CORPUS RUBENIANUM LUDWIG BURCHARD

PART XIX

PORTRAITS
I

FRANCES HUEMER

ARCADE

CORPUS RUBENIANUM
LUDWIG BURCHARD

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

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VAN DE XVIde EN XVIIde EEUW"

PORTRAITS

I

FRANCES HUEMER

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FOREWORD

Rubens painted a large number of portraits, and more of them have survived than might at first be supposed. It was thus clear from the outset that Part XIX would have to consist of more than one volume. After considering the available material we reached the conclusion that it would have to be divided into three sections. Professor Huemer's *Portraits I* deals with the portraits painted by Rubens in foreign countries; *Portraits II,* on which Dr. Hans Vlieghe is now working, will cover those painted in the Southern Netherlands, while *Portraits III* will comprise those executed after existing prototypes. We are well aware that other classifications were theoretically possible, but account had to be taken of certain circumstances. At the time when the Centrum approached Professor Huemer she was already well ahead with her research concerning Rubens as a portrait-painter to foreign courts (Mantua, Genoa, Paris, Madrid and London), and to enable us to work out a rational arrangement of the material she was good enough to extend the scope of her work to include other portraits painted by Rubens in foreign countries.

All portraits painted by Rubens outside the Southern Netherlands are thus to be found in the Catalogue of the present volume. The essays preceding the Catalogue, however, are confined to problems concerning the court portraits. As with previous volumes, the author of *Portraits I* has been assisted by the research staff of the Centrum, and particularly by Dr. Hans Vlieghe and Mr. Paul Huvenne. The assistance relates solely to matters of fact; as far as interpretation is concerned, exclusive responsibility naturally rests with the author.

F. Baudouin
Keeper of the Art History Museums of the City of Antwerp

R.-A. d'Hulst
President of the "Nationaal Centrum voor de Plastische Kunsten van de XVIde en XVIIde eeuw"

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

This study on Rubens's portraits was begun in 1972 with a grant from the Kress Foundation and the University of North Carolina. Work was then carried out at the Frick Art Reference Library in New York, the Witt Library at the Courtauld Institute in London, the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie in The Hague, the Hertziana and the American Academy libraries in Rome and the Rubenianum in Antwerp. I want to thank the staffs of these institutions as well as those of the New York Public Library at 42nd Street and the Biblioteca Communale in Mantua.

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Frances Huemer

INTRODUCTION

In the history of the Rubens literature, a major lacuna, as Evers pointed out over thirty years ago, has been the study of the portraits. There are two principal reasons why the portraits have been neglected, and both are complex. The first has to do with the problem of access to the Rubens originals, an access which has been thwarted in a number of ways. The disappearance of many originals for centuries—whether hidden in some Italian palazzo, as were some of the Genoese portraits, or made inaccessible in a convent as was *The Duke of Lerma* (Fig. 67)—made any analysis impossible. The outright destruction of others, particularly by disastrous fires such as those in Spain or that which destroyed *The Duke of Buckingham* (Fig. 32), or by deliberate vandalism in the cutting up of the center panel of the Mantuan altar, left a distorted or incomplete picture of Rubens as a portraitist. Worse, the portrait *œuvre* has been obscured by excessive attribution, a result, perhaps, of the nature of the court portrait itself as an instrument of propaganda, copied repeatedly by pupils, and further complicated by the fact that Rubens probably retouched the works of his pupils. Again and again, atelier works are paraded as originals because they can be attached to a genuine source, as *the* work described, as is the case, in my opinion, of *The Gerbier Family* in Washington (Fig. 63). Working against such attributions are the great unquestioned recoveries of recent years such as the *Giancarlo Doria* now in Florence (Fig. 68) or the *Brigida Spinola Doria* now in Washington (Fig. 119). Where drawings or engravings exist, the problem of reconstructing the œuvre is aided immeasurably.

The second reason for the absence of studies on Rubens's portraits is that, generally speaking, criticism has not been favorable to them. From the time that Bellori made the observation that all of Rubens's heads were alike, and that Bellori's view (the criterion of which was, of course, for Bellori, the exquisitely and compactly drawn heads of Raphael or Guido Reni) was picked up and repeated by the French critics of the second half of the century, the stigma was, I believe, transferred to the portraits. De Piles, alone, cautioned that it would be a mistake to maintain, as was done unanimously in the second half of the seventeenth century, that Van Dyck's portraits were superior to those of his master. In the eighteenth century the assertive pose and flamboyant costume took precedence over the humanist history paintings which Rubens portraits were. The *coup de grâce* came with the well-meaning condemnations

of Waagen in 1840 and with the popular work *Les Maîtres d'Autrefois* by Fromentin, which, as Glück asserted in his defense of Rubens's portraits, went irresponsibly overboard in condemning them. Fromentin's conclusions were based on highly questionable works, and, once again, reiterated the Bellorian idea of uniformity.

In the present century, however, a change took place. Glück writing on the equestrian portraits in 1915 and Burchard's 1929 reappraisal of the Genoese portraits not only stimulated renewed interest in the portraits but left us with the haunting conviction that somewhere along the line an important facet of Rubens's *œuvre* had disappeared from view. Yet foolish assertions have persisted. That Rubens did not like to do portraits is one of them.

Of the two major aims of this study, the first is to bring together in the catalogue all the portraits painted by Rubens while he was in the service of the foreign courts: in Italy from 1600 to 1608; in France in 1622, 1623, and 1625; in Spain, first in 1603 and again in 1628–29; and in England, 1629–30. I believe that one should return at this point to a conservative position in order to redefine "il vero" Rubens as opposed to works done by assistants, particularly since the twentieth century articles mentioned above engendered an avalanche of over-enthusiastic attributions. Theoretically, and ideally, one should be able to determine the artist of a portrait if it is to be removed from the sphere of Rubens, but that requires long experience and knowledge of the circle of artists around the master, artists who do not lend themselves so easily to dissertation subjects.

The style of portraiture ca. 1600 was the International Spanish style, stemming from Antonio Mor and practised by such artists as Sánchez Coello, Pantoja de la Cruz and Frans Pourbus the Younger, a manner of painting so uniform, and with such a persistence of convention, that often attributions travel back and forth, as the artists, themselves, travelled from one court to the next. Above all, the style of 1600 was Spanish, with the customs and *mores* of the court of Philip II. That style spread with the international social system which replaced the political activities of Spain in the early years of the century. During his Italian period Rubens not only liberated portraiture from these constraints—starting with the Lerma portrait and the contact with Titian in Spain—but he emerged toward the end of the Italian stay as a portraitist of the first rank, replacing a tradition of cold lifelessness with works of great intensity. At the same time he wrested from his Italian contemporaries the great tradition of

Renaissance portraiture. "It is not necessary", Roberto Longhi wrote, "to insist on the energy with which Rubens burned and consumed, almost without residue, every preceding culture." In Genoa he took steps which put him precociously ahead of his Italian contemporaries in the solving of problems leading to Baroque portraiture. There, he established new types which he would use himself later, and which would profoundly affect Velázquez and Van Dyck.

Behind the people he painted—with few exceptions they are aristocrats in Italy, France and Spain, whereas he widens his social levels in England—Rubens is unusual in that he plays not merely the observer but a man of destiny. There, too, our opinions are undergoing revision. The old view that the letters reveal little of Rubens's personality must be put aside. Warnke was the first since Ruelens and Baschet to reinterpret the letters, and to show how profitably one can use the correspondence in understanding the character of Rubens. Von Simson in his article *Rubens and Richelieu* in *Review of Politics* has opened up new insights in the participation of Rubens in political events. One cannot detach the portraits of the foreign courts from Rubens's political determination, or from the social-political background. Rarely have statesmen been painted by a more discerning mind. As Fuseli put it, Rubens "was endowed with a full comprehension of his own character", and he brought that comprehension to bear on the state figures he portrayed. Secondly, the view that Rubens's approach to the society in which he lived was uncritical and accepting, seems to me naive. Our comprehension of Rubens's skill as a humanist-diplomat is only emerging and here the answers are still elusive. Not only did he analyze the situations in the foreign courts shrewdly and foresightedly, but we must assume the same penetrating observation toward the nobility he portrayed. That he favored the Habsburg position and felt a certain loyalty toward his princely patrons must be understood in light of his desire for peace in the low countries, but if he did not approve the Machiavellian politics of Richelieu which made religion expendable, neither did he blindly accept the delaying policies of Spain with very much grace. To Olivares he wrote: "And therefore I beg your excellency to redeem the generous Spanish nation from the opprobium in which it is wrongly held, by a deep-rooted general opinion that it can never decide to seize opportunities promptly when they present themselves, but after endless deliberations, usually sends *post bellum auxilium.*" Rather incisive words from a painter to the all-powerful minister of the Habsburg empire!

Interpreting the portraits of outstanding seventeenth-century figures is one

of the great pleasures afforded by such a study, but it is also one that grows progressively difficult. The evaluation of the make-up of a human being in the unsettled first thirty years of the seventeenth century hinges on many diverse levels of approach. The study of the portraits made by Rubens on his foreign odyssey is not only absorbing as far as the iconography of the establishment is concerned, but also in that it lays bare (by way of the inherent values projected by the artist) the ideas held by men in that time.

I. ITALY AND SPAIN, 1600–1608

The Duke of Lerma, Valladolid, 1603

Rubens to Chieppio, from Valladolid to Mantua, 15 September 1603: "As for my return, I can do nothing unless the judgement of Signor Iberti permits, for his prudence, up to now, had had the disposal of me and my work, to satisfy the taste and demand of the Duke of Lerma, and the honor of His Highness, with the hope of proving to Spain, by a great equestrian portrait, that the Duke is not less well served than His Majesty." [1]

The first great state portrait by Rubens was painted in Spain, where he stayed from March 1603 to the spring of 1604, having delivered gifts from the Duke of Mantua to King Philip III and his minister, the Duke of Lerma. The place was Valladolid, to which Lerma had transferred the capital from Madrid, to keep the sickly and ineffectual Philip III distracted by festivities and hunting from the very real and decisive external pressure building up against Spain in France and the Northern Provinces. That Rubens painted the King before he painted the Duke is likely for a number of reasons, if only for court protocol, but no painting of the King is extant.

The uniqueness of the Lerma portrait (No. 20; Fig. 67), known from the beginning as inaugurating the great sequence of equestrian portraits of the seventeenth century, was observed by Burckhardt, and by Glück when in 1915 he commented on the foreshortening of the horse and rider. [2] In recent years,

[1] *Magurn,* pp. 36, 37. For the Italian see *Rooses-Ruelens,* I, pp. 210, 211.

[2] Four major horse types appear in seventeenth century portraits. They are : (1) the *walking* horse, known from the Capitoline Marcus Aurelius and from Giovanni Bologna's *Cosimo I;* (2) the *curvetting,* "cavallo che stà in su due piedi", in which the whole weight of the body rests on the two hind legs, revived by Leonardo, used by Tribolo and Beccafumi, appears also in a statuette of *Henri IV,* Hamburg, *ca.* 1600–1610, and in Adrian De Vries, *Duke of Braunschweig, ca.* 1609. This type culminates in Tacca's statue of *Philip IV,* 1640, and is used by Rubens in his *Duke of Buckingham* and *Philip IV;* (3) the *galloping,* where the horse is shown in a curved springing arch. This type appears first in Antonio Tempesta's engraving of *Henri IV* in 1589. Tempesta's engravings were widely spread and had a great influence on horse representations of the seventeenth century (below, *Larsen,* p. 44). The Tempesta engraving is followed by Crispin de Passe's, *Maurice of Orange, ca.* 1600, and an engraving by Sadeler of *Rudolf II,* of 1603. In painting, the most important examples are Rubens's *Giancarlo Doria* and Velázquez's *Balthasar Carlos;* (4) the *rearing*—"It should be pointed out that Bernini's "rearing" horses are not "curvetting", the high point of Italo-Spanish Baroque horsemanship where the horse rises slowly on its hind legs, on which the

a great deal has been written about the portrait, particularly since the proposed and halted sale of 1962, and the subsequent acquisition of the painting by the Prado museum. The earlier writers, Mayer, Burchard, Longhi, and Held, found the origins of the portrait in a secular adaptation of equestrian saints of the sixteenth century, not only in the Venetian tradition of Pordenone and Tintoretto, but also in El Greco. Following this interpretation Burchard wrote in 1933 : "In any case it remains to Rubens' credit that he acquired from paintings with religious content a suitable motif for profane equestrian portraits." [3] Since then both the sources and the meaning of the painting have been expanded, particularly by the recent studies of Evers, Warnke, and Müller Hofstede. The last two writers have stressed the secular sources of the tradition of prints, based primarily on the Cæsar formula of a triumphant or victorious emperor riding bareheaded in the direction of the viewer. It was to this tradition of ruler representations, extending from Alexander the Great to Charles V, that that of the Duke was to be aligned, so that he could assert himself as the virtual ruler of Spain.

The ruler riding toward the spectator also appears on title pages which go back to the ninth century, and which were revived in the sixteenth century in the many examples of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V and of the French King Henri IV. [4] The secular tradition included a number of series of twelve ancient emperors on horseback, such as the engraved ones of Stradanus after

whole weight of its body rests for a few seconds. The curvetting attitude is therefore the exact opposite of uncontrolled rearing : it is a studied performance which requires not only the highest discipline and intelligence on the part of the horse but also complete collaboration between horse and rider. Velázquez, was of course, the great master of this showpiece of correct horsemanship. Bernini's horses are too far down on the hind legs, a position which does not belong (so far as I can make out) to the 17th century cycle of high school horsemanship. Bernini sacrificed correctness to the impression of rapid movement which he needed." (R. Wittkower, *The Vicissitudes of a Dynastic Monument, Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky,* New York, 1961, p. 502, n. 13). Burckhardt (Jacob Burckhardt, *Rubens,* ed. Gerson, London, 1950, p. 185, n. 149) alone recognized that the horse in Titian's *Charles V at Mühlberg* differed from the horses of Rubens and Velázquez. Panofsky correctly described the horse in the Titian as "prancing". The above information comes from : G. Glück, *Die Frühen Reiterbildnisse, Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses,* XXXIII, 1915, pp. 1ff.; R. Wittkower, *op. cit.,* p. 502; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens' St. Georg,* pp. 69–112; L. O. Larsson, *Adrian de Vries,* Vienna and Munich, 1967, pp. 42–44.

[3] 2. Burchard, *Nachträge* in *Glück, 1933,* p. 377.

[4] See M. Warnke, *Kommentare zu Rubens,* Berlin, 1965, p. 14.

those painted by Giulio Romano or by Frans Floris. Rubens certainly knew, too, the painting of *The Entry of Philip II into Mantua* by Tintoretto. Equally important for Rubens's conception of the Lerma portrait, according to Müller Hofstede's proposal, was a series of engraved rider portraits of a ruler in a victorious war which came at the end of the century. [5] In these, the figure rides on a hillock toward the spectator above a distant battlescene. This type of galloping horse, which appears in the influential example of Tempesta's *Henri IV* of 1589, is not that of the Lerma portrait, but similar to the Rubens is the relation of the rider to the background with its formation of the battle. [6] Placed in this line of ruler representations the Lerma portrait would have served the imperial pretensions of the Duke, the very choice of the equestrian formula being suggestive of a prince or statesman, thus equating him with the King. "In a kingdom the highest words with which one can praise a prince are those which say he is a good rider, words which include in them his virtue and bravery." [7] As Captain General of the Cavalry Lerma thus showed himself ceremoniously to the Spanish people.

As opposed to this aspect of state philosophy, first Evers, then Warnke, contrasted the inner character of the Duke, his spiritual frailness, the fact that his well-known political ambitions were accompanied by an increasing melancholy, a vulnerability and loneliness after his wife's death, his isolations and illnesses. There was, in Spain particularly a tradition for such a duality in the figure of Charles V : an outward appearance of the invincible statesman, along with an inclination toward melancholy, and even ineptitude. Rubens, who knew very well the character of Charles V, aligned himself in the Lerma portrait with Titian's ability to paint great state figures, great types, while at the same time rendering with penetrating care the human being. To Rubens, who was surely aware of the rush of invective pamphlets against the Duke, and who analyzed him sharply, as we know from the letter he wrote later in 1626 comparing Lerma with Richelieu, the Duke appeared in 1603 not only with all the pomp and authority of a King but also as the "victim of his own pretensions."

[5] See *Müller Hofstede, Rubens' St. Georg,* pp. 85-88.

[6] *Ibidem,* pp. 92-94. Müller Hofstede suggests that significant for the foreshortening of the horse were the sketches made by Rubens in 1600 or 1603 after sculptural models of Giovanni Bologna's *Cosimo I.* These studies were attributed to Rubens by E.K.J. Reznicek in *Mostra di Disegni Fiamminghi e Olandesi,* Florence, 1964, No. 66.

[7] From the German in M. Warnke, *op. cit.,* p. 13, n. 53; *cf.* the introductory letter in Bernardo de Varga Machuca, *Teorica y exercicios de la Gineta,* Madrid, 1619.

As in so many works from Rubens's Italian period, one can quote sources in sixteenth-century painting, but in the end the Lerma portrait is unique "without accent or archaisms." [8]

Held was the first to indicate clearly the progressive development from the Louvre drawing to the one at Weimar to the actual painting. [9] In the Louvre drawing the horse is worked with great care, the Duke's costume is indicated in broad areas of light and shade, and so, summarily, is the copse of trees (No. 20 a; Fig. 69). In the Weimar drawing (No. 20 b; Fig. 70) the whole is more painterly. The costume is finer, softer, and more detailed and Rubens adds the strip above with the arched palm forming a canopy over the rider's head. [10] Both drawings have strong cast shadows on the ground. A wash alone indicates the movement of the cavalry in the background. The sky is left plain.

In the great painting, now in the Prado for all to see, the horse and rider, vertical and erect, emerge from a dense copse on to an isolated hillock elevated above the dusty wheeling cavalry in the distance. The Duke looks down at the viewer with a cool and reserved appraisal. The ground and the clouds behind him are smooth gray, the sky a strange, intense blue-green except around the head, where it is a powdery blue. The hair is a silvery gray-brown, the eyes blue, the complexion warm, but not ruddy. The rose-colored mouth is firm and adamant, the upper lip somewhat thin and sharply curved. The trousers of his rich, ornamental costume are wine-red and gold with hard, sharp detail, and so detailed, too, is the upper armour with touches of wine-color and reflections of red. The powerful gesture of the foreshortened arm is heightened by the light behind it. The horse does not move with the organic ease of Rubens's later horses; his head is held stiffly erect like that of the rider.

Both the head with its clipped hair, and the costume—with its tight narrow ruff, with an ornate richness and detail reminiscent of bronze repoussoir, and with the panelled trousers—are characteristic of Spanish fashion of 1603, as is also the imposing carriage. Müller Hofstede compared the face of Pompeo Leoni's tomb figure of Lerma (Capilla del Colegio de San Gregorio in Valladolid) with the more introspective and vital Rubens portrait. The features are

[8] G. Briganti, *Pietro da Cortona,* Florence, 1962, p. 32.

[9] *Held,* I, pp. 126, 127, No. 71.

[10] *Müller Hofstede, Rubens' St. Georg,* p. 96 points out that the motif of the palm tree was probably derived from Otto Van Veen's engraved allegorical portrait of Alessandro Farnese.

similar – the lined forehead and the curving moustache, the curving mouth – but Leoni seems cold and stony in comparison. Nevertheless, the entire approach to the portrait and the costume is close to the style of 1603 which was dominated by Pompeo Leoni, and which was carefully observed by Rubens as the ultimate phase of the International Portrait Style.

In the painting an allegorical ambiance absent from the drawing is felt to intrude on the rider for the first time. The role of the landscape is much greater and serves to enhance the portrait with a calculated enframing and building up of elements toward the center. Rather stylized clouds now move around the Duke and with their twisted edges they pick up the twisted trees silhouetted against the light, and penetrate to the twisted tail and crimped mane of the very beautiful and fantastic horse with its great soulful shining brown eyes, pink nose, and alert pointed ears. The mane on the one side of the horse's head flickers out as thought it were charged with light against the unreal blue-green sky. The symbolic copse of trees with palms of victory and olive branches seems to combine northern naturalistic tree trunks with a Tintoretto light fantasy, but the forms have a twisting sculptural power and energy which is completely new. A powerful expressive movement envelops nature, and gives an incredibly new meaning to the lonely and imperious rider. The Duke poised and erect, observing the spectator with his cool blue eyes, is the center of a fabulously new kind of composition wherein Rubens states that whatever is not related to the moment weakens it.

One thing Rubens learned from the sixteenth century is that foreshortening breeds intensity. The smooth solid body of the horse, the mailed arm outstretched against the light, firmly and regally grasping the baton, combine with a vividness and intensity of color. The strong colour, the highly expressive forms, the use of light in a vivid and dramatic way, and above all the movement – as though light gusts of wind pick up here and there all that is not immovable – create a remarkably fresh ambiance. It is also the first instance of one of the great innovating concepts of the seventeenth century, a new awareness of man's relation to nature. Rubens will develop that concept in the second equestrian portrait of the Italian period, the Giancarlo Doria (No. 10; Fig. 68) and it will become a major theme of his landscape painting. Although he was to develop a more complex allegorical equestrian portrait in the twenties, none of the later examples achieve to the same degree the ceremonial dignity or the statuesque grandeur of the Lerma portrait.

The Context of the Portraits in The Holy Trinity adored by the Gonzagas in Sta. Trinita in Mantua, 1604–05

Rubens returned from Spain probably in February of 1604. It must have been winter still when Philip Rubens wrote a Latin eulogy invoking the gods to assist his brother against stormy seas on his return journey to Italy. Philip wrote that he was inconsolable and had even taken a dislike to the studies he loved, until the safe return of his brother. "It would be the same for you, my brother : nothing will aid you, neither that which you know of good letters, nor that which you have acquired by the activity and the vigor of your lively spirit, nor the talent of your hand so used to painting excellent portraits, or paintings worthy of the name of Apelles." Ruelens suggests that the two brothers met in February in Mantua. [11]

It was not until August 1604 that Rubens began work on the triad of paintings dedicated to the Holy Trinity for the Cappella Maggiore of the Jesuit church of Santissima Trinità in Mantua; he completed it by May 1605. [12] Basan mentions (1767) that Rubens obtained permission to go to Venice before painting it, and that in the altar he used to advantage his studies of Veronese and Titian. [13] The center panel contained the portraits of the reigning Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga and his wife Eleonora de' Medici, and of the duke's deceased parents, Eleonora of Austria, a Habsburg, to whom the chapel was dedicated as a tomb, and Ferdinando I (Fig. 1). Behind these four center figures were the five legitimate children, plus two guards to the left and one to the right. Behind the duchess to the right Rubens portrayed himself as a Swiss guard.

[11] For the Latin original and French translation see *Rooses-Ruelens*, I, pp. 236–241.

[12] The idea of a triad dedicated to the Holy Trinity was a Jesuit allusion to the name of the church and repeats the subjects included in the program of the 1580's and 90's in the Gesù in Rome, a program which alluded to the special significance of the Trinity in Jesuit thinking. See H. Hibbard, *The First Painted Decorations of the Gesù* in *Baroque Art : The Jesuit Contribution*, New York, 1972, pp. 29-49. The influence of that program, Hibbard maintains, was considerable. Rubens himself devised *The Circumcision* for the Jesuit church in Genoa, the subject of the High Altar in the Roman Gesù, with an Adoration of the name of Jesus above the Circumcision.

[13] F. Basan, *Catalogue des Estampes gravées d'après P.P. Rubens*, Paris, 1767, p. XIII. Waagen repeats this in his life of Rubens, *Peter Paul Rubens, His Life and Genius*, London, 1840, p. 10.

Early documents mention a *cagnolino,* which is preserved in one of the Mantuan fragments, and there was probably a greyhound. [14]

It has been suggested that the central panel, with its kneeling figures set against a virtuoso performance of Solomonic columns shown in perspective, may have been inspired by the Habsburgs kneeling among the towering columns of the huge chapel tombs by Pompeo Leoni in the Escorial, which had been completed in 1598 and which Rubens had just seen. Certainly, Rubens must have been impressed with the many kneeling tomb figures in Spain, and a drawing in Amsterdam bears out this contention (Fig. 3). [16] It shows a king, probably Philip III, in a costume of ca. 1603, very similar to Vincenzo's and also to costumes in engravings of Philip III, genuflecting before a *prie-dieu* with crown and scepter set aside on a pillow. Unusual is the fact that the figure is gesturing and looking upward as though aware of some spiritual force. In the altar Rubens adopts that type of tomb figure in Spanish costume, and as in the Leoni tombs of the Escorial he shows an entire family, but the worldly splendour of the Mantuan court, the fabulous textures, the heightened flesh tones, the figures set on a terrace against an open blue sky look instead to Venetian altars with families in devotion.

The center panel is also a political document of Vincenzo's courting the Habsburgs (as in the gifts he had just sent to Spain in Rubens's care) and a direct allusion to his Spanish sympathies. Not only are all the members of the

[14] The history of the Mantuan altar is a complex one. The paintings remained in their original place in the church until 1797, when the French occupied Mantua. At that time they were appropriated by the "commissaire de guerre" and the center panel was cut up to remove a number of the side portraits. In 1951 the two fragments of the center panel remaining in Mantua were cleaned, revealing fragments at the sides which had been attached in a patchwork fashion. In the lower part the fragments had been covered by painted red curtains so that only the reigning Duke Vincenzo and his Duchess and his parents were visible. The lower part appears just so on a photograph published by *Rooses, Vie,* I, p. 76 and on a postcard owned by Ludwig Burchard. In 1952 Ozzola (L. Ozzola, *Restauro di un quadro di Rubens a Mantova, Bollettino d'Arte,* 4th Series, XXXVII, 1952, pp. 77ff.) published the restoration of the two major parts, and that is how they appear in Mantua today. A number of the fragments have reappeared : primarily, the fragment of Francesco Gonzaga (now in Vienna), the lower part of a kneeling girl with a small dog (now in Mantua), a halberdier (now in Mantua), and the head of Margherita Gonzaga (now in London). Drawings exist for two of the princes, in Stockholm, and a drawing of a halberdier in the Print Room of the Bibliothèque Royale at Brussels (*Held,* II, Pl. 82). See A. Luzio, *Le Strane Vicende di un Quadro di Rubens, Archivio Storico Italiano,* 5th Series, XLVII, 1911, pp. 406–413. The greyhound is mentioned first by A. Baschet (*Pierre Paul Rubens, Gazette des Beaux Arts,* XXII, 1867, p. 308) : "a dog of great size, a large greyhound

family clothed in Spanish costumes (under the oldest son Francesco's rule the customs of the court of Madrid were imposed on the whole Mantuan court by edict), but the presence of the Swiss guards who were licensed by Duke Vincenzo, but soon to be banned because they were the hated symbol of Spanish oppression to the populace of Mantua, indicates clearly the Duke's outward adherence to the Habsburg line. The panel must be seen in the light of Vincenzo's lavish aspirations, but ironically, at the same time, the portraits of the three male princes also document the situation leading to the Mantuan succession and the fall of the Gonzaga's, a situation which later the Count Duke Olivares blamed as the cataclysmic event which brought about the decline of Spain. In this context, the Stockholm drawing of the two young princes by Rubens may be interpreted as having furtive glances rather than the unlikely shyness often attributed to them. [17]

It has been noticed that the drawing style of the Stockholm sheets (Figs. 4 and 5) changes from the two known earlier sketches of portraits traditionally given to Rubens since Glück-Haberditzl. [18] Their sharper precision is in keeping with the hard and brilliant style of the dukes and duchesses, relating them still to the style of the Lerma portrait. It is, however, worth noting that the heads of the princes are caught in a momentary action within the context of the altar, somewhat like the children in Titian's Pesaro or Vendramin altars, so that they have a mobility which is combined with a directness and immediacy. It would seem that the context of the altar influenced Rubens in advancing his

of Vincent", then by Rooses (1904), followed by Haberditzl (1912), and by Glück (1933). Baschet knew an annotated version of G. Cadioli, *Descrizione delle pitture, sculture et architetture che si osservano nella Città di Mantova,* Mantua, 1773, which may have been his source, or he was aware of another source, now lost. See also my attempted reconstruction of the center panel : F. Huemer, *Some Observations on Rubens Mantua Altarpiece, The Art Bulletin,* XLVIII, 1966, pp. 84, 85.

[15] M. Jaffé, *The Deceased Young Duke of Mantua's Brother, The Burlington Magazine,* CIII, 1961, p. 377. For the tombs see E. Plon, *Leone and Pompeo Leoni,* Paris, 1887; Beatrice Gilman Proske, *Pompeo Leone,* New York, 1956; J. Pope Hennessy, *An Introduction to Italian Sculpture,* London-New York, 1970–72, pp. 102, 103, Pl. 107.

[16] Inv. No. 53–15.

[17] M. Jaffé, *op. cit.,* p. 377. Jaffé, in fact, saw in the downcast eyes of Ferdinando what he thought was characteristic of Silvio, a bastard son, but there is no visual evidence for Silvio, and documents indicate clearly that he was not present. See also M. Jaffé, *Rubens as Draughtsman, The Burlington Magazine,* CVII, 1965, No. 27.

[18] *Glück-Haberditzl,* Nos. 30 and 31. More recently they have been discussed by *Müller Hofstede, Bildnisse aus Rubens' Italienjahren,* pp. 106–110.

portrait style, that is, the portraits are conceived in relation to the full figure, an important factor that will become crucial for Rubens in the twenties. The drawings in Stockholm are the first from life of identifiable figures, the painted portraits the first within a large group context.

Their importance makes a discussion of the Stockholm drawings desirable here since a number of problems have surfaced regarding their identification. The first arose in connection with a faulty eighteenth century labelling of the portrait of Vincenzo, the youngest son, as Francesco, the oldest. This error was corrected by Wilde in 1936 when he pointed out that other representations of Francesco did not correspond to the drawing—primarily, the fragment from the altar in Vienna, the coin portrait published in Litta, and the drawing in the Codice Fioreta of 1603—and that correction has been generally accepted and strengthened by comparative material.[19] Another difficulty arose with Held's attempt to date the drawings earlier than the altar, in thinking the faces of the princes too young for 1604. This dating was disproved by the radiograph of the fragment in Vienna of Francesco, which shows beneath the surface another head similar to the Stockholm drawing of Vincenzo (Fig. 2). Then both Held and Jaffé proposed that another son could be represented, Silvio Gonzaga, a bastard son of Duke Vincenzo.[20] Jaffé renamed the second drawing (labelled Ferdinando Gonzaga) Silvio Gonzaga, and proposed that Silvio could be the prince shown behind Francesco in the altar.

First, because one label was proven incorrect does not mean that the other one is. Secondly, early descriptions of the altar name only the five legitimate children of Vincenzo. All descriptions of the altar speak of the reigning family, and it is hardly conceivable that an illegitimate son, even

[19] J. Wilde, *Zum Werke des Domenico Feti, Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien,* N.F. X, 1936, p. 212 ,n. 11. See also M. Jaffé, *op. cit.,* for the painting by Frans Pourbus in the Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco, (his Fig. 3); and the medal of G. Dupré, signed and dated 1612, National Gallery of Art, Washington (his Fig. 4).

[20] It should be stated immediately that the valuable Vienna fragment contains three figures : Francesco; above him the portion of a second brother dressed in black and with a part of the white Maltese cross of the Knights of Jerusalem (which corresponds in part to the Stockholm drawing labelled 'Ferdinando'); and the radiograph portrait (corresponding to the second, Stockholm drawing labelled 'Francesco' but actually Vincenzo). For the attempts to disassociate the two Stockholm drawings from the altar, see N. Lindhagen and P. Bjurström, *Dutch and Flemish Drawings in the National-museum and other Swedish Collections,* Stockholm, 1953, Nos. 95, 96; and *Held,* No. 69.

though recognized and liked, would be present on such an official occasion when succession was such a clear issue, and especially in the presence of the duchess. Thirdly, two other extant paintings showing the Gonzaga children, one attributed to Pourbus, in the Palazzo Ducale, where the duchess and her five children kneel before an altar, and one attributed to Scipione Pulzone, represent only the five legitimate children, three boys and two girls (Fig. 7).[21] Going by the age of the youngest princess Eleonora, born 1598, one has to date the Pulzone ca. 1599 since she is shown in a cradle, and the Pourbus ca. 1600/1601 where she can be no more than three years. The coloring and the costumes in the Palazzo Ducale painting indicate clearly three sons and two daughters.

Jaffé found a disparity between the ages of Vincenzo and Ferdinando in their portraits that I do not see. All male members of the Gonzaga family tended to have a baby-face appearance, even the Duke Vincenzo, which they retained as they grew older. In addition, all the portraits of the Gonzaga altar, as Jaffé himself pointed out, were highly glamorized by Rubens. One can see this particularly when comparing Francesco and Margherita with portraits by other artists. Francesco in the Vienna fragment looks younger than his age, and Ferdinando is only one year younger. A painting in Bologna which has in the past been attributed to Domenichino but which is very probably by Frans Pourbus, shows Ferdinando as a cardinal (Fig. 6).[22] He would have to be at least twenty, but he does not look that much older than in the Stockholm drawing, and he has a face with the same pouting sullenness, and in this case, a stolidity, given to him by Pourbus. Admittedly, in portraits as in life, this kind of argument is not very conclusive. However, we have no representations of Silvio at all, and so he must be returned, for the time being, to obscurity. Finally, the Mantuan chronicle of Amadei-Arrivabene of 1797 clearly describes the three princes behind the Duke. This chronicle, which I found

[21] Giovanni Paccagnini, *Il Palazzo Ducale di Mantova,* Turin, 1969, Figs. 137, 138; *Mantova, La Storia, Le Lettere, Le Arti,* III, opp. p. 40. The painting attributed to Scipione Pulzione was sold by Christie's on 16 July 1970, No. 163, panel, 142 x 132 cm. Its present whereabouts is unknown to me.

[22] I want to thank Professor Andrea Emiliani of the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna, for sending me this photograph. It is reproduced in *Mostra Iconografica Gonzaghesca nel Palazzo Ducale di Mantova,* Mantua, 1937. Compare this painting to the portrait of Francesco by Pourbus in San Francisco, Palace of the Legion of Honor (repr. M. Jaffé, *op. cit.,* Fig. 3).

recently in Mantua has not been published before. [23] The part we are concerned with reads: "a deſtra il Duca Guglielmo Gonzaga e suo figlio il principe Vincenzo, dietro i quali i coſtui figlioletti Francesco, Ferdinando e Vincenzo con due guardie svizzere, e alla ſiniſtra le moglie de' due primi archiduchessa Eleonora d'Auſtria e principessa Eleonaro de' Medici, e dietro di esse le coſtei figlie Eleonora e Margherita con altra guardia svizzera, e un bianco cagnolino di pele lungo arriccato." This is proof enough that the second Stockholm drawing can be only Ferdinando, juſt as it is labelled. [24] In my earlier reconſtruction of the center panel of the altar, my placement of the princes depended primarily on the canonic four-part division of the twiſted Solomonic colums. [25] Because of the width of the column behind him in relation to the perſpective row of columns, Francesco could be placed only on the outside. The chronicle is clear in naming the children from left to right, beginning with Francesco on the left and with Margherita mentioned laſt on the far right.

Wilde, in a footnote, remarked that it was intereſting to find that Rubens had originally placed Vincenzo, the youngeſt, on the outside, where later he put Francesco, the oldeſt (as the radiograph indicates). [26] It would appear that for some reason Rubens reversed the order of the sons behind the Duke, possibly

[23] My search for the chronicle was begun when I became aware that Baschet was using an unknown source and when I found evidence of its exiſtence in the Burchard notes. Part of the manuscript had been sent to Burchard by Nino Giannantoni, but without the location and copied only partially. Giannantoni wanted to publish the manuscript but was advised by Burchard that Roberto Longhi was intending a publication. I am much indebted to members of the ſtaff at the Archivio dello Stato and the Library of Mantua for aſſiſtance in locating the manuscript.

[24] To summarize : (1) the second Stockholm drawing is linked to the painting by the portion of the figure behind Francesco in the Vienna fragment, (2) that figure is Ferdinando according to the Amadei-Arrivabene chronicle of 1797, (3) therefore, the Stockholm drawing is Ferdinando.

[25] F. Huemer, *Some Observations on the Mantuan Altar, The Art Bulletin,* XLVIII, 1966, pp. 84, 85. Since the publication of this note, I have been aware of certain errors in my reconſtruction which I hope to correct in a forthcoming monograph on the Mantuan Altar. For one thing, the guards should both be dressed as Swiss guards. Also, the young girl with the dog is Eleonora and therefore she should be placed behind her mother. Finally, there is a small fragment of guttae from the entablature on the left which remains to be placed. Since I wrote this portion of Chapter 1, another fragment has been brought to my attention. It was discovered by, and belongs to Mr. Chriſtopher Norris of Polesden Lacey, England. The fragment contains the head of Ferdinando. I want to thank Mr. Norris for allowing me to see the painting in 1974 and for supplying me with a photograph.

[26] J. Wilde, *op. cit.,* p. 211, note 11.

because the outer figure would be the largest, and Francesco, successor to Vincenzo, was then given that more significant place.

It has long been noted that the center panel of the Sta. Trinità altarpiece is infused with Raphaelesque ideas in Venetian terms, in the same way as the other side panel of the *Transfiguration.* Raphael's tapestry of the *Healing of the Lame* was, of course, well known to Rubens, but he may have become more acutely conscious of it by his contact with Cigoli in St. Peter's, where Cigoli was painting the same subject for one of the piers of the crossing, and was using the twisted columns in the background. It is unlikely, despite the proximity, that Rubens thought of the actual architecture of Giulio Romano's Cortile del Cavalarizza, but he was aware, of course, of Romano's use of the twisted columns in paintings, as well as of his use of the Raphaelesque "pinned" tapestries in the paintings of the Palazzo del Té.

Rubens's architecture in the Trinity panel defies rational construction. One would be very hard put to continue and complete the upper story. Within the context of what was surely a symbolic, unreal architecture, Rubens took up the challenge of the Solomonic columns.[27] It is not so surprising, then, that he should out-Solomon Raphael in his illusionistic use of the tapestry. What he does is to vary the theme boldly by having the tapestry upheld by apocalyptic angels so that it is freely floating in space, instead of pinned prosaically to the wall (Sala di Constantino) or to the ceiling (Farnesina or the Palazzo del Té). The mystery of the Trinity triumphant over the pagan columns, or sustained, as it were, by their Christianized context of St. Peter's, appears as a vision revealed to the exclusive society *al vivo* of the ducal family below. The relation of the realistic portraits with all their bold material splendor to the Holy Image parallels that of the Habsburgs tombs, but the worldly image of the family is extended to include their children, their special guards, their dogs and even the artist of the court. No wonder Padre Gorzoni wrote of the three paintings

[27] *Rooses,* I (p. 77) says, "Behind at the top are columns supporting a semi-circular architrave". The only evidence I know for this statement is the old photograph in *K.d.K.* where beneath the figure of God the Father the small piece of the architrave might possibly be construed as curving. In the Rubens *Real Presence in the Holy Sacrament,* in St. Paul's, 1610, there is a curved architecture in the background.

as: "opera hoggio famosa per tutto il mondo, per cui veder fanno in ſtanza tutti li foreſtieri più intendenti dell'arte e ne' reſtano soprafatti." [28]

Rubens in Genoa

With Burchard's article of 1929, in which he discussed some seven portraits of Genoese noblewomen, a series began to emerge which were not only significant for the subsequent hiſtory of European portraiture, but which were ſtrangely and exquisitely unique in the hiſtory of Renaissance portraiture, the more so because they were commissioned not in Florence, Venice, or Rome, but in the remote unhumaniſtic city of Genoa. [29] Few cities in Europe outſtripped Genoa's wealth in the firſt decade of the seventeenth century. Independent merchant bankers thrived on a lucrative exchange of money, and on sea fleets protected by Spain. In 1606 the venerable public Banco di San Giorgio, at the heart of the powerful mercantile republic was at its moſt expansive phase. Devoid of the glamorous Byzantine tradition of Venice, Genoa thrived in the crowded crescent caught by the geographic rise of land from the harbor. In 1644 John Evelyn wrote: "... we went to see the Raritys of this mervelous Citty, built in the hollow cavity, or bosome of an exceeding high mountaine, & ſtrangely ſteepe, & rocky; so as from the Lantern [the lighthouse] and Mole [the sea walls], it represents the ſteps or rankes of a Theatre; the ſtreets and houses ranged accordingly, one above another, as our playhouse set their benches for the ſpectators: or rather, scenes on the ſtage, for the uniformity of the Buildings, materials, beauty and ſtately height, gave an amazing proſpect to the sea." [30]

[28] Padre Gorzoni (died 1713), of course, wrote in Italian. For the original Italian see : *Storia ms. del collegio gesuito a Mantova, Codice della Bibliotheca Communale di Mantova H.IV.* 10, 1, p. 79 (from A. Luzio). The translation into French is by Armand Baschet, *Pierre-Paul Rubens (Deuxième article), Gazette des Beaux Arts,* XXII, 1867, p. 307, who carries this additional sentence not given in Luzio. It repeats the brief earlier passage in Ippolito Donesmondi, *Dell'Iſtoria Eccleſiaſtica di Mantova,* Mantua, 1616 (pt. 1, 1612), p. 1612), p. 401. This reference to Donesmondi was pointed out to me by Charles Sharpe Davis.

[29] *Burchard, 1929,* pp. 319–349. More recently in a number of important articles J. Müller Hofſtede has made valuable additions to the problem of the Italian portraits especially in *Bildnisse aus Rubens' Italienjahren* and *Rubens' St. Georg.* The following essay is indebted to both scholars.

[30] John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn,* 1644, ed. E.S. de Beer, Oxford, 1955, p. 172.

Set in the curved crowded medieval city was the Alessian Strada Nuova with a straight row of variously designed palaces fronting the narrow street on either side, and with various porticoes and terraced gardens in the rear. "The Inhabitants are much affected to the Spanish mode and stately Garb in this Citty: where by reason of the naroness of the streets (built so for shade) they pass onley in Chaires & Sedans or Litters, not in Coaches, which renders it very quiet, & free from noise." [31] Further along the coast, outside of Genoa, were the villas of San Pier d'Arena, lavish terraced complexes with formal gardens, aviaries, fountains, fishpools, all at the edge of the sea, where Vincenzo Gonzaga and his entourage were entertained in the summer of 1607.

When in 1622 Rubens dedicated his book of the plans and elevations of the Genoese palaces he said that the little work would bear witness to the world of his singular affection for the city of Genoa. That Rubens was enchanted with the architectural complexes of Genoa as models for the city of Antwerp, also a merchant town dependent on Spain, is no wonder. The differentiation he makes in the preface to his book gives us a clue to the portraits he painted. He has rejected such palaces as the Pitti, the Farnesina, the Cancelleria and Caprarola because "they exceed, in grandeur of site and expense, the faculty of private Gentlemen." He turned instead to a simple palace type which admitted the possibility of more individual variety with a "... desire to render service to many rather than a few", and nowhere was there a more magnificent street in Italy than that of Alessi and his followers which, according to Vasari, made the city incomparably grander than any other. [32] This social distinction is manifested as well in the portraits Rubens painted for the interiors of those palaces.

The portraits show an aristocratic elegance, a reserve and severity fashioned after international Spanish mores. Devoid of the self-conscious humanism of Titian or the dilettantism of Bronzino portraits, they have a feeling of a quite new and thriving world dependent on bourgeois merchant shipping rather than on the divine right of kings; a milieu of architecture, interior and exterior spaces, parrots, dwarfs, children, dogs and horses, envisioned with a refinement that perhaps has never been equalled. And in contrast to the deadened backgrounds of contemporary Spanish portraiture, in the Rubens portraits there come atmospheric rays of filtered sunlight, little vistas through balustrades into

[31] *Ibidem*, p. 178.

[32] G. Vasari, *Le Vite de' Pittori ...*, ed. G. Milanesi, VII, Florence, 1881, p. 553.

gardens, draperies rustling and moving with a life of their own, and for the first time a lady appears on a balustraded terrace out-of-doors isolated against an arcaded loggia with a deep red drapery blowing lightly gainst the massive architecture; she stands in a heavy satin dress, tangible and real (Fig. 119). From her soft fine face warm brown eyes outshine the jewels and ornaments of her costume.

The Genoese portraits of Rubens are charged with great intensity, with very strong colors shining clearly from dark backgrounds. The combination of rich ornamental forms and the powerful color and texture is extremely moving. No longer cold and unfeeling, the figure is enveloped by a rich background which opens itself up to a garden or a lofty sea breeze. Despite their great reserve and courtly elegance, the faces are human and approachable. On 21 Mai 1601, Philip Rubens had written his brother with Erasmian overtones: "I am not afraid to say, my brother, that those who still believe they can keep the human temper completely free from all emotions are merely prattling in the manner of lunatics and fools and show their hardness and cruelty. Away with that apathy which turns men not into human beings but rather into iron, into stone, which is harder than the Niobic stone of mythology which overflows with tears." [33] This is the differentiation which Rubens recognized between the impassivity of the absolute prince and the thriving gentlemen of Genoa. The faces have an openness of expression, a directness of glance, a lack of affectation which distinguishes them from the stony contemporary Spanish portraits, or the later exquisite china-doll like faces of Van Dyck in his Genoese period. Only compare the little girl in the Stuttgart painting with the magnificent more accomplished Genoese children of Van Dyck. With her wide-open eyes she is vulnerable in her desire to live up to the importance of the occasion, with an enormous seriousness and pride in her beautiful peacock blue and green dress (Fig. 123).

