *The Defeat of Sennacherib* was painted before the *Lion Hunt*. The figure of a man falling backwards off his horse and trying to recover himself by grasping its mane with his right hand occurs in the fresco of the *Battle of Constantine* (Vatican, Sala di Costantino) designed by Raphael and executed by Giulio Romano.<sup>6</sup> Rubens borrowed the rearing horse from that fresco, where the rider is seen falling on the left side; in *The Defeat of Sennacherib* he falls to the right and in reverse. The same motif occurs in *The Death of Decius Mus* (Liechtenstein collection, Vaduz)<sup>7</sup> where the connection with Raphael's *Battle of Constantine* is still clearer. We may perhaps suppose that *The Death of Decius Mus* was the first painting in which Rubens used the Raphael motif; then came *The Defeat of Sennacherib*, with a different version of the motif, and finally the sketch of a *Lion Hunt* in the National Gallery, where the addition of a lion necessitated a modification of the rider's pose. If this is accepted we can take the date of 9 November 1616, when the contract for the

*Decius Mus* series was signed, as a *terminus post quem* for the London *Lion Hunt*.<sup>8</sup> As we shall argue, this sketch was probably made before the *Tiger Hunt* (No.7), which is seen in Jan Brueghel's *Allegory of Sight* of 1617 (Fig.61), so the sketch must be dated 1617 at the latest.

As G.Martin pointed out, Leonardo's *Battle of Anghiari* (cf. Fig.30)<sup>9</sup> also played a part in the composition of this *Lion Hunt*. The horse on the far left seems to be borrowed literally, while the head and the raised right arm of the second horseman from the left are in the same place as in Leonardo's composition. The two rearing horses facing in the same direction, with another horse seen frontally between them, are also inspired by that work. The third horse is kicking out with its hind legs, not biting as in Leonardo's picture; a similar kicking horse is on the left of *The Defeat of Sennacherib*.<sup>10</sup> The depiction of the fight on two levels, respectively on the ground and at the level of the horsemen, seems to be suggested by the *Battle of Anghiari*, as does the way in which the long lances draw the composition together.

The great difference, however, is that in Rubens's work the second rearing horse on the right does not close the composition but serves as the hinge for a movement prolonged in that direction. The Oriental who is being dragged backwards by the lion thus establishes a link with the horseman galloping up to attack the beast. The artist probably felt that this single horseman was not a sufficient counterweight to the group on the left, and in all later compositions based on this sketch the figure is replaced by two men on horseback.

It is clear that the panel in the National Gallery is not to be regarded as a direct preparation for one of the large hunting

scenes known to us.<sup>11</sup> However, the central motif of an Oriental on a rearing horse and a lion leaping on to his back appears here in the definitive form in which it was used in many hunting pictures: the *Tiger Hunt* at Rennes (No.7; Fig.57), the *Lion Hunt* at Dresden (No.8; Fig.63); the sketch at Worcester for the *Lion Hunt of the King of Persia* (No.9; Fig.65); and *Alexander's Lion Hunt* formerly in the Alcázar at Madrid (No.16; cf. Fig.93). The horseman on the right with upraised right arm, about to strike at the lion with his sword, also occurs, though slightly modified, in several later hunting scenes. In the *Tiger Hunt* (Fig.57) at Rennes and the *Lion Hunt* (Fig.63) at Dresden he is dressed as a Greek, whereas in the London sketch he seems to be wearing a woollen cap of the same type as in the *Lion Hunt* destroyed by fire at Bordeaux (No.6; cf. Fig.51); in the Rennes and Dresden paintings his horse's head is turned to the right, and he is accompanied by a second rider with a spear. In the Worcester sketch (Fig.65) his mount is in right profile as in the London sketch, and there are other signs of a connection between the two, such as the horse on the left seen from behind.

As Held pointed out, the dimensions of the panel in the National Gallery are large for an oil sketch, and the question arises as to its precise function. G. Martin thought it was intended as a *modello* for a large hunting picture which might have been executed by the studio, but that it was left unfinished by Rubens. Held suggested that it was intended to be completed as a small hunting scene but then Rubens came to see that the subject would be better treated on a large scale (as he wrote in one of his letters),<sup>12</sup> and therefore ceased working on the smaller panel. Against the first hypothesis it can be said

that we know of no such painted *modello* for any of the early hunting scenes—since even the panel of the *Tiger Hunt* at Hartford (No.7a; Fig.58), which is sometimes attributed to Rubens's hand, seems to have been painted after the *Rennes Tiger Hunt* (No.7; Fig.57) rather than before it. But the second hypothesis presents problems also: for how can we explain the rapid trial sketch of a motif in the upper right-hand corner of the panel, if the picture was from the outset intended to be a fully finished one? Held's answer was that Rubens must have painted the trial sketch after he had decided not to work up the panel any further. But this seems very improbable: the motif having already achieved its definitive form in the centre of the panel, why should Rubens have painted a rough repetition of it without, it would seem, any attempt to make the pose more significant? The only important difference between the corner sketch and the motif in the centre of the panel is that the latter, but not the former, shows the lance in front of the lion's rump; which would suggest that the corner sketch shows the motif in a less developed state. For the present it is not possible to make a final judgement as to the function of the London panel. Clearly, however, it is the first formulation of an idea which evidently did not satisfy the artist in this form but which repeatedly furnished inspiration for new compositions.

1. See Martin, *Cat. National Gallery*, p.187, nn.31–35.
2. See Vicomte de Gouchy, 'Everhard Jabach, collectionneur parisien (1695)', *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France*, XXI, 1894, pp.217–292.

3. See pp.60–61.
4. For Rubens's lions see pp.61, 71.
5. *K.d.K.*, p.156.
6. See: L. Dussler, *Raphael, A Critical Catalogue of his Pictures, Wall-Paintings and Tapestries*, London–New York, 1971, fig.144; Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, II, figs.58, 61. Rubens possessed a drawn copy of this fresco, which he retouched (see *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, No.1083; [Cat. Exh.] *Rubens, ses maîtres, ses élèves. Dessins du Musée du Louvre*, (Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1978), No.100, repr.). For the antique origin of the motif see R. Quednau, *Die Sala di Costantino im Vatikanischen Palast*, Hildesheim–New York, 1979, fig.105.
7. *K.d.K.*, p.146.
8. For this contract see J. Duverger, 'Kanttekeningen betreffende de patronen van P.P. Rubens en de tapijten met de geschiedenis van Decius Mus', *Genève bijdragen tot de kunstgeschiedenis*, XXIV, 1976–1978, pp.15–52. From the above reasoning it follows that *The Defeat of Sennacherib* must also be dated after 9 November 1616. This agrees with Oldenbourg's dating c.1616–1618 (*K.d.K.*, p.156). However, in Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings* a much earlier date is proposed, viz. 1612–1614 (pp.86–87), and Held (*Held, Oil Sketches*) also dated the work not later than 1614–1615 on stylistic grounds. One cannot of course be certain that the motif borrowed from Raphael evolved in the logical manner suggested above, i.e. progressively further from its point of departure. The dating proposed here should be re-examined against stylistic criteria, bearing in mind that several other motifs are common to *The Death of Decius Mus* and *The Defeat of Sennacherib*.
9. See Rubens's drawn copy after the *Battle of Anghiari* (Held, *Drawings*, No.161); also above, p.62.
10. For this motif of a horse kicking out with its hind legs see too under No.6, p.128. It also occurs in *The Defeat of Sennacherib*.
11. Smith believed the London sketch to be a preliminary study for the Dresden *Lion Hunt* (No.8; Fig.63).
12. Rubens to William Trumbull, 13 September 1621 (*Roses–Ruelens*, II, p.286, doc.CCXXV): 'Mais comme vous dites très bien telles choses ont plus de grâce et véhémence en un grand tableau qu'un petit. Je voudroy bien que ceste peinture ... fust de proportion plus grande pour ce que la capacité du tableau nous rend beaucoup plus de courage po<sup>r</sup> expliquer bien et vraysemblablem<sup>t</sup> nostre concept'. This was written apropos of Rubens's idea of painting a new hunting scene for the Prince of Wales as a substitute for the copy of the *Tiger Hunt* which the prince had refused: see under No.7.

## FOUR HUNTING SCENES FOR THE DUKE OF BAVARIA

(Nos. 4-7)

In his letter of 28 April 1618 to Sir Dudley Carleton, Rubens speaks of a *Lion Hunt* he had painted for the Duke of Bavaria, the future Elector Maximilian I (1573-1651),<sup>1</sup> and a letter from Toby Matthew to Carleton dated 25 November 1620 shows that he had also sold a *Tiger Hunt* to the duke.<sup>2</sup> De Piles recorded that altogether four hunting scenes were painted for Maximilian,<sup>3</sup> and in the inventories of the Altes Schloss at Schleissheim from 1637 we duly find four hunting pictures by Rubens, divided between the *Abclaidt-zimer* (changing room) and the *Tafelzimer* (dining room): these are, besides the already mentioned *Lion Hunt* (No.6; cf. Fig.51) and *Tiger Hunt* (No.7; Fig.57), a *Hippopotamus and Crocodile Hunt* (No.5; Fig.46) and a *Boar Hunt* (No.4; Fig.40).<sup>4</sup> Sandrart evidently remembered only the *Lion Hunt* and the *Hippopotamus and Crocodile Hunt*.<sup>5</sup>

These four paintings had an eventful history. In 1706 the Duke of Marlborough asked the Emperor Joseph I to present them to him as a reward for his military successes in the Netherlands, but the request was not acceded to.<sup>6</sup> During the 18th century they were transferred to the Neues Schloss at Schleissheim, and on 30 August 1800 *citoyen Neveu* sent them, with 72 other paintings, to the Musée Central des Arts in Paris, where they arrived on 9 November; they were then regarded as copies after Rubens.<sup>7</sup> In 1815 the *Hippopotamus Hunt* returned to Munich; the three others, which were not reclaimed after the Napoleonic wars, remained in French provincial museums. Thus the *Tiger Hunt* and the *Boar Hunt* are still at Rennes and Marseilles respec-

tively, while the *Lion Hunt*, which went to the Bordeaux museum, was destroyed there by fire in 1870.

In the literature these four paintings are generally dated c.1615-1616, which is probably somewhat too early. All that can be said with certainty is that the *Lion Hunt*, and therefore probably the other three also, were ready before 28 April 1618 (cf. the letter cited above). We know that a version of the *Tiger Hunt* was completed in 1617, as it appears in Jan Brueghel's *Allegory of Sight* (Fig.61), which bears that date. However, this is not the version that went to Schleissheim, but probably represents a painting in the collection of Albert and Isabella. Under No.7 I shall give reasons for thinking that this version was later and not earlier than the one painted for Maximilian; we may accordingly take it that the latter was also completed by 1617. There is also an indication that the *Tiger Hunt* was subsequent to the *Decius Mus* series, as it borrows a motif from it, and we may therefore suppose that Rubens did not begin the *Tiger Hunt* before 9 November 1616, the date of the contract for the *Decius* series. Thus there is every reason to think that the *Tiger Hunt* was painted in 1617. The three other pieces must have been painted at about the same time: not later, as we have suggested, than April 1618, and not earlier than 1616. As Peter and Dorothea Diemer observed,<sup>8</sup> it is difficult to suppose that the set was ordered before 1616, the year in which Maximilian bought Schleissheim from his father and began to rebuild the Altes Schloss. Hence the whole series can be dated 1616-1618, with the main focus on 1617. A payment of 1400 guilders by the Munich court in 1619 for paintings from Antwerp may relate to these canvases.<sup>9</sup>

The origin of the commission is not

known. It is quite likely that the court at Brussels, which maintained close relations with the Catholic Wittelsbachs at Munich, brought Rubens to Maximilian's notice, and the latter's wishes may have been conveyed to Rubens by Haimbl, Maximilian's chamberlain, who was in Brussels in 1617.<sup>10</sup> There were also later contacts between Rubens and the Duke or Elector of Bavaria, who purchased a *Madonna* from the artist in 1620 and a *Deposition* in 1640.<sup>11</sup> On 19 January 1621 Maximilian gave orders that Rubens should be honoured with a gold portrait medal,<sup>12</sup> and in the same year Rubens dedicated to the duke an engraving by Vorsterman of his *Adoration of the Magi*.<sup>13</sup>

There are many known copies and variants of the four hunting pieces. As Rubens's correspondence shows, some of these must have been made in his studio and even retouched by him. None of the versions known to me approaches in quality those sent to Maximilian, which shows that they were in fact the originals. Some points require clarification, however. For instance, how can it be explained that in one version of the *Tiger Hunt* (No.7, Copy [2]; Fig.60) the composition is extended to either side, giving a more satisfactory effect than in the original at Rennes, or that in one version of the *Hippopotamus Hunt* (No.5, Copy [1]; Fig.47) the absence of a piece of textile gives the work a more authentic appearance than the original in Munich (Fig.46)? These problems are dealt with more fully under the respective numbers, but here I would offer two general remarks. I think it possible that one or more of these paintings were begun by Rubens on his own initiative; approved by Maximilian's representative, with some *ad hoc* modifications, they could then serve as the basis for a complete series. It may also be that

when work on the commission was already well advanced the artist was given new directives which called for changes in the initial design.

1. See under No.6, pp.128-129, n.4.
2. See under No.7, p.142, n.2.
3. *De Piles, Dissertation, 1681*, p.25: '... & quatre autres chasses pour le Duc de Bavières'.
4. These inventories are preserved in the Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv in Munich, HR II Fasz. 40; the four paintings are listed in the inventories of 1637, 1638, 1639, 1659, 1670 and 1692; *Diemer, Jagdbilder*, p.500, for the 1637 inventory, and *Mayerhofer, Schleissheim*, p.80, for that of 1692.
5. '... zu Schleissheim in den Chur-Bayerischen Zimmern seine seltsame Sinn-reiche Jagt von Barbaren zu Pferd wider den wilden Löwen, die auch in Kupfer ausgegangen, auch eine crudele Jagt wider monströse Crocodilen' (*Sandart, edn. Peltzer*, p.159).
6. See *Krempel, Max Emanuel*, p.224.
7. See *Lacambre, Chasse au tigre*, p.162.
8. *Diemer, Jagdbilder*, pp.498, 500.
9. *Ibid.*; K. Feuchtmayr informed Burchard in 1954 that he had traced a reference to a payment to Rubens in 1618 (?) by order of the Duke of Bavaria: was this the same account?
10. Haimbl's presence in the Netherlands in 1617 is mentioned in *Cat. Exh. Munich, 1980*, II, p.189, under No.272.
11. *Diemer, Jagdbilder*, p.500.
12. P. Arents, *Geschriften van en over Rubens*, Antwerp, 1940, p.566 (with further reference).
13. *V.S.*, p.22, No.80; see *Renger, Rubens Dedit*, II, pp.208, 211.

#### 4. Boar Hunt (Fig. 40)

Oil on canvas; 250 × 320 cm.

*Marseilles, Musée des Beaux-Arts*. No.103.

PROVENANCE: Purchased from Rubens by the Duke (later Elector) Maximilian I of Bavaria (1573-1651); Altes Schloss, Schleissheim (inv.1637, *Abclaidtzimer*: '1 grosse Tafl, auf der seithen im Saal hinaus, darauf ain Schweinhaz, mit 9 figuren'); Neues Schloss, Schleissheim, 1761; seized by the French Commissioner, Citoyen Neveu, 30 August 1800 and taken to Paris; by 1802 in the Marseilles museum.



COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig.41), studio replica, possibly identical with Copy (6), Madrid, collection of Manuel González, temporarily on loan to the Bank Brussel-Lambert, Antwerp; canvas, 221 × 295 cm. PROV. ? Gerard Bicker van Zwieten, sale, The Hague, 12 April 1741, lot 31 (withdrawn) and 4 April 1755, lot 10: 'Een Zwynejagt, door P.P. Rubbens, gaande in Prent uit—hoog 7 voet 3 duim, breed 9½ voet [c.227.5 × 298.5 cm.]' (G. Hoet, *Catalogus of naamlyst van schilderyen ... in het openbaar verkogt*, II, The Hague, 1752, p.13, n.30, p.463; P. Terwesten, *Catalogus of naamlyst van schilderyen ... in het openbaar verkogt*, The Hague, 1770, p.115); Baron Le Febvre, sale, Paris (Galerie Charpentier), 25 June 1957, lot 1, pl. I. EXH. *Weltkunst aus Privatbesitz*, Kunsthalle, Cologne, 1968, No.F28, fig.23. LIT. L. Seghers, 'Rubens y sus colaboradores', *Goya*, Nos.140-141, 1977, pp.110-117; *Bodart, Incisione*, p.101, under No.209; D. Bodart, 'Schedario di opere inedite; Pierre Paul Rubens', *L'immagine del territorio, ricerche di storia dell'arte*, IV, 1977, pp.115-120;

(2) Painting, whereabouts unknown, possibly identical with Copy (3); part of a series (see also under Nos.5-7); canvas, 198 × 266.5 cm. PROV. John Calvert Wombwell, sale, London (Christie's), 28 February 1891, lots 120-123 (withdrawn); Sir Cuthbert Quilter (shortly after 1891), donated to the County Council of Sudbury, Suffolk, c.1897; presented by the latter to the Trustees of the Gainsborough's House National Appeal Fund, who put it up for sale, London (Christie's), 29 November 1957, lot 56 (four pieces), bought by De Crescenzo. LIT. *Cat. Wadsworth Atheneum*, 1978, p.184, n.7; (3) Painting, possibly identical with Copy (2), Rome, private collection; part of a series (see also under Nos.5-7); support and dimensions unknown. LIT. A. Porcella,

*Masterpieces of European Art*, Las Vegas, 1962, No.63; *Bodart, Incisione*, p.101, under No.209; (4) Painting, whereabouts unknown, possibly identical with one of the other copies here listed; part of a series (see also under Nos.5-7); canvas, ? approximately 250 × 300 cm. PROV. Art market, Cannes, 1983; (5) Painting, Munich, Deutsches Jagdmuseum, Inv. No.5005; part of a series (see also under Nos.5-7); panel, 98 × 125 cm. EXH. Munich, *Jagdmuseum*, 1980. LIT. *Cat. Deutsches Jagdmuseum*, pp.176, 182, No.5005, repr.; (6) Painting, whereabouts unknown, possibly identical with Copy (1); canvas, 198 × 300 cm. PROV. Earl of Darnley, Cobham Hall, Kent. LIT. J.P. Neale, *Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen...*, II, 1819, No.80; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.275, under No.927; *Waagen, Treasures*, III, p.24; *Van Hasselt, Rubens*, p.359, No.1286; *Rooses*, IV, p.344, under No.1159; (7) Painting, fragment showing only the upper part of the four figures at the right; private collection (photograph in the Rubenianum, Antwerp); (8) Painting, whereabouts unknown; support and dimensions unknown. PROV. Stefano Spinola, Genova, 1892. LIT. V. Poggi, L. A. Cervetto and G. B. Villa, *Catalogo degli oggetti componenti la mostra d'arte antica*, Genova, 1892, p.113, No.71; *Bodart, Incisione*, p.101, under No.203; (9) Painting, ? 18th century, whereabouts unknown; support and dimensions unknown. PROV. Art market, Rome, 1970. LIT. *Bodart, Incisione*, p.101, under No.209; (10) Fragment of a *Kunstkammer with Venus*, painting attributed to Jan van Kessel (Fig.44), of which several versions exist. LIT. See below, p.118, n.3; (11) Drawing (Fig.42) by Pieter Soutman (?), whereabouts unknown (? lost); pen and brush, brown and grey ink over preliminary drawing in black chalk (?), 430 × 554 mm.; squared,

vertical fold in the middle; inscription: *blau* on the piece of fabric draped around the loins of the half-naked beater at the left; below on the left the blind stamp of Campe (L.1391). PROV. H.W. Campe (Leipzig, 1770-1862); inherited by K.E. Hasse (1810-1902); inherited by E. Ehlers, Göttingen; sale, Leipzig (Boerner), 27 November 1935, lot 494 (together with No. 5, Copy [11] below); Kupferstichkabinett, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin, Inv. No. 186-1935 (not recovered after 1948). LIT. F. Winkler, *Flämische Zeichnungen. (Zeichnungen des Kupferstichkabinetts in Berlin)*, Berlin, 1948, p. 59, fig. 34 (as ? Soutman); L. Seghers, 'Rubens y sus colaboradores', *Goya*, Nos. 140-141, 1977, repr. p. 116; (12) Drawing, Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre, Inv. No. 20.339; black and red chalk, partially reworked with brush and wash, 303 × 395 mm.; mounted; below on the left the mark of the Louvre (L.1886); unidentified blind stamp (L.172) on the mount. PROV. ? Baudouin, sale, Paris, 11 March 1786, lot 400 ('... composition de plus de douze Figures et Animaux, comme par l'Estampe qui en a été gravée; ... à la plume et aux crayons rouge et noir' [c.298 × 365 mm.]). LIT. Rooses, V, p. 175; Van den Wijngaert, *Prentkunst*, p. 93, under No. 646; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, p. 47, No. 1182; *Isermeyer, Jagd*, pp. 32-33; *Bodart, Incisione*, p. 101, under No. 209; (13) Etching by P. Soutman (Fig. 43) in reverse after Copy (11); 453 × 626 mm.; below, in the margin: P.P. Rubens Pinxit. LAXENTUR CANES, STRINGANTUR ENSES, TELAQ(VE). MITTE. INSAT APER FRENDENS, NI PERIMIS, PERIMET. P. Soutman Inuenit Effigiauit, et Excud. Cum. Priuil. LIT. V.S., p. 228, No. 31.7; *Dutuit*, III, p. 246, No. 21.7; Van den Wijngaert, *Prentkunst*, p. 93, No. 646; (14) Etching by W. de Leeuw in reverse, after Copy (11); 464

× 651 mm.; three states, the first of which published by Frederick de Witt and the second by C. van Merlen. LIT. V.S., p. 228, No. 31.8; *Dutuit*, III, p. 246, No. 21.8; Van den Wijngaert, *Prentkunst*, p. 69, No. 395; *Hollstein*, X, p. 46, No. 10; *Bodart, Incisione*, p. 101, No. 209, repr.

EXHIBITED: Munich, 1980, No. 802.

LITERATURE: *de Piles, Dissertation*, 1681, p. 25; *Michel, Histoire*, p. 310; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 275, No. 927; *Stendhal, Mémoires d'un touriste*, III, *Voyages dans le Midi*, Paris, 1981 (1st edn. 1858), pp. 151-152; *Clément de Ris, Musées*, II, pp. 178, 179, 385; A. Michiels, *L'Art flamand dans l'Est et le Midi de la France*, Paris, 1877, p. 536; Bouillon-Landais, *Catalogue des objets d'art composant la collection du Musée de Marseille*, Marseilles, 1877, pp. 154-155, No. 399; *Mayerhofer, Schleissheim*, p. 80; *Rooses*, IV, pp. 343, 344, No. 1159; *Michel, Rubens*, p. 253; *Rooses, Life*, I, pp. 262, 325; *K.d.K., edn. Rosenberg*, pp. 91, 463; P. Auquier, *Catalogue des peintures, sculptures, pastels et dessins. Ville de Marseille, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Palais de Longchamp*, Marseilles 1908, pp. 436-437, No. 914, repr.; *Dillon, Rubens*, pp. 117, 220, pl. CIX; *Oldenbourg, Flämische Malerei*, p. 38; *K.d.K.*, pp. 115, 549; *Cat. Munich, 1936*, p. XXVIII; *Kieser, Antikes*, pp. 124-125, fig. 23; H. Cornette, 'Petrus Paulus Rubens', in *Geschiedenis van de Vlaamsche kunst*, ed. by S. Leurs, II, Antwerp, 1939, p. 674; *Musée des Beaux-Arts, Marseille. Palais Longchamp. Catalogue-Guide des peintures et de la Salle Dautier*, Marseilles, 1949, pp. 34, 35, No. 49; *Bordley, Rubens*, fig. 32; *Held, Drawings*, I, p. 110, under No. 39; *Miesel, Rubens and Ancient Art*, pp. 64, 67, 68, 81, 82; *Musée des Beaux-Arts, Palais Longchamp*, Marseilles, [1964], No. 20, repr.; *Isermeyer, Jagd*, pp. 29, 32, 33, pl. 11; *Rosand, Lion Hunt*, pp. 29, 36, 37, fig. 2; *Vlieghe, Saints*, II, p. 174; P.

Wescher, *Kunstraub unter Napoleon*, Berlin, 1976, p.86; *Kruyfshoof-Buys*, pp.73-74, repr. p.61; *Bodart, Incisione*, p.101, under No.209; *Lacambre, Chasse au tigre*, p.162; *Mitsch, Rubenszeichnungen*, p.165, under No.71; *Diemer, Jagdbilder*; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.339, under No.249; *Belkin, Costume Book*, pp.128, 132; *Adler, Wildens*, p.22; *Winner, Eberjagd*, pp.158, 159; [C. Versini], 'Les musées de Provence', *Les cahiers de l'Académie Anquetin*, XXXV, 1982, p.19.

The ferocious boar, in the centre of the composition, is hemmed in on all sides by huntsmen and hounds. On the left, behind a fallen tree, are three beaters with poised javelins and a fourth blowing a horn. A young horseman dashes in from the right, and a second horseman, in the centre, is about to despatch the animal with his sword. On the right is a small group of onlookers: a man and two elegant ladies. One hound is biting the boar's side, another its ear; below, on the right, three wounded dogs are lying on the ground, and two more on the left are trying to get at the savage beast.

The canvas at Marseilles, which was restored in 1965, is in good condition, despite some wear especially in the dark areas. It is executed in warm tones and with dynamic touches of paint, sometimes laid on very thickly, e.g. the red accents in the flesh parts on the left, which give so good an impression of the beaters' coarseness. The animals do not seem equally well painted throughout. The prostrate dogs on the right are well rendered, with graceful musculature and lifelike coats; in the dog on the extreme right this last feature is reminiscent of Snyders. Snyders in his later work used several motifs from this canvas, and may indeed be thought to have worked on it with Rubens, though

on the whole it lacks the refinement that he usually showed in his early period in the rendering of animals' fur.<sup>1</sup> The animals in this painting have also been ascribed to Paul de Vos, but this cannot be verified as we know nothing of his earliest work. A certain awkwardness in the drawing, e.g. in the dog at the extreme left, or the rather clumsy brushwork on the boar's back and the underside of the dog biting its flank, might be interpreted as the work of a young and inexperienced animal painter, and hence be connected with the young Paul de Vos; but this apparent awkwardness seems to be partly due to a change of design during the execution. Originally the boar's back seems not to have been so high. It looks as if a portion had been added in a slightly different tint, and the somewhat crude and unimaginative brushwork with which the boar and the dog on the right are depicted fails to integrate this portion with the remainder.

The picture in the González collection (Copy [1]; Fig.41) is a very faithful copy of this one, differing only in very small details. Thus the material of the breeches of the horseman in the centre, as it shows between the red panes, is of a dark lilac colour in the González canvas and not whitish as at Marseilles. More important is the fact that the composition on the right is slightly broader in the González canvas, but this may be due to an addition. There is a seam in the canvas at the place in question, and a detail of the costume of the young lady on the right, viz. the piece of fabric on her shoulder, puckered into a decorative rosette, has a rather casual look. In Soutman's drawing (Copy [11]; Fig.42), which is also extended to the right, though less so, we see at this point the beginning of a puffed sleeve, which is much more likely. The canvas in the

González collection is difficult to appraise in its present, much restored condition:<sup>2</sup> some areas have been completely over-painted. The heads, which seem to have been least in need of restoration, are of reasonable quality and are in a technique recalling Rubens's studio. I cannot, however, perceive any trace of Rubens's own hand, or that of Snyders.

To judge from the various other copies, the canvas at Marseilles was originally a trifle wider on the right and below. This seems to be confirmed especially by the drawing (Copy [11]; Fig. 42) formerly in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin.

Detailed analysis shows that the drawing formerly in Berlin, and not the one in the Louvre—Copy (12)—as has sometimes been stated, was used by Soutman for his etching, and it is natural to ascribe it to him. In the etching (Copy [13]; Fig. 43) he introduced more space behind the hornblower (on the right of the etching, i.e. the left of the drawing), but this is done in so pedestrian a manner that it clearly does not give the original state of Rubens's composition. W. de Leeuw followed Soutman's drawing in his etching—Copy (14)—, as is shown by some inaccuracies at places where the drawing provided only summary indications.

Neither sketches nor preliminary studies for this composition have survived. Burchard thought there must have been a *modello*, and that this was reproduced in a *Kunstammer with Venus (Sight)*, probably painted by Jan van Kessel (Copy [10]; Fig. 44).<sup>3</sup> In that painting there can indeed be seen a *Boar Hunt* with the same composition as the canvas at Marseilles, except that the two women are missing from the right upper corner. From this one may, I think, infer that a version of Rubens's *Boar Hunt* was still in the Netherlands around the middle of the 17th

century, when the canvas now at Marseilles had been at Schleissheim for a considerable time. But from its reproduction in the *Kunstammer* it is hard to draw conclusions as to its size—though it appears there to be bigger than a *modello*—or the precise details of the composition, as we have no guarantee that the painter was copying it exactly. No other reference to a *modello* of the *Boar Hunt* exists.

It is not impossible that Van Dyck was concerned with the execution of the canvas at Marseilles. The rough huntsmen on the left, in particular, are not unlike his early style, and it is noteworthy that he used two of these figures in the *Boar Hunt* that he painted with Snyders shortly afterwards (Fig. 23).<sup>4</sup> The head of the man in the straw hat is there repeated identically, and the hornblower in the same pose though in reverse.

A close likeness of this hornblower's head figures in Rubens's *Birth of Venus* at Sanssouci,<sup>5</sup> which is probably a somewhat earlier work.

Several other elements of this *Boar Hunt* can be paralleled in Rubens's work of this period. The torso and outstretched arm of the second beater on the left closely resemble the study drawing in the Albertina at Vienna which was intended, but only partially used, for the *Assumption of the Virgin* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.<sup>6</sup> This drawing seems to have been reused, in reverse, for a satyr in *Diana Asleep* in Buckingham Palace.<sup>7</sup> The head of the courtly lady on the right has already been seen in the *Wolf and Fox Hunt* (No. 2; Fig. 33) but also occurs elsewhere, e.g., as Held pointed out, in a drawing for *The Continnence of Scipio* (Bayonne, Musée Bonnat).<sup>8</sup> The horse in the centre was previously used by Rubens in his *St. George* in the Prado.<sup>9</sup>

Naturally the *Boar Hunt* is chiefly to be

compared with Rubens's other hunting scenes. The pose of Meleager wielding his spear in the earliest *Calydonian Boar Hunt* (No.1; cf. Fig.31) clearly served as a model for both the beaters on the left, and in that painting we also see the hornblower with puffed-out cheeks, although not in profile. The *Calydonian Boar Hunt* of a few years later (No.10; Fig.69) again clearly borrowed several motifs from the present work, such as the hornblower, this time in profile, and the felled tree-trunk with the dog clambering over it.

The work most closely related to the composition at Marseilles is the *Landscape with a Boar Hunt* at Dresden (Fig.26).<sup>10</sup> Here the artist clearly took the *Boar Hunt* at Marseilles as a model, while separating and varying the different groups of figures and placing them in a spacious landscape. The hornblower is repeated identically, as are the boar and three hounds; the beater on the left retains his straw hat; the man on the rearing horse is somewhat slimmer but otherwise the same. The felled tree-trunk also appears in the Dresden panel, where it plays a much more important part, determining the inward movement of that composition.

The composition of the *Boar Hunt* at Marseilles, and to some extent that of the Dresden panel, is—as Kieser observed and Winner pointed out in more detail—inspired by a Roman sarcophagus relief of the *Calydonian Boar Hunt* which Rubens may have seen in Rome (Fig.27).<sup>11</sup> He had used the left side of this for his own *Calydonian Boar Hunt* (No.1; cf. Fig.31). Meleager's pose in the latter work is reflected, as we have mentioned, in the two beaters on the left of the Marseilles *Boar Hunt*. This painting, however, was mainly influenced by the central part of the Roman relief, particularly the group consisting of the boar, the hound biting its ear and the

horseman delivering a sword-thrust from above. Winner suggested that the energetic, compact group on the left, with the beaters holding their spears poised to strike the boar, may have been based on a woodcut by Tobias Stimmer in the German edition of du Fouilloux's hunting manual (1590).<sup>12</sup> There can be no question of a direct borrowing, but Stimmer's work may have influenced Rubens's imagination along with other scenes of the chase. We may, for instance, think of Roelandt Savery's *Boar Hunt* of 1609,<sup>13</sup> in which the motif of the tree-trunk is also anticipated.

Burchard's extracts from sale catalogues include innumerable references to *Boar Hunts* ascribed to Rubens with or without the collaboration of Snyders or Wildens.<sup>14</sup> In most cases, however, the indications are too slight for identification. It is generally not clear whether the composition is of the same type as the work here discussed or whether it resembles the *Landscape with a Boar Hunt* at Dresden (Fig.26), the *Boar Hunt* by Van Dyck and Snyders at Dresden (Fig.23), a *Calydonian Boar Hunt* by Rubens (Nos.1, 10, 12, 18, 20), or a *Boar Hunt* by Snyders, Paul de Vos, Fyt or some other artist.

This confusion has had its effect on the literature. Rooses, for instance, listed under the Marseilles *Boar Hunt* a supposed copy by Fyt in the Munich Pinakothek. This, however, is not a copy after Rubens but an original work by Fyt.<sup>15</sup> Another confusion is due to J.F.M. Michel,<sup>16</sup> who attributed to Rubens and Snyders the version of the *Boar Hunt* by Snyders and Van Dyck which was at the time in Düsseldorf and is now in the Munich Pinakothek.<sup>17</sup> Michel wrongly identified that composition with an etching of 1642 by Soutman (Fig.24).<sup>18</sup> On the strength of this, Smith described the painting by Van Dyck and

Snyders, then already at Munich, as 'A party of seven men on foot and two gentlemen on horseback, with numerous dogs, attacking a furious boar near the trunk of a fallen tree. The enraged animal has knocked down one of the huntsmen and wounded several of the dogs.— 6 ft. 4 in. by 9 ft. 4 in.—C. Engraved by Soutman. This is the joint production of Rubens and Snyders'.<sup>19</sup> No such painting by Rubens and Snyders exists; and Soutman's etching (Fig.24) is a literal though partial copy of the *Landscape with a Boar Hunt* at Dresden (Fig.26).<sup>20</sup>

1. See also pp.84-85.
2. As far as I know the canvas was first restored before being exhibited at Cologne in 1968, and a second time in 1974.
3. The best version is the panel which was formerly in the Mariano Hernando collection at Madrid and was in the *Exposición Histórico-Europea* (Madrid, 1892, room XX, No.77, pl.CLXXII; panel, 60 × 90 cm.). Three copies are mentioned in *Speth-Holterhoff, Cabinets*, pp.124-125: one formerly in coll. Baron Coppée at Brussels, previously with Sam Hartveld, panel, 61 × 91 cm., Fig.44 in the present volume; a second formerly in coll. Charles van Herck, Antwerp, panel, 42 × 60 cm., dated 1657; a third which was in a sale at Amsterdam (F.Muller), 15 April 1947, lot 32, canvas, 58 × 83 cm. A fourth copy was sold in Paris (Galliéra), 15 March 1973, lot H, canvas, 64.5 × 95 cm. This composition is a variation on an *Allegory of Sight* in the John G. Johnson Collection in Philadelphia, attributed to Jan II Brueghel (signed *J. Bruegel*, and in any case of superior quality), in which, however, the *Boar Hunt* does not appear (*Speth-Holterhoff, Cabinets*, pp.122-123, fig.47; [B.Sweeny], *John G. Johnson Collection. Catalogue of Flemish and Dutch Paintings*, Philadelphia, 1972, p.18, No.656, repr. p.242).
4. See pp.32-34.
5. *K.d.K.*, p.107.
6. *K.d.K.*, p.206; Mitsch, *Rubenszeichnungen*, p.28, No.11, repr.; Freedberg, *After the Passion*, Nos.37, 37a.
7. Rooses, III, No.600.
8. Held, *Drawings*, I, p.110, No.39; II, pl.41.
9. *K.d.K.*, p.22; Vlieghe, *Saints*, II, No.105. The pose of the horse and rider also closely resembles a figure in a print by Tempesta (Fig.17; see above, p.60).
10. Adler, *Landscapes*, pp.72-76, No.18, fig.53 (the date 1616 seems to me slightly too early) and see now also Winner, *Eberjagd*.
11. C.Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*, III, 2, *Hippolytos-Meleagros*, Berlin, 1904, No.224, pl.LXXVII.
12. Winner, *Eberjagd*, p.173, fig.35 in the text.
13. Several versions exist, including one in the Munich Pinakothek, signed and dated 1609; see [Cat. Exh.] *Roelandt Savery 1576-1639*, (Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ghent, 1954), No.12, repr.
14. That Wildens would have contributed the landscape in the *Marseilles Boar Hunt* was doubted by Adler—rightly I think (see p.42 above).
15. Rooses, IV, p.344, under No.1159 refers to the work by its old number 965 in the Pinakothek, corresponding to the new number 259.
16. Michel, *Histoire*, p.298, No.XII. Michel's references to engravings are often wrong.
17. This version, reproduced in Michel, *Rubens*, p.269, is now No.311 in the Pinakothek. For the better version at Dresden see pp.32-34 and Fig.23.
18. Soutman's etching is discussed in Adler, *Landscapes*, p.73, Copy (10), fig.54.
19. Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp.61-62, No.174. The measurements, based on [J.G. van Dillis], *Notice des Tableaux de la Galerie Royale de Munich* (Munich, 1818, p.103, No.1327), must be read as French ones, equivalent to 205.5 × 303 cm.; the exact dimensions of the work are 202 × 305 cm.
20. A.-M. Logan ('Review Rubens Exhibitions 1977: Albertina', *Master Drawings*, XV, 1977, p.406) wrongly stated that a drawing in the Albertina (Adler, *Landscapes*, No.18b, fig.61) must be regarded as the basis for a hunting scene painted by Rubens in the 1630s, now only known from Soutman's etching of 1642. The only common feature between this drawing at Vienna and Soutman's etching is that in both of them the composition breaks off at the same point on the right. Apart from this the etching follows the *Landscape with a Boar Hunt* at Dresden (Fig.26) almost literally, whereas the drawing differs noticeably from it. It is moreover highly improbable that Rubens in the 1630s would have integrally repeated an earlier composition without adapting the style of the figures. By way of supplementing Adler, *Landscapes* it may be noted that there is in a French private collection a painting after Soutman's etching and in the same direction (panel, 48.5 × 79 cm.; photograph in the Rubenianum, Antwerp).

## 5. Hippopotamus and Crocodile Hunt (Fig.46)

Oil on canvas; 248 × 321 cm.

Munich, *Alte Pinakothek*. Inv. No.4797.

PROVENANCE: Purchased from Rubens by the Duke (later Elector) Maximilian I of Bavaria (1573-1651); Altes Schloss,

Schleissheim (inv.1637, *Abclaidtzimer*: '1 grosse Tafl mit ainem Kampf, zwischen ainem Crocodill und Hipopotomo, drey Pferdten, und 5 figuren'); Neues Schloss, Schleissheim, 1761; seized by the French Commissioner, Citoyen Neveu, on 30 August 1800 and taken to Paris; brought back to Schleissheim (?) in 1815; transferred to the Königliche Gemäldegalerie, Augsburg; in the Pinakothek, Munich, since 1922.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig.47), studio replica, lost; canvas, 198 × 300 cm. PROV. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, since 1808 (?); given on loan to the Rijksuniversiteit, Utrecht, in 1902, where destroyed by fire in 1942. LIT. C.Immerzeel, *De levens en werken der Hollandsche en Vlaamsche kunstschilders, beeldhouwers, graveurs en bouwmeesters*, III, Amsterdam, 1843, p.98 (as *Snyders*); E.W.Moes and E. van Biema, *De Nationale Konstgallerij en het Koninklijk Museum: bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het Rijksmuseum*, Amsterdam, 1909, pp.67, 225; *Cat. Rijksmuseum*, 1976, p.486, No. A 600; (2) Painting, after Copy (1), Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland, No.1198; panel, 24 × 33 cm. PROV. ? Diderick Smith, sale, Amsterdam, 13 July 1761, lot 20 (with the measurements: c.24.5 × 32 cm.); Mrs. D.Vere May, sold in 1951 to the National Gallery in Dublin. LIT. *National Gallery of Ireland. Catalogue of the Paintings*, [Dublin], 1971, p.143; *National Gallery of Ireland. Illustrated Summary Catalogue of Paintings*, Dublin, 1981, p.144; (3) Painting, lost; 26 × 33.5 cm. PROV. Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne, No.1318; destroyed by fire in 1942. LIT. J.Niessen, *Verzeichnis der Gemälde-Sammlung des Museums Wallraf-Richartz in Köln*, Cologne, 1869, p.111, No.621 (as *sketch, school of Rubens*); *Bernhard, Verlorene Werke*, p.140; (4) Painting, whereabouts unknown, possibly identical

with Copy (5); part of a series (see also under Nos. 4, 6 and 7); canvas, 198 × 266.5 cm. PROV. John Calvert Wombwell, sale, London (Christie's), 28 February 1891, lots 120-123 (withdrawn); Sir Cuthbert Quilter (shortly after 1891), donated to the County Council of Sudbury, Suffolk, c.1897; presented by the latter to the Trustees of the Gainsborough's House National Appeal Fund, who put it up for sale, London (Christie's), 29 November 1957, lot 56 (four pieces), bought by De Crescenzo. LIT. *Cat. Wadsworth Atheneum*, 1978, p.184, n.7; (5) Painting, possibly identical with Copy (4), Rome, private collection; part of a series (see also under Nos.4, 6 and 7); support and dimensions unknown. LIT. A.Porcella, *Masterpieces of European Art*, Las Vegas, 1962; (6) Painting, whereabouts unknown, possibly identical with one of the other copies here listed; part of a series (see also under Nos.4, 6 and 7); canvas, ? approximately 250 × 300 cm. PROV. Art market, Cannes, 1983; (7) Painting, Munich, Deutsches Jagdmuseum, Inv. No.5006; part of a series (see also under Nos.4, 6 and 7); panel, 98 × 125 cm. EXH. *Munich, Jagdmuseum*, 1980, No.18. LIT. *Cat. Deutsches Jagdmuseum*, pp.176, 182, No.5006; (8) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 55 × 77 cm. PROV. Count von Attems, Graz, until 1947; Albert Ferenz, Vienna, until 1965; private collection, Kissing; private collection, Müllheim, 1966. LIT. *Westfälische allgemeine Zeitung* (?), edn. Oberhausen, No.123, 28 May 1966, repr.; (9) Painting in reverse, sketchily after Copy (14), whereabouts unknown (photograph in the Burchard Documentation, Rubenianum, Antwerp); panel, 43 × 60.5 cm. PROV. Stanley, Taunton; Aug. Janssens, Antwerp; Mrs.Nagy-Janssens, Budapest; (10) Fragment of a *Kunstammer* by Hieronymus Francken II (Fig.45),

painting, Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Inv. No.6853; panel, 47.7×77.7 cm. PROV. Gaston Klee-  
feld, Brussels. LIT. *Speth-Holterhoff, Cabinets*, pp.81–82, figs.21, 22; S. Speth-Holter-  
hoff, 'Un cabinet d'amateur anversois du  
XVIIe siècle entre au Musée Royal d'Art  
Ancien de Bruxelles', *Bulletin Musées  
Royaux des Beaux-Arts*, IX, 1960, pp.75–88;  
U.A.Härting, *Studien zur Kabinettbild-  
malerei des Frans Francken II. 1581–1642.  
Ein repräsentativer Werkkatalog, (Studien  
zur Kunstgeschichte, XXI)*, Hildesheim–  
Zurich–New York, 1983, No. B 382, fig. 32;  
(11) Drawing (Fig. 50) by Pieter Soutman(?),  
London, British Museum, Department of  
Prints and Drawings, Inv. No.1949-4-13-1;  
partly with pen and brush and brown and  
grey ink over preliminary drawing in  
charcoal, 430×557 mm.; squared, verti-  
cal fold in the middle, the lower half in-  
dented for transfer with a stylus; blind  
stamp of Campe (L.1391). PROV. H.W.  
Campe (Leipzig, 1770–1862); inherited by  
K.E.Hasse (1810–1902); inherited by E.Eh-  
lers, Göttingen; sale, Leipzig (Boerner),  
27 November 1935, lot 494 (together with  
No.4, Copy [11] above); Ch. Albert de  
Burllet, Basle; purchased from the latter  
by Count A.Seilern, London, in 1948; in  
the British Museum since 1949. LIT. *Ros-  
sand, Lion Hunt*, p.31, n.14, fig.4 (the re-  
working with the brush attributed to  
Van Dyck); (12) Drawing, 19th century,  
after Copy (15), Bruges, Stedelijke Mu-  
sea, Steinmetz-Cabinet, No.o.2397; 229  
× 297 mm.; (13) Drawing after the upper  
half of the composition, 19th century,  
after Copy (15), Bruges, Stedelijke Mu-  
sea, Steinmetz-Cabinet, No.o.2396; 239  
× 381 mm.; (14) Etching by P.Soutman  
(Fig.49), after Copy (11), in reverse; 440  
× 628 mm.; below, in the margin: *P.P.  
Rubens Pinxit. HIPOTAMVS (sic) CRO-  
CODILVM DVM DENTE IMPETIT HOS-*

*TEM, IMPROVIDVS HOMINIS DEFICIT  
IPSE MANV. P.Soutman, Inuenit Effigiau-  
it, et Excud. Cum Priuil.*; first state of five:  
second state with the address of D.Dan-  
ckerts, third with that of Van Merlen,  
fourth with that of De Wit, fifth without  
any address (cf. *Dutuit*). LIT. *V.S.*, p.228,  
No.31.11; *Dutuit*, III, p.247, No.21.11; *Van  
den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p.93, No.648;  
(15) Etching by W. de Leeuw, after Copy  
(11), in reverse; 470×647 mm.; four states,  
of which the second with the address  
of C. van Merlen, the third with that of  
C.Danckerts, the fourth with that of De  
Wit (according to *Hollstein*). LIT. *V.S.*,  
p.229, No.31.12; *Dutuit*, III, p.247, No.21.12;  
*Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p.69,  
No.396; *Hollstein*, X, p.46, No.11; *Bodart,  
Incisione*, p.101, No.210, repr.; (16) Etching  
by Martini and Le Bas, 1772, after Copy  
(15). LIT. *V.S.*, p.229, under No.31.12.

EXHIBITED: Munich, 1980, No.803.

LITERATURE: *Sandart, edn. Peltzer*, p.159;  
*de Piles, Dissertation*, 1681, p.25; J. von  
Sandart, *Academia nobilissimae artis pic-  
toriae...*, trans. by C.Rhod, Nuremberg,  
1683, p.285; *Michel, Histoire*, p.310; *Smith,  
Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.78, No.238; G.F.  
Waagen, *Kunstwerke und Künstler in  
Deutschland*, II, Leipzig, 1845, p.52; R. Marg-  
graff, *Katalog der k. Gemälde-Galerie in  
Augsburg*, Munich, 1869, p.53, No.164;  
*Rooses*, IV, 1890, pp.347–348, No.1161;  
*Mayerhofer, Schleissheim*, p.80; *Michel, Ru-  
bens*, p.191; *Rooses, Life*, I, p.262; *K.d.K.,  
edn. Rosenberg*, p.109; H. Knackfuss, *Rubens*,  
8th edn., Bielefeld–Leipzig, 1907, p.51;  
*Dillon Rubens*, p.118, 211, pl.CXIII; *Kata-  
log der königlichen Filialgemäldegalerie zu  
Augsburg*, 3rd edn., Munich, 1912, p.63,  
No.2462; *Oldenbourg, Flämische Malerei*,  
pp.38, 173, 192; *K.d.K.*, pp.114, 459; *Kata-  
log der älteren Pinakothek zu München*, 15th  
edn., Munich, 1925, pp.147–148, No.4797;



*Delacroix, Journal*, 1932, I, pp.168-169, 200-201; *Cat. Munich, 1936*, pp.XV, XXVIII, 232, No.4797; *Evers, Rubens*, pp.164-169, 491, n.147; *Evers, Neue Forschungen*, p.165; *Miesel, Rubens and Ancient Art*, p.73, n.139, p.81; S.Speth-Holterhoff, 'Un cabinet d'amateur anversoise du XVIIe siècle entre au Musée Royal d'Art Ancien de Bruxelles', *Bulletin Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts*, IX, 1960, pp.85-86; *Isermeyer, Jagd*, p.30, pl.7; *Rosand, Lion Hunt*, pp.29, 34, n.39; *Cat. Munich, 1969*, p.78, No.4797; *Vlieghe, Saints*, II, p.38, under No.105; *Kruyfhoof-Buys*, pp.61-62, reproduced pp.84-85; L. Dittmann, 'Versuch über die Farbe bei Rubens', in *Rubens. Kunstgeschichtliche Beiträge*, ed. by E.Hubala, Constance, 1979, pp.64-65; H. von Sonnenburg, 'Rubens' Bildaufbau und Technik, II, Farbe und Auftragstechnik', *Maltechnik-Restaur.*, LXXXV, 1979, pp.184, 187, 200, n.8, figs. 7-9; *Diemer, Jagdbilder*; K.Downes, *Rubens*, London, 1980, p.31, fig.14; *Müllmeister, Meer und Land*, III, p.38, repr.; *Balis, Hippopotamus*; U.Krempel, in *Cat. Munich, 1983*, p.422, No.4797.

Three exotically-clad horsemen surround a fiercely roaring hippopotamus which is trampling a crocodile with its left front paw. In the right foreground a half-naked beater lies dead; another, on the left, is pinned to the ground by the crocodile astride the lower part of his body. Two hounds attack the hippopotamus from the left, and a third on the right bites the crocodile's tail.

Some literal copies of the canvas at Munich are known (Copies [4]-[7]): these are part of a series of four compositions, and were thus probably executed when the four hunting pictures for Maximilian of Bavaria were already at Schleissheim.<sup>1</sup> Another copy, formerly at Utrecht (Copy

[1]; Fig.47) must have been painted earlier, perhaps in Rubens's studio. This agrees, even in detail, with the picture at Munich except for some very important points: the composition is extended on both sides, and the loincloth of the dead huntsman does not cover his right thigh. The extension to the right is perhaps of no particular significance, but the enlargement to the left brings the horse on that side fully into view, which may have been originally the case with the Munich canvas. At all events the reproduction of the *Hippopotamus Hunt* in a 'Kunstkammer' by Hieronymus Francken II (Fig.45) shows the composition extending this far to the left.<sup>2</sup> The naked right thigh of the dead huntsman also appears in Soutman's etching (Copy [14]; Fig.49), and this seems to represent Rubens's original intention: The change was probably made for reasons of decency in the canvas intended for Munich; this may have been done in the studio, at the request of the duke's representative.

The studio certainly had a share in the execution of this painting but we may assume that the master carried out extensive retouches here and there, as in the clothing of the horseman on the left (he does not seem to have reworked the red tunic of the horseman on the right). Most of the nude portions (except perhaps the dead man on the right) and the heads are reminiscent of Van Dyck (notice the red accents, which do not always achieve the intended effect of depth). Rubens himself seems in particular to have had a hand in the animals.

The drawing (Copy [11]; Fig.50) that Soutman used as a model for his etching is now in the British Museum, and may reasonably be attributed to Soutman himself.<sup>3</sup> At all events it is not by Rubens. The lower half of the composition is indi-

cated summarily, in bald outline, so that one wonders if it can have been sufficient for the print, which is very detailed throughout. On the one hand, several details seem to show that the print was based on this drawing and not on the painting. The tip of the spear of the horseman on the left is omitted in the drawing and also in the print. The second horse shows more of its mane on the left of the Munich canvas than in the drawing or the print.<sup>4</sup> The crossguard of the sword of the man lying on the left is much simplified in the drawing and the etching; and in both of them the dead huntsman on the right has short hair and no beard, in contrast to the painting at Munich and the one destroyed by fire at Utrecht. On the other hand, the etcher could not have known where to place the hippopotamus's right hindpaw (behind the crocodile) if he only had the drawing to go by, as the paw does not appear in it at all; moreover he probably could not have reproduced the colour pattern of the dogs to the left and right, without further information. We must therefore suppose that Soutman possessed other material besides the drawing when his print was made.<sup>5</sup> It is not clear whether the differences, pointed out above, between the drawing and the painting at Munich arise from inaccuracies by the draughtsman, or whether they point to the existence of a studio variant of the composition. There is in fact a painting—Copy (8)—which presents the same features as the etching and corresponds to it in reverse, and which may thus have been a supplementary *modello* for the latter; but from the very imperfect reproduction that was available to me it was impossible to judge its quality or analyse it in detail.<sup>6</sup>

De Leeuw probably used Soutman's drawing for his etching—Copy (15)—

which is in the same direction as Soutman's. This may explain why he took such liberties in the lower half, where the indications in the drawing are rather summary and sometimes ambiguous. Thus, on the left of the etching, corresponding to the right of the painting, the dead huntsman has one arm bent upwards, a pose that may be due to the sketchy indication of a river-plant in Soutman's drawing. On the other hand it is clear that De Leeuw also had Soutman's etching at his disposal for supplementary details.

The equestrian motifs in the *Hippopotamus Hunt* are borrowed from earlier works by Rubens. The Oriental on the right with uplifted sword, and his rearing horse, are from the monumental *St. George in the Prado*.<sup>7</sup> The horse on the left, raising its forelegs and turning its head to the right, is similar, in reverse, to the horse on the right of Rubens's copy after Leonardo's *Battle of Anghiari* (Fig. 30).<sup>8</sup> The horse in the middle, biting the hippopotamus and with one hoof laid on its back, also seems to be from the *Battle of Anghiari*, except that Rubens presents it frontally, using other studies of horses for the purpose.<sup>9</sup> For the dress of the horseman on the left he sought inspiration from Adam Elsheimer: the cape with the half-sleeve, thrown loosely over the shoulder, appears in that artist's *Stoning of St. Stephen* (Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland),<sup>10</sup> a painting of which Rubens copied various parts.<sup>11</sup> The iconography of this *Hippopotamus and Crocodile Hunt* has been fully discussed above.<sup>12</sup>

1. One difference should be noted: the handle of the bow of the dead huntsman on the right is, in Copies (4)–(7), decorated with fringes at the point where it meets the picture frame. This detail also appears in the version at Utrecht university (Copy [1]), but not in the canvas at Munich, which however is clearly overpainted in this area.

2. Copy (10). It is not clear whether this work represents an actual gallery.
3. Rosand suggested that the skilful brushwork in the upper half pointed to the authorship of Van Dyck, who is known to have drawn *modelli* for prints after Rubens. But we do not as yet know enough of Soutman's style as a draughtsman to dispute the attribution to him. The preliminary drawing in charcoal, in any case, is certainly not by Van Dyck.
4. In this respect both the drawing and the etching agree with the Utrecht copy (Copy [1]; Fig.47).
5. For problems connected with Soutman's etchings and drawings see pp.47-49.
6. Neither the dimensions nor the support are the same as those of the *modello* for the *Tiger Hunt* (No.7a; Fig.58), which was painted in the studio.
7. *K.d.K.*, p.22; *Vlieghe, Saints*, II, No.105, fig.17.
8. *Held, Drawings*, No.161; see also above, p.62, n.67.
9. E.g. the same horse occurs in Rubens's drawing of the *Battle for the Standard* in the British Museum, inspired by the *Battle of Anghiari* (see Rowlands, *Rubens Drawings*, p.34, No.22, repr.).
10. K. Andrews, *Adam Elsheimer*, Oxford, 1977, pl.I, fig.46.
11. A combination of motifs from Elsheimer's painting can be seen in a drawing in the British Museum (Rowlands, *Rubens Drawings*, p.46, No.41, repr.). This was probably a schematic pen drawing by Rubens, worked up by Soutman for the purpose of making a print; for the latter see *ibid.*, p.47, No.42, repr.
12. See pp.72-74.

## 6. Lion Hunt

Oil on canvas; 248 × 324 cm.

Formerly Bordeaux, Museum; lost.

PROVENANCE: Purchased from Rubens by the Duke (later Elector) Maximilian I of Bavaria (1573-1651) before 28 April 1618; Altes Schloss, Schleissheim (inv.1637, *Tafelzimer*: '1 grosses stueck, bei 9 schuech hoch, und 11 schuech braith, darauf ein lewen geiaidt, 5 Tirggen unnd 4 Pferdt'); Neues Schloss, Schleissheim, 1761; seized by the French Commissioner, Citoyen Neveu, on 30 August 1800 and taken to Paris; transferred to the Bordeaux museum in 1803, where destroyed by fire on 7 December 1870.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig.51), studio replica, Madrid, private collection; canvas, 219 × 313 cm. PROV. ? Offered by Rubens to Sir Dudley Carleton on 28 April 1618; ? offered by the latter to Christian IV, King of Denmark, on 11 September 1618 (who does not seem to have purchased it); the Revd. the Hon. Frederic Hamilton (d.1811); John Hickman, sale, London (Christie's), 20 March 1847, lot 76, bought by Eckford for the 2nd Lord Northwick, Thirlestane House, Cheltenham; sale, Thirlestane House (Phillips), 23 August 1859, lot 1688, bought by George, 3rd Lord Northwick, Northwick Park; by descent E.G. Spencer-Churchill, Northwick Park, 1912; sale, London (Christie's), 29 October 1965, lot 39 (repr.); Somerset de Chair, St. Osyth's Priory, Essex, sale, London (Sotheby's), 19 March 1975, lot 66 (repr.), purchased by the present owner. EXH. *Pedro Pablo Rubens (1577-1640). Exposición homenaje*, Palacio de Velázquez, Madrid, December 1977 - March 1978, No.95. LIT. *A Catalogue of the Pictures in the Galleries of Thirlestane House, Cheltenham, the Residence of Lord Northwick, Cheltenham, 1855*, No.155; *Catalogue of the Pictures ... at Northwick Park, 1864*, No.7; *Redford, Art Sales*, I, pp.156, 157; *Rooses*, IV, p.331, under No.1150, p.337, under No.1153; *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, pp.137, 142, 149-150, 162, 165, 170, 181, 186; *Rooses, Life*, I, p.259; [T. Borenius], *Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures at Northwick Park*, London, 1921, pp.71-72, No.155; *Hind, Rubens*, p.6, under No.1; *Magurn, Letters*, pp.61, 62, 64, 65, 67; *Isermeyer, Jagd*, p.33; *Rosand, Lion Hunt*, p.30, n.8, fig.5; *Martin, Cat. National Gallery*, p.185, n.3; *The Somerset de Chair Collection at St. Osyth's Priory*, 1971, p.11, repr.; *Haverkamp Bege- mann, Cat. Worcester*, I, p.211; M. Winner, in *Mielke-Winner*, p.83, under No.29; *Cat. Exh. Madrid, 1977-78*, pp.110-111, No.95,

repr. p.235; M. Jaffé, 'Exhibitions for the Rubens Year, III', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXX, 1978, p.346, No.95; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.407, No.298; *Müllenmeister, Meer und Land*, III, p.38, No.4, repr.; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown, possibly identical with Copy (3); part of a series (see also under Nos. 4, 5 and 7); canvas, 198 × 266.5 cm. PROV. John Calvert Wombwell, sale, London (Christie's), 28 February 1891, lots 120–123 (withdrawn); Sir Cuthbert Quilter (shortly after 1891), donated to the County Council of Sudbury, Suffolk, c.1897; presented by the latter to the Trustees of the Gainsborough's House National Appeal Fund, who put it up for sale, London (Christie's), 29 November 1957, lot 56 (four pieces), bought by De Crescenzo. LIT. *Martin, Cat. National Gallery*, p.185, n.3; *Cat. Wadsworth Atheneum*, 1978, p.184, n.7; (3) Painting, possibly identical with Copy (2), private collection, Rome; part of a series (see also under Nos. 4, 5 and 7); support and dimensions unknown. LIT. A. Porcella, *Masterpieces of European Art*, Las Vegas, 1962, No.62; *Bodart, Incisione*, p.33, under No.33; (4) Painting, whereabouts unknown, possibly identical with one of the other copies here listed; part of a series (see also under Nos.4, 5 and 7); canvas, ? approximately 250 × 300 cm. PROV. Art market, Cannes, 1983; (5) Painting, Munich, Deutsches Jagdmuseum, Inv. No.5007; part of a series (see also under Nos.4, 5 and 7); panel, 98 × 125 cm. EXH. *Munich, Jagdmuseum*, 1980, No.19 (repr.). LIT. *Cat. Deutsches Jagdmuseum*, pp.176, 178, 180, 182, No.5007, repr. p.178; (6) Drawing (Fig.55) by Pieter Soutman (?), whereabouts unknown; pen and brush and brown grey ink over preliminary drawing in black chalk (?), heightened with white, 430 × 592 mm.; vertical fold in the middle, upper left and lower right hand corner

restored; below on the left, on the shield, an old inscription: A. V. Dyck. PROV. Sale, London (Sotheby's), 7 July 1966, lot 65; ? Shickman Gallery, New York. LIT. *Rosand, Lion Hunt*, p.30, n.8 (brought in connection with Soutman); *Cat. Exh. Göttingen*, 1977, p.87, under No.59; (7) Drawing after the kicking horse and rider, in reverse, after Copy (10), Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Graphische Sammlung, Inv. No. Z 1850; black chalk and brown wash, 371/375 × 308 mm. PROV. Presented by H.F. Sekker. LIT. *Robels, Niederländische Zeichnungen*, p.247, No.604, repr.; (8) Drawing by E. Delacroix after the head of the lion (twice) and the face of the falling man, after Copy (9), Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre, No. RF 9144 fol.13r. LIT. *Kliman, Delacroix's Lions*, p.454, fig.16; (9) Etching by P. Soutman (Fig.56), after Copy (6), in reverse; 455 × 634 mm.; below, in margin: P.P. Rubens inventor. FORTITER INSTA, QVI CAEDIS, SI ERRAVERIT ICTVS, CAEDENTEM CAESUS CONTERET ORE LEO. P. Soutman, Inuenit Effigiauuit et Excud. Cum Privil.; first state of four: two with the address of Van Merlen, the third with that of C. Danckerts, the fourth with that of J. de Wit (cf. *Dutuit*). LIT. *V.S.*, p.227, No.31.3; *Hymans, Gravure*, p.131; *Dutuit*, III, p.245, No.21.3; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p.93, No.644; *Bodart, Incisione*, p.33, No.33, repr.; *Cat. Exh. Göttingen*, 1977, pp.86–87, No.59; (10) Etching by W. de Leeuw, after Copy (6), in reverse; 446 × 639 mm.; four states of which the second with the address of C. van Merlen, the third with that of C. Danckerts, the fourth with that of F. de Wit (cf. *Hollstein*). LIT. *V.S.*, p.227, No.31.4; *Dutuit*, III, p.245, No.21.4; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p.69, No.393; *Hollstein*, X, p.46, No.8; (11) Etching by Malbeste and Le Bas, 1772, after Copy (10); 173 × 234 mm.

LIT. V.S., p.227, No.31.4; *Dutuit*, III, p.245, under No.21.4; (12) Relief on an ivory box, whereabouts unknown. PROV. Baron Carl Mayer Rothschild; sale, London (Christie's), 4 December 1962, lot 185 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Sandrart*, edn. Peltzer, p.159; *de Piles*, *Dissertation*, 1681, p.25; J. von Sandrart, *Academia nobilissimae artis pictoriae*..., translated by C. Rhod, Nuremberg, 1683, p.285; *Smith*, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp.274–275, No.926; *Clément de Ris*, *Musées*, II, p.398; P. Lacour and J. Delpit, *Catalogue des tableaux, statues etc. du Musée de Bordeaux*, 2nd edn., ed. by O. Gué, Bordeaux, 1862, No.387; *Mayerhofer*, *Schleissheim*, p.80; *Rooses* IV, p.331, under No.1150, pp.337–338, No.1153; *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, pp.137, 142; *Rooses*, *Life*, I, pp.259, 261; [H. von Tschudi], *Katalog der kgl. Älteren Pinakothek. Amtliche Ausgabe*, 11th edn., Munich, 1911, p.133, under No.734; *Delacroix*, *Journal*, 1932, I, pp.168–169; *Cat. Munich*, 1936, pp.XV, 231, under No.602; *Burchard*, *Wildenstein*, p.24, under No.20; L. Burchard, 'Rubens' "Daughters of Cecrops"', *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin*, XI, 1953, p.12, n.1; *Magurn*, *Letters*, pp.61, 441, n.5; *Isermeyer*, *Jagd*, p.29; *Rosand*, *Lion Hunt*, pp.29–30; *Martin*, *Cat. National Gallery*, pp.183, 185, n.3; *Bodart*, *Incisione*, p.33, under No.33; *Lacambre*, *Chasse au tigre*, p.162; G. Girgensohn, in *Cat. Exh. Göttingen*, 1977, pp.86–87, under No.59; *Rowlands*, *Rubens Drawings*, p.82, under No.89; *Cat. Exh. Madrid*, 1977–78, p.110, under No.95; *Held*, *Oil Sketches*, I, p.407, under No.298, p.581, under No.422; *Diemer*, *Jagdbilder*, p.500; *Freedberg*, *After the Passion*, pp.125, 128, under No.31.

Six men, four of them on horseback, are engaged in fierce combat with a lion and a lioness. The lion, on the left, drags a

Moor, in a blue tunic<sup>1</sup> and wearing a turban, off his stumbling horse; at the same time the savage beast claws with its hind paw at the face of a half-naked man lying on the ground, who is about to thrust his dagger into its belly. On the extreme left another Oriental, wearing a red cape and a yellow tunic with blue stripes, and mounted on a rearing horse, prepares to strike at the lion with his sword. In the centre the lioness, with front paws outstretched, springs over the back of the fallen horse. A man in a green tunic, mounted on a dappled horse (white and reddish-brown) which lashes out with its hind legs, drives a spear into the lioness's breast, while on the right, behind him, a Moor in armour, on a rearing horse, fends her off with his shield. In the foreground, beside the fallen horse, lies a wounded man with a broken spear in his right hand.

We first hear of this picture in Rubens's letter to Sir Dudley Carleton of 28 April 1618. With this letter he sent a list of paintings then in the studio, which he offered in exchange for a collection of antique sculpture that Carleton wished to dispose of.<sup>2</sup> The letter refers to a copy of the original *Lion Hunt* painted for Maximilian I. Duke of Bavaria.<sup>3</sup> This original figures in the 1637 inventory of the Altes Schloss at Schleissheim. Sandrart, who saw it there, described it in 1675 as a 'seltsame sinnreiche Jagd von Barbaren zu Pferd wider den wilden Löwen, die auch in Kupfer ausgegangen'. The painting was removed by the French to Paris in 1800 and subsequently placed in the Bordeaux museum, where it was destroyed by fire in 1870.

However, in and after the 18th century there was in the collection of the Electors of Bavaria a second *Lion Hunt* by Rubens, with a completely different composition. This remained in Germany and is now in

the Alte Pinakothek at Munich (see No. 11; Fig. 74). In the Rubens literature it was always mistakenly identified with the canvas bought by Duke Maximilian, until Burchard pointed out that the picture in the Pinakothek must be of a later date, and that the one originally at Schleissheim with the other three Rubens *Hunts* had gone to Bordeaux and been destroyed there. The two works are occasionally confused even in the more recent literature.

The copy of the Schleissheim *Lion Hunt* that Rubens offered Carleton in 1618 was, as he told the latter, painted by a pupil but fully retouched by himself.<sup>4</sup> Carleton at first did not wish to accept it: out of the list of 12 paintings he chose only those that Rubens had noted as being entirely his own work (and of these he rejected a *Christ Crucified* as being too large). This left six paintings with a total value of 3,000 guilders. Carleton proposed that Rubens should make available the remainder of the sum due, viz. another 3,000 guilders in cash, for the purchase of tapestries.<sup>5</sup> Rubens thereupon made the counter-proposal that, in addition to the six paintings by his own hand, valued at 3,000 guilders, Carleton should accept three more for 1,000 guilders, leaving only 2,000 guilders to make up the total sum. As one of these three he recommended the *Lion Hunt* 'alla moresca e turcesca', which would go well with the *Wolf Hunt* with 'cacciatori Europei', already in Carleton's possession.<sup>6</sup> He added that when he wrote that some of the paintings in the list were not entirely his own work, he did not mean that they were inferior: he had retouched them so well that they could scarcely be distinguished from his own.<sup>7</sup> Carleton accepted the proposal,<sup>8</sup> stipulating that Rubens should retouch the *Lion Hunt* so that it was fully a match

for the *Wolf Hunt*.<sup>9</sup> Rubens promised that he would,<sup>10</sup> and Carleton seems to have been satisfied with the result.<sup>11</sup>

The copy of the *Lion Hunt* that Rubens supplied to Carleton can probably be identified with the version that belonged to Lord Northwick and is now in a private collection in Spain (Copy [1]; Fig. 51).<sup>12</sup> The measurements (219 × 313 cm.) are approximately the same as those given by Rubens in his letter of 28 April 1618 (c.229.5 × 315.5 cm.), and the picture has all the marks of a careful studio replica.<sup>13</sup> However, thanks to an element in its pedigree the Northwick canvas has in recent literature been identified with a *Lion Hunt* mentioned by Rubens in a letter of 13 September 1621.<sup>14</sup> This work was commissioned by Lord John Digby, who intended, as Rubens understood, to present it to the Marquis of Hamilton.<sup>15</sup> We know in fact that a *Lion Hunt* by Rubens was bequeathed by James, second Marquis of Hamilton, to James, third Marquis of Hamilton, who became its owner in 1624.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand it appears from the catalogue of the Hickman sale in 1847 that the Northwick canvas had belonged to 'the Hon. Revd. Mr. Hamilton'. This no doubt refers to the Reverend the Hon. Frederic Hamilton (d.1811),<sup>17</sup> grandson of Anne, Duchess of Hamilton (d.1716), who was a daughter of James, the third Marquis and first Duke of Hamilton (1606–1649). It would thus seem that the Northwick *Lion Hunt* is the same picture as that painted by Rubens in 1621 for the Marquis of Hamilton.

Against this identification, however, we have Rubens's statement that the Hamilton *Lion Hunt* was entirely by his own hand, and the circumstances in which he declared it to be so. As will be explained in detail (see under the *Tiger Hunt*, No. 7), when Rubens referred to the

Hamilton *Lion Hunt* he was endeavouring to mend his reputation with his English patrons—Carleton, Lord Danvers, and ultimately the Prince of Wales. His credit with them had suffered severely owing to a misunderstanding whereby a studio replica of a *Tiger Hunt* had been offered to Prince Charles, who after taking advice from other artists had refused it and sent it back to Rubens. If Rubens now referred in this context to the Hamilton *Lion Hunt*, he must clearly have felt certain that it would satisfy the most exacting connoisseurs. A piece such as the Northwick *Lion Hunt* would not do so. Moreover there is nothing new in its composition, as Rubens seems to suggest in his letter of 13 September 1621, and its smooth, detailed style can hardly be dated later than 1620. On the other hand there is another *Lion Hunt*, namely that in the Munich Pinakothek, which by reason of its style and quality has a better claim to be identified with the Hamilton *Lion Hunt* (see under No. 11; Fig. 74). All these seem to me serious objections to identifying the Northwick *Lion Hunt* with the canvas of which Rubens spoke in 1621 and which became the property of the second Marquis of Hamilton.

After the mention in the 1624 inventory we hear nothing more of a *Lion Hunt* in the Hamilton collections. It would appear that the chequered history of the collection of the third Marquis and first Duke of Hamilton, and the absence of any further reference to a *Lion Hunt* till the beginning of the 19th century, justifies the supposition that the picture went out of the family.<sup>18</sup> When and how the Rev. Frederic Hamilton became the owner of another *Lion Hunt* from Rubens's studio is not clear.<sup>19</sup>

On the basis of present information it seems to me impossible firmly to identify

the Northwick *Lion Hunt* either with the picture painted for the Marquis of Hamilton or with the one Rubens offered to Carleton in 1618. The latter hypothesis, however, is in my view the more probable.

The original of the present *Lion Hunt* was, as already mentioned, destroyed by fire in 1870, and no photographic reproduction is known. We may assume, however, that Copies (2) and (5)—and possibly Copy (3)—which were apparently painted when the original was at Schleissheim, give a more or less faithful picture of it, since the three other hunting scenes from Schleissheim are accurately reproduced in the copies which form a set with them. Soutman's etching (Copy [9]; Fig. 56) also follows this composition except for some small details: e.g. the spear that the huntsman is thrusting into the lioness's breast is curved in the etching (an effect admired by Delacroix), but not in any of the painted copies. Another difference from all these copies is the lioness's pose: in the etching her right front paw does not reach as far as the horse's rump, as it does in the paintings. All these differences are common to the etching and to a drawing (Copy [6]; Fig. 55), which evidently served as the model. It is not clear whether the draughtsman introduced these changes himself or had before him a painted variant which has not survived. The drawing shows some resemblance, both in style and in format, to the drawings after the *Hippopotamus Hunt* and the *Boar Hunt* (Figs. 50, 42) which I have attributed to Soutman. However, it is more finished than the other two, and the handling of line appears less energetic; moreover it is not squared. Despite the minor stylistic differences from the other two drawings, I suggest that this drawing of the *Lion Hunt* should be regarded as belonging to the same series as they, and

as being equally the work of Pieter Soutman.<sup>20</sup> Comparison with Soutman's etching shows that the drawing must have been cut down somewhat on both sides. Detailed examination of the etching by De Leeuw—Copy (10)—shows that it follows the drawing rather than Soutman's etching.

The studio replica of the *Lion Hunt* from the Northwick collection (Copy [1]; Fig. 51) differs in some respects from the lost original, as it can be reconstructed from reliable copies, and also differs from the drawing and engraving by Soutman. In the replica the turban of the horseman on the left is striped, and he has a strap over his right shoulder; his horse is somewhat further away from the lion; part of the left thigh of the half-naked man on the ground can be seen behind the horse's right hind leg; the shield of the Moor on the extreme right is attached to his shoulder by a visible strap. In addition the composition is somewhat wider on all sides, especially the right. We may wonder whether this does not represent Rubens's original intention, which could not be carried out in the painting for the Duke of Bavaria because of an unexpected restriction of its dimensions. (Since Soutman's etching covers the same extent as the lost original—as it can be reconstructed from reliable copies—it is unlikely that the latter was cut down after it left Rubens's studio).

A drawing that will be discussed below (No. 6a; Fig. 52) shows a preliminary stage of this *Lion Hunt*. The principal groups, such as the two lions, the man being dragged off his horse, and the two mounted men on the right, have already reached their final form. For the turbaned horseman on the left, who does not appear in the compositional sketch, there is a finished study drawing (No. 6b; Fig. 54).

Several of the horse motifs in this pic-

ture occur in earlier and later works by Rubens. The rearing horse on the left, turning its head to the left, is seen (in reverse) in the *Conversion of St. Paul* from his Italian period,<sup>21</sup> and in the later *Conversion of St. Paul* that was formerly in Berlin,<sup>22</sup> as well as the *Battle of the Amazons* in Munich.<sup>23</sup> The stumbling horse in the centre goes back to Rubens's drawing of a *Battle of the Amazons* in the British Museum,<sup>24</sup> which probably also dates from his Italian period; the prototype seems to be a figure in Titian's *Battle of Cadore*.<sup>25</sup> The horse kicking out with its hind legs was also used many times by Rubens. In a motif in the *Conversion of St. Paul* in the Princes Gate Collection,<sup>26</sup> the pose of both rider and horse is the same as in the *Lion Hunt*, which is of later date. The horse also occurs in *The Defeat of Sennacherib* in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich,<sup>27</sup> and in the sketch for a *Lion Hunt* in the National Gallery, London (No. 3; Fig. 39).

Rubens himself called this piece '[una caccia] de leoni [e cavallieri] alla moresca e turcesca molto bizzarra'.<sup>28</sup> He thus emphasized the exotic character of the iconography, and situated the action in North Africa or Asia Minor. In Chapter III I have suggested some possible sources of inspiration.<sup>29</sup>

As we have seen, the picture is first mentioned on 28 April 1618 and was painted before that date. While there is no precise evidence, it was most probably executed at the same time as the *Tiger Hunt*, i.e. in 1616–1617.