As Burchard pointed out long ago, in contrast to the hard brilliance of the Lerma portrait or the portraits of the Mantuan altar, which have a certain coldness despite their vividness, the portraits of the Genoese period have a warm, soulful empathy. [34] It has to do with the fact that Rubens's studies of the human body in 1605–6 began to take on a structure and an organic movement which manifests itself as well in the faces. It may very well have to do with his

[33] For the Latin original and French translation, see *Rooses-Ruelens*, I, pp. 5–7.
[34] *Burchard, 1929*, p. 326.

awareness of Correggio. The change may have taken place in *The Circumcision* altar in the church of S. Ambrogio in Genoa. [35]

After 1929 at least five of Burchard's original group of eight portraits remained unquestioned, and then in 1937 a fragment of the painting of Brigida Spinola Doria (known from the 1848 Lehnert lithograph) appeared on the London art market and was eventually bought by the National Gallery in Washington. In 1939, fulfilling a Burchard prediction, Roberto Longhi published the first male equestrian Genoese portrait in an incomparable article. With the addition of the *Brigida Spinola Doria* in Washington and the *Giancarlo Doria* in Florence, six full-length portraits formed the core of Rubens's Genoese portraits. [36] All were lifesize monumental portraits. What resulted was an homogeneous group containing compositional experiments with full figures: a standing figure on a balustraded terrace; seated full-length figures against architectural niches with limited vistas; a seated lady, exquisitely dressed, attended by a dwarf and a dog in a loggia billowing with red curtains and opening to a garden; a matron and child; and an unusual equestrian rider in the middle of a storm. In a number of the female portraits the figure is shown in connection with the Alessian loggia, and something of the terrace-loggia arrangemant frequently appearing in the Genoese palaces and villas is evident in these portraits; there is an interpenetrability of interior and exterior space. People are no longer confined within a vacuum. Life from outside, the flattering breeze of the coastline, the smell of carnations, sunlight pouring through draped columns, gives the portrait a new kind of environment.

The *Brigida Spinola Doria* in Washington (No. 41; Fig. 119), the only portrait with a reliable identification, originally showed a full-length figure set

[35] See P. Rotondi, *La Circoncisione della chiesa del Gesù a Genova,* Genoa, 1955, where the beautiful plates show detailed views of the heads.

[36] To these must be added the half figure, *A Genoese Lady* (No. 54; Fig. 132). Two of Burchard's original attributions, *The Old Lady* in Strasbourg (No. 57; Fig. 133), and the fragment of *Old Lady* in the Palazzo Reale, now Durazzo, in Genoa (No. 57; Fig. 134), have not been wholly accepted. The Strasbourg painting has been returned to Van Dyck by Müller Hofstede, correctly in my opinion. I find it difficult to take a stand on the Palazzo Durazzo painting. The five portraits are : *A Genoese Lady,* formerly Berlin, Galerie Matthiesen (No. 52; Fig. 136); *Brigida Spinola Doria,* Washington (No. 41; Fig. 119); *Brigida Spinola Doria (?), Kingston Lacy* (No. 42; Fig. 110); *Caterina Grimaldi (?),* Kingston Lacy (No. 19; Fig. 118); *Marchesa Bianca Spinola Imperiale (?),* Stuttgart (No. 45; Fig. 123). Müller Hofstede does not accept the Galerie Matthiesen painting; Gerson does.

against an arcaded loggia of massive early-Baroque architectural forms, on a terrace which is closed off by a balustrade, on which an urn is placed, with two windowed bays beyond. In the lithograph of 1848 a sky with clouds and a rainbow is indicated, and the top of a rain-washed tree appears over an invisible garden (Fig. 120). The setting could well be one of the villas of San Pier d'Arena or a terraced palace on the rise of the hill overlooking the sea.

The position of the figure, unlike that in the Van Dyck portrait of the *Marchesa Elena Grimaldi* (Washington, National Gallery), with which it has often been compared and which moves forward lyrically to a landscape leading into the distance, is erect and turned toward the viewer. The body, accented by the silvery gray satin dress, is conceived sculpturally, unlike the silhouetted figure in the Van Dyck. The drapery falls in heavy, rich folds to the terrace, and seems activated like the red drapery blowing against the architecture. [37] Another type which emerged from Rubens's Genoese *œuvre* was the full-length seated female figure. [38] Four beautiful variations are included in the portraits: two facing nearly frontally, the Kingston Lacy *Brigida Spinola Doria* (No. 42; Fig. 117) in white and the *Veronica Spinola Doria* (No. 43; Fig. 124) in black; and two turned toward another figure, the Stuttgart *Matron and Child* (No. 45; Fig. 123) and the *Caterina Grimaldi* (?) in Kingston Lacy (No. 19; Fig. 118). No full-length seated female portrait by Titian is known, but Müller Hofstede has proposed that the Stuttgart painting with its column base and opening to the sky was derived from Titian's *Charles V Seated* in Munich,

[37] It has been proposed by Müller Hofstede (*Bildnisse aus Rubens' Italienjahren*, pp. 116–120) that Rubens had first introduced the motif of a balustraded terrace with open sky in a copy of *Isabel of Valois* after Sofonisba Anguisciola, in 1603 in Spain. He also points out that Pourbus had used the full-length figure against columns and curtain with a vista opening to the right (Mantua, Marchesa Aliana Cavriani, F. Pourbus, *Vincenzo Gonzaga*, repr. Müller Hofstede, *op. cit.* (Fig. 72) showing a view of Mantua with the bridge of S. Giorgio, dated by Müller Hofstede, *ca.* 1603–4. He finds Pourbus's *Margherita Gonzaga*, Florence, Palazzo Pitti, of 1605, an even closer echo of the *Isabel of Valois* and suggests Pourbus adopted these motifs from Rubens. The Rubens copy of 1603 and the Pourbus portraits are still tied to be conventions of the International Style. Rubens sets Brigida Spinola Doria against an orthogonal perspective, changes the conventional draperies to a loose curtain moving against a monumental architecture, and allows her to stand alone without the prop of the chair, enabling the folds of the dress to form a richly moving variation against the more stable architectural lines.

[38] *Müller Hofstede, Rubens und Tizian*, pp. 66, 67.

and the pervasive influence of Titian's *Empress Isabella,* Prado, must have been an important factor. Certainly behind these portraits stand the osmotic interior-exterior portraits of sixteenth-century Venice, and the full-figure seated portraits of North Italy.[39] The full-length seated figure was given great emphasis by Veronese in his portrait of *A Procurator,* London, Earl of Harewood, seated against a column base and curtain (dated by Müller Hofstede *ca.* 1575–80),[40] and such group portraits as *A Man Seated with Three Children* in the Lazzaroni collection, Paris.[41]. There is also a *Family Group Portrait* attributed to Veronese in the California Palace of the Legion of Honor, where the motif of an old servant pulling back a curtain would not have escaped Rubens's eye. Another painting Müller Hofstede suggested to be significant for Rubens is *A Seated Bolognese Lady* by Lavinia Fontana, which was first published by Voss.[42] Here, the figure is turned to the left. There is a curtain behind her and at the extreme left there is a flight of rooms leading along a terrace or balcony with potted trees and an arched opening to a landscape beyond.

What distinguishes Rubens's portraits is that they are more aristocratic than portraits by Veronese, with their beautiful dresses crowned by the great regal delicate Spanish ruff. Also, the heads are smaller, the hands more delicate, the waists extremely narrow, and the posture rigidly erect within a narrow format. In the *Brigida Spinola Doria* (?) in Kingston Lacy (No. 42; Fig. 117) the warm, soft face is enframed by a neckpiece of soft gray with blue shadows, the hair ornamented with red and blue flowers, the dress of white satin ornamented with gold. It is a fantasy portrait, highly glamorous and refined, the textures completely removed from being literal. In its counterpart in black in Karlsruhe, *Veronica Spinola Doria,* the figure is seated against a crimson chair, and has a red carnation in her hair (No. 43; Fig. 124).

The *Caterina Grimaldi* (?), in black with silver trimming (No. 19; Fig. 118), is turned to the left, but still the verticality prevails, emphasized by the flight of fluted Corinthian columns; through them one sees the blue sky and flowers

[39] *Ibidem,* discusses the full length seated portrait in relation to Charles V. He has pointed out that the type was common in North Italy, but not in Spain or the Netherlands.

[40] *Ibidem,* p. 66.

[41] G. Fiocco, *Neue Porträts von Paolo Veronese, Pantheon,* VI, 1930, p. 69.

[42] H. Voss, *Ein unbekanntes Meisterbildnis der Lavinia Fontana, Pantheon,* VI, 1930, p. 410. The painting is today in Lucerne, Collection of Alice Bucher.

climbing from a garden, and through them rays of sunlight enter the space behind the dwarf. His brutish face forms a contraſt to the delicate arched features of the lady.

In the second part of his article, in his fine syſtematic way, Burchard discussed the sources for our knowledge of the Genoese portraits (in addition to Rubens's own letter ſtating that he had been often in Genoa and was well acquainted with diſtinguished figures there) and they should be repeated here:

1642 (Baglione) "Fece il Rubens diverse opere per varii Personaggi et in particolare per alcuni Gentil'huomini Genovesi formò egli in quadri grandi diversi ritratti dal naturale a cavallo, alti quanto il vivo, con amore condotti, e similissimi; et in quel genio hebbe egli pochi pari."

1672 (Bellori) "Di Roma egli si tranferì à Genova, e quiui fermossi più che in altro luogo d'Italia: ..."

1674 (Soprani) "Signor Duca di Mantoua; il quale ... l'inuiò in Ispagna ... Essendo poi ritornato in Mantoua, fu da quel Duca condutto in Genoua, doue andauano molti Signori à gara per mettersi al possesso di qualche sua tauola ..."

1768 (Ratti) "Fece anche molti ritratti, e tutti singolari." Ratti had also seen an equeſtrian portrait by Rubens.

From letters and descriptions, Burchard added three other paintings for which no visual evidence exiſted, and these muſt be added to our mental image of the portraits Rubens painted in Genoa. A letter from Paolo Agoſtino Spinola from Genoa to Mantua of 26 September 1606,[43] asks when Rubens will finish his portrait and that of his wife, an indication, as Burchard pointed out, that the *Brigida Spinola Doria* in Washington (No. 41; Fig. 119) could be one side of a double portrait. In 1780 Ratti saw in the Palazzo Giuseppe Doria two portraits of Doge Agoſtino Doria, and he found them both of overwhelming beauty. One portrait that Ratti saw was a portrait of Agoſtino Doria as a senator, and we know no more than "Quello del Senatore Agoſtino del Rubens, è per bellezze sorprendevole." The other muſt have been moſt unusual, for it was a group portrait of the Doge with his family of fourteen, and a miniature, the only one we know Rubens painted.[44] This portrait was also described in 1752 by the Hon. Auguſtus Hervey, later Earl of Briſtol, on his visit to Genoa that year. He

[43] For Spinola's letter, see further, under Cat. No. 39.

[44] Pourbus, Van Veen and Von Aachen are all recorded as painting miniatures.

wrote: "This afternoon Monsieur de Chauvelin carried me to Madame Norrina Doria and to Madame Victorina Lascari's, who were sisters, and there I got acquainted with Niccolini Doria, a very pretty amiable young man, designed to command their little cruisers – for God knows little enough is their force become at sea, who were once so famous. I saw here a miniature family piece of fourteen figures done by Rubens in water colours in the year 1607, the finest picture I ever saw." [45]

With the only two sources praising it so highly, it must have been unusual, and one wonders particularly what solution Rubens used for this type of family portrait, which Van Dyck was to make famous. Was it like the later Gerbier family group, and how did it relate to earlier Antwerp examples, such an Van Veen's or to Italian ones such as Pulzone's? I would like to suggest on the basis of such motifs as the architectural background, the curtain, the garden, the dog beneath a chair, a dwarf or servant drawing back a curtain, in other Genoese portraits, or in the later Gerbier family, where figures move up the steps toward a seated figure, that the Doge's family may have had similar elements. The compelling source for these motifs Rubens had before him in the ducal palace in Mantua in Mantegna's fresco of the ducal family in the Camera degli Sposi (Fig. 22). He was inspired by this fresco and used motifs from it in portraits throughout his lifetime.

In the Genoa portraits a new attitude toward nature is revealed. Panofsky brought out that Titian "normally staged his scenes—even his portraits, unless the figure is set against a neutral background—either in the open air or, preferably, in a 'semi-interior', often a kind of loggia where the indoors osmotically interpenetrates with the outdoors." [46] This is true, also, of Rubens's Italian portraits – the center panel of the Mantuan altar (Fig. 1), the *Rubens in a Circle of Friends* (No. 37; Fig. 115), and the Genoa portraits, especially the *Caterina Grimaldi,* and it goes back to Mantegna as well as to Titian. The main difference is that in the Genoa portraits an activated "nature" seems to move in closer to the figures. The trees and the storm envelop Giancarlo Doria, draperies and plants blow lightly in the breeze behind the ladies, parrots perch on chairs. The figure is integrated with its surroundings in a new way. The

[45] Augustus Hervey, later Earl of Bristol, 1752, visit to Genoa. *Augustus Hervey's Journal,* ed. David Erskine, London, 1954.

[46] E. Panofsky, *Problems in Titian,* London-New York, 1969, p. 15.

lesson of Titians's *St. Peter Martyr* had been learned and turned to a new advantage. [47]

This is particularly true of the one extant male portrait, the equestrian *Giancarlo Doria;* like the portraits of the women, and especially *Veronica Spinola Doria* in Karlsruhe, it is darker and more intense in color than earlier portraits (No. 10; Fig. 68). The rider, in black armour with red scarf flying out behind him, springs forward on a silvery dappled gray horse with soft, shining brown eyes and saliva dripping from the bit in its mouth. They are accompanied by a spaniel. A stormy sky behind a dark tree forms a dramatic foil for the rider. From the left, behind the foliage, light rays break through clouds, picking up the edges of the horse's tail and mane. On his breastplate the rider has the red cross of the Knights of Santiago, and on his arm the red scarf of commanding officer. In the tree, above, an eagle nests, seemingly *al naturale* but also representing part of the coat-of-arms of the Doria family. [48] The leaves of the plane tree represent good works, the ivy fame, and the olive branch wisdom and love of peace. [49] The rays of light breaking through dark clouds announce the rider as a victorious warrior. Professor Müller Hofstede thought that the dog as in Dürer's *Knight, Death and Devil,* refers to the special characteristics of the "Miles Christianus" and that the meaning included both spiritual and military connotations. [50]

[47] In this respect a painting published by A.L. Mayer, *Un Portrait de Femme Inconnue par Rubens dans la Collection Royale de Roumanie, Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* XX, 1938, pp. 358, 359 (repr.), in the museum of Bucharest, is of interest, although it may be only a reflection of Rubens. It shows a woman in Spanish costume with a high ruff standing in front of the arched opening of a rose arbor, with blue sky and a distant landscape. She rests her hand on a sculptured fountain of shell form supported by a triton or nereid. Above the shell is a winged cupid and dolphin. The painting was given to Alonso Sánchez Coello in L. Bachelin, *Tableaux anciens de la Galerie Charles Ier, Roi de Roumanie,* Paris, 1898, p. 209. It is difficult to tell very much from the reproduction, but the glance to the side, the hand on the hip, possibly the combination of motifs, seem un-Rubens like. Burchard, however, wrote that Mayer had recognized the painting correctly as Rubens. G. Briere-Misme, *Oud Holland,* LXI, p. 170 suggested the woman could be the wife of Paolo Agostino Spinola, as did Burchard in his notes. What is facinating is, again, the enclosure of the arbor and the opening to the distance.

[48] *Müller Hofstede, Rubens' St. Georg,* p. 98.

[49] *Ibidem,* p. 98.

[50] It is curious that in two later adaptations of the equestrian group that one, Castiglione's *St. James Driving the Moors out of Spain,* takes on the Christian rider idea, but the other, a garden party scene at a Genoese villa is purely secular (See Cat. No. 10).

When Longhi published the portrait, he dated it *ca.* 1606, and others have followed that dating until Müller Hofstede recently gave very cogent reasons for placing it *ca.* 1602. He arrived at this date on the basis of the type of springing barrel-bodied horse which appears in engravings of the late 16th and early 17th centuries, beginning with Antonio Tempesta's *Henri IV* of 1587, Crispin de Passe's *Maurice of Orange as Victor of Nieuport,* dated 1600, and Sadeler's engraving after Adrian de Vries of *Rudolf II as Victor over the Turks,* of *ca.* 1603.[51] In all of these horse and rider appear on an elevated knoll above and before a distant battle. While there is no question that Rubens's painted portrait does depend on the engravings, it is possible that Rubens could have used the engravings later in the decade, as Velázquez was to use them later in his portrait of Baltasar Carlos, possibly inspired, as has recently been suggested, by the Rubens portrait which he must have seen in Genoa.[52] Müller Hofstede places strong emphasis on the similarity of style with that of the Cologne *Friendship Portrait* (No. 37; Fig. 115), quoting Evers's dating of 1602, but the date of that portrait is, in fact, controversial. What remains, therefore, is that one has to rely on the style of the Doria portrait as the most important factor in placing it later. One has only to look at the details to the right of the rider to see that the formation of clouds is less highly stylized than in the Lerma portrait, that the red scarf with its gold fringes moves freely in the atmosphere, that the birds wheel in the turbulent air, and that there is a genuine warmth of expression in the paint which does not appear until after the Mantuan altar, when Rubens comes into contact with Correggio.[53]

The landscape, as in *The Duke of Lerma* (No. 20; Fig. 67), becomes an active part of the total composition, and the two equestrian portraits become the first instances in the seventeenth century of the new awareness of man's relation to nature. In the Lerma portrait the landscape is projected onto the surface and become an expressive part of the aristocratic control of the portrait as well as being part of the symbolic and psychological definition of the figure represented. For the first time in the Doria portrait Rubens includes a motif of his own

[51] *Müller Hofstede, Rubens' St. Georg,* pp. 85–87.

[52] The connection of the Velázquez *Baltasar Carlos* with Rubens's *Giancarlo Doria* was noted by Longhi (1939) and Bock von Wülfingen (1948) and most recently by M. Warnke, *Das Reiterbildnis des Baltasar Carlos, Amici Amico, Festschrift für Werner Gross,* 1966, Munich, 1968, pp. 223, 224 and n. 23.

[53] Roberto Longhi, *Un ritratto equestre dell'epoca genovese del Rubens, Annuaire del Musées royaux des beaux-arts de Belgique,* II, 1939, pp. 126–129.

invention which he will develop in his landscapes – a storm passing over with light rays breaking through the trees to dispel dark clouds. It will become for Rubens (and Rembrandt, who follows him) a major device of landscape painting. Rubens and his brother Philip were well aware that one of the major concepts of Stoic philosophy was a new emphasis on the constancy of man in his relation to the laws of nature, that is, the constancy of the individual in the face of the storm. When Roberto Longhi wrote so expressively on the Doria portrait, he observed that the young Doria was lost in a kind of unworldly meditation, almost like a personality in Tasso, perfect cavalier and observing Catholic seemingly unaware of the furious elements around him. The combination of a symbolic active landscape with an equestrian portrait was to have an ultimate conclusion in Bernini's statue of *Louis XIV*.

When he accompanied Duke Vincenzo to San Pier d'Arena in the summer of 1607 Rubens somehow found time to slip away into Genoa to study those beautiful and rich palaces in the quiet Strada Nuova. In a way it was a fair exchange, for their interiors were adorned with his paintings. Soprani wrote: "Niuna città d'Italia può vantarsi d'aver più, che Genova goduto il gran Rubens Autore della Fiandrese scuola; e di possederne più tavole. Egli quà venne nel più verde di sua età, condottoci dal Duca di Mantova. Il gustoso, e vivace colorito di questo valentuomo, *il gentile suo tratto, la facondia del suo parlare*, e le altre nobili doti, che lo fregiavano, legarono, talmente gli animi de' primari Cavalieri di questa città, che mal forniti credevano i loro palazzi senza qualche tavola di costui. Molte per tanto ne fece storiate così sacre, come profane. Fece anche molti ritratti e tutti singolari." [54]

[54] R. Soprani, *Vite de' Pittore, Scultori, ed. Architetti Genovesi*, ed. by G. Ratti, Genoa, 1768, 1, p. 444. "No city of Italy can boast more than Genoa of having enjoyed and of possessing more paintings by the great Rubens, painter of the school of Flanders. He went there at an early age, taken by the Duke of Mantua. The freshness and lively coloring of this worthy man, his gentle movement, the eloquence of his speech, and the other noble endowments that he possessed so captured the noblemen of this city that they considered their palaces poorly furnished if they had none of his paintings. He also made many portraits every one extraordinary."

II. THE FRENCH COURT: PARIS AND THE ALLEGORICAL PORTRAIT, 1622, 1623, 1625

The great allegorical portraits of Rubens emerge in the twenties when his portraits undergo a complete transformation. Jacob Burckhardt wrote: "Considering the incredibly vast accumulation of allegory in the course of the 16th century, Rubens cannot in any essential sense be regarded as an inventor. What he did was to select, to give perfectly fresh life, and in many pictures to create the most beautiful effect ... we must discuss by the way a type of portrait not rare at the time, the frame of which was surrounded by personified virtues, conditions and places, all in the over-dramatic taste of the time. The woodcut has made manifold use of this type, even in the framing of armorial bearings and title-pages of books. Rubens, however, with his half-length portrait of the victor of the White Mountain, Bucquoy, in a laurel frame with a rich and ornate setting of mythological allegorical figures, probably achieved greater effect than all who came before and after him." [1]

For two early examples of triumphant military leaders in which the oval or circular portrait is enframed by personifications, the engravings of *Charles de Longueval, Count of Bucquoy* of 1621 and the *Count-Duke Olivares* of 1625–26, we have two very beautiful grisaille sketches (Figs. 9 and 10). [2] The victorious Count Bucquoy as commander-in-chief is shown as a half figure in armour and scarf, holding a baton in front of his body, with his foreshortened arm projecting decisively toward the spectator. He is turned on a diagonal with the other hand back in space resting on his hip, encircled by an oval wreath of bay and oak leaves, and surrounded by a number of allegorical figures. Below, flanking a funerary altar, are towns and rivers in chains. At the sides a winged Victory bears trophies, while Hercules crushes to the ground the Hydra and Medusa. Above, angels hold aloft the chalice and the papal double cross, symbols of the Catholic faith, and they crown the imperial eagle, to which the genii of war and victory offer the palm and the terrestial globe.

[1] Jacob Burckhardt, *Recollections of Rubens* (*ed. princ.*, 1898), ed. by H. Gerson, London, 1951, pp. 111 and 121.

[2] J.S. Held, *Rubens and Vorsterman, The Art Quarterly*, XXXII, 1969, p. 119, for the dating.

In creating this portrait of Bucquoy, victor at Prague in the Battle of the White Hill, 1620 (when Bucquoy was in the service of the Habsburg forces whose decisive victory forced the dissolution of the Protestant Union), Rubens had a model from the Rudolfine court which must have seemed to him appropriate, for there are great similarities in the rich allegorical enframement around the portrait of *Rudolf II as Victor over the Turks* which was designed by Hans von Aachen and engraved by Sadeler in 1603 (Fig. 13).[3] Both contain the imperial symbolism loved by Rudolf II, the imperial eagle and the globe which embellished the emperor's grandiose concept of himself as a new Augustus and successor of Charles V. The elements are basically the same: the architectural framework with a base, the kneeling figures in chains striking similar poses, the allegorical figures flanking the oval portrait, and above, the terrestrial globe and eagle, with palms of victory. Instead of the ancient laurel wreath worn by the emperor (and also by his great rival in imperialistic propaganda, Henri IV of France) Rubens has the laurel crown held by the eagle. In the Bucquoy portrait the allegorical figures move with greater ease, are bound more closely to the oval frame, and are more subordinate to it than they are in the portrait of Rudolf II. What is very significant is the appropriateness with which Rubens takes over the imperial symbolism which was so cultivated by Rudolf II *ca.* 1603 when he had defeated the Turks. Rubens knew that symbolism, of course, from his copies of the portraits of Charles V,

[3] See R.A. Peltzer, *Der Hofmaler Hans von Aachen, seine Schule und seine Zeit, Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorisches Sammlungen der Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses,* XXX, Heft 3, 1912, pp. 59–182; R.A. Peltzer, *Hans von Aachen, Eine Nachlese, Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch,* V, 1928, p. 75; Rudiger an der Heiden, *Studien zu Hans von Aachen, Seine Porträts,* Würzburg, 1968 (Diss., M.S.); Eliska Fačikova, *Über die Tätigkeit Hans von Aachen in Bayern, Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst,* XXI, 1970, pp. 129-142; Teréz Gerszi, *Beiträge zur Kunst des Hans von Aachen, Pantheon,* XXIX, 1971, pp. 390–395. I believe that Rubens, given the impetus of the commission, was susceptible to influence from Von Aachen, whom he probably knew at an early date from Otto van Veen (who was in Rome the same time Von Aachen was), and from Von Aachen's visits to Mantua. I intend to pursue elsewhere the provocative idea that the earliest Rubens portraits were influenced by Von Aachen. In the Bucquoy portrait it is not only the kind of allegorical framing which is typical of the Rudolfine court, but the lively vivacity of the pose (including the hands), and the intensity of the face were a combination of Von Aachen's that Rubens liked very much. Von Aachen's shrewd and amusing character as a court agent of Rudolf certainly must have impressed Rubens thoroughly.

including that after Parmigianino, and he used it as well in his portrait of Ferdinand II. A new impetus for its use came from the victory and death of Bucquoy, who fell at Neuhäusel in 1621.

How remarkably Rubens altered this overcomplicated *maniera* framing becomes clear when we look at the Olivares grisaille in Brussels, dated *ca.* 1625, one of the most beautiful and simple portraits he painted; it follows a model sent to him by Velázquez (Fig. 9).[4] The head has been rounded without the high angle of the part, showing Olivares idealized without that blocky severity of the Velázquez portraits; also, he wears an un-Spanish fur mantle. The bust is projected against a light ground. The eight figures of the Bucquoy portrait have been reduced to two at the base holding symbols of strength and wisdom, and the enlivened palms of victory now curve and enfold the frame in a surprisingly Borromini-like fashion, three-dimensionally; and Borromini-like, too, the three dimensional abstraction of the winged crown, the globe and the snake biting its tail, and the heavy swags at the side. Here, there is a major disciplined reduction of the elements. In the engraving sent to Olivares, the Count-Duke wears the more characteristic Spanish golilla collar and armour, and the portrait dominates even more emphatically the allegorical embellishments (Figs. 11, 12).

It was during this time that Rubens may have thought back to another work, a secular one of the Rudolfine court. In the engraving of Spranger's *Allegory of the Death of His Wife,* allegorical personifications move freely in space around the seated portrait of Spranger himself, and the framed

[4] See E. Harris, *Cassiano dal Pozzo on Diego Velasquez, The Burlington Magazine,* CXII, 1970, pp. 364-373. Apparently two models were sent to Rubens by Velázquez; an earlier likeness he used for the grisaille sketch, and a second one in armour and sash, described by Cassiano del Pozzo : *Un quadro, con il ritratto del signor conte Olivares, cioe testa e busto, armato, di telaro da testa,* made for the engraving. The second model reached Rubens in time for him to revise the head for Pontius's engraving, which was sent to Olivares before 8 August 1626. According to Miss Harris the way the head is modeled in the engraving is characteristic of Rubens, but Velázquez's archetype seems to have been followed closely by Pontius in his drawing. The corrections of the drawing by Rubens transform the modeling. In comparing drawing and engraving, one can see in the drawing that the face is devoid of shadow in the foreground plane and with a block of shadow at the side. Rubens not only modeled the face in a richer, more sensuous way, but in his corrections indicates more curving lines for the hair. He indicates that the ear is not to break through the hair, and in the engraving the hair moves back over the ear. A similar change takes place later in the portraits of Philip IV.

portrait of his wife (Fig. 8).[5] The unorthodox liberties, and the possibilities opened up by the intrusion of the allegorical figures into the "real" world, would surely have intrigued Rubens who was geared to such liberties in both ancient reliefs and in Renaissance painting. It is his transferral of such ideas to the historical cycles he designed for the French court that brought about the great new concepts of portraiture in the twenties. In any case, the allegorical portraits of the Rudolfine court were to act as a touchstone from which resulted the early experiments in allegorical portraiture.

With the two great cycles destined for the Luxembourg palace the Baroque allegorical portrait reached a climax. It is our intention to consider the portraits *per se* in their relation to the allegorical and historical surroundings. Had the cycle of Henri IV been completed, the two wings of the Luxembourg would have rivalled the great imperial relief cycles of antiquity in their aggrandizement of the state rulers. By specific events and historical personages Rubens gave a relevancy and new purpose to classical allegory. The narratives containing the King and the Queen, presented on a grand epic scale, gave completely new concentrated emphasis to their figures, and the portraits were endowed with a grandeur and dignity unequaled before in the Renaissance. The effect was heightened by the fact that many of the important state events depicted bore a strong similarity to the Roman imperial tradition. Every event in the lives of the King and Queen became a ceremonial and public image, and the rulers became invulnerable and immortal. There was no such thing as the privacy of the individual in the French court, for there the concentration of absolutist power was fused with the person of the ruler.

In the theme of the Henri IV cycle Rubens said that he would have enough to suffice for ten galleries, and the opportunity to create a monument rivaling antiquity from that rich sequence of events in French history from which the king emerged as a great symbol of state. "How did Rubens come for his deep feeling for Henri IV and his desire to transfigure him?" Burckhardt asked. With something of the bold, careless spirit of antique warriors, Henri of Navarre was a man of decisive action, invincible in battle, who by his personal exploits had gathered supporters, and who in the end turned to peace with shrewd political moderation. In his conversion Rubens may have seen a victory for Catholicism. His practicality, his clemency, even something of Henri IV's

[5] E. Diez, *Der Hofmaler Bartholomäus Spranger, Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses,* XXVIII, 1909–10, pp. 93–151 (repr. Fig. 2).

honoring the state above religion would have appealed to Rubens. To Rubens, who was surely drenched in the mythology of the French King, he may have epitomized Lipsius's *ragione di stato* more than any other ruler.

One should see Rubens's idealization and abstraction of Henri IV against a great tradition of portraiture recording all the changes in the King's appearance. [6] As a matter of fact, the images of Henri IV prior to Rubens project the figure of the King, who is often portrayed as one of the most famous figures of ancient times, by an enormous propaganda campaign paralleling that of the Habsburgs. In one title page he is not only likened to Cæsar (they confront each other on horseback) but to Hercules, Theseus, Achilles and Alexander. As one writer put it, he was portrayed from Alexander to Cæsar, from Augustus to Constantine, from David to Charlemagne. And that was, of course, just the kind of thing in which Rubens reveled. In the end he preferred or was told to portray the aging warrior King in armour. Although he had a plaster cast sent from Paris (possibly a death mask) it would appear that Rubens used the representations of the King made in the decade preceding his death in 1609. [7] Inasmuch as the two decisive portraits of the Medici cycle show the King in profile, it is obvious that Rubens availed himself of the clear and decisive profile types on the medals of Guillaume Dupré... "the brow furrowed with wrinkles, the nose accentuated, aquiline and hooked, hanging long over the moustache, the chin framed by a fanning beard, a physiognomy pleasing, strong, mocking and good, corresponding to the character of the king". [8] Rubens surely knew how Titian had created *the* portrait of Francis I from a medal portraying a king he had never seen, and was inspired to do the same. In doing so, he avoided the numerous and mundane little portraits of Pourbus, with their sad faces, which in a sense killed the image of the King (Fig. 14). Nor did he show the King crushed by the elaborate paraphernalia of the trappings of state, with the ermine cape adorned by fleur-de-lis and the scepter and crown, which were so evident in the Pourbus paintings and the Gaulthier engravings. Rubens shows Henri IV bareheaded and in armour, the body filled with action, "tall in stature and of

[6] This appealing suggestion was made by J. Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 185, n. 151.

[7] *Held*, I, p. 30, regarding the plaster cast sent from Paris. One drawing exists *Amsterdam, 1933*, No. III. That it was a death mask see *Thuillier-Foucart*, p. 50.

[8] Ch. Mauméne, *Le Visage de Henri IV. Des Médailles de Guillaume Dupré aux peintures de Rubens, Demareteion*, I, 1935, pp. 28–39.

exhilarating magnificence." [9] In the portraits of Henri IV Rubens combined the cavalier attitude of the King with the heroic invulnerability of the antique warrior (Figs. 15, 16, 21, 22). [10]

One of the earliest and most revealing portraits of Henri of Navarre is a drawing by Clouet in the Bibliothèque Nationale, where he is shown beardless, the pronunciation of his features already clearly evident (Fig. 17). There is the high brow with the hair rising up—his mother "recommande a son fils de soigner son apparence et d'accoutumer ses cheveux a se reveler, mais non pas a l'ancienne mode." [11] The long, bony, overhanging nose, with the mouth close underneath and curved up on one side, the eyebrows broad and irregular, the lidded eyes with the pupils looking out from under, the lower lid dropping to the outside ... all these details create an image slightly fox-like and amusing, already alert and shrewd, and with the slightest suggestion of amused disdain.

Rubens seems to have ignored completely these amusing and human aspects of Henri's features, especially as they appear in one type of portrait after François Bunel, the so-called "Lestapis" type, which culminates in Goltzius's engraving *Le Grand Chapeau* of 1592; there the shoulders are askew, the hat turned back from the face, the features realistically exaggerated, the moustache angled up, the beard unformed (Fig. 19). [12] This portrait stands in contrast to other types after Bunel, those by Theodore de Bry or Crispin de Passe where the King is highly idealized, and characterized by a twisting lock falling on one side (Fig. 18). Perhaps the most impressive and unforgettable image of the King is that of

[9] J. Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 141; even Fromentin admitted "The Henri IV as a portrait is a masterpiece." (*The Masters of Past Time*, London, 1913, p. 83.)

[10] Ancient sculptures have been suggested for the pose of *Henri IV Viewing the Portrait of Maria de' Medici*. F.M. Haberditzl, *Studien über Rubens, Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XXX, 1911–12, Fig. 29. A statue of Jupiter Meilichius in the Capitoline Museum, particularly in the placement of legs and arms, but also in the pulling back of the upper torso, and the projecting of the hip. The stiff widespread stance of the legs in *The Consignment of the Regency* is characteristic of Trajan on Trajan's column. Other antique references appear in *The Apotheosis* from the Medici cycle, and in *The Surrender of Paris* (Berlin sketch) from the Henri IV cycle. In *The Battle of Ivry* the King holds the thunderbolt of Jupiter. In all examples Rubens heightens the meaning of the portrait to a very great degree by these references. Thuillier has pointed out that in his lifetime Henri IV delighted to see his portrait dressed *all' antica*.

[11] Exhibition Catalogue *Les Clouet et La Cour des Rois de France de François I à Henri IV*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1970, p. 32.

[12] Jacques de Laprade, *Note sur quelques Portraits d'Henri IV gravés d'après François II Bunel, La Revue des Arts*, III–IV, 1953–54, pp. 89–92.

the Goltzius engraving related to the second Bunel type (Fig. 20). Here the King wears a furred mantle and the Order of the Holy Ghost and St. Michael. The iron gray hair rises back abruptly, the face and brow are strongly lined, the eyes are heavily lidded with crow's feet around the corners, the moustache runs into the rounded beard, and the mouth is characteristically sunken. Goltzius obviously picked up from the politically-orientated Lestapis type one of the major psychological features of the King's face, something indescribably ironic combined with a buoyancy of spirit. This irony seems to have been lost on Rubens, who idealizes the King's features in the Uffizi *Triumph of Henri IV* to the point where he is almost unrecognizable (Fig. 21). Those vulnerable human aspects were not compatible with the symbolizing image he wanted to project.

In his lifetime Henri IV had been frequently associated with Hercules. M.R. Jung in his book *Hercule dans la littérature française du XVI^e siècle* points out that references to Henri IV as Hercules are more numerous than the epithet "Le Grand".[13] Jung concludes that the Hercules myth was at its height in the late sixteenth century, and the association with the King is climaxed in the 1600 *Entry of Maria de' Medici into Avignon,* where the seven triumphal arches all refer to the King in terms of the deeds and virtues of Hercules. It is a curious fact that Rubens almost totally ignores references to the King as Hercules. Instead, like a Roman emperor, Henri IV is compared again and again to Jupiter. He wields Jupiter's thunderbolt in *The Battle of Ivry,* he takes the pose of Jupiter in *The Viewing of the Portrait,* he is assisted by Jupiter in *The Apotheosis,* and he and Maria de' Medici are enthroned with the attributes of Jupiter and Juno in *The Entry in Lyon.* It may be that these references derive from the Jupiter iconography of the Roman gems and cameos with which he was absorbed at the time (e.g., Augustus as Jupiter in the Gemma Augustea, Tiberius as Jupiter in the Gemma Tiberiana, an emperor—perhaps Constantine—wielding the thunderbolt of Jupiter in the Great Cameo of The Hague).[14]

Rubens was aware, of course, of two ancient modes of representation in Roman art, the abstract, conceptual ideas on coins and gems and the narrative

[13] Marc-René Jung, *Hercule dans la littérature française du XVI^e siècle,* Genève, 1966. Also see C. Viventi, *Henri IV, The Gallic Hercules, The Warburg and Courtauld Journal,* XXX, 1967, pp. 176–197.

[14] See below, footnote 17.

form of representation on the great imperial reliefs. In both Luxembourg cycles he uses the portraits in a narrative context, repeating the figures of Henri IV and Maria de' Medici in each scene, and at the same time he provides each scene with a particular situation combining realistic political motifs with abstract speculative content. In her analysis of the Henri IV cycle Ingrid Jost showed *The Triumph of Henri IV,* as it was finally evolved in the Uffizi painting, to be a symbolic triumph in which the virtues of the prince play a large role, and she pointed out other examples where Henri IV is associated with ancient virtues. [15] That symbolism extends to other scenes in the cycle. In *The Surrender of Paris* (Berlin sketch; Fig. 22) the laureate king is shown in a scene of *Clementia Augusti* with the personification of the city kneeling submissively before him, while some enemy soldiers are being thrown from the bridge. The figure standing behind the King and holding the French flag places his foot upon a fallen figure around whose body a snake is entwined and who holds a burning torch in his outstretched hand, representing rebellion subdued. This episode, which historically took place with only one minor incident the whole day, is clearly given a militant character by Rubens, in which he extols the clemency and the virtue of the King.

What Rubens did for the image of Henri IV was not to give him any particular individuality—his portraits of the King are idealized and based primarily on the Dupré type—but to endow him with vital figural poses *all'antica,* which with their long histories become impressed on one's memory despite their new context; the Trajan's column way the legs are spread apart in *The Consignment of the Regency* (Fig. 15), the pulling back of the upper torso and the hip-forward stance of *The Viewing of the Portrait* (Fig. 16), or the *Clementia Augusti* pose of *The Surrender of Paris* (Fig. 20). To these he added the charming élan and buoyancy of spirit which made Henri IV so very attractive.

For the cycle of Maria de' Medici there was no ancient precedent of a cycle with a woman as a central figure, so Rubens could not transform her by pose. Instead he studied her features with intense concentration, and it was inevitable that a greater individualization of the face emerged. Burckhardt said quite rightly that the Queen's features lent themselves to a certain magnificence, and Rubens combined the individuality of her features with a turn of the head and

[15] I. Jost, *Bemerkungen zur Heinrichsgalerie des P.P. Rubens, Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek,* XV, 1964, pp. 175–219.

a matriarchal grandeur which Bernini could only have admired. The full-length figure of majestical proportions became a figure in action with the portrayal of her every gesture and characteristic movement, not only setting her off from surrounding figures by the black dress with fanned white collar and low neck, but also relating her portrait to the figures around her. The drawings of her head in startlingly casual poses seemed to liberate Rubens once and for all from any contacts with late sixteenth century tradition, and for the first time his shrewd analysis of character begins to emerge expressively through gestures and movements of the hands, and through intensely acute glances, so that the portrait itself is conceived more spatially. The faces take on a psychological mobility and inner movement (even transitory in effect) leading to a new expressive height.

In the case of the French Queen the portrait tradition was not in itself very challenging. In the well-known state portrait by Pourbus (Figs. 23, 24), or in others like that attributed to Pulzone, she is shown completely stiff, with that tightly crimped mass of hair, and tight jewelled bosom, so totally devoid of her incisive and even aggressive spirit. In the Rubens portraits her hair is loosened, often set with a diadem, her clothing often more simple. How much more distinguished is the flared, scallopped neckpiece, or the black gown and widow's veil which von Simson noted was ancient in character. He uses her amplitude of figure in much the same way that Veronese uses his figure of *Venezia,* with reserved matriarchal grace and dignity of movement, enhanced by the attributional deities around her.

In the Medici series she is seen in three phases: her youth and early life as Henri IV's Queen, the regency, the struggle and final reconciliation with her son. Von Simson defined her role as wife of Henri IV, as regent, as mother of the King. When she is in the presence of the King or her son her gestures are submissive and eloquent. In *The Coming of Age of Louis XIII* (Fig. 25) Rubens reached a new height of psychological expression in the contrast between the richly coiffeured queen, whose head is bent with lidded eyes looking upward, her one hand open and extended toward the rudder, the other submissively placed against her breast, and Louis, who stands stiff and implacable. Elegantly dressed in his royal state clothing with a soft ruff falling over his ermine lined cape, he holds the rudder with one hand and the scepter of judgement with the other. His dark chestnut hair emerges from beneath the crown, with the lovelock falling on his right side; he gazes inexorably at his

mother (whose companions he will soon have murdered). His erectness, possibly implying his spoiled and willful character, and her mobile wily grace can only be described as masterful characterization. Rubens knew the cycle of Francis I of Fontainebleau; possibly his portrayal of the Queen alternately as a goddess and as a vulnerable human being had its tradition in the French chateau, but in the end even the differences of mother and son became affairs of state. Rubens wrote 1 August 1631, "Surely we have in our time a clear example of how much evil can be done by a favorite who is motivated more by personal ambition than regard for the public welfare and the service of the King, to the point where a good prince, badly advised, can be induced to violate the obligations of nature toward his mother and his own blood." [16]

What was unique, however, in Rubens's development of the allegorical portrait resulted from his interest in coins and gems, and while he worked on the Luxembourg cycles his interest in them was at its height. It was during this period of exciting events in Paris that the idea of Rubens and Peiresc to do a book on ancient gems emerged. From the time in 1620 that Peiresc rediscovered the Gemma Tiberiana in the treasury of Sainte Chapelle and the meeting between Peiresc and Rubens in January 1622, they discussed their desire to publish the Gemma Tiberiana and the Gemma Augustea, as well as some of the works in Rubens's own collection. Also, in 1623 Rubens acted as agent in Paris in the sale of the Duke of Aerschot's collection of over 18.000 pieces. Finally, in 1625 the learned entourage of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, including Cassiano dal Pozzo and Girolamo Aleandro, became involved in the project of the gem book so that an international group was formed, including also Rockox and Peiresc's

[16] *Magurn,* pp. 374, 375; for the original see : *Rooses-Ruelens,* v, p. 412. Rubens's views of absolutism were sharply divergent from those of Richelieu. He speaks frequently of the "violence", the "perfidy" and "tricks" of Richelieu. Richelieu's Machiavellian disregard for the public welfare was contrary to Rubens's concept that a virtuous ruler be guided by a concern for a common good. "For the students of Lipsius who were the spiritual avant-garde of a divided country, free tolerance on a spiritual level was a postulate of politics," (M. Warnke, *Kommentare zu Rubens,* Berlin, 1965, p. 35). Otto Georg von Simson, *Rubens and Richelieu, Review of Politics,* vi, October, 1944, pp. 444, 445, projected, contrary to Thuillier, a strong role for Cardinal Richelieu in the program for the Medici gallery, especially during the period from 1617 to 1624 when the cause of the Queen, a peace with Spain, was at least temporarily his.

brother Valavez.[17] More than anyone else Rubens knew how the subjects of coins and gems changed in the course of the Roman empire toward a condensed abstract symbolism, and of the codification of those scenes in the late empire.[18] It was this knowledge which he brought to bear on the allegorical portrait. It resulted in what Keller called the "single view" composition, with a severely disciplined reduction of elements.[19] This is clearly evident in the scene of Maria de' Medici at *The Triumph at Jülich* where Rubens still uses the foreshortened horse of the Italian period, and in the sketch an accompanying dog (symbol of loyalty, or more likely in this case, of marital faith); the horse and rider appear on a hillock with the capture of Jülich in the background (Figs. 26 and 27).[20]

[17] For an analysis of the background of the gem book and a reconstruction of its contents, see Nancy Thomson de Grummond, *Rubens and Antique coins and Gems,* Doctoral dissertation, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1968, especially chapters III and IV. Mrs. de Grummond's final treatment of the project will appear in her forthcoming monograph, *The Book on Ancient Gems by Rubens and Peiresc.*

[18] Per Gustaf Hamberg, *Studies in Roman Imperial Art,* Uppsala, 1945, pp. 15–19.