1. The colours are noted on the basis of Copy (1), Fig. 51.
2. For this transaction see J.M. Muller, 'Rubens's Museum of Antique Sculpture: An Introduction', *The Art Bulletin*, LIX, 1977, pp. 571–575.
3. See n. 4.
4. Rubens to Carleton, 28 April 1618: 'Vna caccia cominciata da un mio discepolo dhuomini a cauallio e lioni appresso uno chio feci per il Ser<sup>mo</sup>



- di bauiera ma tuttra ritocca de mia mano' (Public Record Office, London, SP 84/85, fol.269; a slightly different transcription in *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p.137, doc.CLXVI). The price for this painting was 'fiorini 600', and the dimensions given by Rubens were 8 x 11 Antwerp feet (229.5 x 315.5 cm.). A note by Carleton in the left-hand margin (not printed by *Rooses-Ruelens*) gave the measurements as 7 x 10, probably representing English feet. We know from the correspondence that on Carleton's instructions Lionel Wake, an English dealer, came to Rubens to take exact measurements for the purpose of making the frames (*ibid.*, p.169, doc.CLXXIII; p.170, doc.CLXXIV). It turned out that Carleton had not realized that Rubens was quoting in Antwerp feet, so that the paintings in the list of 28 April 1618 were somewhat smaller than he had expected. Rubens assured him, however, that this difference was of no importance as regards the price, since with pictures, unlike tapestries, the value depended not so much on size as on the subject, the number of figures and the quality of execution: Rubens to Carleton, 1 June 1618 (*ibid.*, p.181, doc.CLXXIX): 'Toccante le misure che riuscirono alquanto minori chella non aspettava io m'acquittai bene misurando le robbe colla misura corrente in quei paesi dove erano, i s'assicuri pur, che quelle poca differenza importa nulla nel prezzo facendosi il conto delle pitture diverso da quello delle Tapizzarie che si comprano à misura ma quelle conforme la bonta, soggetto i numero di figure'.
5. Carleton to Rubens, 7 May 1618 (*ibid.*, pp.145-146, doc.CXLVII).
  6. Rubens to Carleton, 12 May 1618 (*ibid.*, pp.149-150, doc.CLXVIII): '... e si ella mi vorra credere piglarà quella caccia ch'è sopra la lista laquale io farò di quella bontà come quella che V.E. hebbe di mia mano che si accompagnarebbe ottimamente insieme, essendo questa de [upi] e cacciatori Europei, i quella de leoni [e cavallieri] alla moresca e turcesca molto bizarra. [Conto] questa pezza a seicento fiorini...' (for reading '[upi]' rather than '[igri]' see p.102, n.2).
  7. The same letter (*ibid.*, p.149): '... havendo lei cappato soli li originali de che io sono contentissimo, pur non pensi V.E. che le altre siano copie semplici ma si ben ritocce de mia mano che difficilmente si distinguerebbono dalli originali ciò non ostante sono tassate di prezzo assai minore'. (It should, however, be noted that Rubens sets as high a price on this *Lion Hunt*, which he describes as a copy, as on *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, a work of about the same size which he offers as an original. See his letter of 28 April 1618, *ibid.*, p.136).
  8. Rubens to Carleton, 20 May 1618 (*ibid.*, p.161, doc.CLXX).
  9. Carleton to Rubens, 22 May 1618 (*ibid.*, p.165, doc.CLXXI): 'Per la caccia intendo chi sia al paragon di quella che ho quà in casa'.
  10. Rubens to Carleton, 26 May 1618 (*ibid.*, p.170, doc.CLXXIV): '... ne dubito punto che la Caçcia e la Susanna non possino comparire tra legitimi'.
  11. In the list of paintings which Carleton supplied to the agent of Christian IV of Denmark on 11 September 1618 the piece is described as 'Una Caccia d'Arabi a cavallo et Leoni tutto di Rubens'. The measurements are given as 8 x 11 Antwerp feet (*ibid.*, p.186, doc.CLXXXI); the purchase does not seem to have taken place.
  12. Rosand was the first to make this identification.
  13. Rubens claimed to have completely reworked the painting he delivered to Carleton. Jaffé, who saw the Northwick painting at the Madrid exhibition of 1977-1978, noted that it was scarcely touched by the master's hand. Burchard, who saw the picture in 1951 and 1954, recorded: 'Hier keine Spur von Überarbeitung durch Rubens; vielmehr reine Werkstatt-Kopie'. I myself would not venture to say categorically that Rubens had no hand in it: we still know far too little of his exact method of re-touching studio paintings. The canvas at Northwick certainly shows virtuosity, but on the whole more routine than inspiration. What Rubens generally does is to bring to life particular features, such as faces etc., with a few deft brush-strokes and highlights; but I do not find any sign of this in the present work. The best parts, it seems to me, are the head of the man on the right who has been thrown to the ground, the leaping lioness and the rump of the kicking horse.
  14. This identification was already made by *Rooses (Rooses, Life, I, p.259)*. It was repeated, with arguments, in *Christie's sale catalogue*, 29 October 1965, and has since been generally accepted by critics other than Rosand. T. Borenius proposed to identify the Northwick canvas with the *Hunt* which Lord Danvers commissioned from Rubens in 1619; under No.7 we shall argue that this was in fact a *Tiger Hunt* (see p.136 below).
  15. Rubens to William Trumbull, 13 September 1621 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p.286, doc.CCXXV): 'Jay quasi achevée une pièce grande toute de ma main et de meilleurs selon mon opinion représentant une Chasse de Lyons, les figures aussy grandes comme le naturel, ordonnée par Mons<sup>r</sup> l'Ambras<sup>r</sup> Dygbye pour présenter, comme jay entendu à Mons<sup>r</sup> le Marquis de Hamilton'. This letter is discussed more fully below, pp.138 and 165-166.
  16. See p.166, under No.11.
  17. Information from *Christie's sale catalogue*, 29 October 1965.
  18. For fuller information on the Hamilton collection see p.171, n.9.
  19. According to *Sotheby's sale catalogue* of 19 March 1975 this *Lion Hunt* was at Hamilton Palace in 1816, i.e. after the death of the Rev. Frederic. This is stated on the authority of Spiker, whose account of his travels refers to a 'grosses Jagdstück von Snyders' (S.H.Spiker, *Reise durch England, Wales*

und Schottland im Jahre 1816, Leipzig, 1818, p.312). I do not think it can be taken for granted that this was Rubens's *Lion Hunt*.

20. In *Cat. Exh. Göttingen, 1977*, it is treated as a copy after the original *modello* for the engraving (perhaps on the assumption that this *modello* was drawn by Rubens?).
21. *Freedberg, After the Passion*, No.29, fig.60.
22. *K.d.K.*, p.155; *Freedberg, After the Passion*, No.31, fig.67.
23. *K.d.K.*, p.196.
24. *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, No.50.
25. For a copy (Albertina, Vienna) after Titian's composition, attributed to Rubens, see *Mitsch, Rubenszeichnungen, 1977*, pp.128-131, No.55, repr.
26. *K.d.K.*, p.157; *Freedberg, After the Passion*, No.30, fig.61.
27. *K.d.K.*, p.146.
28. See n.6.
29. See pp.58-60.

**6a. Studies for a Lion Hunt and for Fighting Wild Animals and Monsters: Drawing (Figs. 52, 53)**

Pen and brown ink, on a double sheet with a horizontal fold in the middle; 574 × 485 mm.; at the fold torn and repaired; upper right and lower left and right hand corners restored. On the right, just below the fold, the number 51 (in pencil); above and below on the left the mark of Reynolds (L.2364); above and below in the centre the mark of Lankrink (L.2090); on the right, just above the fold, the stamp of the British Museum (L.302).—*Verso*: sketches for the *Assumption of the Blessed*; an illegible number ending in 72.

London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings. Inv. No.1885-5-9-51.

PROVENANCE: P.H.Lankrink (London, 1628-1692); Sir Joshua Reynolds (London, 1723-1792); Sir Thomas Lawrence (London, 1769-1830) (*Inventory of the Collection of Drawings by Old Masters Formed by Sir Thomas Lawrence, P.R.A., Drawn up while the Collection was still in his House*, MS in

the Burchard Documentation, Rubenianum, Antwerp, fol.83, No.[46]: 'Design for the fallen Angels at Munich with some studies at the back'); purchased from the latter's estate by Samuel Woodburn (London, 1786-1853); Woodburn sale, London (Christie's), 4 June 1860 et seq., lot 798: 'The first idea for the celebrated picture of the lion hunt, and on the same sheet, a sketch of monsters and serpents', bought by R.P.Roupell (London, 1798-1886); P.L.Huart; W.Russel (London, 1800-1884); in the British Museum since 1885.

EXHIBITED: London, 1977, No.89.

LITERATURE: *Hind, Rubens*, pp.5-6, No.1; D.Rosand, 'Rubens Drawings', *The Art Bulletin*, XLVIII, 1966, p.236, n.16; *Rosand, Lion Hunt*, pp.32-33, figs.11, 12; *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, pp.82-84, No.89, repr.; M.Winner, in *Mielke-Winner*, p.83, under No.29; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.407, under No.298, p.409, under No.299; *Freedberg, After the Passion*, p.161, under No.39, pp.232-233, No.52a, fig.169.

The lower half of the sheet consists of compositional studies for the *Lion Hunt* (No.6; cf. Fig.51).<sup>1</sup> The upper half contains material to be used in the lowest section of the *Fall of the Damned* at Munich.<sup>2</sup> Among the intertwined beasts, fighting and biting one another, we recognize the lion (in reverse) and the leaping lioness from the *Lion Hunt*, as well as a monster in the attitude of the wolf seen from behind and rearing on its hind legs in the *Wolf Hunt* (No.2; Fig.33). On the monster's back is a biting lion borrowed from the London sketch for a *Lion Hunt* (No.3; Fig.39) or from the *Tiger Hunt* (No.7; Fig.57) or *Lion Hunt* (No.8; Fig.63) derived

from it. Thus it is clear that for this group of monstrous creatures Rubens drew inspiration from his earlier hunting scenes. On the reverse of the sheet are sketches for *The Blessed received into Heaven* in the Pinakothek, Munich.<sup>3</sup>

The lower half of the sheet presents a fully elaborated composition, its limits on either side indicated by vertical lines, with a repetition in the lower left corner of the central motif: the rider on the fallen horse, and the lions. The left half of the Schleissheim canvas (cf. its replica, Fig. 51) differs considerably from the composition in the drawing. In the latter we can see two horsemen on the left, two men on foot and another lying dead on the ground. In the painting there is only one horseman, in a totally different pose, and one man on the ground. The central group appears in the drawing in more or less its final form: a lioness leaping up, and a lion clawing at a rider whose horse has lost its footing. This group is indicated on the right with a few bold strokes in the sketch for the composition as a whole, and is repeated in detail in the lower left corner: here the horse's head is lifted more, and the Oriental's clothing is more elaborated. In the picture, we find that this group has undergone a number of subtle changes. The third lion, which can be seen in the drawing behind the shield of the fallen horseman, has disappeared. The lioness is further to the right, and her right hindpaw rests on the back of the stumbling horse. The lion is slightly further left, and pins down the unfortunate horseman with both paws. The latter's shield is nearly flat on the ground, and his right arm, on which he supports himself in the drawing, is no longer visible. The two horsemen on the right have more or less reached their definitive form in the drawing; in the painting the

head of the furthest horse is turned to the right. On the far right of the drawing is the recumbent figure of a man, propped on his left arm and warding off a fourth lion with his right. This figure is omitted from the painting and replaced by a naked man lying on his back under the stumbling horse.

Rosand dated both the upper and the lower half of this sheet to about 1621, maintaining that the lower half was not a preliminary study for the *Lion Hunt* from Schleissheim (No.6) but a later repetition of that composition with a view to reworking it into a new one, which became the *Lion Hunt* in the Munich Pinakothek (No.11; Fig.74).<sup>4</sup> Held, in my opinion rightly, rejected this suggestion. Rosand's arguments were as follows. The upper half of the sheet could be dated 1621 on the assumption that the *Fall of the Damned* (Pinakothek, Munich), for which it was a study, was identical with *La Chute des Anges*—a work which, according to Philip Rubens's account in 1676, was painted in 1621. But this is far from certain: it is quite possible, if not more likely, that Philip Rubens was referring to *The Fall of the Rebel Angels*, which was painted in that year and is also in the Munich Pinakothek.<sup>5</sup> It is also a question whether both halves of the sheet belong to the same period. Rosand thought they did, and that the style pointed to a date around 1620. But drawings of this sort cannot be dated precisely on stylistic grounds, and, while it is probable that Rubens used both halves of the sheet at the same period, there is between them a clear difference in style which calls for some caution. The upper half with the infernal monsters is executed in thicker, impulsive lines covering the whole surface, while the drawing in the lower half is more descriptive and is constructed less boldly around two foci.

There is no certainty that both halves are of the same date, but if they are, then in my opinion the date of the upper half must be inferred from that of the lower, since the *Lion Hunt* can be dated pretty exactly to c.1616–1617 (and in any case before 28 April 1618).

Rosand's other arguments are equally unconvincing. He maintains that the composition as sketched in this sheet is superior to that of the Schleissheim painting, and is therefore of a later date. He also points out that on the far left of the lower half of the sheet there is an equestrian figure drawn in black chalk (and thus difficult to recognize in reproduction), in the same pose as *St. George* in the Prado:<sup>6</sup> this, according to Rosand, establishes a link with the *Lion Hunt* in the Pinakothek (No.11; Fig.74), where the same horseman occupies a central place. But Rubens had already used this figure in the *Hippopotamus Hunt* (No.5; Fig.46), and there is no reason for surprise that he should have used it in a sketch for the Schleissheim *Lion Hunt* but then discarded it. In any case the sheet displays none of the new motifs that were to distinguish the Munich *Lion Hunt*: neither the rearing horse seen from below, nor the man falling backwards with the spear in his hand. The conclusion therefore seems to be that the drawing marks a preliminary stage of the Schleissheim *Lion Hunt* and that Rubens simplified the composition as he went along.

1. The terms 'lower' and 'upper' relate to the reproduction in this volume. In *Freedberg, After the Passion* (fig. 169) the sheet is the other way up, so that his references are the reverse of mine.
2. *K.d.K.*, p.194; *Freedberg, After the Passion*, No.52. From the fact that the hind legs of a horse can be seen in the upper half, Freedberg inferred that it too was originally used for a hunting scene, which was later by degrees adapted to depict the *Fall of the Damned*. This doesn't seem very likely to me.

3. *Freedberg, After the Passion*, No.53; the drawing is *ibid.* No.53a, fig.172.
4. This view was adopted by Rowlands and Freedberg.
5. *K.d.K.*, p.241; *Vlieghe, Saints*, II, No.135. See also *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.409.
6. *K.d.K.*, p.22; *Vlieghe, Saints*, II, No.105.

## 6b. Oriental Huntsman: Drawing (Fig.54)

Black chalk, heightened with white chalk, on cream-coloured paper; 383 × 269 mm. Inscribed below on the right: *Del medesimo*, and in a different tint: *Rubens-57*. *Whereabouts unknown*.

PROVENANCE: John Skippe (1742–1812); by descent Mrs. A. C. Rayner Wood, 1953; Edward Holland-Martin; 'Skippe sale', London (Christie's), 21 November 1958, lot 278; Michael Jaffé, 1965; sale, London (Christie's), 29 June 1971, lot 57, bought by Agnew; Sir Spencer Lemarchant, sale, London (Christie's), 4 July 1984, lot 128.

EXHIBITED: *Drawings by Old Masters*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1953, No.276; *Flemish Art 1300–1700*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1953–1954, No.525; *Loan Exhibition. Art Historians and Critics as Collectors*, Thos. Agnew & Sons, London, May 1965, No.30.

LITERATURE: A. G. B. Russell, in *The Vasari Society*, 2nd ser., IX, 1930, No.9; A. E. Popham, [sale cat.] *The Skippe Collection of Old Master Drawings*, London (Christie's), 20–21 November 1958, No.278, pl.38; *Martin, Cat. National Gallery*, p.186, n.20; *Rosand, Lion Hunt*, p.31, n.14, fig.6; *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, p.81, under No.86; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.407, under No.298.

This figure of a man in a turban, about to deliver a blow with his sword in his right hand, was used in the *Lion Hunt* painted

for Maximilian of Bavaria. In that composition (cf. Fig. 51) the man is seen on the extreme left, mounted on a rearing horse and about to strike at a lion. The drawing is executed in bold, sweeping strokes and with limited use of hatching. The right knee was originally drawn up somewhat higher. In the painting the pose was slightly altered: the head was inclined more forward, so that the chin touched the upper arm. Popham (in the catalogue of the Skippe sale) wrongly identified the figure with an executioner in *The Martyrdom of St. Ursula* (Brussels);<sup>1</sup> the right identification was given in the catalogue of the 1965 exhibition at Agnew's.

1. *Vlieghe, Saints*, II, No. 159.

### 7. Tiger, Lion and Leopard Hunt (Fig. 57)

Oil on canvas; 256 × 324 cm.  
Rennes, *Musée des Beaux-Arts*.  
Inv. No. 811.1.10.

PROVENANCE: Purchased from Rubens by the Duke (later Elector) Maximilian I of Bavaria (1573–1651); Altes Schloss, Schleissheim (inv. 1637, *Tafelzimer*: '1 Tafel mit ainem Lewen, Leopardt, und Tigertier, 7 figuren, und 5 Pferd'); Neues Schloss, Schleissheim, 1761; seized by the French Commissioner, Citoyen Neveu, on 30 August 1800 and taken to Paris; sent to the Rennes museum in 1811 as part of a 'deuxième envoi'.

COPIES: (1) Painting, studio replica, whereabouts unknown, presumably lost; support and dimensions unknown; depicted in two 'Kunstkammers' by Jan Brueghel the Elder (with figures by Rubens): *Sight* (Fig. 61; Madrid, Prado,

No. 1394) and *Sight and Smell*, (Madrid, Prado, No. 1403). PROV. Archdukes Albert of Austria and Isabella Clara Eugenia, 1617 (palace of Brussels or château of Teruren); presumably lost in the fire of the Brussels palace, 3–4 February 1731. LIT. *Rooses*, IV, p. 339, under No. 1155; *Glück, Rubens, Van Dyck*, p. 40; *Cunningham, Tiger Hunt*, p. 2; *Larsen, Rubens*, pp. 158, 160; *De Maeyer, Albrecht en Isabella*, p. 118, pls. I, III, IV; *Speth-Holterhoff, Cabinets*, p. 54; *Isermeyer, Jagd*, p. 31; *Rosand, Lion Hunt*, p. 29, n. 5; *Díaz Padrón, Cat. Prado*, I, p. 41, under No. 1394, p. 62, under No. 1403; *Cat. Wadsworth Atheneum*, 1978, p. 184, n. 14, fig. 38; M. Díaz Padrón, 'Varios pintores flamencos: Hemessen, Scorel, Pietro di Lignis, G. Crayer y B. Beschey', *Archivo español de arte*, LII, 1979, p. 122; *Ertz, Brueghel*, p. 341; (2) Painting (Fig. 60), studio replica, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 125 × 170 cm. PROV. Conde de Egara, Barcelona, 1956. LIT. *Cat. Wadsworth Atheneum*, 1978, p. 184, n. 7; (3) Painting, see No. 7a for more details; (4) Painting, see No. 7b for more details; (5) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 120 × 140 cm. PROV. Bercioux, sale, Paris (Hôtel Drouot), 29 March 1905, lot 92 (repr.; as studio of Rubens). LIT. *Rosand, Lion Hunt*, p. 31, n. 12; *Lacambre, Chasse au tigre*, p. 162; *Cat. Wadsworth Atheneum*, 1978, p. 184, n. 7; (6) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 175 × 231 cm. PROV. ? C. H. Francolet, sale, Brussels (H. Vleming), 10 September 1764, lot 46: 'Une chasse aux Tigres et aux Lions, grande piece, d'après Rubens'; ? P. Servais, sale, Brussels (Jorcz), 24 August 1775, lot 13: 'Rubens, Vne chasse aux Lions et aux Tigres—H. 6 pieds 5 po; L. 8 pieds [c. 178 × 220.5 cm.]'; sale, London (Christie's), 20 May 1949, lot 128 (as Rubens); (7) Painting by Balthazar Beschey (1708–1776), whereabouts unknown; signed and dated: *B. Beschey 1642* [? or rather

1742]. PROV. Sale, Madrid (Christie's), 16–17 May 1974, lot 141. LIT. M. Díaz Padrón, 'Varios pintores flamencos: Hemesen, Scorel, Pietro di Lignis, G. Crayer y B. Beschey', *Archivo español de arte*, LII, 1979, pp.122–123, fig.13; (8) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 109 × 147.5 cm. PROV. Sale, London (Sotheby's), 19 July 1944, lot 124; sale, Bradford (Alfred H. Dobson), 30 November 1944, lot 133 (repr.); (9) Painting, whereabouts unknown, possibly identical with Copy (10); part of a series (see also under Nos. 4–6); canvas, 198 × 266.5 cm. PROV. John Calvert Wombwell, sale, London (Christie's), 28 February 1891, lots 120–123 (withdrawn); Sir Cuthbert Quilter (shortly after 1891), donated to the County Council of Sudbury, Suffolk, c.1897; presented by the latter to the Trustees of the Gainsborough's House National Appeal Fund, who put it up for sale, London (Christie's), 29 November 1957, lot 56 (four pieces), bought by De Crescenzo. LIT. *Cat. Wadsworth Atheneum*, 1978, p.184, n.7; (10) Painting, possibly identical with Copy (9), Rome, private collection; part of a series (see also under Nos.4–6); support and dimensions unknown. LIT. A. Porcella, *Masterpieces of European Art*, Las Vegas, 1962, No.64; *Bodart, Incisione*, p.186, under No.411; (11) Painting, whereabouts unknown, possibly identical with one of the other copies here listed; part of a series (see also under Nos.4–6); canvas, ? approximately 250 × 300 cm. PROV. Art market, Cannes, 1983; (12) Painting, Munich, Deutsches Jagdmuseum, Inv. No.5008; part of a series (see also under Nos.4–6); panel, 98 × 125 cm. EXH. Munich, *Jagdmuseum*, 1980, No.20 (repr.). LIT. *Cat. Deutsches Jagdmuseum*, pp.178, 179, 182, No.5008, repr. p.179; *Cat. Wadsworth Atheneum*, 1978, p.184, n.7; C.E.Koehne, 'Petrus Paulus Rubens: Malerfürst und

Diplomat', *Die Kunst und das schöne Heim*, LXXXIX, No.6, 1977, p.341, fig.7; (13) Painting, Switzerland, private collection (photograph in the Rubenianum, Antwerp); canvas, 117 × 157.5 cm. PROV. Dealer J. van der Does, Brussels, 1957; sale, Zurich (Galerie Koller), 21–29 November 1967, lot 2126; H.Hedinger, Urdorf (Switz.), 1967; (14) Painting, whereabouts unknown (photograph in the Burchard Documentation, Rubenianum, Antwerp); canvas, 136 × 190 cm. PROV. Hafner, Linz (? before 1900); after the latter's death purchased by Anton Heiser, Linz; Toni Heiser, Ulm, 1953; (15) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 101 × 120 cm. (heavily overpainted). PROV. Sale, London (Sotheby's), 28 April 1971, lot 66 (withdrawn); (16) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 144 × 208 cm. PROV. A piece with the same subject but with smaller dimensions than the present picture was in the collection of Franz and Bernhard Imstenraedt, offered for sale in a lottery, Vienna, 21 April 1670, lot 59 (unsold): 'Del Rubbens. Una Caccia d'animali, alto palmi 4, largo 5' (? Viennese *Spann*: c.84 × 105 cm.); this piece was bought from Imstenraedt in 1673 by Bishop Karl von Liechtenstein, and was kept alternately at Kremsier (Kroměříž, Czechoslovakia) and Olmütz (Olomouc): '73. Ein Jagt von Tijger-Thiern, hoch 4, breith 5'; In 1930, however, Förster mentions at Kremsier a 'Jagd auf Löwen und Tiger' measuring 144 × 208 cm. (as *studio of Rubens*). LIT. T. von Frimmel, *Blätter für Gemäldekunde, Beilage*, V, 1909, pp.142, 146; A. Breitenbacher, *Dějiny arcibiskupské obrazárny v Kroměříži*, 1925, pp. XXI, XXII, LV; id., 'Die Sammlung Imstenraedt in der Gemäldesammlung des Erzbistums Olmütz in Kremsier und Ölmütz', *Jahrbuch des Kölnischen Geschichtsvereins*, XII, 1930, p.213; O.H.Förster, 'Die Gemälde-

galerie des Franz von Imstenraedt, nach dem Verzeichnis von 1673', *ibid.*, p.218; (17) Painting, whereabouts unknown. *PROV.* Seen by Burchard in 1925 in the gallery of Mrs. Gruter-Van der Linden, Rockoxhuis, Antwerp; (18) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 158 × 231 cm. *PROV.* ? E. Delacroix, Paris (according to a certificate by L. Réau); sale, Paris (Hôtel Drouot), 12 December 1966, lot 155 (as *studio of Rubens*); (19) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 103 × 130 cm. *PROV.* Sale, Brussels (Palais des Beaux-Arts), 19 November 1968, lot 34; (20) Painting, whereabouts unknown; support and dimensions unknown. *PROV.* Seen by Nicodemus Tessin the Younger at Gelaude Habert's ('Abber'), Brussels, in 1687: 'ein schön jachtstijck mit Tigern undt Leuen van Van Dijck'. *LIT.* G. Upmark, 'Ein Besuch in Holland 1687 aus den Reisenschilderungen des Schwedischen Architectes Nicodemus Tessin d.J.', *Oud Holland*, XVIII, 1900, p.208 (reprinted by Rooses in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, p.229); O. Sirén, *Nicodemus Tessin d.Y:s studieresor i Danmark...*, Stockholm, 1914, p.86, n.10; (21) Drawing, whereabouts unknown (photograph in the *Rubensianum*, Antwerp); pen and brush and wash, 165 × 178 mm.; below the inscription: *Iunius 15 1619*. *PROV.* ? Leo C. Collins, New York, 1952. *LIT.* *Larsen, Rubens*, p.158 (as *Rubens*).

*EXHIBITED:* *Le siècle de Rubens dans les collections publiques françaises*, Grand Palais, Paris, November 1977–March 1978, No.119; *Munich*, 1980, No.801.

*LITERATURE:* *de Piles, Dissertation, 1681*, p.25; *Michel, Histoire*, p.310; *Clément de Ris, Musées*, I, 1859, pp.182, 195, 196 (as *Snyders*); *Musée de la ville de Rennes. Catalogue du Musée de Peinture et de Sculpture*, Rennes, 1859, p.20, No.112; *J. Jan, Catalogue des*

*tableaux ... exposés dans les galeries du musée de la ville de Rennes*, 5th edition, Rennes, 1884, p.38, No.139; *Mayerhofer, Schleissheim*, p.80; *Rooses*, IV, pp.333–337, No.1152, pp.338–339, under No.1154; *Rooses–Ruelens*, II, p.261, doc.CCVII; *Oldenbourg, Flämische Malerei*, p.38; *Cat. Munich*, 1936, pp.XXII, XXVIII; *Evers, Rubens*, p.488, n.89; *Cunningham, Tiger Hunt*, p.2; *Held Drawings*, I, p.133, under No.89; *Gerson–ter Kuile*, p.159, pl.146A; *Isermeyer, Jagd.*, pp.23, 24, pl.8; *Rosand, Lion Hunt*, pp.29–31, fig.7; *Martin, Cat. National Gallery*, pp.183–186; *P. Wescher, Kunstraub unter Napoleon*, Berlin, 1976, p.86; *Kruyfhoofst–Buys*, pp.58–61, repr.; *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, p.82, under No.88; *M. Winner*, in *Mielke–Winner*, p.42, under No.8, pp.82, 83, under No.29; *M. Jaffé*, 'Exhibitions for the Rubens Year, II', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXX, 1978, p.139; *Cat. Wadsworth Atheneum*, 1978, p.183; *J. Foucart*, 'Postface à l'exposition "Le siècle de Rubens dans les collections publiques françaises"', *La revue du Louvre*, XXIX, 1979, p.151, n.4; [*S. Blottière*], 'Rubens, la chasse au tigre', *Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes. L'Oeuvre du mois*, 1979, No.1; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, pp.407–408, under No.298, p.632, under No.A16, p.633, under No.A17; *Diemer, Jagdbilder*, pp.498–500, No.801, repr.; *Müllenmeister, Meer und Land*, III, p.38, repr.

Eight men are engaged in combat with tigers, lions and a leopard. A rearing dapple-grey horse in the centre of the composition is mounted by a huntsman dressed in green and wearing a turban. A tiger has leapt on to his back; on the right, two horsemen in armour *all'antica* prepare to attack the beast. Also on the right is a tigress trying to bring her cubs to a place of safety, and a leopard struck

dead by two javelins. In the left foreground a Samson-like figure tears open the jaws of a lion, which is crushing another man beneath its forepaws. Behind them, three men on horseback ward off a second lion with their spears. Of this group the only one clearly visible is the turbaned Moor dressed in red, whose horse strikes out with its hind legs. The other two men are only partly shown, and of the lion we can see only its muzzle and forepaws.

This *Tiger Hunt* occupies a special place among the hunting scenes commissioned by Maximilian of Bavaria. It is the only one of the four that was not made into an etching by Soutman, but on the other hand more painted copies were made of it than of the others, and there are indications that the composition was quite frequently reused, with variations, in Rubens's studio.

The painting, now at Rennes, is first mentioned in a letter of 25 November 1620 from Toby Matthew to Sir Dudley Carleton, with regard to a copy made for the latter; the original, so the letter states, was sold by Rubens to the Duke of Bavaria for £100 sterling.<sup>2</sup> It is not quite clear whether the copy referred to in this and subsequent letters belonged to the compositional type dealt with under this number. The letter of 25 November 1620 speaks of a lion and tiger hunt but only mentions three horsemen, one or two of them half-length, while a further letter about the copy refers to lions only.<sup>3</sup> Burchard inferred from this that the work in question was not a *Tiger Hunt* but a *Lion Hunt* of the type lost by fire at Bordeaux (No.6; cf. Fig.51). But in that painting too there are more than three horsemen, and in my view the mention of tigers in the letter justifies the identification with a *Tiger Hunt* of the Rennes type. The re-

ference to half-length figures may perhaps be explained by the fact that the man in the left foreground is visible only to the waist; as to there being only three horsemen, the composition may have been simplified in the copy. If we accept this, the copy in question may perhaps be identified with that in the Palazzo Corsini (No.7b; Fig.59), where the number of horsemen is reduced to four, and the one furthest right is so much hidden by his neighbour that he may have slipped Matthew's memory.<sup>4</sup>

The correspondence about this copy is very extensive,<sup>5</sup> and gives a valuable insight into the workings of Rubens's studio, as well as the commercial aspect of his personality. It may be said that Rubens is not shown here at his noblest, but this is really true of his opposite numbers also: neither side dealt openly with the other, and the result was vexatious for both.<sup>6</sup>

The story begins in 1616. On behalf of Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, Carleton had bought from Daniël Nys in Venice a complete collection of antiques and modern paintings. However, when the earl suddenly fell into disfavour with James I, Carleton had to dispose of the collection elsewhere. The antiques, by a later transaction, became Rubens's property, while the paintings were divided between the Earl of Arundel and Lord Danvers.<sup>7</sup> Among those received by Danvers was a *Creation* by Jacopo Bassano. Wishing to dispose of this work, Danvers sought Carleton's help in exchanging it for one by Rubens; Carleton was not to mention Danvers' name, but to let Rubens suppose that the painting was required by Carleton himself.<sup>8</sup> In point of fact Danvers intended to present the work by Rubens to Charles, Prince of Wales, though he does not seem to have disclosed this to



Carleton either. Had Rubens known of Danvers' intention he would no doubt have approached the matter differently. As it was, he was offered, ostensibly by Carleton, a painting by Bassano and was asked to provide in return a painting by himself or by some other master. According to several accounts, the Bassano painting was in very poor condition.<sup>9</sup> This being so, it seems naive on Danvers' part to have begun by suggesting that Carleton should ask Rubens to provide either several paintings or a particularly large and important one by himself, comparable to his *Daniel in the Lions' Den* which was in Carleton's possession.<sup>10</sup>

The painting by Bassano must have reached Rubens in Antwerp at the end of 1619. William Trumbull, the English resident in Brussels, acted as intermediary between him and Carleton, who lived at The Hague. The first report from Trumbull (or rather his assistant John Wolley, who visited Rubens in Antwerp) was that, finding the Bassano in such a bad state, Rubens was reluctant to make an exchange on the terms suggested.<sup>11</sup> Certainly there could be no question of offering a monumental piece—Danvers seems also to have thought of a replica of the *Wolf Hunt*, which he had seen in Carleton's collection (see above, under No.2)—and even a work of the same size as the Bassano,<sup>12</sup> either by Rubens or by another Antwerp master, could not be supplied unless Carleton added a sum to make up the price. As in the case of Carleton's earlier negotiations for the *Wolf Hunt* (No.2), to help matters along an appeal was made to Toby Matthew, whose artistic judgement was greatly valued. Rubens was apparently given to understand that the extra sum he asked for would be forthcoming, and that he could choose the subject of the painting offered in exchange. He pro-

posed a *Tiger Hunt* of the same size as the Bassano. On 25 November 1620 Toby Matthew wrote to Carleton that he had seen the finished work at Antwerp.<sup>13</sup> The composition, in his opinion, was good, but the execution left much to be desired; Rubens admitted it was a studio painting, but said he had retouched it thoroughly. The sum which Rubens asked to make up the price was 100 philips. Matthew thought this too much and offered 50 ducats, which Rubens countered by proposing that Carleton should himself judge in all honesty whether the figure was unreasonable. Matthew, apparently shocked by Rubens's hard bargaining, advised Carleton to offer 80 ducats or even cancel the deal and commission a copy of one of Rubens's works from Van Dyck. The latter was then in England, and Matthews thought he might have with him drawings after Rubens's *Hunts*, so that a better painting might be obtainable at half the price. However, in the end Rubens's picture was sent to England and he received £ 25 sterling for it.<sup>14</sup> Until the last moment Trumbull and Matthew did their best to beat Rubens down, much to his displeasure:<sup>15</sup> he did not agree that he was asking too much for the quality of the piece, and said he would have charged double for a painting entirely from his own hand.<sup>16</sup>

When the copy of Rubens's *Tiger Hunt* reached London, the story took an unhappy turn. Artists consulted by Danvers declared that it bore scarcely any trace of his hand.<sup>17</sup> That being so, Danvers could hardly offer it to be hung in the prince's gallery among the works of the 'best masters in Christendom', unless Rubens claimed it to be a masterpiece.<sup>18</sup> Probably the prince himself saw the work, as he expressed the opinion that it was too 'terrible' and that the poses were forced.<sup>19</sup>

He would have been pleased to have a real masterpiece by Rubens, since the latter's youthful *Judith and Holofernes*,<sup>20</sup> which the painter himself disowned, hardly ranked as such. The rejected *Tiger Hunt* was returned to Antwerp, and fresh negotiations were begun for a new painting of the same format, this time entirely by Rubens, and with less ferocious animals; no condition was laid down as to the price.<sup>21</sup>

Rubens must have been upset to learn that the *Tiger Hunt*—possibly identical with Fig. 59—with which he had not taken much trouble, had been offered to the prince and refused. He complained that Carleton had never clearly given him to understand that he was expected to provide an autograph work and not a retouched studio replica.<sup>22</sup> He would be only too pleased to restore his credit by painting a new hunting scene for the prince, less 'terrible' and entirely from his own hand. To show his capability he pointed to a *Lion Hunt* that was already finished and had been commissioned by Lord John Digby to present to the Marquis of Hamilton (No. 11; Fig. 74).<sup>23</sup> He preferred to work to the same large format, as it was better suited to the subject. It is not clear whether the proposed new work was ever painted. The *Lion Hunt* just referred to was no less ferocious than its predecessor, and this was precisely what the prince did not want. In asking for 'tamer beasts' he probably had in mind something like *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, the work envisaged at the outset of the negotiations in 1619, and it is probably no accident that this painting subsequently appears in the inventory of Charles I's collection as a gift from Sir Dudley Carleton, later Lord Dorchester.<sup>24</sup> The further negotiations between Rubens and Lord Danvers, with Trumbull as intermediary,

seem to have had no immediate concrete results. A letter of 1 March 1623 finally indicates that Danvers took back his Bassano, completely restored by Rubens, and also ordered from him a *Self-Portrait*, to be presented to Prince Charles.<sup>25</sup> This work indeed figures in the 1639 inventory of Charles I's collection, as a gift from Lord Danvers, later Earl of Danby.<sup>26</sup>

Besides the *Tiger Hunt* purchased by Maximilian of Bavaria and the studio replica ordered by Danvers but not accepted, we have concrete evidence as to another painting of this subject. A *Tiger Hunt* is depicted in two 'Kunstkammers' by Jan Brueghel the Elder and Rubens, viz. *Sight* (Fig. 61)<sup>27</sup> and *Sight and Smell*,<sup>28</sup> both in the Prado, and it has been supposed by many authorities that both these paintings depict the collection of Albert and Isabella of the Netherlands. *Sight* is a panel belonging to a series of five representing the Senses; *Sight and Smell* is a larger work on canvas, forming a pair with one on which the other three Senses are depicted. These two canvases are probably faithful replicas of those which the Antwerp municipality bought from Jan Brueghel in 1618 to present them to the archducal couple.<sup>29</sup> The panel representing *Sight* bears the date 1617, which gives a *terminus ante quem* for Rubens's *Tiger Hunt* depicted thereon. Both series of the Senses present allegorical figures in a realistic décor, generally spacious rooms furnished with curios, works of art and other objects representing an encyclopedic programme. Rooses was the first to suggest that these objects and artefacts had a direct reference to those in the archducal collection, an hypothesis that was afterwards supported especially by De Maeyer.<sup>30</sup> The specific evidence is as follows. Three archducal residences can be recognized in the paint-

ings: the Coudenberg palace in Brussels and the châteaux of Mariemont and Teruren. Two chandeliers bear the Hapsburg double eagle. *Hearing* features a music-score with Albert's coat of arms and the name of Peter Philips, the court organist. Finally, and most significantly, a double portrait of Albert and Isabella figures both in *Sight* and in *Sight and Smell*. De Maeyer seems to be convinced that the pictures, about 110 in number, that can be seen in these two works were actually in the archducal collection—he expresses more reserve as to those depicted in the rest of the two series devoted to the Senses—but he concludes his argument with the admission that none of the paintings in question were unambiguously to be found in the inventories. However, these inventories are so incomplete and inexplicit as to afford no firm ground for disputing that a particular work was in the Brussels collection—though such denials have been made, for Rubens's *Tiger Hunt* among others.

Closer investigation has in fact made it possible to identify, with some degree of certainty, some of the paintings depicted by Jan Brueghel with those listed in documents. Thus H. Geissler was able to show that *The Defeat of Sennacherib*, depicted in *Touch*, represents a copy by Hans van Aachen after a painting by Christoph Schwarz:<sup>31</sup> the copy features in an inventory, dated 1615, of paintings inherited by Albert from Rudolph II, where, however, it is incorrectly described as a *Conversion of St Paul*. Some paintings by Rubens can also be identified. The *Drunken Silenus* which appears in *Sight* and *Sight and Smell*<sup>32</sup> is perhaps the same as 'Un Bacus de mano de Rubens', listed in 1659 among the works which had belonged to Isabella till her death in 1633 and were to be sent to Spain.<sup>33</sup> The Brussels court would cer-

tainly have possessed an exemplar of the *Portrait of Charles the Bold* which appears in *Sight and Smell*.<sup>34</sup> Rubens's *Leopards*,<sup>35</sup> also depicted in *Sight and Smell* (in the gallery, upper left), figure in two lists of paintings sold in 1643 from the collection of the Brussels court, and this time there is more certainty thanks to the detailed description.<sup>36</sup>

From this analysis of Jan Brueghel's two series of the *Senses* we may conclude that they do indeed afford evidence as to paintings in the archducal collection. Against this background we can affirm that the *Tiger Hunt* occurring twice in Brueghel's series *Senses* was in the collection from as early as 1617. Explicit information is not furnished by the inventories, but there is a document of that year referring to two large hunting pieces; given the earliness of the date, they can scarcely have been by Snyders.<sup>37</sup>

Copies of the *Tiger Hunt* are very numerous, but it is not possible at present to classify them into basic compositional types; some pieces of the puzzle are probably still missing. In any case one has the impression that Rubens or the studio produced several variants of the picture. Some copies—(13), (14) and (15)—can at once be dismissed, in view of their inferior quality, from any connection with the studio. Four others—(9), (10), (11) and (12)—are part of a set of four and were therefore probably made when the *Hunts* painted for Maximilian of Bavaria were already at Schleissheim; in any case they are faithful copies of the canvas at Rennes, and thus easy to catalogue. The same can be said of the isolated copies (7) and (8), which almost literally reproduce the canvas at Rennes.<sup>38</sup> The other known versions of the *Tiger Hunt* differ so greatly among themselves that one can properly speak of variants. None of them, it must

be made clear, approach the quality of the Rennes canvas, which is thus most probably the original. Other versions show three types of variation. In some, the composition is extended horizontally; in many, there is one figure less on the left; and finally there are differences in the pose of the Samson-like figure on the left. In the following pages we shall examine whether any conclusions can be drawn as to chronological sequence.

There are no surviving studies or oil sketches for this work that might enlighten us as to the genesis of the composition. When we come to appraise the Rennes canvas (Fig. 57) from the compositional point of view we are struck by a number of less successful aspects. For instance, the horseman on the extreme left and the second lion (of which only the muzzle and forepaws can be seen) are cut off abruptly by the picture edge; while, on the right, the head of the horse in the background merges with that of the horse in front and is also cut off by the frame. In the Count of Egara's version, on the other hand (Copy [2]; Fig. 60), the composition extends further on both sides: the horseman on the left is in full view, as is the upper part of the body of the lion (or tiger?), so that the coordinated action of the three men on the left is properly brought out. On the right the two horses' heads are no longer merged: the one further from the spectator stretches out its neck past the other, producing a much more aesthetic effect than in the Rennes canvas. That this motif was developed in Rubens's studio is shown by the fact that it recurs literally in the Dresden *Lion Hunt* (No. 8; Fig. 63). I am inclined to think that the Egara canvas represents Rubens's original composition, perhaps as embodied in a lost sketch. It does not seem likely, however, that the Rennes canvas

originally followed this composition and was then cut down: it is of the same dimensions as its three counterparts in the Schleisheim series, and there is no sign that they have ever been cut down by more than a fraction. Rather than suppose that the Egara canvas, which is clearly of inferior quality to that at Rennes, represents a lost prototype that was the true 'original', I think it likely that while Rubens was at work on the Rennes canvas he suddenly found that he had less space at his disposal than expected—perhaps because of a change of mind by the prospective owner—and had to make some *ad hoc* modifications to the original design.

There is also the problem of the absence, in some versions of the *Tiger Hunt*, of the turbaned horseman seen in side-view behind the shield of the Moor, also wearing a turban, on the left. He does not appear in the version depicted in Jan Brueghel's *Sight* (Fig. 61),<sup>39</sup> and as that version existed as early as 1617 it may be suggested that Rubens first painted the work in that form and only afterwards adopted the composition seen at Rennes. This hypothesis is at first sight very attractive: as I have suggested above, Maximilian of Bavaria or his agent would probably not have commissioned a *Tiger Hunt* from Rubens if they had not already seen a piece of this kind, most likely in Brussels, and the version in question might well have been in the archducal collection. But there is evidence that the chronological sequence was precisely the reverse. In the panel at Hartford (No. 7a; Fig. 58) the upper half of this third huntsman on the left is present in the underdrawing (though the hind legs of his horse are not), but in the panel's final state this figure is overpainted so that the composition resembles that in *Sight*

(Fig.61).<sup>40</sup> It seems that we have here the transition between the two compositional types, and that the composition originally included three horsemen on the left and was afterwards simplified.

Another line of thought leads to the same conclusion. In the Samson-like figure tearing open the lion's jaws, the Rennes version (Fig.57) shows his right leg astride the animal's back; this leg does not appear in the Hartford version (Fig.58),<sup>41</sup> that in the Palazzo Corsini (Fig.59) or that depicted in *Sight* (Fig.61). Yet the pose of 'Samson' astride the lion seems the most natural and is found in a Rubens drawing in the Fondation Custodia (the former Frits Lugt collection) which can be connected with the design for a medal of 1631 in which Samson is represented (Fig.62).<sup>42</sup> Thus in the drawing Rubens repeated a motif which he had invented 15 years earlier. It is natural to suppose that it was intended from the outset as a figure of Samson,<sup>43</sup> and was only afterwards used for this *Tiger Hunt* (to which the biblical Samson was of course unsuited on iconographical grounds). The less effective version of this figure, in which the right leg is not shown, seems to be a derivation of the complete motif, and this may suggest that the versions of the *Tiger Hunt* at the Palazzo Corsini and Hartford, and the one depicted in *Sight*, are of a later date than the Rennes version.<sup>44</sup>

This conclusion is also relevant to the debate as to the relation between the *Tiger Hunt* discussed under the present catalogue entry and the Dresden *Lion Hunt* (No.8; Fig.63). Apart from the group of figures in the bottom left corner, and the replacement of two tigers by two lions, that *Lion Hunt* shows exactly the same composition as the Hartford *Tiger Hunt* (Fig.58) and the one depicted in *Sight* (Fig.61), i.e. the simplified version

with only two horsemen on the left. Rosand has argued that the Dresden *Lion Hunt* must be earlier than the *Tiger Hunt*, on the grounds that the composition is more coherent and significant, and that the oil sketch in the National Gallery (No.3; Fig.39), which is a preliminary stage of these compositions, shows the horseman attacked by a lion and not a tiger.<sup>45</sup> With regard to the first argument, it must be borne in mind that in Rubens's original design the composition of the *Tiger Hunt* probably extended further on the left, as in the Egara canvas (Fig.60). This avoids the effect of a piling-up of figures at the left edge, and the groups are easier to distinguish; seen in this way, the *Tiger Hunt* is more complicated in structure and dramatic in effect, but not less logical in its composition than the Dresden *Lion Hunt*. To me it does not appear self-evident that a complicated composition must be interpreted as a simple scheme to which features were subsequently added. In the case of the *Tiger Hunt*, as we have seen, there is reason to think that the more intricate version came first and that it was later simplified by throwing out ballast, so to speak. As the Dresden *Lion Hunt* stands closest to the simplified *Tiger Hunts*, I suggest that the former should be placed at the end of the chronological series.

The argument that the oil sketch in the National Gallery (No.3; Fig.39) represents a lion and not a tiger does not seem to me convincing either. I believe this sketch to be earlier than the *Tiger Hunt*, but the composition tried out in it has, apart from the central motif, very little in common with either the *Tiger Hunt* or the Dresden *Lion Hunt*. Accordingly I regard it not as a direct study for this composition but as the design for an independent hunting scene which was perhaps never executed.

The dating of the different versions of the *Tiger Hunt* requires some further comments. The date which appears on Jan Brueghel's *Sight—1617*—is a *terminus ante quem* for the *Tiger Hunt* by Rubens which it depicts, and which was probably in the archducal collection at Brussels. The *Tiger Hunt* at Rennes, which belonged to Maximilian of Bavaria, was, as we have argued, probably painted somewhat earlier. But the interval cannot have been great, for the following reason. A *terminus post quem* seems to be provided by the horseman on the far right, with outstretched arm and his spear pointing backwards. This motif is an almost literal repetition in reverse of a mounted man who appears in *The Death of Decius Mus*; and, as a study drawing for it exists,<sup>46</sup> the figure was probably designed for that composition and then borrowed for the *Tiger Hunt*. But the study drawing must have been executed after 9 November 1616, when the contract for the *Decius Mus* series was signed,<sup>47</sup> and so the first version of the *Tiger Hunt* must have been designed after that date. Thus we may conclude that two versions were begun no earlier than the end of 1616 and were finished in the course of 1617: first the original for Maximilian of Bavaria, now at Rennes, and secondly the replica for the palace at Brussels. Other versions must have been made soon afterwards, under Rubens's eye if not by himself. One of them (perhaps to be identified with No.7b (Fig.59) in the Palazzo Corsini) was not finished till November 1620. The overlapping between the different versions, and the share of the studio in their execution, can be guessed at but is hard to analyze in detail.

The motif of a horseman attacked from behind by a wild beast has been discussed more fully under No.3; the Samson motif

has been considered above. It may be noted that the lion as painted here closely resembles the beast whose jaws are torn open by Samson in the canvas formerly in the collection of the Duke of Hernani.<sup>48</sup> For the dead leopard on the right Rubens used a study drawing of a *Sleeping Lion* (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York),<sup>49</sup> which had already appeared in *Daniel in the Lions' Den*:<sup>50</sup> the pose of the head and forepaws is identical, but in the *Tiger Hunt* the animal's jaws are open. M. Winner pointed out that the tigress carrying her cubs to safety is inspired by a Paduan bronze statuette of which Rubens made several studies. The Moor's head, as Rosand observed, is based on Rubens's copy after the *Portrait of Mūlāy Ahmad* by Jan Vermeyen (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts),<sup>51</sup> which was also used in several *Adorations of the Magi*.<sup>52</sup>

1. For the iconographic interpretation of these costumes see p.59.
2. *Roses-Ruelens*, II, p.261, doc.CCVII: 'The Caccia is of an excellent desseigne. There ar Lyons & Tygars, and three men on horse backe (some in halfe figures) huntinge, & killinge beastes & beinge killed by them. The originall was a rare thinge & sold to y<sup>e</sup> Duke of Bavaria for a hundred pound starlinge, but it was bigger than this'.
3. Rubens to William Trumbull, 13 September 1621 (*ibid.*, p.286, doc.CCXXV): 'Je suis trèscontent que la pièce faite pour Monsieur l'Ambass<sup>r</sup> Carleton me soit rendue et de faire une autre chasse moins terrible que celle des Lyons...'
4. See pp.148–149. Isermeyer and Rosand also thought the correspondence in question related to a *Tiger Hunt*. The former (*Isermeyer, Jagd*, p.32) connected it with the Palazzo Corsini copy, while the latter (*Rosand, Lion Hunt*, p.31, n.12) thought rather of the Hartford version (No.7a; Fig.58); this was rightly disputed in *Cat. Wadsworth Atheneum*, 1978, (p.183).
5. It runs from 8 June 1619 to 1 March 1623 and comprises the following documents in *Roses-Ruelens*, II: CLXXXVIII–CXC, CXCII–CXCIV, CXCIX, CCV–CCIX, CCXI–CCXX, CCXXIII–CCXXV, CCXXX–CCXXXIII, CCXXXVI; *Roses-Ruelens*, III, doc. CCCXII, and see also doc. CCCLXVII.
6. For an interpretation of this correspondence see pp.44–45.

7. See *Sainsbury, Papers*, pp.269–274; Mary F.S. Hervey, *The Life, Correspondence & Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel*, Cambridge, 1921, pp.100–101; J.M.Muller, 'Rubens's Museum of Antique Sculpture: An Introduction', *The Art Bulletin*, LIX, 1977, pp.571–572.
8. Thomas Locke to Carleton, 17 July 1619 (*Rooeses-Ruelens*, II, p.221, doc.CXC): '... I will consigne it by a lettre unto Rubens in y<sup>r</sup> L<sup>ps</sup> name, referring him to y<sup>r</sup> L<sup>p</sup> for the disposing of it ...'. In November 1620, when Rubens's painting was finished, he was told for the first time that it was for an English friend of Carleton's, but even then no name was mentioned; see Toby Matthew to Carleton, 26 November 1620 (*ibid.*, pp.261–262, doc.CCVII): 'I told him [i.e. Rubens] ... y<sup>t</sup> yow did but ordayne this picture out of a compliment to a friend of yours in England ...'. The painting was to be forwarded through the intermediary of John Corham in Antwerp and Thomas Locke in London.
9. Thomas Locke to Carleton, 17 July 1619 (*ibid.*, p.221, doc.CXC): '... the peece is much fretted and peeled alreadie in diverse places ...'; Thomas Locke to Carleton, 18 September 1619 (*ibid.*, p.225, doc.CXCIV): 'The picture was much galed and fretted before it was sent from hence, w<sup>ch</sup> (they said heere that knewe it) was done when it came over first w<sup>th</sup> the salt water ...'; John Wolley to Carleton, 8 February 1620 (*ibid.*, p.244, doc.CXCIX): 'I find it very much cracked, and spoyled, the couller in many places beeing come off, a goodth breadth; and there is more of it w<sup>ch</sup> hangeth so gingerly upon the cloath, that w<sup>th</sup> the leaste touch that may be it falleth away also ...'; Toby Matthew to Carleton, 25 November 1620 (*ibid.*, p.261, doc.CCVII): 'The Creation is so intirely spoyled, y<sup>t</sup> for my part I would not be bound to hange it up in sight, though he would give it me for nothing; and he offers it to me, or to any body for fifteene Duckatts. It daily growes worse and worse by any indeavor y<sup>t</sup> he can use to helpe it'; Rubens to William Trumbull, 26 January 1621 (*ibid.*, p.273, doc.CCXV): 'Le tableau de Bassan, lequel j'avoy en eschange, est tellem<sup>t</sup> gasté, que tel qu'il est, je le vendray à tous venans pour quinze escus'.
10. Henry Killigrew to Carleton, 8 June 1619 (*ibid.*, p.219, doc.CLXXXVIII): '... he [i.e. Rubens] asures me that when he sees your pickture he will furnishe you with moderne pieces of his hand to your Lordships full contente...'; Lord Danvers to Carleton, 12 July 1619 (*ibid.*, p.220, doc.CLXXXIX): 'I see thear hath bine valemough sett upon the owld peece, and in exchaynge on singular is much better then divers indifferent, the story or severall designes I leave to y<sup>r</sup> Lo: choyse...'; Lord Danvers to Carleton, 7 August 1619 (*ibid.*, p.224, doc.CXCIII): 'Now the picture of the Creation is gone to Ruben, geve me leave to accept against soum such of his workes, as ar made to be sett at great distance for our roumes at littell in this cold cuntrye of England, and pleasing peeces to stand ten fowte hye sutes best w<sup>th</sup> our clime, even such an on as y<sup>r</sup> Lo: Daniell w<sup>th</sup> thoes bewtifull lions in the den would well satisfye my desire...'.  
 11. John Wolley to Carleton, 8 February 1620 (*ibid.*, p.245, doc.CXCIX): 'In the meane while I will tell yo<sup>r</sup> Lo: that I found him [i.e. Rubens] no wayes willing to make any peece of his oune hand, or procure one of the hand of some other rare Master, w<sup>ch</sup> should be juste of that bignes, w<sup>th</sup> out adding to the said Pictor a good somme of money: Yet he is contented either to make the hunting of the woollfe him selfe, or gett done a conflicte, lanskipps, prospectives, or flowers, by the beste Masters in these Countryes; and send it yo<sup>r</sup> Lo: and what yo<sup>u</sup> thinck it may be more worth, then that he hath in his hands, he will be contented w<sup>th</sup> all; but if yo<sup>r</sup> Lo: will have that of the woollfe, the posture of them, must be a good deale lesse then that yo<sup>r</sup> Lo: hath at home, wherefore he thincks some one of the other would be more fitting, yet he will leave it to yo<sup>r</sup> Lo: choise'.
12. Danvers seems to have intended to use the frame of the Bassano for Rubens's picture (cf. n.21).
13. *Ibid.*, pp.261–262, doc.CCVII: 'I have seen both y<sup>e</sup> Creation & y<sup>e</sup> Caccia; they are just of a bigness... The Caccia is of an excellent desseigne. There ar Lyons & Tygars ... Rubens confesseth in confidence y<sup>t</sup> this is not all of his owne doinge and I now thanke him for this confession, for a man who hath but halfe an eye, may easily discern it; but he protests y<sup>t</sup> he hath touched it over all, in all y<sup>e</sup> partes of it. I must confess a truth to yo<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>p</sup> (though I know he will be angry at it, if he know it) y<sup>t</sup> it scarce doth looke like a thinge y<sup>t</sup> is finished and y<sup>e</sup> colorito of it doth little please me, though upon y<sup>e</sup> whole matter it be a gallant peece, for y<sup>e</sup> desseigne of it is precious. I did, w<sup>th</sup> all y<sup>e</sup> discretion I had, deale w<sup>th</sup> him about y<sup>e</sup> price, but his demands ar like y<sup>e</sup> lawes of Medes and Persians w<sup>ch</sup> may not be altered. He valued, as he sayth (in a letter to Mr Trumbull) his Caccia at a hundred Philipps besides y<sup>e</sup> Creation. I wish y<sup>t</sup> letter had not been written, for I see it helpes to oblige him to be unreasonable. Yet I was so imprudent as to offer him fifty Dukatts & so by degrees but y<sup>e</sup> cruell courteous Paynter would not sett a less price upon it then before; but told me, as he sayd he told M<sup>r</sup> Trumbull, y<sup>t</sup> he would referr himselfe to your L<sup>ps</sup> curtesy. I told him plainly y<sup>t</sup> I would not oblige you to such a proportion of expence, y<sup>t</sup> I thought he might content himselfe w<sup>th</sup> less; y<sup>t</sup> yow did but ordayne this picture out of a compliment to a friend of yours in England, and y<sup>t</sup> if he would not consent I would tell your L<sup>p</sup> in what case things stood, & what I had seen & what I had sayd, y<sup>t</sup> your L<sup>p</sup> might take your owne resolution... If the case were mine, I would make no

- difficulty to send him fourescore Duckatts & to thinke y<sup>t</sup> he might well be contented w<sup>th</sup> it. For verily though I had much use for such a picture, I would be very loath to give him for it 15 pound... Your L<sup>p</sup> will have heard how Van Dike his famous Allievo is gone into England, & y<sup>t</sup> the Kinge hath given him a Pension of £ 100 p<sup>r</sup> ann. I doubt he will have caried y<sup>e</sup> desseigne of his pieces into England; & if he have, I durst lay my payre of hands to a payre of gloves, y<sup>t</sup> he will make a much better piece then this is for halfe y<sup>e</sup> money y<sup>t</sup> he asks. Perhaps I am deceaved; but I thought fit to tell your L<sup>p</sup> playnly all y<sup>t</sup> I knowe, or feare in this; though I doubt not but your L<sup>p</sup> will dexterously govern the knowledge of it, for else this fellow will flye upon me'.
14. William Trumbull to Carleton, 5 January 1621 (ibid., p.268, doc.CCXI); Carleton to Thomas Locke, 13 January 1621 (ibid., p.269, doc.CCXII); William Trumbull to Carleton, 13–23 January 1621 (ibid., p.271, doc.CCXIII).
  15. William Trumbull to Carleton, 28 January 1621 (ibid., p.272, doc.CCXIV): 'Yo<sup>r</sup> L: picture made by Rubens is nowe absolutely finished, and made ready to be transported to Mr. Lock. I have by Mr. Toby Math. judgem<sup>t</sup> made upon it, endeavored to gett him rebate some wath of his exorbitant price. But he maketh semblance to take it ill, that any body should comptrolle his resolution: and referreth himself wholly to Yo<sup>r</sup> L: for his satisfaction'.
  16. Rubens to William Trumbull, 26 January 1621 (ibid., p.273, doc.CCXV): 'Mais de desdire ce que j'ay dit, à Mess<sup>rs</sup> nos Juges, asçavoir que la peinture ne vaut pas autant, ce n'est pas ma façon de faire; car si j'eusse fait tout l'ouvrage de ma main propre, elle vaudroit bien le double, aussy n'est-elle pas amendée légèrem<sup>t</sup> de ma main, mais touchée et retouchée par tout esgallem<sup>t</sup>. Je confirmeray bien le mesme que j'ay dit, que nonobstant que la peinture estoit de cette valeur, que pour les obligations que j'ay Mons<sup>r</sup> l'Amb<sup>t</sup> que je me contenteray de telle récompense que bonne et juste sembleroit à Son Ex<sup>ce</sup> sans aucune replique'.
  17. Thomas Locke to Carleton, 18 March 1621 (ibid., p.275, doc.CCXVII): 'I have delivered the Picture to my Lo: Davers, he made a motion to have me write to Rewben ... that the picture had bin shewed to men of skill, who said that it was forced & slighted, and that he had not shewed his greatest skill in it...'; Lord Danvers to Carleton, 27 May 1621 (ibid., p.277, doc.CCXVIII): 'But now for Ruben in every paynters opinion he hath sent hether a peece scarce touched by his own hand...'
  18. Thomas Locke to Carleton, 18 March 1621 (ibid., p.275, doc.CCXVII): '... he [i.e. Lord Danvers] said that he had not yet sett it amongst the Princes pictures neither would untill it were avowed from Rewben to be a master peece'.
  19. Lord Danvers to Carleton, 27 May 1621 (ibid., p.277, doc.CCXVIII): '... the postures so forced, as the Prince will not admitt the picture into his galerye'.
  20. Thomas Locke to Carleton, 18 March 1621 (ibid., p.275, doc.CCXVII): '... for that cause my Lo: [i.e. Lord Danvers] would have him make a better if he could & he should have this againe, & be pleased for the other what he would have, for seing the Prince hath none of Rewbens worke but one peece of Judith & Holofernes w<sup>ch</sup> Rewben disavoweth, therefore he would have a good one or none...'; Lord Danvers to Carleton, 27 May 1621 (ibid., p.277, doc.CCXVIII): 'I could wishe, thearfore that the famus man would doe soum on thinge to register or redcem his reputation in this howse and to stand amongst the many excelent wourkes w<sup>ch</sup> ar hear of all the best masters in Christendoum, for from him we have yet only Judeth and Holiernes, of littell credite to his great skill...'. This *Judith and Holofernes* is probably the composition that was engraved by Cornelis Galle the Elder (*Rooses*, I, pp.154–156, No.125).
  21. Last quoted letter: '... it must be of the same bigenes to fit this frame, and I will be well content to showte an other arrow of allowinge what monye he may aske in exchaynge, and theas Lions shall be safely sent him back for tamer beastes better made'.
  22. Rubens to William Trumbull, 13 September 1621 (*Rooses–Ruelens*, II, p.286, doc.CCXV): 'Je suis trèscontent ... de faire une autre chasse moins terrible que celle des Lyons, ... toute de ma main propre sans aucune meslange de l'ouvrage d'autruy ce que je vous maintiendray en foy d'homme de bien. Il me deplaist aussy qu'il y aura pour ceste affaire quelque mescontem<sup>t</sup> dela part de Mon<sup>r</sup> Carleton mais il ne s'est laissé jamais entendre clairement toutes les fois que je luy ay fait instance de vouloir déclarer si ceste pièce devoit estre un vray originel entièrem<sup>t</sup> ou seulem<sup>t</sup> touchée de ma main. Je voudrois avoir occasion de le remettre en bonne humeur envers moy, encore quil me devroit couster quelque payne po<sup>r</sup> luy rendre service. Je seray bien ayse que ceste piece soit colloqué en un lieu si éminent comme la gallerie de S.A.Mons<sup>r</sup> le Prince de Galles et feray tout mon extrême devoir afin de la rendre supérieure d'artifice à celle d'Holofernes laquelle jay fait en ma jeunesse'.
  23. Last quoted letter: 'Jay quasi achevée une pièce grande toute de ma main et de meilleures selon mon opinion représentant une Chasse de Lyons, les figures aussy grandes comme le naturel, ordonnée par Mons<sup>r</sup> l'Ambas<sup>r</sup> Dygbye pour présenter, comme jay entendu à Mons<sup>r</sup> le Marquis de Hamilton. Mais comme vous dites très bien telles choses ont plus de grâce et véhémence en un grand tableau qu'un petit. Je voudroy bien que ceste peinture pour la Gallerie de Monseign<sup>r</sup> le Prince de Galles fust de proportion plus grande



- pour ce que la capacité du tableau nous rend beaucoup plus de courage po<sup>r</sup> expliquer bien et vraysemblablem<sup>t</sup> nostre concept'.
24. 'Item a peece of danniell in the Lyons denn with lyons aboute him Given by the deceased Lord dorchester...' (O. Millar, 'Abraham van der Doort's Catalogue of the Collection of Charles I', *The Walpole Society*, XXXVII, 1958-60, p.4, No.14).
  25. *Rooes-Ruelens*, III, p.134, doc.CCCXII. See also Rubens's letter to Valavez, 10 January 1625 (*ibid.*, p.319, doc. CCCLXVII).
  26. O. Millar, *op. cit.*, p.37, No.2 ('... Given to ju M by my Lo: danbie'). It is now in Windsor Castle (*K.d.K.*, frontispiece).
  27. Panel, 65 x 109 cm.; signed and dated *BRVEGHEL. F.1617.*; see *Díaz Padrón, Cat. Prado*, I, pp.40-43, No.1394; II, pl.28; *Ertz, Brueghel*, pp.336ff., 611, No.327; reproductions of the relevant detail in F. Clerici, *Allegorie dei Sensi di Jan Brueghel*, Florence, [1946], pls.51, 57.
  28. Canvas, 176 x 264 cm.; see *Díaz Padrón, Cat. Prado*, I, pp.61-63, No.1403; II, pl.45; *Ertz, Brueghel*, pp.357ff., 612, No.332; reproductions of the relevant detail in F. Clerici, *op. cit.*, pls.99, 104. Other artists, including Frans Francken II, have had a hand in this painting, as well as Jan Brueghel and Rubens.
  29. The originals, on which twelve artists had collaborated, were evidently lost in the fire of the Brussels palace in 1731: see *De Maeyer, Albrecht en Isabella*, pp.49, 151, 153-154, 342-344, docs.139 and 142.
  30. *De Maeyer, Albrecht en Isabella*, pp.42-49.
  31. H. Geissler, 'Eine Zeichnung von Rubens nach Christoph Schwarz', *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 3rd ser., XII, 1961, pp.192-196; see also Müller Hofstede, *Review*, 1966, pp.444-445, fig.5; for the inventory see *De Maeyer, Albrecht en Isabella*, p.317, doc.104, No.26.
  32. The composition agrees with the painting in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow (*K.d.K.*, p.82).
  33. *De Maeyer, Albrecht en Isabella*, p.435, doc.270, No.1; p.448, doc.271, [No.230]; p.461, doc.276, [No.2].
  34. See *De Maeyer, Albrecht en Isabella*, pp.43-44.
  35. J. S. Held, 'P. P. Rubens "The Leopards"—"Originale de mia mano"', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXV, May 1973 (*Advertisement Supplement*), fig.6.
  36. *Denucé, Na Rubens*, p.14, doc.12, p.42, doc.58.
  37. Two hunting pictures are mentioned in a bill of 30 Dec. 1617 for the gilding of frames: 'Item eenen grooten jachtdoock, in de eerste camer naest de saele—14 lb', en 'Noch in dezelve camer eenen jachtdoock, wat minder—13 lb' (*De Maeyer, Albrecht en Isabella*, p.337, doc.133). An invoice of 24 March 1622 by Jacques van den Putte speaks of frames for two other (?) large hunting pictures: 'Item in den eersten ghemaect twee groote leysten aen twee schilderyen van jachten, die syn gheset gheweest by de troecktaefe van Synne Hoocheyt, ontrent XII voeten elck lanck, ende breet ontrent de acht voeten [c.226.5 x 331 cm.]; dewelcke naederhant syn ghetransporteert op een ander plaetse. Voor elcken lyst verdient met het herspannen van deselve schilderyen 11 lb., mits sy heel schoon gheswart syn. Compt—22 lb.' (*De Maeyer, Albrecht en Isabella*, p.358, doc.172). In the 18th century there was in Brussels in the palace of Charles Alexander of Lorraine, Governor of the Austrian Netherlands, a 'Chasse au Lyon dans le goût de Rubens', canvas, c.98 x 95 cm. (recorded in G. P. Mensaert, *Le peintre amateur et curieux*, I, Brussels, 1763, pp.164-165, and in the inventory of the Governor's estate dated 16 October 1780, No.49: see *Réunion des sociétés des beaux-arts des départements*, XX, 1896, pp.711-785; it does not appear in the sale of his pictures in Brussels, 21 May-27 June 1781). I think it unlikely that this was the *Tiger Hunt* here in question.
  38. The interesting dated drawing, Copy (21)—certainly not a study drawing by Rubens himself, as Larsen states—also shows the composition of the Rennes canvas, except for a few details probably due to inadvertence: the horseman on the extreme right is placed higher up, and the turbaned Moor on the left holds his right arm downwards. I know no photographs or reproductions of Copies (16) to (20). Some of these may overlap with other numbers in the list.
  39. Rooes thought that the work depicted in Brueghel's *Sight* was the Corsini version (No.7b; Fig.59); but this is incorrect, as in that version the horseman on the far left is omitted, whereas he is present in Brueghel's work (*Rooes*, IV, p.339, No.1155). Burchard identified the replica depicted by Brueghel with the Hartford version (No.7a; Fig.58); as to this see below, p.147. The picture reproduced by Brueghel (Fig.61) presents a composition enlarged at both sides compared with the Rennes version (Fig.57), but not in the same way as in the Egara canvas (Fig.60), so that one cannot tell whether the extension is due to Brueghel himself. In the reproduction of the same *Tiger Hunt* in Brueghel's *Sight and Smell* (see n.28 above) the composition is no less cramped by the frame than in the canvas at Rennes.
  40. Curiously enough, in the Corsini version (Fig.59) there are traces of the same *pentimento*.
  41. It is possible that it was intended to appear there but was overpainted, as the curious form of the lion's haunch may suggest. The Egara canvas shows another variant of this pose: the Samson figure rests his right knee on the lion's back.
  42. See [Cat. Exh.] *Vlaamse tekeningen uit de zeventiende eeuw, verzameling Lugt*, (Brussels-London-Paris-Bern, 1972), pp.121-122, No.82, repr. (with further bibliography). The attribution to Rubens is not universally accepted. The drawing was, in the end, not used for the medal; an engraving was made of it by Erasmus Quellinus (repr. in J.-P. De Bruyn, 'Werk van Erasmus II Quellinus verkeerdelijk toe-

- geschreven aan P.P. Rubens', *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen*, 1977, fig.12).
43. If such a painting was ever executed, it has not survived: there is no known Samson with this composition.
  44. It is curious that Copy (6) agrees with the other simplified compositions in omitting the horseman on the left, but on the other hand shows the right leg of the Samson figure. The leg does not appear in Copy (7) by Beschey, although this conforms to the Rennes composition in other respects. From the reproductions I have seen of Copies (5) and (8) it is impossible to tell whether this element is present or not. Another detail that must be borne in mind in tracing the genesis of the various copies is the presence or absence of a strap or thong over the shoulder of the man lying on the ground on the left.
  45. *Rosand, Lion Hunt*, pp.30-31, n.12. Held has already pointed out that these arguments are not decisive (*Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.407, under No.298).
  46. London, Victoria and Albert Museum; *Held, Drawings*, I, No.89; II, pl.94.
  47. For this contract see J. Duverger, 'Kanttekeningen betreffende de patronen van P.P. Rubens en de tapijten met de geschiedenis van Decius Mus', *Gentse bijdragen tot de kunstgeschiedenis*, XXIV, 1976-1978, pp.15-42.
  48. See J. Müller Hofstede, 'Beiträge zum zeichnerischen Werk von Rubens', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXVII, 1965, fig.252; [M. Díaz Padrón], in *Cat. Exh. Madrid, 1977-78*, No.79, repr.
  49. M. Jaffé, in F. Stampfle, [Cat. Exh.] *Rubens and Rembrandt in Their Century. Flemish & Dutch Drawings of the 17th Century from the Pierpont Morgan Library*, (Paris-Antwerp-London-New York, 1979-1980), New York, 1979, pp.46-47, No.13, repr.
  50. See p.70, n.4.
  51. J.S. Held, 'Rubens' "King of Tunis" and Vermeyen's Portrait of Mülāy Ahmad', *Art Quarterly*, III, 1940, pp.173-180, fig.1.
  52. E.g. the painting in the St. John's Church, Malines (K.d.K., p.164).

### 7a. Tiger, Lion and Leopard Hunt: Modello (Fig.58)

Oil on panel; 99 × 125 cm.  
Hartford, Conn., Wadsworth Atheneum,  
Sumner Collection. Inv. No.1952.52.

PROVENANCE: ? Sir Francis Cook, 1st Bt. (1817-1901); Sir Frederick Cook (d.1920), Doughty House, Richmond, 1909; Sir

Herbert Cook (d.1939); Sir Francis Cook; dealers S. & R. Rosenberg, London, 1949; Thos. Agnew & Sons, London, 1951; purchased by the Wadsworth Atheneum in 1952.

EXHIBITED: *Wadsworth Atheneum: 110 Years*, Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn., 1952; *Meet the Animals*, Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn., February-March 1961.

LITERATURE: *Dillon, Rubens*, pp.116, 232; J.O. Kronig, *A Catalogue of the Paintings at Doughty House, Richmond and elsewhere, in the Collection of Sir Frederick Cook*, II, London, 1914, No.338, repr.; [M.W. Brockwell], *Abridged Catalogue of the Pictures at Doughty House, Richmond, Surrey, in the Collection of Sir Herbert Cook, Bart.*, London, 1932, p.48, No.338; *Cunningham, Tiger Hunt*, p.2; 'Recent Additions to America's Public Collections', *Art Digest*, XXVI, July 1952, p.7, repr.; J.S. Held, 'A Postscript: Rubens in America', *Art Digest*, XXVIII, May 1954, p.35 (as ? *Soutman*); *Art Digest* XXXIX, February 1955, Cover illustration; *Held, Drawings*, I, p.133, under No.89; N. Knobler, *The Visual Dialogue*, New York, 1967, pp.113-114, 178, fig.85; S.L. Faison, 'Baroque and Nineteenth-Century Paintings', *Apollo*, LXXXII, 1968, p.468; *Rosand, Lion Hunt*, p.31, n.12; *Haverkamp Begeermann, Cat. Worcester*, I, p.212, n.13; *Lacambre, Chasse au tigre*, p.162; *Cat. Wadsworth Atheneum, 1978*, pp.183-184, No.126, pl.34.

This piece shows the same composition as the *Tiger Hunt* at Rennes (No.7; Fig.57), except that the turbaned horseman who is seen behind the Moor's shield in that work is visible here only in underpainting: in the final stage the figure was over-painted. The hind legs of his horse, which

should have been visible above the head of the fallen huntsman, do not seem to have been added even in underpainting. It seems natural therefore to interpret this piece as the link between the composition at Rennes and the simplified versions which left the studio.<sup>1</sup> Since one of these simplified versions appears in Jan Brueghel's *Sight* (Fig.61), dated 1617, the panel at Hartford cannot be later than that date (as in the case of *Tiger Hunt* at Rennes (No.7), a *terminus post quem* is 9 November 1616).

Another detail in which this piece differs from that at Rennes is the absence of the right leg of the 'Samson' figure. However, the curious form of the lion's haunch suggests that the leg was part of the original plan, so this may be another case of a *pentimento* forming the link between the different versions. Other divergences from the Rennes version are as follows. The man on the ground has no strap over his shoulder, although the folds of the drapery below his waist presuppose its existence. Both the spears transfixing the dead leopard are clearly broken off. The tip of the lance held by the rider in the centre is of a different shape than that in the Rennes canvas, and is further left on the tigress's back. The sword-blade of the second horseman from the left is missing; it can be seen on photographs prior to the restoration (? 1949), which show it as rather broad and not quite in a straight line with the hilt.

Burchard was convinced that this panel was by Rubens's hand, though he was less clear as to its precise function. He originally thought it was a *modello* for the *Tiger Hunt* at Rennes, but later he made a note to the effect that it was a more mature work of subsequent date, looking towards the Dresden *Lion Hunt* (No.8; Fig.63). He also thought this panel was the

one that Jan Brueghel reproduced in *Sight* (Fig.61), and that it might therefore have been in the archducal collection. Burchard saw no problem in the fact that the *Tiger Hunt* in *Sight* is of monumental proportions, since Brueghel increased or diminished the size of reproduced works as it suited him. This can be seen in the case of Rubens's *Drunken Silenus*, which is depicted in *Sight* as of cabinet format, but in *Sight and Smell*<sup>2</sup> as of monumental size.

I have argued under No.7 that the *Tiger Hunt* that appears in *Sight* is to be identified with a large, not a small, hunting scene that is listed without further details in the archducal collection in 1617. If this is correct the Hartford panel, which is rather small, does not come into question here. It must be conceded, however, that it closely resembles the *Tiger Hunt* in *Sight*, especially if one ignores the additions to left and right which were probably Brueghel's own idea. The most surprising point of resemblance is the absence of the sword-blade of the second horseman on the right. The shoulder-strap of the man lying on the ground is also missing in both works. However, there are also several small points of difference. The lance of the centre horseman is of a different type, and the two broken spears in the body of the dead leopard are somewhat longer in the *Sight* version. These points may of course be due to inattention on Brueghel's part, and have no probative value. A more serious difference is the following. In the Hartford panel part of the hind leg of the 'Samson' lion is twisted back in a curious way, as though it were an adaptation of the originally planned right leg of the 'Samson' figure. This is not the case with the *Tiger Hunt* in *Sight*, where the lion's knee points more or less forward; it does so, too, in

the Palazzo Corsini version (No.7b; Fig.59), showing that this is not an inaccuracy on Brueghel's part. We may conclude, with due caution, that the Hartford panel is not itself the version reproduced in *Sight*. That being so, the striking resemblance between the two can only be explained by supposing that the *Tiger Hunt* in *Sight*, which was probably in the archducal collection, was a separate work based on the Hartford panel, which must be considered as a *modello* for it.

The question of authenticity remains. Burchard's emphatic opinion was endorsed by Cunningham, but not by most subsequent authors: Held, Rosand and the authors of the Hartford catalogue<sup>3</sup> all ascribe it to the studio. I am inclined to agree with them: the outlines lack tension and the enclosed areas are painted smoothly, in contrast to Rubens's more energetic style. Infra-red or X-ray photographs are not available, so that one cannot form a judgement as to Rubens's share in the underpainting. Held suggested a connection with Pieter Soutman. It is indeed more than likely that Soutman played an important part in the execution of Rubens's hunting scenes,<sup>4</sup> some of which he made into prints. However, he made no print of this *Tiger Hunt*—perhaps because he had neither a painted nor a drawn copy of it, in which case the ascription of the Hartford panel to him becomes doubtful. In any case I see little stylistic resemblance between this piece and the few works that can be connected with Soutman. I therefore think it better not to attach any name to the piece. It was probably painted by a member of the studio under Rubens's direction.

1. This *pentimento* linking two products of Rubens's studio makes it almost impossible to suppose that we have here a later copy made outside the studio.

2. Detailed reproductions in F. Clerici, *Allegorie dei sensi di Jan Brueghel*, Florence, [1946], pp.53, 104. For the problems connected with these paintings see above, pp.138–139.
3. *Cat. Wadsworth Atheneum*, 1978, No.126 (this No. is by Christine S. Schloss, under the editorship of E. Haverkamp Begemann).
4. For Soutman's share in Rubens's hunting scenes see above, pp.40–41.

### 7b. *Tiger, Lion and Leopard Hunt: Painting retouched by Rubens* (Fig.59)

Oil on Canvas; 119 × 152 cm.

Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Corsini (on loan to the Ministero degli Affari Esteri). No.185.

PROVENANCE: ? Commissioned by Henry, Lord Danvers, later Earl of Danby (1573–1644) in 1619 to be presented to Charles, Prince of Wales; ? ready by November 1620 and sent to England where it arrived in March 1621 but was refused and sent back (by September 1621 again in Rubens's possession); by 1816 already in the Palazzo Corsini, Rome.

LITERATURE: H.W. Williams, *Travels in Italy, Greece, and the Ionian Islands*, II, Edinburgh, 1820, p.85 (as *Rubens*); *Rooses*, IV, p.339, No.1155 (as *Rubens, Italian period*); *Dillon, Rubens*, pp.116, 225; *Cunningham, Tiger Hunt*, p.2, n.1; *Larsen, Rubens*, pp.158, 160 (as *Rubens*); *De Maeyer, Albrecht en Isabella*, p.118, n.4; *Isermeyer, Jagd*, p.32, pl.9; *Bodart, Incisione*, p.186, under No.411; *Lacambre, Chasse au tigre*, p.162; *Cat. Deutsches Jagdmuseum*, p.179; *Cat. Wadsworth Atheneum*, 1978, p.184, nn.7, 14.

This is the most simplified of all versions of the *Tiger Hunt*. There is only one horseman on the left, as opposed to three in the original at Rennes (No.7; Fig.57) or two in other versions (e.g. Figs.58, 61). It

appears, however, as though the underpainting included the torso of a second horseman on the left.<sup>1</sup>

I have suggested under No.7 that this canvas may be identical with the *Tiger Hunt* which Lord Danvers commissioned as a present for the Prince of Wales in 1619. The *Tiger Hunt* arrived in London in November 1620, but Danvers was not satisfied with its quality and refused to accept it, his artistic advisers having said that it was 'scarcely touched by [the master's] own hand'.<sup>2</sup> Rubens admitted that it was painted by his studio, but declared that it was worked up by himself: 'touchée et retouchée par tout esgallem'.<sup>1,3</sup>

The arguments for the identification proposed here are as follows: (1) the reduced number of figures. Toby Matthew wrote that there were three equestrian figures in this *Hunt*;<sup>4</sup> the present version comes closest to this with four horsemen, the two on the right almost overlapping. (2) the format. We know that the *Tiger Hunt* painted for Lord Danvers was the same size as the Bassano.<sup>5</sup> Hence the Corsini painting, of rather modest size, is a more likely candidate than one of the larger copies. (3) the style. The Corsini is closer to Rubens's style of c.1620 than any other version known to me: more unified chiaroscuro, less local colouring, but a predominant brownish-grey undertone and a fluent and pastose use of paint. The work is not of especially high quality; this is consistent with the shock-reaction of Danvers's advisers, but is harder to reconcile with Rubens's assertion that he retouched it uniformly. The canvas gives no such impression, but I would maintain that Rubens himself painted the head of the man in the centre wearing a turban: the expression of terror is more haunting in this version than in any other, including the original in Rennes (Fig.57).

The provenance of the Corsini canvas before 1816 is unknown.<sup>6</sup>

1. There are no technical photographs of this painting, so no further investigation could be made.
2. See p.144, n.17.
3. See p.144, n.16.
4. See p.142, n.2.
5. See p.143, n.13.
6. I know of no basis for the provenance of the Corsini painting suggested by Larsen, viz.: Albert and Isabella; the court of Prague; removed by the Swedes in 1648; Christina of Sweden, Rome; Palazzo Corsini.

### 8. *Lion and Leopard Hunt* (Fig.63)

Oil on canvas; 240 × 317 cm.  
Dresden, Gemäldegalerie. No.972.

PROVENANCE: Unidentified private collection, Paris, 1734; ? Victor-Amédée of Savoy, Prince of Carignan, Paris (1680–1741); purchased by August III, King of Poland, Elector of Saxony (reigned 1733–1763), in 1742 (?); in Dresden ever since, in the collection of the Electors of Saxony, in the Königliche Gemälde-Galerie and in the Staatliche Gemäldegalerie.

COPIES: (1) Painting, in reverse, after Copy (4), with some changes, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 100 × 125 cm. PROV. Sale, Cologne (Kunsthau am Museum, C. van Ham), 20 October 1978, lot 1482, pl.91; (2) Drawing by E. Delacroix after the head of the biting lion and after the head of the prostrate man, after Copy (4), Paris, Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre, Inv. No. RF9150, fol. 8v. LIT. *Kliman, Delacroix's Lions*, pp.454, 455, fig.20; (3) Drawing by E. Delacroix after the head of the prostrate man, after Copy (4), Paris, Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre, Inv. No. RF9150, fol. 10r. LIT. *Kliman, Delacroix's Lions*, p.455, fig.21; (4) Engraving (Fig.64) by J. Suyderhoef, edited by P. Soutman, in reverse; 442 × 573 mm.;

below, in the margin, the dedication: *In adfectus et Venerationis Pignus Idoneum Leoninam Venationem Iudoco Van der Graft Cognato Suo Mathematicae artis cultori / P.Soutman Editor. D.D.D.*; below on the left: *P.P.Rubens Pinxit. I.Syderhoef Sculp-sit*; below on the right: *Cum Priuil. Sa. Cae. M. / P.Soutman Excud. LIT. V.S.*, p.227, No.31.2; *Dutuit*, III, pp.244–245, No.21.2; *Rooses*, IV, pl.323; *Van den Wijngaert*, *Prentkunst*, p.95, No.663; *Robels*, *Rubens–Stecher*, p.82, fig.88; (5) Engraving by C.F.Letellier (1743–?1809), after Copy (4); 214 × 240 mm. *LIT. V.S.*, p.227, under No.31.2; *Dutuit*, III, p.245, under No.21.2; *Bodart*, *Incisione*, p.186, No.411, repr.; (6) Engraving by W.French; (7) Engraving (? by F.Hanfstaengl).

LITERATURE: *Catalogue des tableaux de la galerie électorale à Dresde*, Dresden, 1765, p.22, No.112 of the *Galerie extérieure*; [J.A.Lehninger], *Abrégé de la vie des peintres, dont les tableaux composent la galerie électorale de Dresde*, Dresden, 1782, p.324, No.112; *Smith*, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, 1830, p.81, No.250; *Abécédario de P.J.Mariette*..., ed. by P. de Chennevières and A. de Montaignon, V, Paris, 1858–1859, p.138; J.Hübner, *Catalogue de la Galerie Royale de Dresde*, 4th edn., Dresden, 1872 (1st edn. 1856), p.201, No.823; *Waagen*, *Kleine Schriften*, p.291; K.Woermann, *Katalog der königlichen Gemäldegalerie zu Dresden. Grosse Ausgabe*, Dresden, 1887, p.317, No.972; *Rooses*, IV, 1890, pp.338–339, No.1154; T. von Frimmel, *Kleine Galeriestudien*, III. Lieferung, *Die gräfliche Schönborn-Buchheim'sche Gemäldesammlung in Wien*, Leipzig, 1896, p.69; *Burckhardt*, *Rubens*, p.303; *Rooses*, *Life*, I, pp.259, 261–262; *K.d.K.*, pp.113, 459; *Dillon*, *Rubens*, pp.116, 194, No.8; *Kieser*, *Antikes*, p.124, n.33; *Speth-Holterhoff*, *Cabinets*, p.54; *Gemäldegalerie Dresden. Alte Meister*, 6th edn.,

Dresden, 1961, p.71, No.972; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, *Drawings*, I, p.87, under No.50, p.92, under No.53; *Isermeyer*, *Jagd*, p.32, pl.10; *Rosand*, *Lion Hunt*, pp.30–31, fig.8; E.Johnston, 'Joseph Highmore's Paris Journal, 1734', *The Walpole Society*, XLII, 1968–1970, p.79, nn.78, 79; *Martin*, *Pompa*, p.213, under No.55; *Vlieghe*, *Saints*, II, p.111, under No.127; *Kruyfhoof-Buys*, p.58, repr. p.59; *Bodart*, *Incisione*, p.186, under No.411; *Cat. Deutsches Jagdmuseum*, pp.179, 181; M.Winner, in *Mielke-Winner*, p.42, under No.8; *Cat. Wadsworth Athenaeum*, 1978, p.183; *Held*, *Oil Sketches*, I, p.407, under No.298; C.Grimm, 'Detailfotografie als Hilfsmittel der Werkstattforschung', *Maltechnik-Restaur.*, LXXXVII, 1981, p.250, fig.17; *Freedberg*, *After the Passion*, p.128, under No.31.

A turbaned Oriental on a rearing horse is attacked from behind by a lion which is biting his left shoulder and dragging him backwards. On the right two horsemen in armour, wielding a sword and a lance respectively, seek to drive off the beast. Also on the right a lioness tries to remove her cubs to safety; a dead leopard lies on the ground. Below left, a man is pinned to the ground by another lion but manages, with his right hand, to drive a dagger between its ribs. A turbaned Moor, his mount kicking out with its hind legs, is about to strike this lion from above with his spear. A fifth horseman approaches on the far left.

Hübner and Woermann both state that this canvas was bought from the collection of the prince de Carignan for King August III of Poland, who was also Elector of Saxony. Woermann says this happened in 1742; Hübner dates the purchase 1744 and says that Rigaud and de Brais were intermediaries (but de Brais died in 1742).

The picture does not appear in the Carignan sale catalogue of 1742,<sup>1</sup> but this is not conclusive, as other pieces that are known to have belonged to the prince are not listed in it either. Since Hübner and Woermann are generally very accurate as regards provenance one would be inclined to accept their evidence in this case. However, Mariette states that this *Lion Hunt* was bought for August III from the Biberon de Cormery collection in 1747.<sup>2</sup> Rooses suggested that the picture was first in the Carignan and then in the Cormery collection before being purchased for August III, but I think this is an unacceptable deduction: either one agrees with Hübner and Woermann that the King bought the work direct from the estate of the prince de Carignan, or Mariette's version should be accepted. In my opinion the accuracy of Hübner and Woermann in this case should be further tested. In Woermann's outline of the history of the Dresden collection he does not explicitly say that Rubens's *Lion Hunt* was bought from the collection of the prince de Carignan, but only that it was acquired in Paris in 1742 through the agency of Rigaud and de Brais.<sup>3</sup> I therefore think a question-mark should be placed against the Carignan provenance, which ought perhaps to be replaced by Biberon de Cormery.

On 15 June 1734, shortly before the purchase, the *Lion Hunt* was seen by Joseph Highmore in a private collection in Paris, but he does not tell us which. He records: 'in a very good Collection... A Lyon hunting of Rubens. in w<sup>ch</sup> one of the Hunters on horseback is seized by a Lyon on the shoulder who has leap't from the ground & hangs [there] by his teeth and claws, amazingly painted, the man in the greatest agony of pain and terror, while two behind are ready to destroy the Lyon

one with a sword, the other with a pike. beyond this lyon is a lyoness with a young whelp in her mouth and another Lyon dead with wounds, a broken spear in the body.' Elizabeth Johnston, the editor of Highmore's diary, thought this referred to the collection of the Count of Fraula, which indeed contained a *Lion Hunt* by Rubens; but from the description in the sale catalogue of 1738<sup>4</sup> it appears that that work comprised seven figures, not six like the Dresden *Lion Hunt*, and was 60 cm. wider. Most probably it was identical with the *Lion Hunt* in the Munich Pinakothek or another version of that composition (see under No. 11); moreover the Count of Fraula did not live in Paris but in Brussels, 'sur le Sablon'. This cannot therefore serve as an identification for the Paris collection visited by Highmore on 15 June 1734. Another painting which he saw in the same collection was a replica of Rubens's portrait of his sons *Albert and Nicholas*,<sup>5</sup> which according to Woermann was bought for Augustus III from the Dubreuil collection in Paris. It does not follow, however, that the unnamed collection of which Highmore speaks was that of Dubreuil, since elsewhere the name of Dubreuil is mentioned ('Du Breil', visited on 16 June 1734). Thus the unnamed collection may be the one from which Rubens's *Lion Hunt* was bought for the King of Poland in 1742 (or 1747), viz. that of either the prince de Carignan or Biberon de Cormery.

The composition of the Dresden *Lion Hunt* is similar to that of the *Tiger Hunt* at Rennes (No. 7; Fig. 57). The main difference is in the lower left corner. In the *Tiger Hunt* there are two lions on the left, one in front and the other partly visible behind it; the first lion is in combat with two half-naked men, one of them a Samson-like figure. In the Dresden *Lion Hunt*

this complex group is replaced by a single lion and a single prostrate man. Other important differences are the absence, in the *Lion Hunt*, of the third horseman who, in the *Tiger Hunt*, is seen behind the shield of the turbaned Moor on the left; and the transformation of two tigers on the right into two lions (or rather a lion and a lioness). There are also differences in the treatment of details. In the *Lion Hunt* the Moor's turban is more voluminous and is adorned with a jewel. In the same painting two arrows that have fallen out of the quiver of the horseman in the centre are dangling in front of the lion's torso; the neck of the horse on the far right is outstretched, its head being partly cut off by the frame; and the landscape is wooded.

Rosand has argued that the Dresden *Lion Hunt* was painted before the *Tiger Hunt*, on the ground that the composition of the left half of the *Tiger Hunt* was in his opinion confused by the addition of figures which spoil the clarity of the Dresden *Lion Hunt* and its relative unity of action. Certainly the *Tiger Hunt* is less lucid in composition, but this does not help much with the chronological reconstruction.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, as we saw under No.7, it is fairly probable that among the different extant versions of the *Tiger Hunt* those which have only two horsemen on the left (as does the Dresden *Lion Hunt*) are later than those which have three, such as the version at Rennes. In my opinion this is an indication that the Dresden *Lion Hunt* was painted after the Rennes *Tiger Hunt*.<sup>7</sup> A precise date cannot be given, but it is probable that it was worked on simultaneously with other versions of the *Tiger Hunt* (? c.1617–1618). It has points of similarity with some of these versions: e.g. the wooded landscape in several of them, and in one instance the outstretched neck of the horse on the

right (see Copy [2] under No.7; Fig.60). In this sense the present *Lion Hunt* can be considered one of the variants of the *Tiger Hunt*.

The quality of execution points in the same direction. As nearly all authors have observed, the Dresden canvas is still more of a studio product than Rubens's other hunting scenes, and shows the master's hand to only a limited extent.<sup>8</sup> The execution of the *Tiger Hunt* at Rennes is at all events less 'rounded', fresher and more detailed than the work at Dresden.

The close resemblance between this *Lion Hunt* and the *Tiger Hunt* has given rise to much confusion. Some paintings listed here as copies of the *Tiger Hunt* (No.7) have on occasion been wrongly described as copies of the Dresden *Lion Hunt*. The confusion is increased by wrong identifications of the animals: e.g. Rooses calls the Dresden canvas 'La chasse aux lions et aux tigres', evidently taking the dead leopard to be a tiger.

The composition of *Alexander's Lion Hunt* (No.16; cf. Fig.93), which includes the motif of a horseman attacked from behind by a lion, is also sometimes confused with that of the Dresden *Lion Hunt*. Hence under No.16 in this volume some copies are listed which have in the past been wrongly connected with the latter painting. *Alexander's Lion Hunt* seems in fact to have been repeatedly copied, whereas there is apparently not a single painted copy of the Dresden *Lion Hunt* that presents any interest (apart from one bad copy in reverse). On this account I have supposed that a partial copy (no reproduction of which is known to me), depicting only the head of the Oriental attacked by the lion, is more likely to belong to *Alexander's Hunt* than to the present work, and it will be found under No.16, Copy (4). It is not in fact certain



from the descriptions that it is a copy; it may be that we have here a painted study of a head for one of the hunting scenes,<sup>9</sup> either the *Tiger Hunt*, the Dresden *Lion Hunt*, or *Alexander's Lion Hunt* (although the study material for the first of these works to be painted was probably reused for the other two).

1. The sale of the collection of the prince de Carignan was announced for 30 July 1742 (Paris, de Poilly; see F. Lugt, *Répertoire des catalogues de ventes...* I, The Hague, 1938, No. 559; catalogue reprinted in C. Blanc, *Le trésor de la curiosité tiré des catalogues de vente*, Paris, 1857, I, pp. 30ff.), but apparently did not take place till 18 June 1743 (Paris, de Poilly; see F. Lugt, *op. cit.*, No. 581).
2. Although Mariette gives a slightly different description of the *Lion Hunt*, it is not likely that he was referring to some other picture bought by the King. The passage in his *Abécédario* reads as follows: 'Une autre chasse aux lions [de Rubens], faite par quatre cavaliers, dont il y a un renversé de cheval et terrassé par un lion qui est prest de le devorer. Gravé à l'eau forte par P. Soutman.—J'ay vu le tableau qui a été acheté à Paris de M. de Cormery (en 1747) pour le roy de Pologne, electeur de Saxe. Il est bien gaté et a été raccomodé'.
3. Woermann, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
4. Sale at Brussels (de Vos), 21 July 1738; for further details of the *Lion Hunt* from the Fraula collection see under No. 11, p. 172, n. 24.
5. The original is in Liechtenstein (*K.d.K.*, p. 281), the replica at Dresden (Hübner, *op. cit.*, p. 220, No. 924; Woermann, *op. cit.*, p. 318, No. 975).
6. Held comments that Rosand's argument is 'valid but hardly compelling'. Another fact adduced by Rosand is that in the sketch for a *Lion Hunt* in the National Gallery, London (No. 3; Fig. 39) the animal leaping on to the Oriental horseman's back is a lion, and not a tiger as in the *Tiger Hunt*. But the connection between this sketch and the Dresden *Lion Hunt* is not so close as is sometimes suggested. Neither the *Lion Hunt* nor the *Tiger Hunt* derive directly from this sketch. Both repeat a certain motif from it; one of them does so with more variation, but this does not prove that it was later. As Held pointed out, a tiger may have been thought more suitable for the *Hunt* at Rennes than a lion, because there was already a *Lion Hunt* in the series to which it belonged (the Schleissheim hunting series, Nos. 4-7).
7. Burchard also thought the composition of the Dresden *Lion Hunt* 'more mature' than that of the Rennes *Tiger Hunt*.
8. This was the opinion of Waagen, Rooses ('non retouché par lui [i.e. Rubens]'), Woermann, Olden-

bourg ('an der Ausführung des Gemäldes hat Rubens keinen Anteil gehabt'), and Winner. Speth-Holterhoff was the only critic to support its authenticity ('considérée à tort par R. Oldenbourg comme une oeuvre d'atelier'). Ludwig Burchard noted that the Dresden *Lion Hunt* 'is an improved variant of the Rennes composition and painted somewhat later. It is an authentic Rubens, though the execution may show some traces of pupils'. On the basis of photographs I am myself inclined to judge it less favourably. However, it should be borne in mind that according to Mariette the canvas was already badly damaged in the 18th century, so that it was probably heavily restored (see n. 2).

9. See p. 205, n. 28.

### 9. *Lion Hunt of the King of Persia: Oil Sketch* (Fig. 65)

Oil on panel; 49.2 × 64.8 cm. (two boards joined horizontally).—*Verso*: a red seal.  
Worcester, Mass., Worcester Art Museum.  
Inv. No. 1939.89.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Brussels, until September 1936; G. Marseau, Hamoir (Belgium); ? dealer W. E. Duits, London, 1937; dealer P. de Boer, Amsterdam, from whom bought by the museum in 1939.

EXHIBITED: Gallery P. de Boer, Amsterdam, June–August 1938, No. 22 (repr.).

LITERATURE: L. Burchard, quoted in the cat. P. de Boer, 1938, No. 22; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, 1948, p. 69, under No. 17; *Rosand, Lion Hunt*, p. 31, n. 15; *Martin, Cat. National Gallery*, p. 186, n. 20; *Haverkamp Begemann, Cat. Worcester*, I, pp. 210–212; II, *repr.* p. 576; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p. 632, No. A16; II, pl. 485.

Six riders in Eastern costume and two men on foot are engaged in fighting lions. A horseman on the far left drives his spear into the shoulder of a lion which is biting the shoulder of a turbaned rider

and dragging him backwards off his rearing horse. Two more turbaned horsemen—one on a horse kicking out with its hind legs, the other barely visible behind him—prepare to strike the lion with scimitars. Two other mounted Orientals advance from the right. In the centre foreground a man lies pinned to the ground by a lion; a young Moor is driving a spear into the animal's neck. On the far left and under the horse's feet on the right are two slain(?) lions.

Burchard, who examined this sketch in 1936, attributed it to Rubens;<sup>1</sup> Rosand seems to have considered it a pastiche.<sup>2</sup> Haverkamp-Begemann ascribed it to Rubens's hand, though with some reservations owing to its poor condition.<sup>3</sup> Finally Held again questioned the attribution to Rubens,<sup>4</sup> chiefly on account of defects in the composition and inconsistencies of pose.<sup>5</sup> I do not believe the work to be a pastiche. It contains so many references to other hunting scenes, which cannot be called literal borrowings, and all these motifs are so skilfully combined, that I think Rubens must be regarded as its originator.<sup>6</sup>

Despite the deplorable condition of the sketch, after close examination<sup>7</sup> I am convinced that it is by Rubens. It has been roughly handled and repeatedly overpainted.<sup>8</sup> It has been subjected to treatment on several occasions (1939, 1952, 1955) in the Worcester Museum; some retouches have in this way been removed, but others added. The original painting survives in a few places: the man on the far right and the turbaned horseman in front of him (with a dark pink tunic and light pink trousers; the quiver is golden-yellow with some specks of blue; the saddle-cloth shows green and red; and the horse is completely overpainted); the breeches of the man in the centre on the

brown horse; the negro boy below (freely sketched with dark brown outlines, filled in with muddy green; some streaks of dull yellow); the man with a moss-green tunic, attacked by the lion (the lion's back is overpainted); the upper part of the body of the horseman on the far left.

The composition seems to be based on the sketch in the National Gallery in London (No.3; Fig.39). The horse on the left is borrowed from that work, as is the Oriental horseman attacked from behind by a lion, and the other rider behind the lion who is about to strike at it with his sword. The young Moor standing in the centre foreground, thrusting his spear into the other lion's body, recalls a figure in the London panel; the man on the ground, on the other hand, also appears in the *Lion Hunt* in the Schleissheim series (No.6; cf. Fig.51). As in the London sketch there is also a man on the left, striking with his spear at the lion biting the Oriental's shoulder; this idea was abandoned in other hunting scenes derived from it, such as the *Rennes Tiger Hunt* (No.7; Fig.57) and the *Dresden Lion Hunt* (No.8, Fig.63). The close resemblance to the London sketch might at first sight seem an argument for dating the Worcester sketch shortly after it, perhaps before the *Rennes Tiger Hunt*. The similarity to the earlier *Wolf Hunt* (No.2; Fig.33) seems to point in the same direction: the horse on the right, in the *pesade* position, is the same as in that work, and the two horsemen on the far right are similarly placed. The main lines of the composition as a whole are similar in both works. The focus of the action is slightly off centre, about a third of the way from the left border; short but violent movements occur on either side of it, while the turbulent composition is quietened to some extent by a more sweeping movement from the

right, filling the last third of the surface.

Burchard nevertheless believed that this sketch was not painted c.1617 but soon after 1620, in view of the rich and fluent composition and also the large expanse of sky. There are further arguments for a somewhat later date. For instance, some details of the horseman attacked by a lion differ from the London sketch in the same way as the definitive formulation in the Rennes *Tiger Hunt* and the Dresden *Lion Hunt*, which may suggest that the Worcester sketch is later than these. The Oriental's head is not raised as high as in the London sketch; a quiver is seen behind his back, as in the *Tiger Hunt*; also as in the *Tiger Hunt*, the lion's left hind paw is on the horse's right buttock. (On the other hand, as in the London sketch, the right forefoot of the rearing horse is invisible). However, the strongest argument for a later date is, in my opinion, the fact that two motifs from this *Lion Hunt* can be found in the Munich *Lion Hunt* (No.11; Fig.74), which is to be dated 1621, or in the preparatory sketches for it. The second horse from the right, striking out with its hind legs—but with its head raised, unlike the corresponding motif in the Schleissheim *Lion Hunt* (No.6; cf. Fig.51)—is also found in the sketch for the *Lion Hunt* at Leningrad (No.11a; Fig.75); while the pose of the rider furthest left, and also his shield, recur in the Munich *Lion Hunt* (No.11; Fig.74). It is therefore likely that the Worcester *Lion Hunt* dates from a time between the London sketch and the Munich *Lion Hunt*, i.e. between 1617 and 1621, and is probably later than the Rennes *Tiger Hunt*. On the other hand, the reminiscences of the composition of the *Wolf Hunt*, and the absence of any suggestion of the diagonal composition which was to characterize the Mu-

nich *Lion Hunt*, lead me to think that the Worcester sketch is separated from the latter painting by a considerable period of time.

One important borrowing, which has hitherto been overlooked, increases the likelihood that this is a composition by Rubens, and also throws light on its subject. The turbaned horseman on the far right, drawing his scimitar, is clearly inspired by a figure in Rubens's *Costume Book* (Fig.66):<sup>9</sup> the pose of the right arm is the same, as are the legs, while the details of the scimitar, quiver, saddle, saddle-cloth and halter are reproduced very accurately. Against this figure in the *Costume Book* Rubens wrote 'Koninck van Persia ter Jacht' (King of Persia Hunting), which provides us with a title for the present sketch. The fact that the figure in the sketch was based on more or less private study material, and the freedom with which this motif was treated, seem to me evidence in favour of Rubens's own authorship.<sup>10</sup>

1. Letter of 3 June 1937 to W.E.Duits.
2. Loc. cit.: 'Another assemblage of motifs from Rubens's lion hunts...'
3. Haverkamp-Begemann, loc. cit.: 'The preparation of the panel showing broad horizontal brush strokes and vertical ones near the edges on either side is characteristic for Rubens and his immediate circle, and the sketch therefore probably is not a later pastiche. Given the variety of sources it is not very likely that a pupil concocted a pastiche, but rather that Rubens himself painted a sketch...'
4. In 1959 Held suggested (*Held, Drawings*, I, p.133, under No.89) that the 'Worcester hunting piece' might be by Soutman. However, in a letter to the Worcester museum he subsequently stated that he had confused it with the hunting scene in the Wadsworth Atheneum at Hartford (see No.7a).
5. Held observed, for instance, that the right hand of the horseman attacked by a lion is missing; but traces of this hand can be seen, and it appears clearly on photographs of an earlier state.
6. Several of these parallels with other hunting scenes by Rubens have been pointed out by Burchard, Haverkamp-Begemann and Held.

7. I was able to use a microscope, an ultra-violet lamp and some X-ray photographs.
8. A photograph reproduced in the sale catalogue of P. de Boer (Fig.67) shows the lion, below left, as recumbent and fully drawn, while the lion in the centre, holding a victim in its claws, turns its head to the right. In another photograph (Fig.68), which cannot be dated (? 1936), the first lion is seen running, while the other is dark in colour and faces the spectator.
9. See *Belkin, Costume Book*, pp.165-168, No.39 (figure E), fig.224; R.A.Ingrams, 'Rubens and Persia', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXVI, 1974, p.193, fig.29. Ingrams could not ascertain the original source of this figure, but supposed it to be a Persian miniature of the last quarter of the 16th century; see, however, also Belkin, *op. cit.*, p.168, n.3.
10. It is an interesting coincidence that George Gage and Toby Matthew—who, according to Ingrams (*op. cit.*, p.194), had probably introduced Rubens to this Persian material—were frequently in touch with him in these years in connection, moreover, with various hunting scenes (see under Nos.2 and 7).

#### 10. The Calydonian Boar Hunt (Fig.69)

Oil on canvas; 257 × 416 cm.

Vienna, *Kunsthistorisches Museum*.

Inv. No.523.

PROVENANCE: Archduke Leopold William (Brussels and Vienna), inv.1659, German and Netherlandish masters, No.132: 'Ein grosses Stuckh von Öhlfarb auf Leinwath, warin die Jacht van Adalante. In einer schwartzen Ramen, hoch 13 Span 2 Finger vnd 21 Span braidt [274.56 × 436.8 cm.]. Original von Petro Paulo Rubbens'; bequeathed to the Emperor Leopold I in 1661; Stallburg, Vienna, 1730; Belvedere, Vienna, 1783; ? Hradschin, Prague, c.1794; Belvedere, Vienna, 19th century.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig.72), studio replica, with some changes, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 259 × 350.5 cm. PROV. Captain Bruce Vernon Wentworth, Wentworth Castle, Yorkshire; Wentworth Day, Ingatestone, Essex, 1954; ? dealer Theo-

dore Crombie, London, 1954; J.Wentworth Day, 1955; sale, London (Christie's), 15 June 1956, lot 154 (as *Rubens*); Oskar Klein, Central Picture Galleries, New York, 1956-1959. LIT. J.Wentworth Day, 'Rubens's Boar Hunt', *Country Life*, April 1955, p.1036, repr.; id., 'A New Rubens', *The Museums Journal*, LV, No.10, 1956, pp.275-276, pl.XLVI; Heinz, *Jagd*, p.94; Adler, *Wildens*, p.102, under No.G 38; (2) Painting (Fig.73), studio replica, with some changes, Patrimonio Nacional, Palacio de Riofrío (near Segovia); canvas, dimensions unknown. PROV. ? Madrid, Alcázar (inv.1666, *Pieza pequeña que sale a la Priora*, No.[88]: 'Otra pintura de dos varas de largo y siete quartas de alto el puerco de calidonia de mano de Rubenes'; inv.1686, *Pieza pequeña que mira al Picadero*, No.[536], cf. Bottineau, *Alcázar*, 1958, p.299); La Granja de San Ildefonso, *Quarto del Rey*, 18th century (cf. Ponz, loc. cit.). LIT. A.Ponz, *Viage de España*, 2nd edn., X, Madrid, 1787, p.139, No.49; Marqués de Lozoya, 'Pintura venatoria en los palacios reales', *Reales sitios*, III, No.9, 1966, p.22, repr. pp.18-19; (3) Painting, Prague, Národní Galerie, Inv. No.0 5507; canvas, laid down on panel, 53.5 × 85 cm. EXH. *Výstava přírůstků flámského malířství*, Národní Galerie, Prague, 1963, No.62; *Pocta Rubensovi k 400. výročí narození*, Šternberský Palác, 1977-1978, No.10. LIT. J.Šíp and O.J.Blažiček, *Flámische Meister des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Prague, 1963, No.54, repr. (as copy); (4) Painting, Warsaw, private collection; canvas, 112 × 143 cm. LIT. T.Grzybkowska, 'Polowanie Meleagra i Atalanty na dzika kalidónskiego—obraz pracowno Rubensa z warszawskich zbiorów prywatnych', in *Rubens, Niderlandy i Polska*, Łódź, 1978, pp.146-149, figs.126-128 (as studio of Rubens); (5) Painting, Metz, private collection (as *T. van Thulden*; photograph in the

Rubenianum, Antwerp); canvas, dimensions unknown; (6) Painting, ? after Copy (3), whereabouts unknown (A. C. L. photograph, No.182749B); canvas, 39×61 cm. PROV. ? Dealer A. de Heuvel, Brussels, 1961; (7) Painting, São Paulo, private collection (photograph in the Rubenianum, Antwerp); panel, 67.5×82 cm. LIT. Heinz, *Jagd*, p.94; Held, *Oil Sketches*, I, p.339, under No.249 ('poor copy'); (8) Painting, Ipswich, Museum, Inv. No. L 1968-11-22. LIT. C. Wright, *Old Master Paintings in Britain*, London, 1976, p.177; (9) Painting, Madrid, collection of the Duquesa de Santa Marca (photograph in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York); (10) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 72.5×124 cm. PROV. Sale, Versailles (G. Blanche, Hôtel Rameau), 7 June 1973, lot 63 (repr.); (11) Miniature by Storffer, in *Neu Eingerichtetes Inventarium* (see below), Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum; body-colour on parchment; (12) Drawing, ? after Copy (3), whereabouts unknown; black chalk, 200×320 mm. PROV. Sale, Amsterdam (Mak van Waay), 17-19 September 1968, lot 669 (repr.); J. Verhoeven, Lier; (13) Drawing after the man in the lower left corner, restraining a hound, Copenhagen, Printroom of the Statens museum for Kunst, 'Rubens Cantoor', No.V, 63; red chalk, 210×300 mm.; (14) Drawing by Antoine Watteau after the head of the horn-blower on the left, whereabouts unknown; black and red chalk, 155×200 mm. PROV. Cunard; H. Oppenheimer, London; Douglas H. Gordon, Baltimore. LIT. K. T. Parker and J. Mathey, *Antoine Watteau. Catalogue complet de son oeuvre dessiné*, Paris, 1957, I, p.41, No.258, repr.; (15) Etching by Anton von Prenner, in F. von Stampart and A. von Prenner, *Prodromus...* (see below); (16) Tapestry, 18th century, after Copy (2), in reverse, Patrimonio Nacional, Pa-

lacio de Riofrío (near Segovia). LIT. *Patrimonio Nacional. Museo de Caza*, Madrid, 1970, repr. p.14; R. Perales de la Cal, 'Alegorías musicales en los tapices del Patrimonio Nacional (3)', *Reales sitios*, XV, No.57, 1978, repr. (detail) p.49.

EXHIBITED: Peter Paul Rubens, 1577-1640. *Ausstellung zur 400. Wiederkehr seines Geburtstages*, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, April-June 1977, No.31.

LITERATURE: *Neu Eingerichtetes Inventarium der Kayl.-Bilder Gallerie in der Stallburg ... von Ferdinand à Storffer gemahlen worden*, (MS in Gemäldegalerie des Kunsthistorischen Museums, Vienna), II, 1730, No.140, repr.; F. von Stampart and A. von Prenner, *Prodromus...*, Vienna, 1735 (reprinted in *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, VII, 1888, II. Theil), p.6, repr.; Michel, *Histoire*, p.305, No.3; C. von Mechel, *Verzeichnis der Gemälde der kaiserlich königlichen Bilder Gallerie in Wien*, Vienna, 1783, p.112, No.7; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp.88-89, No.286; Waagen, *Kleine Schriften*, Stuttgart, 1875, pp.284-285; Goeler von Ravensburg, *Rubens*, pp.135-136; A. Berger, 'Inventar der Kunstsammlung des Erzherzogs Leopold Wilhelm von Österreich', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, I, 1883, p.CXXII; E. R. von Engerth, *Kunsthistorische Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses. Gemälde. Beschreibendes Verzeichnis*, II, *Niederländische Schulen*, Vienna, 1884, pp.391-392, No.1168; Rooses, III, p.117, No.637; Rooses, *Life*, I, pp.262-263; *K.d.K.*, edition Rosenberg, pp.216, 475; Dillon, *Rubens*, pp.117, 208, No.19, pl. CCXXV; Haberditzl, *Studien*, II, pp.288-289; Kieser, *Antikes*, p.125, n.35; *Katalog der Gemäldegalerie*, Vienna, 1938, p.143, No.858; Bordley, *Rubens*, fig.45; Bordley, *Légende*, pp.17, 28-29; Miesel, *Rubens and Ancient Art*, p.64; *Katalog*

der Gemäldegalerie, II, *Vlamen, Holländer, Deutsche, Franzosen*, Vienna, 1963, p.111, No.316; K.Garas, 'Das Schicksal der Sammlung des Erzherzogs Leopold-Wilhelm', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, N.F., XXXII, 1968, p.238; M.Jaffé, 'Rediscovered Oil Sketches by Rubens, I', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXI, 1969, pp.440, 443; J.Šíp and O.J.Blažiček, *Flämische Meister des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Prague, 1963, under No.54; H.Gerson, 'Dutch and Flemish Painting [in the Norton Simon Museum of Art at Pasadena]', *The Connoisseur*, CXCI, November 1976, p.163; *Heinz, Jagd*; M.Jaffé, 'Exhibitions for the Rubens Year, I', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXIX, 1977, p.623; M.Winner, in *Mielke-Winner*, pp.82-83, under No.29; *Mitsch, Rubenszeichnungen*, p.165, No.71; *Kruyfhoofst-Buys*, p.70, repr.; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, pp.338-339, under No.249; *Adler, Wildens*, pp.33, 102, No.G 38, fig.55.

Following Ovid's account (see under No.1), Rubens depicts the moment at which Meleager prepares to deal the death-blow to the boar, which Atalanta has wounded with an arrow behind the ear. The dead Ancaeus lies beneath the savage beast, which is beset on all sides by hunters, huntresses and hounds. The introduction of two female hunters besides Atalanta is an iconographic detail that is not found in Ovid.

The canvas was twice enlarged. Originally it measured c.207 × 360 cm. At a second stage, strips were added on all sides: 40 cm. at the top, 30 and 25 cm. to left and right, and c.10 cm. at the bottom. This is the state in which we now know it (257 × 416 cm.).<sup>1</sup> Until recently, however, there were additional strips of considerable size at the top and bottom, so that the canvas measured 327 × 416 cm. This

is the state reproduced in the photographs by Löwy and Hanfstaengl; it is not known exactly when these strips were removed. They must have been added c.1720-1728, when the canvas was hung in the newly furnished Galerie of the Stallburg;<sup>2</sup> the first enlargement, on the other hand, must have taken place in Rubens's studio.

An oil sketch for this painting has been preserved (No.10a; Fig.70). Burchard dated it c.1617; Held c.1618-1619,<sup>3</sup> arguing that it must be subsequent to the *Marseilles Boar Hunt* (No.4; Fig.40) and the *Dresden Landscape with a Boar Hunt* (Fig.26),<sup>4</sup> since it used motifs from these paintings but integrated them into a more flowing action, with a more convincing sense of depth. Held's dating of the sketch seems to me the more probable, and the central part of the large canvas must also have been painted around that time.<sup>5</sup> It follows the composition of the sketch very closely, but some changes may be noted: the kennelman, below left, is moved higher up and nearer the centre; the hornblower on the right is also moved towards the centre, as is the dog climbing over the felled tree-trunk; the prostrate huntsman is moved obliquely into the distance, and the poses of the dogs pinned under the boar are altered.

When the canvas was enlarged new figures were added and existing ones adapted. Unfortunately the painting has never been technically examined and only parts of it X-rayed, so that a precise account of its genesis is not yet possible. One X-ray shows that the right arm of the nymph on the extreme left was originally not drawn so far back, but showed the same pose as in the sketch. With the naked eye traces can be seen of the original hand just behind Atalanta's quiver; it was concealed from view by the addition of a fluttering piece of drapery. The

hornblower on the extreme left, whose head is within the limits of the original canvas, was clearly added only in the second phase. It is hard to say how the right lower corner of the original canvas was filled. The two figures we now see there clearly belong stylistically to the second phase: the colour is very thickly applied, with an almost careless energy. The dark background of this corner is also filled with an opaque mass of paint: it is impossible to tell with the naked eye what was originally depicted here. As the hornblower appears to the right of the sketch, we may suppose that this was also true of the first state of the canvas; but it is doubtful whether his right arm was then outstretched in a pointing gesture, as in the sketch. Only X-rays could show what his attitude actually was.<sup>6</sup> The man on the extreme right, brandishing a spear, was probably not in the original painting.

It is clear that we have here a painting that was created in two stages, and not one made up of separate portions from the outset. On close inspection one can see a difference of colour between the central part and the added strips, which is clearest in the sky above and the expanse of ground to the left. There is also a slight difference of colour in the tree-trunk on the right. However, the upward extension of the foliage is handled very judiciously, probably by reworking existing portions. Smith and Rooses ascribed the foliage and landscape to Wildens, an opinion endorsed by Adler in his recent monograph on that artist. I do not accept the traditional attribution of the animals to Snyder.<sup>7</sup>

As to the figures, there is a remarkable difference in style between the first and the second phase. The original portions are more smoothly painted, without

emphatic highlights or heavily-marked contours, and in the flesh parts light, creamy colours predominate. The execution must largely have been left to studio assistants, but I agree with Rooses and Heinz that Rubens retouched a great deal, especially in the figures of the two protagonists.<sup>8</sup> In the second phase, as we have seen, the painting was much rougher and more dynamic, with a livelier texture and unruly streaks of colour here and there. Burchard thought that a considerable time elapsed between the two phases: he dated the original portion c.1617, the expansion and reworking c.1628. Heinz, on the other hand, placed the first phase c.1616-1618 and the second c.1620. He believed, rightly, that Van Dyck had a part in the second stage. This is suggested not only by the use of impasto and the somewhat rough brushwork, but also the facial types: note, e.g., the exaggeratedly puffed-out cheeks of the hornblower on the left, and compare a similar figure in Van Dyck's *Boar Hunt* at Dresden, painted in collaboration with Snyder (Fig. 23). Van Dyck probably also retouched several of the original figures in order to soften the difference of style: the head of the nymph on the extreme left, for example, as well as possibly that of the horseman on the right; the hornblower on the right, as already mentioned, was completely repainted, and the kennelman on the left retouched. If the attribution to Van Dyck is correct we have a pretty exact *terminus ante quem* for the second phase of the picture, as he was in England in November 1620 and is not likely to have worked in Rubens's studio thereafter.

Why the canvas was enlarged is not known: perhaps Rubens was not wholly satisfied with the original composition and kept it in the studio for a time, possibly in a partly unfinished state. At all

events he had no copies made of the work in its original form.

Of the reworked composition, apart from copies of little interest there exist some slightly different versions, two of which can be regarded as studio replicas. The first (Copy [1]; Fig.72) was formerly in Wentworth Castle; the second (Copy [2]; Fig.73) is in the Palacio de Riofrío. Burchard, who examined the Wentworth replica in 1956, believed that it was painted by assistants under Rubens's direction.<sup>10</sup> J. Wentworth Day, who had published it shortly before, suggested that a certain Sir John Wentworth had bought it from Rubens through Carleton in 1624. He based this on a sentence, taken out of its context, from a letter which Lady Anna Carleton wrote to her husband from Flushing on 9 November of that year.<sup>11</sup> In point of fact nothing is known of Sir John Wentworth having acquired such a painting.

The Wentworth version, like all the other copies, is based on the painting at Vienna in the form in which we know it. There are, however, some important modifications. Atalanta's right hand does not point downwards as in the Vienna canvas, but is stretched out horizontally. Instead of the two men behind Meleager with spears pointing upwards, the Wentworth version has a single woman with a two-pronged pitchfork. The horseman in the centre is even higher above Meleager's head, and both he and the other horseman are proportionately larger than in the Vienna painting. The pitchfork seems to me an important link with Rubens's studio, as there are two of them in the sketch. To judge from the photograph, the quality of this version is far inferior to the Vienna canvas.

The Riofrío version seems to me somewhat better in quality than the Went-

worth, though without any claim to be regarded as autograph. The chief divergences from the Vienna canvas are as follows. The hornblower on the left holds his instrument with the left hand instead of the right; Atalanta's right hand is not so far down and is partly clenched. Atalanta and Meleager are both fully clad: she wears a pale green garment, he has a blue tunic and boots with lion-masks.<sup>12</sup> The two men with spears behind Meleager's back are missing.<sup>13</sup>

The basis of the present No.10 was Rubens's own *Calydonian Hunt* of a few years earlier (No.1; cf. Fig.31), supplemented with other material. The construction of the group on the left, the figure of Meleager and the position of the boar, are taken from the previous composition. The boar's sideways stance, however, is more reminiscent this time of antique sarcophagi than of the monumental statuary in the Uffizi. The pose of Atalanta's right hand also seems to be borrowed from sarcophagi, like the dog biting the boar's ear<sup>14</sup>—a motif that Rubens had previously used in the *Marseilles Boar Hunt* (No.4; Fig.40) and the *Dresden Landscape with a Boar Hunt* (Fig.26). A naked man seen from behind, brandishing a spear, also appears on sarcophagi.<sup>15</sup> However, the most striking element borrowed from antique reliefs is the horseman in the centre, in the customary pose of Hippolytus the huntsman as seen on sarcophagi.<sup>16</sup> The pose of the horseman on the right is much the same as that of the huntsman on the extreme right of the *Tiger Hunt* (No.7; Fig.57). The motif of the dog climbing over an obstacle was used by Rubens in the *Marseilles Boar Hunt* and the *Dresden Landscape with a Boar Hunt*.

Günther Heinz suggested that the poem by Gian Battista Marino about a 'Meleagro con Atalanta di Pietro Paulo Rubens'



might refer to the canvas in Vienna. This is unlikely, however, as the canvas probably did not leave Rubens's studio until about 1620, while Marino's book, though not finished until November 1619, was for the most part written many years earlier. The poem is more likely to have referred to Rubens's earlier *Calydonian Boar Hunt* (see under No.1).

1. The present measurements are approximately those given in Archduke Leopold William's inventory of 1659, bearing in mind that these included the frame.
2. This state is reproduced in the copies by Storffer and Prenner (Copies [11] and [15]).
3. *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, pp.337, 339.
4. *K.d.K.*, p.184; Adler, *Landscapes*, No.18.
5. The types of Atalanta and her two female companions recur in several representations of Diana and her nymphs returning from the hunt, which must also be dated around 1618-1620 (*K.d.K.*, pp.123, 127; Oldenbourg's dating of c.1616 for these pictures is too early).
6. Somewhat above the present position of his right hand is something which may be interpreted as a first beginning of that hand; but this *pentimento* seems to belong to the second phase of the painting.
7. The animals were probably painted by a studio assistant, and some of them retouched by Rubens, e.g. the dog clambering over the tree-trunk.
8. In Leopold William's inventory of 1659 this painting is listed as '*Original von Petro Paulo Rubbens*'; Smith, Waagen and Dillon praised its execution highly. Rooses took a more qualified view: the figures, he thought, were painted by a pupil, but thoroughly retouched by Rubens. Oldenbourg did not include the work in his edition of *Klassiker der Kunst*, and since then it has generally been regarded as a studio product (e.g. in the catalogues of 1938 and 1963, and by Jaffé and Gerson). Only recently has Heinz once again emphasized Rubens's authorship, limited though it may have been.
9. Copy (3), in the Národní Galerie in Prague, probably also deserves attention, but I could not judge its quality from the reproduction available to me. It is distinguished by a different landscape, with conifers, and by extending further downwards, so that both legs can be seen of the man with a dog on the left. (This is also a feature of Copies [6] and [12]). Copy (8) is of rather high quality. Copy (4) cannot in my opinion be regarded as a studio replica, as supposed by Teresa Grzybkowska (loc. cit.).
10. 'Rubens had this picture executed with the assistance of gifted pupils' (letter of 10 September 1956).
11. The letter containing the sentence 'S<sup>r</sup> John Wentworth is very respective to me; I delivered your message to him' can be found in *Sainsbury, Papers*, p.307.
12. As these garments are draped naturally around the body, I think they are probably not a later addition.
13. This is also the case in Copies (5), (6), (7) and (12), which in other respects all follow the Vienna version; Copy (16) follows the version at Riofrío.
14. E.g. both motifs occur in the Meleager sarcophagus at Woburn Abbey (Fig.27; C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*, III, 2, *Hippolytos-Meleagros*, Berlin, 1904, No.224, pl.LXXXVII).
15. See e.g. the Meleager sarcophagus in the Palazzo Massimi alle Colonne, Rome (ibid., No.252).
16. See e.g. the following Hippolytos sarcophagi: ibid., Nos.164-171. The same pose is seen in antique representations of imperial lion hunts.

### 10a. The Calydonian Boar Hunt: Oil Sketch (Fig.70)

Oil on panel; 47.8 × 74 cm.

Pasadena, California, Norton Simon Museum.  
Inv. No.M.75.21.P.

PROVENANCE: ? Charles-Alexandre de Calonne, sale, London (Skinner and Dyke), 24 March 1795, lot 19; ? Edward Coxe, sale, London, 25 April 1807, lot 47; Mrs. MacMurrough Kavanagh, Borris House (Ire.); ? David Carritt; Thos. Agnew and Sons, London, 1959; Rosenberg and Stiebel, New York, 1960; purchased by Mr. and Mrs. Norton Simon, Los Angeles, in 1962.

LITERATURE: M. Jaffé, 'Rediscovered Oil Sketches by Rubens, I', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXI, 1969, pp.440, 443, fig.28; H. Gerson, 'Dutch and Flemish Painting [in the Norton Simon Museum of Art at Pasadena]', *The Connoisseur*, CXCIII, Nov. 1976, p.163, pl.8; *Heinz, Jagd*, p.93, fig.19;

*Held, Oil Sketches*, I, pp.337–339, No.249; II, pl.271; *Adler, Wildens*, p.102, under No.G38; F.Herrmann, *Selected Paintings at the Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena, California*, New York, 1980, repr. p.46.

This sketch<sup>1</sup> already shows the main lines of the composition in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. In that canvas the different motifs are further worked up and their relative position slightly altered. The most striking difference is that the huntsman seen from behind on the extreme right does not appear in the sketch. In the final picture, as compared with the sketch, the body of Ancaeus points more obliquely towards the background. The pose of the injured dog lying on the ground behind the boar's left foot is the same in the sketch as in Rubens's earlier *Calydonian Boar Hunt* (No.1; cf. Fig.31).

I would date this sketch c.1618–1620.<sup>2</sup> It may be identical with the one in the Calonne sale and afterwards in the Edward Coxe sale, described there as follows: 'Rubens. The Boar Hunt with the Death of Meleager... The lifeless body of Meleager is finely contrasted by the animated Action of the surrounding group, all eager to destroy the enraged Animal; while the Anxious Character of Atalanta, bent on revenging the Death of her Lover, is told in impressive and forcible Language. The Soul of Rubens is in this splendidly coloured Sketch ... from the Calonne Collection'.<sup>3</sup>

1. I have not seen this sketch; for a full technical description see *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, pp.337–338.

2. See also p.158.

3. This reference is generally connected with the sketch in the Cook collection (No.20a), though there is no dead man in the latter.

## 11. **Lion Hunt** (Fig.74)

Oil on canvas; 249 × 377 cm.

Munich, *Alte Pinakothek*. Inv. No.602.

PROVENANCE: ? Commissioned by Lord John Digby in 1621, on behalf of James, 2nd Marquis of Hamilton (1589–1625); ? inherited by his son James, 3rd Marquis and later 1st Duke of Hamilton (1606–1649); ? George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham (1592–1628); ? George Villiers, 2nd Duke of Buckingham, 1635; Armand Jean de Vignerot du Plessis, Duke of Richelieu (1629–1715); ? Thomas, Count Fraula (Brussels, 1646–1738), sale, Brussels (De Vos), 21 July 1738, lot 1; ? Van Zwieten, sale, The Hague, 12 April 1741, lot 30; Max III Joseph, Elector of Bavaria (reigned 1745–1777), Residenz, Munich, 1748; Hofgartengalerie, Munich, 1781; since 1836 in the *Alte Pinakothek*.

COPIES: (1) Painting, Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Inv.1945, No.73; canvas, 134.3 × 214.6 cm. PROV. ? Jan van Meurs, Antwerp, inv.1652: 'eene Leeuwejacht, naer Rubens' (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p.134); Balthasar II Moretus, Antwerp, 31 December 1658: 'Leeuwejacht, schoustick, eene goede cotype nae Rubens... fl.40'; in the Plantin House ever since. LIT. M. Rooses, 'Petrus-Paulus Rubens en Balthasar Moretus, II', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, I, 1882, pp.292, 294; Rooses, IV, p.331, under No.115; M. Rooses, *Catalogue du Musée Plantin-Moretus*, 5th edn., Antwerp, 1902, pp.4–5; H.F. Bouchery and F. van den Wijngaert, *P.P. Rubens en het Plantijnsche huis*, Antwerp, 1941, pp.42, 48, n.4; L. Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, Amsterdam–London–New York, 1969, I, pp.321, 332; (2) Painting, Antwerp, Academy; canvas, 196 × 279 cm.; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; copper, 35 × 51 cm. PROV. Holburne of Menstrie Museum, Bath.

LIT. *The Holburne of Menstrie Museum, Catalogue*, I, Bath, 1936, p.7, No.8; C. Wright, *Old Master Paintings in Britain*, London, 1976, p.177; (4) Painting attributed to E. Delacroix, whereabouts unknown; panel, 58 × 89.5 cm. PROV. Sale, Lucerne (Galerie Fischer), 21–25 June 1966, lot 1870 (repr.; as *E. Delacroix*); (5) Painting by A. H. Pellegrini (b. 1881), whereabouts unknown. PROV. Private collection, Basle, 1937. EXH. *Künstlerkopien*, Kunsthalle, Basle, 1937, No. 185; (6) Painting, Verviers, Musée Communal, deposited in the town hall. PROV. Hauzeur-de Simony Bequest. LIT. M. Pirenne, *Catalogue des peintures dessins, gravures et lithographies*, Musée Communal de Verviers, Verviers, 1915, p.78, No. 602; (7) Drawing, Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen; (8) Lithograph by F. Piloty, in reverse. LIT. *Cat. Deutsches Jagdmuseum*, repr. p.180; See under No. 11e for more copies.

LITERATURE: [R. de Piles], *Conversations sur la connoissance de la peinture...*, Paris, 1677, pp.130–132, 281; *de Piles, Dissertation*, 1681, pp.25, 96–99; N. Catherinot, *Traité de la peinture*, Bourges, 1687, p.6 (reprinted in *Revue universelle des arts publiée par Paul Lacroix*, X, 1859, p.184); Michel, *Histoire*, p.310; Rittershausen, *Die vornehmste Merkwürdigkeiten der Residenzstadt München...*, Munich, 1788, p.20; C. von Mannlich, *Beschreibung der Churpfalzbaierischen Gemäldesammlungen zu München u. zu Schleissheim*, II, Munich, 1805, No. 1174; [J. G. van Dillis], *Notice des tableaux de la Galerie Royale de Munich*, Munich, 1818, p.160, No. 1174; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp.79–80, No. 247; Van Hasselt, *Rubens*, p.357, No. 1266; Waagen, *Kleine Schriften*, pp.291–292; H. Riegel, *Beiträge zur niederländischen Kunstgeschichte*, Berlin, 1882, I, pp.289–290; E. Bonnaffé, *Recherches sur les*

*collections des Richelieu*, Paris, 1883, pp.36, 60, 96; id., *Dictionnaire des amateurs français au XVIIe siècle*, Paris, 1884, pp.271, 275; C. L. Eastlake, *Notes on the Principal Pictures of the Old Pinakothek at Munich*, London, 1884, pp.180–182; *Rooses*, IV, pp.329–331, No. 1150; *Burckhardt, Rubens*, pp.139, 303; *Rooses–Ruelens*, II, pp.142, 286; *Michel, Rubens*, pp.190–191, pl.16; *Rooses, Life*, I, pp.259–260, 262, 299, 315; H. Knackfuss, *Rubens*, 7th edn., Bielefeld–Leipzig, 1903, p.42; W. Bode, *Rembrandt und seine Zeitgenossen*, Leipzig, 1906, p.278; K. d. K., edn. *Rosenberg*, pp.115, 470; *Dillon, Rubens*, pp.116, 201, No. 23, pl. CX; [H. von Tschudi], *Katalog der Kgl. Älteren Pinakothek. Amtliche Ausgabe*, 11th edn., Munich, 1911, p.133, No. 734; *Haberdtztl, Studien*, p.297; L. Burchard, 'Anmerkungen zu den Rubens-Bildern der Alten Pinakothek in München', *Kunstchronik*, N.F., XXIII, No. 17, 1912, p.259; Oldenbourg, *Flämische Malerei*, pp.38–39; *Rosenbaum, Van Dyck*, p.49; W. Pinder, 'Antike Kampfmotive in neueren Kunst', *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, N.F., V, 1928, pp.359–360, 363; L. Burchard, 'Die neuerworbene Landschaft von Rubens im Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum', *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, II, 1928, p.63; Kieser, *Antikes*, p.124; *Cat. Munich*, 1936, pp. XII, 231, No. 602; A. Scharf, 'The Exhibition of Rubens's Sketches at Brussels', *The Burlington Magazine*, LXXI, 1937, p.188; L. Burchard, quoted in *Catalogue de tableaux anciens. Nouvelles acquisitions*, (Gallery P. de Boer, Amsterdam, June–August 1938), under No. 22; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, 1948, p.69, under No. 17; *Evers, Rubens*, pp.169–173, 257, 491, n. 151, figs. 88–90; *Burchard, Wildenstein*, p.24, under No. 20; C. Norris, 'Rubens in Retrospect', *The Burlington Magazine*, XCIII, 1951, p.7; L. Burchard, 'Rubens's "Daughters of Cecrops"', *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin*, XI,

1953, p.12, n.11; A.Seilern, *Flemish Painting & Drawings at 56 Princes Gate London SW7*, London, 1955, I, p.104, under No.65; Magurn, *Letters*, p.446, doc.46, n.3; Bordley, *Rubens*, fig.31; Aust, *Entwurf*, pp.165, 170–173; 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*, November 1963, pp.256–257, 290–291; Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, p.58, under No.31, p.87, under No.50, pp.245–247, under No.159; Müller Hofstede, *Review*, 1966, p.452, No.159; Isermeyer, *Jagd*, pp.10–13, 23–24, 29–30, pl.5; *Cat. Munich, 1969*, p.78, No.602, fig.112; Rosand, *Lion Hunt*; Martin, *Cat. National Gallery*, pp.183–185, 220; Martin, *Pompa*, p.213, under No.55; Vlieghe, *Saints*, II, p.38, under No.105; Renger, *Rubens Dedit*, I, pp.170–171; Krepel, *Max Emanuel*, p.224; Bodart, *Incisione*, pp.50–51, under No.75; Rowlands, *Rubens Drawings*, p.80; Kruyfhoof-Buys, pp.49–51, repr. pp.24–25; M. Winner, in *Mielke-Winner*, pp.82–84, under No.29; Baumstark, *Bildgedanke*, pp.10–17, 28, 31; R.Liess, *Die Kunst des Rubens*, Brunswick, 1977, pp.93ff., 296–297, 422, 471; E.Hubala, 'Triumph der Weibermacht. Bemerkungen zu einer Komposition von Rubens', in *Festschrift Herbert Siebenhüner*, Würzburg, 1978, p.154, n.18; H.Vlieghe, *De schilder Rubens*, Utrecht–Antwerp, 1977, pp.111–112; L.Dittmann, 'Versuch über die Farbe bei Rubens', in *Rubens. Kunstgeschichtliche Beiträge*, edited by E.Hubala, Constance, 1979, p.64; K.Downes, *Rubens*, London, 1980, p.31, pl.15; Held, *Oil Sketches*, I, p.387, under No.288, p.407, under No.298, p.409, under Nos.299 and 300, p.632, under No. A 16; Diemer, *Jagdbilder*, p.498, under Nos.801–803; Müllenmeister, *Meer und Land*, III, p.38, No.337; U.Krepel, in *Cat. Munich*, 1983, pp.472–473, No.602; Freedberg, *After the Passion*, p.125, under No.31.

Four horsemen and three men on foot are in combat with a lion and a lioness. In the centre the lion has attacked a turbaned man dressed in white, pulling him off his rearing horse; his hunting-spear, which he holds in both hands, is pointing upwards, but he has failed to hit the lion. Three other horsemen come to the rescue: on the left a Moor in a red tunic thrusts his spear into the lion's back, on the right a turbaned Oriental with a long moustache takes aim at its neck with a spear, and in the centre a man in antique armour prepares to strike at it with his sword. Below right, a dying man lies prostrate; on the left another man, also thrown to the ground, wards off the lioness with his sword, while another armed man with sword and shield hastens to his aid.

The provenance of this canvas cannot at present be reconstructed with absolute certainty. The earliest mention in the collection of the Electors of Bavaria is in the 1748 inventory of the Residenz at Munich.<sup>1</sup> It was long thought that it had previously been at Schleissheim (where Sandrart was supposed to have seen it), and that it was commissioned from Rubens by Maximilian, Duke and subsequently Elector of Bavaria. In his letter of 28 April 1618, Rubens mentions to Carleton a *Lion Hunt* painted for the Duke of Bavaria, but it is now clear that this was a different work with a different composition. The painting referred to in the letter was at Schleissheim until 1800, but it was removed by the French and afterwards assigned to the Bordeaux museum, where it was destroyed by fire in 1870 (see under No.6). The confusion between the two works was resolved by Ludwig Burchard, who pointed out that the *Lion Hunt* in the Pinakothek must date from later than 1618, probably c.1622, as a sketch for it appears on the reverse side of a panel, on the

front of which is a sketch for the Marie de' Medici series (No.11b).<sup>2</sup> The early 1620s are a more likely date on stylistic grounds also. Rubens's correspondence of the period has therefore been searched for a reference to this *Lion Hunt*. Around 1620 three hunting scenes are mentioned: (1) A studio piece slightly retouched by Rubens; this was commissioned through Carleton by Lord Danvers, but refused by the latter when it proved of insufficient quality to present to the Prince of Wales. It was probably a copy after the *Tiger Hunt*: see under No.7; (2) A large *Lion Hunt*, of which Rubens wrote to William Trumbull on 13 September 1621 that it was one of his best works and had been commissioned by Lord John Digby, who, Rubens believed, meant to present it to the Marquis of Hamilton;<sup>3</sup> (3) In the same letter Rubens offered to paint for the Prince of Wales a better and less 'terrible' hunting scene in lieu of the rejected *Tiger Hunt*.<sup>4</sup> Burchard appears at one stage to have thought that the *Lion Hunt* in the Pinakothek might be this third picture. This is unlikely, however: in the first place it is by no means less ferocious than the *Tiger Hunt*, rather the contrary, and secondly Rubens's proposal to paint a substitute never seems to have been accepted or acted on. It is more probable that the *Lion Hunt* in the Pinakothek is to be identified with (2) above. Rubens's description of that work seems to suit the painting at Munich: a large *Lion Hunt*, one of his best compositions, showing a high quality of execution. Rosand was the first to propose this identification, and I agree with it despite one serious argument to the contrary.<sup>5</sup>

That argument is as follows. A *Lion Hunt* by Rubens, of the type of the one at Schleissheim, was in a sale of 1847, the catalogue of which gave as previous owner

'the Hon. Revd. Frederick Hamilton', a descendant of the Marquis of Hamilton referred to in Rubens's letter of 13 September 1621 as the intended recipient of a *Lion Hunt*. It has been concluded from this that the canvas sold in 1847, which became the property of Lord Northwick and is now in a private collection in Spain (No.6, Copy [1]; Fig.51), is the same as that referred to in Rubens's letter. At first sight this seems acceptable, but on closer inspection it is clear that the Northwick *Lion Hunt* does not altogether fit Rubens's description of the Hamilton *Lion Hunt*. The former is a studio replica of a piece he had painted before 1618, and does not seem to deserve the emphatic self-praise in his letter of 13 September 1621. We know, of course, from his correspondence with Carleton that he often spoke highly of studio replicas that had been thoroughly retouched by himself, but in my opinion his words must be taken more seriously in the present case; for, when Rubens referred in his letter to the Hamilton *Lion Hunt*, it was with a view to showing his critics of what he was capable. He needed to redeem his reputation from the damage it had suffered when the Prince of Wales refused to accept the *Tiger Hunt*, a studio work which Rubens had slightly retouched, not realizing for whom it was intended.<sup>6</sup>

Rubens now wished to prove that he was indeed capable of creating a masterpiece, and his letter was, so to speak, an invitation to his critics—like Toby Matthew, who had judged the *Tiger Hunt* so severely—to come to his studio and look at the Hamilton *Lion Hunt*, with which he was himself highly satisfied. It seems to me very unlikely that a work of the quality of the Northwick *Lion Hunt* would have stood the test. It is equally unlikely that Rubens would have referred to the

latter as a completely new creation, since Carleton, who was directly involved in these negotiations, had possessed a studio replica of just this compositional type since 1618. I have argued under No.6 that that replica was in fact the Northwick *Lion Hunt*.<sup>7</sup> When or how it became the property of the Revd. Frederick Hamilton is not clear. We have no proof that it had been in the family's possession for a long time, and the eventful history of the Hamilton collection makes it improbable that it would be the same painting as the one which came into their possession at the beginning of the 17th century. To sum up, I believe that we are dealing here with two *Lion Hunts* by Rubens: one painted for the Marquis of Hamilton in 1621 and now in the Pinakothek (Fig.74), and another bought from Rubens by Carleton in 1618, which belonged to the Revd. Frederick Hamilton at the end of the 18th century or the beginning of the 19th, was afterwards acquired by Lord Northwick and is now in a private Spanish collection (No.6, Copy [1]; Fig.51).

It remains to investigate the fortunes of the *Lion Hunt* of 1621. We know that it became, as Rubens expected, the property of the Marquis of Hamilton: it appears in the list of paintings that James, the second marquis, in a will dated 14 March 1624 bequeathed to his son James, third Marquis and later first Duke of Hamilton.<sup>8</sup> Most of the latter's important collection was sold on the Continent after his execution in 1649; in this way over 400 paintings were acquired by the Archduke Leopold William, but the *Lion Hunt* was not among them. In fact there is no mention of it anywhere after 1624; unlike, e.g., Rubens's *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, it does not appear in later Hamilton inventories or descriptions of the Hamilton country seats.<sup>9</sup> So I consider it likely

that it left the possession of the first duke before his death. It may be identical with a picture from the collection of George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham (1592–1628), which appears in 1635 on a list of works of art destined for his son, the second duke: 'Ruebens.—The Hunting of Lyons'.<sup>10</sup> Nothing is known of the provenance of this piece<sup>11</sup> or its subsequent fate: it is not mentioned in the sale catalogue of the second duke's pictures in 1649.<sup>12</sup>

Not until 1677 do we hear anything more of the *Lion Hunt* discussed under the present number. It was then in the possession of the duc de Richelieu, and Roger de Piles's very full description makes it possible for the first time to affirm that it is a *Lion Hunt* of the type in the Pinakothek.<sup>13</sup> It is more than likely that the work in question is the original, and not a copy as Rooses thought.<sup>14</sup> On the basis of Bonnaffé's studies of the Richelieu collections it has been thought that Armand-Jean de Vignerot du Plessis, duc de Richelieu (1629–1715), inherited the painting from his uncle Armand-Jean du Plessis, Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642). If this *Lion Hunt* indeed belonged to the cardinal, it may be wondered whether it was the same as had belonged to the Marquis of Hamilton or whether the cardinal bought his painting from Rubens himself.<sup>15</sup> Personally, however, I do not consider it sufficiently proved that this *Lion Hunt* was in the cardinal's collection. According to Bonnaffé it was in the cardinal's apartments in the château de Richelieu (Indre-et-Loire), but it is not clear whether this was so in the cardinal's lifetime: we have the impression that in his reconstruction of the interior decoration of the château Bonnaffé relied not so much on the 1642 inventory of the cardinal's estate<sup>16</sup> as on the later description by Vignier (1676) or Catheri-

not (1687). His account of Rubens's *Lion Hunt*, at all events, seems based on these later sources,<sup>17</sup> and it may thus be that the Rubens canvas was in the château in the duke's time but not earlier. If it really was a family heirloom, the duke's artistic adviser Roger de Piles could surely not have supposed that it was painted for the King of Poland, as he wrote in his *Dissertation*.<sup>18</sup>

Should we then, following de Piles, accept that the Richelieu *Lion Hunt* had belonged to Władysław IV, King of Poland (b.1595, reigned 1632–1648) (which would again throw doubt on the Hamilton provenance)?<sup>19</sup> De Piles writes: 'La chasse aux Lions, par exemple, & la chûte de S. Paul ont esté faites pour le Roy de Pologne.' At first sight this seems likely enough, as the Munich *Lion Hunt* is very similar in style to the *Conversion of St. Paul* previously in Berlin,<sup>20</sup> and the dimensions of the two paintings are about the same. However, the themes have nothing in common, so they are unlikely to have formed a pair. As regards the *Conversion of St. Paul* we are well informed as to de Piles's source. From correspondence between the Paris art dealer Picart and Matthijs Musson in Antwerp we learn that there was in Paris in 1675 a *Conversion of St. Paul* by Rubens which—as the context makes clear—Picart was offering for sale to the duc de Richelieu. However, many qualified persons, such as 'een van onse fraeste meesters' and 'eenen kender die Rubens dingen seer bemint' (this probably referred to de Piles), believed that the work was only a studio copy retouched by the master.<sup>21</sup> Picart had been assured that the original painting was in a church in Brussels, and he asked Musson to verify this. No one in Brussels appeared to know anything of such a work, but finally the Flemish engraver Gerard

Edelinck, who lived in Paris, was told by a friend in Antwerp that the original *Conversion of St. Paul* was painted 'for the King of Poland'.<sup>22</sup> We do not know whether this was true, but de Piles took it to be so: it supported his belief that the canvas then in Paris was only a retouched copy, so that he would not buy it for the duc de Richelieu's collection. He must have been struck, however, by the similarity in style between the *Lion Hunt* which was probably already in the duke's possession and the *Conversion of St. Paul*, of which he believed he had seen a copy only. The dimensions were probably about the same, and both works had been engraved by Schelte a Bolswert. It is very possible that for all these reasons he assumed the provenance of the *Lion Hunt* to be the same as what he believed to be that of the (original) *Conversion of St. Paul*, viz. the King of Poland. As regards the *Lion Hunt* at least, I suggest that he was mistaken and that it had probably belonged to the Marquis of Hamilton.

After the death of the duc de Richelieu in 1715 his collection was dispersed, and we again lose track of the *Lion Hunt* until it first appears in the inventory of the Munich Residenz in 1748. It has sometimes been supposed that it was bought by the Elector Maximilian II Emanuel (reigned 1679–1726), but there is no evidence of this.<sup>23</sup> In 1738, on the other hand, a *Lion Hunt* by Rubens was in the sale of Count Thomas de Fraula, comprising seven figures and with the same dimensions as the canvas in the Pinakothek, with which it may be identical.<sup>24</sup> It reappears in the Van Zwieten sale at The Hague on 12 April 1741,<sup>25</sup> where it may have been bought by the Elector Charles Albert (reigned 1726–1745).

The reconstruction of the pedigree that is proposed here is not continuous, and it

may be that at one point or another we are dealing with a different picture from that in the Pinakothek. In particular the identification with the *Lion Hunt* mentioned in Rubens's letter of 13 September 1621 remains somewhat hypothetical. However, there is no doubt that the Munich canvas was painted about that time. The elaborate composition based on a diagonal, the loose brushwork and warm colouring all point to a date after 1620. Moreover there are close parallels with other works of this period: for instance, the man lying on the ground on the right also appears in *St. Michael striking down the Rebellious Angels*, painted in 1621–1622 for the Count Palatine, Wolfgang Wilhelm of Neuburg.<sup>26</sup> A further argument for this dating, as Burchard first noticed, is that a composition study for this *Lion Hunt* (No.11b; Fig.76) appears on the reverse of a panel in the collection of the Marquess of Cholmondeley, on which is painted a sketch for *The Proxy Marriage of Maria de' Medici*. It is natural to suppose that the two sides of the panel were used at about the same time. Since the sketch for the Medici series can be dated between March and September 1622,<sup>27</sup> and since the *Lion Hunt* on the reverse side must be earlier (see under No.11b), a date of 1621 seems reasonable for the latter.

Other preparatory material has survived besides the Cholmondeley sketch: another oil sketch in the Hermitage at Leningrad (No.11a; Fig.75), and two drawn figure studies (Nos.11c and 11d; Figs.77, 78). Two composition drawings are also sometimes connected with this *Lion Hunt*, in my opinion wrongly. The first, in the British Museum, London, is in fact a study for the Schleissheim *Lion Hunt* (No.6a; Figs.52, 53): it clearly represents that composition, and the points of difference in no way suggest the Munich *Lion Hunt* (see

full discussion under No.6a). The other composition drawing, in the Princes Gate Collection,<sup>28</sup> has been linked with the Munich *Lion Hunt* by all who have so far written about it.<sup>29</sup> It does indeed contain several motifs that occur in that work, notably the horseman with upraised sword facing the spectator and the man falling off his rearing horse. But on closer inspection it can be seen that there is no lion in the drawing, and some details suggest that it is a battle of horsemen and not a hunting scene.<sup>30</sup> This is supported by the fact that the same motifs occur in an unpublished drawing in a similar style which clearly represents a battle of horsemen.<sup>31</sup> Rubens also used the same motif of an unseated (Oriental) rider in an equestrian battle, *The Conquest of Tunis* in Berlin.<sup>32</sup>

If it is accepted that the Princes Gate drawing is not a preparatory study for the Munich *Lion Hunt*, two problems connected with the drawing no longer arise. The first of these is the discrepancy in date between the recto and verso of the drawing. The supposed *Lion Hunt* was dated c.1622 to agree with the dating of the Munich canvas, while the sketch for *Diana and her Nymphs surprised by Actaeon* was dated in the 1630s; both sides can now perhaps be assigned to this later date.<sup>33</sup>

The problem of the proper place of the Princes Gate drawing in the genesis of the composition of this *Lion Hunt* also disappears. As Held pointed out, although the general lines of the drawing seem to point to an earlier stage than the two oil sketches, the fully developed motif of the unseated rider represents a more mature stage than the oil sketch in the Hermitage. The solution seems to be that the Princes Gate drawing, some ten years later than the Munich *Lion Hunt*, borrowed some elements from that composition, includ-



ing the fallen rider, but not, for instance, the horse rearing in *contrapposto*: here, as in *The Conquest of Tunis*, a different attitude was chosen for the horse.

We can now reconstruct the genesis of the Munich *Lion Hunt*. While it contains reminiscences of several of Rubens's earlier hunting scenes, the emphatic diagonal line of the rearing horse and its rider plunging to the ground creates a totally new type of composition. The horse's pose is not the same as in the London and Dresden *Lion Hunts* or the Rennes *Tiger Hunt* (Figs.39, 63, 57): the animal is seen from below, its head and forefeet turning in different directions. Rubens could have seen this *contrapposto* effect in a number of antique works,<sup>34</sup> and he knew it from a *Defeat of Sennacherib* designed by Christoph Schwarz, after which he made a drawing.<sup>35</sup> On the other hand, as Haberditzl pointed out, both the horse and the lion derive from the famous antique statuary group in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome (cf. the copy, Fig.15).<sup>36</sup> In the sketch at Leningrad this part of the central motif seems already to be approaching its definitive form as regards the horse and to a lesser extent the lion; not, however, the man plunging to the ground, which is the strongest reason to place this sketch earlier than that belonging to the Marquess of Cholmondeley (see further under No.11b). It is true that the Leningrad sketch comes closer to the final painting than the Cholmondeley sketch in several other motifs, such as the man on the left protecting a fallen huntsman with his shield, or the helmeted rider in the centre raising his right arm to strike the lion, or again the horse with lowered head on the far right. But these are all less important motifs, some of which are familiar from previous hunting scenes. By contrast the pose of the Orient-

tal falling headlong, as we see it in the Munich canvas and the Cholmondeley sketch, is a splendid and quite new invention. It is not yet fully realized in the Leningrad sketch, where this figure fails in particular to exhibit the *contrapposto* motif corresponding to that of the horse, with his arms twisted forward and his head turned back. In antiquity and in the Renaissance plunging figures of this kind often occurred in equestrian battles, and the falling Phaethon was also depicted in this way. Rubens must certainly have had such examples in mind when he designed this *Lion Hunt*, but the formulation he hit upon in this case gives an impression of complete novelty.<sup>37</sup> As mentioned above, he reused it some years later in *The Conquest of Tunis* and two drawings for a *Battle of Horsemen*.