[19] H. Keller, *Das Nachleben des Antiken Bildnises von der Karolingenzeit bis zur Gegenwart,* Freiburg-Basle-Vienne, 1970, p. 52.

[20] In the original disposition of the paintings of the gallery *The Triumph of Jülich* was placed on the prominent end wall opposite to the entrance and the portrait of the Queen as Bellona. In the course of negotiations the painting was shifted by Rubens to a less important place on the side wall, opposite, however, *The Consignment of the Regency,* the other painting connected with the Jülich affair, where Henri IV prepares for the campaign. Thuillier argues that in this position *The Triumph of Jülich* represents the Queen carrying out her late husband's project. On the end wall went instead the larger and more politically significant *Death of Henri IV and the Proclamation of the Regency.* The reason for the shift has been considered by Von Simson to be political, an attempt by Richelieu to assuage the Spanish faction, and he suggests that the meaning of the painting was altered. Rubens said that if he had been left alone in devising the subjects there would have been no difficulty, and it is possible that his double-edged meaning of victorious triumph and clemency would have satisfied everyone.

Undoubtedly the victorious triumph of the Queen opposing the portrait of the Queen as Bellona would have lent a quasi-martial air to the gallery, a show of strength not unusual for one leader taking over for another in time of crisis. One thing is certain, that attitude was lessened by the change. Whether one wants to interpret the eagle chasing smaller birds of prey to denote the victory of royal authority over rebellion, as was first proposed in the Album of 1710 (*Thuillier-Foucart,* p. 87), or not, given the fact that the birds are some distance apart, need not alter the interpretation of clemency. An imperial eagle, a favorite symbol of Rudolf II, does appear in the background of the Emperor's 1603 Sadeler-engraved equestrian portrait, there carrying a banderole in its beak. Certainly, the meeting of the two armies in the background is a meeting of appeasement. The Queen in helmet and with baton is obviously victorious but she also represents generosity at the same time.

A Victory and Fame, both basic attributes of triumph, accompany the Queen, and to her right a female figure, who were it not for her red and green gown and her vivid coloring, looks as though she had stepped out of a Trajanic relief. She has, in fact, been called a variation on the *Flora Farnese,* which Rubens had drawn in Italy. The figure who wears a gold crown, proffers a necklace and jewels in her raised hand, resting the other hand on the head of the lion, who accompanies her. She has been called both "Force" and "Fortitude", incorrectly, I think: more recently Thuillier and Foucart have pointed out that in the Baluze manuscript she is named "Generosity" or "Magnanimity".[21] "Generosity" is one of the ancient virtues associated with a ruler. The personification illustrated in Ripa, where her face and body are described as beautiful reflections of her inner beauty, while her crown and regal garments indicate her nobility of mind, has just the same attributes she has in the painting (Fig. 30).[22] She is accompanied by the lion, whose strength and magnitude of spirit are submissive to her hand. With the other hand she proffers jewels. Rubens surely knew and used Ripa, but he was also aware of another model, a drawing of the Raphael school which was engraved by Marco Dente of Ravenna (Figs. 28 and 29) and used e.g. in a medal of 1534 by Christoph Weiditz (Fig. 31).[23] In the drawing a female figure with a dress similar to that of the Rubens figure (with one breast bared, the drapery floating out from the shoulder) leads a harnessed lion past a fire, at which she points. According to the emblem books there is nothing the lion fears as much as fire, yet the woman leads the lion steadfastly forward. On the Weiditz medal the legend runs: FEMINEO IMPERIO MITESCUNT EFFERA CORDA (Fierce hearts grow mild under feminine rule). The female with the submissive lion accompanying the triumphant Queen is an extension of the Queen herself and personifies her virtuous spirit. The Queen, in the moment of

[21] *Thuillier-Foucart,* p. 87. The Baluze manuscript, according to Thuillier (n. 120) is an unpublished manuscript which seems to be one of the many memoranda written during the execution of the gallery : Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Manuscrits, Collection Baluze, 323.

[22] Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia,* Padua, 1630, *Parte Seconda,* p. 287, under "Generosita".

[23] A. Bartsch, *Le Peintre Graveur,* XIV, Leipzig, 1867, p. 298, No. 395, where she is described as "Force". The drawing is reproduced in J.Q. Van Regteren Altena, *Les Dessins Italiens de la Reine Christine de Suède,* Stockholm, 1966, p. 56, as school of Raphael; the medal in R. Zeitler, *Frühe deutsche Medaillen 1518–1527,* 1951, *Figura,* 1, p. 105. For a cameo in Florence see Piacenti-Aschen-Green, *Id Museo degli Argenti a Firenze,Milan,* 1967, p. 20, No. 1571 (old No. 1443).

victory (she holds a military baton), exemplifies her policy toward the defeated by the virtue of her generous clemency, one of the four cardinal virtues of a ruler. [24] Rubens knew, of course, Seneca's essay *De Clementia* and applied it to this portrait. He evolved the background scene of the surrender between sketch and painting, as the sketch shows only a procession moving into the city gate. [25] Here, in the painting, victor and defeated clasp hands in concord, in a scene which looks forward to Velázquez's *Surrender at Breda* in the placement of the figures and the horses. At that battle scene the same benign attitude was projected by Rubens's friend Spinola, who valued "them to be more wise who are more gentle in crueltie, and that the fame of clemencie was to be preferred before the name of severitie...". In the final painting Rubens no longer found the dog, which had to refer to the Queen's loyalty to the policies of Henri IV, necessary. The triumph in hers alone, as she represents, in her dress of fleurs-

[24] It is one of the four virtues, *Virtus, Clementia, Justitia* and *Pietas,* recorded by Augustus in *Res Gestæ.* See M.P. Charlesworth, *The Virtues of a Roman Emperor, Proceedings of the British Academy,* XXIII, 1937, p. 111; also Ernst Bux, *Clementia Romana, Würzburger Jahrbuch,* III, 1948, pp. 204–231. Both articles were brought to my attention by Professor Gerhard Koeppel.

[25] Two other possibilities have been suggested to me. In her dissertation (see above, n. 17) Nancy de Grummond suggested that this portrait, which was originally to hang at the end of the gallery, was conceived as an *Adventus* and that the figure to the right represented the city of Jülich, although her crown is not turreted. The offering of jewels in submission to the Queen is an allusion to a pun on words, the German "jewelich" or Jülich, according to Mrs. de Grummond. If Rubens did think of an *Adventus* it would be a decisive change in the evolution of the equestrian portrait, because instead of the looser emblematic attributes of the Italian period, an entire antique situation would be projected; but it seems to me that two factors weigh against that particular approach : the fact that the Queen rides away from the city, not toward it, and the crown.

Another possibility was suggested by Ms. Linda Hults, a graduate student at the University of North Carolina, who discovered similarities in the foreshortened pose of the horse to the famous Peiresc-Barberini diptych in the Louvre. (R. Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychon,* I–II, Berlin-Leipzig, 1929, text, pp. 188–196, No. 48). The ivory was probably known to Rubens because it was owned by Peiresc, who gave it to Cardinal Barberini in 1625, and it was in fact a fascinating example of Byzantine art known by Rubens, but the emperor carries a lance and rides over a figure of *Terra.* He is conceived there as a Christian rider, and there are very few references to religion in the Medici cycle. L.O. Larsson connects the diptych with another horse type. Lars Olaf Larsson, *Antonio Tempesta och ryttarporträtted under 1600-talet, Konsthistorisk Tidskrift,* XXXVII, 1968, pp. 34–42.

de-lis, the ſtate. Inſtead of showing her persecuting her enemies, the portrait represents juſt the opposite, the benignity and clemency of the Queen in victory. [26]

While Rubens was in Paris in 1625, with all the spectacular feſtivities taking place to celebrate the marriage of Henrietta Maria to Charles I, the Duke of Buckingham made his entry into Paris in a white velvet and satin suit covered with diamonds, to attend the proxy wedding and to conduct the young Queen back to England. It was during this brief period from late May to early June that Rubens made the splendid and perspicacious ſtudy of the Duke's head, and received the commission for the equeſtrian portrait.

For Rubens the contact was of the utmoſt importance. Not only was his collection to be puchased for York House, but in the period of his appeasement which followed the death of James I and before the impeachment of 1626, Buckingham, through his opportuniſt painter-agent Gerbier, let his overtures for peace with Spain be known to Rubens. Although the efforts of Rubens and Gerbier were brought to a ſtandſtill in Holland by the secret French-Spanish treaty, eventually Rubens was to take those plans initiated in Paris to Spain and to England, and the cordial association with Buckingham that he cleverly maintained despite his misgivings of Buckingham's "caprice and arrogance" was to be a significant entrée to the goodwill of Charles I. [27]

In the equeſtrian portrait of the Duke of Buckingham, commissioned in Paris in 1625 and completed by September 1627, Rubens leaves aside the foreshortened horse, and returns to the clearer profile view of the coin image (not to Titian, he develops the Buckingham portrait before Spain, and the horse is shown doing a pessade, the moſt concentrated of horse images, not prancing) (Fig. 32). The Duke is silhouetted in his dark armour with rose edges and flying cape, with blue sash and garter, againſt a blue sky and ſtrip of blue sea. He is surrounded by figures with beautiful pale pink flesh tones and draperies of soft green and pink. Pink shells are ſtrewn on the shore. It has often been noted that Willem de Passe's engraving of the equeſtrian portrait of *The Duke*

[26] *Evers, 1943,* pp. 305, 306 and in *Rubens und Maria Medici, De Vlag,* March, 1942, pp. 411 ff. identified the city on the basis of a contemporary engraving which he ſuggeſted Rubens used; reproduced *Thuillier-Foucart,* p. 111.

[27] In addition to noting Buckingham's caprice and arrogance Rubens said : "He seems to me, by his own audacity, to be reduced to the necessity of conquering or of dying gloriously. If he should survive defeat, he would be nothing but the sport of fortune and the laughing-ſtock of his enemies." (14 October 1627, *Magurn,* p. 208).

of Buckingham as Lord High Admiral is dated 1625, the same year that Rubens's portrait was commissioned (Fig. 33).[28] It likewise shows the horse and rider before a seaport with ships carrying the St. George's Jack (carried by the flagship against the Spanish Armada). But Rubens was aware of a tradition in English engraving thot preceded either Buckingham portrait of a rider before a seaport. In an engraving *The Earl of Nottingham as Lord High Admiral* is shown on horseback before the port of Cadiz on the right side, and the English fleet in pursuit of the Spanish armada on the left (Fig. 34).[29] According to Hind, that portrait was modeled on those of Henri IV by Gaulthier, where the Huguenot scarf floats out behind the King. It is unlikely that Rubens used the engravings as models for his painting, but that he sought to repeat an applicable type within the English tradition.

To such realistic representations of the engraving tradition of the Lord High Admiral before a port on horseback, Rubens brings the full experience of the cycles to bear on the portrait of the illustrious Duke, who is now surrounded by allegorical and mythological personifications in a highly concentrated fashion. Instead of the semi-recumbent figures of the *Profectio Augusti* (the Duke bears no lance) of the Aurelian reliefs, Neptune and Amphitrite indicate the place as the river gods Tigris and Euphrates do on Trajanic coins. Neptune raises his trident to calm the seas while little wind gods puff out propitious winds and flowers. Gregory Martin's description is as follows: "The portrait shows the Duke as General of the Fleet and Army; in the background what is presumably the English fleet sails out to sea; while above Concord holds a victor's laurel before the Duke and Charity (?) follows dragging Envy along behind her.".[30] The figure who precedes the Duke has also been called

[28] A.M. Hind, *Engravings in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, II, Cambridge, 1955, pl. 172.

[29] *Ibidem*, I, pl. 127.

[30] G. Martin, *Rubens and Buckingham's 'fayrie ile'*, *The Burlington Magazine*, CVIII, 1966, p. 61. On 15 October 1626, Rubens, in commenting on the fact that Richelieu had availed himself of guards, wrote "Even the Duke of Buckingham, in all the recent troubles and in spite of the universal grudge of an entire kingdom, has not availed himself of this ultimate remedy which alone distinguished sovreign majesty from private power, however great." (*Magurn*, pp. 146, 147). Another letter of 18 August 1627, from the Abbé Scaglia to the Duke of Buckingham (in *Sainsbury*, p. 88, n. 125) is of interest : "My Lord, Your name is already made glorious to the world, your valor has filled your enemies with fear and astonishment, and made your King and Nation Victorious. You cannot doubt the extreme satisfaction that I feel in wishing you the continuation of that sort of prosperity. From the beginning you made it known that

Felicitas but she is difficult to identify as her only attribute seems to be the cornucopia (although she has a jeweled tiara and girdle); but she certainly indicates the abundant benefits of victory to come. Martin somewhat hesitantly identified the other figure as Charity. She holds a flaming heart in her hand, and is seen from the back with only a pink drapery around her legs (not the red Ripa says she wears). Possibly the painting has meaning on two levels. In addition to epitomizing the grand martial schemes of Buckingham and Charles I, it is also an allegory of Virtue and Envy.[31] Masculine virtue, or *Fortezza* is epitomized by the Duke. Envy, who is devoid of Charity and Love (the flaming heart), forms his ever present female counterpart, who constantly tries to deprive virtue of his strength, but is here suppressed by the Duke's own spirit of charity.[32] It is an old Renaissance theme with a new twist. *Fortezza*

you possessed the courage of Scipio, I wish you the fortune of Caesar, and the glory of Alexander. Gerbier will tell you the news, and my strong desire to have the honour of seeing you, which will make me take the first ship that goes your way, so that I may kiss your hands. The miserable Gerbier has *devenu fol* at being so long away from you, and at not being with you at the Descent in the Isles when you made it known to all the world that you could take the part of Mars as well as Neptune. With my best wishes, &c., A. De Scaglia." By 29 June 1628, Rubens looked upon La Rochelle as irrevocably lost.

[31] Rubens may very have known Lomazzo's repeating of Leonardo's description of an *Allegory of Virtue and Envy*. See K.R. Eissler, *Leonardo da Vinci,* New York, 1961, p. 132.

[32] It is possible that the second figure represents Caritas as well. In older Italian examples of Caritas, Giotto in the Arena Chapel in Padua and Andrea Pisano on the doors of the Baptistery in Florence, two sides of the theological virtue are shown. In one hand Charity holds a bowl of fruits and flowers, in the other a flaming heart held up to God. The cornucopia, symbol for abundant giving, comes to signify Caritas Misericordia (secular love), the flaming heart Caritas-Amor (spiritual love for God). This dual aspect of Caritas may very well be represented by Rubens especially since early representations show her with a crown. See R. Freyhan, *The Evolution of the Caritas Figure in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* Vol. XI, 1948, pp. 68–81. According to E. Wind, *Charity, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 1, 1938, p. 324, the union of two attributes in the person of Charity corresponds to the scholastic doctrine of Thomas Aquinas "who had taught that Heavenly Charity (generally represented by a flame or flaming heart) enables and entitles men to be charitable on earth, so that the two forms of Charity are fundamentally one."

Two examples where a female nude holds a flame in a vase are Bandinelli's *Fray of Cupid and Apollo* and Titian's *Sacred and Profane Love*. In the case of "Sacred Love" the meaning of the figure is also *Caritas*. Panofsky, quoting Ripa, says that by the end of the 16th century the juxtaposition of a nude woman bearing a flame with a richly attired lady was still understood as an antithesis between eternal and temporal values.

and *Carità* unite in the martial figure of the Duke, and like the dreaming prince in Raphael's *Dream of Scipio* the "arduous" path of Virtue is mitigated by the loose crown of flowers blown over his head signifiying hope and the pleasurable life and the resulting fruits to come. [33] Edgar Wind pointed out in the Raphael painting that the attributes of book and sword offered by a female figure on one side, and flowers offered by a female on the other, to the prince follow the morality of Ficino, representing the contemplative and active on one hand and on the other the pleasurable life, all three virtues necessary to the universal prince. [34] Here Virtue (or *Fortezza*) is inspired by Charity and Love, and pleasure is reconciled to virtue. Such an idea exists in Ben Jonson's masque of *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* in Song 3, where Hercules is addressed as the courtly hero, who overcomes envy.

It follows now you are to prove
The subtlest maze of all, that's love,
and if you stay too long,
The fair will think you do 'em wrong.
Go choose among—but with a mind
As gentle as the stroking wind
Runs o'er the gentler flowers.
And so let all your actions smile
As if they meant not to beguile
The ladies, but the hours.
Grace, laughter and discourse may meet,
And yet the beauty not go less:
For what is noble should be sweet
But not dissolved in wantonness.
Will you that I give the law
To all your sport, and sum it ?
It should be such should envy draw,
But ever overcome it. [35]

[33] See C. Ripa, *op. cit.*, Speranza : "La ghirlanda de fiori ... significa Speranza sperandosi i frutti all'apparire, che fanno i fiori."

[34] See E. Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance,* New Haven, 1958, chapter five, *Virtue Reconciled with Pleasure.*

[35] *Ben Jonson : The Complete Masque,* edited by Stephen Orgel, New Haven, 1969, pp. 274, 275.

Fortitude is inspired by Love, and graced by the pleasurable life, he suppresses Envy. It is the same combination of martial spirit and amiability which Wind showed to be the essence of Raphael's painting. Only now the Duke epitomizes the Cavalier ideal and unites within himself Christian virtues.

III. RUBENS IN MADRID : THE SPANISH TRIP OF 1628–29

According to Palomino "En eſte mismo año [i.e. 1628] vino a España Pedro Pablo (monſtruo de ingenio, de habilidad, y de fortuna, como lo dizen diferentes Autores, y lo publican sus Obras) por Embaxador Extraordinario del Rey de Inglaterra, a tratar las Pazes con España, por disposición del Señor Archiduque Alberto, y la Sereníssima Señora Doña Isabel Clara Eugenia su Esposa, por lo mucho que eſtimaban a Rubens, y por la gran fama de su erudición, y talento, de que hizimos mención en su vida.

Con Pintores (como dize Pacheco) communicó poco; sólo con Diego Velásquez (con quien antes por cartas se avía communicado) trabó muy estrecha amiſtad, y favoreció sus Obras, por su gran virtud, y modeſtia; y fueron juntos al Escorial, a ver el célebre Monaſterio de San Lorenzo el Real; tuvieron los dos especial deleite en ver, y admirar tantos, y tan admirables prodigios en aquella Excelsa Máquina; y especialmente en Pinturas Originales de los mayores Artífices, que han florecido en Europa; cuyo exemplo servía a Velázquez de nuevo eſtímulo, para excitar los deseos, que siempre avía tenido de passar a la Italia, a Ver, especular, y eſtudiar en aquellas Eminentes Obras, y Eſtatuas, que son Antorcha resplandeciente del Arte, y digno assumpto de la admiración." (In this same year [i.e. 1628]) there came to Spain Peter Paul Rubens, a prodigy of genius, talent, and fortune (according to various Authors who publish his works) as Extraordinary Ambassador of the King of England, to treat of Peace with Spain, through the mandate of the Archduke Albert and the Moſt Serene Lady Clara Eugenia, his wife, because of their high opinion of Rubens, and because of the great fame of his learning and talent, of which we made mention in his life.

With Painters he communicated little (according to Pacheco); only with Don Diego Velázquez (with whom he had communicated through letters) did he become very intimate, and he showed favor to his Works, because of his [Velázquez's] great virtue and modesty; and they went together to the Escorial, to see the famous Monaſtery of San Lorenzo el Real; the two had especial delight in seeing and admiring so many and so admirable wonders in that Lofty Structure; and especially in original Paintings by the greateſt Artiſts which have flourished in Europe; and their example served as a new ſtimulus to excite the desires of Velázquez that he had always had to travel to Italy to See, inſpect, and ſtudy those Eminent Works

and Statues, which are a shining torch of Art and a worthy object of admiration.) [1]

According to Pacheco "En los nueve meses, que asistió en Madrid, sin faltar a los negocios de importancia a que venía, y estando indispuesto algunos días de la gota, pintó munchas cosas, como verémos (tanta es su destreza y facilidad). Primeramente, retrató a los Reyes e Infantes de mesios cuerpos, para llevar a Flandes; hizo de Su Majestad cinco retratos, y entre ellos [f° 109 v] *uno a caballo con otras figuras, muy valiente. Retrató a la* Señora Infanta de las Descalzas de más de medio cuerpo, i hizo de ella copias; de personas particulares hizo cinco o seis retratos;..." (During the nine months [actually 7½] which he spent in Madrid, he painted a great deal, as we shall see [so great is his skill and facility]. First he made half-length portraits of the King and Queen and the Infantes in order to take them back to Flanders with him. He made five likenesses of His Majesty, amongst them one on horseback with accessory figures, which is very masterly. He made a portrait of the Infanta at the Descalzas larger than half-length and produced replicas of it. He made five or six portraits of private persons). [2]

One of the major areas where Rubens exercised his ability in portraiture was in the Spanish court at Madrid. Little has been written about the Spanish portraits, because they present difficult problems, primarily the disappearance of the originals in disastrous fires, and a bewildering number of copies. This essay is limited to a consideration of the portraits of Philip IV, although Rubens was commissioned to do the entire royal family at the request of the Archduchess Isabella Clara Eugenia, and to bring the portraits back to Flanders. On this occasion, the young and not so firmly established Velázquez, who had been promised by Olivares that he alone would paint the portraits of the King, deferred to the greater international reputation of the older Rubens.

[1] Antonio Palomino, *Biografias,* 1724, ed. *Velasquez Homenaje,* Madrid, 1960, pp. 41, 42. According to Elizabeth G. Holt, *A Documentary History of Art,* II, New York, 1958, p. 225, Palomino used the notes of Lazaro Diaz del Valle, and books now lost, among them a biography of Velázquez no longer extant. Also, see Mlle Jeaninne Baticle, *Essai sur le caractère de Velasquez* in *Velasquez, Son temps, son influence, Actes du Colloque Tenu à la Casa de Velasquez,* 7, 9 and 10 December, 1960, p. 11, who says Palomino received his material from the brothers Alfaro.

[2] F. Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura,* ed. F.J. Sánchez Cantón, 1, Madrid, 1956, p. 153. Translation quoted from *Wildenstein, 1950,* p. 41.

Still another reason why writers have avoided the Spanish portrait problem is that it involves a discussion of the two greatest court portrait painters of the seventeenth century. Generally, with the exception of Villaamil in 1885, writers on the Spanish painter have tended to play down the importance of Rubens's visit for Velázquez. It is unfortunate that Justi's great book on Velázquez is marred by an almost modern prejudice against the Baroque style of Rubens in his adulation of Velázquez's naturalism. However, if Justi tended to denigrate Rubens's influence on Velázquez in 1888, he, more than any other historian, became increasingly involved in the Rubens-Spanish connection, and his observations, particularly on the copy of the equestrian portrait, are basic. In discussing the portraits Rubens painted in the Spanish court, one has to take into account that certain tangible connections between the two very different masters did exist, beginning with the correspondence between Rubens and Velázquez mentioned by Pacheco, and with Rubens's reworking of the Velázquez archetype sent for the Olivares engraving.

Our awareness of the nature of Velázquez's early portrait style has been strengthened recently by the publication of remarks about two previously unrecorded paintings in the diary of Cassiano dal Pozzo, written when he was in Spain in 1626 with Cardinal Francesco Barberini.[3] He disparaged a lost portrait of Cardinal Barberini as having a "melancholy and severe air" and he described a lost portrait of the Count Duke Olivares. Enriqueta Harris, who published the diary, pointed out very aptly the similarity of that description of Olivares in armour with a scarf to the well-known Rubens engraving with the inscription *Ex Archetypo Velasquez. P. P. Rubenius ornavit et Dedicavit L. M. Paul Pontius Sculp,* and she proposed that the lost painting was the archetype for the drawing by Pontius (Fig. 12) for the engraving after Rubens (Fig. 13). As a faithful rendering of the original the drawing would, therefore, reflect Velázquez's early style. Furthermore, the drawing was corrected by Rubens, revealing the changes he wanted made for the final engraving. His corrections of the drawing are significant in that they

[3] Enriqueta Harris, in *Cassiano dal Pozzo on Diego Velasquez, The Burlington Magazine,* CXII, 1970, pp. 364–373. According to Gaspar de Fuensalida Rubens declared that he considered Velázquez the greatest painter in Europe. Cruzada Villaamil, *Anales de la vida y de la obras de Diego de Silva Velasquez,* Madrid, 1885, p. 51. If Rubens made such a statement he must have qualified it in some way, as it is difficult to believe in light of the situation in 1629.

transform the modeling of the whole head by the redrawing of the ear, by the curving of the hair to cover more of the ear, by the reducing of the sucked in appearance of the mouth, and above all by the richer modeling of the surfaces. In the drawing no shadows disturb the plane of the forehead and the front of the face. The engraving shows a far more mobile face, and a more direct glance devoid of the lugubrious melancholy.

The criticism of Cassiano dal Pozzo plus the known criticism of Velázquez's early equestrian portrait led Mrs. Harris to conclude that Velázquez's early rise to fame was not as meteoric as was formerly thought. Not only do the differences in the drawing and in the engraving show the contrast in Velázquez's and Rubens's approach to style prior to 1628, but the corrections define the relation between the still relatively unknown Spaniard and the Fleming who was reaching the height of his power.

Rubens arrived in Madrid fresh from the triumph of the Medici series and the Parisian trips, bringing with him private overtures toward peace from Buckingham and a rather shrewd appraisal of what Richelieu intended for the future. But the situation that he found in Spain was hardly that of the spectacular court of Maria de Medici, and its tenor was totally removed from what Rubens had known in 1603. In 1628 there was still the deluded possibility in the mind of the King and his minister Olivares that Spain might recover its former greatness by efforts of puristic reform. The period from the death of Philip III, in 1621, to 1628 was that when the young Philip IV still believed in the severe reforms of Olivares and his Catholic confessors, and was making a not too unsuccessful effort, in between his pursuits of hunting, of the theater, of horses, and of women, to assert his position as heir of Philip II. [4]

It was not by chance that in the same years the jeweled satins and the Spanish lace ruff had been banned—the Spaniards had probably had the last straw with the fabulously expensive entertainments for Charles, Prince of Wales, and the Duke of Buckingham—and the King, himself, had chosen

[4] In discussing the expulsion of the Moriscos (1609–14), J.P. Cooper writes : "This can be seen as a last stage in making Spain and its culture closed and inward-looking, concerned above all to defend its purity and honour, a process whose sixteenth-century landmarks had included the rejection of Erasmian influences and the prohibition of studies abroad." (*The Decline of Spain and the Thirty Years War,* in *The New Cambridge Modern History,* IV, Cambridge, 1970, p. 37.)

to wear the golilla collar and the severe black silk costume that went with it. It was no coincidence that it was Olivares who had called Velázquez from his own native Seville to paint the King in a "realistic" manner. Despite the Titianesque-Mor formula of the portrait with the subject standing by a table (the King received audiences in such a carefully conceived pose as Charles V and Philip II had done before him) there was little else in the earliest portraits of Velázquez that resembled the rich ornamentation of the International Spanish Style of portraiture.[5] A contemporary wrote that the King suddenly appeared with a studied simplicity in the manner of the kings of old Castille, the painted figure in black against a light ground with all detail suppressed. Like Calderón's Prince, one was to encounter fate coolly and in a composed manner. That "melancholy and severe air" of Velázquez's portraits was noted, as we have seen, in 1626 by Cassiano dal Pozzo on his trip to Spain, and in their severity those portraits reflect the powerful domination of the King by Olivares.[6]

Although objections from the court arose and continued, we know that the twenty-three year old King quickly overcame his prejudices against the fifty-one year old painter-diplomat, and frequently appeared, as was customary in the intimate and isolated surroundings of the Spanish palace, in the artist's studio, and that his admiration for Rubens continued to grow.[7] In Rubens's lively conversation he must have found a relief from the lugubrious and omnipresent Olivares, and he responded to the broader and more humanistic views of Rubens, which appealed to his intelligence and could justify

[5] From the time of Titian's standing portrait of *Philip II*, the full-length figure standing at the side of a table with hat or helmet upon it had followed international Spanish mores. An example of a very different manifestation is the portrait of Buckingham at Gorhambury by Van Somer-Mytens, in C.R. Cammell, *George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham, The Connoisseur*, XCVIII, 1936, p. 129 (repr. fig. 111).

[6] Enriqueta Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 367.

[7] Rather curious are two letters from Philip to the Archduchess, 4 July 1628 : "We must not insist on Rubens's making the journey; it is for him to decide if it is to his interest to undertake it." (*Rooses, Vie*, II, p. 449). After ten weeks in Madrid Rubens wrote to Peiresc : "Here I keep to painting, as I do everywhere, and already I have done the equestrian portrait of His Majesty, to his great pleasure and satisfaction. He really takes an extreme delight in painting, and in my opinion this prince is endowed with excellent qualities. I know him already by personal contact, for since I have rooms in the palace, he comes to see me almost every day. I have also done the heads of all the royal family, accurately and with great convenience, in their presence, for the service of the Most Serene Infanta, my patroness." (*Magurn*, p. 292).

his natural inclinations. Saxl pointed out that during this time something of the optimism of Rubens pervaded the Spanish court. Certainly, the reasonable arguments of Rubens for peace and the common good seemed to prevail over the vacillation of Olivares. Something of a seriousness of purpose and optimism pervades the portraits Rubens painted of the King, and in the face of the King one finds a rather touching desire to fulfill his role. Again, as in the case of Maria de' Medici, Rubens was in sympathy with the ruler over his minister. In Philip he saw the Habsburg successor who, if he would only make decisions, could still regain the Catholic position, and his observations now seem prophetic. He wrote 29 December 1628 : "The King alone arouses my sympathy. He is endowed by nature with all the gifts of body and spirit, for in my daily intercourse with him I have learned to know him thoroughly. And he would be surely capable of governing under any conditions, were it not that he mistrusts himself and defers too much to others. But now he has to pay for his own credulity and others' folly, and feel the hatred that is not meant for him. Thus have the gods willed it".[9]

Crucial to the following discussion, it seems to me, is a recognition of the significance of the Rubens drawing of the King which is today in Bayonne (Fig. 88). To my mind, the drawing, while being a study of the King, is also a deliberate adaptation of the early portraits of the King by Velázquez. The young King appears erect in pourpoint, golilla collar and cape with sword, as though he had just finished his formal audience, picked up his hat and put it on, and turned in the doorway momentarily toward the painter, prior to his departure. The pose, despite the fact that the body is turned in another direction and is filled with energetic movement, repeats that of the Velázquez portraits of the King which have one hand dropped at the side, the other on the handle of the sword, with the sword pushing out the cape at the back. In spite of Rubens's tendencies to idealize the head, it is the Velázquez type of head, erect with the eyes to the side, shadow running down one side, the ear projecting from the hair as it does in all the early Velázquez's and not in Rubens (the Genoa portrait is an exception). Unfortunately the line of the hair is covered in the drawing; in all the portraits by Velázquez prior to 1628

[8] F. Saxl, *Velasquez and Philip IV, Lectures*, London, 1967, pp. 311–324.

[9] *Magurn*, p. 295.

the angle of the forehead at the part is very high, in all subsequent Rubens it is lessened.

The drawing stands between the Prado portraits of the King by Velázquez (Figs. 93, 94) and the Rubens portraits. It is an incredible study of pose, of Spanish costume, and of the Velázquez expression. The *Toison d'or* is suspended by a ribbon similar to those in the Velázquez's. Differing decisively however, is the mobile ease of the figure, and that catching in abbreviated strokes of something vitally alive and human, making contact with the spectator, in contrast to the rigid, stiff isolation of the Spanish painter. It is the rarest of comments of one great master on another.

According to Pacheco's account, Rubens did, in addition to the other members of the royal family, five portraits of the King. All, except the equestrian portrait, which burned in 1734, were taken back to Flanders, as far as we know, and kept in Rubens's studio. Today, they are known mainly by copies from which it is possible to discern a number of types: the half-length in black velvet with sword and dagger (No. 33; Figs. 97–99); the brocaded bust with dagger handle (No. 35; Figs. 111, 112); the equestrian allegorical portrait (No. 30; Figs 90–92); the full-standing figure on a curtained balustraded terrace (No. 99; Fig. 107); and the full-standing figure next to a velvet covered table (No. 33; Fig. 105).

Of the five types for which we have evidence the three better known ones are substantiated by engravings. They are the half-length with sword and dagger, from which the Pontius engraving stems (No. 33; Figs. 101, 104); the bust length in a brocaded blouse related to the Louys engraving (No. 35; Fig. 114) and the lost equestrian portrait, the engraving of which by the Florentine Mogalli was surely made from the Uffizi copy. There are no engravings for the two standing types, so that they are open to question, but they are substantiated to a certain degree by similarities to both Velázquez and Rubens. The last two are represented by a painting in Genoa (No. 33; Fig. 107) and by a seventeenth century copy, possibly Spanish according to Burchard, in the collection of the Duke of Wellington (No. 33; Fig. 105). They assume greater significance when one realizes, despite their Rubens-like heads and backgrounds—the draped balustraded terrace in the Genoa painting, the Titian-Mor formula of the velvet-backed wall and velvet-covered table in the Wellington portrait—that the poses and gestures not only conform to Spanish etiquette, but they are adaptations of the early Velázquez. In the radiograph of the Velázquez Prado painting of

the King (Fig. 94), as well as in the 1626–28 painting that covers it (Fig. 93), the King is shown dressed in a black pourpoint costume with a golilla collar, standing next to a table, on which his hat rests. Unlike the later pose of the covering painting, the radiograph shows the King with legs spread apart (as in other versions and copies and similar to Velázquez's *Don Carlos*), with the cape swinging out from the back so that the figure looks broader. The radiograph has not that thin silhouetted figure with the tall proportions, which moves up from the thin close-together legs, which Justi stressed (a proportion which is reminiscent of the archaic Greek Kouros, the Apollo of Tenea, only without the smile). The pose of the Wellington portrait is just that of the X-ray painting, and it has the same broad cuffs. There similarities end. Instead of the vacuum of the light neutral background, the figure, whose black costume is enriched by a gold chain, buttons and an ornamental brooch, is set against a velvet draped wall, next to a velvet covered table drawn in perspective depth, so that, while the figure depends on the Velázquez silhouette, it is softened by the spatial depth, atmosphere and texture associated with Rubens.

An even more elaborate background frames the figure in the monumental Genoa painting. There a richly-textured, swinging, gold-ochre and wine-red drapery embroidered with the Habsburg pomegranate (cf. Titian's *Philip II*, Strigel's *Maximilian)* and decorated with gilded fringes combines with a second deep ruby-red drapery against a blue sky with gray clouds and soft yellowish light on the horizon. Against these beautiful colours the figure in black stands on a balustraded terrace against a perspective row of marble columns, with potted plants on a balustrade, so that the type is totally transformed into something rich and pictorial. The pale face shows subtle changes which appear in the half-length and bust lengths as well, the growth of a slight moustache and tuft of beard, and something of the strained melancholy intelligence seems to be reflected in the eyes. The positioning of the hands in the Genoa portrait is similar to that in the Leningrad-Munich type, but the silhouetted buttons on the shoulder and the *fanfarone* are missing and there is a variation of additional rows of buttons.

If one accepts both the Palazzo Durazzo Pallavicini and the Duke of Wellington paintings as reflections of Rubens, and it is hard to see how they could be otherwise, one must then agree that they are also reflections of Velázquez in pose. In fact, in 1947 Neil MacLaren suggested that the painting of *Philip IV* by Velázquez in the National Gallery in London was identical to the

Genoa painting, only he dated the Velázquez after Rubens's trip, in 1631.[10] It would appear that Rubens, or someone in his workshop, working within the framework of Velázquez's standing figure, elaborated and transformed that figure by a more ceremonial costume, the *Toison d'or* on its collar, the *fanfarone,* the sword and dagger, and by a spatial ambient.

With the bust and half-length types we are in the no-man's land of attribution and copies. One of the errors in the catalogues dealing with the portraits Rubens painted of the Spanish King had been to confuse two types, the half-length and the bust-length, both represented by different engravings. The main reason for the confusion is the fact that the Pontius engraving of 1632 which represents the half-length in type cuts the figure down to a bust-length (Fig. 103). Undoubtedly more significant were the half-lengths, although there are more variants of the bust-length with the Zürich painting generally thought to be the superior example (No. 35; Fig. 111). Both types have their counterparts in the portraits of the Queen.

Saxl said of the half-length of Philip IV that "Rubens was the first to give him the stately, softly curved appearance with the curtain background."[11] Certainly, the way the figure of the King fills the canvas monumentally by its broad silhouette and simplicity is a clear reflection of the three-quarter length preferred by Titian, and not used by Rubens before this.[12] The black velvet costume of the King with its embroidered green sleeves becomes more fully ceremonial. He wears both the *fanfarone* and the Golden Fleece supported by the collar of flints and steels rather than the plain black ribbon, and these combine with rows of gold buttons into a splendid ornamentation. At his waist is a dagger and he rests his left hand on a sword. The hands have become Titianesque in their motivation. His gilt-green embroidered sleeves contrasts with the broad cape, which is in turn ornamented in profile by round black buttons.

Something of the power of these portraits can still be seen in the Pontius engraving of 1632, and in the drawing that he made for the engraving, both unfortunately cutting down the composition (Figs. 101, 103). The King's features seem to be climaxed in the engraving where he seems mature and

[10] See Cat. No. 33.

[11] F. Saxl, *op. cit.,* p. 314.

[12] Actually, this Rubens type is more than half-length. I have retained that description, however, because they are so designated by Pacheco.

confident, and where his beautifully curved moustache is fully grown. The head is unquestionably more idealized and there is less stress on the lower lip and the length of the chin. The different states of the engraving show this incredible transition. All representations reflecting Rubens's portrait of Philip IV in 1627-29 show the King with practically no moustache or beard or with a slight moustache and slight growth of hair beneath the lip. The Bayonne drawing is the exception (No. 32; Fig. 88).

In the model drawing for the 1632 engraving by Pontius (Fig. 101), which was retouched by Rubens, there is only a slight growth of moustache and beard. The first state of the engraving corresponds to this drawing, while the second and third states have the fully curved and waxed moustache and a larger goatee. The jaw and underlip, so prominent in the early Velázquez's are now minimized by shadows, giving the King greater firmness and dignity.

The bust-length portrait (all of the portraits by Rubens except the equestrian portrait have a strange uniformity like that of the Velázquez's in the pose of the head) contains the same curtain and tassel, but only the handle of the dagger is now visible at the bottom. Here, the links of the chain of the *Toison d'or* and the *fanfarone* blend with the elaborately brocaded pourpoint which looks as though the ornaments were worked in repoussoir. In the Zürich painting there are rich, somewhat gilded impasto highlights, and the whitish head is set against a curtain of a plum-purple colour (No 35; Fig. 111).

Justi described the King's face by Velázquez (Fig. 16). "Who can mistake the oval with its pale whitish complexion, and cold phlegmatic glance of the great blue eyes under the high forehead, and light stiffly curled hair, strong flat lips and massive chin, the whole overcast with an expression of pride that repels all advances, suppresses all outward show of feeling." [13] He particularly pointed out the acute side glance, the boldly contrasting areas of light and shade on the surfaces which build up the face sculpturally, the face retaining at the same time an adolescent smoothness.

The head of the Zürich painting by Rubens (No. 35; Fig. 111) is perhaps the finest of all extant works. Compared to the Velázquez head of the Prado portrait or to the Prado bust portrait in armour (Fig. 96), which are identical in view, the Rubens head is less vertical, and far more structurally mobile.

[13] C. Justi, *Diego Velasquez and His Times,* London, 1889 (Translated by A.H. Keane), p. 108.

This is particularly true of the features, which are modeled spatially by more shadows and texture. The deep and heavy blue-gray eyes in the Zürich painting emphasize the downward curving of the lid, and they are modeled by subtle shadows.[14] Rubens places special emphasis on the texture. The blond fringes of the lashes and the blond hair of the eyebrows pick up the gilded light on the hair. The warm pink mouth is full, but less flat and less abstract, and the lips are defined by the precise shadowing of the moustache above and below, and by the curving shadow in between. The expression of the pale whitish face with its pink cheeks is generally more reflective and a little sad. The very slight tilting of the head, as in the head of Buckingham, is a very telling characteristic of Rubens, something which his imitators do not repeat. The glance tends to be direct.[15]

Actually the first of the portraits of Philip IV to be painted and the last of the five we are discussing, painted by Rubens between 10 October and 12 December 1628, was the allegorical equestrian portrait commissioned by

[14] The differences become manifest when one looks at other artists doing the King's portrait. For instance, two by Gaspar de Crayer, in New York and Madrid, are clearly of the Velázquez type, not that of Rubens. See H. Vlieghe, *Gaspar de Crayer als Bildnismaler, Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien,* LXIII, 1967, figs. 91, 92. Justi pointed out that the Italians of the seventeenth century confused works by the two artists, but the confusion continued, as is evidenced by sales records, and by Rubens copies being labelled Velázquez, the Uffizi equestrian portrait for one.

[15] A letter from James Howell to Mr. Arthur Hopton from Madrid, 5 January 1622/23 contains a contemporary description of the royal family : "The ... of the match twixt our Prince [Charles, Prince of Wales] and the Lady Infanta [Dona Maria] is now strongly afoot. She is a very comely lady, rather of Flemish complexion than Spanish, fairhair'd and carrieth a most pure mixture of red and white in her face. She is full and big-lipped, which is held a beauty rather than a blemish or any excess, in the Austrian family; it being a thing incident to most of that race. She goes now upon sixteen, and is of a tallness agreeable to those years.

The King Philip IV is also of such complexion and is under twenty. He hath two brothers, Don Carlos and Don Hernando, who tho' a youth of twelve, yet he is Cardinal and Archbishop of Toledo, which in regard it hath the Chancellorship of Castile annexed to it, is the greatest spiritual dignity in Christandom after the Papacy, for it is valued at 300,000 crowns per annum.

Don Carlos is of a differing complexion from all the rest, for he is black hair'd and of a Spanish hue. He hath neither office, command, dignity, nor title, but is an individual companion to the King, and what clothes soever are provided for the King, he hath the very same, and as often from top to toe. He is better beloved of his People for his complexion; for one shall hear the Spaniard sigh and lament saying, O when shall we have a King again of our own colour." (*Epistolæ Hœlianæ,* ed. J. Jacobs, London, 1890, p. 155).

the King and deſtined to remain in Spain. It was celebrated by the poems of Lope de Vega and Lopez Zarate and hung in an honored place in the Mirror Room in the Palace in Madrid until it was burned in 1734. We know of it today primarily from a very good seventeenth century Spanish copy of ca. 1645 (now in the Uffizi) in which, however, the head of the King was changed to accord with his age in 1645 (Figs. 90, 91); from a Florentine engraving by Cosimo Mogalli after the copy; and from the 1636 inventory description: "Retrato de Felipe IV a Caballo. Num. 55 Inventario de 1636. Pieza nueva sobre el zaguan y puerta principal de Palacio. Otro del mismo tamaño al óleo, en que está el retrato del Rey Nueſtro Señor D. Felipe IV, que Dios guarde. Es de mano de Rubens, está armado a caballo en un caballo caſtaño; tiene banda carmesi, baſton en la mano, sombrero negro y plumas blancas: el lo alto un globo terreſtre que lo suſtentan dos ángeles y la fe, que tiene encima una cruz y ofrecen á S.M. una corona de laurel y á un lado la divina juſticia que fulmina rayos contra los enemigos, y al otro lado en el suelo un indio que lieva la celada." (Our King ... on a cheſtnut horse, wearing armour, a crimson sahs and a black hat [sombrero] with white plumes, and holding a baton in his hand. In the upper part Faith was seen offering a wreath of laurel of the King and holding a cross on a globe supported by two angels. At her side Divine Juſtice is hurling a thunderbolt at her enemies. In the lower part, to the other side, ſtands an Indian carrying the king's helmet.') [16]

In addition to the other evidence, there is a small seventeenth-century copy of only horse and rider againſt the landscape, which is very important because it shows the youthful twenty-two year old King in a sombrero with white plumes, probably as Rubens showed him originally in the painting of 1628, but its location is unknown (Fig. 92).

In the *Philip IV* Rubens immediately applied the allegorical syſtem he had evolved in France. There is no reference to an aƈtual event; the King is shown againſt a beautiful sweeping landscape with the valley of the Manzanarès and the view toward the Casa del Campo; he is in an aƈt of majeſty and command, his arm outſtretched holding a baton. Philip, who seems about to speak (Phelipe, que casi hablar queria) with youthful countenance faces the rosy dawn emanating from the horizon. As Hercules and Atlas (Pagandole con eſto el ser su Atlante, El ser su Alcides; pues reduce a Templo.

[16] *Cruzada Villaamil*, pp. 334–336.

El orbe con sus fuercas, con su exemplo. Premiale can diadema su reparo, la fee) he bears the Habsburg globe and cross upon his shoulders, as heir to the empire of Charles V. Two small putti help support the globe, and their butterfly wings are the signs of his immortality. One is light, the other dark skinned, possibly alluding to the hours of day and night, or the two halves of the planet, a reference to the universal possessions of Spain, just as the Indian carrying the King's helmet alludes to the New World. Philip is awarded a laurel crown of immortality for his virtue by Victoria-Fide, and Divine Fury (Divine Providence ?) hurls a thunderbolt at his enemies, represented by dark gray clouds to the left, while his horse tramples the snake of envy or heresy.

In addition to other allusions to mythological gods and heroes made in the poems (Lope de Vega compares Philip to the Sun, to Alexander, and to Bellerophon as he rides Pegasus), Rubens utilized two motifs here which he connected for the first time with the rider portrait. He himself said that the globe and cross was "to symbolize the Christian world". It is a symbol which goes back to Byzantine times, and is later associated with the Holy Roman Empire. It is used frequently, for instance, in Habsburg portraits of Maximilian and Charles V, but it is the combination with the equestrian portrait which is completely new. The other motif is the snake under the raised front legs of the horse.[17] Rubens may have had in mind for both motifs medals of the late Roman and Byzantine periods where the rider emperor is represented as a symbol of virtue (as Philip is here, particularly in his role as Hercules) riding over his enemies, which in late examples (e.g. Constantius II) were reduced to symbols, such as the snake.[18] In Byzantine rider portraits (cf. the Renaissance drawing of Theodosius in Budapest) the emperor carries in his left hand the cross and globe, as symbols of his divinity as cosmocrator.

[17] R. Wittkower, *Eagle and Serpent, A Study in the Migration of Symbols, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* II, 1938, pp. 253–325. See also, Lars Olaf Larsson, *Adrian de Vries, 1545–1626,* Vienna and Munich, 1967, pp. 86, 87. A sculpture in Drottningholm of a horse "che salta" which rears up bitten by a snake is noted by Larsson; and the same type appears in the so-called *Academy-piece* of 1578 engraved by Cornelius Cort. Larsson suggests that perhaps they go back to an antique marble horse that before 1571 was in the possession of the Medici, and is today found in the Uffizi. For a complete discussion on the curvetting horse, see L.O. Larsson, *op. cit.,* n. 65.

[18] R. Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art,* New Haven, 1963, p. 183 (figs. 4.59 and 4.61).

Rubens may very well have had in mind the passage in Procopius describing the equestrian statue of Justinian in Constantinople, for he had been reading Procopius just prior to the Spanish trip[19] : "And in his left hand he holds a globe, by which the sculptor signifies that the whole earth and sea are subject to him, yet he has neither sword nor spear nor any other weapon, but a cross stands upon the globe which he carries, the emblem by which he has obtained both his Empire and his Victory in war. And stretching forth his right hand toward the rising sun and spreading out his fingers, he commands the Barbarian in that quarter to remain at home and to advance no further." [20] Perhaps stimulated by ancient medals Rubens transferred these ideas to the rider portrait. However, in his portrait of Philip IV the globe and cross are placed upon the shoulders of the King, not in his hand. To the image of Philip as Hercules Rubens knew a closer parallel where Henri IV is shown as Hercules Gallicus bearing the globe upon his shoulders. It would have been typical for Rubens to draw upon two such diverse sources, with their common denominator the virtue of the ruler. Philip represents the Catholic prince who as successor to Charles V claimed the globe and cross in a direct line to Charlemagne.

The *Philip IV* is the climax of Rubens's allegorical equestrian portraits. "Here it it impossible not to feel the ambiance of Rubens' allegory," Jacob Burckhardt wrote. More than any of the other rider portraits the *Philip IV*, with its greater concentration of figures, closely integrated different trends. While Rubens lifted the King to immortality by alluding to him as a Hercules or Alexander, as Bernini was to do later in his portrait of Louis XIV, such ideas were an exception in the line of portraits of Philip IV, and Rubens had to concede to the rigid Spanish Catholic position, in which the King was traditionally glorified by his Catholicism. It is doubly fascinating that in his search for that Catholic position, Rubens went back to the long line of Christian leaders beginning with Justinian and ending with Charles V. It is the combination of mythological-allegorical and Christian history that makes the work unique and makes it differ from the French tradition. However,

[19] 22 June 1628 to Dupuy (*Rooses-Ruelens*, IV, p. 435) and again later to Peiresc (*Rooses-Ruelens*, V, p. 155).

[20] Quoted from Phyllis Williams Lehmann, *Theodosius or Justinian ? A Renaissance Drawing of a Byzantine Rider*, *The Art Bulletin*, XLI, 1959, p. 42.

many ideas were developed from the cycles of the twenties when he introduced human figures into the equestrian portrait, at first *all' antico* in the Victory and Fame in the Maria de' Medici, then enriched by moral and mythological significance in the Buckingham portrait. In the cycle of Henri IV he had even greater opportunity to concentrate on the horse and rider, and motifs he developed in that historical or symbolical context he transferred to the single rider; for example, in *The Battle of Ivry* the goddess directing the attack from above (i.e., divine assistance) with a thunderbolt appears, probably inspired by Trajan's column or Raphael's revival of the Trajan Column style. Another from the same scene is the page hurrying after the horse and rider. The source for such a motif is, of course, antique, and Rubens surely knew Pliny's description of Clitus followed by a helmet-bearer.[21] It is not our intention to trace motifs, but to call attention to Rubens's tremendous ability to draw on seemingly incompatible trends, utilizing and subjecting them to the vital portrait of the youthful King in his plumed sombrero. The allegorical-poetic content divinizes the King, but the King with his recognizable and individual human features must have made the allegory absolutely electric.

It is very important to realize how very wrong the older head of the King is in the Uffizi copy. I do not believe that Velázquez would have painted that head in the Rubens composition, but that the clever copyist used the Velázquez head, copying it just as he had copied the parts by Rubens, imitating the style of the Spanish painter. I have combined a pastiche of the allegorical figures with the copy showing the young Philip IV (Fig. 90); what emerges, it seems to me, is as essential as the Bayonne drawing to the understanding of Rubens's portraits of the King, for that same youthful optimism pervades the countenance and the very portrait itself.

In the portrait of Philip IV the horse is shown in the difficult Italo-Spanish levade (curvette). As in the *Buckingham* (Fig. 32) or the *Philip II* the horse is shown from the side, but on a slight diagonal, affording a rich display of the body. With all these elements not one detracts from the figure of the King, but all become accessory to his image, so that the composition and its concept is revealed clearly to the spectator in a single glance just as the

[21] He [Apelles] also painted... Clitus with a horse hastening into battle; and an armour-bearer handing him a helmet at his command. Clitum cum equo ad bellum festinantem, galeam poscenti armigerum porrigentem. (Pliny, *Natural History*, XXXV, p. 93).

later Bernini equeſtrian figures were to be seen from one view and from the side.[22] Burckhardt, alone, pointed out that Rubens's "galloping" horses move quite differently from Titian's *Charles V at Mühlberg* (Fig. 89), and in this reſpect, he says, they influenced Velázquez.[23] One would think, in any case, that in 1634 when Olivares wrote to Tacca, that Velázquez had not yet produced a "curvetting" or "galloping" horse.[24] There seem to be some indications that the early equeſtrian portrait of Philip IV by Velázquez was a walking white horse.[25] Such a white horse appears in the background of Gaspar de Crayer's painting of *Philip IV in Armour with a Page* (Madrid, Palacio de Viana) and a seventeenth century equeſtrian portrait of the King by a Spaniſh painter presented to Queen Chriſtina (now in Stockholm), which Juſti, Stirling, and Burchard thought might be a copy after the 1623 portrait of Velázquez, shows a walking white horse.[26] It would appear, therefore, that the seventeenth-century horse, whether conceived in opposition or as

[22] Although there is a definite similarity in the one-view compoſitions of Rubens's *Philip IV* and Bernini's *Conſtantine*, the "dramatic climax" which Wittkower ſtreſſed in Bernini's ſtatues is not true of Rubens. Rubens's one-view compoſition is an abſtract and cloſed diſtillation, like that of the coins which inſpired him.

[23] J. Burckhardt, *Recollections of Rubens*, London, 1950 (Edited by H. Gerſon), p. 184, n. 149 : "We might in this connection venture the ſuggeſtion that Velázquez firſt felt the impulſe and the capacity to paint equeſtrian portraits through the examples by Rubens which were in Spain, from that of the Duke of Lerma (1603) on. He muſt of courſe, have ſeen Titian's 'Charles V' which is regarded as the moſt miraculous of all portraits, but Rubens's galloping horſes move quite differently from that of the Emperor..." A ſimilar opinion is that of Martin Soria, *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal*, Baltimore, 1959, p. 384, n. 23 : "A copy perhaps by Mazo, in a private collection ſhows that Rubens was Velázquez's chief inſpiration for the equeſtrian portraits of 1634." There is only a captivating paſſage in Richard Cumberland (1787) which is at all relevant. He is talking about Velázquez's equeſtrian portraits and he ſays : "Everything ſwells and flutters; rich as the Spaniſh horſes are by nature ſtill there ſeems a pleonaſm in their manes and tails, that borders on extravagance : But the reader ſhould be reminded that Rubens was now at Madrid in habits of intimacy with Velázquez, that he had painted his figure of San Giorgio ſlaying the Dragon, the very quintеſſence of colouring and the moſt captivating example of extravagance which the art of painting can perhaps exhibit."

[24] See Cat. No. 30.

[25] Philip IV preſented a horſe "as white as a ſwan" to Louis XIII on the occaſion of the marriage rites to Anne of Auſtria. See A. Baſchet, *Le Roi chez la Reine*, Paris, 1866, p. 135.

[26] I know this painting from the Burchard files.

a counterpart to Titian's *Charles V*, did not have to do with the Titian type but rather with Leonardo, and that, as Burckhardt proposed, Velázquez followed Rubens in the curvetting pose which he then made famous. [27]

The Medici cycle had been decisive for Rubens's portraiture, in that the sketches of full figures in startlingly casual poses seemed to liberate his conception of the portrait, and his shrewd analysis of character began to emerge more decisively through gestures, and movements of the head. In France he had formulated the allegorical portrait. No wonder that when he arrived in Spain he found he could do the portraits of the Spanish royal family "with great ease". After the glorification of the French Queen, it must have seemed to him —after all, he did not know Velázquez's *œuvre* as we are aware of it today— that Velázquez with his "modesty" had painted the King to appear almost as a provincial governor. Rubens immediately set about to bestow upon the King all the ceremonial dignity and the apparatus of the state portrait with, first, the allegorical equestrian portrait, and second, the stately and elegant Titianesque matching portraits of the King and Queen.

At the same time he endowed the King with a ravishing élan, evoked to us still by references to the rider portrait (the copy and the poems) : "Philip looked so alive, so strong, so impetuous, so haughty," or "Philip who was about to speak," *and* still visible in the Bayonne drawing. Both portraits reflect what Saxl called the optimism of Rubens's visit, what he said were the best years of the King and Velázquez, and they were the years of the best intentions on the part of the King.

Conversely, a change occurs in the half-length and bust portraits Rubens painted of the King. Gerson pointed out that the portraits become graver, more reticent, than anything Rubens had painted before, and under that renewed impact with the classical dignity of Titian, the Baroque exuberance and ceremonial dress began to recede. That graver, more direct type was to continue in the early thirties. In fact, with the Philip IV equestrian portrait there is something of a decline in the allegorical portrait in Rubens's *œuvre*.

We know that the King's respect for Rubens continued to grow, and that in the Spanish court his position increased in strength. That he was admired we know from Pacheco, from the poems and letters, and from the overwhelming commissions he received later from the King. The relation of

[27] See above, Chapter 1, n. 2, for the horse types.

Rubens to Velázquez is more difficult to define, and open to conjecture. Certainly, it is far more complex, as Per Palme pointed out, than that Rubens influenced the Spanish artist by his painterly approach.[28] It is unlikely that in 1628 Velázquez could have assumed more than a modest position in relation to Rubens, no matter how great his gifts. It is quite possible that if Rubens, as the sources do indicate, did admire the work of the younger artist, he may have used his influence to persuade the King to allow Velázquez to make the trip to Italy, and stimulated the younger man to go. But Rubens's presence in Madrid was more than decisive for Velázquez, and the Spaniard was surely receptive to the long hours of conversation in front of the paintings of the royal collections with the then famous artist.[29] Certainly, his world suddenly contained greater possibilities than the tradition of Antonio Mor and Sánchez Coello. It seems to me that their relation in Madrid may have been determined from 1625 when Rubens made the corrections of the Olivares drawing after the Velázquez archetype, and that it continued along those lines is evident in the Bayonne drawing, and in the similarity of their portraits of the King, confused from the seventeenth century to the present. Velázquez, on the other hand, would have immediately grasped Rubens's great sense of a mobile organic structure, and would have acquired from the Flemish artist that sense of ease which was to characterize his own later portraits.

For the portrait, Velázquez was, of course, to reject the great invulnerable public image with its allegorizing attributes that Rubens had evolved in the French court. Allegory never meant much to Velázquez, and humanistic doctrines were alien to Spain. His attitude toward the state portrait may be reflected in the double portrait of *Baltasar Carlos with a Dwarf* (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts) dated 1631 — it is the dwarf who holds a rattle and an apple (equivalent to the scepter and globe) while the prince poses in the formal attitude of the state portrait.[30] It is a parody of *ragione di stato.* Instead, he chose to paint the King as a human being in the intimate surroundings of the court, isolated from the public eye in what Paulsson

[28] Per Palme, *Triumph of Peace,* Uppsala, 1956, p. 35 (fig. 8).

[29] G. Cruzada Villaamil, *Anales de la vida y de las obras de Diego de Silva Velasquez,* Madrid, 1885, pp. 49, 50. I am taking the position of Villaamil.

[30] J. López-Rey, *Velázquez,* London, 1963, No. 302, pl. 68.

so acutely observed was a mixture of intimacy and ceremony. The *Las Meninas*, Paulsson said, is a domestic scene transformed by the fact that so much court etiquette is involved, and that mixture of symbol and reality was possible only in Spain.[31]

Whether he was represented in flesh and blood as a symbol of state philosophy charged with religious symbolism, or in the intimate private and ceremonial sphere of palace life in Madrid, Philip IV had the choice in those months to be represented by two of the greatest portraitists of the seventeenth century.

In February of 1629 Calderón's *El Principe Constante* was performed in Madrid, and the fate of Ferdinand, his patience in adversity, his faith in Divine Providence, his slow agonizing death, may have seemed to Rubens a symbolic prophecy of what was to come for Spain.

[31] G. Paulsson, *Zur Deutung von Velasquez' Künstlertum, Studier tillagnade Henrik Cornell*, Stockholm, 1950, pp. 26–43.

IV. RUBENS IN LONDON, 1629–1630

People were well aware, wherever Rubens went, that painting was not the leaſt of his talents. His arrival in England in June 1629 occasioned much discussion and rumour, especially as he appeared without the credentials of an ambassador. Some letters give us an idea of how he was regarded. From London : T. Meautys to Jane Lady Bacon, June 1629 : "You will, peradventure, hear speech of an ambassador arrived here from the Arch Duchesse, but it is onely Rubens, the famous painter, appearing onely in his own quality, and Jerbir (Gerbier) the Duke's painter, maſter of the ceremonies to entertaine him." [1] From the Hague : Dudley Carleton to Lord Dorcheſter, 11 June 1629 : "Joachimi hath written hither that although Rubens be come, he hath brought with him no letter of credence, nor the leſt thing authenticall or subſtantiall; and yet that there are great ones, that maintaine him in countenance, and will needes make some thing out of no thing". [2] From Paris : Sir Thomas Edmondes to Lord Dorcheſter, 4 July 1629: "I finde that they are here very jealous of Monsr Rubens negotiation in England". [3] From the Hague : Vincenzo Gussoni, Venetian Ambassador in the Netherlands, to the Doge and Senate, quoting Sir Thomas Roe, 14 July 1629 : "I seized this opportunity to refer adroitly to the negotiations of Rubens. He told me frankly that he did not approve of that business, and that being so, no particulars were communicated to him. Rubens was a very able man, agile and full of resource, and marvellously well equipped to conduct any great affair. He had known him before and they were familar at Antwerp, where he had grown so rich by his profession that he appeared everywhere, not like a painter but a great cavalier with a very ſtately train of servants, horses, coaches, liveries and so forth. He said that painter had two great advantages, great wealth and much aſtuteness. From London : Cottington to Olivares, 20 July 1629 : "I shall only say that his having been sent here had been highly approved, because he is not only very clever and adroit in negotiating matters, but also knows how to win the eſteem of everyone and especially of the King, my maſter". [5]

[1] *Sainsbury*, p. 130.
[2] *Ibidem*, p. 131.
[3] *Ibidem*, p. 137.
[4] *Calendar of Venetian State Papers*, XXII, p. 130.
[5] *Rooses-Ruelens*, V, pp. 113, 114.

When Rubens stepped off the "Adventure" into the English coast, he probably knew that his coming was anticipated by much "palabras" along the Strand. As early as 22 January 1627 the Venetian Ambassador had written to the Doge and Senate, "at court... within the last few days there is talk of expecting from Antwerp a famous painter, named Rubens, who has sold pictures to Buckingham to the sum of over 100.000 florins, for the purpose, they say, of thus introducing himself". Surely, Rubens's own entrée to the King was made all the more easy for the good relations (despite his private misgivings) that he had maintained with the Duke. Charles already owned two portraits by Rubens, hung in the Breakfast Room at Whitehall, and he had watched the progress of the collection at York House which included the two paintings of the Duke by Rubens. The King certainly looked forward to discussions on paintings with the great Flemish master. It is all the more remarkable that Rubens did not paint a portrait of Charles. As Jaffé pointed out it was a great opportunity missed : whether it was that Rubens wanted to defer to his pupil Van Dyck, or that he found the temperament and person of the King incompatible.[6] It may be that Charles, who had been reproached by the Lord Treasurer Weston for wanting to erect a monument for Buckingham before building one for his father, had firmly resolved to create that monument to James I in the palace his father had built at Whitehall in the commission he gave to Rubens for the ceiling, and that during Rubens's visit he chose to deny himself in favor of concentrating on that project. It is well known, too, that Charles in the period following Buckingham's murder was reluctant to make personal contacts, such as the painting of a portrait may have engendered. In any case, both the portraits of James I in the ceiling and that of Charles in *The St. George and the Dragon* were in settings of that quasi-mythological allegorical world from which they could not seem to step into reality.

Rubens was housed with that remarkable personality, the painter and agent Gerbier, who after the Duke of Buckingham's death retained his position as keeper of York House; it has been suggested that the background view of the peaceful river valley along the Thames in his painting of *St. George and the*

[6] Other than the landscape of *St. George and the Dragon* there is no extant portrait of Charles I by Rubens. This was noted by M. Jaffé (*Charles the First and Rubens, History Today*, January, 1951) : "By what strange understanding no portrait was made, we may never know. A wish to spare the feelings of the regular court-painter Mytens, or to leave the way clear for Van Dyck, is an incomplete explanation of a magnificent opportunity missed." See also below, n. 19.

Dragon (Windsor Castle) shows the city of London with Whitehall and Westminster Abbey as it was seen by Rubens from an upper window in York House. We know from letters to the Venetian ambassadors and those written by the Ambassador Soranzo to the Doge and Senate that the reception Rubens received engendered increasing respect for his abilities.[7] Their letters begin in a slightly scoffing tone remarking on the fact that he had no credentials. Next they take note with a certain uneasiness that certain officials are excluded from the talks. Then Soranzo is told to keep a close watch on Rubens who had such a friendly reception, and he is told to try to dissipate the shadows sketched by Rubens to hide the artifices of the Spaniards. Later he writes: "They could not have made more fuss with any minister, however important... It is thought that this painter may come as ordinary ambassador, and he himself does not deny it". After endless procrastination on the part of Spain, the angry intrigues of the French, and the difficulties of getting around the English demands for the restitution of the Palatinate, Rubens left England only some six weeks after the ambassadors were finally exchanged in 6 January 1630. The peace was not concluded until the following November in Madrid, and Charles's Proclamation of Peace followed in December. The period in which Rubens was there was that of a "recession to normalcy" after the murder of Buckingham, and he described England as a country where the people were rich and happy in the lap of peace. The great portraits of the English trip are those of Lord Arundel, "the great Maecenas of all polite arts ant the boundless amasser of antiquities", who at that time had been restored to the King's favor, although he stood, as always, in grave contrast to the romantic extravagance of the Caroline court.

Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, was born in 1585, three months after his father was condemned to die in the Tower of London.[8] His mother, Ann

[7] Rubens, himself, wrote: "But I consider this peace to be of such consequence that it seems to me the connecting knot in the chain of all the confederations of Europe. The very fear of it alone is already producing great effect." 24 August 1629 (*Magurn*, p. 329).

[8] For the well-known literature on Arundel see: Adolf T. F. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* (tr. C. A. M. Fennell), Cambridge, 1882, pp. 6–50; M. F. S. Hervey, *Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel*, Cambridge, 1921; F. C. Springell, *Connoisseur and Diplomat, The Earl of Arundel's Embassy to Germany in 1636*, London, 1936; Jacob Hess, *Lord Arundel in Rom*, in *English Miscellany*, ed. Mario Praz, 1, Rome, 1950, pp. 197–220; Denys E. Haynes, *The Arundel Marbles, Archaeology*, XXI, 1968, No. 2, pp. 85–91, and No. 3, pp. 206–211.

Dacre, a devout Catholic, brought him up in that faith according to his father's wishes. As a boy at the Elizabethan court, his character was already delineated when the Earl of Essex called him a "winter pear". After the death of Elizabeth his title was restored by James I, and in 1606 he married Aletheia, third daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, who brought him her great wealth, and a corresponding mania for collecting. They immediately bought back Arundel House on the north bank of the Thames and turned it into an Italian palazzo to house their collections, with gardens leading down to the river serving as sculpture courts for the famous Arundel marbles. The taste of the Arundels for collecting was probably acquired on their earliest trips to the Continent in 1612 and 1613. On the second trip (of more than eighteen months) they accompanied Princess Elizabeth to Bavaria, and it is possible that Arundel became aware of the great continental collector Rudolf II on this part of the journey. They then continued their travels into Italy taking along Inigo Jones, and even making excavations in Rome.

The Earl became a Protestant in 1615, although his wife retained her Catholic sympathies, and he, in fact, was under the suspicion of opportunism for the rest of his life. In 1621 he was reinstated to his family's hereditary position of Earl Marshal, master of pomp and ceremonies, and from that time he and his wife played increasingly important roles at the court. He now had agents all over the Continent supplying him with works of art, and even ambassadors such as Sir Thomas Roe in Constantinople collected ancient sculpture for him in Greece and Asia Minor. His most successful agent, William Petty, was able to outbid an agent of Peiresc who had assembled a large number of inscriptions in Smyrna. They were the first Greek inscriptions ever to go to England, and were published by John Selden in the *Marmora Arundelliana* in 1628, as Rubens noted in his letters.

As early as 1618 the Earl and Lady Arundel were portrayed by Daniel Mytens in Arundel House with their collections, he before the sculpture gallery and she before the painting gallery, indicating their separate inclinations, his toward ancient sculpture and inscriptions, hers toward Venetian painting (in Venice where she stayed from 1620 to 1623 Titian's son dedicated his biography of the painter to her, and there she came into contact with Van Dyck who certainly encouraged her taste for Venetian artists).[9] In the Mytens

[9] See O. ter Kuile, *Daniel Mytens, Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, XX, 1969, pp. 43–47, Cat. Nos. 1–3.

painting she wears the famous diamond IHS brooch given to her by the Earl's mother and which she kept until her death, another indication of her Catholic persuasion. [10]

The Arundel collection grew in the late thirties until it contained some thirty-seven statues, one hundred and twenty-eight busts, two hundred and fifty inscriptions, plus sarcophagi and altars. Only the King could claim to rival the collection of paintings and drawings. It also contained rare manuscripts and incunabula of the Pirckheimer library bought in Nuremberg in 1636, and the famous cabinet of gems, coins and medals bought from Daniel Nys for ten thousand pounds. Arundel wanted the fifty-foot obelisk from the Circus Maximus in Rome, and Petty actually succeeded in acquiring it, but was unable to get it out of Italy. Earlier his agents had even tried to get six of the Theodosian reliefs removed from the Golden Gate in Constantinople. The collection was to suffer by dispersal after the death in 1654 of the Countess, to whom he left it all, just as the Mantuan collection in 1627, and that of Rudolf II in 1636 did not remain intact. In contrast to Buckingham, who had written Sir Thomas Roe, 19 July 1626, that he was "not so fond of antiquitye to court it in a deformed or misshapen stone" but would stand upon any cost" if "beautye with antiquitye" were combined, Arundel's taste bordered on the archaeological.

A whole decade earlier Rubens had painted Lady Arundel at the request of the Earl, when she was on her way to Italy, purportedly to see to the education of her sons (Fig. 35). [11] The Countess is seated in the center of a fantastic architecture, on a balustraded terrace, with twisted columns, ending in a niche—a system similar to one he had used earlier in the portrait of *Caterina Grimaldi,* painted in Genoa. Here, however, there is a distant landscape with a river and a castle. She is accompanied by Sir Dudley Carleton, Ambassador

[10] Soprani describes her as a "Dama molto amante di Pittura" (*Vite,* ed. Ratti, Genoa, 1, 1768, p. 446). The Earl's tastes are also indicated in Houbraken's engraving where the female bust (from the Madagascar portrait) and the so-called Pliny head are shown with the animals from the Arundel arms. Below there is an oval with a profiled antique head, and a drawing of a male nude.

[11] Per Palme, *Triumph of Peace,* Stockholm, 1956, p. 77, places the opening negotiations for Whitehall ceiling *ca.* 1620 (Arundel was a member of the Privy Council). In the same year Rubens dedicated the Vorsterman *Descent from the Cross* to Arundel, and Lady Arundel arrived in Antwerp with a letter from the Earl. In 1623, according to Mariette (*Abecedario,* V, p. 115) six plates by Vorsterman of *Theseus leading the Greeks against the Amazons* were dedicated to Lady Arundel by Rubens.

at the Hague, an old acquaintance she had known since an earlier trip to Venice when he had been ambassador there; by her dwarf Robin who holds a falcon; her jeſter; and a large hound. Jacob Burckhardt correctly assessed this painting when he wrote, "The Arundel family [sic] in the Munich Pinakothek is specially designed so as to concentrate the fullness of pomp on the central figure, the Countess".

The Countess of Arundel was one of the more colourful figures Rubens painted, and she generally traveled with a great entourage. She left Venice in 1623 with Italian attendants, over thirty horses, seventy bales of goods, a gondola and a blackamoor. In 1620 when Rubens painted her in Antwerp she was on her way to Padua. She brought to her marriage not only a great fortune, but a highly independent attitude. She remained Catholic when the Earl became Proteſtant (a factor which muſt have caused some ſtrain in their relationship) and consequently on two occasions caused him great difficulty. He found himself in the Tower and subsequently in a precarious position after she arranged the marriage of her son Lord Maltravers to Lady Elizabeth Stuart againſt the wishes of the King—"they shall be married by a prieſt without the Earl's knowledge"—and by her highhanded role in the notorious Foscarini affair in Venice she made him exceedingly unpopular at home. The Foscarini affair ended with the Doge assigning a ſtate galley to her for the feſtivities of the Ascension, and sending wax and confections on fifteen decorated salvers through the ſtreets of Venice to the Mocenigo Palace on the Grand Canal where she resided, as partial reſtitution for what she regarded as slanderous rumors againſt her. [12]

The painting is characterized by its enormous scale, which is not so immediately recognizable in the Munich gallery where it hangs next to two great hunting scenes, by a compositional ſtructure of the figures reversed againſt the vertical ſtructure of the diminishing twiſted columns, and by a moſt extraordinary colour ſtructure of rich deep muted colors in the lower part againſt delicate pale grays and blues above. Still youthful, shrewd and alert, the Countess sits in a rose-red chair on a rug of soft pink-orange reds, wearing a black silk gown with a lowcut white collar, which enhances her soft luminous

[12] The Foscarini affair was a papal plot againſt the Republic of Venice. Foscarini was executed, but it was rumored that he had attended secret nocturnal meetings in the palace of the Countess.

flesh. Her full rounded, delicate and precise face is framed by auburn hair. She wears beautiful gold jewelry: two different earrings, and around her neck a thread, on which hangs a ring with a gray pearl, around her waist a gold chain, and at the edge of her collar a wonderful necklace of gold filigreed beads. The vertical diminishing of the columns accentuates her erectness and decisive presence, as do her black gown with gray lights matched by the light-gray twisted columns, and the blowing drapery with the Arundel arms, of soft velvet blue with silver and some rose. The great hound wears a rose collar with the three silver animals from the Arundel arms, the lion, the horse and the dog. The realistic grouping of figures around her was to become characteristic of seventeenth-century portraiture. The use of Solomonic colums within the context of a secular portrait can only have one meaning. They are placed there as a clear statement and tribute to Lady Arundel as a Roman Catholic, and here on her way to Italy she took the time to have a record of her own sympathies. [13]

Arundel's character was in direct antithesis to that of Buckingham; in fact, historically they are a rather extraordinary juxtaposition. Arundel was reserved to the point of arrogance, and his haughty temperament made him unpopular. Walker, his secretary and friend wrote: "He was a great master of order and ceremony, and knew and kept great Distance towards his Sovreign than any Person I ever observed, and expected no less from his inferiors". Quite unlike Buckingham, who was known to have raised his tennis racket against Prince Charles, and who at one time disrespectfully threatened the Queen with beheading. It was almost as though Arundel had deliberately set himself in contrast to Buckingham, whose forty suits " yoked with manifold knots of pearls" and set with diamonds, with lace collar over which trailed a lovelock, astonished the sober Dutch when he was in Holland, and who looked too beautiful to be true. Arundel never adopted the elegance of the Caroline court,

[13] Perhaps the fact that Lady Arundel was on her way to Italy may have revived a nostalgia for the Genoese portraits. The combination of a loggia, a deep landscape seen through columns, the blowing drapery, creates a landmark in Rubens's portraiture which he was to revive in England in the Gerbier portrait, and later in portraits of Helena Fourment. The use of the Solomonic columns is paralleled in the Medici series. Rubens uses them to enthrone the Queen in *The Death of Henri IV and the Proclamation of the Regency* but not in the preceding scene of *The Coronation of the Queen.*

although he was described by Franciscus Junius as the epitome in England of Caſtiglione's perfect courtier.[14] He is precisely described by Walker: "He was tall of Stature, and of Shape and proportion rather goodly than neat; his Countenance was Majeſtical and grave, his Viſage long, his Eyes larges, black and piercing; he had a hooked Nose, and some Warts or Moles on his Cheeks: his Countenance was brown, his Hair thin both on his Head and Beard; he was of ſtately Preſence and Gate, so that any Man that saw him, though in ever so ordinary Habit, could not but conclude him to be a great Person, his Garb and Fashion drawing more Observation than did the rich Apparel of others; so that it was a common Saying of the late Earl of Carlisle, Here comes the Earl of Arundel in his plain Stuff and trunk Hose, and his Beard in his Teeth, that looks more a Noble Man than any of us..."[15]

In the National Gallery portrait he appears buſt-length in a fur mantle with a blue ribbon supporting the Order of St. George (No. 4; Figs. 48–56). Rubens is much bolder in exaggerating the characteriſtic features of Arundel than any of the other painters who portrayed him. He precipitates the wisps of hair, the winged eyebrows, the hard bony nose, the curling mouſtache, by turning the head sharply to the side so that they project moſt againſt the contour of the ſtrong profile. Something of the irascibility and inflexibility of the Earl is brought out by the treatment of the hair. In both the painting and the drawing (formerly Duchaſtel-Dandelot, No. 4a; Fig. 49), Rubens plays upon the differentiation of texture in the hair, mouſtache and beard. It falls lankly on one side, swirling unmanageably and irregularly about the hidden ear, and breaks out impressioniſtically on the other, accentuated on both sides by the gray ſtreaks. Rubens emphasizes the scraggly curling of the mouſtache, and the roughly textured beard. The winged eyebrows curve down to the black eyes, which are rimmed with red at the bottom, and have broken graying shadows around them. The nose is projected by ſtrong shadow in the noſtril, and below.

As Waagen indicated, Rubens worked here with the greateſt precision and

[14] Partly because of his opposition to Buckingham and partly from a certain inflexibility of character, Arundel's political position was peripheral. See F. C. Springell, *op. cit.* His ſtrongeſt critic, the Earl of Clarendon, said of the diplomatic mission to Germany that he was given a great appointment in which he did "nothing of the leaſt importance."

[15] *Hiſtorical Discourses,* p. 214.

care, and with an economy like that of Titian. Arundel is so distinctly characterized that his features become unforgettable in one's visual memory. In the Duchastel Dandelot drawing the head is turned even more sharply and momentarily, and the eyes glance slightly upwards. Pen strokes boldly define the textures, and he uses wash to soften the fur with shadows. The lids of the eyes are broken by lashes (as in the painting and as in the portraits of Philip IV). In the painting the head is less emphatic, graver and more subdued.

The second of the very great portraits of Arundel by Rubens (today in the Gardner Museum, Boston) is the large, imposing, three-quarter length in steel gray ceremonial armour, with Arundel grasping the gold staff of Earl Marshal,[16] engraved with the King's arms and his own, and with his plumed helmet on the table (No. 5; Figs. 52, 55). He stands before a massive architecture with a barrel vault opening to the sky, and there is a heavy drapery gathered behind him. The fundamentals of the composition are indicated by the great preliminary brush and wash sketch (also in Massachusetts; No. 5a; Fig. 51), and there is a careful study for the head in the London National Portrait Gallery, which ranks as a portrait in its own right (No. 58; Fig. 53). The body is turned to the left while the head with its penetrating glance is turned sharply down to the spectator. The pose is jutting and angular with one elbow out, the other arm crossing the body. The Earl of Clarendon who disliked Arundel said that he had nothing martial about him but his presence and his looks.

The Boston portrait is strongly under the influence of Titian, particularly his *Duke of Urbino* (Florence, Uffizi). Rubens knew very well the role which that portrait had played in the development of Titian's men in armour. Reflecting in its jutting angular pose the twelve emperors painted for the Duke of Mantua, the Urbino portrait looked forward to Titian's dramatic style of the forties. Also in the soft, muted play of lights over the surface of the armour it prefigured the forties, unlike the hard, shining surfaces of the

[16] The Earl Marshal is a high officer of state who presides over the College of Arms, grants armorial bearings, and is responsible for the arrangement of state ceremonials, processions, etc. From 1483 the office has been hereditary in the line of the Dukes of Norfolk.

armour in the *Charles V,* or the ornamental linear surface of the later *Philip II.* The Rubens is similar to the Titian in the three-quarter length, the full armour with mailed hands, the angularity of the arms, the helmet placed behind the figure, and the soft, burnished lights on the armour so that the figure is conceived in terms of inner modeling. Also very like the Urbino portrait is the way the strong features of the face are enframed with black hair and beard, more than in either the oil or the wash sketches.

The turning of the body is, however, characteristic of the seventeenth century, and in its grace and elegance it recalls *Henri IV Viewing the Portrait or Maria de Medici* (Fig. 16). In the full-length pose of the French king, based probably on an antique prototype, the cavalier pose originated, and Rubens utilizes that grandiose movement for the first time in the English court in the three-quarter length of the Earl. In the Arundel portrait Rubens reverses the arms, placing the right arm akimbo against the body, with the left arm dynamically crossing the body. The way the upper torso is pulled back and the hips projected forward is ancient and goes back through the portrait of Henri IV. Also similar to the French King is the diagonal movement of the body, the sash, the sword handle, and the staff. The ceremonial quality is felt in really fabulous textures and colors–the soft plumes, the gilt-fringed drapery, the steel-gray armour and the gold staff. The straightforwardness, with none of the sweet allegorical embellishments of Buckingham's equestrian portrait, is a characteristic aspect of the late style of Rubens, and is from Titian. However, in essence, the portraits of Buckingham and Arundel differ in meaning. The Arundel portrait is essentially *all'antica-italiana* in tradition and really expresses Arundel's continental yearnings (his going to Padua to die) while the Buckingham expresses essentially the cavalier ideal.

In the long row of portraits of Arundel the Rubens paintings and sketches form a superior and dynamic group breaking decisively into the tradition. A measure of their significant changes can be seen in comparisons. In the early portraits Arundel is young, slender, austere, in a simple black costume with a falling ruff, as he appears in the Mytens portrait. There he is shown as the Maecenas of his collection, wearing a fur-trimmed coat, the Order of St. George and the Garter, matched by the fine elegance of his wife's costume. In the 1621 Van Dyck portrait in New York he is distinguished by dark eyes glowing out of a pallid face, and by his graying hair, but he is seated in a conventional pose before curtain and window, his body broadened by a cape (Fig. 37).

In the Rubens portraits he wears for the first time the plain Venetian collar which will appear in all later portraits, almost an affirmation of austerity like the golilla collar in Spain. In the London National Gallery portrait (No. 4; Figs. 48, 56) and the Duchastel Dandelot sketch (No. 4a; Fig. 49) it combines with the fur mantle, while in the other portraits it is combined for the first time with armour.

After Rubens, Van Dyck presents the aging Arundel mainly in armour, but even in the famous Madagascar portrait, where the Earl dons an ermine cape, with the St. George suspended from an elaborate chain, he wears the Venetian collar (Fig. 36). In the Madagascar portrait his head is turned to the left comparable to the Rubens portrait in the National Gallery, but the face is mild and empty in comparison, with nothing of the acquisitiveness or aggressive nature of the Rubens's portrayal. In Van Dyck's armoured portraits the head is turned similarly in all examples to the right side, with the glance sidewise toward the spectator, as in the Gardner Museum portrait (No. 5; Figs. 52, 55). The poses have nothing of the dynamic power of Rubens, and are all strangely static. The finest of the late portraits seems to me to be the Vorsterman engraving after Van Dyck (Fig. 38), in which there is no attempt to rival the Rubens portraits, and the Earl looks directly out. It is a simple bust portrait with plain cape, but the textures indicated by the engraver are superbly differentiated in the clothing, and the hair is likewise decisively characterized.

The others groups of portraits from the English period reveal the varied circles in which Rubens moved from London to Greenwich and to Cambridge. The portraits of the King's physician, Théodore Turquet de Mayerne were surely evolved in the spirit of mutual respect and friendship, and the portraits of the members of the Gerbier family reveal that Rubens must have enjoyed painting Madame Gerbier and her children, whom he must have seen nearly every day. For an artist supposedly reluctant to do portraits it is curious that not one painting of the English period is without them. All except those for Arundel, even the *St. George and the Dragon,* were not commissioned, but of Rubens's own choosing.

Mayerne was an enlightened professional man, highly respected by his fellow physicians, successful and famous for his work in medicine, whose broad interests would have appealed to Rubens. Both the King and Queen considered Dr. Mayerne as a friend, and in his writings there is no trace of courtly servility. He was obviously a confident and worldly man like Rubens,

sure of his own skills, and aware of their worth to others. They had in common their travels in Italy, experiences in the court of France and that they were men of innovating ideas in their own fields. Both were to embark on a second and happy marriage fairly late in life.

The Raleigh portrait (No. 47; Fig. 128) which Rubens painted of Mayerne is rich in glowing colours. He is seated in a black costume against a dark greenish-gray background, cooler to the right, warmer to the left. To the right there is a dark gray statue of Aesculapius in a niche, to the left an open window through which one sees a rocky promontory with a lighthouse with an isolated gold yellow flame. There is water in front of the promontory, and a little house is indicated at the base of the tower of rock. The sky is a deep muted green-blue with soft, warm, dark gray clouds. Against the sky is the vivid, deep crimson-red of the back of Mayerne's chair, with a gold knob and brown shadows. The other areas of color are the ruddy fleshtones set against the white collar and cuffs.

The powerful corporeal figure of Mayerne fills the chair, and is encompassed by a cloak which he has drawn to a fold in his lap. His hair has still a little gray with white highlights, and is very neatly clipped short on the cheeks, around the neat moustache and on top of the head. The beard is soft and finely combed. The attentive and analytical glance directed toward the spectator and the remarkable placement of the plump manicured hands express the intellectual power of the sitter. Unusual is the way he leans on his right arm toward the spectator with the shoulder sloping to the left away from the diagonal of the arm of the chair. The right part of his costume is dark, the black unbroken, but the left side has green-gray highlights. As a matter of fact, all the light and color is to the left and in the direction he leans, while a balance is effected by the severely erect statue to the right. In the way he leans to one side he looks forward to Rembrandt's *Nicholas Bruyningh* in Kassel, but Mayerne is an older corpulent man not given to impulsive gestures. His hands rest there easily, while his eyes, used to clinical observations, naturally sceptical, are alert with interest.

Both the seascape and statue of Aesculapius are compliments to Mayerne. This is no longer an allegorical portrait with personifications. That the somber landscape is emblematic is understood; surely there was no such vista from Mayerne's London rooms, and so once again Rubens alludes to the Stoic theme of a lighthouse in a storm, the same harbour to which men travel

in a boat through life.[17] In his care of Kings, Henri IV, James I and Charles I, the poet Shakespeare, the painter Van Dyck and countless others, Mayerne represents a safe harbour on that journey.

It is as though Rubens, who had made bourgeois portraits his whole lifetime, turned away temporarily from the portraying of princes to assert the spiritual freedom of professional men within the system of absolutism. As Gerson observed "human dignity seems to triumph over baroque pathos and allegorical trappings". During this period, Rubens's portraits emerge with a deeper psychological penetration, and Rubens's great and unusual ability to portray the inner character of a man combines with his incredible powers of observation so that the mind is conveyed by every turn or twist of the head, the revealing direction of a glance, or the slightest change in the position or gesture of the hands.

What does emerge ca. 1630 is a series of bust or half-length portraits in both paintings and sketches, beginning with the earlier Windsor Castle painting of Van Dyck (1627–28) (Fig. 40), followed by the National Gallery *Arundel* (No. 4; Fig. 48), and the Duchastel-Dandelot drawing (No. 4a; Fig. 49), the British Museum sketch of Mayerne (No. 46c; Fig. 127), and the type continues in the superb Louvre drawing of Ophovius (1630–35) (Fig. 39). The means are extremely simple, the colouring in the paintings more subdued, the poses less assertive. He uses plain white collars contrasting with a dark costume, yet the clothing varies to fit the attitude of the man : the soft velour of Van Dyck's cloak held by sensitive fingers, the glove clutched in the plump hand of Mayerne against the bunched folds of his corporeal body; the rugged cape of Ophovius buttoned demurely down the front; the fur of Arundel's mantle with ribbon against dark buttoned costume. Against the simplicity of costume and the quietness of attitude, the heads reveal a penetrating and acute insight into complex personalities : the shining sensuous but highly disciplined face of Mayerne, the rugged sculptured patience of Ophovius, the dreamy and reflective mood of Van Dyck with none of the precociousness of his own self-portraits; the head of Arundel turned

[17] M. Warnke suggests this is the background theme for *Rubens in a Circle of Friends*. A lighthouse appears in the *Shipwreck of Æneas*, there taken over from Elsheimer. The idea that man must remain constant against the vicissitudes of a storm is a common theme of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and one that received new impetus from the Stoic writings of Lipsius.

agressively, bird-like, with lidded piercing eyes. In contrast to the refinement of earlier head studies, the sketches of this period are freely and boldly defined by wash with emphatic use of light and shade, even touched with ink or heightened with white oil paint. In some cases they combine both head and pose study, as in the drawing of Mayerne, a result, probably, of his studies for the Medici series when the portrait head was conceived in relation to the figure in action. The forms are abstractly modeled in terms of areas of light and shade. Against this incredible variety of personalities, to mention Fromentin's criticism of uniformity is no longer valid.

Among the portraits of "gentilhuomini privati" of the English sojourn, perhaps the Gardner Museum portrait of Arundel (No. 5; Fig. 52) is the exception. It is certainly conceived in terms of the state portrait, but it too has a new penetrating directness of observation. Rubens differentiated in the way he painted the "principe assoluto" and the way he painted other men. Both the equestrian portrait of the *Duke of Buckingham* and that of Charles in the *Landscape with St. George and the Dragon* are idylls, with a romantic air which separates them, incidentally, from the French or Spanish portraits.[18] In the *St. George* the idyll is bred by the peaceful pastoral landscape along the Thames; in the *Buckingham* it is an escapade, a sallying forth to a sortie, and quick return to insular safety. They do not convey that direct, more realistic human contact of the portraits we are discussing here.

That more intimate closer view of the sitter is what differentiates the Rubens portraits from those of Titian. Despite their great varying individuality Titian's portraits show a uniform pride, a relative remoteness partly engendered by the impressive format of the vertical three-quarter length type. The Rubens portraits are more specific. With all their composure they are real people more consciously aware of themselves, yet with that same great naturalness of vision, and the same great reserve. When Rubens arrived, English taste, sustained by the great collections of Arundel, Buckingham, and the King, was highly partial to Venetian painting. In fact, the desire of the English to collect

[18] From Elizabethan times England traded, and had strong diplomatic ties with the Republic of Venice. Ambassadors were exchanged, and a number of English travelers went to Venice. The change in English architecture toward a classical style was North Italian, too, primarily through the availability of Serlio. See John L. Lievsay, *The Elizabethan Image of Italy*, Ithaca, New York, 1964.