Thus the rearing horse in *contrapposto* first occurs in the Leningrad sketch, while in the Cholmondeley sketch the entire group with the horse, its unseated rider and the lion achieved its definitive form. The group was repeated almost literally in the Munich painting, but use was made of both sketches to perfect the composition. The borrowings from the Leningrad sketch have been described above. From the Cholmondeley sketch Rubens took over the horseman on the left, whose mount is kicking out backwards, but who in this case carries a shield, like the leftmost horseman in the sketch for *Lion Hunt of the King of Persia* (No.9; Fig.65). The pose of the recumbent man on the left, driving his sword into the lioness's mouth, was, as Hubala pointed out, previously used by Rubens for an executioner in a *Beheading of John the Baptist* (of which only copies are known), and is ultimately based on the antique Laocoön.<sup>38</sup> The helmeted rider in the upper centre has the same pose as Rubens's *St. George* in the

Prado.<sup>39</sup> It is probable that there were finished study drawings for all these figures. Only two have survived: one of the torso of the falling Oriental (No.11d; Fig.78), and one of the torso of the turbaned horseman wielding a spear on the right (No.11c; Fig.77).

The *Lion Hunt* in the Pinakothek is one of Rubens's most famous and most often reproduced works. It was originally regarded as wholly autograph (Smith, Waagen). Rooses was the first to note that the studio must be credited with a large share; he suggested the name of Van Dyck, and attributed the landscape and animals to Wildens.<sup>40</sup> Since then the execution has been generally ascribed to Van Dyck, and Rubens is thought to have barely retouched the work (Bode, Oldenbourg, Aust, Müller Hofstede). Heinz Rosenbaum is the only critic who explicitly rejected the attribution to Van Dyck on stylistic grounds, a judgement endorsed by Burchard. When the execution was first attributed to Van Dyck it was thought that this *Lion Hunt* must be dated c.1618, as it was identified with the one painted for Maximilian of Bavaria. As A.Scharf pointed out, the date of c.1622 proposed by Burchard created a difficulty as regards Van Dyck's share in the work, as he was then in Italy. This line of thought was further developed by Rosand. It should be noted, however, that Rosand's proposed identification of the Munich painting with the *Lion Hunt* mentioned in Rubens's letter of 13 September 1621—an identification which I accept—tends to make the argument about Van Dyck's absence in Italy irrelevant. For the statement in Rubens's letter that the *Lion Hunt* was nearly completed means that work on it must have been proceeding in the first half of 1621, when Van Dyck was probably in Antwerp; according to one

source, he did not leave for Italy until 3 October of that year.<sup>41</sup> On the other hand, it is not likely that he was then employed in Rubens's studio on the same footing as before his first visit to England, so that his part in the *Lion Hunt* is indeed subject to question.

The Munich canvas can in my opinion be regarded as a completely autograph work by the master (cf. Rubens's letter of 13 September 1621: 'toute de ma main'). Some parts may appear weaker in a photograph, but this criticism falls to the ground when the original is studied. Certain outlines are no doubt rather carelessly drawn (e.g. the hands of the Moor and of the horseman in a helmet, and the forelegs of the brown horse), but the effect of the painting depends not so much on the drawing as on colour and brushwork. The tones are subtly varied and harmonized. The Moor's red tunic, for instance, is softened with pink; there are wine-red shadows in the pink cloak<sup>42</sup> of the helmeted rider; the horseman on the right wears a reddish-brown cloak and a dark brownish-green garment, and is mounted on a chestnut; this group contrasts most effectively with the richly varied white shades of the rearing horse and the unseated huntsman. The touch is calm yet lively, nowhere analytic—not even in the lions' coats, which are certainly by Rubens himself—and gives an impression of pearly light.

There do not appear to be any slightly varying studio replicas of the Munich *Lion Hunt*, as there are of many other hunting scenes by Rubens. None of the copies known to me is of sufficient quality to be classed as a studio replica, and the divergences from the original are too slight to support the idea that there was a studio variant. Rubens had this *Lion Hunt* engraved by Schelte a Bolswert (see under

No.11e; Fig.80), and some copies follow this engraving rather than the original, as is shown by small details. No reproductions of copies (3)–(6) are known to me, so that I cannot judge whether they follow the Munich canvas or the engraving.

Copy (1) in the Plantin-Moretus Museum was in the Moretus family's possession as early as 1658; its quality, however, does not seem to me to be that of a studio replica made under Rubens's supervision.

1. See H. von Tschudi and Ulla Krempel, *loc. cit.*
2. See L. Burchard as quoted by A. Scharf in 1937 and in the P. de Boer catalogue of 1938; the point was pursued in *Burchard, Wüldenstein*. The confusion between the Schleissheim *Lion Hunt* (No.6) and the *Lion Hunt* in the Pinakothek is still found in several recent publications.
3. *Roses-Ruelens*, II, p.286: 'Jay quasi achevée une pièce grande toute de ma main et de meilleures selon mon opinion représentant une Chasse de Lyons, les figures aussy grandes comme le naturel, ordonnée par Mons<sup>r</sup> l'Ambas<sup>r</sup> Dygbye pour présenter, comme jay entendu à Mons<sup>r</sup> le Marquis de Hamilton'. As Held supposed, it is probable that Lord Digby commissioned this painting from Rubens in March 1621, during his stay in the Southern Netherlands.
4. *Loc. cit.*: 'Je suis trèscontent ... de faire une autre chasse moins terrible que celle des Lyons, ... toute de ma main propre sans aucune meslange de l'ouvrage d'autruy ce que je vous maintiendray en foy d'homme de bien'.
5. Burchard too remarked that the *Lion Hunt* commissioned by Digby might be the one in the Pinakothek, but elsewhere he made a note to the effect that it must be identified with the picture from Lord Northwick's collection, a hypothesis which I call in question (*cf. pp.165–166*).
6. See under No.7 pp.136–138.
7. See pp.125–126.
8. Of this list there survives only a copy, which must date from after 1643, as the third marquis is referred to in it as 'Duke': 'Coppoy of the Note of the pictures & payntings belonging to the Right Honorable Lord Marquis Hamleton deseazed delivered to my Lord Duke according to my Lord Marquis his warrant of the 14<sup>th</sup> of March 1624 ... Nr.9 Item a chasse of Lions of Rubens' (The document is at Lennoxlove; I consulted the photocopies of the Hamilton inventories in the National Gallery, London).
9. For the Hamilton inventories, see E.K. Waterhouse, 'Paintings from Venice for Seventeenth-Century England: Some Records of a Forgotten Transaction', *Italian Studies*, VII, 1952, pp.1–23; Klara Garas, 'Die Entstehung der Galerie des Erzherzoges Leopold Wilhelm', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, LXIII, 1967, pp.39–80; I also consulted the 1759 inventory of the estate of James, sixth Duke of Hamilton and third of Brandon.
10. First published by C. Hopper, 'Rubens's Pictures', *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, VII, 1859, No.171, pp.293–294; republished by Randall Davies, 'An Inventory of the Duke of Buckingham's Pictures etc., at York House in 1635', *The Burlington Magazine*, X, 1906–1907, p.380; reprinted by L. Binyon, 'Catalogue du duc de Buckingham 1635', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p.278.
11. I know of no contact in art matters between Buckingham and Hamilton. Another hypothesis is that Buckingham may have bought his *Lion Hunt* direct from Rubens, perhaps in connection with the transaction of 1625–1627 (on which see *Roses-Ruelens*, IV, pp.23–25; H. Marjon van der Meulen-Schregardus, *Petrus Pavlus Rvbens antiquarius*, Alphen aan de Rijn, 1975, pp.18–20).
12. See *Catalogue of the Curious Collection of Pictures of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham*, ed. by Bathoe, London, 1758.
13. This *Lion Hunt* figures in all de Piles's descriptions of the cabinet of the duc de Richelieu: *Conversation sur la connoissance de la peinture*, 1677; *Cabinet de Mgr le duc de Richelieu*, [1677]; *Dissertation sur les ouvrages des plus fameux peintres*, 3 eds.: 1681, 1682, 1683. Its dimensions are given as 7 × 12 French feet (226.8 × 388.8 cm.), i.e. approximately those of the Munich canvas, though about 20 cm. lower.
14. It was natural for *Roses* to think this, as he mistakenly believed that the canvas in the Pinakothek was the one commissioned by Maximilian I of Bavaria and that it had been in Germany since 1618.
15. Rubens's correspondence does refer to paintings for Richelieu, but they seem to have been small works for the cardinal's 'cabinetto' (see *Roses-Ruelens*, III, pp.161, 314, 320, 422, 428, 430).
16. As far as I know this inventory has not been published. In *Bonnaffé's* time it was in the possession of Count Paul de Chabrilion; the former was permitted to use notes by Boislisle and E. Molinier (see *Bonnaffé, Recherches*, *op. cit.*, p.12, n.1).
17. *Bonnaffé* describes the picture as follows: 'un Combar de lions et de cavaliers, les personnages de Rubens, les animaux de Sneyders et le paysage de Fouquières' (*Recherches*, *op. cit.*, p.36). The mention of Fouquières, in particular, points directly to the later source. Catherinot writes: 'A Richelieu, on voit dans un tableau, un combat d'hommes, de lions et de chevaux: Rubens en a fait les personnages, Chenedre les animaux et Fouquière le paysage' (*Traité de la Peinture*, Bourges,

- 1687, p.6, quoted after *Revue universelle des arts publiée par Paul Lacroix*, X, 1859, p.184). I was unable to consult the book by Vignier (*Le chateau de Richelieu, ou l'histoire des dieux et des héros de l'antiquité...*, Saumur, 1676).
18. Op. cit., p.25.
  19. Nothing else is known of any painting of a *Lion Hunt* for Władysław IV. For a summary of information on relations between Rubens and the King see J.A.Chrościcki, 'Rubens w Polsce', *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, XII, 1981, pp.133-219.
  20. Canvas, 261 × 371 cm.; destroyed by fire in 1945. See *K.d.K.*, p.155; Freedberg, *After the Passion*, No.31.
  21. Picart to Musson, 10 January 1676; Denucé, *Na Rubens*, p.430, doc.507.
  22. Picart to Musson, 3 February 1676; *ibid.*, p.434, doc.513.
  23. See Ulla Krempel, loc. cit.
  24. Sale, Brussels (De Vos), 21 July 1738, lot 1: 'Un grand Tableau, representant une Chasse de Lions, de sept figures par P.P.Rubens. Haut. 9 Pieds—Larg. 13 Pieds 10 Pouces' (248 × 383.5 cm.; sold for 105 guilders). This sale catalogue is reprinted in G.Hoet, *Catalogus of naamlyst van schilderyen ... in het openbaar verkogt*, The Hague, I, 1752, p.518, and in C.Blanc, *Le trésor de la curiosité*, Paris, 1857, I, p.16. We learn from G.P.Mensaert that the best works from the Fraula collection 'étoient passées chez l'Etranger' (*Le peintre amateur et curieux*, Brussels, 1763, I, p.53). Elizabeth Johnston believed that this Fraula *Lion Hunt* was that described by Joseph Highmore in his diary of 1734, and on this basis she identified it with the *Lion and Leopard Hunt* in Dresden ('Joseph Highmore's Paris Journal, 1734', *The Walpole Society*, XLII, 1968-1970, p.79, Nos.78, 79). In my opinion this is erroneous. In the first place, the unnamed Paris collection in which Highmore saw a *Lion Hunt* by Rubens cannot have been the Fraula collection, as that was in Brussels. Secondly, the description and measurements of the Fraula canvas do not agree with those of the painting at Dresden but with those of the Munich *Lion Hunt* (see also under No.8).
  25. No.30: 'Een Leeuwe jagt met seven figuren, seer kragtig geschildert, door P.P.Rubens, zynde een van die Jagten die in print uytgaan. H.8v. 3d. × B. 12v. 2d' (in Rhineland feet; c.259 × 382 cm.).
  26. *K.d.K.*, p.241; *Vlieghe, Saints*, II, No.135, fig.89.
  27. For this date see *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, pp.91, 410.
  28. This supposed *Lion Hunt* appears on the verso of the study for *Diana and her Nymphs surprised by Actaeon* from the Seilern collection, now in the Princes Gate Collection, Courtauld Galleries in London (Seilern, op. cit., No.65, pl.CXXVI; [cat. exh.] *Princes Gate Collection*, (Courtauld Galleries, London, 1981), No.148; red and black chalk, 291 × 509 mm.).
  29. Seilern, loc. cit.; G.Aust, loc. cit., p.170; *Held, Drawings*, I, p.123, under No.64, p.134, under No.96; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, I, p.245, No.159; *Rosand, Lion Hunt*, pp.32, 33, n.26, fig.14; M. Winner, in *Mielke-Winner*, p.83, under No.29; Anne-Marie Logan and E.Haverkamp-Begemann, 'Dessins de Rubens', *Revue de l'art*, XLII, 1978, p.92; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.409, under No.299, p.410, under No.300.
  30. Burchard seems to have come to this conclusion also. In a note on the MS of *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, he altered the title *Study for the 'Lion Hunt' to Sketch for a 'Battle of Horsemen'*. Earlier he had identified the subject as *Sketch for a 'Bear Hunt'*. An analysis of the verso of the sheet, discussed here, must take account of several stages in its execution: (1) Especially just to the right of centre, lines of the ink drawing on the recto show through; (2) At the top, about one-third of the way from the left-hand edge, several (?female) figures can be discerned, very lightly drawn in black chalk. They are probably referred to in the inscription in red chalk which Count Seilern deciphered as 'dese dry vraukens half ghecleurt door van den Broeck', but which should probably read 'dese dry vraukens half ghecleed voor van den Broeck' (these three women, half dressed, for van den Broeck); (3) the drawing of fighting horsemen in fat black chalk; (4) some of the horsemen are redrawn in red chalk; (5) other red lines are harder to interpret (? head and torso turned to the right).
  31. Formerly in the Erich Göritz collection, London; the other side represented a *Mother and Child*.
  32. *K.d.K.*, p.401; *Held, Oil Sketches*, No.288.
  33. The painting of *Diana and her Nymphs surprised by Actaeon*, a fragment of which is in the Boymans-van Beuningen Museum at Rotterdam (*K.d.K.*, p.350), is variously dated; c.1635 seems to me most probable.
  34. Cf. e.g. a Roman gem: see Gisela M.A.Richter, *The Engraved Gems of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans*, II, *Engraved Gems of the Romans*, London, 1971, No.374.
  35. For Rubens's drawing in the Albertina at Vienna after Hans von Aachen's copy of Christoph Schwarz's *Defeat of Sennacherib* see above, p.145, n.31. Evers also pointed to a composition by Tempesta as a possible source (*Evers, Neue Forschungen*, p.261, fig.274.)
  36. Haberditzl, loc. cit. Rubens seems in fact to have used a bronze statuette from Gianbologna's studio, inspired by the group in question: cf. *Fig.15* and p.61.
  37. The nearest approach to this pose is in Rubens's own work: cf. a drawing of *The Martyrdom of Two Saints* (?) in the Boymans-van Beuningen Museum: *Vlieghe, Saints*, II, No.161, fig.135.
  38. Hubala, loc. cit., figs.1-4, 9.
  39. *K.d.K.*, p.22; *Vlieghe, Saints*, II, No.105, fig.17.
  40. *Roses*, IV, p.330.
  41. On 28 February 1621 Van Dyck received a passport and permission to leave England. He probably returned to Antwerp, where he is thought to have

painted Rockox's portrait. Then he apparently left for Italy on 3 October, and was with Cornelis de Wael in Genoa on 20 November. A table of the chief biographical data concerning Van Dyck is in H. Vey, *Die Zeichnungen Anton van Dycks*, Brussels, 1962, I, p.60. The anonymous 18th-century biography which gives the date of his departure for Italy has been published by E. Larsen (*La vie, les ouvrages et les élèves de Van Dyck—Manuscrit inédit des Archives du Louvre par un auteur anonyme*, Brussels, 1975, p.50).

42. Part of this cloak, originally visible between the lion's head and the horseman's right arm, is over-painted.

### 11A. Lion Hunt: Oil Sketch (Fig.75)

Oil on panel; 43 × 64 cm.—*Verso*: cradled. Leningrad, Hermitage. Inv. No.515.

PROVENANCE: P. Crozat (Paris, 1665–1740); L.-F. Crozat, Marquis of Châtel (1691–1750); L.-A. Crozat, Baron de Thiers (1699–1770); purchased by Catherine II, Empress of Russia, in 1772.

EXHIBITED: *Rubens and Flemish Baroque* [Russ.], Hermitage, Leningrad, 1978, No.33 (repr.).

LITERATURE: J.B. Lacurne de Saint-Palaye, *Catalogue des tableaux du cabinet de M. Crozat, Baron de Thiers*, Paris, 1755, p.8; G.F. Waagen, *Die Gemäldeammlung in der kaiserlichen Ermitage zu St. Petersburg...*, Munich, 1864, p.146; *Rooses*, IV, p.332, No.1150bis; A. Somof, *Ermitage impérial. Catalogue de la galerie des tableaux*, II, *Écoles néerlandaises et école allemande*, 3rd edn., St. Petersburg, 1895, pp.327–328, No.590; *Rooses, Life*, I, pp.259, 263; *K.d.K., edn. Rosenberg*, p.137; *Dillon, Rubens*, p.206, No.20, pl. CXI; *Haberdtz, Studien*, pp.295–297; *K.d.K.*, p.153; *Aust, Entwurf*, pp.170–172, fig.106; *Held, Drawings*, I, p.134, under No.96; *Isermeyer, Jagd*, p.30, pl.6; M. Stuffmann, 'Les tableaux de la collection de Pierre Crozat', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXXII, 1968, p.104, No.388; *Rosand, Lion*

*Hunt*, p.32, fig.15; M. Varshavskaya, *Rubens' Paintings in the Hermitage Museum* [Russ.], Leningrad, 1975, pp.132–136, No.20; M. Winner, in *Mielke–Winner*, pp.83–84, under No.29; *Baumstark, Bildgedanke*, p.12; *Kruyfhoof–Buys*, p.50; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, pp.408–409, No.299; II, pl.299; *Musée de l'Ermitage. Peinture de l'Europe occidentale. Catalogue 2: Pays-Bas, Flandre etc.* [Russ.], Leningrad, 1981, p.62, No.515, repr. p.64; *Freedberg, After the Passion*, p.121, under No.30b, pp.130, 131, under No.31a.

This sketch already contains several elements of the composition of the *Lion Hunt* in the Munich Pinakothek (No.11; Fig.74): the rearing white horse (though the position of its forefeet is somewhat different), the bearded man to the left of it, brandishing his sword (which is not visible), the horseman on the right thrusting at the lion with his spear, and the man on the far left raising his shield to protect a fallen huntsman. The other motifs differ from the Munich composition, e.g. there are three lions instead of two. The main difference, however, is that in the final painting at Munich the pose of the man dragged off his horse by a lion is replaced by another with more expressive possibilities. This motif already occurs in another oil sketch for this *Lion Hunt*, in the possession of the Marquess of Cholmondeley (No.11b; Fig.76), which presumably therefore represents a later stage than the Leningrad sketch (thus Rosand and Held). Some reservation is called for, however, as certain motifs in the Leningrad sketch are closer to the final version than is the Cholmondeley sketch (see under Nos.11 and 11b).

Some figures are carefully executed with the brush and brown paint against the light background: e.g. the man with

the shield on the left, the horse, the lion and the unseated rider, and the other horseman in the background. Colour was also used, such as white for the rearing horse, blue-grey for the falling man's tunic, and pink for the tunic of the horseman in the background. Other motifs are only indicated with rough strokes.<sup>1</sup>

According to the 1740 inventory of the estate of Pierre Crozat, the reverse of this panel was also painted: '... au dos duquel sont trois petites esquisses de la mesme main.'<sup>2</sup> However, the panel has since been cradled, and it is to be feared that nothing remains of this painting.

1. I have not seen this sketch; for a full technical description see *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.409.

2. *Stuffmann*, loc. cit.

### IIB. Lion Hunt: Oil Sketch (Fig.76)

Oil on panel; 43.8 × 50.2 cm. (two boards joined horizontally).—*Verso*: Sketch for *The Marriage by Proxy of Maria de' Medici*. *Houghton Hall, Norfolk, Collection of the Marquess of Cholmondeley*.

PROVENANCE: (? Thomas) Major, sale, London, 1751, lot 46 ('*Marriage of Henry IV*, a sketch—Rubens'), bought by Lord Cholmondeley; Cholmondeley sale, London (Christie's), 10 July, 1886, lot 220, bought in.

EXHIBITED: *Schetsen van Rubens*, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, August–September 1937, No.71; *A Loan Exhibition of Works by Peter Paul Rubens*, Kt., Wildenstein & Co., London, October–November 1950, No.20; *The Houghton Pictures*, Thos. Agnew & Sons, London, May–June 1959 No.13; *London*, 1977, No.86.

LITERATURE: A.Scharf, 'The Exhibition of Rubens's Sketches at Brussels', *The Burlington Magazine*, LXXI, 1937, p.188; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, 1948, p.69, No.17, repr.; *Burchard, Wildenstein*, p.23, No.20; *Bordley, Rubens*, p.150 (as *Snyders*); *Aust, Entwurf*, pp.170–172; *Held, Drawings*, I, pp.7, 26, 134, under No.96, p.135, under No.97, fig.2; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, p.246, under No.159; D.Rosand, 'Rubens Drawings', in *The Art Bulletin*, XLVIII, 1966, p.236, n.16; E.Haverkamp-Begemann, 'Purpose and Style: Oil Sketches of Rubens, Jan Brueghel, Rembrandt', in *Stil und Überlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes. Akten des 21. internat. Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte in Bonn 1964*, Berlin, 1967, III, p.105; *Rosand, Lion Hunt*, pp.32–33, n.25, fig.16; *Martin, Cat. National Gallery*, pp.184, 185, n.5; *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, p.81, No.86, repr.; *Kruyfhoofst-Buys*, p.50; *M. Winner, in Mielke-Winner*, pp.83–84, under No.29; *Baumstark, Bildgedanke*, p.13; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, pp.5, 9, 103, under No.62, pp.409–411, No.300, p.632, under No. A16; II, pl.300.

The central motif of the *Lion Hunt*—the Oriental dragged from his rearing horse—is indicated in the lower part of the panel with a few rapid brush-strokes, together with some other scarcely decipherable motifs. A more elaborate sketch occupies the upper two-thirds of the panel. Here the central group—consisting of the white, rearing horse, the turbaned Oriental falling headlong, and the lion biting his belly—already appears as in the Munich painting (No.11; Fig.74). The horseman on the left, and the horse kicking out with its hind legs, are more or less literally repeated in that work, as are the horse and rider on the right. The other motifs in the sketch differ from those in

the large canvas. This applies to the horseman whose torso can be seen above the lion, and also to the lioness on the left of the panel, raising her head menacingly to the left and holding a fallen huntsman beneath her paws. On the extreme left, cut through by the frame, the forefeet of a horse (?) can be seen.

The panel seems to have been cut down on the left and also underneath. We may accept Held's conclusion<sup>1</sup> that this was done when Rubens, shortly afterwards, painted on the reverse a sketch for *The Proxy Marriage of Maria de' Medici*.

This Cholmondeley sketch of the *Lion Hunt* is usually dated after the one at Leningrad (No. 11A; Fig. 75) and regarded as the final preparation for the canvas at Munich. This is quite plausible, as the present sketch, unlike that in the Hermitage, shows the central motif in its final form. Some caution is required, however, as certain other motifs in the large canvas derive from the Leningrad sketch rather than this panel (see under No. 11A). It is also hard to explain why the Cholmondeley sketch shows three different positions of the right arm of the horseman on the right, while the Leningrad sketch shows only the one which appears in the Munich canvas. Moreover, in the final composition the horse on the right does not lift up its head as in the Cholmondeley sketch but stands with lowered head and outstretched neck as in the Leningrad panel. Another problem is the motif of the rearing horse, indicated in the lower part of the panel, where it is seen in full profile,<sup>2</sup> as in several of Rubens's earlier *Hunts*, and not in three-quarter profile from below, as it appears in the Munich picture, the upper portion of the Cholmondeley sketch, and also the Leningrad panel. It may be thought from this that the very rough sketch below and the ex-

periment with different attitudes of the figure above on the right point to an early stage in the history of the composition, prior even to the Leningrad sketch in which no such hesitations are apparent. It should also be noticed that the composition of the latter is much more compact than that of the Cholmondeley sketch, especially considering that the latter originally comprised further motifs on the left. Thus the priority of the Leningrad sketch over the Cholmondeley sketch cannot be regarded as definitely established, though it is probable in view of the fact that it alone shows the central motif in its definitive form.

1. *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p. 410.

2. It has rightly been observed that this pose of the horse is the same as in the drawing of a *Battle of Horsemen* in the Princes Gate Collection, which I believe to be unconnected with the present *Lion Hunt* (see pp. 168-169).

### 11C. Oriental Huntsman with Lance: Drawing (Fig. 77)

Charcoal? on white paper; 297 × 362 mm.; fully mounted; sheet damaged at the right hand side.

*Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett.*

Inv. No. 26 383.

PROVENANCE: John Clerk, Lord Eldin (1757-1832), sale, Edinburgh (Winstanley and Sons), 14-29 March 1833, part of lot 95, 9/-, bought by Sir Archibald Campbell, 2nd Bt. of Succoth (1769-1848); Sir Archibald Henry Campbell, Bt. (Glasgow, 1870-1948); Sir Ilay Campbell, Bt., sale, London (Christie's), 26 March 1974, lot 79, pl. 36, bought by the museum.

EXHIBITED: *Old Master Drawings from the Collection of Sir George Campbell, Bt.*, Glasgow Art Gallery, Glasgow, September 1953, No.31.

LITERATURE: K.T.Parker, in *Old Master Drawings*, V, March 1931, pp.69-70, pl.52; *Held, Drawings*, I, p.134, No.96; II, pl.110; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, I, pp.246-247, under No.159; *Rosand, Lion Hunt*, p.33, n.25; sale cat. Christie's, London, 26-27 March 1974, pp.20-21, 30, No.79, pl.36; H.G.Wormit and V.H.Elbern, *Neuerwerbungen für die Sammlungen der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin*, Berlin, 1976, No.138, repr.; M.Winner, in *Mielke-Winner*, pp.82-84, No.29, repr.; A.-M.Logan, 'Rubens Exhibitions, 1977-1978', *Master Drawings*, XVI, 1978, p.440; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.410, under No.300.

This man in a turban, wielding a lance, was used in the upper right corner of the *Lion Hunt* in the Pinakothek, where he is mounted on a rearing horse. His pose is there somewhat altered. His arm is higher up and conceals his mouth and chin; the lance points less steeply downwards and crosses in front of his right arm, whereas in the drawing it is beneath the arm.

A *pentimento* can be seen in the man's left arm. It was originally to have been lower, as is shown by two lines indicating respectively the upper limit of sleeve the and the underside of the bare forearm.

In the lower right corner is a fragment of a study of drapery, from which it may be deduced that the sheet was cut down on at least two sides, at the right and below.

### 11d. Falling Man: Drawing (Fig.78)

Black chalk, heightened with white chalk, on yellowish paper; 324×307 mm.; fully mounted; two pieces of paper, originally part of a larger sheet, pasted together; below on the left and the lower right corner restored. A scrap of paper with the mark of Lankrink (L. 2090) stuck on to the sheet above on the right.

London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings. Inv. No. Oo.9-18.

PROVENANCE: P.H.Lankrink (London, 1629-1692); R.Payne Knight (London, 1750-1824), who bequeathed it to the British Museum.

EXHIBITED: London, 1977, No.87.

LITERATURE: *Hind, Rubens*, pp.10, 158, No.12; *Glück-Haberditzl*, pp.14, 40, No.91, repr.; K.T.Parker, in *Old Master Drawings*, V, March 1931, pp.69-70; *Held, Drawings*, I, pp.134-135, No.97; II, pl.III; *Rosand, Lion Hunt*, p.33, n.25; J.Kuznetsov, *Risunki Rubensa*, Moscow, 1974, pl.81; *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, p.81, No.87, repr.; M.Winner, in *Mielke-Winner*, p.84, under No.29; *Baumstark, Bildgedanke*, p.13; *Bernhard, Handzeichnungen*, repr. p.268; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.410, under No.300.

The hand which can be seen on the added piece of paper, above left, was probably originally drawn at the bottom of the same sheet. With this reconstruction it appears that the sheet extended at least 10 cm. further at the bottom, and also leftwards by at least 15 cm.; probably more, since the beginning of an additional motif is visible on the left of the displaced portion. A scrap of paper with the Lankrink mark has been stuck on to the sheet (the mark will be seen right way up if the



sheet is turned 90° to the right), which suggests that the drawing was cut down and mounted after it left Lankrink's collection.

This torso of a falling man was used almost literally for the *Lion Hunt* (No.11; Fig.74) in the Pinakothek (except that the man in the picture has more of a beard). The pose was already prepared in the Cholmondeley sketch (No.11b; Fig.76), but there are some differences. The man's right sleeve is longer in the sketch than in the drawing, and his right arm is extended so that both his hands grasp the butt-end of the lance. In the drawing his right arm is twisted and the right hand is further from the butt of the lance, as in the final picture. Hence this drawing is certainly later than the Cholmondeley sketch. Rubens subsequently used the same pose for a figure in *The Conquest of Tunis* in Berlin.<sup>1</sup>

1. K.d.K., p.401; *Held, Oil Sketches*, No.288.

### IIC. Lion Hunt: Drawing retouched by Rubens (Fig.79)

Black chalk, reworked in black chalk and brush and brown ink, brown and grey wash, heightened with white oil(?) -colour; 400 × 584 mm.; indented for transfer with the stylus, vertical fold in the middle, fully mounted. Below on the left the paragraphs of E. Jabach (L.2961) and Robert de Cotte (L.1964); below on the left and on the right the marks of the Louvre (L.2207 and L.1899).

*Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre*. Inv. No.20.305 (as copy).

PROVENANCE: E. Jabach (Cologne and Paris, 1610-1695), who sold it to Louis XIV, King of France, in 1671; since then in the 'Cabinet du Roi', subsequently integrated in the Musée du Louvre.

COPIES: (1) Painting, Germany, private collection (photograph in the Rubenianum, Antwerp); canvas, 241 × 325 cm. PROV. Said to come from a castle in Zeist (Neth.); D. Splitter, Voorschoten (near The Hague), 1956; (2) Painting in grisaille, whereabouts unknown; panel, 78 × 115 cm. PROV. Sale, Berlin (Lepke), 8 April 1913, lot 145, pl.15; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; copper, 48 × 64 cm. PROV. Gallery A.-B. Antikkompaniet, Stockholm, cat.1917-1918, No.100, pl.28; (4) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 131 × 167 cm. PROV. Sale, Antwerp (Campo), 24 May 1977, lot 869 (repr.); (5) Drawing, Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Inv. No.15.098; pen and brown ink, wash, heightened with white body-colour; 384 × 542 mm.; below on the left the number 66 (?); blind stamp of Duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen (L.174). PROV. Duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen (1738-1822); in the collection of successively the Archdukes Karl, Albrecht and Friedrich. EXH. *Die Rubenszeichnungen der Albertina zum 400. Geburtstag*, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, March-June 1977, No.106. LIT. *Rooses*, V, p.175; *Mitsch, Rubenszeichnungen*, p.208, No.106, repr.; (6) Drawing, Bruges, Stedelijke Musea, Steinmetz-cabinet, Inv. No.0.2897; pen and brown ink on greyish paper, 218 × 288 mm.; (7) Drawing by E. Delacroix, detail of the head of the lion, Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre, Inv. No.RF9144, fol.13. LIT. *Kliman, Delacroix's Lion*, p.454, fig.16; (8) Engraving by Schelte a Bolswert (Fig.80); 410 × 590 mm.; below on the left, in the composition: *P.P. Rubens pinxit*; in the middle: *Cum privilegij Regis Christianissimi, Serenissimae Infantis, et Ordinum Confoederatorum*; on the right: *S. à Bolswert sculp. et excud.*; in the margin the dedication: *Excellentissimo Heroi ALEXANDRO CROY, CHIMAY, D'ARENBERGHE*

*Principi S. Imperij et Chimaj, Comiti de Beaumont. Baroni de Comines, Hallewyn et Estroeng. Domino Terrae Pariatusq(ue) Avesnensis, Esclaibes, Weert, Nederweert, Wissen et Dei gratia / Supremarum urbium terrarumque de Fumay et Revin. Primo Partitionis Comitatusq(ue) Hannoniensis. Equiti Aurei velleris, a Concilio Belli, Tribuno Legionis Germanicae pro Rege Catholico. Picturae sculpturaeq(ue) admiratori, Dño suo S. à Bolswert D. C. LIT. V.S., p.227, No.31.1; Hymans, Gravure, pp.325, 333–334; Dutuit, III, p.244, No.21.1; Rooses, IV, pp.331–332, under No.1150; Rooses–Ruelens, II, p.218; Rosenberg, Rubensstecher, pp.106, 108, 110; Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst, pp.14, 35, No.88; Hollstein, III, p.87, No.298; Isermeyer, Jagd, pp.29–30; K.Renger, 'Planänderungen in Rubensstichen', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XXXVII, 1974, p.8; Renger, *Rubens Dedit*, I, pp.149–152; Bodart, *Incisione*, pp.50–51, No.75; G.Girgensohn, in *Cat. Exh. Göttingen, 1977*, pp.33–35, No.12; Robels, *Rubens-Stecker*, pp.56, 57; M.Winner, in *Mielke–Winner*, p.84, under No.29; (9) Engraving by C.F.Letellier, in reverse. LIT. V.S., p.227, under No.31.3; (10) Lithograph by L.Blau, after Copy (5). LIT. *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, p.47, under No.1180.*

EXHIBITED: *Rubens, ses maîtres, ses élèves. Dessins du Musée du Louvre*, Musée du Louvre, Paris, February–May 1978, No.108.

LITERATURE: Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.80, under No.247; Van Hasselt, *Rubens*, p.357, under No.1266 (as retouched by Rubens); Reiset, *Notice des dessins ... exposés dans les salles du 1er étage au Musée Impérial du Louvre. Première partie: Écoles d'Italie, écoles allemande, flamande et hollandaise ...*, Paris, 1866, No.585; Dutuit, III, p.244, under No.21.1; Rooses, IV, p.332, under No.1150; Rooses, V, p.174 (as retouched by Rubens); Rooses, *Lifé*, I, repr.

p.257; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, p.47, No.1180, pl.LXVII (as ? retouched by Rubens); Rosand, *Lion Hunt*, p.33, n.25; Renger, *Rubens Dedit*, I, pp.150–152, 168 (as retouched by Rubens); Bodart, *Incisione*, p.51, under No.75; Robels, *Rubens-Stecker*, p.56; M.Winner, in *Mielke–Winner*, p.84, under No.29; A.Sérullaz, in [cat. exh.] *Rubens, ses maîtres, ses élèves. Dessins du Musée du Louvre*, (Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1978), p.107, No.108, repr. (as retouched by Rubens).

This is a literal copy after the painting in the Munich Pinakothek (No.11; Fig.74), with very slight differences. The composition extends somewhat higher in the drawing (the tip of the spear of the falling horseman is visible), and also a little further to the left. The spur is missing from the left boot of the horseman furthest left—curiously, this was also the case in the painted copy in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, No.11, Copy (1)—and the falling arrows describe a different pattern against his horse's hindquarters.

The copperplate engraving by Schelte a Bolswert follows the drawing on all these points and, rather surprisingly, shows the composition in the same direction and not in reverse. The engraving extends slightly further to the left, suggesting that the drawing was cut down on that side.

Schelte a Bolswert's engraving bears the threefold privilege granted to Rubens and was therefore certainly made with his consent, if not commissioned by him. The drawing is not by his hand, but very probably retouched by him. Konrad Renger pointed out the striking difference in quality between the dry chalk drawing—not by the same hand as the drawings in the Louvre for Vorsterman's engravings<sup>1</sup>

—and the extensive overpainting in body-colour (or oil-colour), which gives the sheet something of the character of an oil sketch. According to this critic, retouching of this kind with flowing brushwork and broad surfaces was peculiar to Rubens's style in the late 1620s or early 1630s, which conflicts with the date assumed for Bolswert's engraving on other grounds: Isermeyer and Renger thought it must be earlier than 1624 because it was dedicated to Charles-Alexandre de Croy, marquis de Havré, who was murdered in that year. However, Bolswert's dedication was actually to Alexandre d'Arenberg<sup>2</sup> (brother of Philippe-Charles d'Arenberg, who had bought Rubens's *Wolf Hunt*, No.2), prince de Chimay, comte de Beaumont etc., who in 1621 was made a knight of the order of the Golden Fleece, and who bore the name de Croy-Chimay-d'Arenberg after the death of his uncle Charles de Croy in 1612. As Alexandre d'Arenberg was killed in 1629, we may take this as a *terminus ante quem* for the print.<sup>3</sup> The *terminus post quem* is 13 July 1621, as the Archduke Albert died on that date and the print bears the privilege of Isabella alone ('Serenissimae Infantis'); but we may suppose that it was in fact made after Schelte a Bolswert became a master in St. Luke's guild at Antwerp, which he did in 1625–1626. The dedication to Alexandre d'Arenberg, prince de Chimay, does not imply, as is sometimes suggested, that he owned the original *Lion Hunt* at that time.<sup>4</sup>

Renger proposed a complicated background history for the *Lion Hunt* engraving. He believed that the drawing was completed by 1619 and was submitted to the States General of the United Provinces in support of Rubens's application for a privilege; only at a later period, however, did Rubens, according to this theory, rework the drawing and entrust it to the

engraver's hand. From what is said under No.11 it will appear that this cannot be altogether correct. This *Lion Hunt* did not originate till c.1621, and Rubens's reference, in his letter of 28 May 1619, to 'la caccia de tanti animali formidabili' must relate to a different composition (this problem has been fully discussed above).<sup>5</sup> In all probability the drawing was made in 1621, immediately after the *Lion Hunt* in the Pinakothek was completed; and, as there is no evidence that Schelte a Bolswert was already working for Rubens, there is no reason to attribute the drawing to him. I accept Renger's view that on grounds of style Rubens's reworking of the drawing must be placed in the late 1620s, and according to Rosenberg the technical expertise of the engraving also points to a relatively late date; it cannot, however, be subsequent to the death of Alexandre d'Arenberg, prince de Chimay, on 19 August 1629.

1. *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, Nos.1126, 1129, 1133–1137, 1139, 1140, 1147.

2. This was noted by Arlette Sérullaz, *loc. cit.*

3. For the life of Alexandre d'Arenberg see L.P. Gachard, *Études et notices historiques concernant les Pays-Bas*, Brussels, 1890, III, pp.519–521; P. Frédégand d'Anvers, *Étude sur le Père Charles d'Arenberg, Frère Mineur Capucin (1592–1669)*, Paris-Rome, 1919, pp.51–53, 186–187 and *passim*. He was the executor of his uncle Charles, duc de Croy, and was responsible for the publication of books concerning the latter's collection of antique medals. (Rubens was to be involved in the sale of that collection: see C. Ruelens, 'Les amis de Rubens. I: Nicolas Rockox', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, II, 1883, pp.37–47).

4. The painting is not mentioned in the inventory of his estate: see A. Pinchart, 'Inventaire des tableaux, bijoux, livres, tapisseries, etc., d'Alexandre d'Arenberg, prince de Chimay, etc., mort en 1629', *Le bibliophile belge*, IV, 1847, pp.375–387. On the other hand the inventory includes an embroidery of a lion-hunt ('Aultre peinture de satins de diverses couleurs, représentant la chasse de lions'); it is tempting to suppose that this was executed after the model of Bolswert's engraving.

5. See pp.48–49.

**TWO PENDANTS: THE CALYDONIAN BOAR HUNT AND DIANA AND NYMPHS HUNTING DEER (Nos. 12-13)**

These two paintings are fully described for the first time in the 1636 inventory of the Alcázar at Madrid.<sup>1</sup> They were then in the *salón nuevo* (or *pieza nueva*), which is an indication as to the date when they were acquired: for Velázquez's father-in-law Pacheco states in his *Arte de la Pintura* that eight paintings which Rubens brought with him to Madrid in 1628 were hung in the *salón nuevo*.<sup>2</sup> The 1636 inventory speaks of ten pictures by Rubens in that apartment, but one of them, the equestrian portrait of Philip IV, was painted in Madrid, and another, probably *Ulysses discovering Achilles among the Daughters of Lycomedes*, was already there in 1625.<sup>3</sup> We may thus regard the eight other pieces, including both *Hunts*, as being those referred to by Pacheco.<sup>4</sup> That Rubens took eight paintings to Madrid is confirmed by a report of 25 September 1628 from the Florentine envoy in Madrid, who adds that they were ordered by the King and were to be hung in the palace.<sup>5</sup> Philip IV briefly referred to them in a letter of 22 December 1630 to the Infanta Isabella: '... Pedro Pablo Rubens trajo aquí algunas pinturas para mi servicio. Débesele el precio dellas...'<sup>6</sup> The payment had been delayed: on 22 December 1629 the Council of Finance in Brussels had asked Isabella to confirm Rubens's account in the sum of 7,500 pounds. Isabella stated in reply that this price had been agreed with Rubens and that the pictures in question were now in Spain, to the King's great satisfaction.<sup>7</sup> The money was finally paid to Rubens in the course of 1630.<sup>8</sup>

It would appear from these documents that the eight paintings were commission-

ed by Philip IV through his Aunt Isabella. However, they form a heterogeneous group both in size and in content, and do not give the impression of conforming to a definite plan. It has been said that some of them must have belonged to Rubens's unsold stock.<sup>9</sup> Further study may show whether this is the case. On the other hand it is unlikely that the choice of subject and above all of format would have been left entirely to the artist, and it can be supposed that Rubens would have received concrete indications from Spain. It may be, as Cruzada Villaamil suggested, that they formed the subject of the correspondence which, according to Pacheco, took place a short time previously between Velázquez and Rubens.<sup>10</sup>

The two hunting pictures did not remain long in the *salón nuevo*: in 1639 four new paintings were commissioned from Rubens for that apartment, which under Velázquez's direction was to achieve its final form in 1659, described in the inventory of 1686 (as *salón de los espejos*).<sup>11</sup> At the end of the 1640s the *Calydonian Boar Hunt* and *Diana hunting Deer* were transferred to the newly built 'octagonal room' (*pieza ochavada*),<sup>12</sup> where they are first described in the inventory of 1666;<sup>13</sup> they were still there in 1686<sup>14</sup> and 1701-1703.<sup>15</sup> On the night of 24/25 December 1734 much of the Alcázar was destroyed by a devastating fire, and the *pieza ochavada* in particular was badly damaged; Jean Ranc's report after the fire states that: 'on n'a sauvé de la pièce octogone qui étoit de l'École de Rubens, que 3 ou 4 petits tableaux.'<sup>16</sup> One would suppose from this that the two large mythological scenes were destroyed, and in fact there is no further mention of them in inventories of the Spanish royal collections.<sup>17</sup>

In the literature wrong identifications are frequently proposed for the citations

of these two paintings in the Spanish inventories. Cruzada Villaamil believed that both the hunting scenes recorded in the *salón nuevo* in 1636 had been lost. He did not connect them with the two pictures measuring  $2 \times 5$  varas that were in the *pieza ochavada* from 1666, but wrongly identified them with two landscapes of  $2 \times 3$  varas, only one of which he could trace between 1666 and 1700, but which are identifiable as companion pieces from 1734 to 1772.<sup>18</sup> One of these is the *Landscape with the Calydonian Boar Hunt* (Fig.25) in the Prado—an identification that Cruzada Villaamil did not think correct, but which was rightly made by Díaz Padrón in his recent catalogue. The latter at the same time concluded that this *Landscape* was identical with the *Calydonian Boar Hunt* that was in the *salón nuevo* in 1636:<sup>19</sup> but this is mistaken, as is shown by the fact that the 1636 inventory speaks of 'figuras al natural'. Justi's and Bottineau's suggestion that the *Boar Hunt* mentioned in 1636 is the one now in the Alte Pinakothek at Munich—which is in fact by Van Dyck and Snyder; cf. also the version at Dresden, Fig.23—is likewise unfounded.<sup>20</sup> Orso was the first to see that both the hunting pictures recorded in the *pieza nueva* in 1636 were transferred to the *pieza ochavada* in 1666.

Díaz Padrón had previously dealt at length with the two large hunting scenes that were in the *pieza ochavada* in 1666. He connected the *Deer Hunt* with a large canvas that came to light in Madrid in 1966 and was subsequently in the Piedecosas collection in Mexico City (No.13, Copy [1]; Fig.83). We still have too little information to judge whether this canvas is the lost original from the Alcázar or only a replica. It is certain, however, that the *Deer Hunt* in the Alcázar showed precisely this composition: it suffices to com-

pare it with the detailed description in the 1636 inventory. Curiously, Díaz Padrón refused to accept that the painting of 'las ninfas cazando', listed in the *pieza ochavada* in 1666, was the same as the 'caça en que están matando un benado' which was in the *salón nuevo* in 1636, because of a supposed difference in the dimensions.<sup>21</sup> But the 1636 inventory gives no dimensions, so that this argument falls to the ground. It is also clear that since the two hunting scenes were in the Alcázar before 1636 they are not identical, as Díaz Padrón supposed, with two pictures listed in the 1640 inventory of Rubens's estate.<sup>22</sup>

Until recently it was not clear which of Rubens's many compositions of the *Calydonian Boar Hunt* was the pendant to this *Diana hunting Deer*. However, Held published in 1980 a sketch for this *Deer Hunt* (No.13a; Fig.87) accompanied by its original pendant, a sketch for the *Calydonian Boar Hunt* (No.12a; Fig.82).<sup>23</sup> Held was not aware that Rubens had taken with him to Madrid the two hunting scenes here in question, and proposed a date of c.1635 for both sketches; but they must have been made shortly before 1628.

Many copies of both pictures are known, and some were probably painted in Rubens's studio. The best are the *Calydonian Boar Hunt* at Easton Neston (No.12, Copy [1]; Fig.81) and the *Deer Hunt* at Bürgenstock (No.13, Copy [2]; Fig.86); I shall ignore for the present the problematical canvas at Mexico City (No.13, Copy [1]; Fig.83). Both are of about the same dimensions (approximately the same as the originals in the Alcázar), and were probably companion pieces at the outset. It is not known who first owned these two replicas: in neither case can the provenance be traced far enough.<sup>24</sup>

The disappearance of the original paintings makes it hard to form a judgement as to the execution, and especially the participation of a specialized animal painter. Inspection of the two sketches shows that the composition, including the animals, is entirely Rubens's invention, but of course he may have had a collaborator such as Snyder or Paul de Vos for the animals in the large canvas.<sup>25</sup> I do not, it is true, perceive their hand in the replicas at Bürgerstock and Easton Neston, where apparently the animals too were painted in Rubens's studio. But Snyder was in any case acquainted with *Diana hunting Deer*, as is shown by his *Stag Hunt* (Fig. 9) in the Brussels museum, several motifs in which are borrowed from Rubens's composition.<sup>26</sup> I am thus inclined to agree with Díaz Padrón that he collaborated with Rubens in both original works.

This view may be to some extent corroborated by stylistic and iconographic parallels with a picture by Rubens representing *The Crowning of Diana* (Bildergalerie, Sanssouci; Fig. 3).<sup>27</sup> This work is unquestionably of the same period as the two hunting scenes. Diana, the Genius crowning her, and the attendant nymphs in the Sanssouci painting, belong to the same type as Atalanta in the canvas at Easton Neston or Diana and her companions in the paintings at Bürgerstock and Mexico City, and their clothing and footwear is the same; the dead stag at Sanssouci is a literal repetition, in reverse, of the wounded animal in *Diana and Nymphs hunting Deer*. It is also particularly striking that *The Crowning of Diana* is the same height as the canvases at Bürgerstock and Easton Neston and the originals in the Alcázar, which raises the question whether it was not initially part of the same commission, perhaps as a central

piece illustrating the outcome of the deer and boar hunts. At present there is no documentary evidence to support this hypothesis.<sup>8</sup> The iconographic and stylistic affinity to the two mythological *Hunts* can, however, perhaps be used to round out our picture of the latter. The animals in the *Crowning* are certainly not by Rubens or his studio, but are probably the work of Frans Snyder.<sup>29</sup> We may suppose that the original hunting pieces from the Alcázar showed the same qualities of execution as the *Crowning* at Sanssouci as regards both human and animal figures.

The relationship to *The Crowning of Diana* also gives us a closer idea of the nature of Rubens's inspiration. The pose of the seated Diana at Sanssouci is the same as in a work painted by Rubens in collaboration with Jan Brueghel representing *Diana and Nymphs setting out for the Hunt* (Fig. 5).<sup>30</sup> This panel, and the rest of the series painted by Rubens and Brueghel, date from shortly before the two mythological *Hunts* we are concerned with; they show Rubens's growing interest in the realm of Diana and her companions, and from this point onwards women play an important part in his hunting scenes. Ertz has plausibly argued that these products of the collaboration between Rubens and Brueghel were commissioned by the Infanta Isabella, and perhaps it is not accidental that she was the intermediary between Rubens and Philip IV for the two hunting scenes painted for the *salón nuevo*.

1. 'Otros dos liencos de mano de Rubenes largos y angostos con molduras doradas y negras de figuras al natural que el uno es vna montería de jabalies con una ninfa con vn arco en la mano con el que a clauado una flecha al jabali y ay unos perros muertos y otros vivos y vnos caçadores con benablos en

- las manos = y el otro es de una caça en que estan matando un benado muchos Perros y ninfas que estan en auito de caçadoras que le ban siguiendo con lanças y otra ninfa que despidio vna flecha que la clauo en vn arbol y otra que tiene un perro' (Madrid, Archivo de Palacio, Sección Administrativa, leg.708, not foliated; here collated afresh; also published by *Cruzada Villaamil, Rubens*, p.325 under No.34, and by Volk, *Salón Nuevo*, p.180).
2. 'Traxo a la Majestad de nuestro católico Rey Filipo IV ocho cuadros de diferentes cosas y tamaños, que están colocados en el Salón nuevo, entre otras pinturas famosas' (Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, ed. by F.J. Sánchez Cantón, Madrid, 1950, I, p.153).
  3. See Harris, *Dal Poço on Velázquez*, p.372, n.37.
  4. Cruzada Villaamil (*Cruzada Villaamil, Rubens*, p.380) was the first to draw up a list of paintings thought to have been taken by Rubens to Madrid in 1628. He included the *Ulysses and Achilles* and also a *Samson and the Philistines* (though this work is not explicitly attributed to Rubens in the 1630 inventory), but not the two hunting scenes. Rooses adopted this list (*Rooses*, I, p.130; *Rooses, Life*, II, pp.454-455), as did Bottineau (*Bottineau, Alczgar*, 1958, p.35). Harris (loc. cit.) was the first to make a correct list including the hunting scenes. She was followed by Orso (*Orso, Planet King*, p.62) and Volk (*Volk, Salon Nuevo*, p.176); Volk, however, supposed that both *Samson and the Philistines* and its pendant, *Cain killing Abel*, were by Rubens, for which there is no evidence.
  5. 'E' arrivato in Madrid il Rubens fiammingo Pittor famoso, che hà portato otto quadri di pittura di sua mano, ordinatili par serv<sup>o</sup>. di S.M<sup>ta</sup>., da porsi in questo Palazzo' (*Justi, Velázquez*, I, p.240, n.1). It is possible that Rubens did not himself accompany these pictures but that they were sent off a month before his departure together with the tapestries of the Eucharist series; cf. P. Chifflet to J.F. Guidi di Bagno, 21 July 1628: 'S. A. a fait partir dès deux jours en çà deux chariots qu'elle fait passer en Espagne chargez de tapisseries, de toilles et de chartes géographiques et de quelques peintures' (*De Maeyer, Albrecht en Isabella*, p.387, doc.222).
  6. L.P. Gachard, *Histoire politique et diplomatique de Pierre-Paul Rubens*, Brussels, 1877, p.184, n.1.
  7. The report of the Council of Finance refers to a detailed bill for these paintings, which however has not been traced: 'A rapporter à son Altèze Sérénissime—Qu'ayant le fourrier mayor de l'hostel et cour de Vostre Altèze Jean Montfort déliburé au comte de Couppigny le compte et relation cy-jointe des peintures que Pierre-Paul Rubbens, secrétaire du conseil privé, at fait et fait faire par ordre de Vostre Altèze pour le service de Sa Majesté, et envoyé en Espagne durant l'année passée, portant à sept mille cinq cens florins; et ayant icelle relation par ledict comte esté exhibée en finances, le conseil a trouvé convenir de la remettre ès mains royales de Vostre Altèze, afin qu'icelle soit servie de déclarer sur ce son bon plaisir et intention, mesmes si elle a appaisement lesdictes peintures, et de l'estimation d'icelles faicte par personnes entendues en ceste matière, et en jugeans sans réflexion d'amitié et neutrallement. Ainsy advisé, à très humble correction de Vostre Altèze Sérénissime, à Bruxelles, au bureau des fiances, le XXII<sup>e</sup> de décembre 1629'. Isabella noted this document in her own hand: 'Estas pynturas se concertaron con Rubens por este precyo ántes que las ycyese, y están ya en España con mucha satisfaction del rey; y asy a mandado se la paguen luego. Y como abrá de venir en llogando don Carlos [i.e. Coloma] y a menester dynero para salyr de Londres, será byen se le pague este luego' (cited in part in L.P. Gachard, op. cit., pp.183-184, and in full in Rooses, I, pp.129-130, under No.108; see also *Rooses, Life*, II, p.454).
  8. '7500 livres à Pierre-Paul Rubens ... en une lettre de décharge de pareille somme datée du 18<sup>e</sup> de mars 1630 ... pour semblable somme à quoy monte le pris des pintures qu'il at fait et fait faire par ordre de Son Altèze Sérénissime pour service de Sa Majesté et envoyées en Espagne, comme est plus amplement spécifié et déclaré en certaine déclaration portant au pied ordonnance et quitance y servante, veue en l'estat dudit mois de mars, folio 61, verso' (J. Pinot, 'Documents relatifs à Rubens conservés aux Archives du Nord', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, III, 1888, p.126; see also *Rooses*, I, p.129, under No.108). The formula 'fait et fait faire' seems to imply that Rubens was not sole author of the paintings. Beroqui supposed that he took with him eight of his own works and some by other masters (P. Beroqui, 'Adiciones y correcciones al Catálogo del Museo del Prado, III, Escuela Flamenca', *Castilla artistica e histórica, Boletín de la Sociedad Castellana de Excursiones*, 2nd series, II, 1918, p.50). It seems to me more probable, however, that the formula refers to the participation of other masters such as Snyders or Wildens.
  9. *Justi* (*Justi, Velázquez*, I, pp.240-241) and Rooses (*Rooses, Life*, II, p.454) based this opinion on the ground that *Ulysses and Achilles* was among the works in question, but this is incorrect (see above). Volk also thought that the eight paintings were not specially executed for the *salón nuevo* (Volk, *Salón Nuevo*, p.176).
  10. Pacheco, op. cit., p.154: 'con quien [i.e. Velázquez] se [i.e. Rubens] había antes por cartas correspondido' (this correspondence has not survived). See *Cruzada Villaamil, Rubens*, p.138.
  11. See *Orso, Planet King*, pp.67ff.
  12. For the *pieza ochavada* see pp.222-225.
  13. 'cinco varas de largo y dos de alto las ninfas cazandos de mano de Rubenes y esneiles trezientos dus' ... 'Otra de cinco baras de largo y dos de alto

- de vna caza de perros y jabalies de perros [sic] y figuras de Rubenes trezientos dus.' (Madrid, Archivo de Palacio, Bellas Artes, leg.38, fol.55 r. and v.; here collated with the original; also published in *Cruzada Villaamil, Rubens*, p.327, under No.36, and p.316, under No.14).
14. 'Otra Pintura de cinco varas de largo y dos de alto de vnas nimfas cazando venados de mano de Rubenes y Esneile' ... 'Otra Pintura de cinco varas de largo y dos de alto de vna caza de Jabalies, y Perros, y figuras de mano de Rubenes' (*Bottineau, Alcázar*, 1958, p.58, No.178, p.59, No.182).
  15. '30 Ytten Otra Pintura de Cinco Uaras de largo y dos de alto de Vnas Ninfas Cazando Uenados de mano de Rubenes y Esneyle tasada et Çien Doblonos ... 100'—33 Ytten Otra Pintura de Zinco Uaras de largo y dos de alto de Vna Caza de Jabalies y Perros y figuras Copia de Rubenes tasada en Zient Doblonos ... 100' (*Inventarios reales, Carlos II*, I, p.21).
  16. Y. Bottineau, *L'Art de cour dans l'Espagne de Philippe V, 1700-1746*, Bordeaux, 1962, p.624.
  17. Unless they are to be identified with the following pieces, of slightly different dimensions, in the Buen Retiro inventory of 1794: '(172)—Rubens—Vna cazeria de vn venado de dos varas y dos tercias de alto y quatro varas y quarta de ancho—6000'; '(410)—Rubens—Una cazeria de un jabali dos varas y media de alto y quatro y tercia de ancho' (quoted after the transcription in the library of the Prado). But these may equally well be pictures by Snyders or De Vos.
  18. *Cruzada Villaamil, Rubens*, p.325, under Nos.34 and 35.
  19. *Díaz Padrón, Cat. Prado*, I, pp.264-265, under No.1662; adopted by Volk, *Salón Nuevo*, p.176. See Adler, *Landscapes*, p.239, No.41, where this piece is identified, no doubt correctly, with a *Boar Hunt* in Rubens's estate.
  20. *Bottineau, Alcázar*, 1958, p.35.
  21. Díaz Padrón, basing himself on the mistaken identification by Cruzada Villaamil (see above, n.18), thought the *Deer Hunt* of 1636 measured 2 x 3 varas. On the other hand he noted that the description of the composition in this early inventory (see n.1 above) was appropriate to the *Deer Hunt* in Mexico, from which he inferred that the King of Spain possessed a smaller version of this composition in 1636. He proposed to regard the canvas in the Lázaro collection—No.13, copy (5)—as a copy after that version: see *Díaz Padrón, Cacería*.
  22. Díaz Padrón proposed (op. cit., p.145, n.63) to identify the *Calydonian Boar Hunt* in the *pieza ochavada* with 'Vne grande chasse de sangliers, de François Snyders, sur toile', No.260 in the inventory of Rubens's estate (*Specification des peintures trouuees a la maison mortuaire de feu messire Pierre Paul Rubens, chevalier, etc.*, Antwerp, 1640; see also *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p.67). This, however, is quite unfounded: in the first place the work here described is apparently by Snyders alone, and secondly there is no sign that the King of Spain bought it from Rubens's heirs. The identification of the *Deer Hunt* in the *pieza ochavada* with 'Vne grande chasse de cerfs', No.154 in the inventory of Rubens's estate, is also incorrect, as argued above (*Specification*, op. cit., and see *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p.63; the English translation of 1640 is somewhat more explicit: 'A great Huntinge of Harts paynted over by him and w<sup>th</sup> figures of him', see *Catalogue of the Works of Art in the Possession of Sir Peter Paul Rubens at the Time of his Decease ...*, ed. by D. Turner, 2nd edn., 1839). The last-mentioned work did, however, come into the possession of the King of Spain: as appears from item XLIII of the 1645 accounts of Rubens's estate, Don Francisco de Rochas bought it on the King's behalf for 700 guilders (*Génard, Natatenschap*, p.85). I do not know with which painting in the royal inventories it should be identified.
  23. Burchard noted that in 1939 a '*Bear Hunt*' (*sic*) and another hunting piece by Rubens, both 'esquisses terminées' in colour, frieze-like and with a later addition at the top, were purchased by the Galerie St. Lucas from the collection of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha (Vienna). I presume these are the same sketches (Nos.12a and 13a).
  24. For a possible indication see p.208, n.5.
  25. See also n.8.
  26. See p.81, for a full discussion of this point.
  27. Canvas, 165.5 x 187 cm.
  28. *The Crowning of Diana* figured in 1707 as a chimney-piece in the 'Grootte zael' of the château at Honselaersdijk, and it was most probably already there in 1637-1638, when the decoration of that hall, with Diana as its exclusive theme, was completed. It is not clear exactly when Amalia van Solms acquired the picture for the castle (see H. Börsch-Supan, 'Die Gemälde aus dem Vermächtnis der Amalie von Solms und aus der Oranischen Erbschaft in den brandenburgisch-preussischen Schlösseren', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XXX, 1967, pp.160-161, 195, No.97; D.P. Snoep, 'Honselaersdijk: restauraties op papier', *Oud Holland*, LXXXIV, 1969, pp.286-291; G. Eckhardt, *Die Gemälde in der Bildergalerie von Sanssouci, Potsdam-Sanssouci*, 1975, pp.62-63, No.42). For the iconography of this painting see above, p.58.
  29. The Honselaersdijk inventory of 1707 ascribed the picture, rightly in my opinion, to 'Rubbens en Snijers'. G. Eckhardt, on the other hand, is convinced that the animals are by Paul de Vos (loc. cit.).
  30. Ertz, *Brueghel*, pp.391-394, 617, No.354. See also p.57 above.



## 12. The Calydonian Boar Hunt

Oil on canvas; approximately  
167 × 417.5 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: Brought to Madrid by Rubens in 1628; Madrid, Alcázar (inv. 1636: *salón nuevo*; inv. 1666: *pieza ochavada*; inv. 1686: *pieza ochavada*, No.182; inv. 1701–1703: *pieza ochavada*, No.33); presumably destroyed by fire in 1734.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig.81), studio replica, Easton Neston, Towcester, Northants, collection of Lord Hesketh; canvas, 162.5 × 348 cm. PROV. ? In a castle in Sweden; ? John W. Brett, London, sale, London (Christie's), 9 April 1864, lot 798 (as *Rubens and Snyders*). EXH. *Art Treasures of the United Kingdom*, Manchester, 1857, No.542 (as *Rubens*); *National Exhibition of Works of Art*, Leeds, 1868, No.868 (as *Rubens and Snyders*). LIT. W. Bürger, *Trésors d'art en Angleterre*, 3rd edn., Paris, 1865, pp.186–187; A. Lavice, *Revue des musées d'Angleterre*, Paris, 1867, p.148 (as *Rubens*); *Rooses*, V, p.339, under No.637; (2) Painting, Göttingen, Kunstsammlung der Universität; canvas, 113 × 197 cm. PROV. Johann Wilhelm Zschnorn (Celle, 1714–1795), by whom bequeathed to the university (as *Rubens*). LIT. Fiorillo, cat. Göttingen, 1805, p.74, No.18; Waldmann, cat. Göttingen, 1905, No.53; W. Stechow, *Katalog der Gemäldesammlung der Universität Göttingen*, Göttingen, [1926], p.49, No.153 (as *studio of Rubens*); (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 40 × 68 cm. PROV. Sale, Prague (Slatner), 11–13 June 1927, lot 95, pl. I (as *Snyders*); (4) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 45 × 70 cm. PROV. d'Abel, Paris; Fleischhauer, Stuttgart, sale, Stuttgart, 14–20 April 1920, lot 39, pl.26 (as *Rubens*); (5) Painting,

whereabouts unknown; panel, 39 × 63 cm. PROV. Flor Burton, Antwerp, sale, Antwerp (Cercle Royal Artistique), 14 March 1927, lot 31 (repr.); (6) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 26.7 × 74.9 cm. PROV. Sale, London (Christie's), 1 May 1964, No.161 (as *Rubens*); (7) Painting, Antwerp, Rubenshuis, Inv. No.M.166; part of a painted cabinet; copper, 30 × 87 cm. PROV. Presented by Mrs Pierre Weingärtner; (8) Drawing after the upper part of Atalanta's body, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng, 'Rubens Cantoor', No.IV, 53; red chalk, 150 × 212 mm.; inscription: *dit omtrecksken is heel goet ende correckt*.—Verso: the number 276; (9) Drawing after the right leg of Atalanta, *ibid.*, 'Rubens Cantoor', No.VI, 37; red and black chalk, c.245 × 144 mm.; (10) Drawing after the head of the boar, *ibid.*, 'Rubens Cantoor', No.VI, 76; red chalk, c.328 × 171 mm.; (11) Drawing after Meleager's legs, *ibid.*, 'Rubens Cantoor', No.VI, 33; red and black chalk, c.295 × 340 mm.

LITERATURE: *Cruzada Villaamil, Rubens*, pp.316–317, under No.14, pp.325–327, under No.35; *Justi, Velazquez*, I, p.240; *Rooses*, IV, p.350; *Bottineau, Alcázar*, 1958, pp.35, 59, No.182; *Díaz Padrón, Cacería*, p.145, n.63; *Harris, Dal Pozzo on Velazquez*, p.372, n.37; *Alpers, Torre*, pp.39–40; *Díaz Padrón, Cat. Prado*, I, pp.264, 265, under No.1662; *Orso, Planet King*, p.57, No.19, pp.62, 63, 65, 127, 195, 198, 260, No.19, p.275, No.662; *Volk, Salón Nuevo*, pp.176, 180; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.340, under No.251.

Atalanta, running forward from the left, has just shot an arrow which has hit the

boar behind the ear, exactly as related by Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, VIII, 270–419). On the right, Meleager braces himself to deal the animal its death-blow with his spear. Two huntsmen, also carrying spears, are stationed behind the boar, and a horn-blower approaches from the left, behind Atalanta. Ancaeus lies dead on the ground; beside him is the axe with which he tried to kill the boar. There is a pack of seven hounds.

Unlike most of Rubens's versions of the *Calydonian Boar Hunt*, this one does not include the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux. It also departs from the static design of Rubens's earlier paintings of the subject (Nos.1 and 10; cf. Fig.31, Fig.69), which closely imitated Roman sarcophagus reliefs. The new composition combines two phases of the hunt: the pursuit (on the left) and the bringing of the animal to bay (on the right). Another departure from the tradition of the sarcophagus reliefs is that Meleager is not shown frontally but in profile and even somewhat from behind. The boar, too, with its head turned fully towards us, is in a different pose from those in the sarcophagi. This boar and Meleager were repeated by Rubens in a later hunting scene (No.20a; Fig.105). The Atalanta here is, so to speak, a cross between the two previous ones: the pose of her upper body is the same as in the earliest *Calydonian Hunt* (No.1; cf. Fig.31), but she has the same swift tread as in the Vienna canvas (No.10; Fig.69). The horn-blower's head recalls that of the horn-blowing nymph (in reverse) in Rubens's *Diana departing for the Hunt* of a few years earlier in the Prado.<sup>1</sup> The pose and position of one of the men behind the boar, running in the same direction with up-raised spear, are the same as in the *Boar Hunt* painted about ten years earlier by Snyder and Van Dyck (Fig.23).<sup>2</sup> The

wounded dog lying on its back also occurred in that picture. The hound furthest right, which Rubens had already used in a *Judgement of Paris* (Madrid, Prado),<sup>3</sup> is borrowed from Giulio Romano's *Death of Procris*.<sup>4</sup>

The original painting which Rubens took to Madrid in 1628 was, as described above,<sup>5</sup> probably destroyed in the Alcázar fire of 1734. An idea can be formed of it from the preliminary sketch (No.12a; Fig.82) and above all from copies. The most important of these is that at Easton Neston (Copy [1]; Fig.81), which, given the quality of its execution, can be regarded as a studio replica.<sup>6</sup> It is of about the same dimensions as the *Diana hunting Deer at Bürgenstock* (No.13, Copy [2]; Fig.86), and probably originally formed a pair with it. It may be the work which was in the collection of John W. Brett in about 1860, and which W. Bürger described as: 'Atalante et Méléagre chassant le sanglier. 12 pieds de large sur 5 [English 'feet', i.e. 152.5 × 366 cm.]. Figures un peu plus petites que nature. Faible et lourd.' Lavice wrote of the same piece: 'Méléagre et Atalante chassant le sanglier. Celle-ci, vêtue à la légère, un sein nu, vient de décocher une flèche qui a atteint l'animal au cou. Méléagre le perce d'un coup de hallebarde. Sa pose est raide. Chiens, etc. Le sanglier est devenu noir. Bon du reste.' The statement, quoted in the Manchester exhibition catalogue and repeated by Bürger, that it once belonged to Queen Christina could not be substantiated.<sup>7</sup>

1. Prado, No.1727; see Díaz Padrón, *Cat. Prado*, I, pp.297–298, No.1727; II, pl.191. This painting was probably one of those that the Queen of Spain bought in Flanders in 1623 (see M. C. Volk, 'Rubens in Madrid and the Decoration of the King's Summer Apartments', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXIII, 1981, p.520, n.48).

2. See also pp.32–34.

3. Prado, No.1731; see Díaz Padrón, *Cat. Prado*, I, pp.298–299, No.1731; II, pl.191.

4. Drawing in the Städtisches Kunstinstitut at Frankfurt, Inv. No.4336; see F.Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, New Haven, 1958, I, p.305, No.292; II, fig.473. This composition belonged to the lost series that probably adorned the hunting lodge of Marmirolo (see p.56).
5. See p.180.
6. In this version Atalanta wears a crimson garment and a white scarf with pink highlights; Meleager's loincloth is also crimson, and the man just behind the boar is dressed in greyish blue. The animals in this painting are certainly not by Snyders or Paul de Vos. The muscular articulation of the human figures is rather stiff, and the contours very mechanical. Meleager's arms are the liveliest part of the painting, but I do not see Rubens's hand in them either. There is some uncertainty in the depiction of the backs of the two men behind the boar, but I do not think this indicates a *pentimento*.
7. 'Purchased at a chateau in Sweden. Formerly in the collection of Queen Christina'. No such *Boar Hunt* is mentioned in the inventories published by O. Granberg, *Drottning Kristinas tafvelgaleri på Stockholms slott och i Rom*, Stockholm, 1890.

### 12a. The Calydonian Boar Hunt: Oil Sketch (Fig.82)

Oil on panel; 24.5 × 61.4 cm.—*Verso*: cradled.

*Private Collection, Switzerland.*

PROVENANCE: ? Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, Vienna, who sold it to the Galerie St. Lucas, Vienna, 1939.

COPY: Drawing, not including the figure of Meleager, Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Graphische Sammlung, Inv.-No.Z1818; red chalk, reworked in pen and brown ink with brown and greyish brown wash and some white bodycolour, 202 × 404 mm., mounted. LIT. *Robels, Niederländische Zeichnungen*, p.139, No.232, repr.

LITERATURE: *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, pp.340-341, No.251; II, pl.273.

This sketch<sup>1</sup> differs only in minor points from the large canvas as we know it from

the replica at Easton Neston (Fig.81). In the sketch Atalanta's right arm is a little more bent than in the canvas, and the man in the hat, behind the boar, extends his right arm backwards (it can be seen below Atalanta's left arm). In the canvas this arm is stretched forward, and the hand is seen in front of the other man's chin. In the sketch, again, Meleager grasps his spear further from the point than he does in the canvas. All the copies listed under No.12 follow the composition at Easton Neston on all these points, and not the sketch.

I do not know whether this panel, like its pendant *Diana hunting Deer* (No.13a; Fig.87), was formerly enlarged with two strips at the top and bottom.

1. For the provenance see above, p.184, n.23. I have not seen this sketch. For a technical description see *Held*, loc. cit.

### 13. Diana and Nymphs hunting Deer

Oil on canvas; approximately  
167 × 417.5 cm.

*Whereabouts unknown; possibly lost.*

PROVENANCE: Brought to Madrid by Rubens in 1628; Madrid, Alcázar (inv. 1636: *salón nuevo*; inv. 1666: *pieza ochavada*; inv. 1686: *pieza ochavada*, No.[178]; inv. 1701-1703: *pieza ochavada*, No.30); possibly destroyed by fire in 1734; if not, possibly to be identified with Copy (1).

COPIES: (1) Painting (Figs.83, 85), whereabouts unknown (? Mexico); canvas, dimensions unknown ('life-sized'). PROV. Possibly the original of the Alcázar (see above); ? seized by the French in 1809; ? restituted by the French King, Louis XVIII, in 1815; ? presented by the Spanish Crown to the Duke of Altamira; Dukes

of Altamira, temporarily in Rome; Galería Cisne, Madrid, 1966 (as *Snyders* or as *P. de Vos*); Julio Serrano Piedecabras, Mexico City, 1970. LIT. *Díaz Padrón, Cacería; Orso, Planet King*, pp.63–64; (2) Painting (Fig.86), studio replica, Bürgenstock (Switz.), collection of Fritz Frey; canvas, 167 × 352 cm. PROV. ? Purchased in Paris by Prince Stanislas Poniatovski (later Stanislas August II, King of Poland, reigned 1732–1738); Count Potocki, castle of Lan-cut (Pol.); purchased in 1945 by Friedrich Frey-Fürst at whose death in 1953 it was inherited by his son, Fritz Frey. LIT. W. Hugelshofer, in F. Frey, *Der Bürgenstock*, Zurich–Stuttgart, 1967, pp.44–47, repr.; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.325, under No.237; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown (photograph in the Burchard Documentation, Rubenianum, Antwerp); canvas, 115 × 220 cm. PROV. Sir Robert Walpole, 1st Earl of Orford (1676–1745); Sir Robert Walpole, 2nd Earl of Orford, sale, London, 14 June 1751, lot 67, bought by Henry, 9th Earl of Lincoln, later 2nd Duke of Newcastle (cf. annot. copy of sale cat. in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London); by descent Henry Pelham, 7th Duke of Newcastle; inherited by the Earl of Lincoln, sale, London (Christie's), 4 June 1937, lot 92 (as *Rubens*), bought by dealer Sam Hartveld, Antwerp; Galerie de Beisac, Wiesbaden, 1970. LIT. *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.301, No.1092; *Rooses*, III, p.74, No.589; *Manneback, P. de Vos*, p.558 (as *P. de Vos*); *Díaz Padrón, Cacería*, pp.133, 134, 149, fig.3 (as copy); *Alpers, Torre*, p.204, under No.20; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.325, under No.237; (4) Painting (Fig.84), whereabouts unknown; canvas, 118 × 223.5 cm. PROV. Wilshere collection; sale, London (Christie's), 10 July 1953, lot 152 (as *Rubens*), bought by David Reder; sale, Brussels (Palais des Beaux-Arts), 15–16 June 1954, lot 432, pl. XIV (as

*Rubens*). LIT. *Alpers, Torre*, p.204, under No.20 (as school-piece); *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.325, under No.237, fig.42; (5) Painting, Madrid, Museo Lázaro Galdiano, Inv.-No.5597; canvas, 188 × 347 cm.; cut down at left and right hand sides (original size approximately 188 × 486 cm.). PROV. José Lázaro, Madrid. LIT. *La colección Lázaro de Madrid*, Madrid, 1927, II, p.447, No.975, repr. (as *Rubens and P. de Vos*); *Díaz Padrón, Cacería*, pp.144–145, fig.4 (as copy); *Alpers, Torre*, p.204, under No.20 (as copy); *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.325, under No.237; (6) Painting, with some changes, whereabouts unknown (photograph in the Rubenianum, Antwerp); canvas, dimensions unknown. PROV. Benedictine abbey, Amorbach, until 1803, when purchased by Fürst von Leiningen; purchased from the latter by Fritz Eggert, Darmstadt (still in his possession in 1905); (7) Painting (Fig.89), whereabouts unknown. See No.13b for more details; (8) Painting, sketch-like, with considerable variations, whereabouts unknown (photograph in the Burchard Documentation, Rubenianum, Antwerp); canvas, 37 × 60 cm. PROV. Sackville Gallery (Max Rothschild), London, 1927–1928 (as *Rubens*); (9) Gouache by Joseph Goupy (?), whereabouts unknown; 277 × 508 mm. PROV. Madge, Winchester; sale, London (Christie's), 17 March 1959, part of lot 146, bought by Ludwig Burchard (1886–1959, London); (10) Drawing (Fig.88) after the nymph with the dog on the left, and both nymphs on the right, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, 'Rubens Cantoor', No.IV, 40; red chalk, brown ink and brush, c.245 × 350 mm.; (11) Drawing after the upper part of the body of the nymph on the left shooting an arrow, *ibid.*, 'Rubens Cantoor', No.IV, 41a (mounted onto the same sheet as the following Copy); red chalk,

138 × 245 mm.; (12) Drawing after the upper part of the bodies of Diana and the nymph in the middle, *ibid.*, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. IV, 41b (mounted onto the same sheet as the preceding Copy); black ink and brush, 242 × 262 mm.; (13) Drawing after the left leg of Diana and the left leg of the second nymph from the right, *ibid.*, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. VI, 39; pen and red chalk, 270 × 350 mm.; (14) Drawing of the head of the stag, *ibid.*, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. VI, 88 (mounted onto one sheet with a drawing of a cow, No. VI, 87); red chalk, c. 294 × 194 mm.; (15) Drawing after the head of the doe, *ibid.*, 'Rubens Cantoor', No. VI, 89; red chalk, c. 222 × 208 mm.; (16) Etching by Joseph Goupy (d. before 1782), in reverse, after Copy (3); 291 × 503 mm.; inscription: *Servatur Exemplar in Aedibus Nobilissimi Viri Domini Walpole Clarij Primi-Praefecti, Scaccarij Cañcellarij, Magnae Britanniae Regi a Secretioribus Concilij & Nobilissimi Ordinis Periscelidis Equitis & c. LIT. V.S., p. 229, No. 34; Dutuit, III, p. 248, No. 23; Rooses, III, p. 74, under No. 589.*

LITERATURE: *Cruzada Villaamil, Rubens*, pp. 144, 317, under No. 14, p. 325, under No. 35, p. 327, under No. 36; *Justi, Velázquez*, I, p. 240; *Rooses*, III, p. 134, No. 655; IV, p. 350; *Bottineau, Alcázar*, 1958, pp. 35, 58, No. 179; *Díaz Padrón, Cacería*; *Harris, Dal Pozzo on Velázquez*, p. 372, n. 37; *Alpers, Torre*, pp. 39–40; *Orso, Planet King*, p. 57, No. 19, pp. 62–65, 127, 198, 260, No. 19, p. 275, No. 658, p. 315, n. 65; *Volk, Salón Nuevo*, pp. 176, 180.