Venetian works bordered on the obsessive.[19] To them, Rubens, having just come from copying the Titians in Spain, was, among other things, the fashionable conveyor of that taste, and furthermore he endowed his portraits with a heightened realism which placed the Englishman just in the context he wanted, a kind of up-to-date continentalism. It was to be Van Dyck, not Rubens, who presented that combination in palatable romantic terms.

The second of Rubens's acquaintances, Balthasar Gerbier, was born of French Huguenot parents in exile in Holland (as Mayerne was born to a French Huguenot family near Geneva). After he had traveled widely he went to England in 1616 and acted as painter-agent for the Duke of Buckingham until the Duke's death. Gerbier's appraisal of his own accomplishments sounds like an imitation of Leonardo's letter to the Duke of Milan. "My attendance was pleasing to him because of my several languages, good hand in writing, skill in sciences and mathematics, architecture, drawing, painting, contriving of scenes, masques, shows and entertainments for great Princes, besides many secrets which I had gathered from divers rare persons, as likewise for making engines useful in war, as I make those which might blow up the dyke that stopped the passage to the town of Rochelle ... He did put to me ... to choose for him rarities, books, medals, marble statues and pictures". Gerbier's preferences were inclined toward Venetian painting.

Rubens met Gerbier when the latter was in the service of Buckingham in Paris in 1625. From then on their relation took on a dual nature—negotiations for an English peace with Spain resulting from the political overtures of Buckingham, and the extensive purchase of works of art for York House, partly from Rubens's own collection. Efforts for peace came to a halt after Gerbier had cooled his heels in Holland for four months while Rubens's hands were tied by the secret French-Spanish pact; and negotiations failed. In 1627 a break in their letters occurred when the dissatisfied Gerbier returned

[19] To return again to the problem as to why Rubens made no portrait of Charles I, it may be that Rubens could not see in the pious sober Charles his idea of the absolute prince in terms of an antique imperial triumph, as he had found so congenially in the figure of Henri IV. And, after all, the popular hunting portrait, used by Velázquez for Philip IV and by Van Dyck in the famous Louvre portrait of Charles I, was not exactly to Rubens's humanist taste. In the end he placed the King in the role of St. George in a Venetian idyll reminiscent of Titian's St. Theodore and the Dragon. (See N. de Grummond, *Giorgione's 'Tempest' : The Legend of St. Theodore, L'Arte*, Vol. XVIII–XIX/XX, repr. p. 24).

to England, but Rubens continued to write to him, urged to do so by Spinola. Finally after Rubens's trip to Spain, and Buckingham's death in Auguſt 1628, Philip IV sent Rubens to London to negotiate for peace. Rubens was lodged with Gerbier, according to the Venetian ambassador, probably in York House itself, with his brother-in-law, Jan Brant, and their servants. During this period after Buckingham's murder, Charles firmly protected and patronized Gerbier. He was taken into the King's service, was allowed to retain his position as Keeper of York House, and was honoured by Charles who ſtood as godfather to his youngeſt son. This patronage is one of the keys to his relationship with Rubens. Throughout his ſtay Rubens muſt have remained on intimate terms with the Gerbier family.

While it is easier to define Gerbier's relation to Rubens, it is more difficult to tell precisely the exact nature of Rubens's relation to Gerbier, especially since as Oliver Millar so aptly put it, "painting and diplomacy were inextricably and confusingly intertwined." Gerbier's talented opportunism is well known, but he had a genuine admiration for Rubens, despite the fact that that relationship was profitable to him, and that he surely made the moſt of it. In 1627 Gerbier mentioned their "ancient friendship", indicating perhaps that they had known each other before 1625, and it is intereſting that in their correspondence they would sometimes append a personal letter in Flemish alongside of the official one they wrote. Once or twice Rubens tactfully refused to send Gerbier's letters to Spain, pleading that they needed his interpretation.

There are two extremes in point-of-view regarding their friendship, the moralizing one of Rooses, "The royal robe of the artiſt ought never to have brushed againſt the soiled rags of this vile hack of low political intrigues",[20] and that of Jacob Burckhardt, who ſtates that Rubens painted the Windsor portrait in deep sympathy for his fellow painter. Perhaps Rubens was thrown by politics into the company of Gerbier, but it would have been natural for him to become involved with the family. It seems that Rubens did remain a friend of Gerbier. After he left London, in 1631, when Gerbier was appointed "his Maties Agent at Brussels", Rubens ſtood godfather to one of his sons, and despite the difficulties in which Gerbier embroiled himself, to the point

[20] *Rooses*, II, p. 411. This seems to be the position of Stechow and Walker, but one muſt bear in mind the political situation, and the time. Moſt of Gerbier's disgraces come essentially later. See also Clovis Whitfield on Gerbier in *Studies in the Hiſtory of Art*, National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1973, 13-31.

that some members of the court wanted him removed, he appears to have been supported by Rubens. In 1633 the artiſt chose to refute calumnies againſt Gerbier. "I wonder att the brutall proceedings of S^r^ Nicolaldy & Taylor in your regard; I take to my charge, the firſt time I shall come to Bruxelles, to try the Infanta her pulse on the calomnies laid on you & co.". Undoubtedly Rubens recognized Gerbier's weaknesses, but sensibly found that his gifts—his languages, his ability at collecting (no worse in method than Arundel's agents), his education of his sons—outweighed his faults. It was Gerbier in 1634 who wrote indignantly to Charles for the payments owed for the panels of Whitehall ceiling, and who attempted to procure Rubens's collection for England after the painter's death. It is interesting that, when Rubens went to see Joachimi at the end of the London ſtay, he took Gerbier along with him.[21] It is possible that Rubens may have created a memento of his relation to Gerbier when he painted two ſpectators ſtanding beneath King James in the panel of the *Unification of England and Scotland* on the ceiling in Whitehall. One looks like Rubens, the other may well be his painter-agent-negotiator friend.

Burckhardt spoke of the ingeniousness of the design and the beauty of the whole family in the Windsor Gerbier Family (No. 14; Fig. 64) portrait, and he compared it to Watteau's *Charmes de la Vie.* A painting of similar description, a family with nine children, was described as being by Rubens in the effects of Cardinal Mazarin in 1661. It is possible that the Windsor painting does reflect a Rubens composition. It was not the firſt time that he had painted the portrait of a large family, and it could be that he returned to the composition which he had made in Genoa in 1607, of the Doge Agoſtino Doria and his family of fourteen, that portrait which those who saw it praised so highly (No. 9). And it may be that the memory of the earlier portrait brought back a compositional source which had had a powerful effect

[21] Toward the end of Rubens's ſtay in London, Gerbier's discretion, as far as Holland was concerned, muſt have been queſtioned, as he seeks to defend his integrity. He complains to Cottington that, having ſtarted the negotiations, and being forced to be "innkeeper" to Rubens, he is not truſted : "It is a poor reward to be put to charges; and ſtill be excluded from confidence." Actually Gerbier was paid within four months. "The charges and entertaynment of Sig^r^ Piere Paulo Rubens, Secretary and Councillor to the King of Spaine, by his Maties expresse command, defrayed at Balthasar Gerbier, Esq., his Ma^tie^s servants house, with Mr. Brant, the sayd Sig^r^ Rubens brother-in-law and their men from the 7 of December laſt to the 22 of Feby 1629–30." He was also paid for the cordon of diamonds, and a ring the King took from Gerbier to present to Rubens.

on the Genoese portraits, and seemed to haunt Rubens: Mantegna's frescoes of the Gonzaga family in the Camera degli Sposi of the Ducal Palace at Mantua. A seated figure in a chair, a dog underneath, a man bending behind the chair, figures moving up the steps, columns, drapery, and landscape all appear in the Windsor painting. In place of the courtly aspect and insinuations of power, Rubens painted an intimate domestic scene of bourgeois life, a life to which Rubens, weary of the unnecessary prolonged negotiations and of the dissimulation of court life, longed to return. [22]

With the long delays while he waited for the arrival of the ambassador from Spain to conclude the peace, the long separation from his two sons, Rubens began to feel increasingly a certain disillusion. He wrote 24 November 1629, "I consider this delay at the present juncture as so unfortunate that I curse the hour when I came to this kingdom". As Warnke observed, he may have finally recognized his inability as a member of the bourgeois class to effect the one peace he wanted so badly, the unity of the Netherlands. He made one final attempt to effect that peace between the divided Netherlands when he went on his own to see Joachimi in March 1630 prior to his departure. He had written of the peace that he was to bring about, on 23 November 1629 : "I confess that, however much I rejoice at the birth of our Prince of Spain, I should be happier over our peace or truce than over anything else in this world. Best of all, I should like to go home and remain there the rest of my life".

[22] Today, the genuine portraits of Madame Gerbier and her children are those in that beautiful lilting baroque configuration of figures in the *Peace and War*, the painting Rubens presented to the King on his departure. In creating the Gerbier group portrait, it is possible that initially Rubens was inspired by the Titian *Allegory of Avalos* for the sketch of Madame Gerbier and her four children (in England, as Stechow suggested), but when called upon to expand the portrait to the entire family, he reverted to Mantegna's more complex composition, adapting it freely to his needs. Rubens must have kept the original sketch in his studio, as it appears to be mentioned by Helena Fourment. It is difficult to think that such a patron as Mazarin would have had anything other than a work by Rubens's own hand, or that the motifs projected in the Windsor group portrait could be those of a lesser painter.

CATALOGUE RAISONNE

1. SOR ANA DOROTEA (Fig. 41)

Oil on canvas; 73 : 65.4 cm.

London, Apsley House. Inv. No. WM 1626-1948.

PROVENANCE: Captured with Joseph Bonaparte's baggage after the Battle of Vittoria in 1813 by Arthur Wellesley, Marquess of Wellington; presented to him by King Ferdinand VII of Spain in 1814.

COPY: Painting (Fig. 42), Madrid, Convento de las Descalzas Reales; canvas, c. 75 : c. 65 cm.; lit.: E. Tormo, *En las Descalzas Reales,* I, Madrid, 1917, pp. 27, 28, 206, fig. 52 (as *A. Sánchez Coello, Portrait of the Infanta Sor Margarita de la Cruz*); Mi Lorente, *Sobre algunos retratos de Rubens en España, Miscellanea Prof. Dr. D. Roggen,* Antwerp, 1957, pp. 184–187, fig. 2 (as *Rubens, Portrait of the Infanta Sor Margarita de la Cruz*); Maria Teresa Ruiz Alcon, *Otro Rubens en las Descalzas, Goya,* LVI-LVII, 1963, pp. 250, 251, fig. 3.

EXHIBITED: *Second National Loan Exhibition,* Grosvenor Gallery, London, 1913–14, No. 45, repr.; *Wellington Relics,* Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1947, No. 11; *Eighteen Paintings from the Wellington Gift,* Art Council, London, 1949; *London, 1950,* No. 35.

LITERATURE: Evelyn Wellington, *A Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures and Sculptures at Apsley House,* II, London, 1901, pp. 394, 395, No. 109 (as *A Nun*); F. Howard, *Woman and Child in Art, an Illustrated Catalogue of the National Loan Exhibition,* London, 1913–14, pl. XLV; E. Tormo, *En las Descalzas Reales,* I, Madrid, 1917, pp. 205, 206, 229, 230, Nos. 43, 44; *Burchard, 1950,* pp. 44, 45, No. 35, repr. facing p. 32 (as *Portrait of the Infanta Margarita of the Descalzas Reales*); M. Lorente, *Sobre algunos retratos de Rubens en España,* in *Miscellanea Prof. Dr. D. Roggen,* Antwerp, 1957, p. 187 (as *After Rubens, Portrait of the Infanta Sor Margarita de la Cruz*); Maria Teresa Ruiz Alcon, *Otro Rubens en la Descalzas, Goya,* LVI–LVII, 1963, pp. 250, 251, fig. 4; C.M. Kauffmann, *Paintings at Apsley House,* London, 1965, pl. 23 (as *An Unknown Nun*); Maria Teresa Ruiz Alcon, *Descalzas Reales. Capilla de la Dormicion y Casita de Nazaret, Reales Sitios,* VI, 1969, No. 22, pp. 59, 60, repr. p. 55.

Ana Dorotea was emperor Rudolf II's youngest natural daughter. In 1612, at her father's death, she was only six months old. When she was twelve years old she was brought to Madrid, where she entered the convent of the Descalzas Reales. It was Maria Teresa Ruiz Alcon who made clear the identity of the sitter of the present portrait. She very convincingly compared this picture

to one of the same sitter which was painted by Andrès Lopéz. The latter portrait is embellished with a cartouche bearing a Spanish inscription which leaves no doubt as to the nun's identity.[1] The identifications as Sor Margarita de la Cruz[2] or as the Infanta Margarita, the youngeſt siſter of Philip IV[3], which have been suggeſted earlier, can be dismissed. Through Pacheco we know that Rubens painted the "Senora Infanta de las Descalzas", which probably refers to Sor Margarita de la Cruz. Her portrait and that of Sor Ana Dorotea may have been the two portraits of Capuchin nuns mentioned in an inventory of the Royal Palace in Madrid of 1794.[4]

The colours of this picture have a kind of cool silvery quality that is enchanting. The gown is a neutral brown, the background a dark brown, the black head covering is a silhouette. Againſt the brown and the black the head emerges with a tremendous compactness with the face tightly encased in white. The flesh tones are pink and silverly, also somewhat pale and drained. There are transparent shadows beneath the enormous eyes. The lips are a full rose pink.

[1] Maria Teresa Ruiz Alcon, *loc. cit.*; the painting by Lopéz reproduced as fig. 2, on p. 250; the inscription is as follows: SOROR ANA DORO / TEA MARQ. DE AUST. / H[IJ]A DEL EMPERADOR / RODOLFO.

[2] E. Tormo, *loc. cit.*; M. Lorente, *loc. cit.*

[3] L. Burchard, *loc. cit.*

[4] See *Cruzada Villaamil,* p. 337, Nos. 58 and 59.

2. ANNE OF AUSTRIA, QUEEN OF FRANCE (Fig. 43)

Oil on canvas; 129 : 106 cm.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1658.

PROVENANCE: Purchased by King Philip IV of Spain from Rubens's eſtate ("No. 167. Een portret der regerende Koningin van Vrankrijk"; *Denucé, Konſtkamers,* p. 63); Royal Collections, Madrid; transported to the Prado, after 1794.

COPY: Painting (Fig. 44), New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art; canvas, 150 : 115 cm.; prov.: Blenheim Caſtle, Dukes of Marlborough, since *ca.* 1700; Blenheim Palace sale, London (Chriſtie's), 24 July 1886 *et seqq.*, lot 72 (as *Rubens;* withdrawn); purchased in 1901 from Lily, Duchess of Marlborough, by J. Pierpont Morgan; purchased

from the latter by the Metropolitan Museum in 1935; exh.: *Old Masters,* Royal Academy, London, 1885, No. 147 (as *Rubens*); Grafton Galleries, London, 1894; *Old Masters,* Royal Academy, London, 1903, No. 49 (as *Rubens*); lit.: [T. Martyn], *The English Connoisseur,* London, 1766, I, p. 18 (as *Rubens, Portrait of Catherine de Medicis*); *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, p. 242, No. 828 (as *Rubens, Portrait of Catherine de Medicis*); *Waagen, Treasures,* III, p. 126 (as *Rubens, Portrait of Catherine de Medicis*); G. Scharf, *Catalogue Raisonné, or a List of the Pictures in Blenheim Palace,* London, 1862, pp. 29, 30 (as *Rubens, Portrait of Anne of Austria*); *Rooses,* IV, p. 122, No. 885 (as *Rubens*); H.B. Wehle, in *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art,* XXX, 1935, pp. 60, 61 (as *Rubens*); *Goris-Held,* p. 45, No. A1 (as a good studio replica).

EXHIBITED: *L'art belge au XVII^e siècle,* Brussels, 1910, No. 325 (as *Rubens*); Les *chefs-d'œuvre du Musée du Prado,* Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva, 1939, No. 145.

LITERATURE: *Cruzada Villaamil,* pp. 365, 366, No. 30; *Rooses,* IV, pp. 121, 122, No. 884; *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg,* p. 258; *Dillon,* pp. 145, 197, pl. CCLXXI; J. Allende-Salazar and F.J. Sánchez Cantón, *Retratos del Museo del Prado,* Madrid, 1919, p. 196, No. 1689; *K.d.K.,* p. 269; *Prado, Cat. 1963,* No. 1658.

Anne of Austria, a daughter of the Spanish King Philip III was married to Louis XIII in 1615 at the "exchange of princesses". She is shown seated, turned to the left in a gray-black dress with elaborate fanned white collar with a rosette and cuffs, wearing a pearl necklace and earrings. She is before a black and a blue-green curtain with gold fleur-de-lis and against a warm tan architecture probably showing the Hall of the Caryatids in the Louvre palace. She holds a brown fur muff in her right hand. Her hair is pale gold, and she has a pale complexion with pink cheeks and lips. Here eyes are hazel. Her expression is somewhat guarded.[1]

The portrait was painted during Rubens's first stay in Paris, in January or February, 1622, together with its counterpart, the portrait of Maria de' Medici (No. 27; Fig. 83). On April 14, 1622, Peiresc wrote to Rubens that he was glad to learn that the Infanta Isabella was very satisfied with these portraits.[2] During the period after the death of Luynes (1621) Anne of Austria was dominated by the Queen Mother, and they often appeared in public together. The Queen Mother proposed that state receptions be held in the Salons of the Luxembourg Palace rather than in the Louvre by her son's inexperienced consort.[3] The fact that both are portrayed in black led Ludwig Burchard to suggest they were in mourning for the death of Philip III of Spain (March 30, 1621).

[1] Anne of Auſtria was described in 1639 as being "aussi belle qu'aucune de celles qui composaient son cercle" (Madame de Motteville, *Mémoires pour servir à l'hiſtoire d'Anne d'Autriche, épouse de Louis XIII, Roi de France,* Amſterdam, 1723, I, p.).

[2] "M'é tutto carissimo d'intendere, che con tanto guſto dell'Infanta si siano ricevuti i ritratti delle Regine; di che mene rallegro non poco con V.S." (*Rooses-Ruelens,* II, pp. 380, 381).

[3] M.W. Freer, *The Married Life of Anne of Auſtria,* London, 1912, pp. 54–60.

8. ANNE OF AUSTRIA, QUEEN OF FRANCE (Fig. 45)

Oil on panel; 105 : 74 cm.

Amſterdam, Rijksmuseum. No. 2068.

PROVENANCE: ? Rubens's Eſtate, 1640 ("No. 120. Een portret van de regerende Koningin van Vrankrijk op pineel"; *Denucé, Konſtkamers,* p. 61); Misses Hofman, Haarlem, in or before 1830; King William II, sale, The Hague, 1850 (withdrawn), The Hague, 1851, purchased by Brondgeeſt; A. van der Hoop, Amſterdam; bequeathed by the latter to the City of Amſterdam, 1854; on loan to the Rijksmuseum since 1885.

COPY: Painting (with some variations; Fig. 46), Paris, Musée du Louvre; canvas, 106 : 93 cm.; prov. : French Royal Collections; lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, p. 128, No. 428 (as *Rubens, Portrait of Elizabeth of Bourbon*); *Rooses,* IV, pp. 123, 124 (as *partly by Rubens*); C. Juſti, *Die Spanische Brautfahrt des Prinzen von Wales im Jahre 1623, Deutsche Rundschau,* IX, 1883, pp. 197–200 (as *Rubens, Portrait of the Infanta Maria-Teresa*); F. Engerand, *Le portrait prétendu d'Elisabeth de France, Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne,* (V, 1898, p. 267; *K.d.K., ed Rosenberg,* p. 232, right (as *Rubens*); *Glück, 1933,* p. 333 (repr. fig. 179, as *Rubens Workshop, Portrait of the Infanta Maria, Queen of Hungary*).

EXHIBITED: *La femme de l'artiſte. De Bellini à Picasso,* Musée des Beaux-Arts, Bordeaux, 1964, No. 55.

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, p. 128, under No. 428 (as *Portrait of Elizabeth of Bourbon*); IX, p. 342, No. 368 (as *Portrait of Elizabeth of Bourbon*); *Rooses,* IV, p. 124, under No. 886; *Catalogue of the Paintings. Rijksmuseum Amſterdam,* Amſterdam, 1966, No. 2068 (as *Rubens Workshop*).

The Amſterdam *Anne of Auſtria,* in contraſt to the Louvre painting (Fig. 46), was a single piece. This type shows her to be a little older than the Prado type. She is seated facing left in a deep red chair before a red curtain. To the

left a portico of the Corinthian order and an apse are visible. The architecture is gray, but the capitals, rinceaux of the frieze, and the apse are gilded. The Queen wears a diadem, necklace, brooch, and belt all ornamented with large round pearls, and pearl earrings. Her elaborate dress is black embroidered with gold, with slashed sleeves. The white collar has numerous pointed petals like a large delicate white dahlia, and so do the cuffs. In her lap, somewhat reminiscent of Titian's lost portrait of *Empress Isabella*,[1] she holds a small bouquet of flowers. The dress is characteristic of French fashion in 1625, the period of the Buckingham visit and the proxy wedding.

The painting in the Louvre reserve shows considerable variation. Here the Queen wears a blue gown with a white grey blouse and white grey split sleeves with gold ornament. The bodice is turquoise with gold. She holds pink roses, which match the pale pink-white complexion of her face. Here the architecture is grey with three Corinthian columns with gold capitals, a niche with a door and above a shell with a bust. The face is quite good. Rooses thought it to be retouched by Rubens. The hair is a cool grey. It is an excellent atelier piece, and may have had a counterpart in a portrait of Louis XIII, as Burchard suggested.

[1] Formerly in the Pardo Palace, Madrid; see H.E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian. II. The Portraits*, London, 1971, pp. 200, 201, No. L–20.

4. THOMAS HOWARD, EARL OF ARUNDEL (Figs. 48, 56)

Oil on canvas; 67 : 54 cm.

London, National Gallery. No. 2968.

PROVENANCE: ? Estate of P.P. Rubens, Antwerp, 1640, No. 97; ? Estate of P. van Hecke, Antwerp, 1646; ? Earl of Melfort (*ca.* 1650–1715) sale, London (Banqueting House), 21 (?) June 1693, purchased by Glanville; recorded with certainty in the collection of Dr. Richard Mead, 1743; Dr. Richard Mead sale, London (Langford's), 20 March 1754, lot 40, purchased by the Earl of Carlisle (1694-1758); the Earls of Carlisle, Castle Howard; presented in 1914 by Rosalind, Countess of Carlisle, to the National Gallery.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 72 : 55 cm.; prov.: London, Art Market, 1930; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; collection of R.F. Roos, 1961; paper on panel, 205 : 155 mm. (3) Drawing by Wilkin Jr., whereabouts unknown; prov.: sale, London (Phillips), 20 April 1813, lot 36; (4) Engraving by J. Houbraken, 1743 (Fig. 47; *V.S.*, p. 181, No. 232).

EXHIBITED: *Pictures of the Italian, Spanish, Flemish, Dutch and English Schools,* British Institute, London, 1824, p. 308, No. 89; *Pictures by Masters of the Flemish and British Schools including a selection from the Works of Sir Peter Paul Rubens,* New Gallery, London, 1899, No. 133.

LITERATURE: R.J. Sullivan, *A Tour through Parts of England ... in 1788,* 2nd ed., London, 1785, II, p. 110; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, p. 308, No. 1130; *Waagen, Treasures,* III, p. 323; *Rooses,* IV, p. 127, No. 889; G. Martin, *National Gallery Catalogues, The Flemish School,* London, 1970, pp. 203–205, No. 2968; E. Duverger, *De verzameling schilderijen van de Antwerpse zijde- en tapijthandelaar Peter van Hecke de jonge, Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen,* 1971, pp. 151–153, fig. 2; M. Jaffé, in *The Art Bulletin,* LV, 1973, p. 462.

Thomas Howard, second Earl of Arundel and Surrey (1585–1646) was created Knight of the Garter, 1611. Later, he became Earl Marshal of England (1621) and general of the army against the Scots (1638). He married Aletheia Talbot, daughter of Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, 1606. In 1642, during the Civil War, he left England, not to return. His political and military role is by far surpassed by his importance as one of England's first and greatest connoisseurs and collectors. [1]

Arundel's features are well known from other depictions. [2] He is represented bust-length, the head turned three-quarters to the left. He wears a fur lined cloak and the St. George medal of the order of the Garter, hanging from a blue ribbon. The picture is not entirely finished: the area where the hair joins the center of the forehead is not filled in.

This picture should be dated during the period of Rubens's stay in London, 1629–30. As Gregory Martin has stated, there is no reason to suppose that Arundel and Rubens ever met after the latter's departure from England, in 1630. Furthermore, the fact the present portrait is not entirely finished, would suggest a date toward the very end of Rubens's stay. Nevertheless, Rooses proposed the unlikely date of ca. 1636.

The specific pose of Arundel led Gregory Martin to wonder whether Rubens had in mind a double portrait of the Arundel couple of which the present picture would be the right half. There may be some corroboration for this suggestion in the fact that Peter van Hecke, one of Rubens's brothers-in-law, in 1646 possessed "twee conterfeytsels van Rubbens wesende den Grave ende Gravinne van Arondel". Van Hecke may have purchased these portraits from

Rubens's estate, 1640; there, however, mention is made only of a portrait of the Earl himself.

[1] See for biographical details, especially M.F.S. Hervey, *Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel*, Cambridge, 1921.

[2] For the Earl's iconography, see also M.F.S. Hervey, *op. cit., passim*, and D. Piper, *Catalogue of seventeenth-century Portraits in the National Portrait Gallery 1625–1714*, Cambridge, 1963, *sv. Arundel*, pp. 14-16; and text, p. 63, note 8.

4a. THOMAS HOWARD, EARL OF ARUNDEL : DRAWING (Fig. 49)

Pen and wash over preliminary work in black and red chalk, on paper; 280 : 190 mm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: Brussels, Duchastel-Dandelot Collection.

COPY: Engraving by J.L. Krafft (Fig. 50; *V.S.*, p. 181, No. 233).

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, IV, p. 127, under No. 889; V, pp. 259, 260, No. 1497, pl. 418; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 60, No. 226, repr.; *Held*, I, p. 32.

Bust portrait, the face turned three-quarters to the right; with a fur mantle. Glück and Haberditzl suggested the unlikely date of ca. 1636. Held called the elaborate retouching in ink "a distinct exception". It has been suggested by Charles Davis of Florence that perhaps the ink drawing is by another hand than the chalk drawing, and not by Rubens. He proposed that it could be an inked-over counterproof of a lost chalk drawing made in preparation for the National Gallery painting, and I think that is a very likely possibility. I see no reason why the drawing should not be dated during 1629–30, as characteristic of the variation in Rubens's drawing around that time. It differs from the National Gallery painting in that the turn of the head is more emphatic, and in contrapposto to the direction of the lines of the costume.

5. THOMAS HOWARD, EARL OF ARUNDEL (Fig. 52, 55)

Oil on canvas; 122 : 102 cm. – Inscribed by a later hand: *Thomas, Earl of Arundel.*

Boston, The Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum. Inv. No. P21s15.

PROVENANCE: The Earls of Warwick, at least since 1763; purchased by Colnaghi's, London, from the fifth Earl of Warwick, 1898; purchased from them in the same year by Mrs. Isabella Stewart Gardner.

COPIES: (1) Painting, attributed to Henry Stone, Greystoke Castle, Cumberland, Mr. Stafford Howard; (2) Engraving by James Basire (frontispiece to *Marmora Oxoniensia,* 1763); (3) Engraving by E. Scriven (repr. in Lodge, *Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain,* 1817).

EXHIBITED: *Pictures of the Italian, Spanish, Flemish, Dutch and French Schools,* British Institution, London, 1818, No. 47; *Pictures by Italian, Spanish, Flemish, Dutch, French and English Masters,* British Institution, London, 1852, No. 22; *Art Treasures,* Manchester, 1857, No. 107; *First Special Exhibition of National Portraits,* South Kensington Museum, London, 1866, No. 723; *Winter Exhibition,* Royal Academy, London, 1871, No. 158; *Winter Exhibition,* Royal Academy, London, 1889, No. 169.

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, pp. 307, 308, No. 1128; *Waagen, Treasures,* III, p. 213; *Rooses,* IV, p. 128, No. 890; *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg,* p. 307; *Dillon,* pl. CCCXV; *K.d.K.,* p. 288 (as *Portrait of Count Hendrick van den Bergh*); P. Hendy, *Catalogue of the Exhibited Paintings and Drawings in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston,* 1931, pp. 307–311; *Goris-Held,* p. 27, No. 6, pls. 16, 18, 20; P. Hendy, *European and American Paintings in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum,* Boston, 1974, pp. 213–215.

This is a knee-length representation of the Earl of Arundel. He is seen in armour, with a baton in his right hand, and his helmet on a table behind him. Like the National Gallery version this was painted during Rubens's London sojourn of 1629–30.

The background architecture is a warm gray, the curtain a rich russet which contrasts with the rather cool pale golds of the armour and the grey sky. The table is a reddish brown with touches of yellow. The armour is a cool steel colour with gold rivets; modelled by muted yellows, whites and blues, blue-gray below. The collar is a soft gray, with the gold lights of the chain just beneath it. The blue of the sash, now transparent in places, would have picked up the pale blue and green of the helmet plumes.

This three-quarter length is one of the most Titianesque of Rubens's portraits, and the final solution to his experimental copies after Titian's portraits in armour. Titianesque is the motif of the helmet placed behind the figure, the akimbo pose, and the subdued painting of the head (the face is enframed by black hair much like Titian's *Duke of Urbino,*[1] but the pose has been

transformed by the seventeenth century movement and reverts back to the "cavalier" pose of Henri IV in *The Viewing of the Portrait of Maria de' Medici* in the Medici series (Fig. 16).

[1] See illustration in H. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian*, II, *The Portraits*, London, 1971, pls. 66, 67.

5a. THOMAS HOWARD, EARL OF ARUNDEL (Fig. 51)

Brown and black ink (?), brown and grey wash heightened with white, with touches of red, on paper; 460 : 355 mm. In the right lower corner, mark of the collection G.H. (? Guillaume Hubert; *L.*, 1160); in the left lower corner, marks of the collections of Jonathan Richardson, Sr. (*L.*, 2184) and Thomas Hudson (*L.*, 2432). – *Verso*: mark of the collection of R. Roupell (*L.*, 2234); inscribed by Lord Selsey in pen and brown ink: *Rubens b. at Antwerp A.D.: 1577. d. 1640 bought at Hudson's Sale A.D. 1779/ N : 45* followed by an annotation in pen and gray ink by Robert P. Roupell: *The above is in the handwriting of Lord Selsey at whose / sale in 1872 at Sothebys this drawing was bought. / The portrait is that of the Earl of Arundel. / RPR.*

Williamstown, Massachusetts, The Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, No. 22.

PROVENANCE: ? Guillaume Hubert (first half 18th century); Jonathan Richardson, Sr. (London, 1665–1745); Thomas Hudson, sale, London (Langford, 15–16 March 1779, lot 69 (as *Portrait of a Gentleman in Armour*), purchased by Lord Selsey; Lord Selsey sale, London (Sotheby's), 20–28 June 1872, purchased by Roupell; Robert P. Roupell sale, London (Christie's), 12–14 July 1887, lot 1120; private collection, London, 1926.

EXHIBITED: *Dutch and Flemish Masters*, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, 1960, No. 427 (repr.); *The Age of Charles the First*, The Tate Gallery, London, 1972, No. 44 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 54, No. 178, repr.; *Glück*, 1940, p. 174; *Goris-Held*, p. 27, under No. 6; *Olandesi e fiamminghi alla collezione Clark, Emporium*, CXXXIII, 1961,p. 85, repr.; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 263, 264, No. 170; II, pl. 170; E. Haverkamp Begemann, S.D. Lawder, and C.W. Talbot Jr., *Drawings from the Clark Art Institute*, New Haven and London, 1964, I, pp. 28, 29, No. 22; II, pl. 25.

A study for the Gardner Museum painting (No. 5; Figs. 52, 55).

5b. THOMAS HOWARD, EARL OF ARUNDEL: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 53)

Oil on canvas; 66.5 : 52 cm.

London, National Portrait Gallery. No. 2391.

PROVENANCE: The 4th Duke of Argyll; Lord Frederick Campbell, the latter's son; The Earl of Amherst; purchased by the National Portrait Gallery in 1929.

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 54), Weimar, Schlossmuseum; black chalk with bistre wash, 429 : 302 mm.

EXHIBITED: *London, 1953–54,* No. 176.

LITERATURE: G. Vertue, *Anecdotes of Painting in England,* ed. by H. Walpole, II, London, 1762, p. 76; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, p. 308, under No. 1128; *Rooses,* IV, p. 128, under No. 890; *Glück, 1940,* p. 174, repr.; D. Piper, *Catalogue of Seventeenth-Century Portraits in the National Portrait Gallery,* Cambridge, 1963, p. 15, No. 2391, repr.

This head and shoulders portrait is probably a study made from life for the Gardner Musuem portrait (No. 5; Figs. 52, 55). The face and hair are handled far more literally than either the Gardner painting or the portrait in the National Gallery, possibly to fix in Rubens's mind the features which he then handles more abstractly in the two other portraits.

The Weimar drawing after this painting (Fig. 54) may be an engraver's design as Jaffé has suggested.

6. CATHERINE MANNERS, DUCHESS OF BUCKINGHAM (?) (Fig. 57)

Panel; 77.5 : 65 cm. Cut off below and possibly to the right.

Dulwich, Dulwich College Picture Gallery. No. 143.

PROVENANCE:Purchased by N. Desenfans for Stanislas Poniatowski, King of Poland, between 1790 and 1802; N. Desenfans, sale, London (Christie's), 16–18 March 1802, lot 175 (presumably not sold); bequeathed by Sir P.F. Bourgeois to the Gallery in 1811; on loan to the Municipal Gallery, Leeds (1947–1953).

EXHIBITED: *Pictures purchased for His Majesty the late King of Poland,* London, 1802, No. 88 (as *Rubens, A Portrait*); *Some Pictures from the Dulwich Gallery,* National

Gallery, London, 1947, No. 40; *Works by Holbein and other Masters of the 16th and 17th Centuries,* Royal Academy, London, 1950, No. 227; *Le portrait dans l'art flamand de Memling à Van Dyck,* Orangerie, Paris, 1952–53, No. 76; *London, 1953–54,* No. 216; *L'art Flamand dans les Collections Britanniques,* Groeninge Museum, Bruges, 1956, No. 73 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, p. 200, No. 726 (as *School of Rubens, Portrait of Maria de' Medici*); *A Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Pictures ... at Dulwich,* London, 1926, p. 81, No. 143 (as *Rubens, Portrait of a Lady*); *Glück-Haberditzl,* p. 50, under No. 157 (as *after Rubens*); *Glück, 1940,* pp. 174, 179, pl. IIIc (as *by or after Rubens*); L. Burchard, [*Cat. Exh.*] *Some Pictures from the Dulwich Gallery,* London, 1947, No. 40; F. Grossmann, *Rubens et Van Dyck à la Dulwich Gallery, Les Arts Plastiques,* I, 1948, pp. 52–54, fig. 37; D. Sutton, *Flemish Painting at the Royal Academy, Les Arts Plastiques,* VI, 1954, p. 70; F. Grossmann, *Flemish Paintings at Bruges, The Burlington Magazine,* XCIX, 1957, p. 56; C. Norris, in *The Burlington Magazine,* XCIX, 1957, p. 125; F. Grossmann, in *The Burlington Magazine,* XCIX, 1957, p. 126; A. Morawinska, *Kolekcionerstwo polskie i Anglia w dobie Oswiecenia. Kontakty artystyczne Stanislawa Augusta i Michala Poniatowskich z Noelem Desenfansem,* in *Polska i Anglia,* Warsaw, 1974, p. 41, fig. 44.

The painting, apart from the head, has not been completely finished. The woman has pink rounded cheeks and the flesh tones are light and pale. Her expression is knowing and amused. She has quite shrewd eyes and a soft sweet mouth with a slightly arch expression as though she were about to smile. The hair style differs from the Albertina drawing in that it is shaded back, giving more volume to the head, with a jeweled diadem holding a knot, and there are slight bangs over the forehead. The costume is grey black over purple mauve and has slashed sleeves. The grey of the collar is just brushed in, as is the hand with the fan. Below, at the bottom, a piece of panel has been cut off, so that the left hand has disappeared.

The attribution to Rubens of this portrait has not been accepted unanimously in the past. Smith considered it the work of a pupil and it was not accepted by Rooses. In 1928, Glück thought the painting was a copy after a lost original, an opinion which he mitigated in 1940, admitting the possibility that it could be an original, spoilt by repaints and dirty varnish. This proved to be correct when the picture was cleaned after the Second World-War.[1]

The identification of the sitter as Catherine Manners, Duchess of Buckingham, which was first suggested by Glück and Haberditzl, rests on an old inscription

Hertoginne van Bockengem on a drawing in the Albertina (No. 6a; Fig. 58), which is a study for the Dulwich portrait.[2] The drawing shows only the head of the woman, with a slight indication of her shoulders. She does not wear a diadem in her hair, which is differently styled from that in the painting.

The drawing belongs to a group of Rubens drawings, all preserved in the Albertina at Vienna, which have inscriptions by the same hand, providing identifications of the persons represented.[3] Among them is a study of the head of the Duke of Buckingham, which is rightly described as the *hertog van Bockengem*. Glück, Burchard and Grossmann believed both inscriptions correct and consequently that the lady represented in the Dulwich painting is Catherine Manners. This identification has been rejected by Sutton and Norris, who argue that the sitter does not look like other representations of the Duchess, notably the portraits of her by Van Dyck and Honthorst. It is indeed hard to admit that these show the same person. Moreover, it is difficult to assign a date to Rubens's drawing and painting, if they really show the Duchess. Since she appears never to have been on the Continent, Rubens could only have drawn her from life in 1629–30, when he was in London. Therefore, Glück dated both the drawing and the painting in 1629–30. The buoyancy of the expression in the painting and the elaborately rich costume hardly seem fitting for a widow whose husband had been murdered a year before. The date of ca. 1625, proposed by Burchard, seems more likely. In that case, one has to conjecture that Rubens used a portrait of the Duchess by another artist for his drawing. Burchard thought this accounted for the "rather unconvincing character of the head". Grossmann went even further and suggested that a miniature by B. Gerbier might have been Rubens's model. Such a piece is not known, nor is there any evidence of the Duke of Buckingham having ordered a portrait of his wife from Rubens in 1625 in Paris.

Burchard remarked that the dress, especially the panel sleeves and the jewelry, is quite similar to that of Anne of Austria in Rubens's portrait of 1625 in the Louvre (No. 3; Fig. 46). This again agrees with the proposed date of the Dulwich portrait and lends support to the suggestion that the sitter could be an unknown lady at the French Court.[4]

The is no sufficient explanation for the picture not having been finished by Rubens. The fact that the back of the panel was used afterwards for a sketch of a mythological composition indicates that Rubens must have retained the painting himself.

[1] L. Burchard, *loc. cit.*; F. Grossmann, *Rubens et Van Dyck à la Dulwich Gallery, Les Arts Plastiques*, 1, 1948, p. 52.

[2] When N. Desenfans acquired the painting, the woman was supposed to be Rubens's wife, an identification which he changed to Maria de' Medici ([*Cat. Exh.*] *Pictures purchased for His Majesty the late King of Poland*, London, 1802, pp. 29, 30, under No. 88). When it was realized that the woman bore no convincing likeness to the French Queen-Mother, she remained anonymous, until *Glück-Haberditzl* (*loc. cit.*) discovered the link with the drawing in the Albertina.

[3] The drawings are listed by *Held*, 1, p. 138, under No. 106.

[4] [*Cat. Exh.*] *L'art Flamand dans les Collections Britanniques*, Bruges, 1956, p. 60.

6a. CATHERINE MANNERS, DUCHESS OF BUCKINGHAM (?): DRAWING (Fig. 58)

Blak and red chalk, heightened with white body-colour, on paper; 368 : 265 mm. Inscribed in red chalk above: *Hertoginne van Bockengem* and *P.P. Rubbens f.*

Vienna, Albertina. No. 8256.

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

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, V, pp. 262, 263, No. 1502; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 50, No. 157, repr.; *Glück*, 1940, p. 179, repr.; L. Burchard, [*Cat. Exh.*] *Some Pictures from the Dulwich Gallery*, London, 1947, under No. 40; F. Grossmann, *Rubens et Van Dyck à la Dulwich Gallery, Les Arts Plastiques*, 1, 1948, p. 54; F. Grossmann, *Flemish Paintings at Bruges, The Burlington Magazine*, XCIX, 1957, p. 56; C. Norris, in *The Burlington Magazine*, XCIX, 1957, p. 125; F. Grossmann, in *The Burlington Magazine*, XCIX, 1957, p. 126; *Held*, 1, p. 138, under No. 107.

A study for the painted portrait in Dulwich (No. 6;Fig. 57). It has been noted that the surface is worn, and that the sheet is in a damaged condition.[1] Several authors have observed that the expression is not very convincing, possibly because the head was not drawn from life but after another portrait.[2]

[1] *Glück-Haberditzl, loc. cit.,; Held, loc. cit.*

[2] *L. Burchard, loc. cit.; F. Grossmann, loc. cit.*

7. DON CARLOS, INFANTE OF SPAIN

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 59), whereabouts unknown; canvas, 88 x 68 cm.; prov.: Vienna, Coll. Aurelie Schindler; (2) Fragment of an *Interior of a Palace*, painting by

G.J. van Opstal, whereabouts unknown; prov.: New York, Julius Weitzner; ex.: *Pictures within Pictures,* Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn., 1949, No. 33 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Cruzada Villaamil,* p. 142; *Rooses,* IV, p. 148, under No. 918.

The Prince Don Carlos, born in 1607, was two years younger than his brother King Philip IV. According to the Venetian ambassador Mocenigo he followed the King like a shadow and dressed like him. He died July 1632 from a fever.[1] In the Schindler painting the prince is shown half-length, without hands. He is facing left; behind him is a column base and a curtain. He is in a black costume with a *golilla* collar, decorated with the Toison d'or, a *fanfarone,* and a sash with an elaborate ornament. His head is turned in a three-quarter view, the eyes to the spectator, the hair blond.

The identity of the sitter can be made by comparison to Velázquez's well-know full-length portrait of the Infante Don Carlos of about 1626, now in the Prado at Madrid.[2]

Rubens's portrait was executed some two years later, during his stay at Madrid in the course of 1628. Pacheco mentioned this work among the series of half-length portraits of the members of the Spanish Royal Family which then were painted by Rubens.[3]

With other portraits of this series, this one, or a replica, appears among the pictures represented in G.J. van Opstal's *Interior of a Palace,* formerly in the possession of Julius Weitzner, New York.

[1] See *Justi, Velazquez,* I, p. 206.

[2] Reproduced in J. López-Rey, *Velázquez' Work and World,* London, 1968, pl. 50.

[3] F. Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura,* ed. by F.J. Sánchez Cantón, I, Madrid, 1956, p. 153. See also Rubens's own account of his painting portraits of the Royal Family (*Rooses-Ruelens,* V, p. 10).

8. AGOSTINO DORIA

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

LITERATURE: *Ratti, 1773,* p. 120; *Ratti, 1780,* p. 311; *Burchard, 1929,* p. 344.

The portrait of Agostino Doria as Senator is mentioned twice by Ratti in the eighteenth century; in 1780 as "Quello del Senatore Agostino del Rubens, è

per bellezze sorprendevole". The painting he describes may be the same as the "tela del Rubens, rappresentante il ritratto del Doge di Genova Agoſtino Doria" which in 1895 belonged to Prince Fabio Colonna di Stigliano at Naples who was descended from the Doria family.

[1] F. Colonna di Stigliano, *Inventario dei quadri di Casa Colonna fatto da Luca iordano, Napoli Nobilissima,* IV, 1895, p. 30. For the familial filiations between the Colonna's and the Doria's see *L'Araldo. Almanacco Nobiliare del Napoletano,* XIII, 1890, pp. 133–138.

9. AGOSTINO DORIA AND HIS FAMILY

Whereabouts unknown; presumably loſt.

LITERATURE: *Auguſtus Hervey's Journal,* 1752, ed. by Erskine, London, 1954, p. 135; *Ratti, 1773,* p. 120; *Ratti, 1780,* p. 344; *L. Burchard, 1929,* p. 344; A. Morassi, *Alcune opere del Rubens in Genova, Emporium,* LIII, 1947, pp. 189, 195, 196, n. 3.

Agoſtino Doria married Eliana Spinola, and had, according to Battilana [1], seven children. He was Doge from February 24, 1601 to February 26, 1603.