Diana and five nymphs are hunting a stag and a doe. The goddess runs forward from the right with a javelin in her hand. A nymph just in front has driven her spear into the belly of the stag, which falls

mortally wounded. Two more nymphs approach from the right, and two are poised on the left. One of these has shot an arrow, which missed the fleeing doe and is embedded in a tree-trunk; the other nymph sets loose a hound on the doe. Four other dogs attack the wounded stag; a fifth lies injured on the ground.

It is possible that the painting with this composition that was published by Díaz Padrón and was in Mexico in 1970, in the collection of J. Serrano Piedecosas, is the original that Rubens took to Madrid in 1628 and which hung in the Alcázar, first in the *salón nuevo* and then in the *pieza ochavada*.<sup>1</sup> If it is, it evidently escaped the Alcázar fire of 1734, but not without damage: according to Díaz Padrón it is in a deplorable state.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the fire damage was the reason why it was extensively overpainted: when it appeared in the Madrid art trade in 1966 all the human figures had been painted out, making it simply an animal picture.<sup>3</sup> These overpaintings were removed in a recent restoration.

The poor condition of the painting from the Serrano Piedecosas collection, which I know only from photographs, makes it especially difficult to form an opinion as to its original quality. Comparison with photographs of the best of the known copies, the canvas at Bürgenstock (Copy [2]; Fig. 86), gives the impression that the animals, in particular, are rendered with somewhat more character in the painting in Mexico, which supports the hypothesis that this is the mutilated original. It is not yet possible to form a definite judgement on this point. Probably the canvas originally extended somewhat further to the left, as appears from comparison with the sketch (No. 13a; Fig. 87) and with all known copies, including the drawing by Rubens's pupil in the so-called 'Rubens Can-

toor' (Copy [10]; Fig.88). A variation from all copies is that the breast of the nymph on the left, with the dog, is covered with a piece of drapery. Díaz Padrón suggested that this was done either in the studio, with an eye to the prudery of the Spanish court, or soon after the painting reached Madrid. In any case this overpainting, if such it is, resisted the solvents used to remove later overpaintings.<sup>4</sup>

The canvas at Bürgenstock (Fig.86) can, from the quality of the execution, be regarded as a studio replica. Probably it initially formed a pair with the *Calydonian Boar Hunt* at Easton Neston (No.12, Copy [1]; Fig.81), which is of the same dimensions.<sup>5</sup> Other copies of some importance are those from the Hartveld collection (Copy [3]), the Wilshere collection (Copy [4]; Fig.84), and in the Museo Lázaro Galdiano (Copy [5]). I am not convinced that any of these is from Rubens's studio. The last may have been painted in Spain when the original was in the royal collection.<sup>6</sup> Burchard described the copy from the Hartveld collection as 'of indifferent quality';<sup>7</sup> he took a much more favourable view of the copy from the Wilshere collection, which appeared on the London art market in 1953. He even seems to have thought that Rubens might have done the underpainting of this work and that another hand might have finished it after his death,<sup>8</sup> but he wished to investigate further before expressing a definite view. However, now that it has become clear that a finished original of this composition did exist and that it must be dated before 1628, I think we may abandon the hypothesis of a painting left unfinished by Rubens and worked up by another hand. Since the Wilshere canvas is only known to me from photographs, I cannot comment on the underpainting; but the impressionist brush-strokes on the visible

surface seems to me quite unlike the work of Rubens's studio.

The Wilshere and Hartveld canvases are of the same dimensions and are fully alike in composition. They differ in two important points from the versions in Mexico and Bürgenstock: the composition is closed on the right by a tree, which partially hides the last nymph, and it is enlarged vertically, so that the tree in the centre had to be further worked up. In the Hartveld canvas a seam is visible at about the level of the top of the original composition.<sup>9</sup> In a very clear recent photograph (1974) one can also see plainly a different structure of tension lines in the upper part of the canvas, supporting the conclusion that this strip was added later.<sup>10</sup> Since the canvas from the Wilshere collection also includes this enlargement, it was probably copied from the Hartveld canvas.

There is some confusion in recent literature as to the provenance of the two copies. Christie's sale catalogue of 10 July 1953 stated that the Wilshere canvas was from the collection of Sir Robert Walpole,<sup>11</sup> adducing as evidence that the print by Joseph Goupy (Copy [16]) reproduces this composition and bears an inscription to the effect that the picture was in Walpole's collection.<sup>12</sup> However, from a careful comparison it can be seen that Goupy's print reproduces the Hartveld canvas and not the Wilshere one.<sup>13</sup>

The composition discussed here was evidently very popular. This is shown not only by the large number of copies but by the repetition of certain motifs in the work of other masters. Snyders in particular seems to have put it to good use: for instance, in his *Deer Hunt* in the Brussels museum (Fig.9) he borrowed the pose of the stricken hart, the dog biting its ear, and the fleeing doe.<sup>14</sup> As argued above in

the introduction to catalogue entries 12 to 13, it is probable that Snyders collaborated with Rubens in the present work.<sup>15</sup> Rubens himself made use of its composition several times as a basis for later hunting scenes.<sup>16</sup> Some motifs are evidently developed from earlier works by him: for instance, the pose of the nymph with the dog on the left is the same as that of the kennelman in the *Calydonian Boar Hunt* at Vienna (No.10; Fig.69), and the figure of Diana seems to be an adaptation, in reverse, of *Atalanta* in that painting.

1. See for more detail the introduction to Nos.12-13, pp.180-181. I do not know the precise dimensions of the canvas in Mexico. The reconstruction of the provenance of this canvas is not wholly beyond dispute. Díaz Padrón (op. cit., p.141, n.39) stated that when the painting made its appearance in Madrid in 1966 it was said to have belonged to the collection of the Marquis of Leganés, but it is not to be found in the 1055 inventory of his estate. However, Díaz Padrón also noted (p.149) that in 1815 a hunting scene by Rubens that the French had removed from Spain was restored to the Counts of Altamira, who were Leganés's heirs; this work, he believed, must have been *Diana hunting Deer*. It was apparently made over to the Counts of Altamira not because it originally belonged to their collection, but in compensation for other paintings lost during the War of Independence; it had in fact previously belonged to the Spanish royal collection. It is not quite clear to me whether the passage in P. de Madrazo's *Viaje artístico de tres siglos por los colecciones de cuadros de los reyes de España* (Barcelona, 1884, p.301) to which Díaz Padrón refers is to be understood in this way. In my opinion it is possible that the 'cacería de Rubens' stated to have been restored to the Counts of Altamira was in fact the *Wolf Hunt* (No.2; Fig.33), of which we know that it was sent to France from the Altamira collection and was restored to its owners in 1815 (see p.103, n.16).
2. Díaz Padrón, *Cacería*, pp.131-133; our Fig.85 shows this work in an extensively retouched state.
3. The former state of the picture is reproduced in Díaz Padrón, *Cacería*, fig.8.
4. 'El supuesto repinte forma cuerpo con la parte antigua de color, siguiendo con fidelidad la factura original, y resistiendo bien los disolventes habituales... Es conveniente recordar, que añadidos de esta naturaleza son frecuentes en pinturas de Palacio' (Díaz Padrón, *Cacería*, p.134).

5. Burchard, who apparently knew the Bürgenstock canvas only from a photograph, noted that it was not by Rubens's own hand. According to a colour-reproduction its colours are as follows: the garment of the nymph on the extreme left is lilac, that of the nymph with the hound is emerald green, that of the nymph in front of Diana is ochre; Diana's dress is red, the nymph behind her is in saffron-colour, and the nymph on the extreme right wears a blue garment with a brownish shawl.
6. The canvas was drastically cut down on both sides: on the left from the doe's foremost hoof, and on the right behind Diana's left foot.
7. Letter of 19 July 1951.
8. Note on the sale of 10 July 1953: 'Untermalung des Fleisches sehr gut in terra di Siena ... vielleicht nur echte Untermalung, die nach R's Tod weitergeführt wurde; z.B. Fell der Tiere und Draperien (letztere à la Willeboirts), aber auch die Gesichter ... Ausführung der Tiere weder von P. de Vos, noch von Snyders'.
9. The seam is about 30 cm. from the upper edge. A strip of about 3.5 cm. has also been added at the bottom. It seems to me probable that the boulder, bottom left, which hides the nymph's foot from view was added by the painter who enlarged the canvas, to save himself the task of designing a suitable foot.
10. It should be pointed out that no difference of style is discernible between the portions of the tree above and below the seam.
11. This statement is repeated by Alpers, loc. cit.
12. The canvas is not mentioned in [Horace Walpole], *Notes Walpolianae*, 2nd edn., London, 1752.
13. This is established by the outlines of the boulder, lower left, and the fact that both Goupy's print and the Hartfeld canvas show a crescent moon in Diana's hair. It is curious that the crescent is missing from the gouache (Copy [9]), which Ludwig Burchard regarded as the *modello* for the print and which he ascribed to Goupy, following a suggestion by Wolfgang Burchard.
14. See the general discussion of Snyders' dependence on Rubens, pp.79-81.
15. See p.182. Marguerite Manneback (cf. under Copy [3]) considered that Paul de Vos painted the animals (Burchard agreed with this opinion). However, she seems only to have known Goupy's print, and her judgement must thus relate to the 'invention' of the animals rather than their specific execution. But, as appears from the sketch (Fig.87), this 'invention' must be credited to Rubens. Only an inspection of the original could clear up the matter, since it appears to me that a pupil of Rubens, and not De Vos or Snyders, was responsible for the replica at Bürgenstock. Burchard supposed that the landscape in the original was painted by Wildens.
16. See p.34.

**13a. Diana and Nymphs hunting Deer:  
Oil Sketch (Fig.87)**

Oil on panel; 24.4×61.7 cm.—*Verso*:  
cradled.

*Private Collection, Switzerland.*

PROVENANCE: ? Duke of Saxe-Coburg-  
Gotha, Vienna, who sold it to the Galerie  
St.Lucas, Vienna, 1939.

COPY: Drawing, Rugby School, Warwick-  
shire, Inv. No.B39/24; brush and water-  
colours, 245×627 mm.; inscribed below:  
*Sniders*.—*Verso*: the same composition in  
red chalk. PROV. Bloxam collection. LIT.  
Cat. Rugby School, No.104 (as *Rubens and  
Snyders*); *Bordley, Légende*, p.30, repr. p.32  
(as *Snyders*); *Díaz Padrón, Cacería*, pp.133,  
135, 136, fig.2 (as *Snyders*).

LITERATURE: *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, pp.324-  
325, No.237; II, pl.274.

The composition of this sketch<sup>1</sup> differs  
only in some minor points from that of  
the large canvas. The nymph on the left  
has not yet shot her arrow (her pose bears  
some resemblance to that of Atalanta in  
Giulio Romano's *Calydonian Boar Hunt*,  
Fig.28),<sup>2</sup> and she does not carry a lion's  
head on her shoulder. The second nymph  
on the left is not seen to be wearing boots.  
Diana is bare-footed; the quiver hangs  
further down on her hip and is fully  
visible, in contrast to the large canvas.  
Held states that two strips were added to  
this panel at the top and bottom and have  
since been removed.

The drawing at Rugby School follows  
this composition in all points.<sup>3</sup> Díaz  
Padrón thought it was by Snyders, but I  
do not recognize his hand in it; the in-  
scription '*Sniders*' cannot in my opinion  
be regarded as a signature.

1. For the provenance see p.184, n.23. I have not seen  
this sketch myself. For a technical description see  
Held, loc. cit.

2. See p.56 for further information on Giulio's *Caly-  
donian Boar Hunt*.

3. At Rugby School there is also a frieze-like drawing  
of a *Calydonian Boar Hunt*, copied after Rubens.  
However, its composition is not that of No.12 but  
of No.20 in this volume. The two drawings are  
about the same height, but do not form a pair: they  
differ in both style and technique.

**13b. Diana and Nymphs hunting Deer:  
Oil Sketch (Fig.89)**

Oil on panel; 51.5×74 cm.

*Private Collection, Switzerland.*

PROVENANCE: Earl of Lanesborough,  
sale, London (Christie's), 13 July, 1951,  
lot 49, bought by Wheeler; dealer W.E.  
Duits, London; sale, Lucerne (Galerie  
Fischer), 18-19 June 1971, lot 546 (repr.);  
M.Bertocco-Schaub, Geneva, 1972; sale,  
Konstanz (Kühnel), 29 November 1975,  
suppl. lot 8 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, 325,  
under No.237 (as *copy*).

Burchard thought this panel was painted  
by Rubens's own hand in about 1630.<sup>1</sup>  
Held on the other hand considered,  
rightly in my opinion, that it was a copy  
after the large canvas (cf. Figs.83, 86). On  
the one hand its quality does not seem to  
match that of Rubens's own sketches,<sup>2</sup>  
and on the other, since the original sketch  
for this composition has come to light  
(No.13a; Fig.87), it is hard to see what  
would have been the purpose of this ad-  
ditional sketch, which contains few new  
elements. It may be noted that this sketch-  
like copy follows the large canvas some-  
what slavishly, in a timid and uncertain  
hand (see especially the facial expressions).



This copy, nevertheless, has one noteworthy feature: it extends further at the top and bottom than the original or the other copies.<sup>3</sup> To the right leg of the nymph with the dog, which was cut off by the edge of the original canvas, the copyist has added a foot in a very convincing sandal. I do not believe, however, that this represents an earlier state of Rubens's original: for no foot is visible in the sketch (Fig.87) or in the drawing by a pupil of Rubens in the 'Rubens Cantoor' (Fig.88). Whoever executed this panel from the Earl of Lanesborough's collection forgot to paint in the feet of the nymph in front of Diana.

1. Certificate dated 19 July 1951. Burchard, who examined the work on 9 July 1951, noted the following colours: Diana's garment is red, that of the nymph behind her is saffron-colour (he noted retouches in the head of this nymph); the nymph on the far right is in pale blue, with a brownish-yellow shawl.
2. To judge from a photograph.
3. The upward extension does not show the same details as in the copies from the Hartveld collection (No.13, Copy [3]) and the Wilshere collection (No.13, Copy [4]; Fig.84).

#### 14. Hawking Party

? Oil on canvas; ? 165 × 162 cm.

*Whereabouts unknown.*

PROVENANCE: ? Sale, Amsterdam (Hendrik de Leth), 17 April 1758, lot 2.

The hawking scenes discussed in this and the following catalogue entry are problematical. That Rubens concerned himself with falconry appears from a drawing (No.14a; Fig.90) and an oil sketch (No.15; Fig.92). In addition we find in the literature, and in sale catalogues, paintings and sketches of the subject attributed either

to Rubens or to Van Dyck, but there is usually no means whatever of verifying the attribution. In one or two cases such attributions can be discredited. This applies, for instance, to a 'Chasse au faucon' measuring 54 × 73 cm. and sold in Paris in 1869. From the full description in the catalogue<sup>1</sup> this can be identified with a panel (Fig.91) which belonged to Julius H. Weitzner in New York in 1946 and was ascribed by Burchard to Erasmus Quellin;<sup>2</sup> it should, however, perhaps rather be given to Abraham van Diepenbeeck. Another hawking scene was attributed to Rubens and Wouwerman by F. Alizeri in his *Guida artistica di Genova*;<sup>3</sup> but we may possibly surmise that it is entirely by Philips (?), Wouwerman, who painted many works of this kind.

Other references may deserve more credit: e.g. a sketch of a *Hawking Party* formerly in the Munro collection in London (No.14b), attributed by Smith to Van Dyck.<sup>4</sup> Smith's description of this approximately square sketch suggests the same composition as that of the drawing from the Thormählen collection (No.14a; Fig.90); this led Burchard and d'Hulst to propose that it was connected with that drawing and was likewise by Rubens.<sup>5</sup> There is no means of ascertaining whether this was in fact the case; nor do we know whether the composition of the drawing (and of the sketch?) was ever executed on a large scale. If it was, the work may perhaps be identified with a canvas (?) measuring 165 × 162 cm.—i.e. almost square, like the sketch and the group of figures in the drawing—which was sold at Amsterdam for 30 guilders in 1758 (see above under PROVENANCE) and described as: 'Een kapitaal stuk, warin verbeeld worden de drie Vrouwen van Rubbens te paard zittende, met eenige andere Beelden, om op de Jagt te gaan, waarbij zijn

eenige Jagthonden, alles verwonderlyk schoon geschildert door denzelven [Rubens], en de Honden door Sneyders—hoog 5 voet 9 duim, breed 5 voet 3 duim'. (A capital piece representing Rubens's three wives on horseback, with some other figures, preparing to go hunting, also some hounds, all marvellously well painted by the same [Rubens], and the hounds by Snyders; 5 feet 9 inches high, 5 feet 3 inches wide).

The sketch from the Norton collection (No.15; Fig.92) is in horizontal format and contains more figures than are to be seen in the drawing from the Thormählen collection or are mentioned in the descriptions of the sketch from the Munro collection or the large painting sold in 1758. Moreover the Norton sketch shows a heron being brought down by the hawk, a feature which does not seem to occur in the other three works; this is one reason why I have given it a separate number.

The grounds for dating all these *Hawking Parties* c.1630 are explained under No.15.<sup>6</sup>

1. Odier sale, Paris (Hôtel Drouot), 25–26 March 1863, lot 20: 'Un cavalier élégamment vêtu, un faucon au poing, cause avec une dame, montée sur un cheval blanc et tenant un parasol; des chiens entourent les deux chevaux. A gauche un serviteur, le fusil sur l'épaule et suivi d'un chien, descend à pied un chemin creux ombragé par un grand arbre'.
2. This panel (c.58 × 75 cm.) is said to have previously been in the museum at Hartford, Conn. Burchard pointed out that three of the hounds in the painting appear in a *Portrait of a Sportsman*, formerly in Sir George Donaldson's collection, London, and attributed by G. Glück to Erasmus Quellin (?) and Jan Fyt (Glück, *Rubens, Van Dyck*, fig.187). The sketch of a *Hawking Party* is evidently by the same hand as *Rest after the Hunt* in the Nîmes museum (panel, 47 × 70 cm.; see Jean Lacambre in *Cat. Exh. Paris, 1977–1978*, pp.266–267, No.225, repr.).
3. II, Genoa, 1847, p.486: (in the Palazzo de' Marchesi Gavotto) 'La caccia del falcone, quadretto d'un brio e d'una lucidezza che incanta; il Vouwerman fece il paese, Pietro Paolo Rubens le figure'. See also A. Baschet, 'Pierre-Paul Rubens; peintre de Vincent

ler de Gonzague, duc de Mantoue (1600–1608)', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1868, I, p.338, n.1: 'Palais Gavotti, ... chez le marquis Nicolas et Jacques Gavotti: La Chasse au faucon, petit tableau gracieux. Les figures sont de Rubens. On attribue le paysage à Vouwermans'.

4. Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, III, p.104, No.367.
5. Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, I, pp.131–133, No.79; II, pl.79.
6. See p.197.

#### 14a. Hawking Party: Drawing (Fig.90)

Pen and brown ink, traces of black chalk; 200 × 285 mm. Inscribed *P. P. Rubens* in the lower left corner in an unknown hand, and *Van Dyck* in the lower right corner in another hand; watermark: posthorn.—*Verso*: Sketches of a crucified man and a bearded head.

*Whereabouts unknown.*

PROVENANCE: Mrs. Thormählen, Cologne, 1924.

LITERATURE: H.F. Seckel, 'Zwei unbekannte Meisterblätter in Köln', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, I, 1924, pp.120–122, fig.2 (as *Van Dyck*); Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, I, pp.131–133, No.79; II, pl.79; M. Jaffé, 'Rubens as a Draughtsman', *The Burlington Magazine*, CVII, 1965, p.379; Müller Hofstede, *Review*, 1966, p.448, No.79; Rosand, *Lion Hunt*, p.36, n.56; Belkin, *Costume Book*, p.103, under No.14v.; Held, *Oil Sketches*, I, p.567, under No.418.

An equestrian group, depicted in rapid strokes, consists of: a woman, half turned away, riding side-saddle; a man holding the reins with his left hand and casting up a hawk with his right; a second man, and a woman riding side-saddle, both full-face. At the far right, and on the left above

the man with the hawk, are a number of unidentifiable lines; these are cut through by the upper edge of the sheet, showing that it was originally larger.<sup>1</sup> I think it probable that these lines are unconnected with the *Hawking Party* but are traces of a previous use of the sheet, before it was cut down; it may well have been a different way round. Traces of a crucified figure, and the head of a bearded man, drawn on the verso, are visible through the sheet.

Seckel attributed this drawing to Van Dyck; he ascribed it to the latter's Italian period and thought it derived from an Italian prototype. Burchard and d'Hulst, however, thought it was by Rubens, and their judgement has been generally accepted. They suggested that it was inspired by paintings or tapestries dating from the time of the Dukes of Burgundy. Rubens was familiar with such tapestries, as is shown by some drawings in his *Costume Book* (Figs. I, 2).<sup>2</sup> He also possessed a fragment of a design by Bernard van Orley for a hunting tapestry in the series known as the *Hunts of Maximilian*; this fragment he retouched and made into a scene of a hawking party.<sup>3</sup> He seems to have used a figure in the Van Orley design for the pose of the woman on the left of the Thormählen drawing. Rubens does not seem to have tried to make an exact copy of any older *Hawking Party*, but a paraphrase with something of the 'Burgundian' atmosphere: the participants are in archaic costume, as was the case in the *Wolf Hunt* (No. 2; Fig. 33) and the *Boar Hunt* (No. 4; Fig. 40).

As Burchard and d'Hulst remarked, the pose of the man with the hawk and his horse recalls that of St. Martin in a Rubens sketch.<sup>4</sup> Held pointed out that this pose is borrowed from a figure in Domenico dalle Grecche's woodcut after

Titian, representing the *Crossing of the Red Sea*.<sup>5</sup>

Burchard and d'Hulst dated this sheet c.1612–1615. This was disputed by Müller Hofstede, who proposed a date c.1630–1635. Held thought such a late date improbable.

There is a striking resemblance to the woman riding side-saddle, with a bird on her wrist, in the sheet at Windsor Castle (No. 2a; Fig. 38), containing studies for the *Wolf Hunt*. The similarity of both style and subject may be adduced as an argument for dating this *Hawking Party* to about the same time as that sheet, viz. c.1615–1616. However, we know Rubens to have used the same summary, angular style of drawing in the 1620s and 1630s as well.<sup>6</sup> The particularly close relationship with Rubens's oil sketch of a *Hawking Party* (No. 15; Fig. 92), which I date c.1630, leads me in fact to propose the same date for the Thormählen sheet.

1. It is also possible that the photograph does not show the whole sheet. Seckel, who used the same photograph, writes: '... die störend sichtbaren— auf unseren Abbildungen deshalb fortgelassenen— Bleistiftspuren von späterer Hand' (loc. cit.).

2. See *Belkin, Costume Book*, Nos. 14v., 24, figs. 68, 115.

3. British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, Inv. No. 5237-77. See *Hind, Rubens*, II, p. 10, No. 32, pl. V; A. E. Popham, 'An Orley Drawing Retouched by Rubens', *Old Master Drawings*, I, 1926–1927, pp. 45–47, pl. 53; *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, p. 56, No. 49, repr.

4. *Vlieghe, Saints*, II, No. 132, fig. 84.

5. *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p. 567; II, fig. 15.

6. See e.g. *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, No. 194v.; *Held, Drawings*, No. 50v.

#### 14b. Hawking Party: Oil Sketch

Oil on panel; 48 × 44 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: ? Matthew Mitchell, Enfield, Middlesex, sale, London (Christie's),

18 March 1819, lot 88 ('A Hawking Party—a spirited sketch'); Richard Cosway (London, 1740–1821), sale, London (Stanley), 19 May 1821, lot 23; Hugh A. J. Munro (already in 1831, cf. Smith, loc. cit.), sale, London (Christie's), 1 June 1878, lot 134 (as *Van Dyck*).

LITERATURE: Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, III, p.104, No.367 (as *Van Dyck*); W. Frost and H. Reeve, *Catalogue of the Paintings ... in the Collection of the late Hugh Andrew Johnstone Munro, Esq., of Novar*, London, 1865, p.63, No.182 (as *Van Dyck*); J. Guiffrey, *Antoine Van Dyck*, Paris, 1882, p.255, No.303 (as *Van Dyck*); Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, I, p.132, under No.79; Belkin, *Costume Book*, p.103, n.6, under No.14v.

I know no reproduction of this sketch, which Smith describes as follows: 'The company consists of four ladies and a gentleman on horseback; in the centre of the group is a lady in a dark dress, represented in a profile view, behind whom is a gentleman mounted on a brown horse, leaning back, and casting up a hawk with his right hand—19 in. by 17½ in.—P. A masterly-free study for a large picture, formerly in the Cosway Collection, and now in that of H. Munro, Esq.'

Burchard and d'Hulst pointed out the striking resemblance between this description and the Thormählen drawing (No.14a; Fig.90), and inferred that the sketch might well be by Rubens rather than Van Dyck. In the catalogue of the Munro collection by W. Frost and H. Reeve it is listed as 'Group of Horsemen and Women mounted. With Falcons on Wrists'.

### 15. Hawking Party: Oil Sketch (Fig.92)

Oil on panel; 35.5 × 50 cm.

*Whereabouts unknown.*

PROVENANCE: P. Norton, 1831; C. T. D. Crews, London, 1910; Verkade, Delft; sale, Amsterdam (A. Mak), 5 June 1928, lot 172 (repr.; as *Van Dyck*).

EXHIBITED: Guildhall, London, 1906; Brussels, 1910, No.157 (as *Van Dyck*).

LITERATURE: Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, III, p.104, No.368 (as *Van Dyck*); J. Guiffrey, *Antoine Van Dyck*, Paris, 1882, p.255, No.302 (as *Van Dyck*); Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, I, pp.132–133, under No.79; Belkin, *Costume Book*, p.103, under No.14v., p.128, under No.24, fig.72 (as ? *Van Dyck*).

Below left, a heron has been brought down by a hawk; a youth rushes forward to drag the hawk from its prey. A man and a woman, mounted on the same horse, advance from the left. To the right we see, first, a page holding the horse of a lady who has a hawk on her wrist; then six riders, of whom three appear to be women; two male riders are each holding a hawk. On the far right is a man on foot, holding his cap behind his back.

In its broad lines this composition resembles tapestries of hawking scenes of the 15th and 16th centuries. Burchard and d'Hulst pointed out the link with drawings in Rubens's *Costume Book* (Figs.1, 2), into which motifs from such tapestries were copied, as indicated by Belkin.<sup>1</sup> Reference can also be made to a drawing by Van Orley or his circle depicting a heron hunt,<sup>2</sup> or the *Heron Hunt* in the 17th-century tapestry series called *The Hunts of Francis I*.<sup>3</sup> The allusion to older hunting scenes lies in some details of old-fashioned

costume and in certain poses, which, however, Rubens paraphrased freely.

This composition cannot be dissociated from the drawing from the Thormählen collection (No.14a; Fig.90). The woman on the left of the drawing, for instance, recurs here in the centre (in reverse); her mount is in full profile, whereas in the drawing it has its head turned away. This latter pose is seen, again in reverse, in the horse on the right of the oil sketch. Another link with Rubens is the man on the far right, stepping forward in a stately manner with his arm behind his back, exactly like a figure in Bernard van Orley's drawing as retouched and finished by Rubens.<sup>4</sup> Burchard and d'Hulst inferred from these resemblances that the oil sketch was not by Van Dyck as Smith had thought,<sup>5</sup> but must be connected with Rubens. At the same time they were evidently reluctant to attribute it to Rubens himself.<sup>6</sup> Belkin has suggested, though with hesitation, that the old attribution to Van Dyck may be correct, bearing in mind that the latter was probably familiar with Rubens's material including the *Costume Book*. However, the style is unlike any other sketch by Van Dyck, whereas there are many resemblances between this composition and work done by Rubens long after Van Dyck had left his studio. The lady in the centre, leaning slightly forward to witness the struggle between the hawk and the heron, is in a similar pose to Dido in *Aeneas helping Dido to dismount* (Fig.4), a composition that must be dated c.1630;<sup>7</sup> the horse's hindquarters are also the same. Moreover the horseman behind this lady, casting up a hawk, is very similar to the mounted man on the right of *Landscape with St. George* at Buckingham Palace, which was also painted c.1629–1630,<sup>8</sup> and resembles even more closely the rider at the right in

*Henry IV at the Siege of Amiens* (Göteborg, Kunstmuseum), datable c.1630.<sup>9</sup> All this tends to confirm that we have here a composition by Rubens dating from c.1630.

At first sight, however, the present panel does not make a very favourable impression. In view of the many *pentimenti* (especially in the hindquarters of the horse in the middle, seen in side-view), I do not think it can be a copy of a lost Rubens original. With some reservation I would support the view that it is a sketch by Rubens's own hand, but subsequently overpainted. Greater certainty could only be furnished by an examination of the piece itself, which has not been seen since 1928.

In a clear photograph it is evident that the original painting shows wear in places, and it may therefore have been retouched. The most important alteration, however, seems to have been the use of a darker tint to fill in the background, thus doing away with any sense of space. Only by discounting this change can one form an opinion of the true qualities of the panel.<sup>10</sup>

Rubens sketched the forms in a summary fashion, with flowing contours, some highlights, and heavier accents for some figures in the central group. Not all forms were fully defined: see for example the hands of the youth dragging the hawk away from the heron. Stylistic comparisons can be made with other sketches of the late 1620s or the 1630s.<sup>11</sup>

I know of no references to a large painting of this composition.

1. Belkin, *Costume Book*, pp.101–103, No.14v., fig.68, and pp.126–128, No.24, fig.115.

2. Formerly in the collection of General Archibald Stirling; see *Old Master Drawings*, 1, September 1926, pl.31.

3. Munich, Residenz; designed by Laurent Guyot and

- woven in Paris (Comans and de la Planche); reproduced in H. Göbel, *Wandteppiche*, II, *Die romanischen Länder*, II, Leipzig, 1928, pl.45.
4. *A Hawking Party*; British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings. For references see under No.14a n.3; this figure is reversed in the drawing.
  5. For a possible reference to a *Heron Hunt* by Van Dyck see p.40, n.22.
  6. Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, I, pp.132-133: '... must be associated with Rubens and not with Van Dyck'. Burchard at first wrote 'this grisaille sketch is by Rubens and not by Van Dyck', but crossed this out and substituted '... goes back to Rubens'. It would seem that he originally thought the condition of the sketch ('poor state of preservation', 'badly rubbed') might be the reason for its making an unfavourable impression, but that later he came to doubt its authenticity and thought it might be a copy after a Rubens prototype.
  7. For this date see p.202.
  8. Adler, *Landscapes*, No.35; see also the drawing, No.35b.
  9. B. Fredlund, 'I Rubens ateljé', in *Rubens i Sverige*, Stockholm, 1977, pp.70-82, fig.51. For the date see *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, pp.123-124.
  10. The panel shows a join just above the figures' heads. The change in the pattern of the brushstrokes in the underpainting makes it possible to suppose that the board at the top is a later addition (on the far right there is also a triangular insertion in the original panel). This is not certain, however, as two of the hawks held up by members of the party extend above the join (perhaps they were completed after the panel was enlarged?). The original panel measures c.23 x 50 cm., which agrees with the dimensions of most of the sketches for the eight-part series for the King of Spain (Nos.20-27). It may therefore be thought that this *Hawking Party* was also intended for that series, but in my opinion it is too different from it in style.
  11. See e.g. *Held, Oil Sketches*, Nos.82-86, 147.

## 16. Alexander's Lion Hunt

Oil on canvas; approximately  
251 x 376 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: Philip IV of Spain, Madrid, Alcázar, *pieza oscura* (inv.1666; inv.1686, No.[319]; inv.1701-1703, No.125); presumably destroyed by fire in 1734.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig.93) by J.B. Martínez del Mazo (c.1612-1667), whereabouts unknown; canvas, 220 x 345 cm. PROV. Philip IV of Spain, Madrid, Alcázar, *pieza principal* (inv.1686, No.[894]; inv.1700, No.530); Palacio Nuevo, Madrid; Buen Retiro, Madrid (inv.1794); sent to England by Wallis on behalf of Buchanan in 1809; sale, London (Phillips), 25 March 1812, lot 15 ('from the King of Spain's collection'); Spridlington Hall, near Lincoln; sale, London (Sotheby's), 6 April 1977, lot 104 (repr.; as *studio of Rubens*). LIT. Michel, *Histoire*, p.321, No.29; W. Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting, with a Chronological History of the Importation of Pictures by the Great Masters into England since the French Revolution*, London, 1824, II, p.235, No.10; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.137, No.491; Van Hasselt, *Rubens*, p.357, No.1269; Redford, *Art Sales*, II, p.320; Bottineau, *Alcázar*, 1958, p.452, No.894; Martin, *Cat. National Gallery*, p.186, n.12; *Inventarios reales, Carlos II*, I, p.70, No.530; Orso, *Planet King*, p.216; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.633, under No. A 17; (2) Painting (see Copy [7]), whereabouts unknown; canvas, 43 x 62 cm. PROV. Jean de Julienne (Paris, 1686-1767); ? Coypel, sale, Paris, 2 June 1777, lot 4 ('La Chasse aux Lions—le sujet a été gravé par S. a Bolswert [see under No.116]. H.16 pouces, L.24 pouces [43.3 x 64.9 cm.]. Toile'); sale, London (Christie's), 31 March 1792, lot 65, bought by Hudson; Jacob Kirkman, Blackheath, sale, London (Christie's), 8-9 February 1793, lot 60, bought by Agace (?); Baron D. Vivant-Denon (Paris, 1747-1825), sale, Paris (Pérignon), 1 May 1826, lot 112; Prosper Crabbe, Brussels, sale, Paris (Sedelmeyer), 12 June 1890, lot 49 (repr.). LIT. *Rooses*, IV, p.340; *Rosand, Lion Hunt*, p.31, n.15; Martin, *Cat. National Gallery*, p.183; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.633, under No. A 17; (3) Painting showing only the

right half of the composition, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 158 × 124 cm. PROV. ? J.B. van Lancker, Antwerp, sale, Antwerp (J.S.Schoeseters), 18 August 1835, lot 88 ('Un cavalier monté sur un cheval blanc est surpris ... par un lion...; une étude du grand tableau ... dans la galerie de Dresde [see No.8]. H.1.62 m. L.1.29 m. Toile'), bought by Legrelle; R. von Höfken, sale, Vienna, 24–28 February 1927, lot 83 (repr.); (4) Painting showing only the head of the horseman on the right, whereabouts unknown; panel, originally 31 × 30 cm., enlarged with c.10 cm. at the bottom. PROV. Count Schönborn, Vienna (before c.1830 until at least 1905). LIT. *Catalog der Gemälde-Galerie Seiner Erlaucht des Grafen Schönborn-Buchheim in Wien*, Vienna, 1882, p.7, No.86; *Rooses*, IV, p.331; T. von Frimmel, 'Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der gräflich Schönborn'schen Galerie', offprint from *Mittheilungen aus den Gemäldesammlungen von Alt-Wien*, IV, s.d., p.13; id., *Kleine Galeriestudien*, III, Lieferung, *Die gräflich Schönborn-Buchheim'sche Gemäldesammlung in Wien*, Leipzig, 1896, pp.68–69, No.86; M. Rooses, 'Oeuvre de Rubens, addenda', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1900, pp.77–78; *Katalog der Gemälde-Galerie Seiner Erlaucht des Grafen Schönborn-Buchheim in Wien*, Vienna, 1905, p.7, No.86; L. Burchard, 'Anmerkungen zu den Rubens-Bildern der Alten Pinakothek in München', *Kunstchronik*, N.F., XXIII, No.17, 1912, col.259; (5) Drawing after the two horsemen on the left, Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre, Inv. No.20.336; black and red chalk, 315 × 377 mm.; colour notes, on the left: *ora(n)gé geblomt met rey frenien*; on the right: *peers*; below on the left the mark of the Louvre (L.1886). LIT. *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, p.47, No.1181 (as ? *S. a Bolswert*); (6) Drawing after the head of the horseman on the right, Cambridge, Fitz-

william Museum; black and red chalk, heightened with white, on brownish paper, 220 × 246 mm. PROV. Thomas Green, Ipswich, c.1820; Charles Ricketts (1866–1931) and Charles Shannon (1863–1937), bequeathed by the latter to the museum in 1937 (No.2184). EXH. *All for Art. The Ricketts and Shannon Collection*, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 1979, No.139 (repr.; as *Jordaens*). LIT. H. Reveley, *Notices Illustratives of the Drawings and Sketches of Some of the most Distinguished Masters in All the Principal Schools of Design*, London, 1820, p.92 (as *Rubens*); (7) Engraving by J. Moyreau (1691–1762), after Copy (2), in reverse; 281 × 405 mm.; inscription below: ... *d'après le Tableau Original ... dans le cabinet de M. de Julienne*. LIT. *V.S.*, p.229, No.33; *Dutuit*, III, p.248, No.22; *Hamilton Hazlehurst, Wild Beasts*, pp.227, 230, fig.14; (8) Tapestry (Fig.94) by Daniël Eggermans (? the Younger), whereabouts unknown; part of a series (see also under Nos.20, 21, 24, 26 and 27); 365 × 644 cm.; below on the right: *D. EGGERMANS. F.*, and the mark of Brussels. PROV. Purchased by the Emperor Leopold I in 1666; Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; transferred to Karinhall, H. Göring's country house, in 1938; sent to Berchtesgaden in 1945, where seized by U.S. troops. LIT. *Birk, Inventar*, I, p.242, No. XXXVI, 7; *Baldass, Gebelinssammlung*, No.187, repr.; *Martin, Cat. National Gallery*, p.186, n.12; *Duverger, Tapijten naar Rubens*, p.144; *Bauer, Veränderungen*, p.140, No. XXXVI, 7, fig.140; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.633, under No. A 17.

LITERATURE: *Cruzada Villaamil, Rubens*, p.312, No.8; *Rooses*, IV, p.11, No.794; *Bot-tineau, Alcázar*, 1958, p.165, No.319; Y. Bot-tineau, *L'Art de cour dans l'Espagne de Philippe V, 1700–1746*, Bordeaux, 1962, pp.493, 624; *Inventarios reales, Carlos II*, I, p.30, No.125; *Orso, Planet King*, p.221.

On the left Alexander, on horseback, thrusts his spear into the jaws of a rampant lion. A second horseman, also in antique-style armour, comes to his aid. A third man lies on the ground beneath the lion. On the right a man in a turban, on a rearing horse, is attacked by a lion from behind. A leopard lies on the far right, its chest pierced by a broken spear.

The inventories of the Spanish royal collection mention an *Alexander slaying the Lion* by Rubens, which has never been identified. The present composition was well known to experts but was generally regarded as a pastiche<sup>1</sup> of motifs by Rubens, and was not connected with the *Alexander* referred to in the Spanish archives. It is certain that the present painting—which has survived only in the form of copies, besides two sketches—does represent Alexander: the rider on the left bears the aegis of Zeus Ammon—a shield adorned with thunderbolts and a head with ram's horns—which was an attribute of the youthful King of Macedonia, who took pride in his descent from Zeus. The young man's striking profile is also that of Alexander, or what passed for it in the 17th century: the tapestry (Fig.94) where that profile is reproduced at its purest may be compared with Rubens's own drawing after a gold coin which bore Alexander's effigy and was then in the collection of Fulvio Orsini.<sup>2</sup> Rubens probably drew the inspiration for this *Lion Hunt* from Plutarch's *Life of Alexander* (XL), which describes a statuary group at Delphi, the work of Lysippus and Leochares, representing a lion hunt in which Alexander was assisted by his lieutenant, Craterus.<sup>3</sup> The second figure on the left of Rubens's painting may perhaps be identified as Craterus, unless it is Lysimachus, of whom Q. Curtius Rufus relates that he tried to defend Alexander against a lion

with his spear; Alexander, however, was angry, as he thought he could fight off the beast by himself.<sup>4</sup> The same Lysimachus is said to have been attacked, during a hunt in Syria, by a lion which bit his shoulder to the bone. This may have inspired the motif on the right of the picture, which Rubens had developed some twenty years earlier (see No.3; Fig.39), of an Oriental attacked from behind by a lion which sinks its teeth into his left shoulder.

The pose of Alexander and his mount, and also that of the lion, is clearly inspired by antiquity: the motif occurs in countless gems and coins depicting Roman emperors hunting lions. Occasionally Alexander himself is thus portrayed,<sup>5</sup> and Rubens may have seen an example of this kind.

Rubens's painting of this subject appears in the Alcázar inventories from 1666 to 1701–1703.<sup>6</sup> It hung in the *pieza oscura*, and its dimensions are given as 251 × 376 cm. Whether it survived the Alcázar fire of 1734 is not quite clear: Jean Ranc's statement is ambiguous on this point, but is generally taken to mean that the picture was destroyed.<sup>7</sup> In that case later references to this composition in the Spanish inventories must relate to the copy by Mazo, which was recorded as in the *pieza principal* in 1686 and 1701–1703.<sup>8</sup> This work measured c.376 cm. square: i.e. it was as broad as the original and considerably higher. In 1794 it was still in the Buen Retiro,<sup>9</sup> but soon afterwards, in 1809, it was sent to England by Wallis.<sup>10</sup> In all probability it was the canvas recorded by G. Martin at Spridlington Hall, which was recently sold in London (Copy [1]; Fig.93).<sup>11</sup> However, the measurements of this work differ considerably, as regards the width and above all the height, from those given for the copy by Mazo in



the inventories of 1686 and 1701–1703: it is less high by 150 cm., and less broad by 30 cm. As regards the breadth, from a comparison with the other copies I believe it can be deduced that the composition was originally not appreciably wider than it is now, and perhaps the difference of 30 cm. implies that the inventory measurements included the frame. This, however, does not explain the question of the height. Can it be that it was not Mazo's copy that went to England but the original, which was about 120 cm. shorter? As we saw, it is not quite certain that Ranc meant to convey that the original was destroyed by fire. However, in my opinion the Spridlington Hall canvas is too inferior in quality to have been the original,<sup>12</sup> and this is borne out by several details. For instance, Alexander's profile is not so cleanly drawn in the picture as in the tapestry (Fig.94) which, as mentioned above, comes closest to the standard profile of Alexander in 17th-century art. In the Spridlington Hall version the spur is missing from Alexander's right boot: it occurs in the tapestry and also in the copy formerly in the de Julienne collection (Copy [2]), and was therefore presumably in the original painting. For these reasons I think it probable that the Spridlington Hall version is the copy by Mazo, cut down at the top (where the two spears are intersected by the edge of the canvas).

The tapestry is very faithful to the original painting—as we know it from the copies—although the two halves of the composition are further apart and there are changes in the landscape and vegetation. The fact that this composition occurs in the same tapestry series as five of the eight hunting scenes ordered by Philip IV in 1639 (see Nos.20–27) raises the question whether it was not originally part of that commission, which, as we shall see, was

for 18 canvases in all. The subject would certainly have been suited to the iconographic programme of the series, and stylistically there is some resemblance also. The hypothesis therefore certainly deserves consideration, but on balance I think it is to be rejected. If, as I believe,<sup>13</sup> the tapestries were executed a full twenty years after the hunting pictures, the fact that one of them depicts *Alexander's Lion Hunt* need signify nothing more than that the painting was then in the Alcázar along with the other hunting scenes, and that its subject made it a suitable addition to the series. No connection appears to exist, at the sketch level or that of painted or drawn copies, between this Alexander and the other hunting scenes, and the fact that both hung in the Alcázar does not prove any relationship.<sup>14</sup>

It is less clear on what occasion the painting was commissioned, or when it became part of the royal collection. In the 17th century there was in the same room, the *pieza oscura*, a painting by Rubens of *Dido and Aeneas* of the same height as *Alexander's Hunt* (though half a *vara* narrower).<sup>15</sup> The subject is described more fully in connection with a copy of it by Mazo: it showed Aeneas helping Dido to dismount from her horse.<sup>16</sup> A painting of the subject, presumably this copy, is in the Prado.<sup>17</sup> Other versions are known, whereof one in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut at Frankfurt is sometimes, rightly or wrongly, thought to be the one from the Alcázar;<sup>18</sup> Rubens's sketch for this painting has also survived (Fig.4).<sup>19</sup> A connection between it and *Alexander's Hunt* is furnished by the background, which shows the young Ascanius and his companions hunting deer. It is just possible that this painting, in which the chase plays a certain part, was meant as a pendant to *Alexander's Lion Hunt*; but as there is no certainty

of this, and the main theme has no connection with hunting, it is not dealt with in the present catalogue. The two paintings differ in atmosphere, and there is also a clear difference in style: *Dido and Aeneas* seems to me to be the earlier. Held dated the sketch for *Dido and Aeneas* c.1630–1633, and indeed it recalls most strongly the sketches for the *Henry IV* series, which supposes a date c.1630. The dating of the *Alexander* is less simple: the original has not survived and, as I shall argue, none of the existing sketches seem to be by Rubens's own hand. I would, however, propose a date shortly after 1635. The group formed by Alexander, his horse and the lion closely resembles the *Bellerophon* in the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*,<sup>20</sup> and the expression on the turbaned man's face is that of Tereus in *The Banquet of Tereus* painted for the Torre de la Parada;<sup>21</sup> there is also a link with the *Achilles* series, especially *Achilles defeating Hector*.<sup>22</sup> Altogether *Alexander's Lion Hunt* seems to me a little, but not much earlier than the hunting series of 1639 (Nos.20–27).

There are two sketches of this composition. One (No.16a; Fig.95) is well known in the literature, but generally regarded as not by Rubens's own hand; the other (No.16b; Fig.97) is here published for the first time. There are slight differences between the two; No.16a, in the Nasjonalgalleriet Oslo, was certainly executed first. The turbaned horseman attacked by a lion is copied almost literally from the panel of a *Lion Hunt* in London (No.3; Fig.39),<sup>23</sup> which was undoubtedly still in Rubens's studio at the time. The only important change in this figure is that in the Oslo panel not only his right hand but his right arm is visible.

This feature was repeated in the second sketch for *Alexander's Hunt* (No.16b;

Fig.97), which was last heard of in the Montelius collection at Stockholm. Here again, however, the Oriental's attitude is subtly varied. His left shoulder, which was drawn up high in the Oslo sketch, is lower in the Montelius sketch, and his torso is turned slightly more to the front, so that the collarbone can be seen; his left hand is turned more outwards, and his horse's right foreleg is visible. Other alterations were made in the composition: the man hastening forward on the far right was omitted, as was the lioness with her cubs in the background. The pose of the dead man on the left was altered so that his right hand clutched the spear, and his left leg was bent. Alexander's helmet was given a different crest, and the shield of the man with him became square instead of round. The final painting, as we know it from Mazo's copy (Fig.93), followed the second sketch on all these points; on three other points, however, it is closer to the first sketch than to the second. As in that sketch, the dead leopard is closer to the horse on the right, and that horse is in turn closer to the group on the left of the picture. The eagle which flies above Alexander's head in the Montelius sketch was omitted in the final version, as far as we can tell from copies. The bird with the thunderbolt in its claws is nevertheless an important iconographic element: it probably alluded to a passage in Plutarch's *Life of Alexander* (XXXIII), shortly before the account of the lion hunt, describing how Zeus's eagle flew above Alexander's head when he went to war against Darius. A study drawing by Rubens in the Musée Bonnat at Bayonne (No.16c; Fig.96) shows that he planned to include the eagle in the final version, but as it occurs in none of the copies we must presume that he changed his mind.

It seems curious that Rubens should

have required two different sketches for this composition; yet neither can be eliminated as a copy after the canvas or a variant that does not reflect the painter's intentions. The fact that the Oslo sketch (No. 16a; Fig. 95) was modelled on the *Lion Hunt* in London is a guarantee that it was painted in Rubens's studio and before the Montelius sketch. As to the latter sketch, its differences from the final version, and especially the presence of such an important iconographic feature as the eagle, show conclusively that it is not a copy after that version.

If we accept that the invention of this composition took place in two stages, it does not necessarily follow that the painting in Oslo and that from the Montelius collection are by Rubens's own hand. They might be copies of lost prototypes, especially the Montelius sketch, which from the reproduction (Fig. 97) can scarcely be regarded as autograph. However, even in the reproduction it can be seen that the paintwork is not homogeneous. Some parts are very lightly painted in bold, flowing lines, leaving the ground visible; but in most places the contours are reinforced with thick impasto, while the intervening parts are clumsily filled in. Burchard, who also had only the photograph to go by, wondered if it might be an original sketch by Rubens himself, spoilt by unskilful overpainting.<sup>24</sup> This could only be cleared up by examining the work itself.

Unlike most other writers, Burchard was convinced of the authenticity of the Oslo sketch, which he proposed to date c. 1620–1622. Rosand spoke of the 'evidently high quality of the execution', but considered that 'the lack of dramatic coherence in the composition would indeed argue against an attribution to Rubens.' Personally I would also doubt that

Rubens's hand can be seen in it. The solution may be to regard the work as a copy after a lost original, but I would put forward another possibility. On the one hand the sketch possesses character and is painted with confidence, and on the other it seems to me that the figures are very personal in type.<sup>25</sup> The forms are somewhat cruder, more awkward and less lively than in Rubens's own style: this is most evident in the man with the Gorgon shield on the far right, but on closer inspection all the figures are seen to belong to the same 'family'. It seems possible therefore that a member of the studio—Erasmus Quellin, for example—executed the composition to Rubens's directions,<sup>26</sup> and that Rubens himself subsequently made a second sketch with slight variations. This would explain the existence of two sketches and perhaps also the fact that the composition of this work is not altogether satisfactory, so that most critics have regarded it as a pastiche.

A few words in conclusion concerning copies after the large canvas: in particular, Copy (2) from the Crabbe collection occurs repeatedly in the literature but is not always assigned to its proper place. Careful comparison shows that this piece, which is known from a reproduction in a sale catalogue of 1890, is the same as that reproduced in Moyreau's engraving as being in de Julienne's collection. References in sale catalogues to such a *Lion Hunt* on canvas, measuring c. 43 × 62 cm., may be taken to relate to this piece. Other references to a *Lion Hunt* of these dimensions, but without an indication of the support, are not included under PROVENANCE above, as there may be confusion with one of the sketches (Nos. 16a and 16b), which are of the same dimensions.<sup>27</sup>

Copy (3) is very accurate, but comprises only the rider in a turban, attacked by a

lion, and the landscape element; it does not show the dead leopard or what should have been visible of the centre horse, its rider and the lion on the left. It may perhaps be a fragment of a complete copy that has been overpainted.

I have included in the list two partial copies (Copies [4] and [6]) which are generally regarded in the literature as copies after the Dresden *Lion Hunt* (No.8; Fig.63). However, Copy (6) was certainly executed after the right-hand figure in *Alexander's Lion Hunt*. I know no reproduction of Copy (4), but, since the Dresden painting was copied very seldom and *Alexander's Hunt* repeatedly, I thought it more likely to be connected with the latter. Apart from this, it is not certain that it is merely a copy: it is possible that it is a painted study of a head by Rubens himself,<sup>28</sup> either for *Alexander's Lion Hunt* or for the *Tiger Hunt* (No.7; Fig.57), or again for the Dresden *Lion Hunt* (No.8; Fig.63).

1. Rooses first expressed this view; he was followed by Rosand and G.Martin, and most recently by Held.
2. Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre, Inv. No.20362a; see Lugt, *Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, pp.30–31, No.1086, pl.LI; H.Marjon van der Meulen-Schregardus, *Petrus Pavlus Rvbens antiquarius*, Alphen aan de Rijn, 1975, pp.67, 173, No.C.1a, fig.XXIV,b; according to E.Schwarzenberg this coin was a forgery ('From the Alessandro morente to the Alexandre Richelieu', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXII, 1969, p.401, n.34).
3. Rubens was of course acquainted with this text: e.g. in a letter to Pierre Dupuy of 10 June 1627 he refers to Plutarch's *Life of Alexander* and mentions Craterus by name (Rooses–Ruelens, IV, p.273). The statuery group is also mentioned by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, XXXIV, 64); the original is lost, but several copies or derivations are known (see e.g. H. von Roques de Maumont, *Antike Reiterstandbilder*, Berlin, 1958, pp.27, 29, and fig.13a). Rubens cannot be said to follow Plutarch's account literally, as there are no hounds in his picture.
4. *Historiarum Alexandri magni Macedonis libri qui supersunt*, VIII, 1, 13–17. Rubens knew this book

well, as appears by quotations from it that he noted on a study sheet now in Berlin (see J.Müller Hofstede in *Cat. Exh. Cologne*, 1977, I, pp.59–61).

5. See e.g. M.Marcel, H. Bachot and E.Babelon, *La Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1907, pl.III. The pose of the rider and lion also occurs in antique representations of *Bellerophon slaying the Chimæra*, and was so used by Rubens in his *Bellerophon for the Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* (Martin, *Pompa*, No.55).
6. Inventory of 1666, in the *pieza oscura*: 'Otto cuadro de quatro y media varas de largo y tres de alto, de Alejandro quando mató al leon, de mano de Rubens, en doscientos cincuenta ducados' (*Cruzada Villaamil, Rubens*, p.312, No.8); in the same room in 1686 (Bottineau, *Alcázar*, 1958, p.166, No.319) and 1701–1703 (*Inventarios reales, Carlos II*, I, p.30, No.125).
7. Ranc wrote in his *Memoria de las Pinturas que se han sacado de Palacio*: 'Presque tous les tableaux qui étoient dans les pièces obscures ont été perdus, il y avoit de tres beaux tableaux Une chasse de Lions dont les figures étoient de Rubens, grandes comme nature' (Bottineau, *L'Art de Cour*, loc. cit.).
8. Inventory 1686: 'Dos Pinturas iguales de a quatro varas y media en quadro ... la vna ... y la otra de Alejandro Magno en vna cazeria de Leones, ambas copias de Rubens de mano de Juan Baupp<sup>11a</sup> del Mazo' (Bottineau, *Alcázar*, 1958, p.452, No.894); in the same room in 1701–1703 (*Inventarios reales, Carlos II*, I, p.70, No.530).
9. Inventory of the Buen Retiro, 1794: '409—Rubens—Una caceria de leones con personajes a caballo de tres varas y quarta de alto y quatro y quarta de ancho = 11.000' (after the transcription in the Prado library, *Carpeta XI*). The same inventory mentions another lion hunt ascribed to Rubens, but, since there are dogs in it, it cannot be the present one ('408—Rubens—Vna caceria de un leon con perros de dos varas y media de alto y quatro varas y media de ancho = 8000'; *ibid.*). In the inventory of La Granja de San Ildefonso, also of 1794, we find: '573—Nueve pies de alto diez y medio de largo, una cazeria de leones escuela de Rubens = 400' (*ibid.*, *Carpeta X*). Possibly the two last-mentioned works are by Snyders or his school. Attention may be drawn to two *Lion Hunts* attributed to Snyders, with approximately the dimensions given here, which appeared in the Don Carlos and Lafontaine sale in Paris (Roux and Bonfond) on 24–25 March 1829: 'Dix tableaux capitaux ... faisaient partie des collections royales d'Espagne: 18 La chasse à la lionne. Dix chiens ... [c.250 × 400 cm.]. 19 autre chasse au lion. Attaqué et poursuivi par neuf gros chiens... Un Africain, armé d'une lance et monté sur un ... cheval bronzé... [c.290 × 400 cm.]'.
10. See Buchanan, loc. cit.: 'Rubens—A grand Lion Hunt. This picture is by no means equal to that in the Dresden gallery'. It is curious that Smith in 1830 speaks of a 'grand Lion Hunt' by Rubens in

- the Escorial: was he using an older list, or was another version of this composition still in Spain?
11. The canvas sold at Sotheby's in 1977 measured 220 × 345 cm., whereas G. Martin gave the dimensions of the picture at Spridlington Hall as 193 × 366 cm. The two are identical, however, as appears from a comparison of photographs (a photograph of the Spridlington Hall picture is in the National Gallery, London).
  12. I have not seen the painting myself, and judge only from photographs. In appraising its quality account must be taken of overpainting: e.g. its condition in the photograph of 1977 is no longer the same as in the National Gallery photograph.
  13. See pp. 220–221.
  14. But see also p. 233, n. 83.
  15. Inventory of 1666: 'Otro cuadro de cuatro varas de largo y tres de alto, que es la historia de Dido y Eneas, de mano de Pablo Rubens, en doscientos ducados de plata' (*Cruzada Villaamil, Rubens*, p. 313, No. 10). In the same room in 1686 and 1701–1703.
  16. First mentioned in the inventory of 1686: 'Otras dos pinturas y iguales de a vara de ancho y vara y media de alto la vna ... y la otra de la Istoria de Dido y Eneas que la recieve apcandose de vn cauallo ... copias de Rubenes de mano del dho Juan Baup<sup>ra</sup> del Mazo' (*Bottineau, Alcázar*, 1958, p. 452, No. 900). See *Rooses*, III, p. 16, No. 517.
  17. *Díaz Padrón, Cat. Prado*, I, pp. 334–335, No. 1744-P; II, pl. 212. (A problem with this identification is that the canvas in the Prado is higher and broader than the dimensions given for Mazo's copy in the inventories, even though it was probably again cut down on the left!).
  18. Inv. No. 2097; canvas, 214 × 294 cm. See 'Neuerwerbungen der Frankfurter Museen', *Städte-Jahrbuch*, N.F., I, 1967, pp. 196–198; *Alpers, Torre*, pp. 272–273.
  19. *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p. 316, No. 229; II, pl. 238 (where the subject of the work is discussed in detail).
  20. See n. 5.
  21. Madrid, Prado; see *Alpers, Torre*, No. 57, fig. 182.
  22. See E. Haverkamp Begemann, *The Achilles Series*, (*Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, X), Brussels–London, 1975, No. 7.
  23. Several details show that the sketch in the National Gallery in London served as a model rather than the *Tiger Hunt* at Rennes (No. 7; Fig. 57) or the Dresden *Lion Hunt* (No. 8; Fig. 63): the naked left shoulder, the head drawn somewhat further back, the man's left leg somewhat shorter, the horse's right leg not visible, etc.
  24. 'Könnte eine durch Übermalung entstellte echte Grisaille sein'.
  25. An oil sketch in grisaille in the Carcassonne museum, representing a *Lion Hunt*, may be by the same hand (cat. 1878, No. 162, wrongly as *Rubens*).
  26. As far as I know, such a practice is only documented for book illustrations (see J. R. Judson and C. Van de Velde, *Book Illustrations and Title Pages*, (*Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, XXI), Brussels–London, 1978, I, p. 31).
  27. E.g. a 'chasse aux lions, peinte par Rubens, & gravée par Moyreau', measuring c. 46 × 66 cm., was in the sale of the estate of Klemens August, Elector of Cologne, at the Hôtel d'Aligre, Paris, 10 December 1764, lot 51 bis. A lion hunt of c. 43 × 65 cm., the description of which agrees with the present composition, was in the Le Brun sale in Paris (F. Basan), 11 January 1773, lot 26. This may be the same as the picture from the collection of Casimir Wurster of Strasburg, sold at Cologne (Heberle), 15–17 June 1896, lot 256: 'Das Bild ist von Moyreau und Letellier [i.e. the Dresden composition, No. 8 above] im Stich wiedergegeben'; canvas, 45 × 58 cm.
  28. Ascribed to Rubens himself by *Rooses*, and *Frimmel*, who writes: 'Studienkopf. Ungefähr lebensgross. Schmerzverzerrtes Antlitz eines bärtigen Mannes. Augen weit aufgerissen; Mund offen. Halbprofil nach links. Kopf stark zurückgebeugt. Die Stirnhaut ist mitsammt den Brauen von den Krallen eines grossen Thieres hinaufgezogen. Um die Brust ist dunkle Draperie gelegt, die übrigens offenbar später beigefügt ist... Nicht leicht zu beurteilen. Die künstlerischen Qualitäten sind vorzügliche, so dass man den Gedanken an eine Copie bald aufgibt... Vergleichung ergibt, dass derselbe Kopf mit geringen Abweichungen auf der Löwenjagd in Dresden zu finden ist'. According to a handwritten note (*Rubenianum, Antwerp*) by Glück (?) the work shows 'keine Spur von Rubens'. *Burchard*, who himself never saw it, thought it might be a study head by Van Dyck.

### 16a. Alexander's Lion Hunt: Oil Sketch (Fig. 95)

Oil on panel; 43.8 × 62 cm. (two boards joined horizontally).—*Verso*: the brand of Antwerp, a hammered monogram (? composed of the letters *N V*) and a red seal.

Oslo, *Nasjonalgalleriet*. Inv. No. 1399.

PROVENANCE: Gallery C. Sedelmeyer, Paris, where purchased by Christiaan Langaard, Oslo, c. 1920; bequeathed by the latter to the museum in 1923.

COPY: Painting, Williamstown, Mass., Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, No. 850; panel, 44.7 × 61 cm. PROV. John Bligh, 4th Earl of Darnley (1767–1831),

Cobham Hall, Kent; P. and D. Colnaghi, London; dealer Miethke, Vienna, 1924.

LIT. J.P. Neale, *Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen*, II, 1819, s.v. *Cobham Hall*, No.20; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.185, under No.645; *Van Hasselt, Rubens*, p.357, No.1270; *Waagen, Treasures*, III, p.23, No.3; *Rooses*, IV, p.339–340 (as *pastiche*); *Rosand, Lion Hunt*, p.31, n.15; *Martin, Cat. National Gallery*, p.186, n.12; *List of Paintings in the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute*, Williamstown, Mass., 1972, p.138, No.850, repr. p.139 (as *copy*); *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.633, under No. A17.

LITERATURE: M. J. Friedländer, 'Om gammel-nederlandske billeder i den Langaaardske samling og flamske fra det 17. aarhundrede', *Kunst og Kultur*, X, 1922, p.138, repr. p.131 (as *Rubens*); J. Beguin, *Bases d'un inventaire des oeuvres d'art belge dans les collections norvégiennes*, [Gilly-Charleroi], 1958, p.25 (as *Rubens*); *Nasjonalgalleriet. A Guide to the Collections*, Oslo 1961, p.44, repr. p.43 (as *Rubens*); L. Østby, 'Rubens in Nasjonalgalleriet', *Glimt av Belgia*, 1968, pp.82–94, repr.; *Rosand, Lion Hunt*, p.31, n.15 (as ? *Rubens*); *Martin, Cat. National Gallery*, p.186, n.12; *Nasjonalgalleriet. Katalog over utenlandsk malerkunst*, Oslo, 1973, p.176, No.419, repr. p.175 (as *Rubens*); *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, pp.306, 633, No. A17; II, pl.486 (as *pastiche*).

Under No.16 above I have suggested that this sketch was painted by an assistant under Rubens's directions; Burchard, on the other hand, was convinced that it was by Rubens himself. The group on the right, with an Oriental figure attacked by a lion, is taken almost literally from a motif in the *Lion Hunt* in London (No.3; Fig.39). The differences between this sketch and the Montelius sketch (No.16b; Fig.97) on the one hand and the final ver-

sion on the other are also discussed under No.16 above.

Nothing is known of the provenance of this panel before 1920. The panel with the same composition which belonged to the Earl of Darnley in the 19th century is probably the one now at Williamstown (Copy):<sup>1</sup> this seems to be borne out by Waagen's remark that the Darnley sketch 'must have been much exposed to the sun from the cracks with which it is covered.'

Several references in sale catalogues to panels with this composition, and measuring c.43 × 62 cm., may apply either to the Oslo or to the Williamstown panel, or again to the Montelius sketch, which is of the same size.<sup>2</sup>

1. According to the Burchard documentation, that painting was in the art trade in Vienna in 1924; however, the catalogue of the Clark Art Institute states that it was acquired in 1914.

2. 'Une chasse aux lions et aux tigres', panel, c.46 × 62 cm., the property of M. Constantin, sold in Paris (Constantin-Pérignon-Chariot), 18 November 1816 et seq., lot 283; 'Chasse aux lions', panel, c.43 × 62 cm., sold in Paris (Seigneur-Henri), 16 April 1829, lot 24; 'A Lion Hunt', panel, 43 × 61 cm., sold in London (Christie's), 29 January 1917, lot 46. See also above, No.16, n.27, for *Lion Hunts* by Rubens of the same dimensions, but where the nature of the support is unknown.

### 16b. Alexander's Lion Hunt:

#### Oil Sketch (Fig.97)

Oil on panel; ? approximately 43 × 62 cm.  
*Whereabouts unknown.*

PROVENANCE: ? Le Doux, sale, Paris (F.C. Joullain), 24 April 1775 et seq., lot 22 (as *Rubens*); ? R[obichout] or R[ubichon], sale, Paris (Charriot-Paillet), 26 October 1818 et seq., lot 61; Art Collector's Association Ltd., 1920; Ir. Montelius, Stockholm, 1936.

LITERATURE: *Blanc, Trésor*, I, p.305; H.

Mireur, *Dictionnaire des ventes d'art...*, Paris, VI, p.351.

This is either an original sketch by Rubens spoilt by overpainting, or a copy after a lost original. It is distinguished by the presence of the eagle above Alexander's head: see the full discussion under No.16 above.

The panel was last recorded in 1936 in the Montelius collection in Stockholm. From a photograph in the Witt Library in London it can be seen that it was in the London (?) art market in 1920. The indications above under PROVENANCE refer in any case to this composition including the eagle. There may of course have been several versions or copies.<sup>1</sup>

1. The work from the Le Doux collection measured, according to the sale catalogue, c.43 × 57 cm.; that from the Robichout (or Rubichon) collection, 43 × 62 cm. The dimensions of the panel from the Montelius collection are unknown, but if we assume the height to be 43 cm., the width is 62 cm. See also under No.16a, n.2, for references to *Lion Hunts* by Rubens on panel, with the same measurements, which may relate to this sketch.

### 16c. An Eagle with the Thunderbolt in its Claws: Drawing (Fig.96)

Black chalk; 108 × 198 mm. Below on the right the mark of Léon Bonnat (L.1714). Bayonne, *Musée Bonnat*. Inv. No.1421 (previously Inv. No.1443).

PROVENANCE: Bequest of Léon Bonnat (1833-1922).

EXHIBITED: *Exposition d'oeuvres de Pierre Paul Rubens (1577-1640)*. *Peintures et dessins appartenant au musée*, Musée Bonnat, Bayonne, 1965, No.14.

LITERATURE: Held, *Prometheus*, p.21, n.6, fig.3 (as Rubens); Bodart, *Coll. fiorentine*, p.238, under No.103.

This eagle in full flight, with the thunderbolt in its claws, is in exactly the same pose as the eagle above Alexander's head in the Montelius sketch (No.16b; Fig.97);<sup>1</sup> but the drawing is more detailed, so that it certainly is not copied from the sketch. Since the eagle apparently did not figure in the final version of the painting in the Alcázar (No.16), which we know only from copies (cf. Fig.93), it must in my view be regarded as a study drawing which Rubens finally decided not to use.

A detail which indicates some need for caution is that the bird's right claw is not drawn but is replaced by a few vague lines which, as can be seen from the Montelius sketch, represent the waving plume on Alexander's helmet. It could be argued that this is suggestive of a copy after the finished work rather than a study drawing, but the matter is settled by the fact that the eagle does not appear in the large canvas. The quality of the drawing is not inconsistent with this conclusion: it is executed rapidly, the work of a practised hand, and it is clearly not drawn from nature, as Rubens resorted to an earlier motif.<sup>2</sup> At the same time he took account of the fact that the bird's right claw would be concealed by the helmet-plume.

1. Burchard, like Held, connected this drawing with the eagle in *The Donation of Constantine* (in the *Constantine* series; for the sketch see Held, *Oil Sketches*, II, pl.50, No.49; for the tapestry D. Dubon, *Tapestries from the Samuel H. Kress Collection at the Philadelphia Museum of Art. The History of Constantine the Great Designed by Peter Paul Rubens and Pietro da Cortona*, London, 1964, No.6, pl.26). The bird in that composition is indeed very similar, but there are points of difference: in that work the eagle's head is lower, it holds a laurel wreath in its beak and has no thunderbolt in its talons. None the less, it is clear that the eagle in the sketch for *Alexander's Lion Hunt* was based on the one designed for *The Donation of Constantine* some ten years earlier.

2. See the previous note. Burchard did not pronounce on the authenticity of this drawing at Bayonne; Held ascribed it to Rubens.

**TWO PENDANTS: DIANA AND  
NYMPHS HUNTING DEER  
AND THE CALYDONIAN  
BOAR HUNT (Nos.17-18)**

These paintings have so far been entirely neglected in the critical literature. Yet they are both compositions by Rubens, at least in part, as Burchard rightly observed: in contrast to the other hunting scenes, Rubens's share as regards both invention and execution seems to have been limited to the human figures. In both cases it appears to me that the animal group was not even sketched by Rubens. Probably there was a division of labour on similar lines to *Studies for Figures in a Pantry* in the collection of Baron Emmanuel Descamps in Brussels,<sup>1</sup> where Rubens designed the three figures only, leaving a blank space for Snyder to paint in the still life in the final version. In the case of these two hunting scenes we do not know of any such sketch, but the hypothesis is suggested by the fact that the animals do not remind us of Rubens, but in their characterization and movement reflect the style of specialized animal painters. I do not, however, agree with Burchard that the animals in both paintings are by Paul de Vos. I believe this is the case with *Diana hunting Deer*, but that Rubens's collaborator in the *Calydonian Boar Hunt* was Snyder (see under No.18).<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, it is practically certain that the two paintings form a pair: Copy [1] of No.17 and Copy [2] of No.18 were together until quite recently.<sup>3</sup> In the present state of research it is difficult to make out whether the originals still exist. None of the versions of this *Calydonian Boar Hunt* known to me can be regarded as autograph; on the other hand, one version of *Diana hunting Deer* (Fig.98) makes

a better impression, as far as can be judged from available reproductions.

On stylistic grounds I propose a date c.1635-1640. The date 1640 which appears on one of the copies after No.18 may quite possibly be right.<sup>4</sup>

Nothing is known of the destination of the original works. They may be those listed in 1730 in an inventory of the palace at Cesena of the Marchese Ferdinando de' Conti Guidi di Bagno: 'Due quadri, uno ... e l'altro La Caccia al cervo, originale del famoso Rubens pittore Fiamengo, con sua cornice di legno intagliata e bona... Altri due quadri, uno ... e l'altro La caccia al porco cingale del suddetto Rubens pittore, pure con cornici intagliate e bone.'<sup>5</sup> It is not clear where these hunting pictures came from: one might suppose they belonged to Gian Francesco Guidi di Bagno (1578-1641), who was papal nuncio in the Netherlands from 1621 to 1627 and was in contact with Rubens,<sup>6</sup> but they are not mentioned in his inventory of 1641.<sup>7</sup>

1. See *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, pp.411-412, No.301; II, pl.301.

2. Both Paul de Vos and Frans Snyders were owed money by Rubens at the time of his death (the former 68 guilders, the latter 70). These sums may have been due for contributions to works by Rubens, or for paintings they had sold him (see *Génard, Natalenschap*, pp.141, 145, items CLVIII and CXC).

3. As regards the companion pieces 'A Boar-Hunt' and 'A Deer Hunt', sold in London in 1925 from the Breadalbane collection and attributed to Rubens and Snyders, in view of their dimensions we may suppose that they too represent the compositions here in question: see No.17, Copy (4), and No.18, Copy (4).

4. See under No.18.

5. P. Torelli, 'Notizie e documenti Rubeniani in un archivio privato', in *Miscellanea di studi storici. Ad Alessandro Luzio gli archivi di stato italiani*, Florence, 1933, I, p.193. The two hunting scenes were recorded in the same place in 1749 (*ibid.*, p.194, n.1). An alternative possibility is that they were identical with the studio replicas of Nos.12 and 13 (Copy [1] and Copy [2], respectively).

6. In a letter to Pierre Dupuy of 22 April 1627 Rubens called him 'uno degli miei maggior padroni et amici' (*Roses-Ruelens*, IV, p.246).

7. Torelli, *op. cit.*, pp.184-191.



**17. Diana and Nymphs hunting Deer**  
(Fig.98)

Oil on canvas; 155 × 199 cm.

Private Collection, U.S.A.

PROVENANCE: ? Pierre Smits, Antwerp (cf. a note in the Rijksbureau voor Kunst-historische Documentatie, The Hague); sale, Brussels (Galerie Fiévez), 30 March 1936, lot 53 (repr.; as *Rubens and Snyders*); Baron Greindl, sale, Antwerp (Van Herck), 25 November 1975, lot 180, pl.28 (as *Van Thulden and P. de Vos*), bought by E. Verrijken, Antwerp; P. & D. Colnaghi, New York, 1983; Daniel Varsano, 1983.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown (photograph in the Burchard Documentation, Rubenianum, Antwerp); forms a pair with No.18, Copy (2); canvas, 157 × 210 cm. (enlarged at the left and at the right; original size: 157 × 179 cm.). PROV. Private collection, Bad Pymont (with its pendant); Hugo Schreiber, Berlin, 1929 (with its pendant); (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 180 × 210 cm. PROV. Viscountess of Courval, Château de Pinon; 'la princesse de P.'; 'duc de M.'; sale, Paris (Galliéra), 16 June 1967, lot 208 (repr.); (3) Painting, Saltram Park, Devon; support and dimensions unknown ('size of life'). PROV. John, 1st Earl of Morley (1772-1840), Saltram, Devon. LIT. *Catalogue of the Pictures, Casts and Busts, Belonging to the Earl of Morley, at Saltram*, Plymouth, 1819, p.23, No.101 (edn. London, 1844, p.23, No.96); Cat. Saltram, 1967, No.67; (4) Painting, whereabouts unknown; forms a pair with No.18, Copy (4); 152 × 170 cm. PROV. Lieutenant Colonel the Hon. Thomas George Breadalbane Morgan-Grenville-Gavin, Langton, Duns, Berwickshire, sale London (Christie's), 27 March 1925, lot 141, bought by Sampson; (5) Painting,

with one nymph and some dogs omitted, whereabouts unknown; canvas (?), 99 × 186 cm. PROV. Sale, London (Christie's), 13 April 1973, lot 92; (6) Painting, showing only the three women on the left, whereabouts unknown (photograph in the Burchard Documentation, Rubenianum, Antwerp); canvas, 89 × 71 cm. PROV. Dutch private collection, 1928; Mrs. E. Jager-Kuster, Bilthoven (Neth.), 1945; (7) Water-colour drawing after the three running hounds below, Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Inv. No.45-225C; 340 × 380 mm. LIT. *Bordley, Rubens*, fig.38 (in reverse; as *Snyders*); J. A. Welu, in [cat. exh.] *The Collector's Cabinet. Flemish Paintings from New England Private Collections*, (Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Mass., 1983-1984), p.150, reproduced (as *P. de Vos*); (8) Drawing, not including the doe and the pack of hounds on the left, Ghent, Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Inv. No.1950-W26 (as *G. de Crayer or J. van Cleef*); pen and brown ink and wash, over black chalk, 94 × 147 mm.

EXHIBITED: *The Collector's Cabinet. Flemish Paintings from New England Private Collections*, Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Mass., 1983-1984, No.38.

LITERATURE: J. A. Welu, in [cat. exh.] *The Collector's Cabinet*, op. cit., pp.140-143, No.38, repr. (as *Paul de Vos and Theodor van Thulden*).

Diana, with the crescent moon in her hair, and two nymphs advance from the left with a pack of 12 hounds, pursuing a stag and a doe. Diana brandishes a javelin; the nymph behind her has just shot an arrow, and the second nymph, who is placed somewhat lower, blows a hunting-horn.<sup>1</sup>

The best version known to me is the one recently exhibited at Worcester, Mass.

(Fig.98). Welu believed that the human figures in this version were by Theodor van Thulden ('s Hertogenbosch, 1606–1669)—an attribution first proposed in the Van Herck sale catalogue of 1975—and recalled that Van Thulden's early work was strongly influenced by Rubens.<sup>2</sup> I do not, however, find any characteristic features of Van Thulden's style in this painting. Even the works in which he came closest to Rubens, such as *The Martyrdom of St. Adrian* in St. Michael's church at Ghent,<sup>3</sup> have a somewhat mannered elegance which in my opinion is completely absent from this version of *Diana hunting Deer*. Because Van Thulden closely imitated Rubens's late style, the painting shows superficial parallels with the former's work, e.g. in the female figures.<sup>4</sup> But it is much more similar to paintings by Rubens himself, for example *The Rape of Proserpina*<sup>5</sup> from the Torre de la Parada or *Diana and Callisto*,<sup>6</sup> both now in the Prado in Madrid. It is surprisingly close to the latter as far as the handling of paint is concerned.

The canvas exhibited at Worcester is known to me only from photographs, and I find it difficult to express a definite judgement. The figures are certainly not very carefully painted, but this can be said of many of Rubens's late works (e.g. *Diana and Callisto* already mentioned). Whether this painting is regarded as an original or not will largely depend on one's general idea of the way in which Rubens's studio worked; certainly assistants seem to have had a considerable part in it.

The animals in this piece were painted by Paul de Vos. The spotted dog in the centre foreground occurs in many of his paintings,<sup>7</sup> and parallels for the stag and hind can also be found in other works of his.<sup>8</sup> The landscape, as Welu remarked, may be by Wildens.

In the reproduction of the canvas in the 1936 sale catalogue of the Galerie Fiévez two vertical creases can be clearly seen: one cutting through Diana's right forearm, and another on the far right, close to the hind's right forefoot. The crease on the right may well be a seam marking the edge of the original canvas, since in Copies (2) and (5) the picture ends at about that place.<sup>9</sup> If the canvas was in fact enlarged by about 17 cm.,<sup>10</sup> this was done very skilfully, with a thorn-bush filling the extra space.

The copy that was in the possession of Hugo Schreiber in 1929 (Copy [1])<sup>11</sup> is very faithful. In Copy (2), sold in Paris in 1967, the composition is somewhat varied: of the group of three dogs in the centre foreground only the one furthest away remains in its place, while the spotted one nearest the spectator is moved to the far left. The composition is more extended on the left, where it includes a number of trees.<sup>12</sup> Copy (5) is impoverished in composition and is of inferior quality; Copy (6) is most probably a fragment of a larger painting. Copy (3) is known to me only from a description.<sup>13</sup>

1. For Copy (1) Burchard noted the following colours: Diana is dressed in red, the hornblower in golden-brown and the nymph with the bow in grey; the dogs' collars are a vivid red.
2. Gevartius refers to Van Thulden as 'Rubenij olim discipulus' in the introduction to his *Pompa introitus ... Ferdinandi* (Antwerp, 1641–1642), and, as Burchard pointed out, de Monconys also refers to Van Thulden when he writes under the date of 28 July 1663: 'Bolduc... Je fus chez un peintre disciple de Rubens' (*Journal des Voyages de Monsieur de Monconys*, 2e Partie, Lyons, 1666, p.124). It is not certainly known, however, whether or when he worked in Rubens's studio. See M.-L. Hairs, 'Théodore van Thulden 1606–1669. Oeuvres signées ou attestées sur document', *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, XXXIV, 1965, pp.11, 67; A. Roy, 'Un peintre flamand à Paris au début du XVIIe siècle: Théodore van Thulden', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, Année 1977, 1979, p.67; and Hairs, *Sillage*, pp.125,

145. We do know that in 1635 Van Thulden worked, after Rubens's designs, on the paintings for the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* (see *Martin, Pompa*, Nos.21, 46, 47), and that he executed at least one painting for the decoration of the Torre de la Parada, also after a sketch by Rubens (see *Alpers, Torre*, No.31: *Hercules' Dog discovers Tyrian Purple*, Madrid, Prado; signed). *Orpheus playing the Lyre* in the same series, also in the Prado (*Alpers, Torre*, No.45) is attributed to him on stylistic grounds only.

## 18. The Calydonian Boar Hunt

Oil on canvas; ? approximately

155 × 185 cm.

*Whereabouts unknown.*

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig.99), ? studio replica, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 177 × 237 cm. PROV. Frank Hall Standish (Sevilla, d.1840), who bequeathed it to King Louis Philippe of France (1773-1850); the latter's estate, sale, London (Christie's), 30 May 1853, lot 183; G. Erle Drax, Olantigh Towers, Kent; Gaston von Mallmann (Berlin, 1860-1917), sale, Berlin (Lepke), 12 June 1918, lot 97, pl.6 (as *studio of Rubens*). EXH. ? *Musée Standish*, Louvre, Paris, 1842-1848. LIT. E. Plietzsch, in the introduction to the sale cat. of 1918; (2) Painting (Fig.100), whereabouts unknown; forms a pair with No.17, Copy (1); canvas, 155 × 210 cm. (enlarged at the left and at the right; original size: 155 × 179 cm.). PROV. Private collection, Bad Pyrmont (with its pendant); Hugo Schreiber, Berlin, 1929 (with its pendant); (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 155 × 178 cm.; on the stretcher: wax-seal of the Marquis of Salamanca. PROV. Ródenas collection; José de Madrazo, Madrid (d.1859), purchased by the Marquis of Salamanca; handed over by the latter to (? Maurice) Roblot; Mrs. L.H.R[oblot], sale, Paris (Hôtel Drouot), 13 March 1914, lot 32 (as *school of Rubens*). LIT. *Catálogo de la galería de cuadros del Excmo. Sr. D. José de Madrazo*, Madrid, 1856. No.584 (as *Rubens*); (4) Painting, whereabouts unknown; it forms a pair with No.17, Copy (4); 152 × 170 cm. PROV. Lieutenant Colonel the Hon. Thomas George Breadalbane Morgan-Grenville-Gavin, Langton, Duns, Berwickshire, sale, London (Christie's), 27 March 1925, lot 140, bought by Farr; (5) Drawing (Fig.101) attributed

3. See *Hairs, Sillage*, p.139, fig.38; this is a traditional attribution.
4. Cf. for instance the female figures in *Flanders, Brabant and Hainault worshipping the Virgin and Child*, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum; signed and dated 1654; see *Hairs, Sillage*, fig.36. A *Calydonian Boar Hunt* which, it seems to me, may well be attributable to Theodor van Thulden is in the Staatliches Schloss at Dessau-Mosigkau (see J.Harksen, *Schloss Mosigkau. Alter Gemäldebestand*, Dessau-Mosigkau, 1976, p.34, fig.29).
5. *Alpers, Torre*, No.53, fig.170; *Díaz Padrón, Cat. Prado*, I, pp.249-251, No.1659; II, pl.169.
6. *Díaz Padrón, Cat. Prado*, I, pp.254-255, No.1671; II, pl.171.
7. For instance, this dog appears in *Dogs attacking a Horse* in the Hermitage at Leningrad (*Hermitage Paintings, Album I*, Moscow, 1957, fig.359) and in *Hunting Roebuck* in the Prado, Madrid (*Díaz Padrón, Cat. Prado*, II, pl.300, No.1869).
8. Cf. the stags in the *Deer Hunt* (Fig.10), in the Brussels museum (Inv. No.2858; see Marguerite Manneback in *Cat. Exh. Brussels, 1965*, pp.284-285, No.301, repr.), and the stag and hind in *The Earthly Paradise* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Inv. No.1709; *Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien. Verzeichnis der Gemälde*, Vienna, 1973, p.200, pl.95).
9. According to Burchard, the original part of the canvas ends there in Copy (1) also.
10. James A. Welu kindly confirmed this: 'The painting does include an addition at the right side; however, it is difficult to determine if the addition is of the period or later. The painting on the addition does not seem to be dissimilar to the rest'.
11. Burchard, who saw this canvas in 1929, noted that the figures were copied after Rubens and that the animals were by the hand of Paul de Vos.
12. It is possible that this canvas originally formed a pair with Copy (1) of No.18 (Fig.99), which is of about the same dimensions and was extended to the right with trees in the same way, as compared to the original.
13. 'Three Female Figures as Huntresses, Size of Life. The game in this picture is painted by Sneyders. The three figures are portraits of the three wives of Rubens' (*Catalogue ... Saltram*, loc. cit.). For Copy (4) see p.208, n.3.

to Snyders, London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, Inv. No.1881-7-9-78; pen and brown ink and brown wash over traces of black chalk, 259 × 284 mm.; squared; inscribed below on the right: *F. Snyders fē.*; and in another tint: *mey (?) 1640*. LIT. *Hind, Rubens*, p.133, No.9, pl.LXX (as *Snyders*); *Bordley, Rubens*, p.88, fig.27 (as *Snyders*).

Meleager stands on the left, ready to thrust his spear against the onrushing boar. Atalanta stands behind the boar with two men, the nearer of whom is blowing a horn, and a horseman advances from the right, brandishing his spear. Under the boar a man and two dogs lie injured on the ground; eight other hounds are in the pack.<sup>1</sup>

There is room for doubt as to whether this is really the Calydonian hunt, as it does not literally follow Ovid's account (*Metamorphoses*, VIII, 270–419). In that version Atalanta hits the boar with an arrow behind the ear; but here she wields a javelin, though she does wear a quiver on her hip.

The original painting is not known, or at all events neither of the two versions of which I was able to see a photograph can be regarded as the original.<sup>2</sup> I know of no reproduction of the canvas from the collection of José de Madrazo (Copy [3]).

The canvas from the Hugo Schreiber collection (Copy [2]; Fig.100)<sup>3</sup> may probably be considered very faithful, like its pendant (No.17, Copy [1]). However, strips have been added to the right and left of the original canvas. The drawing in the British Museum (Copy [5]; Fig.101) shows how far the original composition extended. The copy from the collection of Louis Philippe (Copy [1]; Fig.99), which is by far the best, extends to the same

distance on the left but was enlarged on the right with a décor of trees.<sup>4</sup> In this copy, perhaps made in the studio, both figures and animals are the work of a single hand.

I assume that in the original the animals other than the horse were painted by Snyders. Not only is the injured dog taken literally from an earlier *Boar Hunt* of his (Fig.23),<sup>5</sup> but the physiognomy of all the dogs in the painting is typical of Snyders around 1640 and differs from those of Paul de Vos: note for example the pronounced curve of the eyebrow. The firm outlines and well articulated muscles are also characteristic of Snyders' work.<sup>6</sup>

The attribution to Snyders is supported by the inscription 'F. Snyders fē' on the drawing in the British Museum (Copy [5]; Fig.101). The drawing is also marked with the date '1640', presumably by someone with exact information: stylistically the composition indeed belongs to the end of the 1630s.<sup>7</sup>

Atalanta's pose does not differ greatly from that of the goddess in *Diana hunting Fallow Deer* (No.21; cf. Fig.108). The horseman with poised spear is in the same pose, but reversed, as Constantine is in Rubens's sketch for *Constantine defeating Licinius*.<sup>8</sup> The wounded man on the ground recurs in the Munich *Lion Hunt* (No.11; Fig.74). Meleager's pose is the same as in antique sarcophagus reliefs and Rubens's earlier *Calydonian Hunts* (Nos.1, 10 and 12; cf. Figs.31, 69, 81), but the viewpoint is altered; it bears some resemblance to a huntsman in the *Boar Hunt* by Van Dyck and Snyders (Fig.23).

1. For Copy (2) Burchard noted the following colours: the horseman's saddlecloth is red, his tunic blue, his cape golden-yellow; Atalanta is in bright red, Meleager in grey.

2. Since this canvas formed a pair with *Diana hunting Deer* it must have been of the same size, i.e. about 155 × 185 cm. 'assuming that the canvas of this

- composition exhibited at Worcester in 1983 is the original and has been enlarged with a narrow strip on the right.
3. Burchard, who saw this canvas in 1929, noted that the figures were copied after Rubens and that the hounds were by Paul de Vos's own hand. I would dispute the latter statement.
  4. It is possible that this canvas originally formed a pair with Copy (2) of No.17, which is of about the same dimensions and was extended to the left with trees in the same way, as compared with the original. It seems to me almost certain that the landscape in this version of the *Calydonian Boar Hunt* (No.18, Copy [1]; Fig.99) is by Wildens. It may be compared with the following paintings: Jan Wildens, *Landscape with Sportsmen and Dogs*, formerly at Florence, coll. Marcuard, see Adler, *Wildens*, No.G55, p.106, repr. on p.179; Jan Wildens and Jacob Jordaens, *Mercury and Argus*, sold at Christie's, London, in 1976, see Adler, *Wildens*, No.G119, p.116, repr. on p.220.
  5. For this motif see p.79, n.58.
  6. This type of hound appears in several hunting scenes by Snyders. The Prado, some of which are signed: see Diaz Padrón, *Cat. Prado*, Nos.1752, 1759, 1762, 1763, 1772, 1881 (copy). A similar *Boar Hunt* by Snyders was in the Neues Palais in Berlin before 1945 (Gen. Kat.I, No.5155), generally attributed to Fyt or Paul de Vos.
  7. On the strength of this 'signature' Hind attributed the drawing to Snyders. This seems to me somewhat hasty: it is clear, from details of vegetation *inter alia*, that this drawing was a copy after the painting and not a compositional study for it.
  8. Held, *Oil Sketches*, II, pl.48, No.47.

### 19. Diana with Attendants hunting Deer (Fig.104)

Oil on canvas; 255 × 479 cm.

Formerly Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum; destroyed in 1945.

PROVENANCE: ? Sold by cavalry captain Tholinck to Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange, Stadtholder of the Republic of the United Netherlands (1584–1657) in 1645; in the collection of the latter's widow, Amalia van Solms (d.1675), ? in the Oude Hof in 't Noorteynde, 1667; in her estate, 1676 (B, No.95: 'Eene heele groote Jaght zijnde de Beelden door Rubens ende de herten en honden door Snijers

gedaan—fl.1500'; cf. C.Rost, loc. cit.), allotted to the sons of her daughter Louise Henriette: Margrave Ludwig and Elector Frederick of Brandenburg; after the death of the former (1687), sole property of the latter, the later Frederick I, King of Prussia; Potsdam (inv.1698, No.22); Berlin, Schloss, 1786; Königliche Gemälde-Galerie, Berlin, 1830; Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin (No.774), where destroyed by fire in 1945.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig.102), studio replica with a different group of animals, formerly Potsdam-Sanssouci, Neues Palais, lost; canvas, 139 × 201 cm. (including an added strip along the top; original size c.114 × 201 cm.). PROV. ? Sale, Amsterdam (Zomer), 12 September 1708, lot 9 (as *Van Dyck and Snyders*); ? sale, Amsterdam, 17 July 1709, lot 9 (as *Rubens and Snyders*); ? Jacques Meyers, sale, Rotterdam (M. Bohm), 9 September 1722, lot 75 (with the measurements: c.118 × 201 cm.); ? Benjamin da Costa, sale, The Hague, 13 August 1764, lot 57 ('Een Harte Jagt, met vier Figuren', c.137 × 201 cm.); Frederick the Great of Prussia, Potsdam-Sanssouci, Neues Palais, 1773; destroyed in 1945. LIT. M.Oesterreich, *Description de tout l'interieur des deux palais de Sans-Souci, de ceux de Potsdam, et de Charlottenbourg*, Potsdam, 1773, p.51, No.149; F.Nicolai, *Beschreibung der königlichen Residenzstädte Berlin und Potsdam*, Berlin, 1786, III, p.1243; Van Hasselt, *Rubens*, p.357, No.1264; Rooses, IV, p.348; P.Seidel, W.Bode and M.J.Friedländer, *Gemälde alter Meister im Besitz Seiner Majestät des Deutschen Kaisers und Königs von Preussen*, Berlin, [1906], repr. p.93; *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Gemälde im Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum*, 7th edn., Berlin, 1912, p.373, under No.774; [G. Poensgen], *Die Gemälde in den preussischen Schlössern. Das Neue Palais*, Berlin, 1935,

p.25, No.221; *Bernhard, Verlorene Werke*, p.60; *Isermeyer, Jagd*, p.34; (2) Painting with the same group of animals but only one figure, Schloss Rohrau (?), collection of the Count of Harrach; canvas, 174 × 303 cm. PROV. Said to be purchased by Count Joh. Nep. Ernst Harrach from Langenhöfel in 1783; Palais Harrach, Vienna, until at least 1960. LIT. G.F.Waagen, *Die vornehmsten Kunstdenkmäler in Wien*, I, Vienna, 1866, p.323, No.47 (as *Snyders*); *Catalog der Erlaucht Gräfllich Harrach'schen Bildergalerie, Wien*, Vienna, [1889], p.14, No.22; *Bode, Cat. Berlin*, 1906, p.336, under No.774 (as *P. de Vos*; mistakenly as in the Galerie Czernin, Vienna); H.Ritschl, *Katalog der Erlaucht Gräfllich Harrachschen Gemälde-Galerie in Wien*, Vienna, 1926, p.9, No.22; G.Heinz, *Katalog der Graf Harrach'schen Gemäldegalerie*, Vienna, 1960, p.68; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 77 × 167.5 cm.; inscribed below on the left: *Rubens Snyders*. PROV. Sale, London (Sotheby's), 30 March 1960, lot 105; (4) Painting, late 19th or early 20th century, Dutch private coll.; canvas, ? c.100 × 230 cm.; (5) Painting, showing only Diana and a nymph, possibly fragment of a larger copy, Florence, private collection (photograph in the Rubenianum, Antwerp); canvas, 96.5 × 119.5 cm. PROV. Lord Hatherton, Teddesley Hall, Stafford, 1842 (cf. Smith, loc. cit.); Lord Hatherton, sale, London (Christie's), 6 November 1953, lot 29, bought by Beale; private collection, Portugal. EXH. *Art Treasures of the United Kingdom*, Manchester, 1857, No.568. LIT. Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, pp.327–328, No.307; W.Burger, *Trésors d'art exposés à Manchester en 1857*, Paris, 1857, pp.197–198; *Rooses*, III, pp.80–81; (6) Drawing after the group of figures on the right (Fig.103), Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre, Inv. No. R.F.oo. 698; black chalk, some brown and

black wash, heightened with white body-colour, 299 × 450 mm.; below on the left the mark of His de la Salle (L.1333). PROV. N.Revil, sale, Paris (Roussel and Defer), 24–28 February 1845, lot 54, bought by A.C.H.His de la Salle, who bequeathed it to the Louvre on 19 February 1878. LIT. Both de Tauzia, *Notice des dessins de la collection His de la Salle exposées au Louvre*, Paris, 1881, pp.127–128, No.208; *Rooses*, III, p.75, under No.590 (as *Rubens*); *Bode, Cat. Berlin*, 1906, p.336, under No.774 (as *Rubens*); M.Freeman, *Rubens, (Master Draughtsmen, III)*, London–New York, 1932, pl.8; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, p.42, No.1151, pl.LXVI (as ? *Bolswert*); *Isermeyer, Jagd*, p.34 (as *copy*); (7) Drawing after the group of figures on the right, whereabouts unknown (photograph in the Burchard Documentation, Rubenianum, Antwerp); black and red chalk, 315 × 405 mm.; strips of paper added on the left and on the right.—*Verso*: unidentified mark: W and C in an oval. PROV. ? Wilhelm Clemens (cf. the mark); Excellency Wallraf, Cologne–Marienburg, sale, Cologne (Lempertz), 5 December 1931, lot 23, pl.4; dealer W.Schulthess, Basle, 1947; (8) Lithograph by G.E.Müller, after a drawing by J.Wittmann. LIT. *Rooses*, V, p.336; (9) Etching, by W.Unger (1837–1932); 173 × 374 mm.

LITERATURE: M.Oesterreich, *Description de tout l'intérieur des deux palais de Sans-Souci, de ceux de Potsdam, et de Charlottenbourg*, Potsdam, 1773, p.51, under No.149, n.; F.Nicolai, *Beschreibung der königlichen Residenzstädte Berlin und Potsdam*, Berlin, 1786, II, p.886, No.43; G.F.Waagen, *Verzeichniss der Gemälde-Sammlung des königlichen Museums zu Berlin*, 4th edn., Berlin, 1833, p.243, No.452; C.Rost, 'Der alte Nassau-Oranische Bilderschatz und sein späterer Verbleib', *Jahrbuch für Kunst-*

wissenschaft, hrsg. von Dr. A. von Zahn, VI, 1873, pp.58, 62; *Rooses, Antwerpse schilderschool*, pp.399-400; *Goeler von Ravensburg, Rubens*, p.84; *Rooses*, III, pp.74-75, No.590; V, p.336; W. Bode, 'Neue Gemälde von Rubens in der Berliner Galerie', *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XXV, 1904, p.104; A. Kleinschmidt, *Amalia von Oranien*, Berlin, [1905], p.268; *Bode, Cat. Berlin*, 1906, p.336, No.774; K.d.K., edn. Rosenberg, pp.371, 483; *Dillon, Rubens*, pp.117, 191, No.22, pl.CCCXXXIII; H. Posse, *Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Die Gemäldegalerie des Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums*, II, *Die germanische Länder*, Berlin, 1911, p.334, No.774, *reprod.*, p.347, under No.762c; *Oldenbourg, Flämische Malerei*, p.53; K.d.K., pp.357, 469; *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Gemälde im Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum*, 7th edn., Berlin, 1912, pp.372-373, No.774; *Glück, Rubens, Van Dyck*, p.185; *Manneback, P. de Vos*, p.557; J.G. van Gelder, 'Rubens in Holland in de zeventiende eeuw', *Nederlandsch kunsthistorisch jaarboek*, III, 1950-1951, pp.143-144, fig.26; *Isermeyer, Jagd*, pp.33-34, pl.14; *Bernhard, Verlorene Werke*, p.20, pl.132; 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 Kunstsammlung', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XXX, 1967, pp.145, 189-190, No.2; *Díaz Padrón, Cacería*, pp.149-150, fig.8; S.W.A. Drossaers and T.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes*, I, The Hague, 1974, p.370, No.1438; *Kruyfhoof-Buys*, pp.74-77, *repr.*

A stag and a doe, fleeing to the left, have been caught up by eight hounds and a group of four hunters, male and female,

on foot. The foremost one, who may perhaps be Diana although she has no crescent moon in her hair, plunges her javelin into the flank of the stag, which swings its head to one side in an attempt to shake off the dogs. A man behind Diana, with an ivy (?) wreath in his dishevelled hair, takes aim with his javelin. Then comes a nymph bending her bow, and on the far right a hornblower.<sup>1</sup>

Between 1851 and 1855 the canvas was folded over at a height of about one-third from the top,<sup>2</sup> so that in most reproductions it appears as a long narrow frieze. In 1942 it was unfolded and photographed in the state shown here (Fig.104).<sup>3</sup>

The catalogues of the Berlin museum assume that this painting belonged to Rubens at his death. This is incorrect: the only *Deer Hunt* mentioned in the sale catalogue was bought by the King of Spain, as we know from the 1645 accounts of Rubens's estate.<sup>4</sup>

Rooses was the first to suggest that this *Deer Hunt* in Berlin may have been one of the two 'large pieces' which Prince Frederick Henry of the Northern Netherlands bought from the cavalry captain Tholinck in 1645.<sup>5</sup> This seems quite possible, especially in view of the high price. It should be noted, however, that one would not normally expect a work of art that had belonged to the prince to become part of the estate of his widow, Amalia van Solms, since under the relevant law his sole heir would have been his son, William II.

The mention of this canvas in the division of the estate of Amalia van Solms in 1676 is the first reliable reference to it.<sup>6</sup> It can be traced from that date until its destruction in 1945.

Stylistically, in my view, the painting belongs to Rubens's very last years and not the early 1630s, as Oldenbourg and

most other writers believe. For instance, the man with his spear poised is very similar in pose and execution to the torturer seen from behind in *The Martyrdom of St. Thomas* in Prague,<sup>7</sup> delivered in 1639. For the main lines of the composition Rubens clearly made use of the *Deer Hunt* he had designed for the Torre de la Parada (Fig.6).<sup>8</sup> There too we find a group of four figures advancing from the right, their poses rhythmically varied, and on the left a stag being dragged down by hounds while the doe flees in terror. The animals in the earlier work were painted by Paul de Vos, while here they are clearly by Snyders.<sup>9</sup> Both the individual types of the deer and hounds and the movement imparted to them are so completely in Snyders' style that it seems to me possible that he and not Rubens designed the left half of the composition. In so doing he would naturally have followed Rubens's general directions: e.g. the striking motif of the deer swinging its head sideways may well be Rubens's invention.

It is also possible that Snyders had a hand in some of the copies, particularly the variant formerly in the Neues Palais at Potsdam-Sanssouci (Copy [1]; Fig.102). In that painting the group of figures on the right is the same but the animals are quite different: there is only a single deer—in the attitude of the fleeing stag in the Brussels picture by Snyders (Fig.9)—and the pack is differently composed.<sup>10</sup>

The copy formerly in Lord Hatherton's collection (Copy [5]) may be a fragment of a larger whole. It is curious that only Diana and the nymph appear in it: the man with the javelin is simply left out.

Neither preparatory drawings nor a sketch for this painting are known. The drawing in the Louvre (Copy [6]; Fig.103), which Rooses believed to be an autograph

study by Rubens, is of very high quality but is certainly only a copy. Oldenbourg stated that a related oil sketch was in the Heseltine collection in London.<sup>11</sup> The sketch in question (Fig.8) is now in the Boymans-van Beuningen Museum in Rotterdam; but it is generally accepted as being by Van Dyck<sup>12</sup> and has nothing to do with the *Deer Hunt* in Berlin. Burchard thought it was a sketch for a painting by Van Dyck and Paul de Vos.<sup>13</sup>

1. H. Posse (loc. cit.) noted the following colours. The huntresses' skin is pinkish-brown, that of the male hunters a deep reddish-brown; the sky is a cold grey-blue. The hornblower on the right is in dark blue with a vermilion cap. The nymph with the bow is in greyish violet; Diana's dress is crimson, in strong contrast to the huntsman's yellowish-green tunic. As regards the quality of the execution see p.42.
2. See *Isermeyer, Jagd*, p.34.
3. The large expanse of sky may seem surprising, especially as we know that many of Rubens's later hunting scenes were of the frieze type. Since the painting was destroyed in 1945 there is no way of telling whether it was enlarged at the top. The variant formerly at Potsdam (Copy [1]; Fig.102) also shows a large amount of sky, even apart from the portion that may or may not have been added. I know of no reproduction of Copies (2) and (3); Copies (5) to (7), being only partial copies, are not particularly relevant to this problem. Copy (4) renders the original in the state in which it was exhibited in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum between 1851/55-1942.
4. See p.184, n.22.
5. 'S.M. ordonn. te bet.—Aan Ritm<sup>f</sup>. N. Tholinck, de som van f 2100.—over twee groote stucken schilderij gedaan bij wijlen Ribbens bij den voorn. Ritm<sup>f</sup>. Tholinck, aan S.M., overgelaten. 's Hage 29 April 1645' (see C.V[osmaer], 'De ordinantieboeken van Prins Frederik Hendrik, over de jaren 1637-1650', *Kunstchronyk*, new series, II, 1861, pp.37-40).
6. This document was first published by Rost, and recently again by Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer (loc. cit.). Börsch-Supan (loc. cit.) states that the Berlin *Deer Hunt* is listed in the 1667 and 1673 inventories of the Old Court at The Hague. I have not found it in the latter inventory; that of 1667 mentions 'three hunting pictures' but does not give any painter's name, so that caution is required (see Drossaer and Lunsingh Scheurleer, op. cit., p.288, No.1277, pp.317-322). Rooses mistakenly identified the present work with a 'Diana met



- Dieren en nymphen—Rubbens', listed as No.65 in an inventory of Honselaarsdijk; but the latter is in fact *The Crowning of Diana* (Fig.3), now in the Bildergalerie at Potsdam-Sanssouci (see p.184, n.28, for further details).
7. *K.d.K.*, p.423; *Vlieghe, Saints*, II, No.156, fig.130.
  8. *Alpers, Torre*, Nos.20 and 20a, figs.97 and 98.
  9. In the 1676 inventory of Amalia van Solms's estate the present work is already ascribed to Snyders and Rubens, and later inventories and catalogues follow this. Rooses originally favoured Snyders, but in his addendum (*Rooses*, V, p.336) he changed his mind and attributed the animals to Paul de Vos. Burchard accepted this, as did Marguerite Manneback. None the less, I am quite convinced that it was Snyders who shared in the work: the tense muscles, sharply drawn profiles, firm outlines and glossy surface all point to Snyders rather than De Vos. For similar types of animals cf. Snyders' *Fallow Deer Hunt* in the Brussels museum (Fig.9); cf. also his *Fox Hunt* at Corsham Court, collection of Lord Methuen (T. Borenius, *A Catalogue of the Pictures at Corsham Court*, London, [1939], p.75, No.131; repr. in *The Connoisseur*, December 1977, p.284) and his small hunting pieces in the Prado (see above, p.43, n.37).
  10. The same stag occurs in several paintings by Snyders or his circle (I do not wish to make precise attributions here): in the Brera, Milan (No.682); in the Hermitage, Leningrad (No.601); in the National Museum, Stockholm (No.639). A drawing after a similar painting was sold by R.W.P. de Vries at Amsterdam, 26–27 June 1928, lot 263 (repr.).
  11. *K.d.K.*, p.469. Burchard noted that the reference there to a sketch for a similar frieze-like hunting scene in the Pitti Palace was due to his own misinterpretation (as editor of the volume after Oldenbourg's death) of an ambiguous indication in the MS. Oldenbourg probably had in mind the (copy of the) *Bull Hunt* published by Valentiner in 1912 (see No.26, Copy [3]).
  12. Panel, 26.5 × 40.5 cm.; see *Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, Old Paintings 1400–1900, Illustrations*, Rotterdam, 1972, p.209, No.2291 (as *Van Dyck*). L. Cust (*Anthony Van Dyck*, London, 1900, p.227, No.235) already ascribed the work to Van Dyck. Following Oldenbourg, Burchard originally thought the sketch was by Rubens, but on seeing it again in 1931 he concluded that it was by Van Dyck. This attribution is also defended by R.-A. d'Hulst and H. Vey in [cat. exh.] *Antoon van Dyck. Tekeningen en olieverfschetsen* (Rubenshuis, Antwerp, and Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, 1960, No.129) and by H. Vey, 'Anton Van Dycks Ölskizzen', *Bulletin Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten*, V, 1956, p.197, fig.21. The sketch is probably identical with one that belonged to F.-X. Burtin (1743–1818), who described it as a Rubens depicting 'Deux nymphes poursuivent un cerf, sur lequel l'une lance un javelot, et l'autre tire une flèche: deux lévriers sont prêts à le saisir' (*Traité théorique et pratique ...*, Brussels, 1808, II, p.294, No.134). In that work and in the first Burtin sale (Brussels, 23 July 1819, lot 150) the dimensions are given as c.28.5 × 49.5 cm.; in the second Burtin sale, however (Brussels, 4 November 1841, lot 55) they are given as 28 × 40 cm.
  13. This is quite possible: the same stag occurs in *Stag Hunt* by Paul de Vos in the Mauritshuis, The Hague (Cat. Mauritshuis, 1977, p.253, No.259, repr.).

## EIGHT HUNTING SCENES FOR THE KING OF SPAIN

(Nos. 20–27)

These scenes were painted in the last years of Rubens's life, and they are repeatedly mentioned in the correspondence between Philip IV of Spain and the Cardinal Infante Ferdinand.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately only Ferdinand's part of the correspondence has survived, and that not in full, so that there are difficulties of interpretation from time to time. Before discussing the set of eight paintings in particular, it would be useful to survey the correspondence and the paintings to which it refers. At least seven commissions for pictures are involved. The first three of these concern paintings for the King's hunting lodge, the Torre de la Parada: Rubens and his assistants were to supply paintings of mythological subjects, Frans Snyders (and his collaborator Paul de Vos) the animal scenes, while Pieter Snayers was to contribute pictures of hunting at the Spanish court.<sup>2</sup> The first letter relating to these commissions is dated 20 November 1636; Snyders is first mentioned in a letter of 6 December 1636, and Snayers' share is first referred to by Ferdinand on 31 January 1637. The paintings contracted for by Rubens were on the way to Madrid by 6 April 1638; the correspondence does not show whether all the paintings for which Snyders and Snayers were responsible were part of the same consignment.<sup>3</sup> The fourth commission was mentioned in a letter of 30 June 1638: the King had asked for a *Judgement of Paris*, which was well advanced by that time but not quite finished;<sup>4</sup> this painting finally found a home in the Buen Retiro. In the same letter of 30 June Ferdinand mentioned that he had received a further commission, the fifth: this was for paintings that

Rubens, to save time, would execute himself. It is nowhere stated what their destination was, but we may suppose that they were also for the Torre de la Parada.<sup>5</sup> These pictures by Rubens were despatched on 27 February 1639.

The commission we are concerned with here, the sixth of those referred to in the correspondence, is first mentioned on 22 June 1639. It comprised 18 paintings to be executed by Rubens and Snyders, and, as we shall see, probably eight of these were hunting scenes. Rubens had scarcely begun on the work when he received another order for four large pictures for the newly created *salón nuevo*. This commission, the seventh referred to in the correspondence, was never completed, as Rubens succumbed to an attack of gout, a malady from which he suffered increasingly in his last years. Ferdinand's further letters to Spain deal with his efforts to get other artists to finish these paintings, which had remained in their incomplete state in Rubens's studio. The 18 paintings of the sixth commission, however, were all completed, and some of them were already in the King's possession at the time of Rubens's death.

Ferdinand's letter of 22 June 1639 indicates that the works of the sixth commission were intended for the *bóveda de palacio*.<sup>6</sup> This term denoted the cool vaulted rooms in the eastern half of the northern wing of the palace and in its northern extension, which were mostly on the ground floor and were used as the King's summer apartments.<sup>7</sup> In the letter of 22 July Ferdinand informed the King that Rubens had completed all the sketches and that he and Snyders would share the work between them as they thought most suitable.<sup>8</sup> From a subsequent letter of 29 August 1639 we learn more about the division of labour: Rubens was to paint

the figures and landscape, and Snyders the animals.<sup>9</sup> That Rubens and Snyders both worked on these paintings is confirmed by the accounts which have survived.<sup>10</sup> These refer to 18 pictures, and the same number is mentioned in the correspondence: Ferdinand writes on 10 January 1640 that the eight pictures that are ready will follow by the next post (*correo*) and that the other ten will follow shortly.<sup>11</sup> The fact that the eight paintings could be sent by *correo* shows that they were not over-large, in contrast to the four works for the *salón nuevo*, referred to as '*pinturas grandes*', which had to be sent specially and for which a passport was required.<sup>12</sup> The ten remaining pictures of the set of 18 are referred to in the letters as '*las diez pequeñas*'. These were finished and delivered to Brussels on 20 May 1640, but some of them proved to be too large for the *correo*, and Ferdinand proposed to keep all ten in Brussels until the four paintings for the *salón nuevo* were ready.<sup>13</sup> However, when Rubens suddenly died, leaving the four large paintings unfinished, there was no point in holding up the smaller ones, and on 23 September 1640 Ferdinand wrote that those which were not too large would be sent by the next *correo*.<sup>14</sup> Finally on 8-9 March 1641 Ferdinand reported that the passport had been obtained and that the last consignment would leave next day.<sup>15</sup>

How are these 18 works to be identified? As the subjects are not mentioned in Ferdinand's letters, the only possible line of enquiry, as Alfred Weil first pointed out,<sup>16</sup> is to discover what paintings, executed jointly by Rubens and Snyders, entered the Spanish royal collections after 1636, the date of the last inventory prior to the commission in question.

The next inventory of the Alcázar, a partial one, dates from 1666. Examination

of it shows that the 18 works were no longer all in the *bóvedas* by that date: some appear to have been moved elsewhere. We find mentioned in the *pieza larga de las bóvedas* four paintings measuring  $1\frac{1}{4}$  by  $3\frac{1}{2}$  varas, with '*las figuras de Rubenes los animales de Asneile*', valued at 300 ducats each.<sup>17</sup> This immediately calls to mind four other paintings of approximately the same measurements ( $1\frac{1}{2}$  by  $3\frac{1}{2}$  varas) in the *pieza ochavada*: one of these, *Diana and Nymphs Hunting*, is by Rubens and Snyders, and the other three, ascribed in the inventory to Rubens only, are of 'hunts and warlike scenes'.<sup>18</sup> Most probably these eight paintings originally formed a single series devoted to the chase and related subjects.<sup>19</sup> Little was left of the series after the fire of 1734. Only two paintings can be said with certainty to have survived, viz. *Diana and Nymphs attacked by Satyrs* (No.22; Fig.112),<sup>20</sup> and a *Bear Hunt* of which only a fragment now exists (No.27; Fig.132).<sup>21</sup> The dimensions of these paintings are approximately the same as those in the inventory of 1666, and in both cases we may assume that Snyders painted the animals. It may appear surprising at first sight that a subject such as *Diana and Nymphs attacked by Satyrs* should be part of a series that—as further reconstruction will show—was otherwise entirely devoted to hunting, but the connection is shown by the hunting equipment and dead game that figure prominently in the scene. Apart from these two paintings, two others that may have escaped destruction in the fire are mentioned below.

The further reconstruction of this set of eight hunting scenes was furnished not long ago by Held,<sup>22</sup> and is based on evidence of various kinds. Surviving sketches of seven of the compositions are similar in style and for the most part in measure-

ment;<sup>23</sup> two still form companion pieces, and four (incomplete) sets of copies of these sketches show that the others too were originally kept together.<sup>24</sup> Copies of the large canvases also occur in sets, and thus confirm that the compositions belong together. Three groups of copies are to be distinguished here: a series of very faithful painted copies, of about the same dimensions as the originals; a series woven in tapestry, with slight variations especially as regards landscape; and various copies of cabinet size, mostly on panel or copper, and also showing more variation especially in the landscape. Four canvases of the first group are in the museum at Nîmes; they represent: *Diana and Nymphs hunting Fallow Deer* (No.21, Copy [1]; Fig.108); *Diana and Nymphs attacked by Satyrs* (No.22, Copy [1]; Fig.113); *The Death of Actaeon* (No.23, Copy [1]; Fig.115); and *Bear Hunt* (No.27, Copy [1]; Fig.134). All these four paintings are in the same rather undistinguished style, and, as the originals of two of them (Nos.22 and 27; Figs.112, 132) still survive, we may suppose that the whole set consists of copies and that it could not be possible, as Held thought, that two of the pieces intended for the Alcázar should be ranked among them (see under Nos.21 and 23 below). It is hard to imagine that these copies were made in Rubens's studio: for one thing it would have meant a heavy work-load at a busy period, and in any case a series of large paintings, even if only copies, would not have been made except to order.

The precise status of two paintings at Gerona, that is a *Bull Hunt* (No.26; Fig.126) and *The Death of Silvia's Stag* (No.25; Fig.124), is not quite clear to me. Originally, on the basis of a photograph, I was inclined to regard them as copies that may initially have belonged to the same series

as the copies at Nîmes. The two paintings at Gerona had been in the Spanish national collection since at least the middle of the nineteenth century. The exact provenance of those at Nîmes is not known, but in view of the geographical proximity to Spain it seemed possible that they too came from the Spanish national collection and that the whole series of six canvases in Spain was commissioned by the King—who had many works in his collection duplicated, by Mazo among others. However, I have since been able to study the two paintings at Gerona at close quarters, and I now incline to Held's view that they may be originals (to be sure, largely studio work).<sup>25</sup> This can be argued for the *Bull Hunt* in particular; *The Death of Silvia's Stag* is much inferior in quality, but this is probably partly due to extensive restoration. The question is considered further under Nos.25 and 26. A problem in the identification appears to be that after the Alcázar fire in 1734 only *Diana and Nymphs attacked by Satyrs* and the *Bear Hunt* are found in the royal inventories, and as far as I can discover there is no further trace of the *Bull Hunt* or *The Death of Silvia's Stag*. It must be for future research to ascertain what happened to them between 1734 and the middle of the nineteenth century.

The second set of copies also poses a complicated problem. Five of the compositions that can be reckoned as belonging to the set of hunting scenes for the King of Spain are reproduced in a series of tapestries which was at Vienna until before the Second World War.<sup>26</sup> This series was completed by an *Alexander's Lion Hunt*, also after a composition by Rubens (No.16, Copy [8]; Fig.94), and a composition by Jordaens, of a *Huntsman and Hounds*.<sup>27</sup> The seven tapestries bear the name of Daniël Eggermans (in full) in the

lower border, but it is not clear whether this is Daniël the Elder (died c.1643) or the Younger. In any case the tapestries were bought from the Viennese dealer Bartolome Triangl in 1666, on the occasion of the marriage of the Emperor Leopold I.<sup>28</sup> Some of the tapestries then supplied consisted of older sets that were on the market, but in the case of this series there is reason to think that it was specially ordered and made for the occasion. Leopold's bride was the Infanta Margarita, daughter of Philip IV, and at least six of the tapestries, all after compositions by Rubens, were copies of pictures in her father's possession: these were the five hunting scenes we are concerned with, and *Alexander's Lion Hunt* (No.16). Possibly it was the King's idea to have the series made in time for the wedding, which was of course arranged well in advance; or the Emperor may have asked his future father-in-law for permission to have the paintings copied. That the set was in any case intended specially for the Emperor and did not merely happen to be on the market<sup>29</sup> seems to be confirmed by the *Journal* of Constantijn Huygens the Younger, who wrote on 5 June 1677: 'Mr. le P. [Prince William III of Orange, subsequently King of England] m'envoya ensuite pour voir les patrons d'une tapisserie que Rubens avoit faite pour l'Empereur: c'estoyent des chasses très bien faites en détrempe. Il y avoit sept pièces d'environ neuf aulnes chacune. Elles avoyent esté vendues publiquement dans le Tapissiers-pandt pour 1100 lb., mais celuy qui les avoit acheptées n'avoit pu les payer et ainsi elles estoyent retournées dans la main du doyen des fripiers, nommé Hex, qui me les fit voir.' On 12 June 1677 Huygens wrote: 'L'aprèsdisné nous allames voir au Tapissiers-pandt les patrons de tapisseries

de Rubbens faits pour l'Empereur'.<sup>30</sup> It does not follow from this that Rubens himself painted the cartoons: he had long been dead when Leopold was crowned Emperor. They were probably executed shortly after 1660, it is not clear by whom;<sup>31</sup> one still exists (No.20, Copy [1], and see also Copy [11], Fig.106). If the tapestry series is dated as here proposed, the weaver would be Daniël Eggermans the Younger.

Several editions of the series were made, and a document of 1669 may refer to one of these. On 22 November of that year Michiel Wauters wrote to the Forchont brothers at Vienna: 'Gelieft eens te luysteren oft de kaemer jachten van Rubbens die syne keys. Ma<sup>t</sup> heeft, verbrant is ofte niet. Ick hebber een 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  elle die ook fraey is, als myn (andere) tapyten vercocht waeren soude wel resolveren te senden maer dat moet stille blijven onder ons.'<sup>32</sup> One or more sets of tapestries after the six hunting scenes by Rubens—Jordaens's composition was not repeated with them—are mentioned several times in the *Memoiriaal* of the dealer Nicolaas Naulaerts. The first mention, dated 19 May 1707, is of a set woven by Jan Regelbrugge.<sup>33</sup> It is mentioned again on 28 June 1707, when it is stated that Regelbrugge will weave the tapestries (again?) for 12 guilders an ell (Naulaerts sold them for 14-16 guilders an ell).<sup>34</sup> On 21 October 1707 two tapestries, the *Lion Hunt* and the *Bear Hunt*, were sent on approval to Baron von Wassenaer at The Hague (it is not clear whether he kept them).<sup>35</sup> On 2 January 1708 the whole series is again listed in a memorandum presented to one Leviwerker, evidently acting for Count Pallavicini (here again we do not know if the purchase went through).<sup>36</sup> The 'Jachten naer Rubbens' appear in another list for 'eenigh Hollants volck' dated 12 June 1709, and again in one dated the

24th of that month.<sup>37</sup> Finally, about the middle of the 18th century at least three tapestries from the series were woven by Frans van der Borgh: Jordaens's *Huntsman and Hounds*, Rubens's *Death of Adonis* and a fragment of the *Bear Hunt*.<sup>38</sup> In these tapestries the composition was slightly enlarged at the top.

The third group of copies after Rubens's hunting series, apart from the original-size painted copies at Nîmes and the Vienna tapestries, were 'cabinet pieces',<sup>39</sup> belonging to that portion of the Antwerp output that was mainly intended for the art trade. In this group too we repeatedly find companion pieces or small sets (now for the most part dispersed), from which it may appear that the compositions here discussed belong together. The typical feature of the group is that the landscape occupies a wider area. The paintings measure about 60/70 × 90/100 cm.

Although the copies of the third group are very similar in style, as the amplification of the landscape is carried out in the same fashion, they are not all by the same hand. At least three characteristic hands can be discerned, apart from derivatives of lesser quality, and although it is a delicate matter to venture on attributions in this little-studied field of art, I would here suggest that the two panels (No.21, Copy [6], Fig.111, and No.24, Copy [1]) are somewhat reminiscent of Jan Thomas.<sup>40</sup> Some of these 'cabinet pieces' may, as Díaz Padrón and Lacambre proposed, be ascribed to Willem van Herp (e.g. No.20, Copies [2] and [3], No.21, Copy [3], and No.24, Copies [2] and [3], Fig.120) and there is a document supporting this attribution: Musson noted in his *Incoepboeck* that on 13 April 1663 he sent to Málaga '4 ditto Jachtien naer Rubbens meest van van Herp overschildert a 33 gul. het stuk

... gl.92'.<sup>41</sup> Finally, copies after *The Death of Actaeon*, *The Death of Adonis* and *The Death of Silvia's Stag* show the hand of Frans Wouters (No.23, Copy [1], Fig.116, No.24, Copy [4], and No.25, Copies [1]-[4], Fig.125). All these copies follow the compositions of the large canvases. In two cases, however, Wouters's copies after *The Death of Actaeon* (No.23) and *The Death of Silvia's Stag* (No.25), use was also made of the sketches, a fact which raises some questions. Do these copies bear witness to an intermediate stage, not otherwise recorded, between the sketches and the final paintings? Or were they made in Rubens's studio and under his supervision?<sup>42</sup> Or did Wouters perhaps have access to material from Rubens's collection after the master's death? In view of certain facts in Wouters's biography, the last hypothesis seems to me the most probable.<sup>43</sup>

It would appear from our findings so far that the accumulation of seven original sketches, four incomplete sets of copies after these sketches, two (or four) of the original large canvases, and three groups of copies after the large canvases, clearly demonstrates that the eight compositions in question originally belonged together.<sup>44</sup> They formed a series concerned with hunting: either scenes of the chase properly so called, or mythological scenes in which hunting played some part. These eight works, the animals in which were painted by Snyders, were intended for the *bóvedas* of the royal palace at Madrid, but by 1666 four of them had been removed from there to the *pieza ochavada*.<sup>45</sup>

The commission of 1639 was for 18 paintings by Rubens and Snyders, so that we have ten more to account for. The inventory of 1666 records some single paintings which we may suppose to have been

the work of these two artists. There are, for instance, three still-lives with human figures, although I do not believe that they formed part of the commission.<sup>46</sup> *Alexander's Lion Hunt*, by Rubens (No.16), is appropriate as far as the hunting theme is concerned, but in my opinion it must be dated earlier.<sup>47</sup> I shall argue here that most if not all of the remaining works to which the commission of 1639 related were in the *pieza ochavada* in 1666; my reasons for this view are both stylistic and iconographic.

The *pieza ochavada* was built in about 1645 on the spot where a tower previously stood.<sup>48</sup> Velázquez, who in 1647 was appointed 'veedor y contador de la fabrica de la pieza ochavada', made it one of the richest and finest rooms in the palace. Marble, jasper and gilding were used for the architectural elements, and several pieces of sculpture were displayed there, including the seven lifesize bronze *Planets* by Jacob Jonghelinck.<sup>49</sup> At the end of 1647 twenty black picture-frames were made: 8 at a rate of 3 reals a foot, and the others, evidently somewhat heavier, at 4 reals a foot.<sup>50</sup> The 20 paintings to which they belonged appear in the inventory of 1666. Three are there attributed to Van Dyck (*Bacchus and Nymphs*, *Mercury*, *Saturn*);<sup>1</sup> Rubens's four paintings of *Diana and Nymphs Hunting* and other scenes of hunting and warfare have been noted above as part of the set of eight hunting pictures. Rubens's *Boar Hunt* and *Diana hunting Deer*, measuring 2 x 5 varas, which were previously in the adjacent *salón nuevo*, are discussed as Nos.12 and 13: Rubens took them with him to Madrid in 1628. A *Hercules* and a *Diana* by Rubens will be discussed later, as well as a *Hercules and the Lion*, which is listed as anonymous in the inventory of 1666 but ascribed to Rubens in that of 1686.<sup>52</sup> The subjects of the

eight remaining pictures, which were smaller in size ( $\frac{1}{2} \times 1$  vara) and, as noted above, had lighter frames, are not specified in the inventory of 1666, but from that of 1686 we learn that they depicted 'the labours of Hercules and fables'.<sup>53</sup> I shall try to show that this Hercules series of eight pictures belonged to the same commission as the eight hunting scenes.

The disastrous fire of 1734 destroyed nearly all the paintings in the *pieza ochavada* except for some small ones which probably belonged to the Hercules series.<sup>54</sup> As far as I know these have never been seen again, but we can form an idea of some of them from copies by Mazo. In 1686 six copies by Mazo of Rubens's *Labours of Hercules* hung in the *pieza principal* of the Alcázar.<sup>55</sup> Unlike the originals, which were horizontal in shape, these copies were higher than they were broad: according to the inventory they measured  $\frac{2}{3} \times \frac{1}{2}$  vara. Three of the copies were in the rebuilt palace in 1794, measuring  $\frac{3}{4} \times$  over  $\frac{1}{2}$  vara (62.6 x over 41.75 cm.): these were *Hercules slaying the Centaur*, *Hercules and the Cretan Bull*, and *Hercules strangling the Lion*. The two latter have survived and are now in Apsley House, London (Figs.142, 141).<sup>56</sup> In the same inventory of 1794 another painting, listed with the three depicting exploits of Hercules, is described as 'a huntress plucking an arrow from a hart'.<sup>57</sup> The compiler mistook the figure's sex: it is evidently Cyparissus embracing his favourite stag, which he shot by accident.<sup>58</sup> This copy by Mazo of Rubens's *Cyparissus* has also survived: the canvas, with approximately the same measurements as the two Hercules scenes in Apsley House, was recently in a sale in Berlin (Fig.144).<sup>59</sup> Thus the *Cyparissus* was probably one of the 'fabulas' which, according to the inventory of 1686, belonged to the Hercules series in

the *pieza ochavada*.<sup>60</sup> Finally a fourth copy by Mazo, representing *Hercules and the Erymanthian Boar*, is in the Musée Magnin at Dijon (Fig. 143).<sup>61</sup>

From these copies by Mazo two things can be seen: the style of the figures is that of Rubens's latest period, and the animals that occur in all the compositions were probably painted, in the original versions, by Snyders. This is especially clear as regards Cyparissus' stag, which has the same head as the stag into which Actaeon is transformed in the canvas belonging to the eight-part hunting series, as we know it from the accurate copy at Nîmes (Fig. 115). As mentioned above, the original scenes of Hercules by Rubens that hung in the *pieza ochavada* were horizontal. In the Princes Gate Collection in London there is a drawn copy of Rubens's *Hercules and the Bull* which is likewise horizontal, having some additional elements on the right as compared with Mazo's copy in vertical format at Apsley House.<sup>62</sup>

In addition to the eight-part hunting series and the eight-part Hercules series, we need two more paintings to complete the total of 18. I shall suggest two alternative pairs which may qualify on one ground or another. The most likely, in my opinion, are the companion pictures of *Diana* and *Hercules*, which also hung in the *pieza ochavada*.<sup>63</sup> The inventories give us especially little help in identifying these: for instance, they do not state the height of the canvas. None the less it is highly probable that this *Hercules* is the one recorded in the 1794 inventory as being in the Buen Retiro; it is entitled 'Rubens—Hercules matando la serpiente' and measured  $1\frac{1}{4}$  varas broad by 3 varas high. This is *Hercules killing the Hydra*, which has not survived in the original but of which there is a copy by Mazo (Fig. 139).

This copy is of the same measurements as another by Mazo representing *Diana with a Falcon on her Wrist* (Fig. 140), and we may therefore suppose that the original of this *Diana*, measuring probably about  $3 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$  (or  $1\frac{1}{4}$ ) varas, hung in the *pieza ochavada* in 1666 alongside the original *Hercules killing the Hydra*.<sup>64</sup> The hounds in Mazo's copy of *Diana* are rather like those of Snyders, which supports the idea that the painting was one of the 18 commissioned from Rubens. Alpers thought, however, that *Hercules killing the Hydra* was originally part of the decorations for the Torre de la Parada. The subject is not mentioned in any known inventory of the Torre, and the format of the painting is quite different from that of the three Hercules scenes that did belong there. On the other hand it resembles that of other high, narrow canvases in the Torre, and the copies by Mazo are mentioned in 1686 in the same series as his copies after those canvases,<sup>65</sup> so that we cannot exclude the possibility that this *Hercules* and *Diana* were originally intended for the Torre de la Parada. However, some considerations tell against this. The oil sketch for *Hercules killing the Hydra* (Princes Gate Collection, London)<sup>66</sup> differs in style from the Torre sketches; its provenance cannot at present be linked with that of the other Torre sketches; its height is about the same as that of the sketches for the hunting series; the *Hercules* in the final picture, as we know it from the copy by Mazo (Fig. 139), is of a different type than in the three Hercules scenes in the Torre. Finally a copy drawing after this *Hercules killing the Hydra* is by the same hand as, and still forms a pendant to, the drawing after *Hercules and the Bull* in the Princes Gate Collection, mentioned above, which suggests that the two scenes belonged together from the outset.<sup>67</sup>



As an alternative to this pair of *Diana* and *Hercules*, two other paintings from the Alcázar may possibly have belonged to the set of 18. In 1666 there was in the *pieza ochavada*, besides the paintings mentioned above, a *Hercules strangling the Lion*; it was listed anonymously,<sup>68</sup> but we may very probably accept the attribution to Rubens in the 1686 inventory.<sup>69</sup> The work measured  $1\frac{1}{2} \times 2$  varas, and was thus of the same height as the eight-part hunting series. In the *pieza larga de las bóvedas*, where four of these hunting scenes remained, there was in 1666, 1686 and 1701-1703 a *Hercules slaying the Dragon* measuring  $\frac{2}{3} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$  varas, i.e. about the same height as the *Hercules* series in the *pieza ochavada*.<sup>70</sup> In metric terms this is equivalent to  $0.55.7 \times 104.4$  cm. Now there is in the Prado a *Hercules slaying the Dragon* (Fig. 137), with about these measurements, listed as a copy after Rubens, but which I think is an original.<sup>71</sup> The *Hercules strangling the Lion* has not survived; Held thought that Rubens's sketch of that subject in the collection of Charles Kuhn III (Fig. 138) was a preliminary study for it. The sketch is of approximately the same height as the sketches for the eight-part hunting series, and, as Held pointed out, there is also a stylistic resemblance, which is an important argument for assigning the composition to the set of 18.<sup>72</sup>

To sum up, the commission of 1639 for 18 paintings, to be executed jointly by Rubens and Snyders, may be reconstructed as follows: eight large, frieze-like paintings concerned hunting or related subjects; eight smaller works represented Labours of Hercules and one or more other 'fables'; and the other two were either a *Diana* and a *Hercules*, which would fit in with the general symmetry, or two pictures of Hercules. All 18 works were originally placed in the *bóvedas* of

the royal Alcázar at Madrid, but soon afterwards a new state apartment was built, the *pieza ochavada*, and most of the paintings were transferred there. The iconographic programme of the series was essentially preserved in the new location.

There is no doubt that the set of 18 paintings possessed a thematic unity, and the two foci of hunting and Hercules have more in common than might at first be thought. Hercules, the demi-god who had slain so many monsters and wild beasts, was a natural prototype of the courageous huntsman. He figures in this role in *Origen y dignidad de la caza*, published in 1634 by Juan Mateos, Philip IV's master of the royal hunt.<sup>73</sup> But his relevance was not confined to this. In all probability we should also bear in mind that he was currently regarded as a type of the ideal ruler, outstanding for his courage and virtue. Moreover the Spanish royal house identified with him in a special way: this is symbolized by Charles V's motto *Plus Ultra*, with the Pillars of Hercules, and Philip IV in his turn claimed the title *Hercules Hispanicus*. An important part of the decoration of the *sala de los reynos* in the Buen Retiro was the set of ten works depicting Hercules, commissioned from Zurbarán in 1634.<sup>74</sup> The significance of Rubens's Hercules series in the *pieza ochavada* of the Alcázar may well derive from the cult of the *Hercules Hispanicus* at Philip's court rather than from the more superficial connection between the demi-god and hunting. According to Ripa's *Iconologia*, Hercules, the lion- and dragon-slayer, stands for heroic virtue,<sup>75</sup> and the monsters subdued by him symbolize lower instincts such as lust, anger and greed. But the overcoming of such bestial impulses was also one of the beneficial effects of hunting, as claimed in all treatises.

tises on the subject. This is illustrated by an allegorical tapestry designed by Bernard van Orley, a version of which was in the Spanish royal collection. In this work (Fig.13), the last of the famous series *The Hunts of Maximilian*, the artist shows Idleness and Gluttony being trampled underfoot by King Modus and Queen Ratio, inventors of the art of hunting.<sup>76</sup> The example of Diana, who is so prominent in Rubens's hunting series, was also used to illustrate the value of hunting as a means of saving man from his lower impulses.<sup>77</sup> Perhaps the scene of *Nymphs attacked by Satyrs* (No.22; Fig.112) is to be interpreted in this context. The juxtaposition in the *pieza ochavada* of hunting scenes and Hercules' exploits may thus have been intended to allude to the value of hunting as a training in self-control.

But there is a further aspect. In the *sala de los reynos* in the Buen Retiro the Hercules series was linked with the depiction of celebrated feats of arms under Philip's reign. This was a reminder that Hercules' fights with monsters symbolized not only victory over oneself but also over external forces and enemies that threatened the kingdom. Here again there is a connection with hunting, which has been regarded since Xenophon as a training-school for war. A good huntsman was expected to be a good commander in the field and a ruler able to maintain peace in his own realm; this aspect was emphasized, in such treatises as that of Juan Mateos mentioned above.<sup>78</sup>

It seems evident that the combined theme of hunting and the exploits of Hercules was intended to glorify a prince who was also a huntsman. The passion of Philip IV for the chase is well known;<sup>79</sup> but I am inclined to think that the present series was designed to honour his son, the Infante Baltasar Carlos, and that

the occasion for it was a distinguished feat of arms, or rather hunting feat, by the latter.

In 1642 Charles-Philip de Marselaer published a text of 12 folio pages, dedicated to Olivares, on the subject of a hunting exploit by Baltasar Carlos; a full-page engraving (Fig.145) serves as frontispiece.<sup>80</sup> The wordy Latin inscription relates how, on 26 January 1638, the prince slew a boar and afterwards a bull in the hunting-ground of the Pardo. The writer compares these acts of bravery with the deeds of Hercules, Apollo and Theseus, who respectively subdued the boar, the python and the minotaur. The prince's intrepidity and skill in handling weapons of the chase proclaim him as the future ruler of the Spanish Empire who will tame and pacify the monsters of the age. (The Infante, however, died in 1646 at the age of sixteen.) He is styled 'Magnanimus Hispaniarum Hercules', and his ancestor's motto *Plus Ultra* is recalled. The engraving shows Philip IV, also in hunting costume, presenting his son with a shotgun.<sup>81</sup> A bleeding boar and a bull lie on the sand at the prince's feet, and a page advances from the right bearing Hercules' lion skin, whereon can be seen the Spanish royal arms. The cartouche in the centre, enclosing the text, is surmounted by busts of Diana and Mercury, with Minerva (or Bellona?) above them; Jupiter is seen in the sky on the left.

The subject of this publication presents a striking parallel with the iconography of the hunting and Hercules series, and the date of the prince's feat (26 January 1638) is not far removed from that of the paintings, which makes it reasonable to suppose that the two are connected. The further commemoration of the exploit in the publication of 1642 shows how much attention it aroused. The King himself

was much excited by it, as he wrote in a letter to his brother Ferdinand. The latter's answer is still extant: the King, he declared, was right to be proud of his small son, and he, Ferdinand, had scarcely been able to refrain from tears when he read the story. Velada and Mirabel had been amazed to hear it, and Thomas of Savoy was astonished that a boy of only nine was so courageous as to hunt the boar.<sup>82</sup> The publication of 1642 shows that the prince's feat became more than a mere matter of anecdote and that political importance was attached to it.<sup>83</sup> That being so, it seems justifiable to suppose that the 18 paintings of hunting scenes and exploits of Hercules were commissioned in honour of the young prince and his promising act of signal bravery.

1. Extracts from this correspondence, which runs from 20 November 1639 to 20 July 1641, were published by Justi after a copy in the provincial library at Toledo, and previously in the old archives of the Orders of Calatrava and Alcántara (*Justi, Velazquez*, II, pp.401-411). Justi also summarized the documents in a special article in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* in 1883 ('Rubens und der Cardinal Infant Ferdinand', republished in his *Miscellaneous aus drei Jahrhunderten spanischen Kunstlebens*, Berlin, 1908, II, pp.275-300). These excerpts, with some omissions, were also published with a French translation in *Rooses-Ruelens* (VI, pp.170-317, *passim*). Attempts to trace the original letters have so far been unsuccessful: see *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p.171.
2. As regards the paintings for the Torre de la Parada, see *Alpers, Torre*. My interpretation of the documents differs slightly from hers on pp.20-41. See also *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, pp.251-255 (especially for a defence of Snyders' participation).
3. Alpers believes that they were, on the ground that the consignment of paintings from Flanders which arrived in Madrid on 1 May, as testified by Monanni, secretary to the Tuscan embassy, was numbered at 112 works, which is very close to the total number of Flemish paintings said to be in the Torre de la Parada in 1700 (*Alpers, Torre*, pp.50-51). It remains possible, however, that some of these 112 pictures were intended for the Buen Retiro, as Monanni himself stated. (For the decoration of the Buen Retiro, and for the identification of the author of this statement as Monanni rather than

'Serrano', see *Brown-Elliott*, p.130). There is also a contradiction between Alpers' position here and her suggestion that the works by Snyders that were sent to Madrid later, on 11 December 1638, were also intended for the Torre de la Parada: these additional paintings would bring the total to more than 112. None the less, it seems to me likely that the pictures were indeed for the Torre: Snyders, who according to the Cardinal Infante was a slow worker, had probably not completed his task, as Rubens had, by April 1638. Thus I do not regard these works by Snyders as belonging to a separate commission.

4. *K.d.K.*, p.432; J. Brown and J. H. Elliott (op. cit., pp.130-131) believed that *The Judgement of Paris* was part of what I call the fifth commission (see below). But this work must have been commissioned some months earlier, as it was 'muy adelante' by 30 June 1638 (*Justi, Velazquez*, II, p.406, doc.20).
5. Alpers thought that Snyders' paintings referred to in n.3, which were despatched on 11 December 1638, were part of this commission (*Alpers, Torre*, pp.40-41). But this conflicts with Ferdinand's statement that Rubens was to execute *all* the paintings himself (*Justi, Velazquez*, II, p.406, doc.20). For the hypothesis that *The Battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs* belonged to this commission see below, n.62.
6. The letters relating to the sixth commission are as follows: *Justi, Velazquez*, II, docs. 28, 30-34, 36-41, 43, 45-47, pp.408-411 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, docs. DCCCLXX-DCCCLXXVI, DCCCLXXVIII, DCCCLXXXIII, DCCCLXXXVI, DCCCLXXXIV, CMI, CMIX, CMXXIV, CMXXVII-CMXXX).
7. 'Las pinturas para la bóveda de Palacio se harán luego...' (*Justi, Velazquez*, II, p.408, doc.28; *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p.232, doc.DCCCLXX). The correct meaning of *bóvedas* was first pointed out by Alpers (*Alpers, Torre*, pp.38-39); for the location of these apartments see also Mary Crawford Volk, 'Rubens in Madrid and the Decoration of the King's Summer Apartments', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXIII, 1981, p.514, fig.3). Rooses suggested that this new commission may have been also for the Torre de la Parada (*Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p.233), but this is not tenable.
8. '... y ya están hechos todos los dibujos de mano de Rubens, y se repartirán como á él y á Esneyre pareciere' (*Justi, Velazquez*, II, p.408, doc.30; *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p.236, doc.DCCCLXXII). Held took this sentence literally and interpreted it to mean that Rubens and Snyders had distributed the sketches among a number of assistants who were then responsible for the execution of the large canvasses, as had been the case with the paintings for the Torre de la Parada. (*Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.305.) In my opinion, however, Ferdinand's statement meant that Rubens and Snyders would divide the work (not the sketches) between them-

- selves (not with others). This interpretation is supported by the sentence quoted in the following note.
9. 'Todas son de su [i.e. Rubens] mano y de Esneyre, del uno las figuras y paisés y del otro los animales' (*Justi, Velazquez*, II, p.408, doc. 21; *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p.237, doc. DCCCLXXIII).
  10. The sums were paid to Francisco de Contreras y Rojas, 'Garde Joyaux de Son Alteze', who was to use them to settle with Rubens and Snyders: 'pour estre lesdits deniers par luy employez au payement de dix huit peintures que par ordre de sa Majesté se font en la ville d'anvers, par les peintres Rubbens et Sneyders'. The total agreed on was 10,000 Flemish pounds, a quarter to be paid in advance and the remaining quarters at three-month intervals. The first payment did not take place in accordance with the agreement, however: only after three months, on 7 February 1640, did Francisco de Rojas receive the first 5,000 pounds; on 14 May he received a further 2,500, and the final payment was made to him on 10 November 1640. These documents were published by J. Finot, 'Documents relatifs à Rubens conservés aux Archives du Nord', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, III, 1888, pp.131-132; collated afresh in *Alpers, Torre*, pp.286-288, *Appendix I*, docs.5, 6 and 8 (Lille, *Archives Départementales du Nord*, B.3020, fols.581-581<sup>v</sup>, 619<sup>v</sup>, 653<sup>v</sup>-654).
  11. 'Con el primero [i.e. correo] que partiere por tierra irán ocho que están ya acabadas y secas, y muy presto seguirán las otras diez...' (*Justi, Velazquez*, II, p.409, doc. 37; *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p.248, doc.DCCCLXXXIII).
  12. Same letter, 10 January 1640: 'Con todo hemos pedido ya pasaporte para las grandes, pues los correos no las pueden llevar'.
  13. 'Las 10 que faltan para cumplimiento de las 18 están ya en mi aposento, pero por ser algunas grandes no pueden ir con el correo, que así irán todas juntas' (*Justi, Velazquez*, II, p.410, doc.41; *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p.294, doc.CMIX).
  14. 'Las que están acabadas irán con los correos, como V.M. me manda, aunque algunas son de tamaño de no las poder llevar, así esperan á ir con las demás y el pasaporte' (*Justi, Velazquez*, II, p.410, doc.43; *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p.310, doc.CMXXIV).
  15. 'Las pinturas parten mañana, siendo Dios servido, y envío á V.M. la relacion de todas las que van, deseando infinito sean del gusto de V.M.' (*Justi, Velazquez*, II, p.411, doc.46; *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p.315, doc.CMXXIX). Philip IV was very pleased with the paintings, as may be seen from Ferdinand's letter of 2 June 1641: 'Huelgo mucho que las pinturas hayan sido del gusto de V.M.' (*Justi, Velazquez*, II, p.411, doc.47; *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p.316, doc.CMXXX). At that date one of the large paintings for the *salón nuevo* was still in the Netherlands, unfinished.
  16. 'Note communiqué par Mr. Alfred Weil sur les peintures exécutées soit seul, soit avec la collaboration de Snyders pour le roi Philippe IV', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, III, 1888, pp.142-144. Several paintings may certainly be deleted from Weil's list. *Nymphs Hunting*, by Rubens and Snyders, measuring 2 x 5 varas, is one of those that Rubens took to Madrid in 1628 (here as No.13). As to *Allegory of Air* and *Allegory of Fire* (Prado, Nos.1716 and 1717), the style of these works is not that of Rubens's late years (if they are at all by Rubens), and the collaborator seems to me to be Paul de Vos rather than Snyders.
  17. Madrid, Archivo de Palacio, Sección Administrativa, Bellas Artes, leg.38, fol.18<sup>v</sup>; in the same location in 1686 and 1701-1703 (see *Bottineau, Alcázar*, 1958, p.306, Nos.674-677; *Inventarios reales, Carlos II*, I, p.54, No.365). Listed by Cruzada Villaamil as Nos.28, 29 and 30 of the lost paintings (*Cruzada Villaamil, Rubens*, pp.323-324; this author wrongly gives the height as 13/4 varas).
  18. 'Una pintura des tres varas y media de largo vara y media de alto diana con sus ninfas cazando de Rubenes y Esneile 150 dus—Otras tres del mismo tamaño de caza y guerras de Rubenes a 150 dus' (Madrid, Archivo de Palacio, Sección Administrativa, Bellas Artes, leg.38, fol.55); in the same location in 1686 and 1701-1703 (see *Bottineau, Alcázar*, 1958, p.58, Nos.166-169; *Inventarios reales, Carlos II*, I, p.21, Nos.27, 28). Listed by Cruzada Villaamil as Nos.13 and 15-17 of the lost paintings (*Cruzada Villaamil, Rubens*, pp.315-318). The measurements in the inventories are only approximately correct: probably all eight pictures were of the same height (c.125 cm.), but they evidently varied in breadth.
  19. Alpers (*Torre*, p.39) already took the view that the four paintings in the *bóvedas* and the four in the *pieza ochavada* belonged to the commission of 1639. Alfred Weil (loc. cit.) was of the same opinion as regards five of them.
  20. Cruzada Villaamil already identified this canvas as one of the paintings by Rubens and Snyders which hung in the *pieza larga de las bóvedas* in 1666 (*Cruzada Villaamil, Rubens*, p.324, under Nos.28-30).
  21. Alpers (p.39) was the first to connect this *Bear Hunt* with the series. Following Cruzada Villaamil (p.316, under No.13) she believed that a *Diana Hunting*, now on loan from the Prado to the University of Barcelona, was a copy by Mazo after the *Diana and Nymphs Hunting* in the present series (Prado, No.346-P; canvas, 107 x 160 cm.; see *Alpers, Torre*, p.40, fig.4; *Bottineau, Alcázar*, 1958, p.58, under No.166; *Diaz Padrón, Cat. Prado*, I, p.326, No.346-P; II, pl.204; *Orso, Planet King*, p.195, fig.74). It is highly doubtful, however, whether this painting is a copy of a Rubens composition: the human figures are very awkwardly drawn and unlike Rubens, and the work seems to me to be a bad copy after a composition by Snyders, unskillfully enlarged on the right.