In 1752 Auguſtus Hervey wrote in his memoirs, on occasion of a visit to the Palazzo Doria at Genoa: "I saw here a miniature family piece of fourteen figures done by Rubens in water colours in the year 1607, the fineſt picture I ever saw". As a matter of fact, Rubens was in Genoa from early July to mid September 1607, accompanying the Duke of Mantua to San Pier d'Arena. Hervey is followed by Ratti, who wrote in his *Inſtruzione: "in Palazzo* Guiseppe Doria una miniatura assai celebre, che si crede del Rubens nella quale ſta espresso il Doge Agoſtino Doria con tutta la sua numerosa figliolanza. Il lavoro è sorprendente".

What is of tremendous intereſt is that the painting, a group portrait, which contained so many figures, was a miniature. I would venture to suggeſt that Rubens may have made an adaptation of Mantegna's family portrait in the Camera degli Sposi of the Palazzo Ducale at Mantua, as he drew upon motifs (the servant drawing back a curtain, the dwarf, the dog under the chair, the ſteps, the garden) from that fresco throughout his lifetime.

[1] Battilana, *Genealogia delle famiglie nobili di Genova,* Genoa, I, 1825, *s.v. Doria,* carta 53.

10. GIANCARLO DORIA ON HORSEBACK (Fig. 68)

Oil on canvas; 265 : 188 cm.

Florence, Palazzo Vecchio.

PROVENANCE: Doria family, Genoa; inherited by the Doria d'Angri branch of the family, Naples, in the first half of the nineteenth century; Doria d'Angri sale, Naples, 27 February 1940, lot 172 (repr.); purchased by Maria Termini; sold to Hitler by the order of Mussolini, 1941; discovered in Germany and restored to Italy, 16 November 1948; Ufficio Recupero, Rome; in store at the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.

EXHIBITED: *Second National Exhibition of the Works of Art Recovered in Germany,* Rome, 1950, No. 21 (repr.; as *Equestrian Portrait of a Prince Doria*).

LITERATURE: *Ratti,* 1780, p. 332 (as *"un bel ritratto d'un Signore a cavallo figurato per San Giacomo"*); R. Longhi, *Un ritratto equestre dell' epoca genovese del Rubens, Annuaire des Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique,* II, 1939, pp. 123–130, repr. (as *probably a Portrait of Giacomo-Massimiliano Doria*); A. Morassi, *Alcune opere del Rubens a Genova, Emporium,* LIII, 1947, pp. 193, 196, fig. 9; O. Bock von Wülfingen, *Zwei Bilder aus Rubens' italienischer Zeit, Kunst,* I, 1948, pp. 48, 56, repr. (as *Portrait of a Knight of the Order of Santiago on Horseback*); *Burchard, 1950,* p. 61 under No. 55; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens' St. Georg,* pp. 84–90, figs. 15, 17; M. Warnke, *Das Reiterbildnis des Baltasar Carlos von Velasquez, Amici Amico. Festschrift für Werner Gross,* Munich, 1968, pp. 223, 224; E. Schleier, *Un Chef-d'Œuvre de la période italienne de Simon Vouet, Revue de l'Art,* 1971, pp. 68, 69, 71 (repr.).

The rider in black armour, with a red officer's scarf flying out behind him, springs forward on a silvery dappled gray horse with soft shining brown eyes and saliva dripping from the bit in its mouth. They are accompanied by a spaniel. A stormy sky behind a dark tree forms a dramatic foil for the rider. From the left, behind the foliage, light rays break through clouds, picking up the edges of the horse's tail and mane. On his breastplate the rider has the red cross of the Knights of Santiago.

It seems plausible to suppose that this portrait, which in the eighteenth century was recorded as Doria family property, represents a member of that family. Moreover, there are strong arguments in favour of the identi-

fication of the sitter as Giancarlo Doria, Duke of Tursis, who was born at Genoa in 1577 as one of the sons of the Doge Agostino Doria.[1] In the first place the sitter wears, on the breast-plate of his harness, the cross of the Spanish Order of Santiago de Compostela : in fact Giancarlo Doria was a naval commander in the service of the Spanish King.[2] Even more important is the fact that Marcantonio Doria, one of Giancarlo's brothers, bequeathed to his second son Giovanni Francesco Doria the "Ritratto del quondam Giovan Carlo Doria a cavallo del Rubens".[3] However, Longhi, who first published this splendid portrait, identified the sitter as Giacomo Massimiliano Doria, another brother of Giancarlo, and the husband of Brigida Spinola-Doria. Longhi even ventured to consider this cavalier portrait a pendant to Brigida's full-length portrait which is now in the National Gallery at Washington (No. 41; Fig. 119). In his 1950 catalogue, Burchard agreed with this hypothesis, but later, in his unpublished notes, he thought that an identification of the sitter as Giancarlo was much more likely.

Müller Hofstede emphasized the allegorical significance of the painting. He stressed the appearance in the tree of a nesting eagle, which as a motif forms part of the Doria coat-of-arms. He pointed out that the leaves of the plane tree may symbolize good works, the ivy fame, and the olive branch wisdom and love of peace. The rays of light breaking through the dark clouds would seem to announce the rider as a victorious warrior. Finally, he thought that the inclusion of the dog as in Dürer's *Knight, Death and Devil* could refer to the "Miles Christianus" and that the meaning included both spiritual and military connotations.[4]

Recently, Müller Hofstede dated the painting in 1602, considering it to be Rubens's earliest equestrian portrait. He stressed as prototypes engraved portraits of the late sixteenth century, one by Antonio Tempesta of Henri IV (1589) and another by Crispin de Passe of Maurice of Orange (1600), both riding similar barrel-bodied horses springing from a knoll. He compared it to the Cologne "Friendship" portrait (No. 37; Fig. 115) and stressed that the dark atmosphere, and the fact that the painting is lit from two sources, is typical of the period of 1601–02. Stylistically, it is, in my opinion, a more mature work than the *Duke of Lerma,* and should go along with the *Veronica Spinola* in Karlsruhe, which is datable 1606–07 (No. 43; Fig. 124). Also, Longhi, Burchard and Jaffé accepted a dating in or around 1606. This male portrait of a prince of the Doria family from Genoa is one of the great

recoveries of the twentieth century. Its re-emergence fulfilled Baglione's passage stating that Rubens painted a number of equestrian portraits of Genoese noblemen, and it remains the only extant male portrait of the Genoese period.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 88. For Agostino Doria, see above, Nos. 8, 9.

[2] See e.g. *Rooses-Ruelens*, I, pp. 160, 163; II, pp. 298, 299.

[3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 125, 126; quoted from a transcription made by the Genovese archivist Giorgio F. Costa. Müller Hofstede (*Rubens' St. Georg, op. cit.*, pp. 88, 90, fig. 21) also published an engraving by Michel Lasne after a portrait of Giancarlo Doria by Simon Vouet. To me, however, this much later document of 1620 does not seem to form a very relevant comparative basis.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 98.

[5] *Op. cit.*, pp. 85–87, figs. 19, 20.

11. JOHANN FABER

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

LITERATURE: I. Faber, *Nova plantarum animalium et mineralium mexicanorum historia*, Rome, 1638, p. 831; *Rooses*, IV, pp. 153, 154, No. 927; K. Gerstenberg, *Rubens im Kreise seiner römischen Gefährten, Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, I, 1932, pp. 99–109; F. Baudouin, *Rubens et son siècle*, Antwerp, 1972, pp. 175, 176.

The German doctor Johann Faber was a remarkable personality whose interests were not confined to medicine. He was attached to the Roman hospital of S. Spirito, taught at the Sapienza, and acted as conservator of the Vatican botanical gardens. His interests extended to the study of plants, animals and classical antiquities, and he belonged to the circle of northern artists in Rome which included both Elsheimer and Paul Bril. As headmaster of the confraternity of Santa Maria dell' Anima he was in close contact with the German and Netherlandish residents associated with that church. [1]

Rubens was cured by him of pleurisy in 1606, when residing in Rome, and in gratitude presented him with a painting of a cock, and a portrait of large dimensions. Faber wrote later: "One day when, with God's help, I had the happiness to cure him at Rome of a pleurisy from which he suffered much, he painted me a cock, which he accompanied with this legend, which, though jesting, displays his erudition: "To the celebrated Johann Faber, doctor of medicine, my Aesculapius, I dedicate this picture in fulfillment of a vow made for the restoring of my health when I was doomed". [2]

Gerstenberg, alone, thought it plausible to identify the portrait with the so-called Cologne Friendship portrait (No. 37; Fig. 115).

[1] On Faber see especially K. Gerstenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 100–104, and H. Weizsäcker, *Adam Elsheimer der Maler von Frankfurt*, I, Berlin, 1936, pp. 82–85.

[2] "Hunc cum olim Romæ pleuritide graviter laborantem, per Dei gratiam sanitati restituissem, gallum mihi depinxit gallinacæum, cui jocosa hæc verba, erudita tamen, subscripsit: *Pro saluti – V.C. Joanni Fabro M.D. Æsculapio meo – olim damnatus L.M. vocum salvo* – Verum quoque effigiem meam mihi simillimam in magna tabula coloribus expressit, quæ ob artis præstantiam magni a pictoribus æstimatur." (I. Faber, *op. cit.*, p. 831; quoted by *Rooses, op. cit.*, No. 154).

12. FERDINAND, CARDINAL-INFANTE OF SPAIN (Figs. 60, 61)

Oil on canvas; 118 : 84 cm.

Munich, Alte Pinakothek. No. 335.

PROVENANCE: ? Estate of P.P. Rubens, 1640 (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 61, No. 113); brought to the Düsseldorf Gallery by Johann-Wilhelm, Prince-Elector of the Palatinate, before 1719; transported to the Hofgartengalerie, Munich, 1806; transported to the Alte Pinakothek in 1836, the year of its foundation.

COPY: Painting (Fig. 62), Althorp, Earl Spencer; for further references, see No. 13.

LITERATURE: G.J. Karsch, *Désignation exacte des peintures dans la galerie de la résidence à Düsseldorf*, Düsseldorf, 1719, No. 206; J. van Gool, *De nieuwe Schouwburg der Nederlantsche Kunst-Schilders en Schilderessen*, II, The Hague, 1750–51, p. 546; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp. 69, 70, No. 207; *Rooses*, IV, p. 155, No. 928; *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg*, p. 300, right; *Dillon*, p. 153, 154; L. Burchard, *Anmerkungen zu den Rubensbildern der alten Pinakothek in München, Kunstchronik*, XVII, 1911-12, p. 263; *Glück, 1933*, p. 164 (as a school copy); L. Burchard, *Nachträge*, in *Glück, 1933*, p. 394; *Aeltere Pinakothek, Münich. Amtlicher Katalog*, Munich, 1936, p. 228, No. 335; C. Norris, *Rubens in Retrospect, The Burlington Magazine*, XCIII, 1951, pp. 2-11.

Ferdinand was born on 16 May 1609, as the third son of King Philip III of Spain. He became cardinal at the age of ten, on 22 July 1619; less than a year later, he became the official ruler of the archbishopric of Toledo. However, he did not take holy orders, and never visited the city of Toledo.[1] He is shown here to the kness, standing and wearing a cardinal's red robes. He is holding

a small book in his left hand. He is turned three-quarters to the left but is facing the spectator.

This portrait was painted during Rubens's stay at the Madrid court in 1628.[2]

[1] For biographical references see especially A. Van der Essen, *Le Cardinal-Infant et la politique européenne de l'Espagne 1609–1641*, I, Louvain-Brussels, 1944, *passim*.

[2] F. Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, ed. by F.J. Sánchez Cantón, I, Madrid, 1956, p. 153. See also Rubens's own account of 2 December 1628 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, V, p. 10).

13. FERDINAND, CARDINAL-INFANTE OF SPAIN (Fig. 62)

Oil on canvas; 113.5 : 89 cm.

Althorp, Earl Spencer.

PROVENANCE: Wimbledon Park, Collection of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, 1751 (seen there by Horace Walpole).

EXHIBITED: *Pictures of the Italian, Spanish, Flemish, and Dutch Schools*, London, 1821, No. 87; *London, 1950*, No. 33.

LITERATURE: G. Vertue, *Anecdotes of Painting in England...*, ed. by H. Walpole, II, Strawberry-Hill, 1762, p. 86 (as *Portrait of Cardinal Howard*); *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 307, No. 1126; *Waagen, Treasures*, III, p. 458; *Rooses*, IV, p. 193 (as *Portrait of Cardinal Howard*); *Burchard, 1950*, pp. 40, 41, No. 33; C. Norris, *Rubens in Retrospect, The Burlington Mazagine*, XCIII, 1951, pp. 7, 9, fig. 8 (as a studio replica).

Although Burchard was fully convinced of the authenticity of this painting, I cannot find in it the same qualities as in the Munich version (No. 12; Figs. 60, 61). Therefore, I agree with Norris, who considers this picture a studio replica of the Munich original.

14. THE FAMILY OF SIR BALTHASAR GERBIER

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: Hélène Fourment, 1646.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 63), 17th century, Washington, National Gallery of Art, Inv. No. 2558; oil on canvas, 166 : 178 cm.; prov.: Charles Bodville Robartes, 2nd Earl of Radnor, sale, London, 28 April 1724 (as *A. van Dyck, "A Large Family Picture"*),

purchased by Thomas Scawen; Thomas Scawen sale, London, 25–28 January, 1743, lot 49; Mr. Borroughs; "A Gent of the Law"; Sampson Gideon (as A. van Dyck); Sir Culling Eardley (1857); purchased by Ward, 1860; Mrs. Culling Hanbury; F.E. and E.V.E. Fremantle; purchased for the National Gallery, Washington, with the aid of the Andrew W. Mellon Fund, 1971; exh.: British Institution, London, 1862, No. 113; *Winter Exhibition,* Royal Academy, London, 1902, No. 124; *Loan Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art,* Royal Academy, London, 1927, No. 145 (repr.); lit.: G. Vertue, *Note Books,* I, 1724, ed. by *The Walpole Society,* XVIII, 1929–30, p. 132; [T.B.M. Martyn], *The English Connoisseur,* I, London, 1766, p. 13; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, p. 314, No. 1170 (as *"Portrait of a Lady and Four Children [said to be those of the Duke of Buckingham's Mistress and her three children, the fourth child being a son of the painter]"*); G. Vertue, *Anecdotes of Painting in England ...,* ed. by H. Walpole, II, Strawberry-Hill, 1762, pp. 61, 62 (as *A. van Dyck*); *Waagen, Treasures,* IV, p. 277 (as *A. van Dyck, A Noble Lady with four children, said to be the Duchess of Buckingham*); *Rooses,* IV, pp. 184, 185, No. 956; P. Lambotte, *Quelques œuvres du troisième David Teniers, L'Art flamand et hollandais,* VII, 1910, pp. 18, 19; M. Conway, *Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art. A Memorial Volume,* London, 1927, p. 64, No. 145; M. Jaffé, *Rubens as a Draughtsman, The Burlington Magazine,* CVII, 1965, p. 381, No. 146; G. Martin, *National Gallery Catalogues. The Flemish School, circa 1600 – circa 1900,* London, 1970, p. 381, under No. 146; W. Stechow, C. Whitfield, R.D. Buck, R.-L. Feller, B. Keisch and R.C. Calahan, [Studies on Peter Paul Rubens's *Deborah Kip, Wife of Sir Balthasar Gerbier and her Children*], *Studies in the History of Art,* 1973, pp. 7-78, repr.; J. Walker, *Two Paintings of the Gerbier Family,* in *Art Studies for an Editor: 25 Essays in Memory of Milton S. Fox,* New York, 1975, pp. 245-254. (2) Painting (Fig. 64), 17th century, Windsor Castle, Royal Collection; oil on canvas, 210 : 302 cm., below the inscription : *Familie di Messre Balthasar Gerbier Paintier* and the coat of arms of Balthasar Gerbier; prov. : ? Cardinal Mazarin, Paris, 1661; purchased in the Southern Netherlands by Frederick, Prince of Wales, around or shortly before 1749; since 1776 in the Royal Collection; exh. : *Portraits, representing distinguished persons in the history and literature of the United Kingdom,* British Institution, London, 1820, No. 97; *Exhibition of the King's Pictures,* Royal Academy, London, 1946–47, No. 103; *London, 1953–54,* No. 198; lit.: G. Vertue, *Note Books,* III, 1749, ed. *The Walpole Society,* XXII, 1933–34, p. 152 (as *A. van Dyck*); G. Vertue, *Anecdotes of Painting in England,* ed. by H. Walpole, II, Strawberry-Hill, 1762, pp. 61, 62 (as *A. van Dyck*); *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* III, pp. 71, 72, No. 237 (as *A. van Dyck*); *Waagen, Treasures,* II, p. 437 (as *A. van Dyck*); P.J. Mariette, *Abécédario,* ed. P. de Chennevières and A. de Montaiglon, II, Paris, 1853–54, pp. 202, 203 (as *A. van Dyck*); C. Kramm, *De levens en werken van de Hollandsche en Vlaamsche kunstschilders ...,* II, Amsterdam, 1858, pp. 563, 564 (as *A. van Dyck*); *Rooses,* IV, p. 185, under No. 956 (as *neither Rubens nor Van Dyck*); J. Burckhardt, *Erinnerungen aus Rubens,* Basle, 1898, pp. 276, 277; E. Law, *Van Dyck Pictures at Windsor Castle,* London, 1899, pp. 87–92, No. XXIV (as *A. van Dyck*); M. Rooses, in

Rubens-Bulletijn, V, 1910, pp. 316, 317 (as *anonymous*); R. Oldenbourg, *Die flämische Malerei des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1918, p. 135, tentatively as *J. Boeckhorst*); E. Croft-Murray, *The Landscape Background in Rubens "St. George and the Dragon"*, *The Burlington Magazine*, LXXXIX, 1947, pp. 90, 93; H. Collins Baker, *Catalogue of the Principal Pictures in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle*, London, 1937, pp. 278, 279 (as *School of Rubens*); *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p. 229, under No. 146; G. Martin, *National Gallery Catalogues. The Flemish School, circa 1600–circa 1900*, London, 1970, p. 120, under No. 46 (as *possibly in part by Rubens*); M. Jaffé, in *The Art Bulletin*, LV, 1973, p. 463 (as *not by Rubens*); W. Stechow, in W. Stechow, C. Whitfield, R.D. Buch, R.-L. Feller, B. Keisch and RC. Callahan, [Studies on Peter Paul Rubens's *Deborah Kip, Wife of Sir Balthasar Gerbier and her Children*], *Studies in the History of Art*, 1973, pp. 7-22, fig. 7 (as *a copy*); J. Walker, *Two Paintings of the Gerbier Family*, in *Art Studies for an Editor: 25 Essays in Memory of Milton S. Fox*, New York, 1975, pp. 245-254. (3) Painting, 17th century, after the figure of Susan Gerbier, Althorp, Earl Spencer; oil on canvas, 71 : 53 cm., prov.: J. Richardson the Elder or the Younger; General Skelton; Captain William Hamilton; Lord Viscount Spencer; exh.: *Second National Loan Exhibition*, London, Grosvenor Gallery, 1913–14, No. L (as *Rubens*); *Loan Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art*, Royal Academy, London, 1927, No. 277 (as *Rubens*); lit.: G. Vertue, *Anecdotes of Painting in England ...*, ed. by H. Walpole, II, Strawberry-Hill, 1762, pp. 61, 62 (as *Rubens*); *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 308, No. 113 (as *Rubens, "A Daughter of the Artist"*); *Catalogue of the Pictures at Althorp House, s.l.*, 1851, p. 7, No. 37 (as *Rubens, "One of the Children of Rubens"*); *Rooses*, IV, p. 185, No. 957 (as *Rubens*); *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg*, p. 308 (as *Rubens*); *Dillon*, pl. CCCXI (as *Rubens*); *K.d.K.*, p. 543; M. Conway, *Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art. A Memorial Volume*, London, 1927, p. 112, No. 277 (as *Rubens*); (4) Painting after (1), by "Barwick the Painter", presumably Ranelagh Barrett; whereabouts unknown; prov.: perhaps identical with the picture in the M.W. Ewart-Wentworth sale, London (Christie's), 28 June 1946, lot 41 (as *A. Van Dyck*); lit.: G. Vertue, *Note Books*, III, 1742, ed. by *The Walpole Society*, XXII, 1934, p. 112; (5) Watercolour drawing by William Jett, 1749, after (1), London, Collection of R.G.P. Morgan Grenville; gouache on paper, 435 : 610 mm.; lit.: W. Stechow, C. Whitfield, R.D. Buch, R.-L. Feller, B. Keisch and R.C. Callahan, [Studies on Peter Paul Rubens's *Deborah Kip, Wife of Sir Balthasar Gerbier and her Children*], *Studies in the History of Art*, 1973, p. 19, fig. 11; (6) Drawing by C.J. d'Heur after (2); whereabouts unknown; *ca.* 330 : 480 mm.; prov.: Barchman Wuytiers sale, Utrecht, 17 September 1792, p. 84; lit.: C. Kramm, *De levens en werken der Hollandsche en Vlaamsche kunstschilders ...*, II, Amsterdam, 1858, p. 563; (7) Mezzotint after (4) by James Mc Ardell, 1755 (*V.S.*, p. 167, No. 122); Engraving by W. Walker (as after *A. van Dyck*); lit.: W. Stechow, in W. Stechow, C. Whitfield, R.D. Buch, R.-L. Feller, B. Keisch and R.C. Callahan, [Studies on Peter Paul Rubens's *Deborah Kip, Wife of Sir Balthasar Gerbier and her Children*], *Studies in the History of Art*, 1973, pp. 19–21, fig. 13; (8) Etching after (3) by Charles Clive, *ca.* 1750.

A letter of 1646 written by Hélène Fourment to the Antwerp art dealer, Matthijs Musson, mentions a painting in her possession with "de Conterfeysels van de Engelse mevrou met haar kinderen" ("the portraits of the English lady with her children").[1] The description given by Rubens's widow would indicate that the original composition contained only Madame Gerbier and her children, and this is an important factor in the following discussion.

The Washington painting (Fig. 63) consists of the seated figure of the mother, Deborah Kip, wife of Sir Balthasar Gerbier, with four of her children, the elder three of whom are George, Elizabeth and Susan. The identification of the sitters is made possible by an enlarged version of this painting, in Windsor Castle, where Balthasar Gerbier has been included (Fig. 64).

The sky to the right is grayish-blue with orange and yellow lights over the horizon; the background landscape is blue-green. The vista to the left appears to be a garden with a gothic cloister, with a parterre and two poplar or cypress trees set in circular borders. To the right of the column in the left foreground the gray ground disappears in shadow so that it is difficult to tell where the terrace ends and the garden begins. In this area there is a smearing of the paint. The space and the space levels surrounding the central group are awkward and ambiguous. At the right two spiraling pink-fleshed caryatids above two dolphins support a trellis open to the sky, the entablature moving into a coffered vault in the upper corner. Below, a lower balustrade and a stairway are carelessly painted.

The curtain is rose-pink with a yellow fringe. The dress of Madame Gerbier is olive-green below with an arabesque-like pattern of tan, yellow and red-pink flowers and leaves. The upper part of her costume is an oyster-gray, and she wears a modest pinned scarf over the decolleté in contrast to the Windsor painting (where the skirt is a plain olive green). The dark-gray parrot perches on a bright-red chair touched with yellow. The boy's costume is rose; the two girls are dressed in black and white. The hair of Madame Gerbier is reddish brown; the children are blond, from an ash blond of the boy to the brighter yellow of the girls.

In addition to the careless peripheral painting, the painting and drawing of the heads is unconvincing, often with a splotchy overpainting. Not only is the hair stringy and fussy (compare the impressionistic hair of the little girl in the *Peace and War*;[2] in Madame Gerbier's hair the background is a flat gray with superimposed reddish locks—but the brushstrokes on the face are dry and hard.

The irises of the eyes are painted so that they appear almost a solid brown with circular centers, with even lighter outer parts. This is contrary to the way Rubens paints the iris of the eye with more broken contours of light. Mainly, in both the Windsor and Washington versions, the faces lack that beautiful vibrancy of the faces in the *Peace and War*. The Washington painting may be a workshop copy never completed. Its strengths are those taken from Rubens: the colour scheme and the composition. Its weaknesses are in the painting itself, a deadness of areas, and a certain deadness of expression. It has a fatal lack of unity in the construction of forms.

Within the center the group consisting of Madame Gerbier and her children is neatly circumscribed. Michael A. Quick observed that the circular grouping of these figures is directly inspired by Titian's *Allegory of Avalos,* now in the Louvre, Paris, but in the collection of Charles I when Rubens was in London, 1629–30.[3] There are two important pentimenti in this part of the composition: (1) X-rays show originally the boy opening the curtain with his left arm; (2) in the first state the tassel of the curtain was shown hanging above the head of the older girl. In the Windsor version (Fig. 64) the boy uses his left arm, and the tassel falls between the columns.

The fabric support of the painting is in six pieces; a central rectangle surrounded by added sections seamed together. The paint on all six pieces was shown to be related chronologically and geographically, but the findings according to Richard D. Buck do not necessarily prove that the same hand painted the entire picture. The imprimatura layer on the added pieces in white rather than the gray of the center piece, and according to Feller, the yarns of the central canvas show the strain lines of prior stretching. His conclusions, however, are that all parts of the painting represent the product of an individual studio. However, the findings of the examination do not preclude the possibility that Rubens left the work incomplete, and that the painting was finished by another hand.

Stechow has suggested that the central core was either sketched or executed by Rubens during his stay in London, and that he added the rest after his departure for Flanders, in March, 1640. I am in accord with Oliver Millar's suggestion that both paintings, because of the age of the children (slightly older than those in the *Allegory of Peace and War*) and because they are wearing Flemish (*?*) costumes, date after the English sojourn. However, I am inclined to think that an oil sketch, possibly begun beneath the present surface

of the Washington painting, was started by Rubens in England when he was able to see Titian's *Allegory of Alfonso Avalos;* that another artist completed the painting as it exists today. John Walkers contention that the changing of the arm of George from left to right in the Washington painting was an improvement I do not see. [4] The crossed arm is a Titianesque motif and similar to that of Avalos.

The painting in Windsor (Fig. 64) has eleven figures. Gerbier is to the extreme left in a black hat and costume, with a broad lace collar. A dog is at his feet. Madame Gerbier is seated, holding a baby, possibly Charles. A young boy (George) holds back the curtain, and two girls (Elizabeth and Susan) stand nearby. Two little girls move up the steps, and three other children play to the right. In the background is a balustrade on which rests a vase with Gerbier's coat-of-arms, and a landscape view with the Thames is seen through rounded columns.

The central core is very much like the Washington version (Fig. 63), but the painting has been enlarged on all four sides to accomodate the additional figures. It has been suggested that it was painted when the Gerbier family resided in the Netherlands, viz. between 1631 and 1640. [4] The central figures are quite similar to the Washington portrait, except for the upper part of Deborah Kip's dress and her skirt which is unadorned instead of flower-patterned.

Burchard's opinion is worth noting: "The composition developed in three stages: the central group of the mother and four children was painted by Rubens in London in 1629-30, when he was staying with Gerbier; the children advancing up the steps and the figure of Gerbier are later additions in a style close to Rubens; the area including the three children on the right is a later addition in an entirely different hand. A version of the original composition is in the Fremantle Collection, and of the little girl at her mother's knee at Althorp".

Contrary to Burchard, Stechow thought that this painting had nothing to do with Rubens, but that it is the product of two different artists who worked on it in three subsequent phases: the central group; the addition of Gerbier and the two girls moving up the stairs, by the same hand; the group of three to the extreme right and the vase above them, by another hand. As Rubens started work on the original version of the Gerbier Family portrait in 1629/30, the ages of the four children there represented were approximately 11, 7, 3

and less than one year. Stechow concluded that the two girls on the steps were about three years old, and that the first phase of the Windsor painting originated ca. 1634. The representation of Gerbier's escutcheon on the flower vase, which was granted when he was knighted on October 22, 1638,[5] is to be regarded as a *terminus post quem.* Most probably, as Stechow further argues, this part of the picture was executed in 1640, the three children on the far right being approximately seven, five and four years old.

It is possible that, before this picture was purchased by the Prince of Wales in the 1740's, it had been part of the famous collection of Cardinal Mazarin. In the inventory drawn up after the latter's death in 1662 mention is made of "Un autre faict par Rubens, sur toille, représentant une Famille de neuf enfans dont les père et mère sont debout, hault de six piedz six poulces et large de neuf piedz trois poulces, garny de sa bordure doré, prisé la somme de trois mil livres"[6]. Except for the fact that the woman is described as *standing,* this mention could be that of the Windsor group portrait.

The landscape view, according to Croft-Murray is the same as the view of the Thames with Lambeth Palace in Rubens's *St. George and the Dragon.*[7] It may have been made from a window in York House, the residence of the late Duke of Buckingham, where Rubens stayed.

The Windsor painting was not the only contemporary Flemish group portrait where the composition of Rubens's *Gerbier Family* was used. In fact, a *Family Portrait* in the Brussels Museum dating from ca. 1640 and tentatively ascribed to a "Maître de Ribeaucourt" repeats the same poses as the Washington group portrait.[8] It is easy to see that the painter of this work had access to the version now at Washington as well as to that at Windsor. The detail of the boy lifting the curtain with his right arm was taken over from the former picture, whereas the dress of the mother, the placement of the tassel and, above all, the presence of the father at the left, behind the mother's chair, indicates that the painter also sought his inspiration in the latter composition.

1 J. Denucé, *Na P.P. Rubens,* Antwerp, 1949, p. 50.

2 See for this painting and its connection with there here discussed one: G. Martin, *loc. cit.,* pp. 116–125, No. 46, repr.

3 According to W. Stechow, *loc. cit.,* p. 11, n. 13. A reproduction of Titian's painting in H. Tietze, *Titian,* London, 1950, pl. 91.

4 See W. Stechow, *loc. cit.,* p. 7, n. 2.

5 *Id., ibidem,* p. 15.

[6] Published in G.J. de Cosnac, *Les Richesses du Palais Mazarin,* Paris, 1884, p. 341, No. 1263.

[7] E. Croft-Murray, *The Landscape Background in Rubens's St. George and the Dragon, The Burlington Magazine,* LXXXIX, 1947, pp. 89-94, commenting on the Windsor version (Figs. A–E, facing p. 90).

[8] Oil on canvas, 105 : 211 cm.; Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, cat. 1959, No. 605, see F. de Saligny, *Le Maître de Ribaucourt, L'Intermédiaire des Généalogistes,* 137, 1968, pp. 259–263, repr.

15. FRANCESCO GONZAGA (?) (Fig. 65)

Canvas on board; 67.3 : 57.2 cm.

Plympton, Saltram House.

PROVENANCE: Collection of Charles I (the cipher of the king on the back of the panel); purchased by Mr. Bass, 1649; first mentioned in the Saltram Collection, 1819.

LITERATURE: A. van der Doort, *Catalogue of the Collections of Charles I,* ed. by O. Millar, in *The Walpole Society,* XXXVII, 1958–60, p. 39 (as *the picture of the deceased young duke of Mantuas brother done in armoure to the shoulders by Sr Peeter Paule Rubens when he was in Italie*); *Catalogue of the Pictures ... at Saltram,* 1819 (as *Unknown Portrait of a Duke of Mantua*); *Rooses,* IV, p. 209, No. 985; M. Jaffé, *The Deceased Young Duke of Mantua's Brother, The Burlington Magazine,* CIII, 1961, pp. 374–378, fig. 1; *The Saltram Collection,* London, 1967, No. 95, pl. 1 a.

The sitter is shown to the waist. He is in full armour and wears an officer's scarf. He is seen in three quarter view, but his eyes are firmly turned toward the onlooker.

This portrait, unknown to Burchard, was first published and attributed to Rubens by Jaffé. The latter also proposed the identification as Francesco Gonzaga, the eldest son of Duke Vincenzo I, who succeeded his father as 5th Duke of Mantua. In arguing this, Jaffé compared this portrait to the representation of the young prince in the Vienna fragment of the Gonzaga Trinity painting. (Fig. 1). However, he dated it slightly earlier than the latter work, viz. c. 1603. Jaffé also discarded the view, upheld by Burchard, that the picture described in Charles the First's collection was the same as a portrait now lent by the Putnam Foundation to the Metropolitan Museum, New York[1]. According to Jaffé this portrait does not represent a member of the Gonzaga family. Jaffé also was inclined in favour of a much later date for that work,

viz. in the mid-twenties of the seventeenth century. I am inclined to accept Jaffé's views on this portrait, as well as on the Putnam painting.

[1] *Burchard, 1950,* No. 30, with further literature; repr. e.g. in *Goris-Held,* pl. 4.

16. MARGHERITA GONZAGA, DUCHESS OF FERRARA (Fig. 66)

Oil on canvas; 89 : 74 cm.

Zürich, Collection of Dr. J. Bruppacher.

PROVENANCE: A French noble family; Dr. F. Rothmann, London, *ca.* 1951.

LITERATURE: *Müller Hofstede, Bildnisse aus Rubens' Italienjahren,* pp. 132–138, 153, 156, figs. 81, 84.

The sitter is shown to the waist. She appears to be standing and is seen nearly full face. She wears a dark dress with white lace ruff and cuffs. Her hair is ornated with pearls. She also wears a pearl necklace. The identification as Margherita Gonzaga is based on comparative iconographic material. An anonymous painting, sold at Christie's, London, on 13 July 1945, is of particular importance: the similarity between both portraits is so close, one must conclude that the latter was directly inspired by the portrait here discussed or at least a replica or copy of it. This anonymous portrait shows the sitter holding a letter in her right hand with the inscription: *Alla Ser*^{ma} *mia... Col*^{ma} *Madam Duchesa di Ferrara.* [1]

Margherita was the youngest sister of Vincenzo I, Duke of Mantua, born 27 May 1564 and married November 1579 to Alfonso II of Este, last Duke of Ferrara who died without issue 27 October 1597. After the death of Alfonso, the Duchess returned to Mantua, where in 1599 she founded a nunnery of St. Ursula. During the Hungarian campaign of 1601, when Vincenzo was absent, she acted as Governor of Montferrat. From 1603 she lived in retirement in the convent of St. Ursula, where she died 6 January 1618 [2].

Burchard was the first to attribute this portrait to Rubens; he did so in a certificate and dated the work 1602–03. This attribution was confirmed by Müller Hofstede who, however, proposed a slightly later date, ca. 1604. Müller Hofstede also wondered whether this portrait was not a presentation piece for

the Duke of Lerma with the possibility of a marriage in mind.[3] The stylistic comparison of this portrait with the Vienna fragment of Francesco Gonzaga from the Mantuan altar, made by Burchard and Müller Hofstede, is convincing, in my opinion.

It may be recalled that around the same time Margherita Gonzaga ordered Rubens to paint a *Martyrdom of St. Ursula and her Companions* for the convent of St. Ursula she had founded.[4]

[1] Sale, London (Christie's), 13 July 1945, lot 43 (as *Titian*); according to Burchard, this portrait might be ascribed to Pourbus or his environment. For other comparative material, see *Müller Hofstede, Bildnisse aus Rubens' Italienjahren*, fig. 82.

[2] Biographic information about Margherita Gonzaga in A. Lazzari, *Le ultime tre duchesse di Ferrara e la corte Estense ai tempi di Torquato Tasso*, Florence, 1913, *passim*.

[3] See *Rooses-Ruelens*, I, pp. 151, et seqq.

[4] See H. Vlieghe, *Saints*, II (*Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, VIII), Brussels-London-New York, 1973, pp. 171, 172, No. 158, Fig. 134.

17-18. TWO PENDANTS: VINCENZO GONZAGA, DUKE OF MANTUA, AND HIS DUCHESS, ELEONORA DE' MEDICI

17. VINCENZO I GONZAGA, DUKE OF MANTUA

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

LITERATURE: *Cruzada Villaamil*, pp. 93, 95; *Rooses*, IV, p. 187, No. 959.

A portrait by Rubens of the Gonzaga duke of Mantua is mentioned three times in early seventeenth century inventories of the collections belonging to the Crown of Spain: 1° in 1621 (inventory of Philip III: "En la galeria baja... un retrato del duque de Mántua, de vara y cuarto de largo, guarnecido de pino dorado, todo de mano de Rubens"; 2° in 1635 (inventory of the palace of Valladolid: "Pinturas de la Ribera. Galleria baja. Otro retrato del Duque de Mantua de vara y cuarta, de mano de Rubens"); 3° in 1636 (inventory of the Alcázar, Madrid: "Pieza de las bóvedas con ventana al jardin de Levante. Dos retratos del duque y duquesa de Mántua, con lechuguillas, vestida di negro, y él armado, con molduras, originales de Rubens").[1] Given the similarity

of the measurements in the first two entries, it may be supposed that they relate to one and the same portrait of Vincenzo Gonzaga. On the other hand one may doubt that the 1636 entry refers to that work: no measurements are given and the portrait is described as forming the counterpart of a portrait of the Duchess of Mantua, which was not mentioned at all in the two earlier inventories.

Bellori was acquainted with the fact that Rubens painted portraits of his Gonzaga patron and his wife: "Trasferitosi in Italia si trattenne in Mantova nella corte del Duca Vincenzo, dove fecei ritratti di que' Principi, essendo nell' età di venti anni...". [2]

[1] These three inventory entries all quoted by *Cruzada Villaamil, loc. cit.*

[2] *Le Vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti moderni,* Rome, 1672, p. 222. The words "età di venti anni" refer of course to Rubens, who was in his mid-twenties when painting these portraits; mistakenly they were applied by Rooses to the age of the sitters.

18. ELEONORA DE' MEDICI, DUCHESS OF MANTUA

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

LITERATURE: *Cruzada Villaamil,* p. 95; *Rooses,* IV, p. 187 under No. 959; J. Allende-Salazar and F.J. Sánchez-Cantón, *Retratos del Museo del Prado,* Madrid, 1919, pp. 141–143.

As pointed out under No. 17, a portrait of the Duchess of Mantua formed the pendant of a portrait of Duke Vincenzo, mentioned in an inventory of the Alcázar at Madrid, dating from 1636. Allende Salazar and Sanchez Cantón were inclined to identify this portrait with a work belonging to the Prado, but temporarily on loan to the Museum of Cordoba. [1] The quality of this painting however does not seem very Rubensian. We should also note that on 10 November 1665 the inventory of paintings possessed by a later duke of Mantua, Carlo II, mention has been made of another portrait of Eleonora Gonzaga attributed to Rubens. [2]

[1] Illustrated in J. Allende-Salazar and F.J. Sánchez Cantón, *op. cit.,* pl. XXXVII; the identification was first put forward by the latter authors, who compared the portrait of the Duchess appearing on the Mantuan votive picture (*Fig.* 1).

[2] *Rooses-Ruelens,* I, p. 245.

19. CATERINA GRIMALDI (?) WITH A DWARF (Fig. 118)

Oil on canvas; 238 : 138 cm.

Kingston Lacy, Sir Ralph Bankes.

PROVENANCE: ? The Imperiale Family, Palazzo di Campetto, Genoa; The Grimaldi family, Palazzo Centurione, Genoa; purchased there by W.J. Bankes, before 1841.

EXHIBITED: *Pictures by Italian, Spanish, Flemish, Dutch, French and English Masters*, British Institution, London, 1841, No. 70 (as *Portrait of Marchesa Maria Grimaldi*).

LITERATURE: *Ratti, 1773*, p. 113; *Ratti, 1780*, p. 291; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, p. 348, No. 396 (as *Portrait of Maria Grimaldi*); A. Cunningham, *Life of Wilkie*, III, London, 1843, p. 273 (quoting a letter from David Wilkie to Sir Robert Peel, 1 August 1839, mentioning the painting as not by Rubens); *Waagen, Galleries*, IV, p. 375; *Rooses*, IV, p. 190, No. 962; *Justi, Velazquez*, 1888, II, pp. 344, 345 (as *Portrait of Maria Grimaldi*); *Oldenbourg, 1922*, p. 53 (as *Portrait of Maria Grimaldi*); *Burchard, 1929*, p. 332, 333, 341, 342, repr. (as *Portrait of Maria Grimaldi*); *Burchard, 1950*, p. 61, under No. 55; *Gerson-ter Kuile*, p. 76, pl. 63; *Müller Hofstede, Bildnisse aus Rubens' Italienjahren*, pp. 92, 94, 96, 141–143.

A lady is seated within a loggia. Rays of light come through inter-columnations at the left revealing a garden and a blue green sky broken by clouds. A dwarf pulls back a red curtain, and a small brown dog with a collar with the letters M and A jumps up to his mistress, who wears a black dress ornamented with gold and silver. A soft silvery ruff frames her fine delicate face which contrasts with the coarse sensual one of the dwarf. Another red curtain billows on the right side. At the back above a door there is a grisaille relief which seems to have an allegorical meaning: a king and his daughter (?)—as a motif she repeats in reverse the bride of the antique "Aldobrandini Wedding" [1]—are seated on a raised throne; at their feet two warriors contend for the hand of the princess, one about to kill the other with his raised sword. Müller Hofstede wondered whether this relief should not be interpreted as an allusion to the unmarried state of the sitter, still accessible to marriage proposals. The motif of the servant pulling back a curtain goes back to Paolo Veronese. [2]

The old identification of the sitter as Maria Grimaldi was still upheld by Burchard when he wrote his lengthy article of 1929. In 1950, however, in the catalogue entries for the exhibition, he rejected this idea and

tentatively proposed the name of Caterina Grimaldi who in 1606 became the wife of the Genoese nobleman and art lover Gianvincenzo Imperiale.[3] There may be some corroboration in favour of this hypothesis in a seventeenth century inventory of the Palazzo di Campetto at Genoa, the palace of the Imperiale family, which mentions a portrait of "Catarina Imperiale".[4] It may even be possible, as Müller Hofstede suggested, to identify it with a full-length portrait of a lady by Rubens, mentioned in the inventory of Gianvincenzo at the time of his death, 1661.[5]

[1] See ill. e.g. in P. Ducati, *Pittura Etrusca-Italo-Greca e Romana,* Novara, [1942], pl. 61.

[2] E.g. the *Family Group* in the Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco (repr. in the exhibition catalogue *Mostra di Paolo Veronese,* Venice, 1939, No. 28).

[3] See A.M. Buonaroti, *Alberi Genealogici di Diverse Famiglie Nobili,* II, Genoa, 1750 (Manuscript, Genoa, Biblioteca Berio, Inv. No. m.r. VIII/2/29), p. *117*.

[4] Mentioned by M. Menotti in *Van Dyck a Genova, Archivio Storico dell' Arte,* 2nd. Series, III, 1897, pp. 456–458.

[5] "Ritratto di donna in piedi del Rubens" (A. Luzio, *La Galleria dei Gonzaga venduta all' Inghilterra nel 1627–28,* Milan, 1913, p. 307).

20. FRANCISCO GOMEZ DE SANDOVAL Y ROYAS,

DUKE OF LERMA, ON HORSEBACK (Fig. 67)

Oil on canvas; 289 : 205 cm. Signed and dated, below on the left, *P.P. Ruebens fecit 1603.*

Madrid, Prado. No. 3137.

PROVENANCE: Don Francisco Gomez de Sandoval y Royas, Duke of Lerma (1603–1625; mentioned in the preamble of the inventory of La Ribera in 1607: "En la Galeria Vaxa ... El rretrato del Senor duque de Lerma a cavallo de quatros baras de alto ... de pedro rruuenes original"); Philip III of Spain (1578–1621; inv. Palacio de Valladolid, 1621: "En la galeria baja. Un retrato del duquel de Lerma, á caballo, de cuatro varas de alto, guarnecido con marco de pino dado de oro y negro: es original de Pedro Rubens"); Philip IV of Spain (1605–1665; inv. Palacio de Valladolid, 1635: "Galeria baja. Un retrato del Duque de Lerma, á caballo, de cuatro varas de alto, guarnecido con marco de pino, dado de oro y negro, original de Rubens"); returned to the Lerma family by the King shortly after 1635; Marquis of Denia, Madrid (beginning of the 19th century);

Duke of Medinaceli, Madrid (1878); Count of Gavia and Valdelagrana, Madrid (before 1909); bequeathed in 1949 to the Convent of the Capuchins, Madrid; sale, Madrid (Sotheby's), 4 May 1962, only lot; the sale was prohibited by the Spanish Government and the painting acquired for the Prado in January 1969.

EXHIBITED: *El Caballo en el Arte,* Sociedad Española de los Amigos del Arte, Madrid, 1955, No. 36; *Bruges, 1958,* No. 97 (repr.).

LITERATURE: B. de Monconys, *Journal des Voyages ...,* III, Lyons, 1666, p. 5; A. Baschet, *Pierre-Paul Rubens, peintre de Vincent I de Gonzague, duc de Mantoue (1600–1608), Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 1867, I, p. 305; *Cruzada Villaamil,* pp. 93, 94, 336; J. Rousseau, *L'œuvre de Rubens en Espagne, L'Art,* 1878, I, p. 206; P. de Madrazo, *Viaje artístico de tres siglos,* Barcelona, 1884, pp. 98, 99; *Rooses-Ruelens,* I, p. 211; *Rooses,* IV, pp. 202, 203, No. 976; H. Hymans, *Notes sur quelques œuvres d'art conservés en Espagne, Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 1894, p. 162; E. Michel, *Rubens, sa vie, son œuvre et son temps,* Paris, 1900, pp. 88–90; *Dillon,* p. 220; G. Glück, *Jugendwerke von Rubens, Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses,* XXXIII, 1916, pp. 18–20, repr.; *K.d.K.,* p. 5; F. Boix, *Retrato ecuestre del duque de Lerma pintado por Rubens, Arte Español,* VII, 1924, pp. 41–51; A.L. Mayer, *El Greco,* Berlin-Leipzig, 1931, p. 104; *Glück, 1933,* pp. 30, 31, 377; R. Longhi, *Un ritratto equestre dell'epoca Genovese del Rubens, Annuaire des Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique,* II, 1939, p. 126; *Evers, 1942,* pp. 73–76, fig. 29a; *Evers, 1943,* p. 105, figs. 12, 13; M. Lorente, *Sobre algunos retratos de Rubens en Espana, Miscellanea Prof. D. Roggen,* Antwerp, 1957, pp. 183, 184, fig. 1; D. Sutton, *Rubens's Portrait of the Duke of Lerma on Horseback, Apollo,* LXXVI, 1962, p. 118; M. Warnke, *Kommentare zu Rubens,* Berlin, 1965, pp. 11–17; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens' St. Georg,* pp. 91–95, figs. 22, 27; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens und Tizian,* p. 62, figs. 25, 26; *Museo del Prado. Principales Adquisiciones 1958–1968,* Madrid, 1969, pp. 46–49, repr.

The Duke of Lerma was minister for King Philip III, but was, in effect, as one contemporary wrote, the "King of Spain". He assumed power on the death of Philip II who had lamented on his deathbed that he had not a son fit to govern. To divert the indolent and physically feeble young King, Lerma arranged trips and festivals, moving the capital from Madrid to Valladolid, where the King was isolated from affairs of state and governmental activity.

Later Rubens wrote, in comparing Lerma to Richelieu, that a situation where all the power was possessed by a single individual, and where the King existed only for appearances, could not long endure. Already in 1603 pamphlets appeared against the favorite, who had enriched himself and his family by a

system of audiences. In 1602 Soranzo, the Venetian ambassador, wrote that "to obtain one's suit it is more important to be in favour with the Duke of Lerma than with the King himself ... for it truly appears that the King has no other will than that of the Duke".[1]

Rubens observed that Lerma was not without knowledge of painting, having so many Raphaels and Titians around him, but derided Lerma's acceptance of the mediocre Facchetti copies as originals. When Rubens painted the equestrian portrait virtually equating the Duke with the King, the Duke was in a period of deep melancholy following the death of his wife, and contemporary writers were quick to point out the frailty of power in the face of death. During this period the Duke had removed all profane pictures including the "cose boscareccie" he had preferred, from his collection, accepting only paintings of religious themes.

The horse and rider are represented on a small hillock, approaching the spectator. To the left stands a palm tree; a branch with thick foliage is extended to the right over the rider's head. In the background, an army of cavalry is seen, moving to the right.

The identification of the sitter as the Duke of Lerma rests mainly on the provenance of the painting, which is known to have been in the collection of the Marquis of Denia in the beginning of the 19th century. It probably was inherited by him from the Lerma family, who had received it as a present from Philip IV shortly after 1635.[2] Moreover, there is convincing likeness with other portraits of the Duke.[3]

On July 17, 1603, Rubens wrote to Annibale Chieppio that, now that the presents from Vincenzo Gonzaga had been delivered to Philip III and to the Duke of Lerma, he would concentrate on the portraits which the Duke of Mantua had ordered him to paint. The only reason for interrupting this activity would be that he was required to make some work for the King or for the Duke of Lerma. The latter had, Rubens added, made some propositions in this respect to Annibale Iberti, Vincenzo's ambassador to the Spanish Court.[4] This is confirmed by a letter of Iberti himself to the Duke of Mantua, dated July 18, 1603.[5] Towards the end of July, Lerma had not yet made a final decision, as appears from Iberti's letter of July 31, 1603.[6] It was probably shortly afterwards that Rubens started to paint the portrait. On September 15th, he was fully occupied with it[7] and the painting was finished before November 23, 1603.[8]

There has been some uncertainty regarding the place where Rubens painted the Duke's portrait. Lerma seems to have divided his time from August to November 1603 between Valladolid, his private estate of Ventosilla and the Escorial.[9] Philip III had taken residence at Ventosilla from July until October 22, when he left for his palace at the Escorial.[10] It seems logical to assume that Rubens remained at Valladolid throughout August, September and the first half of October and that the most part of his work was performed there. His letter to Chieppio of September 15 is dated from Valladolid[11] and several letters of Iberti likewise were written there.[12] Moreover, as late as October 19, Iberti writes to Vincenzo Gonzaga that the Duke of Lerma has asked him by letter to send Rubens from Valladolid to Ventosilla – from where presumably Lerma's letter was dispatched – in order to finish the portrait on horseback. Iberti adds that, as far as it is completed, the portrait inspires general admiration.[13] From this it would appear that the canvas was transported to Ventosilla in the last days of October and finished in November. If this is correct, the implication would be that the portrait was meant to be placed at Ventosilla. One may even wonder whether it was not there, after the painting was transported from Valladolid, that a strip of canvas had to be added above in order to fit the place chosen for it.

1 R. Trevor Davies, *The Golden Century of Spain, 1501–1621*, London, 1937, p. 230.

2 *Cruzada Villaamil*, p. 336.

3 A painted portrait of the Duke attributed to Cárdenas is in the museum at Valladolid (E. Valdivieso Gonzalez, *La Pintura en Valladolid en el Siglo XVII*, Valladolid, 1971, p. 236). A drawing inscribed "le grand Duche de larma" was once in a London sale (Sotheby's, 17 February 1960, lot 83, as *Van Dyck*).

4 *Rooses-Ruelens*, I, p. 181; *Magurn*, p. 36.

5 *Rooses-Ruelens*, I, p. 172.

6 *Ibidem*, p. 198.

7 *Ibidem*, pp. 210, 211; *Magurn*, p. 37.

8 *Rooses-Ruelens*, I, p. 222.

9 *Ibidem*, p. 223.

10 *Ibidem*, p. 214.

11 *Ibidem*, p. 211.

12 *Ibidem*, pp. 201, 206, 209.

13 *Ibidem*, p. 213.

20a. A RIDER ON HORSEBACK: DRAWING (Fig. 69)

Pen and brown ink with brown wash over preliminary work in black chalk; 300 : 210 mm. The head is drawn on a separate piece of paper pasted over the main sheet. Below on the left, mark of the Louvre (*L.*, 2207), the initials of Robert de Cotte (*L.*, 1964) and unidentified initials (*L.*, 2961, 2961 *Suppl.*); below in the center, inscribed in black chalk, *Rubens;* below on the right, mark of the Louvre (*L.*, 1899)—Verso: stamp of the Louvre with *No. d'Ordre 20.185.*

Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre. Inv. No. 20.185.

PROVENANCE: Royal Collection of France.

EXHIBITED: *Brussels, 1938–39,* No. 15 (repr.); *Rotterdam, 1939,* No. 17 (repr.); *Rotterdam, 1948–49,* No. 108; *Paris, 1949,* No. 95 repr.); *Brussels, 1949,* No. 91 (repr.); *Helsinki, 1952–53,* No. 31 (repr.); *Antwerp, 1956,* No. 18.

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, p. 129, No. 433; R. Reisset, *Notice des dessins ... du Louvre,* I, Paris, 1878, No. 553; H. de Chennevières, *Les dessins du Louvre, Ecole flamande, hollandaise et allemande,* Paris, n.d., Rubens, Pl. 3; *Rooses,* IV, p. 203, under No. 976; V, p. 263, No. 1503; E. Michel, *Rubens, sa vie, son œuvre et son temps,* Paris, 1900, Pl. IX, facing p. 110; F. Boix, *Retrato ecuestre del Duque de Lerma pintado por Rubens, Arte Español,* VII, 1924, pp. 41–51; T.W. Muchall-Viebrook, *Flemish Drawings of the Seventeenth Century,* London, 1926, p. 30, No. 17, Pl. 17; *Glück-Haberditz,* p. 33, No. 36, Pl. 46; *Glück, 1933,* pp. 31, 377, 378; L. Van Puyvelde, *Die Handzeichnungen des P.P. Rubens zu der Ausstellung in Brüssel, Pantheon,* I, 1939, p. 78, repr.; *Evers 1942,* fig. 29; F. Lugt, *Musée du Louvre, Inventaire général des dessins des écoles du Nord. Ecole Flamande,* II, Paris, 1949, p. 15, No. 1018, Pl. XIX; M. Lorente, *Sobre algunos retratos de Rubens en España, Miscellanea D. Roggen,* Antwerp, 1958, p. 184 (as *Portrait of Archduke Albert*); *Held,* I, pp. 126, 127, No. 71; II, Pl. 30; *Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963,* pp. 55–57, No. 30; II, pl. 30; Roseline Bacou, *Great Drawings of the Louvre Museum, The German, Flemish and Dutch Drawings,* New York, 1968, No. 50.

The attribution to Rubens of the drawing in the Louvre has never been doubted. Rooses first suggested that this was possibly a preparatory study for *The Duke of Lerma on Horseback* (No. 20; Fig. 64), even before the painting had been rediscovered.[1] This has been generally accepted since the publication of *Glück-Haberditzl.* It has been observed, however, that the head of the rider has no similarity to the likeness of the Duke of Lerma. This was noticed by

Glück, followed by Lugt, Burchard and d'Hulst[2] who assumed that the drawing shows a stand-in for the Duke, maybe one of his equerries. As Held observed, this does not explain why the head was drawn on a separate piece of paper and pasted in.[3] The reason for this could be, as Burchard and d'Hulst suggested,[4] that it covers a head posed differently, but recent examination shows nothing beneath the surface. The format of the drawing agrees with the first state of the painting in the Prado, to which Rubens afterwards added a strip of canvas above. There is a striking difference in treatment between the horse, which is drawn with a pen, and the costume of the rider and the tree, which are rendered with free brush strokes.

[1] *Rooses*, IV, p. 203, under No. 976.
[2] *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 33, No. 46; F. Lugt, *loc. cit.*; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, *1963*, I, p. 56.
[3] *Held*, I, p. 126.
[4] *Burchard-d'Hulst*, *1963*, I, p. 56.

20b. A RIDER ON HORSEBACK: DRAWING (Fig. 70)

Pen and brown ink with brown wash; 660 : 400 mm. A strip added at the top.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: Sir Thomas Lawrence (London, 1769–1830); King William II of the Netherlands, sale, The Hague, 12 August 1850 et seqq., lot 282 (framed with two other drawings; not sold); Grandduke of Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach, Weimar.

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 134, No. 465; Rooses, V, pp. 263, 264, No. 1504; G. Glück, *Jugendwerke von Rubens, Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XXXIII, 1916, p. 22 (as *after Rubens*); *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 33, No. 47, repr.; A.J.J. Delen, *Rubens. Een keuze van 26 tekeningen*, Antwerp, 1944, pl. 2; F. Lugt, *Musée du Louvre. Inventaire général des dessins des écoles du Nord Ecole Flamande*, II, Paris, 1949, p. 15, under No. 1018; M. Lorente, *Sobre algunos retratos de Rubens en España, Miscellanea Prof. D. Roggen*, Antwerp, 1957, p. 184 (as *Portrait of Archduke Albert*); Held, I, p. 126; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, *1963*, I, p. 56.

This drawing remains problematical, particularly since its present location is unknown. According to Jaffé, it has been sighted since 1945 in the collection of the exiled Grand-duchess of Weimar. Glück first rejected the attribution to

Rubens,[1] then changed his mind and identified the sheet as the second preparatory stage for the Lerma portrait (No. 20; Fig. 64). His opinion was generally accepted, except for Lugt, who thought the horse and the rider's leg had been drawn by an assistant, and who also suggested that both the Louvre and Weimar drawings could have been made in preparation for an engraving, and by M. Lorente, who suggested that both drawings were made by Rubens after the painting and were meant to represent the Archduke Albert. These suggestions have been rejected by Held, correctly in my opinion. Burchard and d'Hulst refrained from commenting on Lugt's suggestion. It would appear that none of these scholars has seen the Weimar drawing.

I am inclined to accept this drawing, admittedly unseen, as a second preparatory sketch. The strip above may have been added to the painting to test the composition, as Held suggested. The style of the head appears to me to be close to a head study of the Italian period (No. 51; Fig. 131) and they could possibly be the same man. Neither the Louvre nor the Weimar painting has the ruff which the Duke wears in the painting.

[1] G. Glück, *Jugendwerke von Rubens, Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses,* XXXIII, 1916, p. 22.

21-22. TWO PENDANTS: LOUIS XIII, KING OF FRANCE, AND HIS QUEEN, ANNE OF AUSTRIA

21. LOUIS XIII, KING OF FRANCE (Figs. 71, 75)

Oil on canvas; 118 : 96 cm.

Los Angeles, The Norton Simon Foundation.

PROVENANCE: ? Archduke Leopold-Wilhelm of Austria, Palace, Brussels, ca. 1650; Frederick II, King of Prussia, Castle of Charlottenburg; purchased in 1933 by Duveen Brothers, Inc., New York, from the Hohenzollern Family; purchased by The Norton Simon Foundation, Inc., 1964.

COPIES: (1) Fragment of an *Interior of the Picture Gallery of Archduke Leopold-Wilhelm,* painting by David Teniers the Younger, Schleissheim, Castle; lit.: S. Speth-Holterhoff, *Les peintres flamands de cabinets d'amateurs au XVIIième siècle,* Brussels, 1957, p. 146, pl. 60; (2) Engraving by C. de Passe, in A. Pluvinel, *Maneige Royal ...,* Paris, 1624 (Fig. 76); (3) Engraving by J. Louys after P. Soutman (Fig. 74; *V.S.,* p. 172, No. 160).

EXHIBITED: Cincinnati Art Museum, November 1933; *Paris, 1936,* No. 67; *Detroit, 1936,* No. 25; *Fashion in Headdress, 1450–1943,* Wildenstein, New York, 1943, No. 26; *Loan Exhibition of Paintings by Rubens and Van Dyck,* Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, 1946, No. 26; *Paintings from the 16th to the 18th Centuries,* Duveen Brothers, Inc., New York, 1946; *Seventeen Masters of Painting,* Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 1950, No. 13; *Rubens and Van Dyck,* Duveen Brothers, Inc., New York, 1959.

LITERATURE: *Beschreibung der königlichen Residenzstädt Berlin und Potsdam,* Berlin, 1786, p. 1014; *Rooses,* IV, p. 207, No. 980; Ella S. Siple, *A Rubens Portrait and other Old Masters, The Burlington Magazine,* LXIV, 1934, p. 184; W. Valentiner, *Rubens at Detroit, The Art News,* XXXIV, 1936, pp. 6, 7, repr.; *Glück, 1940,* p. 183; W.R. Valentiner, *Rubens Paintings in America, The Art Quarterly* IX, 1946, p. 160; *Goris-Held,* p. 27, No. 8; *The Connoisseur,* CL, 1962, p. 261, repr.

The twenty-one year old King stands before a gray architecture, against a blue sky, with gray clouds and a shaft of rain at the right. (The latter may refer to his recent open revolt against the Queen Mother, and to the fact that in 1622 the hostilities were over, and a period of reconciliation existed). The curtain above him is a warm, nearly salmon-red with red-gold fringe; the table-covering, on which his mailed hand rests, the same slightly-deeper warm red. He wears black and gold armor, over which is fastened an ermine-lined mantle of deep to middle blue, with a pattern of lightly traced gold fleur-de-lis. The scallops beneath the breast plates and the band at the waist are rose-colored; his sash is blue. The ruff, the ermine, and the plumes of his helmet are a soft cool silvery blue-white. The King has chestnut brown hair of short clipped waves, parted in the center, with a small lock to one side, a lovelock falling to the other side. The face is idealized; the eyes look out directly; he has a slight moustache, no beard.

This portrait was conceived as a matching portrait for the *Anne of Austria* (No. 22; Fig. 72), which was probably begun by Pourbus and possibly completed by Rubens. That the Louis XIII like its counterpart is also closely allied with a Pourbus type must he recognized, although Rubens freely reworked the composition and its details to conform with his ideas of the state portrait, so that it is more freely conceived than the *Anne of Austria.* As a matter of fact, a portrait by Pourbus of the King wearing the same armor, with the order of the Holy Ghost, in nearly the identical pose, once existed in the collection of the former Italian royal family. [1]

Both the Los Angeles painting and the Pluvinel engraving of 1623 relate

to the portrait of the King in the *Majority of Louis XIII* in the Medici series (Fig. 25). There the King is meant to be fourteen years old and appears as an adolescent, but despite the age difference, the hair and the face are similar. The King has no moustache, and the collar falls more softly.

This painting or a replica appears in one of David Teniers the Younger's interior views of Archduke Leopold-Wilhelm's picture gallery of ca. 1650, now at Schleissheim Castle.

[1] *Furniture and Works of Art from the Castle formerly occupied by the Savoy Family in Venzuolo (Piedmont), Italy,* sale, New York (American Art Association), 16–18 February, 1922, lot 396, repr. (as *A. Sánchez Coello*), attributed to Pourbus by Ludwig Burchard.

21a. LOUIS XIII, KING OF FRANCE: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 77)

Oil on panel; 42.5 : 33.5 cm.

Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria.

PROVENANCE: ? Collection of Diego Duarte, Antwerp, 1682 ("[67]. Het Conterfeytsel vanden Koninck van Vrancryck Louis 13., halftlyf van hem [*i.e.* Rubens] naer t'leven"; G. Dogaer, *De inventaris der schilderijen van Diego Duarte, Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum Antwerpen,* 1971, p. 209); A. Harrison, Worcester; purchased in Paris by F. Rothmann; purchased from the latter by Edward Speelman, London, 1955; purchased from the latter by Agnew's, 1956; purchased from the latter by the National Gallery of Victoria, 1959.

COPY: Painting (Head and shoulders; Fig. 78), Dessau, Gemäldegalerie; panel, 63 : 48 cm.; prov.: Collection of the Dukes of Anhalt; lit.: *Führer durch die Anhaltische Gemäldegalerie,* Dessau, 1929, p. 37, No. 61, repr.

EXHIBITED: Thos. Agnew and Sons, London, 1958, No. 12 (repr.).

LITERATURE: Ursula Hoff, *Portraits acquired under the Everard Studley Miller Bequest, Annual Bulletin of the National Gallery of Victoria,* II, 1960, p. 16, repr.

The King is shown with a metal neckpiece, above which a frilled neckband rises, with indications of fur below. There is a small clasp with pearls. The King has a lovelock over his left shoulder.

This sketch is obviously less idealized than the painting at Los Angeles (No. 21; Figs. 71, 75). The longer corporeal boniness is more accentuated. The shadows of the face correspond more closely to the engraving by Louys after Soutman (Fig. 74), where the King is older and wears a thick moustache and pointed beard, and the eyebrows are more pronouncedly arched.

On the reverse side, the panel shows the original bevels at top and bottom, an indication that the picture is still of the same size as it was when painted by Rubens in 1622.

22. ANNE OF AUSTRIA, QUEEN OF FRANCE (Fig. 72)

Oil on canvas; 118 : 98 cm.

Los Angeles, The Norton Simon Foundation.

PROVENANCE: ? Archduke Leopold-Wilhelm of Austria, Palace, Brussels, c. 1650; Collection of Frederick II, King of Prussia, Castle of Charlottenburg; purchased in 1933 by Duveen Brothers, New York, from the Hohenzollern Family; sale at New York, 24 February 1955; purchased for the Norton Simon Foundation.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, c. 130 : 100 cm.; lit.: *Larsen*, p. 217, No. 63; (2) Fragment of an *Interior of the Picture Gallery of Archduke Leopold-Wilhelm*, painting by David Teniers the Younger, Schleissheim Castle; lit.: S. Speth-Holterhoff, *Les peintres flamands de cabinets d'amateurs au XVIIième siècle*, Brussels, 1957, p. 146, pl. 60; (3) Engraving by J. Louys after P. Soutman (Fig. 73; *V.S.*, p. 172, No. 161).

EXHIBITED: *Fashion in Headdress, 1450–1943*, Wildenstein, New York, 1943, No. 25; *Paintings by Rubens and Van Dyck*, Los Angeles County Museum, Los Angeles, 1946, No. 27 (repr.); *Rubens and Van Dyck*, Duveen Brothers, Inc., New York, 1959.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, IV, pp. 124, 207, under No. 887; *Glück, 1940*, p. 183, pl. IVb; W.R. Valentiner, *Rubens Paintings in America, The Art Quarterly*, IX, 1946, p. 163, repr.; *Larsen*, p. 217, No. 63a.

The Queen is placed against a neutral dark grey background. She wears a small French crown over softly waved hair. Her colouring is very pale with pink flesh tones and bluish shadows. The eyes are cool gray blue. Her dress, except for the gray-white collar with a wide décolleté, cuffs and center panel,

is of a bright cold blue with a slight green or turquoise in it. The gold fleur-de-lis are heavily outlined, and the ermine is painted with heavy opaque strokes. There is no subtlety in the painting of the pearls. The face and hands are fuller, more three-dimensional than the costume, and are painted with greater care. In contrast to the figure of the King (No. 21; Figs. 71, 75), that of the Queen projects on the surface of the painting. Also, the harsher blue of her dress differs from the modeled blue of his mantle.

In his notes Burchard wrote that he thought only the head, and perhaps the hands were by Rubens. He also pointed out that the portrait as a whole is strongly dependent on types of Frans Pourbus the Younger, viz. the full-length coronation portrait of *Maria de' Medici* in the Louvre (Fig. 23), or the variant in Florence (Fig. 24) which has the identical pose and costume as the *Anne of Austria*. Burchard suggested that Pourbus who was buried on 19 Febuary 1622 had just time to begin the painting and that it was finished by Rubens, who, furthermore, tried to imitate the style of his predecessor especially in the face. This seems to me a very convincing suggestion and would explain the great difference in the handling of the face between this painting of 1622 and the contemporary *Anne of Austria* (Prado) with its far more dynamic style.

Immediately, then, the question arises, regarding the pendant of Louis XIII, as to whether it reflects a composition by Pourbus. Certainly, the figure by a table in armour with a mailed glove, with an ermine cape, is a type Pourbus used frequently in portraits of Henri IV, and it may be that the detail, a little excessively exact for Rubens in my opinion, also reflects a composition of the older painter, perhaps deliberately used by Rubens to match the portrait of the Queen; but the whole freely transformed by him in the process. This would explain the apparent difference in handling of the two paintings.

23. SOR MARGARITA DE LA CRUZ

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) Painting, Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales; canvas; lit.: E. Tormo, *En las Descalzas Reales*, I, Madrid, 1917, pp. 26, 27, 210, 211, fig. 58; Maria Teresa Ruiz Alcon, *Descalzas Reales. Capilla de la Dormicion y Casita de Nazaret, Reales Sitios*, VI, 1969, No. 22, p. 60 (as *attributed to Matias de Torres*); (2) Painting (Fig. 82),

Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales; canvas; lit.: E. Tormo, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 26, 27, 205, 229, n. 42, fig. 57; (3) Painting, Madrid, Convent of the Descalzas Reales; canvas; lit.: E. Tormo, *op. cit.*, pp. 26, 27, fig. 10.

LITERATURE: F. Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura,* ed. by F.J. Sánchez Cantón, (, Madrid, 1956, p. 153; E. Tormo, *op. cit.*, I, p. 27; *Burchard, 1950,* p. 45, under No. 35.

According to Pacheco, among the many paintings made by Rubens during his second stay in Madrid was one of the "Señora Infanta of the Descalzas Reales", which was more than half length; and Rubens even painted copies of it.[1] The most likely person to be so designated was Sor Margarita de la Cruz, the daughter of the Emperor Maximilian II and the Empress Doña Maria, the eldest daughter of Charles V. Doña Margarita was born in Vienna on January 25, 1567, and was educated at the Imperial Court. She left Prague together with her mother in August 1580 and arrived on March 7, 1581, in Madrid, where she remained the rest of her life. Having declined Philip II's offer to become his fifth wife, she entered the Descalzas Reales in 1584 and became a nun on March 25, 1585. Her eyesight later failed and after an operation in 1625, she became totally blind. She died July 5, 1633.[2]

No original portrait of her by Rubens is known today. It may have been one of two portraits of Capuchin nuns which hung in the Palace of Madrid in 1794,[3] the other was possibly *Sor Ana Dorotea,* today in Apsley House (No. 1; Fig. 41). However, the measurements given in the inventory of 1794 do not coincide.[4] In the Convent of the Descalzas Reales there are at least three portraits of Sor Margarita de la Cruz that were copied from a prototype which, according to Burchard, was Rubens's portrait of 1628. Of these, the painting closest to Rubens is a knee-length portrait, which has an inscription dating it in 1624, when Sor Margarita was 57 years old.[6] A full-length portrait of her,[7] which appears to be derived from the former, carries an inscription with a date of 1603 stating that the nun was then 30 years old. However, these inscriptions were added at a later date and do not preclude the possibility that both copies were made after 1628. Another serious objection is that the three copies do not show Sor Margarita as a blind woman, which she already was when Rubens arrived.

[1] "Retrató a la Senora Infanta de las Descalzas de más de medio cuerpo, i hizo de ella copias" (F. Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura,* ed. by F.J. Sánchez Cantón, I, Madrid, 1956, p. 153).

[2] For biographical data, see E. Tormo, *op. cit.*, pp. 173–215. This information is taken from J. de Palma, *Vida de la serenissima Infanta Sor Margarita dela Cruz, Religiosa descalça de S. Clara,* Madrid, 1636.

[3] "Pieza de paso que va á la libreria. Dos cuadros de tres cuartas y media de alto y media vara de ancho. Retratos de monjas capuchinas, con rosarios en las manos, de Rubens, a dos mil rs.vn." (*Cruzada Villaamil,* p. 337).

[4] Three and a half quarters of a vara by one half vara would be approximately 73 by 42 cm., which is too small, especially for the portrait of Sor Margarita, which is supposed to be in knee-length. One would also not expect the measurements of the two pictures to be given as equal.

[5] See above, under COPIES.

[6] See above, COPIES, (1).

[7] See above, COPIES, (2).

24. MARIA, INFANTA OF SPAIN, LATER QUEEN OF HUNGARY AND BOHEMIA (Fig. 79)

Oil on canvas; 110 : 82,5 cm.

Zürich, Collection of Prof. M. Roš.

PROVENANCE: ? Rubens's Estate, 1640 (No. 114. "Een portret der Keyzerin"; *Denucé, Konstkamers,* p. 61); ? Diego Duarte (Antwerp, 1682); Major McCalmont, Villa Medici, Fiesole, ca. 1925); A.L. Nicholson (London, 1926); sale London (Christie's), 28 November 1947, lot 105; Julius Singer, London; purchased from the latter by art-dealer Trainé, Zürich, 1952; Paul Vogel, Zürich, 1952; purchased by the present owner in 1952.

COPY: Fragment of an *Interior of a Palace,* painting by G.J. van Opstal, whereabouts unknown; prov.: Julius Weitzner; exh.: *Pictures within Pictures,* Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn., 1949, No. 33 (repr.).

EXHIBITED: *Exhibition commemorating the 350th Anniversary of Rubens,* J. Jackson Higgs Gallery, New York, 1927, No. 6; *London, 1950,* No. 34.

LITERATURE: *Rooses,* IV, pp. 210, 211, No. 988; *Der Cicerone,* XIX, 1927, p. 410, repr.; *Burchard, 1950,* pp. 42–44 No. 34; Enriqueta Harris and J. Elliot, *Velázquez and the Queen of Hungary, The Burlington Magazine,* CXVIII, 1976, pp. 24–26, repr.

The Infanta Maria, sister of Philip IV of Spain, was born on August 18, 1606. She was wooed unsuccessfully in 1623 by Charles, Prince of Wales, when he went incognito to the Spanish Court, together with the Duke of Buckingham. According to C.R. Cammel, her portrait in miniature was painted in 1623 by

Balthasar Gerbier.[1] During the time that Rubens was in Spain in 1628–29 she was betrothed and married by proxy in the Madrid Palace on April 5, 1629, to Ferdinand, King of Hungary and Bohemia, who later became Emperor Ferdinand III.[2] She left Madrid on January 4, 1630, to travel to Vienna, where her marriage was celebrated on February 20, 1631. During her trip, she was painted in Naples in 1630 by Velázquez[3] (Fig. 80).

Pacheco informs us that during his second stay at the Spanish Court, Rubens painted portraits of the King, the Queen and the family, in half length.[4] According to Rubens's own testimony, these were done from life and intended for the Archduchess Isabella.[5] Among the sitters was the Infanta Maria. Her portrait is one of the set of five represented in the *Interior of a Palace* by G.J. van Opstal, formerly with Julius Weitzner.

Rubens took the portrait with him when he returned to Antwerp. At the time of his death, it was still in his possession. It appeared afterward in the collection of Diego Duarte, a Portuguese merchant living at Antwerp. It is listed in an inventory of his collection, drawn up in 1682,[6] and was seen in his house in 1687 by Nicodemus Tessin the Younger.[7] Another version of her portrait, attributed to Rubens, was in the Schloss of Heidelberg at the death of Elector Palatine Charles II (16 May 1685), together with portraits of Philip IV and his wife.[8]

The painting in the collection of Prof. Roš was recognized as a portrait of the Infanta Maria by L. Burchard in 1926. Her identity is established beyond doubt through comparision with her portraits by Velázquez and by her appearance in a painting by Pieter Snayers *Philip IV and his Family Hunting* (Fig. 81), painted in 1636 for the Torre de la Parada,[9] where she sits in the company of her three brothers and her sister-in-law. Snayers based his likeness of the Infanta on Rubens's portrait.

The painting has remained unfinished. L. Burchard has observed that in large parts only the underpaint is present, e.g. in the drapery in the background, in the chair, the hair, the hands and in some parts of the dress. I must confess, although admittedly I have seen it in photographs only, a certain skepticism in regard to this painting. I find the lack of articulation in the right arm distressing. The weight of the arm does not seem to rest on the arm of the chair, and the relation of the standing figure to the chair is ambiguous. I would conjecture that the head and neckpiece may have been started by Rubens, the rest completed by a follower.

[1] C.R. Cammell, *The Great Duke of Buckingham*, London, 1939, repr. opp. p. 246.

[2] *Justi, Velazquez*, p. 311; not April 1628, as wrongly stated in *Burchard, 1950* (p. 43).

[3] Prado, Madrid, No. 1187; J. López-Rey, *Velázquez' Work and World*, 1968, pp. 56, 58, pl. 67.

[4] F. Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, ed. by J. Sánchez Cantón, I, Madrid, 1956, p. 153.

[5] *Rooses-Ruelens*, V, p. 10.

[6] The first draught of this inventory describes it as follows: "Van Peeter Paulo Rubens ... Een conterfeytsel vande Infanta van Spanien de moeder vanden tegenwoordigen keyser naer haer in Spanien geschildert gl. 30 gl." (Brussels, Royal Library, No. 11, 94, f° 5; *Burchard, 1950*, p. 43). The neat transcription of the text is somewhatsimplified to "Van Pietro Paulo Rubens ... Een Conterfeytsel vande Infanta de moeder vanden teghenwoordigen Kayser in Spanien geschildert gl. 30) (*Ibidem*, f° 13, f° 13^{v}; G. Dogaer, *De inventaris der schilderijen van Diego Duarte, Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen*, 1971, p. 209).

[7] "Sonsten wahr dar auch vom selben [*i.e.* Van Dyck !] ein sehr schön Contrefait von des itzigen Keyssers Mutter" (O. Siren, *Nicodemus Tessin d'Y's studieresor*, Stockholm, 1914, p. 80; *Burchard, 1950*, p. 43).

[8] "Ahn-Contrefeiten und Schildereyen: 20 Philippus IV Rex Hispaniae – 21. deszen gemahlin undt – 22. deszen schwester Ferd. III Rom: Imperat: Erste Gemahlin; per Rubens" (*Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Heidelberger Schlosses*, III, 1896, p. 219; *Burchard, 1950*, p. 43).

[9] Madrid, Prado, No. 1734; S. Alpers, *The Decoration of the Torre de la Parada* (*Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, IX), Brussels, 1971, pp. 124, 125, 144, Fig. 29.

25. ELEONORA DE' MEDICI, DUCHESS OF MANTUA

Oil on canvas; 83 : 64 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: Dr. Benedict & Co., Berlin, 1928.

On January 20, 1928, Ludwig Burchard wrote a certificate for this painting, which he considered a work by Rubens's own hand and in excellent condition. According to him it was executed in Mantua, 1601–02. Afterwards Burchard changed his mind and attributed the painting to Pourbus.

26. ELEONORA DE' MEDICI, DUCHESS OF MANTUA

Oil on canvas; ca. 63.5 : 52.5 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: Asscher & Welker, London, 1928; purchased there in the same year by P. de Boer, Amsterdam, and sold to the United States.

On February 6, 1928, Ludwig Burchard wrote a certificate for this painting which he considered "entirely by his own [see Rubens's] hand, about the year 1602". Furthermore he stated that the picture's state of preservation was excellent and that he considered it an important work of the master's Mantuan period. Afterwards Burchard changed his mind and attributed the painting to Pourbus.

27. MARIA DE' MEDICI, QUEEN MOTHER OF FRANCE (Fig. 83)

Oil on canvas; 130 : 108 cm.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1685.

PROVENANCE: Purchased by King Philip IV of Spain from Rubens's estate ("No. 166. Een portret der Koningin-moeder van Vrankrijk, op doek"); Royal Collections, Madrid; transported to the Prado after 1794.

COPY: Painting (Fig. 84), Paris, Galerie Pardo; for further references see No. 28.

EXHIBITED: *Les chefs-d'œuvre du Musée du Prado,* Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva, 1939, No. 144.

LITERATURE: *Cruzada Villaamil,* pp. 369, 370, No. 34; *Rooses,* IV, pp. 215, 216, No. 997; *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg,* p. 258; *Dillon,* p. 145, pl. CCXLVI; *K.d.K.,* p. 268; *Prado, Cat. 1963,* No. 1685.

Maria de' Médici is seated, facing front, against an unfinished background, where a curtain is indicated to the left. Her figure is given dignity by the regal collar and cuffs of fine white mousseline with scalloped edges, and by the egret trimmed widow's peak. Her hair is an elegant powdered gray, her eyes a soft brown. The flesh tones are painted with rare softness and delicacy, with tints of rose. Her pleased serenity, the beautiful free brushwork accord this portrait its great distinction. Pourbus had used exactly the same details of

costume in his portrait of the Queen but Rubens gives dramatic emphasis to the face by the radiance of the fanning neckpiece with its even concentrated light, and the easy grace of the egret plumes moving over the top of the collar.

The Queen, recently reconciled with her son, her position seemingly restored, was involved in the decorations for her newly completed palace. Having accomplished the "exchange of princesses" she was about to place another daughter on the throne of England (she had presented six children to an aging and tired Henri IV, following three sterile French queens). Mother of the King of France, already mother-in-law to the King of Spain and the Duke of Savoy, she was about to become mother-in-law to the King of England. Seemingly, she was at the very center of "the pivotal position France had suddenly assumed in Europe" (von Simson). Her political aims of unity with Spain and Catholic peace seemed imminent. She was momentarily secure and not perspicacious enough to recognize the danger of Richelieu to her own position. The Prado portrait shows her serene in the role of a powerful matriarchal widow, never dreaming she would soon have to abandon her beautiful palace forever.

Burchard stated that it was conceived as a pendant to the *Portrait of Anne of Austria.* In fact the measurements, the pose and the scale of the sitter are similar in both cases. Furthermore in the inventory of Rubens's estate, 1640, both portraits were listed as successive items. Also Peiresc, in his letter from April 14, 1622, mentioned both portraits of French queens as a set.[1] Just like its counterpart (No. 2; Fig. 43), this portrait was painted during Rubens's first stay in Paris, January-February 1622.

It is quite possible that the background of this painting would have had an architectural reference to the Luxembourg palace, as the younger queen sits before the architecture of the Louvre.

[1] See also under No. 2.

28. MARIA DE' MEDICI, QUEEN MOTHER OF FRANCE (Fig. 84)

Oil on canvas; 85.5 : 82.5 cm.

Paris, Galerie Pardo.

PROVENANCE: D. Pollak, Paris (1960).

This portrait is a half-length repetition of the preceding one (No. 27; Fig. 83). At first Burchard rejected it as an old detail copy, but, after close examination of the painting, he came to the conclusion that it should be regarded as an authentic version. However, it is difficult to agree with that viewpoint, as the portrait discussed here entirely lacks the quality of the master's genuine works.

29. PHILIP III, KING OF SPAIN

Technique and measurements unknown.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPY: Engraving by P. de Jode (Fig. 85; *V.S.*, p. 173, No. 170).

LITERATURE: *Catalogue des Estampes gravées d'après P.P. Rubens*, Paris, 1767, p. XIV; *Rooses*, IV, pp. 232, 233, No. 1023; J.R. Martin, *The Decorations for the Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* (*Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, XVI), Brussels, 1972, p. 84.

This work is known to us today through an engraving by Pieter de Jode. Basan writes, presumably based on the inscription on the engraving, that Rubens made this portrait during his first stay in Spain.[1] Indeed, if Rubens had painted a portrait from life of Philip III, he can only have done so in Valladolid or Ventosilla, between July and October 1603. There is no explicit mention of a portrait of the King in Rubens's correspondence of that period with Annibale Chieppio. Nevertheless, a letter of September 15, 1603, contains a sentence which suggests that Rubens could have made a painting for Philip III : speaking about the equestrian portrait of the Duke of Lerma which he is painting, Rubens expresses his hope that the Duke will not be less well served than the King.[2]

According to A. Sanderus, Rubens had painted a likeness of Philip III, kneeling as a patron in an altarpiece, *The Distribution of the Rosary*, which hung in the Spanish Chapel in the Dominican Church at Brussels.[3] This picture was destroyed in a fire of 1695 and is only known through a small copy formerly in Blenheim Palace[4] and recently sold at London (Fig. 86).[5]

The prototype of De Jode's engraving seems to have been used in the *Portrait of Philip III* on the *Arch of Philip* at the Entry of Ferdinand in Antwerp in 1635.[6]

[1] "Notre Peintre étant arrivé en Espagne accomplit l'objet de sa mission avec tout l'applaudissement possible, & fit le Portrait de Philippe III, qui l'honora de ses bontés, & l'accabla de présents. Il peignit aussi plusieurs Personnes Illuſtres, dont il acquit l'eſtime & l'approbation, & lesquelles il ressentit les marques d'une générosité peu commune ..." (F. Basan, *op. cit.*, pp. XIV, XV).

[2] "... Sig[r] Iberti, la cui prudenza sin hora ha dispoſto de me et le mie mani a guſto e requisitione del Ducca di Lerma, et honore di Su Altezza, con sperança di far cognoscere a Spagna in un ritratto grande a cavallo chel Sig[r] Ducca non è manco ben servito di Sù Maeſta..." (*Rooses-Ruelens*, I, pp. 210, 211).

[3] "Picturæ tres potissimum excellunt, ea quæ in principe, ara sacelli Hispanorum, quæ à Rubenio, quæ in ara Divæ Virginis in navi Ecclesiæ, quæ a *Theodoro* [Van Loon]. Quæ denique in altari Sancti Petri Apoſtoli visitur omnium præclarissima, ab eximio quodam, sed ignoto penicillo depicta. Prima Divam Virginem in solio cum Jesulo residentem refert, accedentibus hinc inde Sanctis Domenico, Thoma Aquinate & Sancto Jacobo Apoſtolo à dextris, Sanctis Francisco, Catharina Martyre, item & Senensi à siniſtris. inferius vero Hispaniæ Rege à dextris, *Albertoque & Isabella* Belgarum principibus à siniſtris, quibus Angelii Rosaria porrigunt" (A. Sanderus, *Chorographia Sacra Brabantiæ*, Brussels, 1659, [*Conventus Bruxellensis P.P. Prædicatorum*], p. 7.

[4] G. Scharf, *Catalogue Raisonné or a Liſt of the Pictures in Blenheim Palace*, 1862, pp. 59, 60.

[5] Sale, London (Chriſtie's), 12 December 1975, lot 38 (repr.).

[6] J.R. Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 84, fig. 28.

30. PHILIP IV, KING OF SPAIN, ON HORSEBACK

Oil on canvas; approximately 339 : 267 cm.

Formerly Madrid, Alcazar; deſtroyed by fire in 1734.

PROVENANCE: Alcazar, Madrid (inv. 1636), in the "Pieza nueva sobre el zaguan y puerta principal de Palacio; inv. 1686 and 1700, in the "Salon de los Espejos"); deſtroyed in the fire of 1734.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 91), Florence, Uffizi, No. 792; canvas, 339 : 267 cm.; prov.: Don Gaspar Méndez de Haro (Madrid, 1651: "un lienço grande del Rey Nueſtro Señor, en un cavallo caſtaño y su Mageſtad armado con baſtón en la mano y el sombrero pueſto y en el aire unas mugeres que llevan la esfera sobre su caveça y detrás del cavallo un yndio que lleva en las manos la çelada; [el cavallo y cuerpo del Rey y mugeres de la mano de Juan Baptiſta el Maço y la casa del rey de Velásquez]", crossed out and replaced

by: copia de Rubens y la caveça de Diego Velásquez de cuatro baras de cayda y tres de ancho con su marco negro, tassado en ..."); Pitti Palace, Florence, from the 17th century onwards (as *Diego Velázquez,* up to the 19th century); lit.: *Justi, Velazquez,* I, p. 241, II, pp. 37, 90, 97; *Rooses,* IV, p. 233, under No. 1024; *K.d.K.,* p. 446; J. López-Rey, *A Head of Philip IV by Velazquez in a Rubens Allegorical Composition, Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 1959, pp. 35–43, fig. 1; (2) Painting (Fig. 92), whereabouts unknown; canvas, 100 : 80 cm.; lit.: A.L. Mayer, *Velazquez,* London, 1936, p. 48, No. 196, pl. 77 (as *A pupil of Velázquez, perhaps Mazo*); J. López-Rey, *op. cit.,* pp. 39, 40, fig. 2 (as *School of Velazquez*); idem, *Velazquez,* London, 1963, No. 197, pl. 239 (as *A pupil of Velázquez*); (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 99 : 73 cm.; prov.: Appleby, London, 1955 (shown to L. Burchard on January 27th, 1955); (4) Engraving by Cosimo Mogalli, after (1); lit.: *Rooses,* IV, p. 234, under No. 1024, pl. 308.

LITERATURE: P. Facheco, *Arte de la Pintura,* ed. by F.J. Sánchez Cantón, I, Madrid, 1956, p. 153; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, p. 133, No. 464; *Cruzada Villaamil,* pp. 142, 143, 334–336; C. Justi, *Die Reiterstatue Philipps IV. in Madrid von Pietro Tacca, Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst,* XVIII, 1883, pp. 305–315, 387–400; *Rooses,* IV, pp. 233, 234, No. 1024; *Justi, Velazquez,* I, p. 241; II, p. 98; C. Justi, *Miscellaneen,* II, Berlin, 1908, p. 254; P. Beroqui *Adiciones y correcciones al Catálogo del Prado. III. Escuela Flamenca* Valladolid, 1918, p. 77, under No. 1686; L. Burchard, *Literatur. Die Briefe des P.P. Rubens, übersetzt von Otto Zoff, Kunstchronik,* 1919, pp. 512, 513; F. Boix, *La estampa dedicada por Rubens al Conde-duque de Olivares y el perdido retrato ecuestre de Felipe IV pintado por el mismo artista durante su secundo viaje a España, Arte Español,* VII, 1924, pp. 93–102; E. Kieser, *Tizians und Spaniens Einwirkungen auf die späteren Landschaften des Rubens, Münchner Jahrbuch des bildenden Kunst,* N.F., VIII, 1931, pp. 287, 288; A.L. Mayer, *Velazquez,* London, 1936, p. 47, under No. 195; *Evers, 1943,* p. 323; J.M. Pita Andrade, *Los cuadros de Velazquez y Mazo que poseyo el septimo Marques del Carpio, Archivo Español de Arte,* XXV, 1952, pp. 228, 229; J. López-Rey, *A Head of Philip IV by Velazquez in a Rubens Allegorical Composition, Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 6th series, LIII, 1959, pp.35–44; J. López-Rey, *Velázquez,* London, 1963, pp. 191, 192, No. 198; L.L. Ligo, *Two Seventeenth Century Poems which link Rubens' Equestrian Portrait of Philip IV to Titian's Equestrian Portrait of Charles V, Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 6th series, LXXV, 1970, pp. 345–354.