22. *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, pp.305-306.
23. Perhaps it was these sketches, and the copies referred to in n.24 that were already in Paris in 1642. See the letter (1642?) from Geerard van Opstal in Paris to Musson in Antwerp: 'Hier is eenen Wal daer frer Lowies den dikhalsieaet allen de scessen aen leende, die schildert hier Jachten, isstoiren naer Men heer Rubben scessen soo dat ick vrees dat hyer de klat in brenckt want hye gefse goeden koop...' (*Denucé, Na Rubens*, p.9, doc.15).
24. The original sketches for all the compositions discussed here have survived, except *Diana and Nymphs attacked by Satyrs* (No.22). They are all painted on panel and measure c.24 × 52 cm., except the sketch for the *Bull Hunt* (No.26a), which is considerably larger (35.2 × 64.6 cm.). Two of these original sketches, viz. *Diana hunting Fallow Deer* (No.21a) and *The Death of Actaeon* (No.23a), are still together; the others are dispersed. Several if not all of these sketches were evidently enlarged soon after they left Rubens's studio; in some of the panels this can be seen from old photographs (in most cases the added strips have been removed again, except for *The Death of Adonis* (No.24a); narrow strips have also remained added to Nos. 20a and 27a). Three (incomplete) sets of copies show them in their extended form. Two pendants formerly in the Komter collection are closest to the originals: *The Death of Silvia's Stag*, No.25a, Copy (1), and *The Calydonian Boar Hunt*, No.20a, Copy (2); other compositions in this series presumably existed but are not known. Both the Komter copies seem to have been copied in their turn in the form of separate works (*The Death of Silvia's Stag*, No.25a, Copy [2], and *The Calydonian Boar Hunt*, No.20a, Copy [3]), which can on stylistic grounds be assigned to the same series as two panels that were formerly pendants in the Pitt-Rivers collection (*Bear Hunt*, No.27a, Copy, and *The Death of Adonis*, No.24a, Copy [2]). A third copy of *The Calydonian Boar Hunt*, formerly in a private collection at Oslo (No.20a, Copy [4]; probably made from No.20a, Copy [3]), most probably belonged to the same series as two pendants formerly in another Oslo collection (*Diana hunting Fallow Deer*, No.21a, Copy [2]; *The Death of Adonis*, No.24a, Copy [3]). Besides these three sets of copies which represent the sketches in their enlarged form, there are two more copies which must originally have belonged together and which show the original state of the sketches (*The Calydonian Boar Hunt*, No.20a, Copy [1], and *The Death of Adonis*, No.24a, Copy [1]). These two copies are in a very personal and characteristic hand; they too were subsequently enlarged, but not in the same way as the original sketches. Finally there are several individual copies that do not fit into this classification.
25. *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.309, under No.224, pp.310-311, under No.226.
26. These five compositions are as follows: *The Calydonian Boar Hunt* (No.20, Copy [12]; Fig.107); *Diana hunting Fallow Deer* (No.21, Copy [9]; Fig.109); *The Death of Adonis* (No.24, Copy [9]; Fig.121); *Bull Hunt* (No.26, Copy [18]; Fig.127); and *Bear Hunt* (No.27, Copy [6]; Fig.135). For this tapestry series see *Birk, Inventar*, p.242, No.XXXVI, 1-7; *Baldass, Gobelinsammlung*, Nos.181-187 (repr.); *Duverger, Tapijten naar Rubens*, pp.138-149; *Bauer, Veränderungen*, pp.134-135, 140, No.XXXVI, 2-7, figs.135-140.
27. All tapestries after compositions by Rubens are in the same direction as the original paintings. The tapestry of *Huntsman and Hounds* is a nearly exact reversal of Jordaens's painting dated 1635, in the Musée des Beaux-Arts at Lille (see *Cat. Exh. Paris, 1977-1978*, pp.108-109, No.69, repr.; R.-A. d'Hulst, *Jacob Jordaens*, Brussels, 1982, p.145, fig.118). Only this last tapestry is still in Vienna; the others have not come to light since the Second World War.
28. Baldass (loc. cit.) stated that these tapestries were purchased by the court of Vienna in 1666, but gave no source for the information. The relevant document will shortly be published by E. Duverger in *Artes Textiles*, XI.
29. E. Duverger suggested that the cartoons for the tapestry series in Vienna are those referred to in the Fourment-Van Hecke inventory of 5 June 1643 as 'achtenvyftich rollen van geschilderde patroonen van Jachte van beesten' (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p.113); but the designer is not mentioned, so this identification is far from certain (*Duverger, Tapijten naar Rubens*, p.139; repeated by Nora De Poorter, *The Eucharist Series, (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, II)*, Brussels-London-Philadelphia, I, 1978, p.141, n.29).
30. *Journal van Constantijn Huygens, den zoon*, (Werken uitgegeven door het Historisch Genootschap gevestigd te Utrecht, new series, XXXII), IV, Utrecht, 1881, pp.174, 178. Rooses did not accept this attribution to Rubens (M. Rooses, *Jordaens' leven en werken*, Amsterdam-Antwerp, 1906, p.7). The connection with the Vienna tapestries was first noted by Jean Gessler in his commentary on Huygens' *Journal* in *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, 1933, p.14, n.3. The 'doyen des fripiers' referred to by Huygens was Jan Heck, senior dean in the guild year 1675-1676: I owe this information to Dr. J. van Roey, of the Antwerp city archives.
31. Burchard thought that another edition of this set of tapestries might be identified in Jan-Baptist Borrekens' inventory of 22 June 1668: 'Inde groote Camer aende straete beneden: Rontsomme behangen met costelycke tapisseryen, lantschappen van Focqueen, de figueren naer Rubens, de lochten vol syde, ende de rest meest syde, costende achten hondert guldens' (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p.254). Since two paintings of hunting scenes hung in the same room ('Een schouwstuck, een jacht met honden, van Snyders'. 'De schouwdoeck, een jacht met figuren, d'ordonnantie van Rubens'), it is possible, but not certain, that this item does indeed refer to

- tapestries of the chase. However, the mention of Jacob Fouquier (d. 1659) as the designer of the landscapes makes it less probable, in my opinion, that the compositions are those we are concerned with here. (The landscapes were already provided in Rubens's paintings, and the cartoon painter had only to work them up more fully and to a greater height; I find it hard to suppose that Fouquier, who lived in Paris, was enlisted for this purpose). Since the tapestry series formerly in Vienna was ordered by the Emperor Leopold it may be that the cartoons were the work of his court painter, Jan Thomas van Yperen, who certainly knew these compositions: see p.222 and p.241, n.5.
32. J. Denucé, *Kunstuitvoer in de 17e eeuw te Antwerpen. De firma Forchoudt, (Bronnen voor de geschiedenis van de Vlaamsche kunst, I)*, Antwerp, 1931, p.104.
  33. 'De Jachten van Cosyn Regelbruggen meeten als volgt: een stuck 9 e., stierenjacht—8 $\frac{1}{2}$  e., hertejacht, 8 e., de verkenjacht Meliaer—6 $\frac{3}{4}$  e., de beerenjacht—6 $\frac{3}{4}$  e., de leuwenjacht—5 e., noch een verkenjacht van Adonis' (J. Denucé, *Antwerpsche tapijtkunst en handel, (Bronnen voor de geschiedenis van de Vlaamsche kunst, IV)*, Antwerp—The Hague, 1936, p.321).
  34. *Ibid.*, p.322.
  35. *Ibid.*, p.335.
  36. 'Memoire pour Mons<sup>r</sup> Leviwerker des tapisseries suivantes qui mesurent et portent comme s'ensuit: Premièrement une tenture en 6 pieces, representent des Chasses après Rubbens, mesurent et portent: une piece de 9 a. de longueur, la Chasse du teurau—8 $\frac{1}{2}$  a., la Chasse du Cherf—8 a., la Chasse du Sanglier—6 $\frac{3}{4}$  a., la Chasse des Ours—6 $\frac{3}{4}$  a., la Chasse de Lion—5 a., la Chasse d'Adonis. Ensemble 44 a. de tours, et 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  a. d'hauteur, fons 242 a. et à f. 16 l'aune porte, estant fine fabrique d'Anvers porte—f. 3872' (*ibid.*, p.341). That this list, which includes six other sets of tapestries, was intended for Pallavicini can be inferred from Nauelaerts's answer of 22 February 1708: 'Reponse pour Mon<sup>r</sup> Leviwerck, touchant les tapisseries demandees par le comte de Pallavisini, ...' (*ibid.*, p.349).
  37. *Ibid.*, pp.369, 370.
  38. These remained in Vienna till before the Second World War: see Birk, *Inventar*, p.245, No.XXXIX, 1-3; Bauer, *Veränderungen*, p.192, No.XXXIX, 1-3, figs.141-143.
  39. Only in the case of the *Bull Hunt* (No.26) do I know of no copies that belong to this stylistically coherent group.
  40. See p.241, n.5.
  41. Denucé, *Na Rubens*, p.275, doc.321. The same consignment included 'I ditto verckens Jagcht van Atalanta et Milagaer naer Rubbens ... gl.64', and a *Diana Resting* after Rubens.
  42. A possible indication that copies after this late hunting series were made in Rubens's studio can be found in some items of the accounts relating to Rubens's estate in 1645, which record the sale of unfinished hunting pictures: 'XLVI. Item vercocht aenden heer Commis Maes, tot Brussel, de vier naevolgende stucken, noch nyet heel opgemaekt, te wetene, een *Jachte van Adonis*, voor negenthien ponden vlems, comt in gl. 114.—. XLVII. Noch een *Jachte van Satyrs ende nimphen*, voor thien ponden vlems, comt ... 60.—. XLVIII. Een ander *Jachte van Atalanta*, sesse ponden vlems, comt ... 36.—.' (*Génard, Nalatenschap*, p.86). That these paintings were unfinished is evidently the reason why they were not included in the sale catalogue of Rubens's collection in 1640.
  43. Frans Wouters (1612-1659/1660) was a member of Rubens's studio in 1634-1635. In August 1641 he and two colleagues were sent to value the master's collection at Het Steen, Elewijt; on this occasion he may well also have had access to the Antwerp studio. For Wouters's life and work see Glück, *Rubens, Van Dyck*, pp.222-242.
  44. It is unlikely, though not impossible, that Rubens originally intended to include a *Hawking Party* in this hunting series (see above, p.198, n.10).
  45. The term 'guerras' (battle scenes), which occurs in the inventory of 1666 (see n.18 above), could for example refer to *The Death of Silvia's Stag* (No.25) in which a fight is depicted.
  46. These still-lives are listed as Nos.9, 38 and 39 of the lost works in *Cruzada Villaamil, Rubens*, pp.312-313, 328-329. The inventory of 1666 also records a number of animal and hunting scenes by Snyders alone, but these are not relevant here as there is nothing to show that Rubens had any part in them. The same inventory ascribes to Rubens a painting of 1 x 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  varas representing 'unas jaurias y liebres' (hounds and hares; see *Cruzada Villaamil, Rubens*, p.327, No.37). I presume this is the painting by Paul de Vos now in the Palacio de Riofrio (reproduced in *Reales sitios*, II, No.9, 1966, p.26). In later inventories various hunting pictures that are probably by Snyders or De Vos are attributed to Rubens: e.g. a *Fox Hunt* and a *Fox and Deer Hunt* (Bottineau, *Alcázar*, 1958, p.454, Nos.935 and 936). This is particularly so in the inventories of 1794, especially that of the Buen Retiro. Brown-Elliott (p.221) state that the Zarzuela hunting lodge was decorated with hunts and landscapes from Rubens's studio. In the inventory of 1703 (see the transcription in the Prado library) no authors are listed for these paintings, but to judge from the descriptions they were hunts and animal scenes in the tradition of Snyders and Paul de Vos; if so, the term 'Rubens's studio' is not quite appropriate.
  47. But see also n.83.
  48. For the *pieza ochavada* see Y. Bottineau, 'A Portrait of Queen Mariana in the National Gallery', *The Burlington Magazine*, XCVII, 1955, pp.114-116; Bottineau, *Alcázar*, 1958, pp.55-61 (for the 1686 inventory); J.-M. de Azcárate, 'Noticias sobre Velázquez en la corte', *Archivo español de arte*, XXXIII, 1960, pp.367-372; F. Iñiguez Almech, 'La Casa del Tesoro, Velázquez y las obras reales', in *Varia*

- Velaqueña, Madrid, 1900, I, pp.662, 670-681; *Diaç Padrón, Cacería*, p.146, n.64; Orso, *Planet King*, pp.190-201, 275-276 (for the 1666 inventory).
49. For these seven bronzes, now in the Palacio de Oriente at Madrid, see Justí, *Velaqueña*, I, p.344 and II, p.402, doc.5; *Brown—Elliott*, p.109. Bert Meijer pointed out that they are by Jonghelinck ('The re-emergence of a Sculptor: eight Lifesize Bronzes by Jacques Jonghelinck', *Oud Holland*, XCIII, 1979, pp.116-135; the provenance indicated by Meijer must probably be slightly modified in the light of the documents cited by Justí and by Brown and Elliott).
50. Azcárate, *op. cit.*, p.372.
51. In the 1686 inventory the *Mercury* and *Saturn* are attributed to Rubens, and in 1701-1703 they are described as copies after Rubens (*Bottineau, Alcázar*, 1958, p.57, Nos.164 and 165). Alpers thinks they are copies of works in the Torre de la Parada (*Alpers, Torre*, p.234, No.39, copy [2], and p.260, No.55, copy [2]). They cannot have been copies by Mazo, since in that case he would have said so in the 1666 inventory, compiled by himself. Azcárate (*loc. cit.*) says that Mazo was paid for 6 paintings for the *pieza ochavada*, but according to the 1666 inventory there was no work by him in that apartment.
52. *Bottineau, Alcázar*, 1958, p.59, No.181.
53. *Bottineau (Bottineau, Alcázar*, 1958, p.58, under Nos.170-177) and Orso (*Orso, Planet King*, p.194) say that these 8 pictures do not yet appear in the 1666 inventory, and they are also not in the transcriptions in the Prado library or in *Cruzada Villamil, Rubens* (p.331, under Nos.42-48). On the original document, however, they appear as: 'Otra de bara de largo y media de bara de ancho y en todas sus ocho a cincuenta) dus cadauna de Rubens' (Madrid, Archivo de Palacio, Sección Administrativa, Bellas Artes, leg.38, fol.55). In 1686 they are recorded as 'Ocho Pinturas de à vna vara de largo y media vara de ancho iguales de mano de Rubens de las fuerças de Ercules y fabulas' (*Bottineau, loc. cit.*). Rooses thought these pieces might have been part of the Torre commission, but Alpers rightly disputes this (*Rooses*, III, Nos.525-532; *Alpers, Torre*, pp.49-50, and 274-277).
54. Jean Ranc wrote in his memorandum: 'On a sauvé de la pièce octogone qui étoit de l'École de Rubens 3 ou 4 petits tableaux' (*Bottineau, Alcázar*, 1958, p.59).
55. 'Seis quadritos de à media vara de ancho y dos tercias de alto en las entrebentanas de las fuerzas de Ercules de la misma mano [i.e. Juan Baup<sup>ta</sup> del mazo] y copias de Rubenes marcos negros' (*Bottineau, Alcázar*, 1958, p.452, Nos.917-922. In the same location in 1701-1703 (*Inventarios reales, Carlos II*, I, p.30, No.537).
56. Both on canvas, 70 x 48 and 70 x 49 cm. respectively. These works were captured from Joseph Bonaparte by the future Duke of Wellington at Vitoria in 1813; see Evelyn Wellington, *A Descriptive & Historical Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures and Sculpture at Apsley House, London*, London, 1901, I, pp.199, 220, Nos.75 and 55 (as *School of Rubens*); C.M.Kauffmann, *Catalogue of Paintings in the Wellington Museum*, London, 1982, pp.125-127, Nos.157 and 158, repr.
57. This set of four paintings is listed among the 'pinturas descolgadas en palacio': 'Quatro quadros de tres quartas de alto y mas de media vara de ancho—Hercules sugetando al toro—matando al centauro—desquijarando el leon—vna cazadora que quita una flecha a vn venado—manera de Rubens—4.200' (quoted after the transcription in the Prado library of the 1794 inventory).
58. Alpers rightly judged that this *Cyparissus*, which she only knew from the sketch in the Musée Bonnat at Bayonne, was not part of the decoration of the Torre de la Parada (*Alpers, Torre*, pp.273-294, fig.197). I held, on the other hand, thought it was (*Held, Oil Sketches*, I, pp.268-269, No.181, and II, pl.190).
59. Canvas, 62 x 48 cm.; sold in Berlin (Leo Spik), 4-5 April 1973, No.326, pl.3 (as *Paul de Ves*).
60. See n.53 above. A painting of 'a huntsman shooting at a bear', which Ponz in the 18th century saw together with Mazo's copy (?) of *Cyparissus* in the apartments of the Count of Altamira at the Buen Retiro, may also have belonged to this series: 'Del [gusto] de Rubens son quatro quadritos, de Atalante, de Vulcano trabajando rayos, de un Cazador, que saca una flecha à una cierva, y de otro que dispara à un oso' (A.Ponz, *Viage de España*, 3rd edn., VI, Madrid, 1793, p.137).
61. Canvas, 65.7 x 48.5 cm.; cat. coll. Magnin, 1922, No.162, repr. I know of no further copies by Mazo after Hercules scenes of this series. A sheet of studies by Rubens with different representations of Hercules may be connected with this series (*Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, No.190r.).
62. This drawing (250 x 358 mm.) was regarded by Count Anton Seilern as a copy by Rubens himself after a composition which was part of the Torre decoration; according to Seilern, the autograph copy was intended as a modello for a woodcut that was never executed ([A.Seilern], *Flemish Paintings & Drawings at 56 Princes Gate London SW7, Addenda*, London, 1909, pp.62-63, No.326, pl.XLI, and see also pp.60-61, under No.325). Alpers considered the drawing, rightly I believe (but see also n.67), to be a copy by an unknown hand (*Alpers, Torre*, pp.278-279, fig.200), and she did not regard it as belonging to the Torre series. However, a preliminary study for this *Hercules and the Bull* is found on a sheet of studies for *The Battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs*, which did form part of the Torre decoration, and this requires some explanation (Farnham, coll. Wolfgang Burchard; *Alpers, Torre*, pp.230-231, No.37a, fig.137). It may mean that this *Battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs* was part of the commission of 30 June 1638,—very

- close to the date of the order for the 18 pieces we are concerned with here—for works to be painted by Rubens himself, i.e. what I have called the 'fifth commission': see p.218.
63. 'Otras dos pinturas de bara y media de largo de hercules y diana a sesanta dus. cada de mano de Rubenes' (inventory of 1666; Madrid, Archivo de Palacio, Sección Administrativa, Bellas Artes, leg. 38, fol. 55v.); in the same location in 1686 (Bottineau, *Alcázar*, 1958, p.58, Nos.179 and 180), and in 1701-1703 (*Inventarios reales*, *Carlos II*, I, p.21, No.31); listed as Nos.20 and 21 of the lost works in *Cruzada Villaamil*, *Rubens*, pp.319-320. Burchard suggested that 'Diana' here was a corruption of 'Deianira' and that the works in question were identical with the pair representing *Deianira* and *Hercules in the Garden of the Hesperides*, now in the Palazzo Durazzo-Adorno at Genoa, or were copies after them (these paintings are reproduced in A. Morassi, 'Alcune opere di Rubens a Genova', *Emporium*, Bergamo, May 1947, pp.186-193). This seems to me improbable.
64. Both copies by Mazo are in the Prado at Madrid. *Diana*: canvas, 119 × 49 cm.; *Diaz Padrón*, *Cat. Prado*, I, No.1725, pp.333-334, and II, pl.211. This author identified Rubens's original of this composition with another work in the 1686 inventory, measuring 1 × 1/2 varas (Bottineau, *Alcázar*, 1958, p.476, No.1484; this identification is possible, but my hypothesis seems to me more likely). *Hercules killing the Hydra*: canvas, 117 × 49 cm.; *Diaz Padrón*, *Cat. Prado*, I, No.1710, pp.331-332, and II, pl.209; *Alpers*, *Torre*, pp.219-220, No.30, copy (1), fig.118.
65. 'Otras seis quadros de 4 vara y media de alto y dos tercias de ancho tambien en las entrebentanas marcos negros, Los dos de Eraclito y Democrito filosofos—vno de Ercules matando la Ydra de siete Cauzas y los tres restantes de Mercurio, Saturno, y Diana copias de Rubenes de mano del dho Juan Bautista de mazo' (Bottineau, *Alcázar*, 1958, p.452, Nos.923-928).
66. Panel, 22.5 × 10.5 cm.; inscribed upper right: N<sup>o</sup>-9. See *Alpers*, *Torre*, p.220, No.30a, fig.120; *Held*, *Oil Sketches*, I, p.278, No.192; II, pl.201 (as part of the Torre de la Parada).
67. A. Seilern, op. cit. (n.62 above), pp.60-61, No.325, pl.XL. Seilern believed this to be an autograph copy by Rubens after a composition for the Torre de la Parada; *Alpers*, rightly in my opinion, described it as a copy by an unknown hand (*Alpers*, *Torre*, p.220, n.30, copy [2], fig.119). In my opinion, however, it would be wrong to reject Seilern's hypothesis that this drawing and its companion, *Hercules and the Bull* (see n.62 above) were intended as modelli for a woodcut. Both drawings were first executed in black chalk by a very feeble hand; a skilled draughtsman then took over and redrew the whole in wet charcoal, washed with the wet tip of the brush and animated with highlights of white body-colour. The *Hercules killing the Hydra* was entirely reworked in this way, and it must be wondered what purpose the elaborate detail served if it was not for a woodcut or engraving. In *Hercules and the Bull* the second draughtsman had only retouched the figure of the hero and the bull's head when the work was halted, and it is therefore not surprising that no prints of these compositions have come down to us. I would not attribute the skilled reworking of this drawing to Rubens himself: the *ductus* seems to me too smooth for his work, and the highlights, though well placed, too dull. Can he have commissioned Erasmus Quellin to prepare these compositions for the engraver? (It will be recalled that Quellin performed this service for Rubens on several occasions in this period: cf. J.R. Judson and C. Van de Velde, *Book Illustrations and Title-Pages [Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, XXI]*, Brussels-London, 1978, I, p.31). And was the project abandoned because of Rubens's death soon after?
68. 'Otra de dos de largo y vara y media de alto de hercules luchando con un leon en cient dus. de plata' (Madrid, Archivo de Palacio, Sección Administrativa, Bellas Artes, leg.38, fol.55v.).
69. Bottineau, *Alcázar*, 1958, p.59, No.181. It was in the same place in 1700: *Inventarios reales*, *Carlos II*, I, p.21, No.32, and was listed as No.51 of the lost works in *Cruzada Villaamil*, *Rubens*, p.332.
70. Bottineau, *Alcázar*, 1958, p.306, No.673; *Inventarios reales*, *Carlos II*, I, p.54, No.364; *Cruzada Villaamil*, *Rubens*, p.331, No.49 (with a wrong identification as regards the inventory of 1794).
71. *Diaz Padrón*, *Cat. Prado*, I, p.332, No.1711, and II, pl.210. Sr. Matías Díaz Padrón kindly re-measured the canvas for me: the dimensions are 65 × 102 cm., not 65 × 156 cm. as stated in his catalogue. It should be noted that no copy of this composition by Mazo is mentioned in the royal inventories. As *Alpers* suggested, Mazo's copy, described in the 1686 inventory as 'otro que parece Ercules con vna acha encendida en la mano', is probably not the composition here in question, as Bottineau thought, but a copy after the *Prometheus* of the Torre de la Parada (see Bottineau, *Alcázar*, 1958, p.452, No.904; *Alpers*, *Torre*, p.255, No.52, copy).
72. Panel, 23 × 39.2 cm.; *Held*, *Oil Sketches*, I, pp.311-312, No.227, and II, pl.230. The relation between this sketch and that of the same composition in the Musée Jacquemart-André in Paris (*Held*, *Oil Sketches*, No.242, pl.276; 22.3 × 31.4 cm.) is in my opinion not satisfactorily explained. *Held* accepts both as by Rubens, but the existence of very faithful copies of the sketches for the hunting series here discussed is an argument for caution. The *pentimenti* in the sketch in Paris are, in any case, an argument for its authenticity.
73. 'La Caça fue la Academia de Hercules...', as the Introduction puts it (quoted by Orso, *Planet King*, p.278).
74. For this series and for the honour paid to Hercules



- at the Spanish court see J. Brown and J. H. Elliott, *A Palace for a King. The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV*, New Haven-London, 1980, pp. 156-161. For the *Hercules Hispanicus* see also G. Bruck, 'Habsburger als "Herculier"', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, L (N.F. XIV), 1953, pp. 191-198; D. Angulo Iniguez, *La mitología y el arte español del renacimiento*, Madrid, 1952, pp. 65-74; E. McGrath, 'Rubens's Arch of the Mint', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXVII, 1974, p. 198.
75. C. Ripa, *Iconologia*, Padua, 1611, p. 537, s.v. *Virtú Heroica Nella Medaglia di Geta*.
76. For the interpretation of this tapestry see *Balis, Jachten van Maximiliaan*, pp. 32-39.
77. This, for instance, is the theme of the emblem 'Labor omnia vincit improbus' in the collection *Parvus mundus* by L. Haechtmanus, first published in 1579 (A. Henkel and A. Schöne, *Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, 1976, cols. 1747-1748). The Dutch poet Vondel makes the same point in *Den gulden winkel der kunstlievende Nederlanden* (1613) under the motto 'Diana's vlijt verwint de liefde', showing that Diana while she follows the chase is immune to Cupid's darts; in opposition to her zeal is the sin of sloth, giving rise to 'vice and all manner of evil' (Vondel, *Volledige dichtwerken en oorspronkelijk proza*, ed. by Verwey, Amsterdam, 1937, p. 29, No. XII). This thought is already found in Ovid's *Remedia amoris* (199-200): 'Tu venandi studium cole: saepe recessit / Turpiter a Phoebi victa sorore Venus'. See now also E. McGrath, 'Pan and the Wool', *The Ringling Museum of Art Journal*, I, 1983, pp. 52-53.
78. 'La Dignidad deste noble exercicio se conoce facilmente, por ser propria accion de Reyes, y Principes, y el Maestro mas docto que puede enseñar mejor el Arte militar teorica y practicamente. Los Bosques son las escuelas, los enemigos las fieras; y assi con razon es llamado la Caça viaua imagen de la guerra...' (quoted by Orso, *Planet King*, pp. 277-278). The link between hunting and military prowess is also represented in a print by Jan Saenredam showing Maurice of Nassau offering spoils of the chase to a personification of *Belgica foederata* (*Wurzbach*, II, p. 544, No. 10; W. A. Baillie-Grohman, *Sport in Art*, 2nd. edn., [London, 1919], p. 170, fig. 107).
79. On Philip IV and the cult of hunting in general see *Alpers, Torre*, pp. 101-104, 122-128.
80. *Serenissimi Hispaniarum principis Balthasaris Caroli venatio, sive bellicae fortitudinis praeludia, nono aetatis anno data, icone et stylo, illustrata... Gaspari de Gusman... dedicata* (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I, No. II 39847D). In 1642 300 copies were printed by Balthasar Moretus II and paid for by Frederik de Marselaer (*Roses*, V, pp. 101-102). The engraving is by Cornelis Galle I. Voorhelm Schneevoogt attributed the design to Rubens (V.S., p. 144, No. 67), which *Roses* rightly disputed; it might perhaps be ascribed to Abraham van Diepenbeeck.
81. As a sign that the prince was carrying on the hunting tradition: the King himself had been a keen hunter from his earliest youth: 'De tierna edad admancaua los laualies con tanta destreza, que era admiracion de los que lo veian', wrote Juan Mateos (quoted by Orso, *Planet King*, pp. 279-280).
82. Letter from Ferdinand (Brussels) to Philip IV, 6 April 1638: 'No me espanta S<sup>e</sup>. de que V.M. esté caduco (come se sirve de decirme) con los tiros del Principe pues con sola la relacion dellos he llorado yo de ternura, oyendo su desembarazzo y buca maña, Dios le bendiga y g<sup>de</sup>., que cierto es cosa rara en sus años. A Velada y Mirabel lei el capitulo de la carta de S.M. y quedaron locos, y el principe Thomas estraño mucho que de tan pocos años se atrevese á tirar al jabalí' (*Justi, Velázquez*, II, p. 419, doc. 17). This passage clearly refers to the same feat as that commemorated in the 1642 publication. Another point of contact between the latter and Ferdinand's correspondence is the portrait of the young prince: the designer of the engraving probably used the portrait by Velázquez, the arrival of which in Brussels was reported by Ferdinand on 26 May 1639 (*Justi, Velázquez*, II, p. 408, doc. 27; see also J. López-Rey, *Velázquez. A Catalogue Raisonné of his Euvre*, London, 1963, p. 229, No. 314, p. 232, No. 325).
83. De Marselaer in his text expatiates on the parallels between hunting and the art of war ('... sit satis, arma & artes Dianae celebrasse, quibus ille Bellonae armis & artibus cum voluptate prolusit'—p. 4; 'Nam bellicae scientiae simulacrum Venationem esse quis dubitet?'—p. 5). He supports this with a list of antique heroes who were fond of hunting, and makes much of Alexander's lion-hunt, comparing the Infante's feat with it ('... oro, obtestorque, ut, cum nobis Alexandri Magni illustria inter venandum exempla renovasti, tanto laudibus maior, quanto annis minor; mihi per Te liceat, quod olim Craterus Alexandro praestitit, si non vel marmore vel aere, Pardo in nemore monumentum exerisse, papyraceo certè iconismo Regiae Venationis monumentum celebrasse'—p. 7). This could be used as an argument to support the opinion (see above) that *Alexander's Lion Hunt* by Rubens (No. 16) belonged to the 18-part series of 1639, or at any rate was painted on the occasion of the young prince's hunting exploit.

## 20. The Calydonian Boar Hunt

Oil on canvas; approximately 125 × 300 cm.  
Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: Commissioned by Philip IV of Spain in 1639; Madrid, Alcázar, in the *bóvedas* or in the *pieza ochavada* (inv. 1666, 1686, 1701–1703); presumably destroyed by fire in 1734.

COPIES: (1) Cartoon, ? in reverse, Leningrad, Hermitage; oil on paper, pasted onto canvas 316 × 622 cm. PROV. According to Constantijn Huygens the Younger in 1677 in the possession of Jan Heck, dean of the Antwerp guild of the *oude cleercopers*; bought in Flanders by Gen. Wade; bought from the latter by Robert Walpole, 1st Earl of Orford (1676–1745), Houghton Hall, Norfolk, before 1739; sold by his grandson George Walpole, 3rd Earl of Orford to Catherine II, Empress of Russia, in 1779; Peterhof, near St. Petersburg, Palais Anglais (still there in 1909); since 1920 in the Hermitage, Leningrad. EXH. St. Petersburg, 1909, No. 432. LIT. G. Vertue, *Note Books*, published in *The Walpole Society*, VI, 1955, p. 180, *sub dato* 8 July 1739 (as Rubens); [H. Walpole], *Aedes Walpolianae: or a Description of the Collection of Pictures at Houghton-Hall in Norfolk, the Seat of the Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford*, 2nd edn., London, 1752, p. 80; H. Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, II, Strawberry Hill, 1762, p. 85; [Marty], *The English Connoisseur*, 1766, I, p. 109; *A Set of Prints Engraved after the most Capital Paintings in the Collection of the Empress of Russia. Lately in the possession of the Earl of Orford...*, ed. by J. Boydell, London, 1788, II, pl. LI (see Copy [11] below); Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 157, No. 548; G. F. Waagen, *Die Gemäldeammlung in der kaiserlichen Ermitage zu St. Petersburg...*,

Munich, 1864, p. IV (as not by Rubens); Goeler von Ravensburg, *Rubens*, p. 137; Redford, *Art Sales*, II, p. 357; Rooses, III, p. 118, No. 639; Rooses, *Life*, I, p. 263; N. Wrangell, *Les Anciennes Écoles de peinture dans les palais et collections privées russes représentées à l'exposition organisée à St. Petersbourg en 1909 par la revue d'art ancien 'Staryé Gody'*, Brussels, 1910, pp. 90–91; Glück, *Landschaften*, p. 71, under No. 37; Haverkamp Begemann, *Olieverfschetsen*, p. 73, under No. 54; Held, *Oil Sketches*, I, p. 340, under No. 250; Adler, *Landscapes*, p. 141, under No. 41; (2) Painting by W. van Herp (?), Perpignan, Musée Hyacinthe Rigaud, Inv. No. 840-2-4; forms a pair with No. 21, Copy (3); copper, 63 × 82 cm. PROV. Brought from Spain by Palegry, c. 1810; purchased by the city of Perpignan in 1840. EXH. *Le siècle de Rubens dans les collections publiques françaises*, Grand Palais, Paris, November 1977–March 1978, No. 58. LIT. J. Lacambre, in *Cat. Exh. Paris, 1977–78*, p. 96, No. 58, reproduced (as W. van Herp); (3) Painting by W. van Herp, whereabouts unknown; copper, 75.5 × 100 cm. PROV. Lassey, Chicago, 1961 (as F. Wouters); Honolulu, Academy of Arts; J. P. Delaney, sale, New York (Christie's), 19 January 1982, lot 12 (reproduced; as W. van Herp). LIT. L. van Puyvelde, 'Guillaume Van Herp, bon peintre et copiste de Rubens', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XXII, 1959, pp. 46–48; M. Díaz Padrón, 'Miscelanea de pintura flamenca del siglo XVII fuera de España', *Archivo español de arte*, XLI, 1968, pp. 242–243, fig. 11 (as W. van Herp); J. Lacambre, in *Cat. Exh. Paris, 1977–78*, p. 96, under No. 58; M. Díaz Padrón, 'Obras de Van Herp en España, II', *Archivo español de arte*, LI, 1978, pp. 12–13, fig. 46; Adler, *Landscapes*, p. 139, No. 41, copy (2) (as W. van Herp); (4) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 71 × 105 cm. PROV. Sale, Berlin (Generaldirector S),

10 March 1937, lot 35 (repr.); (5) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 39 × 63 cm. PROV. Sale, Antwerp (Cercle Artistique), 14 March 1927, lot 31 (repr.); (6) Painting, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Inv. No. NM 11906-1; part of a painted cabinet, with No. 21, Copy (5); panel, 10.2 × 28.1 cm. PROV. Bequest Mrs. M.E. van den Brink, Velp (Neth.), 1906. LIT. *Cat. Rijksmuseum, 1976*, pp. 884–885, reproduced; (7) Painting, whereabouts unknown; 111 × 186.7 cm. PROV. Sale, London (Christie's), 22 October 1982, lot 42 (reproduced); (8) Painting, variation on motifs from the left half of the composition, whereabouts unknown; panel, 19.7 × 27.9 cm. PROV. Sale, London (Sotheby's), 18 June 1952, lot 99 (as *Rubens*), bought by Boström, Stockholm; Newhouse Galleries, New York, 1978; sale, New York (Sotheby's), 4 June 1980, lot 67. EXH. *Rubens & Humanism*, Birmingham Museum of Art, Birmingham, Ala., April–May 1978, No. 32 (repr.; as *E. Quellinus*); (9) Drawing, Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Inv. No. A.XV.6; black and red chalk, 207 × 140 mm. LIT. A. J. J. Delen, *Cabinet des estampes de la ville d'Anvers, catalogue des dessins anciens, écoles flamande et hollandaise*, Brussels, 1938, I, p. 114, No. 397; II, pl. LXXXVI (as *J. Boeckhorst*); *Hairs, Sillage*, p. 87 (as *? J. Boeckhorst*); H. Lahrkamp, 'Der "Lange Jan". Leben und Werk des Barockmalers Johann Bockhorst aus Münster', *Westfalen*, LX, 1982, p. 173, No. A 18, repr. (as *not Boeckhorst*); (10) Drawing after the left half of the composition, Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen; black and red chalk on blue paper, heightened with white, 240 × 410 mm.; below on the left, in an unknown hand: *Rübb*. PROV. F. Koenigs, Haarlem; (11) Mezzotint by R. Earlom (Fig. 106), 1781, after Copy (1); 466 × 838 mm. LIT. Published by J. Boydell in his book of 1788 (see under Copy

[1] above); V.S., p. 228, under No. 31.10; *Dutuit*, III, p. 247, under No. 21.10; (12) Tapestry (Fig. 107) by Daniël Eggermans (? the Younger), after Copy (1), whereabouts unknown; part of a series (see also under Nos. 16, 21, 24, 26 and 27); 365 × 640 cm.; below: *D. EGGERMANS. F.*, and the mark of Brussels. PROV. Purchased by the Emperor Leopold I in 1666; Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; transferred to Karin Hall, H. Göring's country house, in 1938; sent to Berchtesgaden in 1945, where seized by U.S. troops. LIT. *Birk, Inventar*, I, p. 242, No. XXXVI, 5; *Baldass, Gobelinssammlung*, No. 185, reproduced; *Duverger, Tapijten naar Rubens*, p. 142, fig. 13; *Bauer, Veränderungen*, p. 140, No. XXXVI, 5, fig. 138; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p. 340, under No. 250. LITERATURE: *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, pp. 305, 339, under No. 250.

The basic scheme of this Hunt is similar to that of the *Calydonian Boar Hunt* that Rubens took to Spain in 1628 (No. 12; cf. Fig. 81). In both cases he diverged from the traditional compositions he had seen on the Meleager sarcophagi, by placing the protagonists, Atalanta and Meleager, on either side of the boar instead of both to the left of it. Meleager's pose and that of the boar in this version are also borrowed from the earlier *Calydonian Hunt*. Rubens conformed to the example of the sarcophagi and to his own first treatments of the theme (Nos. 1 and 10; cf. Figs. 31, 69) by including two figures on horseback, the Dioscuri, whose presence is mentioned by Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, VIII, 372–375). In contrast to all his other versions of the theme (those mentioned above, and No. 18; cf. Fig. 99), the prostrate figure of Ancaeus is not depicted.

Links with various other hunting scenes

by Rubens can be pointed out. The dogs clambering over a fallen tree-trunk appear in the *Boar Hunt* at Marseilles (No.4; Fig.40), the *Landscape with a Boar Hunt* at Dresden (Fig.26),<sup>1</sup> and the *Calydonian Boar Hunt* at Vienna (No.10; Fig.69); but the strongest resemblance is to the sketch of a *Deer Hunt* in the Antwerp museum (Fig.7),<sup>2</sup> which, like the present composition, also shows a human figure surmounting this obstacle. The motif of the hound being trampled by the boar and biting its ear is borrowed from Giulio Romano's *Calydonian Boar Hunt* (Fig.28),<sup>3</sup> which anticipates the frieze-like character of the composition as well.

Held doubted whether this work was really part of the series commissioned by the King of Spain in 1639. There is indeed, as he pointed out, some difference in style between the sketch for this composition in the Cook collection (No.20a; Fig.105) and the sketches for the other works in this series, which are painted more loosely and are less detailed.<sup>4</sup> Held dated this sketch c.1630–1635; but the argument for so doing—viz. that it must have been painted before 1636 because it clearly precedes the *Landscape with the Calydonian Hunt* (Fig.25) in the Prado—falls to the ground if that work is assigned to a later date.<sup>5</sup> I believe that this sketch, if it was not painted in the context of the hunting series, was at all events used for it, as is attested by the fact that several copies exist, both of the sketch and of the large canvas, which belong together with copies of other compositions of the same series.<sup>6</sup> It must be admitted, however, that this *Calydonian Boar Hunt* does not figure in the most reliable set of copies, viz. that in the museum of Nîmes.

As there is no such literal copy of the canvas formerly in the Alcázar, it is somewhat harder than in most other cases to

form an exact idea of it. We may take it, however, that the tapestry (Fig.107), or the cartoon for the tapestry which is known from Earlom's engraving (Fig.106), is a faithful copy of the original, apart from the elaboration of the landscape in the upper part. Our idea of the piece can be made more precise by comparison with two drawings (Copies [9] and [10]), which also seem to be very accurate. The differences between the large canvas and the sketch appear very slight: in the former, Atalanta was shod and had a quiver of arrows at her hip, while Meleager had a short sword at his belt. In the cartoon and the tapestry, and in a copy of cabinet size (Copy [3]), a dog in the lower central part of the scene is missing, but comparison with the drawing in the Boymans-van Beuningen Museum (Copy [10]) shows that this dog probably appeared in the original canvas.

The principal figure motifs of this composition were reused by Rubens in his *Landscape with the Calydonian Boar Hunt* in the Prado (Fig.25):<sup>7</sup> in that work we see Atalanta and the dog to her left, also the boar attacked by two hounds, and Meleager, who however is moved further to the right.

1. *K.d.K.*, p.184; Adler, *Landscapes*, No.18.

2. Adler, *Landscapes*, No.46; see p.34, n.55.

3. For Giulio Romano's painting see pp.56–57. Winner has also drawn attention to links between the two compositions (*Winner, Eberjagd*, p.160).

4. '... its design is clearly more concentrated and less lavishly spread out in space than in those studies, and individual forms appear to be defined more precisely' (Held, *Oil Sketches*, I, p.340).

5. See p.181 where it is argued that this canvas in the Prado (Díaz Padrón, *Cat. Prado*, I, pp.264–265, No.1662; II, pl.176) is not the one recorded in 1636 in the *pieza nueva* of the Alcázar at Madrid. See also Adler, *Landscapes*, pp.138–142, No.41, for the correct view that this painting was acquired by Philip IV from Rubens's estate.

6. For the relevant copies after the sketch see under No.20a, Copies (1)–(4); for relevant copies after the

large canvas see the present No., Copies (2), (6) and especially (12), which belongs to the tapestry series discussed in detail on pp.220–221.

7. See n.5.

## 20a. The Calydonian Boar Hunt:

### Oil Sketch (Fig.105)

Oil on panel; 24.7 × 51.4 cm. (including an added strip of c.2.5 cm. below); above on the left: *H-15* (?).

*Jersey, Collection of Sir Francis Cook.*

PROVENANCE: E.W.Lake, sale, London (Christie's), 11 July 1845, lot 9; D.Roberton Blaime, sale, London (Christie's), 30 May 1857, lot 75, bought by Robinson; J.C.Robinson, sale, Paris (Drouot), 7–8 May 1868, lot 41; purchased in 1868 by Sir Francis Cook, 1st Bt., Visconde de Monserrate (1817–1901), Doughty House, Richmond; Sir Frederick Cook (d.1920); Sir Herbert Cook (d.1939).

COPIES: (1) Painting, Ghent, Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Inv.No.1899-F; formed originally a pair with No.24a, Copy (1); panel, 28 × 53 cm. (including an added strip above). PROV. ? John Humble, sale, London (Christie's), 11 April 1812, lot 14, bought by William Curtis; ? William Curtis, sale, London (Christie's), 19 June 1847, lot 14, bought by Vernon Smith; purchased by De Vrienden van het Museum van Gent from P. & D. Colnaghi, London, in 1899. EXH. *Schetsen van Rubens*, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, August–September 1937, No.42 (as *Rubens*); *Olieverfschetsen van Rubens*, Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, 1953–1954, No.54; *De Vrienden van het Museum van Gent, 65 jaar op de bres*, Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ghent, October 1963–January 1964, No.70, pl.XXXIII. LIT. *Burchard, Rubensskizzen*, p.8 (as copy); *Stad Gent, Museum voor Schoone Kunsten,*

*catalogus: oude meesters*, Ghent, 1938, p.120, No.1899-F; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, 1948, p.72, under No.25; *Glück, Landschaften*, p.71, under No.37 (as copy); G.Chabot, *Het Museum voor Schone Kunsten te Gent*, Brussels, 1951, p.25, No.20, repr. (as *Rubens*); *Haverkamp Begemann, Olieverfschetsen*, pp.72–73, No.54; L. Van Puyvelde, in *Cat. Exh. Brussels, 1965*, p.200, under No.210; *Alpers, Torre*, p.111, n.237; R. Avermaete, *Rubens et son temps*, Brussels, 1977, repr. p.164; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.340, under No.250; *Winner, Eberjagd*, p.182, n.10 (as copy); (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; forms a pair with No.25a, Copy (1); panel, 34 × 51 cm. PROV. ? Sale, Paris (Merlin and Durand-Duclos), 20–22 December 1824, lot 109 (with its pendant: 'l'un representant une bataille, et l'autre une chasse au sanglier'); D. Komter, sale, Amsterdam (A.Mak), 9 March 1926 et seq., lot 195 (with its pendant; repr.); dealer Vitale Bloch, Berlin, c.1930; ? Gallery 'Internationale' (Maas), The Hague, 1943; J.H.J.Mellaert, London and castle Mheer (Neth.), 1953. LIT. *Burchard, Rubensskizzen*, p.8; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, 1948, p.72, under No.25; *Glück, Landschaften*, p.71, under No.37; *Goris-Held*, p.36, under No.69; *Haverkamp Begemann, Olieverfschetsen*, p.73, under No.54; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.340, under No.250; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; originally probably belonging to the same series as No.24a, Copy (2), No.25a, Copy (2) and No.27a, Copy (1); panel, 34 × 52 cm. PROV. B.Willot, Lille, 1968. EXH. *Collections privées du Nord (maîtres anciens)*, Hospice Comtesse, Lille, October–December 1968, No.57. LIT. *Duverger, Tapijten naar Rubens*, p.142, fig.14 (as *Rubens*); (4) Painting, Oslo, Private collection; originally probably belonging to the same series as No.21a, Copy (2), No.24a, Copy (3); canvas, 31 × 53 cm.; (5) Drawing,

Rugby School, Warwickshire, Inv. No. B39/26; black and coloured chalk, here and there reinforced with pen and brown ink, 545 × 225 mm. PROV. Bloxam collection. LIT. Cat. Rugby School, No.103 (as *Rubens and Snyders*); *Bordley, Légende*, p.30, repr. p.32 (as *Snyders*).

EXHIBITED: *Exhibition of the Work of the Old Masters*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1873, No.183; New Gallery, London, 1898, No.110; New Gallery, London, 1900, No.118; *Brussels, 1910*, No.405; *Exhibition of 17th-Century Art in Europe*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1938, No.60.

LITERATURE: J.C. Robinson, *Memoranda on Fifty Pictures*, London, 1868, No.38; Dillon, *Rubens*, pp.117, 232; J.O. Kronig, *A Catalogue of the Paintings at Doughty House, Richmond and Elsewhere, in the Collection of Sir Frederick Cook*, II, London, 1914, No.341, pl.XIX; M.W. Brockwell, 'The Cook Collection', *The Connoisseur*, XLVIII, 1917, p.23, repr.; Burchard, *Rubensskizzen*, pp.7-8; [M.W. Brockwell], *Abridged Catalogue of the Pictures at Doughty House, Richmond, Surrey, in the Collection of Sir Herbert Cook, Bart.*, London, 1932, p.76, No.341; Glück, *Landschaften*, p.71, under No.37; Van Puyvelde, *Esquisses*, 1948, pp.72-73, No.25, reproduced; Haverkamp Begemann, *Olieverfschetsen*, p.73, under No.54; *Bordley, Rubens*, pp.81, 147, fig.80 (as *Snyders*); *Bordley, Légende*, p.30, repr. p.33; L. Van Puyvelde, in *Cat. Exh. Brussels, 1965*, p.200, under No.210; Heinz, *Jagd*; Held, *Oil Sketches*, I, pp.305, 306, 339-340, No.250; II, pl.272; Winner, *Eberjagd*, pp.160, 161, 182, n.10; Adler, *Landscapes*, pp.140-142, fig.117.

The differences between this sketch and the final painting, which is lost, were discussed under No.20, where it is also

argued that the sketch was used for the hunting series of 1639.<sup>1</sup> I agree with Held, however, that it is somewhat different in style from the others in the series, and the possibility must be admitted that for the composition in 1639 Rubens made use of a sketch painted somewhat earlier. How much earlier is not clear to me, but the sketch must in any case date from the 1630s.<sup>2</sup> I have not seen the panel in the Cook collection, but the attribution to Rubens himself seems to me fully acceptable.<sup>3</sup> All other known versions are certainly of lesser quality.

Most of the other sketches of this series were, as we know, enlarged by the subsequent addition of (usually) a narrow strip at the bottom and a broader one at the top. This was probably also the case with the Cook sketch. Copies (2)-(4), which must have been made after the enlargement, show how the composition then looked; copies (1) and (5) do not show the enlargement at the top, and are probably therefore to be dated earlier.<sup>4</sup> These two copies also have in common the fact that they are less extended at the bottom than the Cook sketch and the other copies. At the place which forms the lower edge in these copies there is in the Cook sketch a crack which can be clearly seen in the photograph: it is therefore natural to assume that the present state of the sketch includes an apocryphally added strip, c.2.5 cm. wide.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore the large canvas, as we know it from the most reliable copies (No.20, Copies [10]-[12]), did not include this strip.

In the literature this panel has frequently been identified with an item in the sale of Charles-Alexandre de Calonne in 1795; but this work became the property of Edward Coxe, and the full description of it in the catalogue of the Coxe sale in 1807 shows that it was a different

composition, featuring the dead Ancaeus (cf. under No.10a). The present sketch was apparently not in the Radstock sale of 19 April 1823 either, since—according to one source—the sketch that did figure in that sale showed also a recumbent man.<sup>6</sup>

1. Burchard thought this composition formed a pair with *Diana and Nymphs hunting Deer* (No.13; cf. Fig.83): his opinion was based on the drawn copy of No.20a at Rugby School (Copy [5]) which he regarded as the pendant to a drawing of *Diana hunting Deer* in the same collection (No.13a, Copy). But the two drawings differ in format as well as in technique and style, so that they cannot be regarded as true pendants.
2. Van Puyvelde (*Van Puyvelde, Esquisses, 1948*, loc. cit.) proposed the date 1618, and Winner (loc. cit.) dated the present sketch c.1620.
3. Burchard's notes show that for a time he doubted the authenticity of the sketch. One reason, he thought, was the absence of the dog being trampled by the boar; but it is in fact clearly visible.
4. The copy in the Ghent museum was also later enlarged with a strip at the top, but in a different way from Copies (2)–(4).
5. It has not been possible to check this. Concerning the panel's material state Held wrote, on the basis of information from John Somerville: 'The picture is painted on a single panel, bevelled on three sides (not at the top). There is a crack near the top, almost completely across, and another near the bottom, about seven-tenths across, but they show chiefly in the back'. Held also indicates the colours as follows: Atalanta wears a pink tunic and Meleager an orange one; grey and blue tints predominate in the background, browns and ochres in the foreground.
6. Lord Radstock, sale, London (Phillips), 19 April 1823, lot 5 ('small with a huntsman thrown down', cf. a note in a copy of the cat. in the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague), apparently bought in; Radstock sale, London (Christie's), 13 May 1826, lot 1 (with the measurements: c.26.7 × 52 cm.).

## 21. Diana and Nymphs hunting Fallow Deer

Oil on canvas; approximately  
125 × 292 cm.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

PROVENANCE: Commissioned by Philip IV of Spain in 1639; Madrid, Alcázar,

*pieza ochavada* (inv.1666: 'Una pintura de tres varas y media de largo vara y media de alto diana con sus ninfas cazando de Rubenes y Esneile 150 dus'; inv.1686, No.[166]; inv.1701–1703, No.27); presumably destroyed by fire in 1734.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig.108), Nîmes, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Inv.No. IP-294; part of the same series as the paintings listed as Copy (1) under Nos.22, 23 and 27; canvas, 118 × 270 cm. PROV. In the museum by 1895. LIT. Cat. museum Nîmes, 1940, No.294; *Díaz Padrón, Cacería*, p.150, n.96; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, pp.305, 306, 308, under No.223, fig.40; (2) Painting (see the engraving, Copy [8]), whereabouts unknown; canvas, 170 × 218.5 cm. PROV. Francis Lamb, Edinburgh, 1835. LIT. *Rooses*, III, p.76, No.591; *Alpers, Torre*, p.111, n.237; J.Lacambre, in *Cat. Exh. Paris, 1977–78*, p.96, under No.58; *Mitsch, Rubenszeichnungen*, p.212, under No.109, repr.; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.308, under No.223; (3) Painting by W. van Herp (?), Perpignan, Musée Hyacinthe Rigaud, Inv. No.840-2-3; forms a pair with No.20, Copy (2); copper, 63 × 82 cm. PROV. Brought from Spain by Palegry, c.1810; purchased by the city of Perpignan in 1840. LIT. J.Lacambre, in *Cat. Exh. Paris, 1977–78*, p.96, under No.58, repr. (as *W. van Herp*); (4) Painting, whereabouts unknown; forms a pair with No.24, Copy (5); copper, 65.5 × 91 cm. PROV. Sale, New York (Christie's), 10 January 1980, lot 231 (with its pendant; as *J. van Balen*); (5) Painting, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Inv.No. NM 11906-1; part of a painted cabinet, with No.20, Copy (6); panel, 10.2 × 28.1 cm. PROV. Bequest of Mrs. M.E. van den Brink, Velp (Neth.), 1906. LIT. *Cat. Rijksmuseum, 1976*, pp.884–885, repr.; (6) Painting by Jan Thomas van Yperen (?) (Fig.111), Brighton, Brighton Art Gallery;

formed probably a pair with No.24. Copy (1); panel, 73.5 × 106.5 cm. PROV. Captain Haynes, 1873, who presented it to the museum in 1912. EXH. *Loan Exhibition*, Brighton, 1873. LIT. *Brighton Art Gallery and Museum. Paintings Executed before 1837 in the Permanent Collection. Catalogue*, Brighton, 1964, p.35 (as *Rubens and P. de Vos*); (7) Drawing, Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Inv. No.15.101; pencil, black and red chalk, heightened with white, 268 × 758 mm. (shortened at the top). PROV. Prince Charles de Ligne (1759-1792), sale, Vienna (Blumauer), 4 November 1794, p.258, lot 27 (as *Rubens*). EXH. *Die Rubenszeichnungen der Albertina, zum 400.Geburtstag*, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, March-June 1977, No.109. LIT. Mitsch, *Rubenszeichnungen*, p.212, No.109, repr. (as copy); J.Lacambre, in *Cat. Exh. Paris, 1977-78*, p.96, under No.58 (as *Rubens*); (8) Engraving by Francis Lamb, 1835, after Copy (2). LIT. *Rooses*, III, p.76, under No.591, pl.188; (9) Tapestry (Fig.109) by Daniël Eggermans (? the Younger), whereabouts unknown; part of a series (see also under Nos.16, 20, 24, 26 and 27); 365 × 680 cm.; below on the right: *D.EGGERMANS. F.* and the mark of Brussels. PROV. Purchased by the Emperor Leopold I in 1666; Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; transferred to Karin hall, H.Göring's country house, in 1938; sent to Berchtesgaden in 1945, where seized by U.S. troops. LIT. *Birk, Inventar*, I, p.242, No.XXXVI, 2; *Baldass, Gobelinsammlung*, No.182, repr.; *Duverger, Tapijten naar Rubens*, pp.140-141, fig.10; *Bauer, Veränderungen*, p.140, No.XXXVI, 2, fig.135; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.308, under No.223.

LITERATURE: *Cruzada Villaamil, Rubens*, pp.315-316, No.13; *Rooses*, III, p.76, No.594; *Bottineau, Alcázar*, 1958, p.58, No.166;

*Alpers, Torre*, p.40; *Inventarios reales, Carlos II*, I, p.21, No.27; *Díaz Padrón, Cat. Prado*, I, p.326, under No.346-P; J.Lacambre, in *Cat. Exh. Paris, 1977-78*, p.96, under No.58; *Orso, Planet King*, p.195; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, pp.305, 306, 308, under No.223.

Diana, wearing the crescent moon in her hair and accompanied by four nymphs, is chasing two does, a stag and a fallow deer; the animals have taken to water and are pursued by seven hounds. At the extreme right a nymph, holding three more hounds on a leash, clings to a tree by her left arm; this whole group, as Alpers pointed out, is borrowed literally from *The Calydonian Boar Hunt* by Giulio Romano (Fig.28).<sup>1</sup>

There is not the least doubt that this composition belonged to the hunting series of 1639; it is the only work in that series, the subject of which is explicitly described in the Alcázar inventories.<sup>2</sup> Several copies exist, both of the final canvas and of the sketch (No.21a), which link it with the other compositions of the series.

The original painting from the *pieza ochavada* of the Alcázar is apparently lost, but the canvas at Nîmes (Copy [1], Fig.108) can be regarded as a very faithful copy, of about the same dimensions.<sup>3</sup> On the strength of this copy it can be asserted that the animals in the original were painted by Snyders; even though Rubens's sketch was followed very closely, one can clearly recognize the types of dogs characteristic of Snyders' work.<sup>4</sup> The tapestry (Copy [9], Fig.109) also follows the original very closely: the only difference of any note is the upward extension and the greater profusion of foliage at the top. The drawing at Vienna (Copy [7]; this



sheet has been shortened at the top) is an accurate copy, as is Copy (6) (Fig.111), although here the landscape is extended still further upwards than in the tapestry. Copies (3) and (4) are less accurate: as is typical of the cabinet-size copies of other compositions of this hunting series, here too the landscape extends much further upwards and the vegetation is different. The large canvas that belonged to F. Lamb (Copy [2]) and was engraved by him (Copy [8]) was probably a large-sized copy after such a 'cabinet piece': no similar version is known in the case of any other composition of this series.

Jean Lacambre stated that a copy identical with the one at Perpignan (Copy [3]) and signed by Jan Thomas van Yperen was in a sale at Berlin in 1912. This is not quite correct: the work in question was a *Diana hunting Deer*, only a single figure in which was taken from the present composition.<sup>5</sup>

1. For this composition by Giulio Romano see also pp.56-57.
2. Cruzada Villamil (loc. cit.) wrongly believed that an inferior *Diana hunting Deer*, on loan from the Prado to the University of Barcelona (*Diáz Padrón, Cat. Prado*, I, p.326, No.346-P; pl.204), was a copy after the present *Deer Hunt* from the *pieza ochavada*. He was followed in this by Alpers (loc. cit. and fig.4). See also above, p.228, n.21.
3. Held left open the possibility that this canvas was the original from the Alcázar, being entirely the work of an assistant. In the general introduction to Nos.20-27, above, I have explained why this seems to me unlikely (p.220).
4. Burchard, who was unaware of the link between this composition and Ferdinand's correspondence, thought the animals were the work of Paul de Vos.
5. Jean Lacambre, loc. cit. The work in question (panel, 41.5 x 57 cm.; signed I: THOMAS. F:) was sold at Lepke's on 12 November 1912 (lot 1657) and was with the firm of Van Diemen in 1934. For a possible connection between Jan Thomas and this hunting series see above, p.230, n.31. Copy (6) may perhaps be ascribed to this artist. Jan Thomas had worked in Rubens's studio, as appears from the accounts of the latter's estate (see *Génard, Nalatenschap*, p.137).

## 21a. Diana and Nymphs hunting Fallow Deer: Oil Sketch (Fig.110)

Oil on panel; 23.5 x 52.6 cm. (after removal of later additions).—*Verso*: cradled. *Private Collection, Belgium*.

PROVENANCE: Lord Hillingdon (?), sale, London (Christie's), 31 March 1939 (anonymous part of the Beauchamp sale), lot 113 (together with No.23 below), bought by Fenouil; dealer Thomas Harris, London; purchased by John Nieuwenhuys (Brussels, d.1982) in 1955.

COPIES: (1) Painting, Frankfurt, Städelches Kunstinstitut (photograph Marburg No.85485); canvas, 35.1 x 52.5 cm. LIT. Held, *Oil Sketches*, I, p.308, under No. 223; A.F.Schweers, *Gemälde in deutschen Museen*, II, Munich-New York-London-Paris, 1982; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown (photograph in the Witt Library, Courtauld Institute, London); forming a pair with No.24a, Copy (3), and possibly originally belonging to the same series as No.20a, Copy (4); ? canvas, ? 31 x 53 cm. PROV. Langfeldt, Oslo.

EXHIBITED: *De eeuw van Rubens*, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, October-December 1965, No. 203a.

LITERATURE: L. Van Puyvelde, in *Cat. Exh. Brussels, 1965*, p.194, No.203a, repr.; Alpers, *Torre*, p.111, n.237, fig.11; *Duverter, Tapijten naar Rubens*, p.141, fig.11; Held, *Oil sketches*, I, pp.307-308, No.223; II, pl.232; Adler, *Landscapes*, p.150, under No.46.

This sketch differs in several respects from the final painting. In the sketch, Diana has no hunting-horn at her belt; the nymph behind her has no quiver on

her hip; the nymph on the extreme right holds two dogs on a leash with her right hand (the foremost one being very summarily drawn), whereas in the final painting only one was seen.

This sketch still forms a pair with the sketch for *The Death of Actaeon* (No.23a; Fig.118). When sold in 1939 they both measured c.33 × 51.5 cm.<sup>1</sup> Since then the apocryphally added strips (c.1.5 cm. at the bottom and c.8.5 cm. at the top) have been removed.<sup>2</sup> The two copies after the present sketch were made after it was enlarged.

1. This state is reproduced in *Alpers, Torre*, fig.11. Burchard, who saw the sketch in 1939, had some reservations as to the left-hand side ('die Ausführung der Tiere ist matt und im Ausdruck leer') but was delighted with the remainder ('Die rechte Hälfte mit der Gruppe der 5 Frauen ist ausgezeichnet. Die dramatische Anordnung, die Staffellung in die Tiefe, die Verknüpfung der Figuren, all das spricht für Rubens. Auch die Ausführung dieser rechten Hälfte steht auf der Höhe von Rubens'). The surface is entirely *craquelé* and shows some wear, especially in the centre; on the left, the ivory-white of the sky is retouched. On the extreme right there is a trace of a vertical line in red chalk. The human figures are very lightly painted in fluent brown, the flesh-parts very sparingly coloured; the foremost nymph is dressed in pink, Diana in greyish-blue. The trees (brown and brownish-green) are painted as if in a very thin wash. The animals are more worked up in warm brown tones, with an unemphatic touch (it seems to me possible that Snyders touched them up). *Pentimenti*: the left leg of the nymph in the front was originally higher up; the forefeet and antlers of the fallow-deer were altered.
2. Very narrow strips of this apocryphal addition were preserved.

## 22. Diana and Nymphs attacked by Satyrs (Fig.112)

Oil on canvas; 128 × 314 cm. Inscribed below on the left: 87 (white), 1691 (pink), 1681 (red).

Madrid, Museo del Prado. No.1665.

PROVENANCE: Commissioned by Philip

IV of Spain in 1639; Madrid, Alcázar, *bóvedas* (inv.1666; inv.1686; inv.1701-1703; inv. of the paintings in the *bóvedas* saved from the fire in 1734, No.267); Casas Arzobispaes (inv.1747, No.136); Buen Retiro (inv.1772; inv.1794, No.407); deposited in the Real Academia de Bellas Artes, Madrid, 14 June 1793; transferred to the Prado; transferred to the Real Casino, 21 April 1865.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig.113), Nîmes, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Inv.No.IP-296; part of the same series as the paintings listed as Copy (1) under Nos.21, 23 and 27; canvas, 110 × 310 cm. PROV. In the museum by 1895. LIT. Cat. museum Nîmes, 1940; *Díaz Padrón, Cat. Prado*, I, p.268, under No.1665; *Bodart, Coll. fiorentine*, p.338, under No.CV; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.306; (2) Painting (Fig.114), ? studio replica, Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Inv. Palatina No.141; canvas, 206 × 401 cm. (enlarged at the left, at the right and above; size of the original part of the canvas: approximately 150 × 260 cm., but a strip of c.60 cm., showing a satyr, is missing at the left). PROV. Purchased by Prince Ferdinando of Tuscany from Niccolò Cassana in 1698; Palazzo Pitti (inv. 1713; inv. c.1720, No.44; inv.1713-1723; inv.1761). LIT. C.N.Cochin, *Voyage d'Italie*, II, Paris, 1758, p.62 (as copy); *Basan*, pp.94-95, under No.27 (as not by Rubens); *Michel, Histoire*, p.315, No.8; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.146, No.513; E.Chia-vacci, *Guide de la galerie royale de Palais Pitti*, edited by Pieraccini, Rome, 1888, p.71; *Rooses*, III, p.131, under No.650 (as copy); G.Fogolari, 'Lettere pittoriche del Gran Principe Ferdinando di Toscana a Niccolò Cassana, 1698-1709', *Rivista del R. Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell' Arte*, VI, 1937, p.167, letters 21-23; A.J.Rusconi, *La R.Galleria Pitti in Firenze*, Rome, 1937,

p.247; A.M.Francini Ciaranfi, *La Galleria Pitti*, Florence, 1964, p.28; N.Cipriani, *La Galleria Palatina nel Palazzo Pitti a Firenze. Repertorio illustrato...*, Florence, 1966, p.41; M.Chiarini, 'I quadri della collezione del principe Ferdinando di Toscana', *Paragone*, XXV, 1975, No.301, p.66; Bodart, *Coll. fiorentine*, p.338, No.CV, repr. p.335 (as copy); (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 68.5 × 86 cm. PROV. Sale, London (Sotheby's), 7 November 1951, lot 57; (4) Painting, Madrid, Museo Lázaro Galdiano; part of a painted cabinet. LIT. *La colección Lázaro de Madrid*, Madrid, 1926, I, p.226, No.228, repr.; Díaz Padrón, *Cat. Prado*, I, p.268, under No.1665; (5) Engraving by Lorenzini, in reverse, after Copy (2), in *Raccolta de quadri dipinti dai piu' famosi pennelli e posseduti da S.A.R. Pietro Leopoldo*, Florence, 1778; 474 × 1026 mm. LIT. V.S., p.131, No.106; Dutuit, III, p.144, No.27; (6) Engraving by A.Calzi, after a drawing by A.Farina after Copy (2), in L.Bardi, *L'Imperiale e Reale Galleria Pitti illustrata*, Florence, IV, 1842. LIT. Rooses, III, p.131, under No.650.

LITERATURE: Michel, *Histoire*, p.321, No.26; J.A.Ceán Bermúdez, *Diccionario histórico de los mas illustres profesores de las artes en España*, Madrid, 1800, IV, p.272; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.137, No.489; P. de Madrazo, *Catálogo de los cuadros del Real Museo de Pintura y Escultura de S.M.*, 2nd edn., Madrid, 1845, p.385, No.1681; L.Viardot, *Les musées d'Espagne*, 2nd edn., Paris, 1855, p.98; A.Lavice, *Revue des musées d'Espagne*, Paris, 1864, p.147, No.52; Catalogues Prado, 1872-1907, No.1586; Cruzada Villaamil Rubens, p.324, under Nos.28-30, p.356, No.15; Goeler von Ravensburg, *Rubens*, p.88; Rooses, III, pp.130-131, No.650; Michel, *Rubens*, repr. p.465; Rooses, *Life*, II, p.603; K.d.K., edn. Rosenberg, p.430; Dillon, *Rubens*, pp.176, 199, No.57, pl.

CCCCXLI; Catalogues Prado, 1910-1972, No.1665; P.Beroqui, 'Adiciones y correcciones al catálogo del Museo del Prado, III, Escuela flamenca (Conclusión)', *Castilla artística e histórica. Boletín de la Sociedad Castellana de Excursiones*, 2nd ser., II, 1918, p.70; K.d.K., p.380; Bottineau, *Alcázar*, 1958, p.306, under Nos.28-30; F.J.Sánchez Cantón, *The Prado*, London, 1959, pp.216-217, repr.; Díaz Padrón, *Cacería*, p.140; Díaz Padrón, *Cat. Prado*, I, pp.268-269, No.1665; II, pl.178; *Inventarios reales, Carlos II*, I, p.54, No.365; Held, *Oil Sketches*, I, pp.305-306; E.McGrath, 'Pan and the Wool', *The Ringling Museum of Art Journal*, I, 1983, pp.53-54, fig.3.

Four satyrs, rushing in from the left, attempt to overpower the naked nymphs, resting after the hunt. The female figure on the extreme right, brandishing an arrow in her right hand, is probably Diana herself. Five of her companions struggle with the wanton, cloven-footed sylvan deities; another nymph, in the right foreground, sleeps quietly on (in a pose inspired, as Díaz Padrón pointed out, by the antique statue of the *Sleeping Hermaphrodite*). Four dogs snap fiercely at the satyrs. The nymphs' hunting gear lies in the foreground (bow and quiver, javelin and nets) together with dead game (a fox, a stag and a boar). The pose of the clothed nymph on the left closely resembles that of the nymph on the upper left of the drawing *Diana and Nymphs surprised while Bathing* in the Louvre.<sup>1</sup> The motif of the satyr catching hold of a nymph (the third group from the left) also occurs in *Pan seducing Diana with Wool*, formerly in Berlin.<sup>2</sup> The attitude of the third nymph from the left is similar to that of *Syrinx* in Rubens's *Pan and Syrinx* at Buckingham Palace.<sup>3</sup>

Fauns and satyrs were often represented in ancient mythology as attacking wood-nymphs who struggled to free themselves,<sup>4</sup> and the subject occurs in antique statuary;<sup>5</sup> but as far as I know there is no example in antiquity, or in modern art before Rubens, of a band of satyrs attacking Diana herself and her nymphs in this way.<sup>6</sup>

As Elizabeth McGrath recently pointed out, the subject was probably suggested to Rubens by a passage in Statius's *Silvae* (II, 3, 8–61). This relates how Pan, about to attack a sleeping nymph, was surprised by Diana, who in her haste seized an arrow and threw it at him. It is certainly noteworthy that Rubens in this painting gives the goddess an arrow instead of a javelin in her right hand. The lascivious theme may be unexpected in a series devoted to hunting. The link with the chase is indeed quite superficial. Rubens may have intended to allude to the prevalent moralizing view that hunting was a means of subduing man's lower impulses, a theme naturally connected with the chaste Diana;<sup>7</sup> but we may suppose that this was no more than an excuse for a risqué episode.

That this painting in the Prado indeed belonged to the eight-part hunting series is shown, as Held pointed out, by the fact that a copy of it is part of the series at Nîmes.<sup>8</sup> The painting was found in the *bóvedas* of the Alcázar after the fire of 1734; it shows the hand of Snyder's besides that of Rubens, and we may thus suppose that it was one of the four paintings in the *pieza larga de las bóvedas*, measuring  $1\frac{1}{4}$  by  $3\frac{1}{2}$  varas (about the dimensions of the present canvas), whereof the inventory of 1666 states that the figures are by Rubens and the animals by Snyder.<sup>9</sup>

This painting, the only one of the series which can be said with certainty to have

been preserved intact, is of paramount importance as a touchstone. We can infer from it that the measurements given in the inventories are only approximately correct, and that the copies in the museum at Nîmes are very faithful as regards, *inter alia*, measurements (see Copy [1]; Fig. 113). The quality of this painting is very high. The colour-scheme is based on a contrast between the warm flesh-tints—alternately white for the nymphs and brown for the satyrs—and the blue sky and greenish-blue landscape (which is probably by Wildens).<sup>10</sup> This very simple scheme is enlivened here and there by brighter spots of drapery: lilac for the dress of the nymph on the extreme left, dark rose-colour for the garment of the third nymph, sky-blue for the next two nymphs, and crimson for Diana. All these are linked by repeating touches of colour. The contrast between hazy and more sharply delineated portions is also part of the aesthetic effect. The dead animals (fox, deer and boar) are quite clearly by Snyder's; the two hounds seem to me retouched by Rubens. One or two *pentimenti* can be seen with the naked eye: the dress of the nymph on the far left originally extended somewhat further to the right, and the right thigh of the third nymph was evidently first painted at a higher level.

The copy in the Pitti Palace (Copy [2]; Fig. 114), or at least the original part thereof, is also very accurate, except that it is slightly extended at the top.<sup>11</sup> Burchard suggested that this was the canvas which was left unfinished at Rubens's death, according to the accounts of his estate in 1645, and was sold to Maes for 60 guilders.<sup>12</sup>

The sketch for this composition has not survived, and I know of no copies after such a sketch. Cabinet-size copies also

seem to be rarer than with other paintings in the series, and no tapestry was made of this composition. The difference in its fate was evidently due to the fact that it was regarded as a mythological subject rather than a hunting scene.

1. Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, No.189r.
2. Formerly Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, destroyed; *K.d.K.*, p.429; for the subject see E.McGrath, op. cit., pp.54ff. The same motif, but developed differently, can be found in *The Feast of Venus* at Vienna (*K.d.K.*, p.324).
3. *Rooses*, III, p.318, No.659.
4. Cf. Horace, *Odes*, III, 18. 1: 'Faune, Nympharum fugientum amator'. Burchard also recalled lines from *Querella Absentiae* by Rubens's brother Philip: 'Capripedesque salax Faunos genus et Satyricos Vidamus arte vagas prendere Hamadryadas' (*Philippi Rubenii Electorum libri II, eiusdem ad Justum Lipsium Poëmata*, Antwerp, 1608, p.111).
5. See e.g. M.Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York, 1955, figs.626, 627.
6. A similar scene in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (*Äldre utländska målningar och skulpturer*, Stockholm, 1958, p.60, No.391, as *Van Diepenbeeck*) may be attributed to Frans Wouters; some of the figures are literally borrowed from Rubens's composition.
7. See p.226 above. Rubens had anticipated the theme in his pictures of satyrs spying on Diana and her nymphs while the latter slept (*Rooses*, III, pp.81-83, Nos.599, 600).
8. Further evidence is the fact that a drawing, apparently of this composition, was in the J.F.Knyff sale at Antwerp (J.J.G.Demarcour) on 4 June 1776 (lot 42) as pendant to a *Boar Hunt*: 'Deux. un représentant une Chasse au Sanglier, l'autre des Femmes Surprises par des Satyres'.
9. Cruzada Villaamil already proposed this identification. As the painting belonged to this series it cannot be the same as 'Een ander stuck vande naeckte nymphen ende Satyrs', purchased by Philip IV from Rubens's estate, as supposed by Dillon (loc. cit.), (*Génard, Nalatenschap*, p.85; that work is No.1666 in the Prado, see *Díaz Padrón, Cat. Prado*, I, p.269).
10. See also above, pp.42-43. *Rooses* (*Rooses*, III, p.131) and *Díaz Padrón* attributed the landscape to Wildens. Burchard also wondered if the landscape was not by this artist. Adler, on the other hand, seems to have thought that Wildens did not work for Rubens after 1620 (*Adler, Wildens*, passim).
11. We may suppose that the missing satyr on the left was originally present.
12. 'Jachte van Satyrs ende nimphen' (see full text on p.230, n.42).

### 23. The Death of Actaeon

Oil on canvas; approximately  
125 × 300 cm.

*Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

PROVENANCE: Commissioned by Philip IV of Spain in 1639; Madrid, Alcázar, in the *bóvedas* or in the *pieza ochavada* (inv. 1666; inv.1686; inv.1701-1703); presumably destroyed by fire in 1734.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig.115), Nîmes, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Inv.No.IP-295; belonging to the same series as the paintings listed as Copy (1) under Nos.21, 22 and 27; canvas, 110 × 270 cm. PROV. In the museum by 1895. LIT. *Cat. museum Nîmes*, 1940; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, pp.305, 306, under No.221, fig.41; (2) Painting by F.Wouters (?) (Fig.116), whereabouts unknown; forms a pair with No.24, Copy (4); panel, 58 × 78 cm. PROV. Sir John Foley Grey, Bt., Enville Hall (near Stourbridge), sale, London (Christie's), 15 June 1928, lot 93 (with its pendant, lot 94; as *Rubens*); Cavan, sale, London (Christie's), 25 July 1930, lot 57; New York art trade, 1936. LIT. *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.307, under No.221; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 59.5 × 82.5 cm. PROV. Sale, New York (Sotheby's), 11 June 1981, lot 245; (4) Painting, whereabouts unknown; copper, 66 × 92 cm. PROV. Carl Gross, Carlsbad, sale, Vienna (Ludwig Fischhof), 30 March 1896, lot 2 (repr.; as *H. van Balen*); (5) Painting, whereabouts unknown; copper, 67 × 94 cm. PROV. Lichtmann, sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), 6-8 November 1917, lot 65, pl.9 (as *Snyders and Van Balen*); (6) Drawing after the stag and the hounds (Fig.117), whereabouts unknown; black chalk, 245 × 430 mm.; below on the right the mark of R.Cosway (L.629). PROV. Richard Cosway (London, 1740-1821), sale, London (Stanley), 14-21 Fe-

bruary 1822, part of lot 810 (as *Rubens*); C. A. de Burlet, Basle, 1937, 1948; Schaeffer Galleries, New York, 1948. LIT. *Art News*, XLVII, March 1948, p.45; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.307, under No.221.

On the left of the picture Actaeon, already completely transformed into a stag, is attacked by seven hounds. On the right, among trees by a splashing waterfall, the naked Diana and six companions are attiring themselves; the goddess extends her right arm as she pronounces a curse on the unfortunate huntsman (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, III, 131–252).

There are many indications that this composition belonged to the eight-part hunting series. The sketch for it (No.23a; Fig.118) still forms a pair with *Diana hunting Fallow Deer* in the same series; a copy with this composition is in the series in the Nîmes museum (Fig.115); and a cabinet-size copy had as its pendant a copy after *The Death of Adonis* in the same series (Copy [2]; Fig.116). The original canvas from the Alcázar seems to have been lost, but we may assume that the copy at Nîmes is a very faithful reproduction. Held suggested that the canvas at Nîmes might be the original version for the Alcázar, executed by Rubens's assistants. I think this improbable.<sup>1</sup>

The divergences between the sketch and the large canvas are not very important. The stag's head and antlers are depicted somewhat differently: e.g. in the sketch two ears are showing, as compared with one in the picture. The fourth nymph from the left shows almost the whole of her left thigh in the picture but not in the sketch; the pose of the nymph behind her, drying Diana's legs with a cloth, is somewhat varied.

The cabinet-size copies (Copies [2]–[5]) present a separate problem. Apart from

the landscape and the vegetation, which extends much higher, they follow the composition of the final canvas very closely. On one point, however, they agree with the sketch: in not showing the left thigh of the fourth nymph from the left (Fig.116). This might be accidental, were it not that the cabinet-size copies of *The Death of Sylvia's Stag* (No.25) also bear a resemblance to the sketch, suggesting that the copies were executed in the artist's studio or by someone who had access to material from it. Stylistic indications point towards Frans Wouters.<sup>2</sup>

The drawing after the animal group (Copy [6]; Fig.117) also presents some problems. A close comparison shows that it conforms to the large canvas and not the sketch. That it is a copy of the canvas and not a studio drawing for it, is shown, I consider, by the elements of the setting that it reproduces: a few lines on the right indicate a tree-covered hill, the tip of a javelin and part of a bow, exactly where they occur in the large canvas. This makes it almost impossible to attribute the drawing to Snyder, unless we suppose it to be a *ricordo* by his hand. The drawing is in any case of remarkably high quality. As Burchard observed, it is by the same hand as one or perhaps two drawings after the *Bull Hunt* (No.26).<sup>3</sup>

1. See p.220.

2. See also p.222.

3. Burchard (letter to De Burlet, 29 July 1937) supposed that the drawing was a copy by Paul de Vos after the sketch: 'Er hatte die Tiergruppe auf der grossen Leinwand auszuführen und notierte sich mit dieser Zeichnung seinen Anteil an dem gemeinsamen grossen Bild'. As we have seen, however, it was Snyder and not De Vos who collaborated with Rubens on the hunting series. In my opinion the drawing is by the same hand as the drawing after the right half of the *Bull Hunt* in the Berlin print-room (No.26, Copy [15]; Fig.129); but I am not quite convinced that the drawing after the left half of the *Bull Hunt* in the Fondation Custodia (No.26, Copy [12]; Fig.128) is by the same hand.

**23a. The Death of Actaeon:  
Oil Sketch (Fig.118)**

Oil on panel; 23 × 51.5 cm. (after removal of later additions).—*Verso*: cradled; on the frame, in pencil: 4/19.

*Private Collection, Belgium.*

PROVENANCE: Lord Hillingdon (?), sale, London (Christie's), 31 March 1939 (anonymous part of the Beauchamp sale), lot 113 (together with No.21a above), bought by Fenouil; dealer Thomas Harris, London; purchased by John Nieuwenhuys (Brussels, d.1982) in 1955.

COPY: Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 33 × 50.8 cm. PROV. Arthur Kay, Glasgow, sale, London (Christie's), 11 May 1901, lot 104 (as *Rubens*).

EXHIBITED: *De eeuw van Rubens*, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, October–December 1965, No.203b.

LITERATURE: L. van Puyvelde, in *Cat. Exh. Brussels, 1965*, p.194, No.203b, repr.; *Alpers, Torre*, p.111, n.237, fig.12; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, pp.306–307, No.221; II, pl.231; *Adler, Landscapes*, p.150, under No.46.

The divergences between this sketch and the large canvas have been discussed under No.23.

A red chalk line runs vertically about 2.4 cm. from the left edge. Some wear is visible above the nymphs' heads. The human figures are painted with precision in flowing brown and flesh-colour, with a little white and pink for the drapery. The trees and background are sketched in transparent brown and muddy shades of green. The hounds and deer are sketched in a somewhat darker chestnut colour, and several *pentimenti* are noticeable (especially the hound furthest

left, which was originally somewhat further to the right and in a different pose). The hounds are more deeply coloured than the rest of the painting, in white, ochre and grey.

The panel still forms a pair with the sketch for *Diana and Nymphs hunting Fal-low Deer* (No.21a; Fig.110). When sold in 1939 they both measured c.33 × 51.5 cm.<sup>1</sup> The apocryphal additions have since been removed (c.1.5 cm. at the bottom and c.8.5 cm. at the top).<sup>2</sup>

Burchard, who saw this sketch in 1939, does not seem to have accepted it as autograph, unlike its pendant: he believed it to be the work of Jan Boeckhorst under Rubens's instructions.<sup>3</sup> I do not agree with this judgement.

1. This state is reproduced in *Alpers, Torre*, fig.12.
2. Narrow strips (a few mm.wide) of the apocryphal addition are preserved. In their immediate vicinity, traces of modern retouching can be seen.
3. 'Hier ist die Frauengruppe schwach in der Erfindung wie in der Ausführung. Der Maler und Erfinder dürfte Jan Boeckhorst sein'.

**24. The Death of Adonis**

Oil on canvas; approximately 125 × 300 cm. *Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

PROVENANCE: Commissioned by Philip IV of Spain in 1639; Madrid, Alcázar, in the *bóvedas* or in the *pieza ochavada* (inv.1666; inv.1686; inv.1701–1703); presumably destroyed by fire in 1734.

COPIES: (1) Painting by Jan Thomas van Yperen (?), whereabouts unknown; probably formed a pair with No.21, Copy (6); panel, 73 × 103 cm. PROV. Gustav Gerhard, Budapest, sale, Berlin (Lepke), 10 November 1911, lot 34, pl.3; Hungarian collection, sale, New York (Anderson), 14 January 1921, lot 35 (repr.); Haas

Brothers, New York, c.1924 (photograph in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York). EXH. *Brussels, 1910*, No.527. LIT. A.P. de Mirimonde, 'Rubens et la musique', *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen*, 1977, p.135, fig.32; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.307, under No.222 (as copy); (2) Painting by W. van Herp, whereabouts unknown; copper, measurements unknown. PROV. Hubert Story, New York, 1904 (photograph in the Burchard Documentation, Rubenianum, Antwerp); (3) Painting by W. van Herp (?) (Fig.120), whereabouts unknown; canvas, 80 × 100 cm. PROV. De Berghe, sale, Brussels (Sainte Gudule), 7–8 June 1906, lot 114 (repr.). LIT. *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.307, under No.222 (as copy); (4) Painting by Frans Wouters (?), whereabouts unknown; forms a pair with No.23, Copy (2); panel, 56 × 68.5 cm. PROV. Sir John Foley Grey, Bt., Enville Hall (near Stourbridge), sale, London (Christie's), 15 June 1928, lot 94 (with its pendant, lot 93), bought by Leger; ? sale, Brussels (Fiévez), 10 December 1928, lot 64 (with the measurements: 57 × 69 cm.). LIT. *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.307, under No.222 (as copy); (5) Painting, whereabouts unknown; forms a pair with No.21, Copy (4); copper, 65.5 × 91 cm. PROV. Sale, New York (Christie's), 10 January 1980, lot 231 (with its pendant; as *J. van Balen*); (6) Painting (with the landscape further extended), Palacio de San Ildefonso (near Segovia); ? canvas, measurements unknown. LIT. Marqués de Lozoya, 'Pintura venatoria en los palacios reales', *Reales sitios*, III, No.9, 1966, p.22, repr. pp.24–25; (7) Painting, whereabouts unknown. PROV. Rev. W. T. Saward, Nottingham (photograph in the Rubenianum, Antwerp); (8) Drawing, whereabouts unknown; pen and brown ink. PROV. The Earl of Warwick; W.H. Jervis Wegg, London, sale, London (So-

theby's), 23 April 1941, lot 12 (as *Snyders*); (9) Tapestry (Fig.121) by Daniël Eggermans (? the Younger), whereabouts unknown; part of a series (see also under Nos.16, 20, 21, 26 and 27); 365 × 685 cm.; below on the right: *D.EGGERMANS. F.* and the mark of Brussels. PROV. Purchased by the Emperor Leopold I in 1666; Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; transferred to Karinhall, H.Göring's country house, in 1938; sent to Berchtesgaden in 1945, where seized by U.S. troops. LIT. *Birk, Inventar*, I, p.242, No.XXXVI, 4; *Baldass, Gobelinsammlung*, No.184, repr.; *Duverger, Tapijten naar Rubens*, pp.141–142, fig.12; *Bauer, Veränderungen*, p.140, No.XXXVI, 4, fig.137; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.307, under No.222; (10) Tapestry by Frans van der Borcht (1727–1761), whereabouts unknown; 407 × 660 cm.; part of a series (see also No.27, Copy [7]); the mark of Brussels and: *F.V.D.BORGHT*. PROV. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; transferred to Karinhall, H.Göring's country house, in 1939; sent to Berchtesgaden in 1945, where seized by U.S. troops. LIT. *Birk, Inventar*, I, p.245, No.XXXIX, 3; *Bauer, Veränderungen*, p.142, No.XXXIX, 3, fig.143.

LITERATURE: *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, pp.305, 307, under No.222.

The boar, attacked by five hounds, has brought Adonis to the ground and is about to gore his underbelly. Three huntsmen rush to his aid, and a fourth, blowing his horn, advances from the right with two more hounds on a leash.

The presence of several huntsmen at Adonis's death is contrary to Ovid's account (*Metamorphoses*, X, 708–716), but is probably inspired by Roman sarcophagus reliefs.<sup>1</sup>

The original canvas from the Alcázar



has apparently been lost, and we have no copy from the series in the museum of Nîmes; but we may suppose that the tapestry by Daniël Eggermans (Copy [9]; Fig. 121) follows the original composition very closely, with some reservation as regards the landscape. The chief differences between that composition and the sketch are as follows. In the sketch there are only four hounds at the extreme left, and the young huntsman lifting up Adonis has no sword at his belt. In the sketch, the man blowing the horn shows only his torso, while in the tapestry we also see his left leg; in the sketch he holds the horn in his right hand, in the tapestry he holds it in his left. In the sketch, the wounded dog has no collar. All the copies known to me agree with the tapestry on these points. The most similar is the copy formerly in the Gerhard collection (Copy [1]), where the landscape and the style of the figures are somewhat reminiscent of Jan Thomas van Yperen. Copies [2]–[5] all show the same landscape, differing from that in the tapestry and in the Gerhard copy. One of these (Copy [4]) may perhaps be ascribed to Frans Wouters, and others to Willem van Herp (e.g. Copy [3]; Fig. 120). Finally, Copy (6) presents a completely different, much more extended landscape.

1. See for example the sarcophagus at Mantua (Palazzo Ducale; C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*, III, 1, *Actaeon-Hercules*, Berlin, 1897, No. 20, pl. V).

#### 24a. The Death of Adonis: Oil Sketch (Fig. 119)

Oil on oak panel; 34.6 × 52.4 cm.  
Princeton, NJ, *The Art Museum, Princeton University*. Inv. No. 30-458.

PROVENANCE: Lord Sackville, Knole, Kent (before 1844, until 1929); Spinks &

Son, London, 1929–1930; given to the museum in 1930 by the Carnegie Corporation.

COPIES: (1) Painting, Warwick Castle; formed originally a pair with No. 20a, Copy (1); panel, 28 × 52 cm. (including an added strip above). PROV. By 1842 in the possession of the Earl of Warwick. EXH. *Exhibition of the British Institution*, London, 1842, No. 190; *Commemorative Exhibition of Art Treasures of the Midlands*, City of Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham, 1934, No. 131; *Oil Sketches and Smaller Pictures by Sir Peter Paul Rubens*, Thos. Agnew & Sons, London, February–March 1961, No. 24 (as Rubens). LIT. E. M. Greville, *Warwick Castle, Sevenoaks*, 1930–1931, p. 53; *Duverger, Tapijten naar Rubens*, pp. 141–142; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p. 307, under No. 222; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; forms a pair with No. 27a, Copy, and possibly originally part of the same series as No. 20a, Copy (3) and No. 25a, Copy (2); panel, 33 × 52 cm. PROV. Lord Rivers; Capt. G. Pitt-Rivers, Hinton St. Mary, Dorset, sale, London (Christie's), 3 May 1929, part of lot 56 (with its pendant), bought by Colnaghi; dealer Vitale Bloch, Berlin, 1930; dealer Colnaghi, London; sale, London (Sotheby's), 18 December 1946, lot 70; Desmond Gure, London, sale, London (Christie's), 15 July 1949, lot 84, bought by Wengraf; sale, Lucerne (Fischer), 17 June 1950. LIT. A. P. de Mirimonde, 'Rubens et la musique', *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen*, 1977, p. 135, fig. 32; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p. 307, under No. 222 (as copy); (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; forms a pair with No. 21a, Copy (2), and originally possibly part of the same series as No. 20a, Copy (4); ? canvas, ? 31 × 53 cm. PROV. Langfeldt, Oslo (photograph in the Witt Library, London).

LITERATURE: W. Hazlitt, *Criticisms on Art, Second Series*, 1844, Appendix VI, p. XLVII, No. 62; *Art News*, XXVIII, 19 February 1930, repr.; F. J. Mather junior, 'Notes', *Bulletin of the Department of Art and Archaeology of Princeton University*, September 1930, pp. 13-14; id., 'The Museum of Historic Art at Princeton University', *Art in America*, XXXII, 1944, p. 194; *Goris-Held*, pp. 53-54, No. A.79 (as copy); *Bordley, Rubens*, p. 144, fig. 77 (as *Snyders*); *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p. 307, No. 222; II, pl. 233 (as *Rubens*).

The differences between this sketch and the final canvas are noted under No. 24.

Burchard believed that the panel at Princeton, as well as that from the Pitt-Rivers collection (Copy [2]) and the one in Warwick Castle (Copy [1]), were all copies after a lost original, and he noted that the last of these should be regarded as the best. This painting, by the same hand as the *Calydonian Boar Hunt* in the Ghent museum (No. 20a, Copy [1]), indeed shows a very personal style but one that is not characteristic of Rubens. I believe that Held's recent acknowledgement of the panel at Princeton as the original by Rubens can be accepted, not only on grounds of quality but on account of the *pentimenti* on the extreme left (a few lines below and above the second hound), in the centre (the head of the first man standing upright was originally drawn further right), and on the extreme right (where the hound's paws are depicted with several loose lines, while the horn-blower's arm and instrument were originally further left).

This piece is not in the best of condition: the whole surface is crackled, and many places are worn and slightly retouched. The panel consists of three horizontal

boards measuring (in order from top to bottom) 11.6 cm., 18.8 cm. and 4.2 cm. Probably only the middle one is original.<sup>2</sup> After the board was added at the top, the foliage was retouched and worked up to a higher level.

The contours are fluently sketched in light brown, emphasized here and there with brick-red and dark brown. Adonis's cloak is pink, his tunic a dull light-blue; the tunic of the man lifting him up is a dull blue heightened with white in places. The first man standing upright is dressed in ochre yellow, the second in white.

1. Held (*Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p. 307, under No. 222) states that there exists a certificate by Burchard regarding the panel in the Pitt-Rivers collection. This is in fact not a certificate but an attestation that the panel, which was in the possession of Desmond Gure in 1947, was the same as the one sold at Christie's as 'Rubens' on 3 May 1929 (letter of 25 April 1947).
2. The bottom plank seems to be of the same wood as the top one, so it presumably did not belong to the original sketch. It is curious, however, that the latter was thus less high than the other sketches of the series: 18.8 cm. as opposed to c. 24 cm.

## 25. The Death of Silvia's Stag (Fig. 124)

Oil on canvas; 125 × 320 cm.; below on the left: 39. (red).

Gerona, Museo Arqueológico Provincial (on loan from the Prado, Madrid). No. 39-P.

PROVENANCE: Commissioned by Philip IV of Spain in 1639; Madrid, Alcázar, *pieza ochavada* (inv. 1666; inv. 1686; inv. 1701-1703); Real Museo de Pintura (Prado), Madrid, 1845; since 1882 at Gerona.

COPIES: (1) Painting by Frans Wouters (?), whereabouts unknown; copper, 104 × 130 cm. PROV. Casa collection, Madrid; Emilio de Sola, Cádiz, 1934. EXH. Cádiz, 1934, No. 34, pl. XVIII (as *School of Ru-*

bens); (2) Painting by Frans Wouters (?), possibly identical with Copy (3), whereabouts unknown; panel, 61.5 × 102 cm. PROV. Mrs. Seton Porter, sale, New York (Parke Bernet), 4–5 March 1955, lot 236 (repr.; as *Lucas van Uden*); Dr D. Arnon, New York; George J. Goldstein, 1961; presented to the Rose Art Museum, Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass.; (3) Painting (Fig. 125) by Frans Wouters (?), possibly identical with Copy (2), whereabouts unknown; panel, 62 × 99 cm. PROV. Sale, New York (Parke Bernet), 7 June 1978, lot 150 (repr.; as *Hendrik van Balen and studio*); sale, New York (Sotheby–Parke Bernet), 9 January 1980, lot 164; (4) Painting by Frans Wouters (?), whereabouts unknown; forms a pair with No. 27, Copy (4); support and dimensions unknown. PROV. Chiesa collection, Milan (Bassani photograph in the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague).

LITERATURE: P. de Madrazo, *Catálogo de los cuadros del Real Museo de Pintura*, 2nd edn., Madrid, 1845, p. 8, No. 39; *Cruzada Villaamil, Rubens*, pp. 317–318, Nos. 15–17; E. Cláudio Girbal, *Catálogo de los cuadros del Museo Provincial de Gerona*, Gerona, 1882, p. 17, No. 30; J. Pla Cargol, *Catàleg de les obres de pintura i escultura existents en el Museu Provincial de Girona*, Gerona, 1932, pp. 14–15, No. 30; *Bottineau, Alcázar*, 1958, p. 58, Nos. 167–169; *Inventarios reales, Carlos II*, I, p. 21, No. 28; *Díaz Padrón, Cat. Prado*, I, p. 325, No. 39-P; II, pl. 204; *Orso, Planet King*, pp. 195, 275, Nos. 655–657; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, pp. 305, 306, 309, under No. 224, fig. 38.

At the command of Juno, determined to thwart the Trojans' plans after they had landed in Latium, the fury Allecto brought it about that Aeneas's son Ascanius (also

called Iulus) mortally wounded a stag which was the favourite pet of Silvia, daughter of the shepherd Tyrrhus. Silvia's enraged brothers and the other shepherds thereupon attacked Ascanius, who was supported by his fellow-Trojans. This was the beginning of the war between the Trojans and the Rutuli (Virgil, *Aeneid*, VII, 475–508).

On the right of the picture Silvia is fondling the dying stag, while another woman cries out for revenge. The shepherds, armed with sticks, pitchforks and flails, threaten the Trojans advancing from the left. The foremost rider, on the white horse, is probably Ascanius; the man in front of him is shown to be a Trojan by his Phrygian cap.

This very rare subject<sup>1</sup> was identified by Held in 1947.<sup>2</sup> We may suppose that the term 'guerra' in the Alcázar inventories refers to this painting.<sup>3</sup>

Díaz Padrón, like Held, noted the connection between the Gerona canvas and the eight hunting scenes distributed in the Alcázar between the *pieza ochavada* and the *bóvedas*. Díaz Padrón believed it to be a copy after the lost original, while Held thought it possible that both canvases at Gerona, *The Death of Silvia's Stag* and the *Bull Hunt* (No. 26; Fig. 126), were the actual ones painted for the Alcázar.

The depressingly low quality of the former work seems at first sight to throw doubt on this opinion. However, the *Bull Hunt* can be regarded as an original, although mainly the work of the studio, and so probably the same is true of its companion piece. The latter has been so much overpainted, at the last restoration in 1982 and previously, that it is hard to judge what it originally looked like.<sup>4</sup> I do not have the impression, however, that its quality was anywhere up to that of the *Bull Hunt*, and the latter is itself far in-

ferior to *Diana and Nymphs attacked by Satyrs* in the same series (No.22; Fig.112), which is by Rubens's own hand. The provisional conclusion must be that this version of *The Death of Silvia's Stag* (Fig.124) is an original work from the studio, damaged and spoilt by later overpainting. The animals too are considerably over-painted: except in the stricken deer, I do not recognize Snyders's hand anywhere.

The painting at Gerona differs from the sketch (No.25a; Fig.122) in several important respects. In the large canvas the composition extends further to the left, and the group of riders on this side is somewhat differently composed. In the canvas Ascanius's horse is completely in side view, while in the sketch its head is turned away. In the sketch the tip of the Phrygian cap of the man in front of Ascanius is pointing backwards, while in the canvas it curves, more correctly, forwards. In the sketch the loose end of the flail wielded by the first of the Rutuli points upward, in the canvas downward. The shoulder of the man on the right, brandishing a cudgel, is clothed in the canvas and naked in the sketch; this is also true of the left shoulder of the woman behind Silvia. In the canvas another man can be seen on the far right, rushing out through the doorway.

Copies (1) to (4)—to which there are several references, some probably overlapping—present an interesting problem. In general they follow the composition of the final canvas (except for more vegetation at the top),<sup>5</sup> but they also agree with the sketch at several points (Fig.122) as in the turned-away head of Ascanius's horse, and the bared shoulder of the farmer with the cudgel (cf. Fig.125). This seems to show that these copies, or their prototypes, were executed in the master's studio or by someone who had access to

material from it. The same conclusion suggested itself with regard to copies of *The Death of Actaeon* (No.23), which moreover seem to be by the same hand as the ones here discussed—in my opinion, that of Frans Wouters.<sup>6</sup>

The two following extracts from the Spanish archives may refer to paintings of *The Death of Silvia's Stag*, but in each case a smaller format than the original is clearly in question. Real sitio de el Pardo, inventory of 1700, *sala de retratos*: 'Vn quadro pequeño, de vna batalleja de cazadores y vn venado muerto; con marco dorado y negro: original flamenco...';<sup>7</sup> Zarzuela, inventory of 1794: 'cazeria en que esta muerto vn venado consegurado a Diana—maniera de Rubens ...  $\frac{3}{4} \times 2$  varas'.<sup>8</sup>

1. Claude Lorrain depicted Ascanius shooting the stag: see M. Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain, The Paintings*, New York, 1961, No.222. For illustrations of this scene and *Silvia's Lament* in printed editions of the *Aeneid* see Held, *Oil Sketches*, I, p.309, n.1.
2. J.S.Held, 'Rubens and Virgil, a Self-Correction', *The Art Bulletin*, XXIX, 1947, pp.125–126. Held was anticipated by Pedro de Madrazo, who in the first Prado catalogue identified the subject as 'Principio de la guerra de Lacio', and also by the expert compiler of the catalogue for the sale of the collection of William Gibbons, Spennello, Worcestershire, which reads: 'Rubens, The Death of Sylvia's Stag; from Dryden's Virgil, Book 7; full of vigour' (London (Foster), 18 June 1857, lot 50, bought by Carnegie; I do not know which version or copy this refers to).
3. The inventory of 1666 describes three paintings as 'caza y guerras'; those of 1686 and 1701–1703 speak of 'cazerias y guerra' (see p.220, n.18).
4. Silvia herself and the stricken deer seem to be least altered. The colours are as follows: Ascanius wears a dark pink tunic and a grey-blue cloak. Silvia's dress is wine-red, her upper garment crimson; the other woman's dress is dark blue. See also p.220.
5. The scene on the extreme right is also further elaborated: besides the man coming through the doorway another scrambles out through the window, while two women seek to restrain them (a very Bruegelesque motif).
6. See also p.222.
7. Cf. the transcription in the Prado library, *Carpeta IV*, No.7267.

8. *Ibid.*, *Carpeta X*, No.20062-121. Several further descriptions in inventories and sale catalogues may refer to versions of *The Death of Silvia's Stag*, though they may equally be of *Cyparissus* (see p.223) or merely a *Deer Hunt*. E.g. inv. of the widow of Gerard Kuysten, Amsterdam, 19 December 1715. No.20: 'Doorschoten hart na Rubens' (A. Bredius, *Kunstler-Inventare*, III, The Hague, 1917, p.856); Richard Cosway sale, London (Stanley), 9 March 1822, lot 41: 'Rubens. Landscape with the Death of a Stag'.

### 25a. The Death of Silvia's Stag:

#### Oil Sketch (Figs.122, 123)

Oil on panel; 23.2 × 52.6 cm.

Philadelphia, Pa., Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection. Inv. No.2703.

PROVENANCE: In the John G. Johnson collection before 1911.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; forms a pair with No.20a, Copy (2); panel, 34 × 51 cm. PROV. ? Sale, Paris (Merlin and Durand-Duclos), 20-23 December 1824, lot 109 (with its pendant: 'l'un représentant une bataille, et l'autre une chasse au sanglier'); D. Komter, sale, Amsterdam (A. Mak), 9 March 1926 et seq., lot 195 (with its pendant; repr.); J.H.J. Mellaert, London (with its pendant). LIT. Goris-Held, p.36, under No.69; Held, *Oil Sketches*, I, p.309, under No.224; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; originally possibly part of the same series as No.20a, Copy (3), No.24a, Copy (2) and No.27a, Copy; panel, 34 × 52 cm. PROV. Gallery Kleinberger, Paris, cat.1911, No.94 (repr.). LIT. W.R. Valentiner, 'Gemälde des Rubens in Amerika, II', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, N.F., XXIII, 1911-1912, p.268; Sweeny, *Cat. Johnson Coll.*, under No.663; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 42 × 61 cm. PROV. Private collection, Kingston St. Mary, Somerset, 1952 (photograph in the Burchard Documentation, Rubenianum, Antwerp).

LITERATURE: W.R. Valentiner, 'Gemälde des Rubens in Amerika, II', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, N.F., XXIII, 1911-1912, pp.268, 271, No.31, fig.7; *id.*, *John G. Johnson Collection, Catalogue...*, II, Philadelphia, 1913, p.163; *id.*, *The Art of the Low Countries*, New York, 1914, p.193; O.H. von Bockelberg, *Das Jagdstück in der nordischen Kunst von der Gotik bis zum Rokoko*, Bleichrode am Harz, 1936, p.67, n.; *John G. Johnson Collection. Catalogue of Paintings*, Philadelphia, 1941, p.36, No.663; W.R. Valentiner, 'Rubens' Paintings in America', *The Art Quarterly*, IX, 1946, p.167, No.133; Goris-Held, p.36, No.69, pl.82; J.S. Held, 'Rubens and Virgil, a Self-Correction', *The Art Bulletin*, XXIX, 1947, pp.125-126, fig.1; Larsen, *Rubens*, p.219, No.103; W. Stechow, *Rubens and the Classical Tradition*, (*Martin Classical Lectures*, XXII), Cambridge, Mass., 1968, pp.7-8, fig.1; Sweeny, *Cat. Johnson Coll.*, No.663, reproduced; Diaz Padrón, *Catálogo*, I, p.325, under No.39-P; Held, *Oil Sketches*, I, pp.308-309, No.224; II, pl.234; J.S. Held, 'Rubens' Ölskizzen. Ein Arbeitsbericht', in *Peter Paul Rubens. Werk und Nachruhm*, [Munich], 1981, pp.63-64, fig.62; Adler, *Landscapes*, p.141, under No.41, p.150, under No.46.

The differences between this sketch and the final painting are summarized under No.25. The most important feature seems to be that the composition in the sketch extends less far to the left: of the dog at the left edge, only the hind legs can be seen. Held inferred from this that the sketch had been cut down on the left. This seems unlikely to me: the sketch in its present form is of the same width as all the others in the series (except the *Bull Hunt*, see No.26a), so that we may assume that the panel was not cut down to any important extent. I suggest that Rubens

decided to extend the composition on the left when confronted with a canvas somewhat broader than planned. What he did was not simply to add one or two figures but to modify the whole group except for the two foremost pursuers.

Like the other sketches in this series, the panel in the Johnson collection was enlarged with a broad strip at the top (c.8 cm.) and a narrower one at the bottom (c.2 cm.), making its overall dimensions 33.7 × 52.4 cm.<sup>1</sup> These additions were removed in 1973.

The painting is in very poor condition. From 1939 to 1956 it was covered with a thin protective sheet of paper; in 1956 and again in 1967 it was treated with wax. In 1973 the painting was restored; a photograph (Fig.123), taken after previous retouchings were removed and filled in with white, shows how much of the original paint had been lost. The other photograph reproduced here (Fig.122) shows the present state.

Three red lines run vertically (not all the way from top to bottom) at a distance of c.3 mm., 1 cm. and 2.5 cm. from the left edge. The figures are fluently outlined in brown paint, with finer accents and details in dark brown. The colour is applied transparently, with supporting impasto here and there: pinkish-purple for Ascanius's tunic, pink for the man in the centre with a pitchfork, light blue for the man in front, shot pink and purple for Silvia's dress. Some scratches in the upper right corner were made while the paint was still wet. There is one important *pentimento*: the stag's body was originally higher up and further left.

As far as I know, all copies after the sketch show it in its extended state. Copy (1) until recently formed a pair with a copy after *The Calydonian Boar Hunt* (No.20) and Copy (2) can also be connected

on stylistic grounds with copies after other compositions of this hunting series. Copy (3), on the other hand, stands completely by itself.

1. This state is reproduced e.g. in *Goris-Held*, pl.82.

## 26. Bull Hunt (Fig.126)

Oil on canvas; 111 × 368 cm.; below on the left: 3. (pink).

Gerona, Museo Arqueológico Provincial (on loan from the Prado, Madrid). No.3-P.

PROVENANCE: Commissioned by Philip IV of Spain in 1639; Madrid, Alcázar, in the *bóvedas* or in the *pieza ochavada* (inv.1666; inv.1686; inv.1701-1703); Real Museo de Pintura (Prado), Madrid, 1845; since 1882 at Gerona.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas (?), 47 × 106 cm. PROV. ? Pierre Crozat (inv.1740, No.414: 'Un tableau peint sur toile de dix sept pouces et demy de haut sur trois pieds quatre pouces de large [47.4 × 108.3 cm.], représentant une chasse au taureau avec plusieurs figures à cheval et à pieds, peint dans le goût de Rubens...'); ? Crozat sale, Paris (L.-F. Delatour), June 1751, lot 162; Skutezky, Raigern (Czech.), 1917 (photograph in the Rijksbureau voor Kunst-historische Documentatie, The Hague). LIT. T. von Frimmel, *Studien...*, III, 1917, repr.; M. Stufmann, 'Les tableaux de la collection de Pierre Crozat', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXXII, 1968, p.105, No.391, repr.; (2) Painting (Fig.130), Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Corsini, No.338. PROV. G. Torlonia, Duke of Bracciano (d.1829); Palazzo Torlonia, Rome; since 1892 in the Palazzo Corsini with the Torlonia collection (No.205). LIT. *Rooses, Life*, I, p.263 (as copy); F. Hermann, *Catalogo della R. Galleria d'Arte Antica nel*

*Palazzo Corsini*, Bologna, 1924, p.28, No.338 (as *Rubens*); *Bordley, Rubens*, fig.76; *Logan-Haverkamp Begemann, Dessins*, p.91; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 73.5×153.5 cm. PROV. Gallery Ehrich, New York, 1911, sale, New York (Anderson), 9 May 1922, lot 108 (repr.); Gustave J.F.Feurth, New York, 1936; Mrs. Edna F.Lemle, Hewlett, L.I., sale, New York (Parke-Bernet), 24 October 1946, lot 37 (repr.). EXH. *Loan Exhibition of Paintings by Old Masters*, Palace of Fine Arts, San Francisco, Calif., 1920; *An Exhibition of Sixty Paintings and Some Drawings by Peter Paul Rubens*, Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, February–March 1936, No.41. LIT. W.R.Valentiner, 'Gemälde des Rubens in Amerika, I', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, N.F., XXIII, 1911–1912, pp.186–187, fig.6 (as *Rubens*); id., *The Art of the Low Countries*, New York, 1914, p.235, No.9 (as *studio replica*); *Bordley, Rubens*, p.84 (as *Snyders*); *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.311, under No.226; (4) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 32×96.5 cm. (until 1947: 42×96.5 cm.). PROV. Van Camp, sale, Antwerp (Martinez), 12–14 September 1853; J.P.Huybrechts, Antwerp, sale, Paris (Oudart), 4 April 1868; Edwin Cliff, St. Quentin, sale, Paris (Pillet), 18 January 1875; Gallery Sedelmeyer, Paris, cat.1901, No.36 (repr.); 3rd Charles Sedelmeyer sale, Paris (Sedelmeyer), 3–5 June 1907, lot 40 (repr.); Gallery A. De Heuvel, Brussels, 1947; purchased there by G.Peltzer, Verviers; sale, London (Christie's), 22 April 1977, lot 4 (repr.). LIT. *Duverger, Tapijten naar Rubens*, p.146, fig.18; *Díaz Padrón, Cat. Prado*, I, p.425, under No.3-P; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.311, under No.226; (5) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 120×231 cm. PROV. Private collection, Belgium, 1953, where purchased by G.Dulière, Brussels (together with Copy [9]); photograph in the

Burchard Documentation, Rubenianum, Antwerp); sale, Brussels (Palais des Beaux-Arts), 23–25 February 1960, lot 351 (together with Copy [9]). EXH. *Rubens op zijn landgoed*, Rubenskasteel, Elewijt, 1959. LIT. *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.311, under No.226; (6) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 118×150 cm. PROV. Marquis de Forbin Janson, sale, Paris, 2 May 1842, lot 25; (7) Drawing, whereabouts unknown; pen and brown ink and wash. PROV. ? Nourri, sale, Paris (Folliot-Regnault), 24 February 1785, part of lot 864 ('... lavé à l'encre'); Philipp Dräxler, Vienna, 1866; passed from the latter to Josef C.Ritter von Klinkosch; Josef C.Ritter von Klinkosch, sale, Vienna (C.J.Wawra), 15 April 1889 et seq., lot 800; ? still in a Viennese private collection c.1930. LIT. G.F.Waagen, *Die vornehmsten Kunstdenkmäler von Wien*, II, Vienna, 1866, p.196; (8) Drawing, Paris, Institut Néerlandais, Fondation Custodia, Inv. No.8006; black and red chalk, 200×653 mm. PROV. ? P.Wouters, Lier, sale, Brussels (T'Sas), 1797 ('dessin aux crayons rouge et noir'). LIT. *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.311, under No.226; (9) Drawing, whereabouts unknown; pencil or black chalk, approximately 200×700 mm. PROV. Private collection, Belgium, 1953, where purchased by G.Dulière, Brussels (together with Copy [5]); photograph in the Burchard Documentation, Rubenianum, Antwerp); sale, Brussels (Palais des Beaux-Arts), 23–25 February 1960, lot 351 (together with Copy [5]); (10) Drawing (cf. Copy [17]), whereabouts unknown; black chalk, dimensions unknown. PROV. James Hazard (1748–1787), sale, Brussels (T'Sas), 15 April 1789, lot 54; (11) Drawing after the left half of the composition, Leningrad, Hermitage, Inv. No.18348; black and red chalk on grey paper, heightened with white, 278×414 mm. LIT. M.Dobroklons-

ky, 'Einige Rubens-Zeichnungen in der Ermitage', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, May 1930, p.37; F.Lugt, 'Beiträge zu dem Katalog der niederländischen Handzeichnungen in Berlin', *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, LII, 1931, p.65; (12) Drawing of the two huntsmen at the left (Fig.128), Paris, Institut Néerlandais, Fondation Custodia, Inv. No.2390; black chalk, with red chalk in the flesh areas, 332 × 292 mm.; a horizontal fold in the middle.—*Verso*: rough sketch of a baluster, black chalk; modern inscription: Rubens, and the number 2390. PROV. ? De Burlet, Basle; F.Lugt, Maartensdijk. EXH. *Teekeningen en prenten van Antwerpsche meesters der XVIIe eeuw*, Koninklijk Kunstverbond, Antwerp, August–September 1927, No.18; *Rubenstentoonstelling*, Gallery J.Goudstikker, Amsterdam, August–September 1933, No.133 (repr.). LIT. Glück-Haberditzl, p.53, No.175, repr. (as Rubens); M.Delacre, *Études sur quelques dessins de P.P.Rubens*, Ghent, 1930, p.4, fig.3; Bock-Rosenberg, I, p.253, under No.379; Bordley, *Rubens*, p.138 (as Snyders); Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, I, p.302, under No.191 (as copy); Alpers, *Torre*, p.231, under No.27a; Bernhard, *Handzeichnungen*, repr. p.372; H.Mielke, in *Mielke-Winner*, p.129, under No.57 (as copy); Logan-Haverkamp Begemann, *Dessins*, p.91 (as copy); Held, *Oil Sketches*, I, p.311, under No.226 (as ? Rubens); (13) Drawing of the two huntsmen on left, whereabouts unknown; charcoal and white crayon on brown paper, 260 × 210 mm.; colour notes.—*Verso*: head study. PROV. Warneck, sale, Paris, May 1905, lot 219; M.Delacre, Ghent; ? R.Ammann; Gallery C.G.Boerner, Düsseldorf, cat. May–June 1964, No.105 (repr.). EXH. *Teekeningen en prenten van Antwerpsche meesters der XVIIe eeuw*, Koninklijk Kunstverbond, Antwerp, August–September 1927, No.21. LIT. M.Delacre,

*Études sur quelques dessins de P.P.Rubens*, Ghent, 1930, p.4, fig.4; Held, *Oil Sketches*, I, p.311, under No.226; (14) Drawing after the right half of the composition, whereabouts unknown; black and red chalk on grey paper, 237 × 423 mm.; below on the right: P.P.Rubens and an unidentified collection mark, consisting of the letters J and R. PROV. Sale, London (Christie's), 13 March 1980, lot 38; (15) Drawing after the right half of the composition (Fig.129), Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Inv.No.379; black chalk, 310 × 433 mm.; stained, mounted. PROV. unknown. LIT. F.Lippmann, *Zeichnungen alter Meister im Königl. Kupferstichkabinett zu Berlin*, Berlin, 1882, p.35, pl.60; M.Rooses, 'Oeuvres de Rubens. Addenda', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, No.1, 1897, p.99 (addendum to Rooses, V, No.1496); Michel, *Rubens*, fig.65; Rooses, *Life*, I, p.263; *Zeichnungen alter Meister im Kupferstichkabinett der K. Museen zu Berlin*, Berlin, 1910, pl.248; Glück-Haberditzl, p.53, No.176, repr. (as Rubens); Bock-Rosenberg, I, p.253, No.379; II, pl.186 (as Rubens); F.Winkler, *Flämische Zeichnungen*, (*Zeichnungen des Kupferstichkabinetts in Berlin*), Berlin, 1948, pp.53, 56, fig.31 (as Rubens); Bordley, *Légende*, p.30 (as Snyders); Bernhard, *Handzeichnungen*, repr. p.373; H.Mielke, in *Mielke-Winner*, pp.128–129, No.57, repr. (as copy); Logan-Haverkamp Begemann, *Dessins*, p.91 (as copy); Held, *Oil Sketches*, I, p.311, under No.226 (as ? Rubens); (16) Lithograph after Copy (15). LIT. Rooses, V, p.256, under No.1496; (17) Facsimile engraving by J.Hazard after Copy (10), in *Recueil de dessins de différentes écoles, fidèlement gravés par Monsieur Hazard ... d'après des originaux de même grandeur, tirés de sa collection*. LIT. G.K. Nagler, *Die Monogrammisten*, III, 1863 (reprint, Munich 1919), p.412, No.2; Wurzbach, I, p.652, No.1; (18) Tapestry (Fig.127)



by Daniël Eggermans (? the Younger), whereabouts unknown; part of a series (see also under Nos. 16, 20, 21, 24 and 27); 365 × 933 cm.; below on the right: D. EGGERMANS. F. and the mark of Brussels. PROV. Purchased by the Emperor Leopold I in 1666; Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; transferred to Karinhall, H. Göring's country house, in 1938; sent to Berchtesgaden in 1945, where seized by U.S. troops. LIT. *Birk, Inventar*, I, p. 242, No. XXXVI, 6; *Baldass, Gobelinssammlung*, No. 186, repr.; *Duverger, Tapijten naar Rubens*, pp. 144–145, fig. 17; *Bauer, Veränderungen*, p. 140, No. XXXVI, 6, fig. 139; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p. 311, under No. 226.

LITERATURE: P. de Madrazo, *Catálogo de los cuadros del Real Museo de Pintura*, 2nd edn., Madrid, 1845, p. 2, No. 3; E. Claudio Girbal, *Catálogo de los cuadros del Museo Provincial de Gerona*, Gerona, 1882, p. 17, No. 31; *Bock-Rosenberg*, I, p. 253 (as for the *Torre de la Parada*); J. Pla Cargol, *Catálogo de les obres de pintura i escultura existents en el Museu Provincial de Girona*, Gerona, 1933, p. 15, No. 31; *Díaz Padrón, Cat. Prado*, I, p. 324–325, No. 3-P; II, pl. 204; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, pp. 305, 306, 310–311, under No. 226, fig. 39.

Five men on horseback and three on foot, together with four hounds, are hunting wild bulls. One of these lies dead on the ground; the other stands fiercely at bay in the centre of the picture and is goring the white horse on the left, which falls together with its rider. The other hunters, for the most part dressed as Orientals, try to overcome the bull, which has already been hit by a spear behind its head and another in its flank. The two huntsmen advancing from the left, armed with short swords or cutlasses, are trying to distract the bull with red rags.

On the reverse of a drawing by Rubens of c. 1611–1612, a study of a female figure for the *Assumption of the Virgin* at Vienna,<sup>1</sup> are some loose sketches for a *Bull Hunt*,<sup>2</sup> which, however, seem to have no direct connection with this composition.

Glück and Haberditzl date the drawings in Berlin and in the Frits Lugt collection (Copies [12] and [15]) to the period of Rubens's stay in Spain (1628–1629), and seem thus to have connected the subject with the Spanish sport of bullfighting. This may indeed have been part of Rubens's inspiration, and there may also be a reference to the bull killed by the courageous Prince Baltasar Carlos, whose prowess, as suggested in the introduction to Nos. 20–27, may have been one of the reasons why the hunting series was commissioned. But the painting shows neither a European bullfight nor the Gauls hunting the aurochs as described by Caesar: the subject is an Oriental bull hunt, examples of which can be seen in Flemish tapestry.<sup>3</sup> Rubens may have found inspiration for it in descriptions by ancient authors of bull hunts in the Hellenistic East.<sup>4</sup>

The pose of the second man from the left is the same as that of a man on the sheet of studies for *The Battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs* in W. Burchard's collection.<sup>5</sup> The pose of the Oriental sliding from the falling horse is inspired by the falling Decius in *The Death of Decius Mus*,<sup>6</sup> and his mount resembles a horizontal version, in reverse, of the rearing horse in the sketch of a *Lion Hunt* in the Hermitage (No. 111a; Fig. 75). For other figures too, parallels can be found in Rubens's early hunting scenes: e.g. the Moor drawing his sword on the far right is based on the horseman furthest to the right in the *Landscape with a Boar Hunt* at Dresden (Fig. 26).

There is disagreement as to the status

of the canvas at Gerona. Díaz Padrón considered it a copy after a lost original,<sup>7</sup> while in Held's opinion it was more than likely to be the original from the Alcázar, though for the most part studio work. I am inclined to share this view. The execution is livelier than that of the copies after Rubens made in Spain by Mazo and others, and the style of the late Rubens and of Snyders is clearly perceivable. However, the painting lacks the subtlety and spontaneity of *Diana and Nymphs attacked by Satyrs* in the same series (No.22; Fig.112), and it must be supposed that the studio had a very large hand in it. In quality it seems even inferior to the *Bear Hunt* (No.27; Fig.132), while far surpassing *The Death of Silvia's Stag* in the same museum (No.25; Fig.124).<sup>8</sup>

The *Bull Hunt* at Gerona is the widest of the whole hunting series, exceeding the others in breadth by between 50 cm. and 1 metre.

The *Bull Hunt* also figures in the set of tapestries formerly at Vienna; but apart from this we are struck, in examining the copies, by an unexpected aspect in this series. There is no 'cabinet piece' corresponding to the cabinet-size copies of the other compositions,<sup>9</sup> but on the other hand there are innumerable more or less accurate copies, including a surprising number of drawings. These copies fall into two groups: those presenting the composition of the canvas at Gerona, e.g. Copies (8), (9), (14), and (15),<sup>10</sup> and those which, like the tapestry, Copy (18), (Fig.127), extend somewhat further to the right: in this group both hind legs of the horse whose rider thrusts his spear into the bull's flank are fully visible, and we also see the haunches and part of the tail of the horse of the Moor on the extreme right, e.g. Copies (2)–(5). The possibility must be recognized that this is the origi-

nal form of Rubens's *Bull Hunt*; it seems to me far from certain, however, as the sketch extends only as far to the right as the original at Gerona and the first group of copies.

Some copies of the second group are sketch-like in character,<sup>11</sup> which led Burcharth to suppose that they were made from Rubens's sketch. This was before the original sketch (No.26a; Fig.131) was discovered, whereas we are now able to see that these copies have no connection with it. Are we then to suppose that besides this sketch there was a more elaborate *modello* by Rubens's own hand? At this stage of his development it seems to me unlikely. It may be, however, that the *modello* on which the cartoon for the tapestry was based had sketch-like features and that the Copies in question were made from it; this would also explain their agreement with the tapestry as regards extension to the right. However, this *modello* cannot have been entirely sketch-like: it must have been fairly detailed, as the tapestry reproduces several details very faithfully. The copy in the Palazzo Corsini (Copy [2]; Fig.130) answers to this description up to a point: some parts of it are like a sketch, but in others the forms are closely defined and details of physiognomy and clothing are carefully observed. However, there are some details in which the tapestry is faithful to the original at Gerona, but for which the copy in the Palazzo Corsini cannot alone have provided a sufficient basis. The latter, at all events, is of remarkably high quality, and probably served as the model for Copies (3)–(5).

Two drawings (Figs.128, 129), each reproducing a fragment of the total composition, were, since the publication of *Glück-Haberdtztl*, generally regarded as original studies by Rubens; recently, how-

ever, their authenticity has been challenged by Hans Mielke. Burchard believed them to be copies after the sketch, and suggested that they were by Paul de Vos or at any rate in his style: he probably meant by this that De Vos elaborated in these drawings the part of the composition that Rubens had assigned to him. However, it has since been established that Snyders and not Paul de Vos was concerned with this project; and since the discovery of the sketch we know that the drawings were not made from it but from the final painting. Despite their high quality it seems to me that they are definitely copies. This is especially clear in the sheet at Berlin (Copy [15]; Fig. 129), representing the right half of the composition: in some places, e.g. the hand of the unmounted huntsman, the forms are rendered with less assurance than we are used to from Rubens, and the emphatic, zigzag hatching is too mechanical. The chest and feet of the horse behind the bull are summarily indicated with a few strokes which conform closely to the outlines in the painting: this points to the copyist's hand, and so, as Mielke observed, does the absence of part of the horse's hind leg, the rest of the animal being fully drawn. The reason for this, of course, is that the canvas ended there. (The position of the Moor in this drawing is not quite correct: he should be somewhat further to the left). As Burchard pointed out, the drawing is by the same hand as a copy of the animals from *The Death of Actaeon* (No. 23, Copy [6]; Fig. 117).

The drawing of the two huntsmen on foot<sup>12</sup> in the Frits Lugt collection (Copy [12]; Fig. 128) is of higher quality, and is very similar in style to Rubens's late drawings. I do not wish formally to dispute the view of Mielke and Burchard that it is by the same hand as the Berlin

sheet, but I would put a question mark against it. That it is a copy and not an original study is shown not only by certain weaknesses, especially in the articulation of limbs, but above all by the indication of landscape: for instance, on the right, under the piece of cloth held up by the huntsman, can be seen the base of a tree-trunk and some other signs of vegetation that are exactly imitated from the large canvas at Gerona.

1. Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, No. 111; Freedberg, *After the Passion*, No. 37f; this drawing was bought in 1977 by the National Gallery of Art, Washington (Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund, Inv. No. B. 30, 458).
2. See Anne-Marie Logan and E. Haverkamp Begemann, 'Dessins de Rubens', *Revue de l'art*, XLII, 1978, p. 92, fig. 20; Anne-Marie Logan, 'Rubens Exhibitions, 1977-1978', *Master Drawings*, XVI, 1978, p. 449. The presence in the drawing of spectators and a high priest (?) suggests a ritual bull-fight rather than a bull-hunt in the proper sense. Did Rubens seek inspiration in the *taurokathapsia* described in Heliodorus's *Aethiopica* (X, 28-30)?
3. A tapestry of this kind was reproduced in the advertisement section of *Apollo*, June 1977. A bull hunt is seen in Jan Brueghel's *St John on Patmos* (Rome, Galleria Doria-Pamphilj, see Ertz, *Brueghel*, cat. No. 3, fig. 91); bull hunts in antique style are also depicted on Renaissance gems and bronze plaquettes (see e.g. J. Pope-Hennessy, *Renaissance Bronzes*, (*Bronzes from the Samuel H. Kress Collection*), London, 1965, No. 44, fig. 389).
4. For these antique bull hunts see L. Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*, 9th edn., Leipzig, 1920, II, pp. 88-89; also Oppian, *Cynegetica*, II, 43-82.
5. Alpers, *Torre*, No. 37a, fig. 137.
6. *K.d.K.*, p. 146; see also for this motif p. 108 above.
7. Díaz Padrón (loc. cit.) mentions another copy as No. 969 in the Prado, but the Prado catalogues list another painting under this number. According to Díaz Padrón a picture of 'a similar subject' is mentioned in 1881 in the Palacio de San Ildefonso with the provenance Riofrío (referring to Breñosa, *Guía del Palacio de San Ildefonso*, 1884, p. 85, No. 3297). Is this the painting which has been at Gerona since 1882, or a different one?
8. See also p. 220 above. Like *The Death of Silvia's Stag* (No. 25; Fig. 124), this painting was restored in 1982, but in this case it was not spoilt by excessive over-painting or otherwise. The figure 3 which can be seen in an older photograph at the bottom in the centre was painted out, whereas the same figure

below on the left was not touched. Colours: the man slipping off the horse is dressed in golden ochre, his saddle-cloth red; the Oriental behind is dressed in pink, the horseman to his right wears a red cap; the horseman on the far right wears a dark pink cloak over a blue garment.

9. None of the copies listed here forms a pair with another hunting scene; such pairs have existed, however, e.g. 'Bull and bear hunting, a pair' sold at Christie's, London, on 28 April 1798 (lot 58).
10. Even in comparison with these copies the canvas at Gerona is somewhat too narrow; initially it was probably a trifle broader on the right and also extended further at the bottom. Copy (1) is the narrowest of all; it does not show the Moor on the extreme right.
11. The copy from the Dulière collection (Copy [5]) is not of a sketch-like character, but the fanciful elaboration of certain details makes it probable that this work was based on one of the sketch-like copies. Dulière bought it from the same collection as a drawing (Copy [9]); however, the two copies had come together only a short time previously and rather by chance (information from Mr. Dulière).
12. Copy (13) from the Delacre collection shows the same fragment; but the colour notations indicate that it was based on a painted version and not on the drawing in the Lugt collection.

### 26a. Bull Hunt: Oil Sketch (Fig.131)

Oil on Panel; 35.2 × 64.6 cm.

Private Collection, U.S.A.

PROVENANCE: Sir William Fitzherbert, Bt., Tissington Hall, Ashbourne, Derby., 1868; Wildenstein and Co., New York, 1980.

EXHIBITED: *National Exhibition of Works of Art*, Leeds, 1868, No.761.

LITERATURE: *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, pp.310-311, No.226; II, pl.236.

The differences between this sketch and the final painting are not very great, but numerous. The following are the most important. In the sketch the trees on the left are missing, and the hand of the second man from the left is entirely hidden by the piece of cloth, whereas in the final

composition the thumb is visible. In the sketch one dog is missing at the far left, and the third horseman's shield is held higher. The second bull, which in the final painting lies dead on the ground, is not in the sketch. The right elbow of the Moor on the extreme right is lifted higher in the sketch, and his sword is already half-drawn.

The panel consists of three boards: the join at the top is level with the top of the shield of the centre horseman, while at the bottom it is about 2 cm. from the edge. All three boards are evidently original: the vertical strokes of the under-painting to left and right are unbroken, though this is less clear at the bottom. The painting is in excellent condition. The outlines are traced confidently with fluent brown strokes, emphasized here and there with black. Some forms are highlighted with white or yellowish-white. Colour is sparingly applied and is very transparent: flesh-colours on the left of a light brick shade, red in the saddle-cloth of the stumbling horse; the dress of the second Oriental horseman is violet with grey shadows, the third horseman's cap is red; the fourth horseman's tunic too is red, his breeches grey, his horse sorrel.

Several *pentimenti* are visible. The man unseated by the fall of his horse originally held his left arm diagonally across his chest, with his hand on the butt-end of his javelin; the bull's left foreleg was originally placed somewhat higher; the right arm of the man on the extreme left was originally drawn further back.

This sketch differs from the others of the hunting series in three respects. There is scarcely any sign of space-defining elements such as trees or vegetation; the panel is not of the same standard size (c.24 × 52 cm.); and no copy of it is known to exist.

27. **Bear Hunt** (Fig.132)

Oil on canvas; 129.5 × 195.5 cm. (cut down at the right; original width c.300 cm.).

Raleigh, NC, North Carolina Museum of Art. Inv.No.52.9.108.

PROVENANCE: Commissioned by Philip IV of Spain in 1639; Madrid, Alcázar, in the *bóvedas* or the *pieza ochavada* (inv.1666; inv.1686; inv.1701-1703); Casa del Marqués de Bedmar (inv.1734); Buen Retiro (inv. 1748, No.1101; inv.1794, No.412); N.W.Ridley Colbourne, 1831; Dowager Lady Cranworth; dealer A.L.Nicholson, London, 1936; Karl Lilienfeld, New York; dealer A.L.Nicholson, London, 1937; sale, London (Christie's), 12 March 1948, lot 152; dealer M.B.Asher, London, 1949; dealer David M.Koetser, New York; purchased by the museum in 1952.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig.134), Nîmes, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Inv.No.IP-293; belonging to the same series as the paintings listed as Copy (1) under Nos.21, 22 and 23; canvas, 110 × 280 cm. PROV. In the museum by 1895. LIT. Cat. museum Nîmes, 1940; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, pp.305, 306, 310, under No.225; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 55.5 × 104 cm. PROV. Count Ambrozy Migazzi, Budapest; dealer E.A.Silberman, Budapest and New York; R.W.Neugebauer, St.John, New Brunswick (Canada), 1939, 1958; Gisela Kernperdick, Kaster (near Grevenbroich, Neth.), sale, London (Christie's), 26 November 1965, lot 71; art market, Düsseldorf. LIT. W.Valentiner, *Catalogue of Paintings. North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh, NC, 1956*, pp.65-66, under No.130; *Duverger, Tapijten naar Rubens*, p.144, fig.16; M.Díaz Padrón, in *Cat. Exh. Madrid, 1977-78*, p.110, under No.94; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.310, under No.225 (as copy); (3) Painting, whereabouts un-

known; panel, 59 × 81 cm. PROV. Sale, London (Sotheby's), 12 June 1978, lot 243; (4) Painting, whereabouts unknown; forms a pair with No.25, Copy (4); support and dimensions unknown. PROV. Chiesa collection, Milan (Bassani photograph in the Rijksbureau voor Kunst-historische Documentatie, The Hague); (5) Painting, whereabouts unknown. PROV. Leray, Stockholm, 1939 (photograph in the Rijksbureau voor Kunst-historische Documentatie, The Hague); (6) Tapestry (Fig.135) by Daniël Eggermans (? the Younger), whereabouts unknown; part of a series (see also under Nos.16, 20, 21, 24 and 26); 365 × 700 cm.; below on the right the mark of Brussels and: D.EGGERMANS. F. PROV. purchased by the Emperor Leopold I in 1666; Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; transferred to Karin hall, H.Göring's country house, in 1938; sent to Berchtesgaden in 1945, where seized by U.S. troops. LIT. *Birk, Inventar*, I, p.242, No.XXXVI, 3; *Baldass, Gobelinssammlung*, No.183, repr.; *Duverger, Tapijten naar Rubens*, pp.142, 144, fig.15; *Bauer, Veränderungen*, p.140, No.XXXVI, 3, fig.136; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.310, under No.225; (7) Tapestry with the right half of the composition, in reverse, by Frans van der Borcht (1727-1761), whereabouts unknown; belonging to the same series as No.24, Copy (10); 407 × 285 cm.; the mark of Brussels and: F.V.D.BORGHT. PROV. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; transferred to Karin hall, H.Göring's country house, in 1939; sent to Berchtesgaden 1945, where seized by U.S. troops; sale, New York (Parke Bernet), 15 May 1964, lot 414 (repr.). LIT. *Birk, Inventar*, I, p.245, No.XXXIX, 2; *Bauer, Veränderungen*, p.142, No.XXXIX, 2, fig.142.

EXHIBITED: *Exhibition of the British Institution*, London, 1831, No.49.

LITERATURE: *Cruzada Villaamil, Rubens*, p.324, No.31; *Rooses*, IV, p.350; *Larsen, Rubens*, p.220, No.112, pl.141a; W. Valentin, *Catalogue of Paintings. North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh, NC, 1956*, pp.65-66, No.130, repr.; W. A. Cartwright, *Guide to the Art Museums in the United States*, New York, 1958, repr. p.147; *Alpers, Torre*, p.39; A. P. de Mirimonde, 'Rubens et la musique', *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen*, 1977, p.135, fig.34; M. Díaz Padrón, in *Cat. Exh. Madrid, 1977-78*, p.110, under No.94; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.310, under No.225.

Two horsemen, wearing costumes with sixteenth-century features,<sup>1</sup> and two men on foot are hunting two bears (in the original state of the canvas). On the left a bear, rearing on its hind legs, bites the arm of one of the riders, whose companion approaches from the right with drawn sword. On the far right another bear is beset by seven hounds, two of which lie injured on the ground. Two men advance towards the spectator, one blowing a horn and the other armed with a spear.

The pose of the horse on the left occurs frequently in Rubens's work, e.g. in the sketch of a *Lion Hunt* in the National Gallery, London (No.3; Fig.39), where the rider's pose also resembles that on the canvas at Raleigh. The motif of the bear biting a huntsman in the arm may have been borrowed from a print by Stradanus.<sup>2</sup> The leftmost hound was used by Rubens in earlier hunting scenes, e.g. the *Boar Hunt* at Marseilles (No.4; Fig.40), and the white dog biting the bear's throat occurs in a *Calydonian Boar Hunt* (No.12; cf. Fig.81). Parallels for the other figures can also be found in the earlier hunting

scenes. The second rider and his horse are almost literally borrowed from an etching by Tempesta (Fig.17).<sup>3</sup>

The canvas at Raleigh does not show the whole composition: as we see from the very accurate copy at Nîmes (Copy [1]; Fig.134), about one-third of the original has disappeared on the right. The painting was originally about 3 metres wide. When it was cut down is not known. The original width is still given in the Buen Retiro inventory of 1794: 1½ × 3½ varas, (c.125 × 292 cm.). The reason for the amputation must have been that the canvas suffered badly in the Alcázar fire of 1734, as stated in the inventory drawn up immediately afterwards.<sup>4</sup> Photographs taken in 1949, after cleaning but before restoration, show that the part still preserved was also damaged in places, though not too seriously. In them can be seen traces of the man wearing a hat on the extreme right, who had already been covered by over-painting to represent the sky and landscape (at the right edge, above the dog's head).<sup>5</sup> In judging the quality of the canvas at Raleigh, account must be taken of the damage and subsequent retouching. Held was in my opinion rather too severe ('largely the work of assistants'). Burchard, who saw the painting several times, thought it was entirely by Rubens except for the bear and the dogs, which he ascribed to Paul de Vos<sup>6</sup> (wrongly: they are by Snyders).<sup>7</sup> He pointed out, for instance, how expressively the hind legs of the horse on the left are depicted simply with fluently painted lines enclosing a thinly coloured area. One or two weaker spots can be noted, e.g. in the left leg of the rider on the left (this, however, seems to be an extensively restored area). The piece is certainly less carefully executed than *Diana and Nymphs attacked by Satyrs* (No.22; Fig.112): it is less worked

up, and positively negligent in places. The drapery and landscape especially seem to show the studio's handiwork. But the delineation visible everywhere is by Rubens, as are the heads with their impasto painting.

The *Bear Hunt* is one of the cases in which the fidelity of the Nîmes copies can be tested. A comparison shows that the version at Nîmes, though not of especially high quality, reproduces the original very accurately; it has been slightly cut down at the top and bottom and on the left.

The tapestry copy woven by Daniël Eggermans (Fig.135) is less faithful than in the other cases. In it the group of riders on the left of the canvas is transferred to the right, while the group consisting of the two men on foot, the bear and six hounds is moved from the right to the left and reproduced in reverse.

Copy (2), from Count Ambrozy Migazzi at Budapest, is somewhat sketch-like and is sometimes regarded in the literature as the sketch or modello for this *Bear Hunt*. However, it is clearly not by Rubens's hand.<sup>8</sup> This copy shows very accurately the composition of the large canvas at Raleigh, and has nothing to do with the sketch (No.27a; Fig.133). I see no reason to suppose that it is a copy after a lost second sketch or after a modello by Rubens's own hand.

Copies (3)–(6) show a more elaborate landscape décor, based on the schema familiar from 'cabinet pieces' after other compositions of this series.<sup>9</sup>

1. This archaic style of dress seems to allude to a 'Burgundian' hunting tapestry of the 15th or 16th century; see e.g. the *Bear Hunt* depicted in the 'Devonshire hunting tapestries', in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

2. *Bok-van Kammen, Stradanus*, No. Galle 21. For a bear in a similar pose to the one on the right of Rubens's painting see *ibid.*, No. Galle 12.

3. See also a *Bear Hunt* by Tempesta showing not only the same horseman but also a bear in a very similar stance to the bear at the right in Rubens's composition (reproduced in *Hamilton Haglehurst, Wild Beasts*, fig.8).

4. '... sin marco ni bastidor, maltratado en sumo grado'.

5. Burchard noted that the canvas was 'heavily over-painted' when he first saw it in 1936.

6. '... dogs, painted by Rubens' assistant Paul de Vos... The bear ... is equally painted by Paul de Vos, but the remainder of the picture has been executed entirely by Rubens in his own hand' (certificate of 18 March 1949).

7. Snyders repeated the group of animals on the right, except for the white dog nearest the spectator, in a wash drawing (Leipzig, private collection; dimensions unknown; below, centre, is the inscription *Snyders*. Photograph in the *Rubensianum*, Antwerp).

8. Burchard did not wish to express an opinion before seeing a good photograph.

9. Besides the publications listed in the bibliography I also consulted the MS of the museum's new catalogue (forthcoming).

### 27a. *Bear Hunt*: Oil Sketch (Fig.133)

Oil on panel; 25.9 × 53.7 cm.—*Verso*: two labels: 'Thos Agnew & Sons, No.7426 London-Manchester' and 'A *Bear Hunt* by Rubens 7206' [Agnew No.]; a stencilled number: 999 P.E.

Cleveland, Ohio, *The Cleveland Museum of Art*. Inv.No.83.69.

PROVENANCE: Sale, London (Christie's), 11 April 1930, lot 91, bought by Rothschild; A.G. von Frey, from whom purchased by the dealer Thos. Agnew, London (before 1933), who sold it to G. Huntington Hartford, New York, 1937; with Agnew's, London, 1973; private collection, 1974; with Agnew's, London, 1979; private collection, Portugal; sale, London (Sotheby's), 23 June 1982, lot 40 (repr.); Newhouse Galleries, New York; purchased by the museum in 1983 with the funds of the Leonard C. Hanna Jr. Bequest.

COPY: Painting, whereabouts unknown;

forms a pair with No.24a, Copy (2), and originally possibly part of the same series as No.20a, Copy (3), and No.25a, Copy (2); panel, 33 × 52 cm. PROV. Lord Rivers; Captain G.Pitt-Rivers, Hinton St.Mary, Dorset, sale, London (Christie's), 3 May 1929, part of lot 56 (with its pendant), bought by Colnaghi; ? Erbach, sale, Lucerne (Fischer), 6-7 September 1932; dealer P. Cassirer, Berlin and Amsterdam, 1933; Delbrück-Schickler Bank, Berlin, sale, Berlin (Graupe), 27 May 1935, lot 64, pl.16. LIT. *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.310, under No.225.

EXHIBITED: *Landscapes of the 17th and 18th Centuries*, Thos. Agnew & Sons, London, November-December 1935, No.9; *Fanfare for Europe*, Christie's, London, 1973, No.28; *Pedro Pablo Rubens (1577-1640). Exposición homenaje*, Palacio de Velázquez, Madrid, December 1977-March 1978, No.94; *Old Master Paintings. Recent Acquisitions*, Thos. Agnew and Son, London, June-July 1979, No.18.

LITERATURE: *Larsen, Rubens*, p.200, under No.112; *Bordley, Rubens*, pp.85, 147, fig.81 (as *Snyders*); *The Burlington Magazine*, LXV, 1973, p.53, fig.51; M. Díaz Padrón, in *Cat. Exh. Madrid, 1977-78*, p.110, No.94.

repr.; M. Jaffé, 'Exhibitions for the Rubens Year, III', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXX, 1978, p.346, No.94; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, pp.309-310, No.225; II, pl.235; *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, LXXI, 1984, p.68, No.23.

The differences between this sketch and the final canvas are minimal. The most noticeable is that the rider in the centre is beardless in the sketch and has no horn at his belt. In the sketch the hornblower is closer to the horse and holds his left arm higher than in the final version. In the latter, another dog's head is seen on the right which does not appear in the sketch.

There are several *pentimenti* in the sketch: in the feet of the horse on the left, the right front paw of the second dog, the right forefoot of the second horse, and the right hind paw of the bear on the right.

In its present state the painting has an added strip of c.1 cm. at the bottom; at one time the panel was probably enlarged at the top, as can be inferred from the copy from the Pitt-Rivers collection. We may suppose that it was then about 33 cm. high.



# ILLUSTRATIONS



1. Rubens, *Hunting Scene with Falcon*, drawing. *Costume Book*, fol.14v. London, British Museum



2. Rubens, *Hunting Scene with Boar*, drawing. *Costume Book*, fol.24. London, British Museum



3. Rubens and F.Snyders, *The Crowning of Diana*.  
Potsdam-Sanssouci, Bildergalerie



4. Rubens, *Aeneas helping Dido to dismount*, oil sketch.  
Present whereabouts unknown



5. Rubens and J.Brueghel, *Diana and Nymphs setting out for the Hunt*. Paris, Musée de la Chasse et de la Nature



6. Rubens, *Diana and Nymphs hunting Deer*, oil sketch. Luton Hoo, Bedfordshire, Wernher Collection



7. Rubens, *Deer Hunt*, oil sketch. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten



8. A. van Dyck, *Nymphs hunting Deer*, oil sketch. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen



9. F. Snyders, *Deer Hunt*. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts

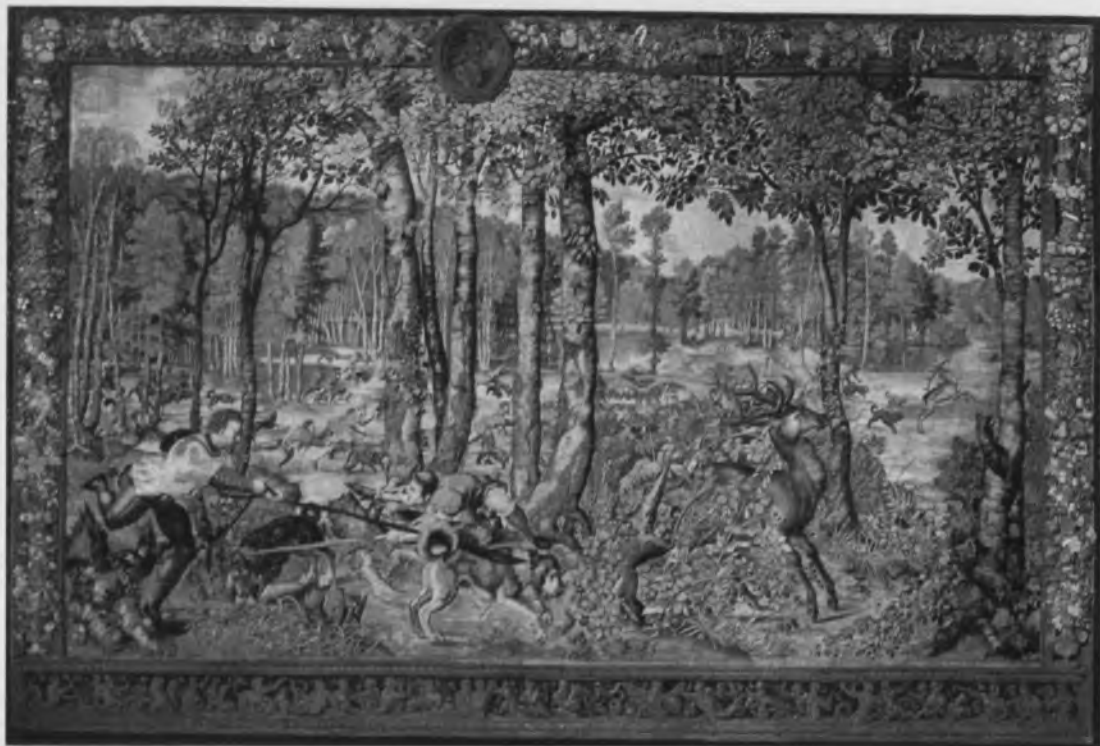


10. P. de Vos, *Deer Hunt*. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts





11. L. Cranach, *The Deer Hunt of Charles V and the Elector Johann Friedrich of Saxony*. Madrid, Prado



12. After B. van Orley, *The Hunts of Maximilian: Deer Hunt*, tapestry. Paris, Musée du Louvre



13. After B. van Orley, *The Hunts of Maximilian: Homage to Modus and Ratio*, tapestry. Paris, Musée du Louvre



14. *Hippopotamuses and Crocodiles*, plinth frieze from statue of 'Nile'. Rome, Vatican Museum



15. A. Susini after Giambologna, *Lion attacking a Horse*, bronze statuette. Detroit, Detroit Institute of Arts



16. A. Tempesta, *Lion Hunt*, etching



17. A. Tempesta, *Boar Hunt*, etching



18. J.Galle after Stradanus, *Lion Hunt*, engraving



19. J.Galle after Stradanus, *Elephant Hunt*, engraving



20. H.Muller after Stradanus, *Lion Hunt*, engraving



21. F. Snyders, *Two Young Lions chasing a Roebuck*. Munich, Alte Pinakothek



22. F. Snyders, *Lioness attacking a Boar*. Munich, Alte Pinakothek



23. F. Snyders and A. van Dyck, *Boar Hunt*. Dresden, Gemäldegalerie



24. P. Soutman after Rubens, *Boar Hunt*, etching





25. Rubens, *Landscape with the Calydonian Boar Hunt*. Madrid, Prado



26. Rubens, *Landscape with a Boar Hunt*. Dresden, Gemäldegalerie



27. *The Calydonian Boar Hunt*, Roman sarcophagus. Woburn Abbey, Coll. Duke of Bedford



28. Giulio Romano, *The Calydonian Boar Hunt*, drawing. London, British Museum



29. After Giulio Romano, *The Calydonian Boar Hunt*, drawing.  
Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst



30. Rubens after Leonardo, *The Battle of Anghiari*, drawing.  
Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre



31. After Rubens, *The Calydonian Boar Hunt* (No.1, copy 1). Present whereabouts unknown



32. After Rubens, *The Calydonian Boar Hunt*, etching, retouched first state (No.1, copy 5). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale



33. Rubens, *Wolf and Fox Hunt (No.2)*. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art



34. Retouched by Rubens, *Wolf and Fox Hunt* (No.2b). Corsham Court, Wiltshire, Coll. Lord Methuen





35. Detail of Fig.33



36. ?A. van Dyck, *Wolf and Fox Hunt*, drawing (No.2, copy 6). Chatsworth, The Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement



37. P. Soutman, *Wolf and Fox Hunt*, etching (No.2, copy 11)



38. Rubens, *Studies for Various Compositions*, drawing (No.2a). Windsor Castle, Coll. H.M. the Queen



39. Rubens, *Lion Hunt*, oil sketch (No.3). London, National Gallery



40. Rubens, *Boar Hunt (No.4)*. Marseilles, Musée des Beaux-Arts



41. Studio of Rubens, *Boar Hunt* (No.4, copy 1). Madrid, Coll. M. González



42. P. Soutman, *Boar Hunt*, drawing (No.4, copy 11). Present whereabouts unknown



43. P. Soutman, *Boar Hunt*, etching (No.4, copy 13)





44. After J. van Kessel(?), *Kunstammer with Venus* (No.4, copy 10). Present whereabouts unknown



45. Hieronymus Francken II, *Kunstammer* (No.5, copy 10). Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts



46. Rubens, *Hippopotamus and Crocodile Hunt (No.5)*. Munich, Alte Pinakothek



47. Studio of Rubens, *Hippopotamus and Crocodile Hunt* (No.5, copy 1). Formerly Utrecht, Rijksuniversiteit, now lost



48. Detail of Fig.46



49. P. Soutman, *Hippopotamus and Crocodile Hunt*, etching (No.5, copy 14)



50. P. Soutman, *Hippopotamus and Crocodile Hunt*, drawing (No.5, copy 11),  
London, British Museum



51. Studio of Rubens, *Lion Hunt* (No.6, copy 1). Madrid, Private Collection



52. Detail of Fig. 53





53. Rubens, *Studies for a Lion Hunt and Wild Animals and Monsters*, drawing (No.6a).  
London, British Museum



54. Rubens, *Oriental Huntsman*, drawing (No.6b). Present whereabouts unknown



55. ?P. Soutman, *Lion Hunt*, drawing (No.6, copy 6). Present whereabouts unknown



56. P. Soutman, *Lion Hunt*, etching (No.6, copy 9)



57. Rubens, *Tiger, Lion and Leopard Hunt (No. 7)*. Rennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts



58. Rubens, *Tiger, Lion and Leopard Hunt*, modello (No.7a). Hartford, Conn., Wadsworth Atheneum, Sumner Collection



59. Retouched by Rubens, *Tiger, Lion and Leopard Hunt* (No.7b).  
Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Corsini



60. Studio of Rubens, *Tiger, Lion and Leopard Hunt* (No.7, copy 2).  
Present whereabouts unknown



61. J. Brueghel, *Allegory of Sight*, detail (No.7, copy 1). Madrid, Prado



62. Rubens, *Samson and the Lion*, drawing.  
Paris, Fondation Custodia, Institut Néerlandais





63. Rubens, *Lion and Leopard Hunt (No.8)*. Dresden, Gemäldegalerie



64. J. Suyderhoef, *Lion and Leopard Hunt*, engraving (No.8, copy 4)



65. Rubens, *Lion Hunt of the King of Persia*, oil sketch (No.9).  
Worcester, Mass., Worcester Art Museum



66. Rubens, *Figures in Oriental Costume*, drawing. *Costume Book*, fol.39. London, British Museum



67. Condition of Fig.65 in 1938



68. Condition of Fig.65 in 1936(?), detail



69. Rubens, *The Calydonian Boar Hunt* (No.10). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



70. Rubens, *The Calydonian Boar Hunt*, oil sketch (No. 10a). Pasadena, California, Norton Simon Museum



71. Detail of Fig.69



72. Studio of Rubens, *The Calydonian Boar Hunt* (No.10, copy 1). Present whereabouts unknown



73. Studio of Rubens, *The Calydonian Boar Hunt* (No.10, copy 2). Patrimonio Nacional, Palacio de Riofrío





74. Rubens, *Lion Hunt* (No.11). Munich, Alte Pinakothek



75. Rubens, *Lion Hunt*, oil sketch (No. 111a). Leningrad, Hermitage



76. Rubens, *Lion Hunt*, oil sketch (No.11b). Houghton Hall, Norfolk, Coll. Marquess of Cholmondeley



77. Rubens, *Oriental Huntsman with Lance*, drawing (No.11c).  
Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett



78. Rubens, *Falling Man*, drawing (No.11d). London, British Museum



79. Retouched by Rubens, *Lion Hunt*, drawing (No. 111e). Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre



80. S. a Bolswert, *Lion Hunt*, engraving (No.11e, copy 8)



81. Studio of Rubens, *The Calydonian Boar Hunt* (No.12, copy 1). Easton Neston, Towcester, Northants, Coll. Lord Hesketh



82. Rubens, *The Calydonian Boar Hunt*, oil sketch (No.12a). Switzerland, Private Collection





83. ?Rubens, *Diana and Nymphs hunting Deer* (No.13, copy 1), during restoration.  
Present whereabouts unknown



84. After Rubens, *Diana and Nymphs hunting Deer* (No.13, copy 4).  
Present whereabouts unknown



85. Detail of Fig.83, after restoration



86. Studio of Rubens, *Diana and Nymphs hunting Deer* (No.13, copy 2). Bürgenstock, Switzerland, Coll. F.Frey



87. Rubens, *Diana and Nymphs hunting Deer*, oil sketch (No.13a), Switzerland, Private Collection



88. After Rubens, *Diana and Nymphs hunting Deer*, drawing (No.13, copy 10).  
Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst



89. ?Rubens, *Diana and Nymphs hunting Deer*, oil sketch (No.13b). Switzerland, Private Collection



90. Rubens, *Hawking Party*, drawing (No. 14a). Present whereabouts unknown



91. ?A. van Diepenbeek, *Hawking Party*, oil sketch. Present whereabouts unknown



92. ?Rubens, *Hawking Party*, oil sketch (No.15). Present whereabouts unknown





93. J.B. del Mazo after Rubens, *Alexander's Lion Hunt* (No.16, copy 1). Present whereabouts unknown



94. D. Eggermans (?the Younger), *Alexander's Lion Hunt*, tapestry (No. 16, copy 8). Present whereabouts unknown



95. ?Rubens or ?E.Quellin, *Alexander's Lion Hunt*, oil sketch (No.16a).  
Oslo, Nasjonalgalleriet



96. Rubens, *An Eagle with Thunderbolt in its Claws*, drawing (No.16c).  
Bayonne, Musée Bonnat



97. ?Rubens or after Rubens, *Alexander's Lion Hunt*, oil sketch (No.16b).  
Present whereabouts unknown



98. Rubens and P. de Vos, *Diana and Nymphs hunting Deer* (No.17). U.S.A., Private Collection



99. ?Studio of Rubens, *The Calydonian Boar Hunt* (No.18, copy 1). Present whereabouts unknown



100. After Rubens and F.Snyders, *The Calydonian Boar Hunt* (No.18, copy 2).  
Present whereabouts unknown



101. After Rubens and F.Snyders, *The Calydonian Boar Hunt*,  
drawing (No.18, copy 5). London, British Museum



102. Studio of Rubens, and F. Snyders(?), *Diana with Attendants hunting Deer* (No.19, copy 1). Formerly Potsdam-Sanssouci, Neues Palais, now lost



103. After Rubens, *Diana with Attendants hunting Deer*, drawing (No.19, copy 6). Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre





104. Rubens and F.Snyders, *Diana with Attendants hunting Deer* (No.19). Formerly Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, now lost



105. Rubens, *The Calydonian Boar Hunt*, oil sketch (No.20a). Jersey, Coll. Sir Francis Cook



106. R.Earlom, *The Calydonian Boar Hunt*, mezzotint (No.20, copy 11)



107. D.Eggermans (?the Younger), *The Calydonian Boar Hunt*, tapestry (No.20, copy 12).  
Present whereabouts unknown



108. After Rubens and F.Snyders, *Diana and Nymphs hunting Fallow Deer* (No.21, copy 1).  
Nîmes, Musée des Beaux-Arts



109. D.Eggermans (?the Younger), *Diana and Nymphs hunting Fallow Deer*,  
tapestry (No.21, copy 9). Present whereabouts unknown



110. Rubens, *Diana and Nymphs hunting Fallow Deer*, oil sketch (No.21a). Belgium, Private Collection



111. J. Thomas van Yperen, *Diana and Nymphs hunting Fallow Deer* (No.21, copy 6). Brighton, Brighton Art Gallery



112. Rubens and F.Snyders, *Diana and Nymphs attacked by Satyrs* (No.22). Madrid, Prado



113. After Rubens and F. Snyders, *Diana and Nymphs attacked by Satyrs* (No.22, copy 1). Nîmes, Musée des Beaux-Arts





114. ?Studio of Rubens, *Diana and Nymphs attacked by Satyrs* (No.22, copy 2). Florence, Palazzo Pitti



115. After Rubens and F.Snyders, *The Death of Actaeon* (No.23, copy 1). Nimes, Musée des Beaux-Arts



116. F. Wouters, *The Death of Actaeon* (No. 23, copy 2). Present whereabouts unknown



117. After Rubens and F. Snyders, *The Death of Actaeon*, drawing (No. 23, copy 6). Present whereabouts unknown



118. Rubens, *The Death of Actaeon*, oil sketch (No.23a). Belgium, Private Collection



119. Rubens, *The Death of Adonis*, oil sketch (No.24a). Princeton, N.J., The Art Museum, Princeton University



120. W. van Herp, *The Death of Adonis* (No.24, copy 3). Present whereabouts unknown



121. D. Eggermans (?the Younger), *The Death of Adonis*, tapestry (No.24, copy 9). Present whereabouts unknown



122. Rubens, *The Death of Silvia's Stag*, oil sketch (No.25a). Philadelphia, Pa., Museum of Art, Coll. John G. Johnson



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124. ?Rubens and F.Snyders, *The Death of Silvia's Stag* (No.25). Gerona, Museo Arqueológico Provincial



125. F. Wouters, *The Death of Silvia's Stag* (No. 25, copy 3). Present whereabouts unknown





126. Rubens and F.Snyders, *Bull Hunt* (No.26). Gerona, Museo Arqueológico Provincial



127. D. Eggermans (?the Younger), *Bull Hunt*, tapestry (No.26, copy 18). Present whereabouts unknown



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130. After Rubens and F. Snyders, *Bull Hunt* (No. 26, copy 2). Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Corsini



131. Rubens, *Bull Hunt*, oil sketch (No. 26a), U.S.A., Private Collection



132. Rubens and F.Snyders, *Bear Hunt* (No.27). Raleigh, N.C., North Carolina Museum of Art



133. Rubens, *Bear Hunt*, oil sketch (No.27a). Cleveland, Ohio, The Cleveland Museum of Art





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140. J.B.del Mazo after Rubens,  
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141. J.B.del Mazo after Rubens,  
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142. J.B.del Mazo after Rubens,  
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143. J.B.del Mazo after Rubens,  
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