From two documents (see below) as well as from an account by Pacheco we learn that Rubens executed a large equestrian portrait of King Philip IV during his sojourn in Spain, 1628. In the *Arte de la Pintura* of 1649 Pacheco writes that Rubens made five likenesses of Philip IV, amongst them "uno a caballo con otras figuras, muy valiente".[1] The first mention connected with the equestrian portrait appears on 19 October 1628, an order that any objects Rubens might need from the royal stables and the Armeria be brought to him.[2] Without

doubt the objects concerned were the harnesses and the horse of the King. Then on the 2 December 1628 Rubens wrote to Peiresc "that the portrait was ready and that the King was very satisfied with the result". [3] The painting was therefore made between 19 October-2 December 1628. In the successive inventories of the Alcazar viz. those of 1636, 1686 and 1700 the canvas is mentioned as being hung in the mirror room of the Alcazar. It was in all probability burned in 1734, since it is not mentioned in any of the later inventories of the Madrid royal collections.

The Uffizi copy corresponds to the description of the 1636 inventory of the Alcazar. The King is in armour and mounted on a chestnut brown horse. He is wearing a red officer's scarf and is holding the baton of a commander. He wears a black sombrero with white plumes (In the Uffizi copy the plumes are red). A world globe is held in the sky by two winged children and a personification of Faith, and the King is offered a laurel wreath by the latter. On one side Divine Justice hurls thunderbolts against the King's enemies. On the other side an Indian carries the King's helmet. [4]

In addition to the fact that the Uffizi copy (Fig. 91) has red plumes rather than the white of the description, the head shows the King around the age of fifty, not the twenty-two year old King of Rubens's lost portrait. In another copy (Fig. 92), formerly in a private collection and now lost, the King is seen as a young man and wearing a sombrero with white plumes. This copy lacks the allegorical figures.

The allegorical meaning of the equestrian portrait has been explained by two contemporary poets, Francisco Lopez de Zarate and Lope de Vega. According to the poets Philip is shown as the defender of True Faith in the world, which is a heavy burden on his shoulders. The Indian, representing the New World, provides him with material assistance, symbolized by the helmet he is offering. With one hand Faith grants the laurels of Victory, with her other hand she plants the cross on the world globe, more concretely in the North-Western region of the Iberian peninsula. True Faith is accompanied by Divine Wisdom, a female personification who clears the King's path with thunderbolts. On that path Heresy is represented as a snake, hidden between the thistles of Sin and the poppies of Slumber and Ignorance. The King's horse symbolizes the people ruled by Philip.

The background landscape has been identified by Carl Justi as a view from the Madrid Alcazar: the Manzanarès valley, with the path toward the

park of Casa del Campo, the hill of La Florida and the actual Montana del Principe Pio. In the far distance the Sierra de Guadarama is depicted. Kieser has shown that this view is the same as the one in a landscape by Rubens, which is now in the Johnson Collection at Philadelphia and which furthermore, has been engraved by Schelte a Bolswert.[5] This may be a corroboration for the fact that the landscape in the copy clearly reflects that of the now lost original. Evers proposed that the landscape could be seen by Rubens from the room which he occupied in the Alcazar during his Madrid sojourn, in 1628.

An interpretation of this portrait as a "Miles Christianus" would seem to be an argument in favour of Michel's supposition – which has been accepted by Burchard – that this painting should be considered a pendant to Titian's *Charles V on Horseback after the Battle of Mühlberg* (Fig. 89). That painting is of similar subject and size, and furthermore, was equally shown in the Mirror Room of the Alcazar. Also Lope de Vega's poem alludes to this correspondence between the two equestrian portraits.

The Uffizi copy has long been associated with the commission to Pietro Tacca for a bronze equestrian portrait of Philip IV on the basis of remarks by Baldinucci that he saw two Rubens paintings in the studio of Tacca at the time of the sculptor's death. Among these works Baldinucci mentioned "una tela di braccio e mezzo in circa" sent by Philip IV himself "nella quale per mano dello stesso Rubens era figurato il Cavallo colla persona del Re ritratta al naturale".[6] Carl Justi analyzed the documents of the commission and was the first to throw scepticism on Baldinucci's remarks. In 1635 a model for an "equestrian rider" of 1 1/2 braccia was sent, and in 1640 a lifesize half-length portrait of the King. The error of Baldinucci refers to these two paintings which came from Madrid. Justi thought they were by Velázquez himself (López-Rey thinks possibly the workshop). The Uffizi copy shows the fiftyish year-old King and therefore was probably painted ca. 1645, after the statue was finished. In this respect there is also a letter of 1634 written by Olivares and stating that "His Majesty wants a Medalla or portrait on a horse, in bronze, in agreement with portraits by Peter Paul Rubens in the same *traza* as that one which stands in the Casa del Campo". According to Justi *traza* meant only the size and gait of the horse in Rubens's portrait. Later, in 1636, Olivares wrote again that "above all the horse should be in the act of galloping, with the weight resting on the hind legs so that it appears to be leaping, and curvetting".

Careful observations of the Uffizi copy led me to conclude that the head, which is extremely fine, is by the copyiſt. The Eliche inventory may have naturally erred in calling it a Velázquez when it was actually a copy after Velázquez. In any case, the inventory differentiates the head as not after Rubens as is the reſt of the painting.

1 F. Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura,* ed. by F.J. Sánchez Cantón, I, Madrid, 1956, p. 153.

2 "... mandad que a Juan Gomez de Mora se entregue de la cavaleriza y de la Armeria todas las cosas que pidiere Rubens haver meneſter para hazer el retrato de su Mageſtad cavallo" (P. Beroqui, *op. cit.,* p. 77).

3 "... ho gia fatto il ritratto Equeſtre di Sua Maeſta, con molto suo guſto e sodisfattione, ... Io gia lo cognosco per prattica poiche havendo ſtanze in Palazzo, mi viene veder quasi ogni giorno ..." (*Rooses-Ruelens,* V, p. 10).

4 "Otro del mismo tamaño al óleo, en que eſtá el retrato del Rey Nueſtro Señor D. Felipe IV, que Dios guarde. Es de mano de Rubens, eſtá armado á caballo en un caballo caſtaño; tiene banda carmesí, baſton en la mano; sombrero negro y plumas blancas: en lo alto un globo terreſtre que lo suſtentan dos ángeles y la fe, que tiene encima una cruz y ofrecen á S. M. una corona de laurel, y á un lado la divina juſticia que fulmina rayos contra los enemigos, y al otro lado en el suelo un indio que lleva la celada" (*Cruzada Villaamil,* p. 334).

5 Illuſtrated in G. Glück, *Die Landschaften von Peter Paul Rubens,* Vienna, 1945, p. 16.

6 F. Baldinucci, *Notizie de' professori del disegno ...,* X, Milan, 1812 (*ed. princ.* Florence, 1681), pp. 437, 438.

30a. WOMAN WITH LAUREL WREATH: DRAWING (Fig. 87)

Black chalk heightened with white body colour, on paper; 313 : 233 mm. Below on the left, mark of the Albertina (*L.,* 174).

Vienna, Albertina. Inv. No. 8301.

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

LITERATURE: *Rooses,* V, p. 291, No. 1567; *Glück-Haberditzl,* p. 36, No. 63, repr.; *Burchard-d'Hulſt, 1963,* I, pp. 243, 244, No. 157; II, pl. 157.

A ſtudy for the figure of Fides in the *Philip IV on Horseback* (No. 30; Figs. 90-92).

A ſtudy from the life, of a nude female torso. A garb is draped over the left shoulder and breaſt. The figure is seen frontally. Her head is slightly bent, as she is looking downward. With her right hand she offers a laurel wreath. Her left arm is invisible.

31. PHILIP IV, KING OF SPAIN

Oil on canvas.

Whereabouts unknown. Presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: Rubens's estate, 1640 (No. 123 "Een portret des Konings met den Hoed op 't hooft, op doek"; *Denucé, Konstkamers,* p. 61, No. 123); ? Collection of the Marquess of Léganès, 1655, No. 440.

LITERATURE: *Rooses,* IV, p. 236, under No. 1027; *Glück-Haberditzl,* p. 53, under No. 177; *Held,* I, p. 139, under No. 111.

The only mention made of this portrait is the above cited entry in the 1640 inventory of Rubens's estate. Rooses wondered whether it might be identical with a so-called portrait of the King which formerly belonged to the collection of Peter von Cremer. However Burchard pointed out that this portrait, in fact, represented Philip's brother, the Cardinal-Infant Ferdinand.

Mention should also be made here of an apparently similar portrait, which formed part of the collection of the Marquess of Léganès, 1655.[1] Its identity with the portrait in Rubens's estate is not to be excluded, but must remain hypothetical.

[1] "Un retrato de medio cuerpo del Rey nuestro Señor Philipe quarto, harmadado sombrero de plumas blancas de mano' de Rubens, original, con su marco ob hebano hondeado, en 440" (J. Lopez Navio, *La gran Colección de pinturas del Marqués de Leganés, Analecta Calasanctiana,* 1962, p. 272, No. 40).

32. PHILIP IV, KING OF SPAIN: DRAWING (Fig. 88)

Black and red and some touches of white chalk, and pen and sanguine, on paper; 383 : 265 mm. Cut, in upper left corner. In the left lower corner, mark of the Bonnat Collection (*L.* 1714). In the right lower corner, mark of the Collection of Count J.P. van Suchtelen (*L.* 2332).

Bayonne, Musée Bonnat. Inv. No. 1417.

PROVENANCE: Count J.P. van Suchtelen; Léon Bonnat.

EXHIBITED: *Bayonne, 1965,* No. 10.

LITERATURE: *Les Dessins de la Collection Léon Bonnat au Musée de Bayonne,* II, Paris, 1925, Pl. 21; *Glück-Haberditzl,* p. 53, No. 177; *Held,* I, pp. 139, 140, No. 111; II, Pl. 124.

The costume is drawn in black, the head is warm reddish brown, with the brim of the hat touched in brown. The portrait is related to the early standing portraits of Philip IV by Velázquez, in the costume with *golilla* collar, the Toison d'or on a ribbon, the hand on a sword. The head, despite the unusual feature of the hat, is very similar, say, to that of the Prado standing portrait, with the wide open glance to the side and the soft look (Fig. 93) (compared to the narrower one of Don Carlos). The costume with half a dozen buttons beneath the collar, and again on the bottom of the overblouse beneath the belt is closest to the first state (1623) of the Prado portrait (Fig. 94). In his formal portraits of the King Rubens shows the Toison d'Or with its collar of flints and steels. Significant, and the major problem connected with the identification, it seems to me, is the indication of the curled moustache. All the other portraits of the Spanish period indicate the King was growing a moustache and slight beard beneath the lip. In the drawing itself, unlike photographs of it, the moustache is just barely indicated. Knowing the King was growing a moustache Rubens may have added it by way of suggestion. In the different states of the Pontius engraving (1632) of the King's portrait the moustache is enlarged only in the third state (Fig. 103).

The portrayal is superb with that great abbrieviated drawing of ca. 1630. The feeling for organic movement within the body is distinctly un-Velázquez-like, and so is the alertness of the young King. This drawing is one of the strongest arguments for Rubens's absorption of early Velázquez. Because of its momentary casual pose, in all probability it was made before the King sat formally for Rubens.

33-34. TWO PENDANTS: PHILIP IV, KING OF SPAIN, AND HIS QUEEN, ISABELLA OF BOURBON

33. PHILIP IV, KING OF SPAIN

Presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: ? Rubens's Estate, 1640 (No. 115. "Een portret van den Koning"; *Denucé, Konstkamers,* p. 61).

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 97), Leningrad, Hermitage, No. 468; canvas, 112 : 82 cm.; prov.: Count Brühl, Dresden; purchased from the latter by Empress Catherine II, 1769; lit.: *Rooses,* IV, p. 235, under No. 1025; *Glück, 1933,* p. 164; *Musée de l'Ermitage. Catalogue des peintures,* (Russ.), II, Leningrad-Moscow, 1958, p. 84 No. 468 (as *Rubens*); (2) Painting (Fig. 99), Munich, Alte Pinakothek, No. 787; canvas, 112 : 84 cm.; prov.: Purchased by the Bavarian Elector Johann-Wilhelm von der Pfalz-Neuburg before 1719; sent to the Hofgartengalerie, Munich, 1806; in the Alte Pinakothek since 1836; lit.: G.J. Karsch, *Désignation exacte des peintures dans la galerie électorale de la résidence à Dusseldorf,* Düsseldorf, 1719, No. 201; J. van Gool, *De Nieuwe Schouburg der Nederlandsche Kunstschilders en Schilderessen,* II, The Hague, 1751, No. 546; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, pp. 75, 76, No. 229; *Rooses,* IV, pp. 234–236, No. 1025 (as *Rubens*); *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg,* 1933, p. 299 (as *Rubens*); *Glück, 1933,* p. 164; L. Burchard, *Nachträge* in *Glück, 1933,* p. 394; *Katalog der älteren Pinakothek,* Munich, p. 227, No. 308; (3) Painting (Head and shoulders only), whereabouts unknown; canvas, 63.5 : 49 cm.; prov.: London, H.M. Clark; New York, Duveen Bros; Ruth Vanderbilt Twombley, sale, New York (Parke Bernet), 8 January, 1955, lot 391 (repr.); lit.: A.L. Mayer, *An Unpublished Rubens Portrait, The Burlington Magazine,* XLVIII, 1926, pp. 31, 32, repr.; L. Burchard, *Nachträge,* in *Glück, 1933,* p. 394; (4) Painting (Head and shoulder only), whereabouts unknown; canvas, 63 : 50 cm.; prov.: C.-L. Cardon, sale, Brussels (Fiévez), 27 June, 1921, lot 111; The Hague, Dorus Hermsens, sale, Amsterdam (Mak van Waay), 18 December, 1934, part of lot 558 (repr.; as *P.P. Rubens or workshop*); The Hague, J.H.M. van Rooy and N. Kleyn van der Willigen; Munich, J. Böhler (1949); Lucerne, P. Vogel-Brunner (1952); (5) Painting (Head and shoulders only), Aachen, Suermondt Museum; canvas, 64 : 51.5 cm.; prov.: B. Suermondt Fund, 1882; lit.: *Städtisches Suermondt-Museum, Aachen, Gemälde-Katalog,* Aachen, 1932, No. 444; (6) Painting (Full-length figure; Fig. 105), Stratfield Saye House, The Duke of Wellington; canvas, 78 : 46 cm.; prov.: Collection of the Marquis of Leganés, 1655; one of a series of full-length portraits of Spanish Royalties bought by the first Duke of Wellington from his brother Sir Henry Wellesley (1810-1822), who had been ambassador at Madrid; exh.: *Exhibition from Hampshire Houses, Winchester College,* Winchester, 1955, No. 61; lit.: J. Lopez Navio, *La gran coleccion de pinturas del Marqués de Léganés, Analecta Calasanctiana,* 1962, p. 288, No. 413; (7) Painting (Full-length figure; Fig. 107), Genoa, Galleria Durazzo-Pallavicini; canvas, 221 : 148 cm.; prov.: already mentioned in 1780 by Ratti as being in the Palazzo Durazzo at Genoa; exh.: *Cento opere di Van Dyck,* Palazzo dell'Accademia, Genoa, 1955, No. 74; lit.: *Ratti, 1780,* p. 183; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, p. 154, No. 538 (as *Portrait of Philip III*); A. Cunningham, *Life of David Wilkie,* III, London, 1843, p. 273; F. Alizeri, *Guida artistica di Genova,* II, Genoa, 1847, p. 273; *Rooses,* IV, p. 236, No. 1026; *Justi, Velazquez,* I, p. 242; A. Morassi, *Alcune opere del Rubens a Genova, Emporium,* 1947, p. 195; N. Maclaren, *National Gallery : Spanish School,* London, 1970, pp. 114–119; (8) Fragment of an *Interior of a Palace,* painting by G.J. van Opstal, whereabouts unknown; prov.:

New York, Julius Weitzner; exh.: *Pictures within Pictures,* Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn., 1949, No. 33 (repr.).

The King is shown turned to the right, facing toward the counterpart representing the Queen, against a red curtain with a tassel. He has a black costume ornamented with gold buttons, a black cape with four large round black buttons over the left shoulder. One hand is on his sword, the other is down. The sleeves have a gilded embroidery with cuffs of white silk. A dagger handle is inside his right arm at the height of a narrow belt.

This painting represents one of the major types Rubens painted of the King in Spain. The figure fills the canvas, forming a dark silhouette against the background. This also indicates the renewed influence of Titian on Rubens during his second stay at the Spanish court in 1628,[1] at the time when the original of this composition and its counterpart (No. 34) were made. This portrait figures among the set of five, represented in the *Interior of a Palace* by G.J. van Opstal, formerly with Julius Weitzner.

[1] F. Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura,* ed. by F.J. Sánchez Cantón, I, Madrid, 1956, p. 153. See also Rubens's own account of his painting portraits of the Royal Family (*Rooses-Ruelens,* V, p. 10).

33a. PHILIP IV, KING OF SPAIN: DRAWING (Fig. 101)

Chalk and brush, reinforced with ink, heightened with body colour, on paper; 367 : 264 mm.

Vienna, Albertina. Inv. No. 8739.

PROVENANCE: Duke Albert of Sachsen-Teschen (Moritzburg near Dresden, 1739–Vienna, 1822).

COPY: Engraving by P. Pontius, 1632 (Fig. 103; *V.S.,* p. 173, No. 172).

LITERATURE: J. Meder, *Die Handzeichnung,* Vienna, 1919, pp. 358 (fig. 133), 359.

This drawing for Pontius's engraving (Fig. 104) repeats the portrait type of the King painted in Madrid, 1628 (No. 33). The very precise drawing in black chalk as well as the washed parts were certainly the work of Pontius. The free handling of those parts retouched with ink and body-colour, is most certainly to be ascribed to Rubens himself.

34. ISABELLA OF BOURBON, QUEEN OF SPAIN

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: ? Rubens's Estate, 1640 (No. 116 "Een portret der Koningin"; *Denucé, Konstkamers,* p. 61).

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 98), Leningrad, Hermitage, No. 469; canvas, 112 : 83 cm.; prov.: Count Brühl, Dresden; purchased from the latter by Empress Catherine II, 1769; lit.: *Rooses,* IV, p. 152, under No. 925; *Glück, 1933,* p. 164; *Musée de l'Ermitage. Catalogue des Peintures,* (Russ.), II, Leningrad-Moscow, 1958, p. 84, No. 469 (as *Rubens*); (2) Painting (Fig. 100), Munich, Alte Pinakothek, No. 310; canvas, 112 : 84 cm.; prov.: Purchased by the Bavarian Elector Johann-Wilhelm von der Pfalz-Neuburg before 1719; sent to the Hofgartengalerie, Munich, 1806; in the Alte Pinakothek since 1836; lit.: G.J. Karsch, *Désignation exacte des peintures dans la galerie électorale de la résidence à Düsseldorf,* Düsseldorf, 1719. No. 202; J. van Gool, *De nieuwe Schouburg der Nederlandsche Kunstschilders en Schilderessen,* II, The Hague, 1751, No. 546; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, p. 76, No. 230; *Rooses,* IV, p. 152, No. 925; *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg,* p. 299; *Glück, 1933,* p. 164; L. Burchard, *Nachträge* in *Glück, 1933,* p. 394; (3) Painting (Fig. 109); Pommersfelden, Castle Weissenstein, Count von Schönborn; canvas, 103 : 81 cm.; lit.: *Katalog der Gräflich Schönbornschen Bilder-Gallerie zu Pommersfelden,* Würzburg, 1857, No. 12; T. von Frimmel, *Verzeichnis der Gemälde in gräfl. Schönborn-Wiesentheid'schen Besitze,* Pommersfelden, 1894, No. 167 (as *"Richtung des Van Dyck, Bildnis einer Dame"*); (4) Painting (Fig. 110), Chicago, The Art Institute, No. 62.958; canvas, 65 : 46 cm.; prov.: Quincy Adams Shaw; gift of Chester D. Tripp; lit.: W. Valentiner, in *The Art Institute of Chicago Quarterly,* LVII, 1, Spring 1968, p. 2 (repr.); (5) Painting (head and shoulders only), whereabouts unknown; canvas, 74 : 55 cm.; prov. : New York, E. Larsen; New York, Dr. Altmann; sale, Cologne (Lempertz), 24 November 1955 (repr.); lit.: L. Van Puyvelde, *Rubens,* Paris-Brussels, 1952, p. 213 (as *Rubens*); *Larsen,* p. 218, No. 83, pl. 118 (as *Rubens*); (6) Painting (Full-length figure; Fig. 106), New York, Hispanic Society, No. A 106; canvas 197 : 117 cm.; prov.: Collection of the Marquess of Léganès, 1655; Coll. Francis Lathrop; lit.: E. du Gué Trapier, *Catalogue of Paintings in the Hispanic Society of America,* New York, 1929, pp. 65, 66, repr.; J. Lopez Navio, *La gran coleccion de pinturas del Marques de Leganés, Analecta Calasanctiana,* 1962, p. 288, No. 414; (7) Fragment of an *Interior of a Palace,* painting by G.J. van Opstal, whereabouts unknown; prov.: New York, Julius Weitzner; exh.: *Pictures within Pictures,* Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn., 1949, No. 33 (repr.).

The Queen is shown half-length facing left, against a red curtain. She rests her right hand, which holds a fan, on a table; the left hand, dropped to the

side, holds a handkerchief. She wears a black costume with white ruffs at the neck, and at the wrists. The dress has a jacket with striped lapels and wings ornamented with rows of round buttons, and with short slit sleeves. From behind the lapel a double string of pearls falls to the waist, suspending a pendant with a large square jewel and the celebrated pear-shaped pearl worn by Queens of Spain from the time of the Empress Isabella.[1] A second fine gold chain is knotted in the center. The Queen wears pearl earrings and a jeweled ornament with a feather in her hair. Daughter of Henri IV and Maria de' Medici, she came to Spain as a result of the "exchange of princesses," and became Queen of Spain in 1621.

Like its counterpart (No. 33), this portrait was painted in 1628, during Rubens's stay at the Madrid Court, and also figures among the portraits of members of the House of Habsburg represented in *The Interior of a Palace* by G.J. van Opstal, formerly with Julius Weitzner.

[1] See e.g. Titian's *Portrait of Empress Isabella,* Madrid, Prado (H. Tietze, *Titian,* London, 1950, pl. 185).

34a. ISABELLA OF BOURBON, QUEEN OF SPAIN: OIL SKETCH (Fig. 108)

Oil on panel; 485 : 405 cm.

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Inv. No. 538.

PROVENANCE: ? Rubens's Estate, 1640 (No. 116 "Een portret der Koningin"; *Denucé, Konstkamers,* p. 61).

LITERATURE: C. von Mechel, *Verzeichniss der Gemälde der kaiserlich königlichen Bilder Gallerie in Wien,* Vienna, 1783, p. 115, No. 17; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, p. 91, No. 292 (as a copy); E.R. von Engerth, *Kunsthistorische Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses. Gemälde. Beschreibendes Verzeichnis,* II, Vienna, 1884, No. 1175; *Rooses,* IV, p. 152, under No. 925 (as a copy); *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg,* p. 306; *K.d.K.,* p. 453 (as a Studio Replica); *Glück, 1933,* p. 164; *Katalog der Gemäldegalerie, Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum,* Vienna, 1938, p. 146, No. 873 (as a copy); L. Van Puyvelde, *Rubens,* Paris-Brussels, 1952, p. 152.

This is the oil sketch made from life after the Queen. Its background is unfinished.

34b. ISABELLA OF BOURBON, QUEEN OF SPAIN: DRAWING (Fig. 102)

Chalk and brush reinforced with ink and heightened with body-colour, on paper; 367 : 264 mm.

Vienna, Albertina. Inv. No. 8740.

COPY: Engraving by P. Pontius, 1632 (Fig. 104; *V.S.*, p. 173, No. 173).

This drawing for Pontius's engraving (Fig. 103) repeats the portrait type of the Queen painted in Madrid, 1628 (No. 34). The very precise drawing in black chalk as well as the washed parts were certainly the work of Pontius. The free handling of those parts retouched with ink and body-colour, is most certainly to be ascribed to Rubens himself.

35-36. TWO PENDANTS: PHILIP IV, KING OF SPAIN, AND HIS QUEEN, ISABELLA OF BOURBON

35. PHILIP IV, KING OF SPAIN (Fig. 111)

Oil on canvas; 77 : 64 cm.

Zürich, Kunsthaus, Ruzicka-Stiftung. No. 28.

PROVENANCE: The Duke of Hamilton, Hamilton Palace, sale, London (Christie's), 17 June 1882, lot 22, purchased by M. Stettiner for Baron de Hirsch de Gereuth; Otto Beit, London; Alfred Beit, London; purchased after 1949 for the Ruzicka Collection, now in the Kunsthaus, Zürich.

COPIES: (1) Painting, Madrid, Collecciones artísticas de la Casa de Alba; canvas, 73 : 58 cm.; prov.: London, Agnew's, 1938; sale, 1945, purchased by the Duke of Alba, Madrid; exh.: *A Loan Exhibition of Pictures by Flemish Old Masters,* Milton Gallery, London, 1944, No. 15; *Bruges, 1958,* No. 99; lit.: L. Burchard, *Nachträge,* in *Glück, 1933,* p. 394; G. Stepanow, *Rubens,* Zürich, 1950, p. 128; L. Van Puyvelde, *Rubens,* Paris-Brussels, 1952, pp. 152, 213, n. 173; M. Jaffé, in *The Burlington Magazine,* C, 1958, p. 366; (2) Painting, Pittsburgh, Carnegie Institute, No. 64.11.23; canvas, 73.5 : 61 cm.; prov.: sale, London (Christie's), 2 July 1937, lot 71 (as *Gaspar de Crayer*); Howard A. Noble (died April 1964); bequeathed by him to the Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh; exh.: *Paintings from the Collection of Howard A. Noble,* Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, 1944, No. 25 (repr.); lit.: *Goris-Held,* No. 13; *La Chronique des Arts, Gazette des Beaux-Arts,*

LXV, February, 1965, p. 40, fig. 173; (3) Painting, Paris, Collection of U. Moussali; canvas, 65 : 54 cm.; exh.: *Flandres-Espagne-Portugal,* Musée des Beaux-Arts, Bordeaux, 1954, No. 81; *Ordres de Chevalerie et Récompenses Nationales,* Musée Monétaire, Paris, 1956, No. 391; *La Toison d'or,* Groeninge Museum, Bruges, 1962, No. 194 (repr.); lit.: L. Van Puyvelde, *Rubens,* Paris-Brussels, 1952, p. 213, n. 173; U. Moussali, *Rubens en Espagne, Visages du Monde,* May, 1954, No. 19; (4) Painting enlarged to a full-length copy, Genoa, Costantino Nigro; prov.: Publio Podio, sale, Milan, 1937, lot 96 (repr.; as *Flemish School, 17th Century*); exh.: *La Moda in cinque secoli di pittura,* Turin, 1951, No. 84; *Cento Opere di Van Dyck,* Palazzo dell'Accademia, Genoa, No. 74 (repr.; as *A. van Dyck*); lit.: O. Millar, *Van Dyck at Genoa, The Burlington Magazine,* XCVII, 1955, p. 313 (as *a Derivation from Rubens*); (5) Engraving by J. Louys after P. Soutman (Fig. 114; *V.S.,* p. 174, No. 181).

EXHIBITED: *Gemälde der Ruzicka-Stiftung,* Kunsthaus, Zürich, 1949–50, No. 28 (repr.); *Meisterwerke flämischer Malerei,* Museum zu Allerheiligen, Schaffhausen, 1955, No. 90.

LITERATURE: *Rooses,* IV, pp. 236, 237, No. 1028 (as *copied by Rubens after Velasquez*); Enriqueta Harris, *Cassiano del Pozzo on Diego Velasquez, The Burlington Magazine,* CXII, 1970, pp. 364–373.

The King is shown, half length against a curtain with a tassel, in a richly brocaded costume and cape. He wears both the collar of the Golden Fleece and the *fanfarone,* and a dagger handle projects inside of his right arm. He has a slight moustache and beard, and wears a golilla collar.

In a letter to Ludwig Burchard of 7 February 1935, Alfred Scharf wrote of the painting (then in the Beit Collection) that he had the impression that the head was by Rubens, not, however, the drapery. This comment seems very right to me.

This painting may originally have been one of the portraits of the King mentioned by Pacheco [1] as executed by Rubens during his stay at Madrid, 1628-29.

[1] F. Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura,* ed. by F.J. Sánchez Cantón, I, Madrid, 1956, p. 153.

36. ISABELLA OF BOURBON, QUEEN OF SPAIN

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 82 : 65 cm.; prov.: Frankfurt-am-Main, Collection of Baron Albert von Goldschmidt-Rothschild; (2) Painting, Madrid,

Palacio Real; lit.: M. Lorente, *Sobre Algunos Retratos de Rubens en España, Miscellanea Prof. Dr. D. Roggen,* Antwerp, 1957, p. 189; (3) Painting whereabouts unknown; canvas, 63.5 : 47.5 cm.; prov.: New York, E. and A. Silberman; exh.: *Loan Exhibition of Paintings by Rubens and Van Dyck,* Los Angeles County Museum, Los Angeles, 1946, No. 39; (4) Painting (the Queen holding a miniature portrait of King Philip IV), whereabouts unknown; canvas, 75 : 59 cm.; prov.: Lady Meux, Waltham Cross, Hertfordshire; exh.: *New York, 1942,* No. 11 (repr.: as *Rubens*); *Vanity Fair,* California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco, 1942, No. 46; lit.: W.R. Valentiner, *Rubens' Paintings in America, The Art Quarterly,* IX, 1946, No. 105b (as *Rubens*); *Goris-Held,* p. 46, No. A 9; (5) Engraving by J. Louys after P. Soutman (Fig. 113; *V.S.,* p. 175, No. 182).

The Queen is shown wearing a pearl-embroidered dress. Judging from Louys's engraving (Fig. 113) the now lost original of this portrait may have shown the Spanish Queen before a curtain with a tassel.

37. PETER PAUL RUBENS IN A CIRCLE OF FRIENDS

Oil on canvas; 77.5 : 101 cm.

Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum. No. Dep. 248.

PROVENANCE: ? Lord Byron, Newstead Abbey (before 1772); G.T. Biddulph, Petersham; purchased in London by Dr. Vitale Bloch, Berlin; Eugen Abresch, Neustadt a.d. Haardt, since 1931; sold in 1934 with the whole collection to Dr. Scheufelen, Oberlehningen; bought 1945, for the projected museum in Linz; placed on loan by the Government of the German Federal Republic in the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, 1961.

EXHIBITED: Gemäldegalerie, Kassel, 1935; *Die Handschrift des Künstlers,* Kunsthalle, Recklinghausen, 1959, No. 288; *100 Jahre Wallraf-Richartz-Museum 1861–1961,* Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne, 1961, Nachtrag (repr.); *Neuerwerbungen des Wallraf-Richartz-Museum seit 1966,* Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne, 1967, No. 2 (repr.).

LITERATURE: J.J. Volkmann, *Neueste Reisen durch England,* III, 1782, p. 421 (as *A. Van Dyck*); K. Gerstenberg, *Rubens im Kreise seiner römischen Gefährten, Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte,* I, 1932, pp. 99–109, figs. 1–5; G. Glück, *Zu einigen Gruppenbildnissen aus Rubens' italienischer Zeit, Belvedere,* II, 1932, p. 163; G. Gabrieli, *Il ritratto di uno fra i primi Lincei Giovanni Faber in un quadro del Rubens di ricente ritrovato, Rendiconti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei,* VIII, 1932, pp. 765–772, repr.; K. Gerstenberg, *Rubens und Elsheimer, Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte,* II, 1933, pp. 220, 221; L. Burchard, in, *Glück, 1933,* pp. 392, 393; G.J. Hoogewerff, *Henricus Corvinus, Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome,* 1936, pp. 105, 106, fig. 5; H.G. Evers, *Zu den Selbstbildnissen und Bildnissen von Rubens, Jahrbuch der preus-*

sischen Kunstsammlungen, LXIII, 1942, pp. 133–140, fig. 1; *Evers, 1942,* pp. 27, 459, 463, fig. 5; *Evers, 1943,* pp. 321–326, figs. 337–342; O. Bock von Wülfingen, *Zwei Bilder aus Rubens' italienischer Zeit. Kunst,* I, 1948, pp. 56–59, figs. 4–8; K. Lankheit, *Das Freundschaftsbild der Romantik,* Heidelberg, 1952, pp. 27, 28; H. Kauffmann, *Peter Paul Rubens im Licht seiner Selbstbekenntnisse, Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch,* XVII, 1955, p. 181; *Gerson-ter-Kuile,* p. 76; G. von der Osten, *Berichte aus Rheinischen Museen, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum Köln, Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch,* XXXIV, 1962, p. 444; W.J. Müller, *Das Selbstbildnis des Rubens mit seinen Mantuaner Freunden, Kunstgeschichtliche Gesellschaft zu Berlin, Sitzungsberichte N.F.,* XI, October 1962–May 1963, pp. 5–7; J. Müller Hofstede, in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte,* XXVII, 1964, p. 89; M. Warnke, *Kommentare zu Rubens,* Berlin, 1965, pp. 22–24, pl. 6; *Müller Hofstede, Bildnisse aus Rubens' Italienjahren,* pp. 100, 129, fig. 78; H. Richter, *Unter demokratischer Haube, Neues Rheinland,* April–May, 1967, pp. 8, 9; H. Vey and Annamaria Kesting, *Katalog der niederländischen Gemälde von 1550 bis 1800 im Wallraf-Richartz-Museum,* Cologne, 1967, pp. 94, 95, No. Dep. 248, fig. 134.

There are many questions unanswered in regard to the dating and interpretation of this painting, which shows the artist gathered with companions in front of a Mantuan landscape. Secure alone is the self portrait of Rubens, the view of Mantua in the background, and the fact that the painting was made during the Italian period of 1600-8.

While all authors agree that the painting was executed during Rubens's stay in Italy, there is no consensus as to a more exact date. The various opinions can be summed up as follows: Gerstenberg (1932) 1606 in Rome; Glück (1932) the early Italian period; Burchard (1933) 1606 in Rome; Hoogewerff, 1607; Evers (as Burchard [1937] and Norris [1939]) and Müller Hofstede (1968) the summer of 1602 in Mantua; Bock von Wülfingen, 1604; Gerson (1960) as probably before the Spanish trips, and reworked by Rubens later; a view rejected by Müller Hofstede (1964).

The following identifications of the figures have been made, all from left to right. Gerstenberg (1932): Gaspar Schoppius, an unknown, Johan Faber, Rubens's brother Philip, Rubens and Joseph Scaliger; Gabrieli (1932) saw in the unknown Adam Elsheimer; Hoogewerff (1936): the antiquarian chemist and art lover Hendrik de Raaff of Delft; Evers (1942, 1943): Erycius Puteanus ?, an unknown, Frans Pourbus the Younger, Philip Rubens, Rubens and Justus Lipsius ?; Bock von Wülfingen (1948) questioned whether it was really Philip Rubens behind his brother, and as a matter of fact the features of the sitter seem to be different from those on e.g. Philip's portrait in Detroit,[1] and

he also proposed that to the extreme right the person may be Pietro Bembo; Warnke (1965) concurred with Evers; Müller Hofstede (1968) proposed Gaspar Schoppius, Guillaume Richardot, Frans Pourbus the Younger, Philip Rubens, Rubens and Justus Lipsius. Burchard was able to point out that the figure to the extreme left cannot be Schoppius, whose features are well-known,[2] nor Puteanus, of whom we owe a portrait to Van Dyck's pencil.[3] Burchard also stressed that Evers's identification of the third figure from the left as Frans II Pourbus was based on a comparison with a portrait of Frans Pourbus the Elder. On the other hand the man also seems too old to be identified as Faber, who was only three years older than Rubens. Finally Burchard remarked that a conjectured presence of Scaliger among the group is without any sound basis, the latter not belonging to Rubens's circle. Without giving any further evidence Burchard wondered whether this man could not be Annibale Chieppio. As to the man at the extreme right, he put forward as a hypothesis the tentative identification of Claudio Monteverdi.

Burchard has also been able to give a rather concrete reconstruction of the spot from where the sitters were seen. He thought that they were standing before a window of the Mantuan Palazzo Ducale, which offers a view towards the Ponte San Giorgio. We further see the Lago di Mezzo and its small island, as well as the church on the opposite shore of the lake. All these details are also recognizable in the view of Mantua which in 1575 was engraved by F. Hogenberg.[4] This topographic background was not conceived by Rubens. In fact we also find a similar view in Mantegna's *Dormition of the Virgin,* now in the Prado, but probably in the grand ducal collections at Mantua in Rubens's time.[5]

Two major interpretations have come from Warnke and Müller Hofstede. Warnke proposed that the painting was a memorial picture for the death of Justus Lipsius, March 23, 1606 (thereby giving a terminus post quem), and that it was painted in Rome, 1606. He saw in the hands of Rubens and Pourbus antique gestures of mourning and *consolatio,* in the evening sky the dark clouds of grief, and in the distant boatsman the symbolic journey of life, with death a return to a quiet harbor. For Warnke the meeting is expressive of convivial sympathy over Stoic apathy. This interpretation which makes Lipsius the *raison d'être* of the piece leaves the other identifications open, particularly that of Pourbus, and does not explain the Mantuan view. Müller Hofstede entitled the painting *Mantuan Friendship Painting of Rubens*

and Frans Pourbus and compared it with the Pitti *Justus Lipsius and Pupils* of ca 1611-1612 [6] where the Rubens brothers are shown with Lipsius and Jan Woverius. He saw in Pourbus's gesture an expression of sympathy; the background of Mantua to indicate the gathering place for the friends in 1602, and in Rubens's gesture an act of greeting and resignation.

The painting is important in that it contains the earliest known self-portrait of Rubens. The tradition of an artist's self-portrait among friends was not unusual in the late 16th century, but usually the artist associated himself with his family (Van Veen) or within his studio with brush in hand (Hans von Aachen, Carracci). What is unusual here is that Rubens has shown himself against the background of his artistic sphere (Mantua, i.e. Italy) as well as against the intellectual sphere of Justus Lipsius. What Fuseli wrote of the Pitti *Four Philosophers* "that portrait by which Rubens contrasted the physiognomy of philosophic and classsic acuteness with that of genius" applies as well, to this early work. Burchard however stressed the mutual love for the studies of antiquities as the bond tying together the figures represented.

The well-preserved canvas has been relined.

1 See *Goris-Held*, pl. 2.
2 See further, No. 38.
3 See *K.d.K., Van Dyck*, p. 270.
4 See *Evers, 1943*, fig. 338.
5 See E. Tietze-Conrat, *Mantegna*, London-New York, 1955, pl. 56.
6 See *K.d.K.*, p. 45.

38. GASPAR SCHOPPIUS (?) (Fig. 116)

Oil on canvas; 116 : 85 cm.

Florence, Palazzo Pitti. Inv. No. 198.

LITERATURE: E. Pieraccini, *Guida della Reale Galleria del Palazzo Pitti*, Rome, 1904, p. 98, No. 198 (as *Velázquez*); L. Burchard, *Alcuni Dipinti del Rubens nel suo Periodo Italiano, Pinacotheca*, 1928, pp. 12, 13, fig. 7; A. Scharf, *A Portrait by Lucas Cranach the Elder, Apollo*, XXIX, 1939, p. 198, repr.; K. Bauch, *Die Elsheimer-Ausstellung in Frankfurt-am-Main, Kunstchronik*, 1967, p. 73, fig. 3, p. 93 (as possibly a portrait of Elsheimer).

Gaspar Schoppe, alias Schoppius (Neumark, 1576 – Padua 1649) was a well known philologist, famous for his severe criticism and polemics, which earned

him the nickname of "Canis Grammaticus". Born in the Palatinate from a Protestant family, he traveled to Italy in 1597 and was converted to Catholicism in Rome, 1598. Subsequently he entered papal service and received many honorific titles. He was an important figure among the neo-Stoic disciples of Justus Lipsius who also included Rubens's brother Philip. [1]

We are well informed about the personal contact between Rubens and Schoppius. An important source of information is the vast correspondence which early in the seventeenth century Philip Rubens kept up with Justus Lipsius and Balthasar Moretus. [2] But also Schoppius himself in very eloquent terms expressed the friendship which tied him to Rubens in his *Scaliger Hyperbolimaeus,* printed 1607, [3] as well as in his *Oporini Grubini Amphotides,* from 1611. [4]

In the portrait discussed here the sitter is seen to the knees and is facing the onlooker. His right hand is resting on his hip, while his left hand holds his rapier. He wears a wide lace collar over a cramoisy jacket and dark tunic. His left shoulder is covered with a scarlet mantle.

Scharf already pointed out that the pose of the sitter is clearly in the vein of a well-known Titianesque prototype. Traditionally the painting was ascribed to Velázquez until Burchard recognized it as an authentic work by Rubens, made during the latter's later Italian years. He thought the stylistic qualities of this painting inherent in the other works Rubens painted in Rome ca. 1606, an observation with which this author is not inclined to agree. Furthermore from a comparison with an engraving made by Adraen Claesz. de Grebber in 1602 he came to the attractive conclusion that the sitter may well be Schoppius, a supposition which indeed fits very well in the above mentioned biographical context.

[1] See especially H. Kowallek, *Über Gaspar Schoppe, Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte,* XI, 1871, pp. 415 ff., and H. Weizsäcker, *Elsheimer,* I, Berlin, 1936, pp. 84, 85, n. 150–154.

[2] See *Rooses-Ruelens,* I, pp. 215, 216, 252–266, 306–308, 313–323, 328–332, 343–352.

[3] *Scaliger Hyperbolimaeus,* Mayence, 1607, p. 110^{v} : "Amicus quidem meus Petrus Paulus Rubenius, in quo utrum commendem magis nescio, pingendi ne artificium, ad cujus ipse summam, si ætatis hujus quisquam pervenisse intelligentibus videtur, an omnis humanioris litteraturæ peritiam politumque judicium cum singulari sermonis et convictus suavitate conjunctum" (See also C. Ruelens, *Un témoignage relatif à P.P. Rubens en Italie, Rubens-Bulletijn,* IV, 1896, p. 115).

[4] See *Rooses-Ruelens,* II, pp. 4, 5.

39-40. TWO PENDANTS: PAOLO-AGOSTINO DORIA AND HIS WIFE GINEVRA GRILLO

39. PAOLO-AGOSTINO DORIA

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

LITERATURE: *Rooses-Ruelens,* I, pp. 393–395; R. Oldenbourg, *Rubens in Italien, Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen,* III, 1916, p. 263, 264; *Oldenbourg, 1922,* pp. 33, 34, 53; *Burchard, 1929,* pp. 339, n. 1, 343; *Müller Hofstede, Bildnisse aus Rubens' Italienjahren,* pp. 101 (fig. 53), 102, 104, 146, n. 70–73.

On September 26th 1606, Paolo Agostino Doria wrote a letter from Genoa to Annibale Chieppio in Mantua, in which he complained that he had had no news from Rubens. He would like to know, the letter goes on, when his portrait and that of his wife would be completed.[1] Ruelens, commenting on this letter, rejected the possibility that Rubens would have been in Genoa shortly before Rome, in 1606. Therefore, he concluded that the portraits were never begun by Rubens. Oldenbourg and Burchard, on the other hand, both thought that Rubens did start work on these portraits while residing briefly in Genoa, from the end of 1605 until January 1606. In fact Paolo-Agostino Doria in his letter clearly inquires about the progress of a work already started, which would imply that Rubens would have taken both unfinished portraits with him to Rome, in order to complete them there.

1 "Del S^{r} Pietro-Paulo non ho nuova, desidero in estremo sue lettere et occasion di servirlo et vedero volentieri quando però debba seguire, senza incommodo suo, il mio ritratto e quello di mia S^{ra}." (Mantua, Archivo Gonzaga, *Busta 777. Lettere da Genova, Diversi,* 1606; published by *Rooses-Ruelens, loc. cit.*). There is no reason whatsoever to read, as did Müller Hofstede, the last figure of the date 1606 as a seven, nor to suppose, as did Ruelens, that it was written mistakenly instead of a seven.

40. GINEVRA GRILLO, WIFE OF PAOLO-AGOSTINO DORIA

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

LITERATURE: *Rooses-Ruelens,* I, pp. 393–395; R. Oldenbourg, *Rubens in Italien, Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen,* III, 1916, pp. 263, 264; *Oldenbourg, 1922,* pp. 33, 34, 53; *Burchard, 1929,* pp. 338, 339, 343; A.L. Mayer, *Un portrait de femme inconnue par Rubens dans la collection royale de Roumanie, Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 1938, pp. 258, 259, fig. 1.

This picture is mentioned together with its counterpart in the letter of 26 September 1606, which was written by Paolo-Agostino Doria himself (see No. 39). Paolo-Agostino's wife, Ginevra (di Agapito) Grillo, was born probably in 1576 and died 1635. At the time Rubens started work on her and her husband's portraits she must have been nearly thirty years old.

Mayer tentatively supposed that this portrait might be identical with a portrait of a Genoese lady, in the Museum of Bucharest.[1] Also Burchard, who only knew this painting from a photograph, thought this hypothesis a valuable one. The Rumanian portrait is a full-length representation of a lady. She is slightly turned to the left and is holding her right hand in a fountain of shell form supported by a triton. An arbor and garden is visible in the background.

[1] See L. Bachelin, *Tableaux anciens de la Galerie Charles I^er^, Roi de Roumanie,* Paris, 1898, No. 158 ("Portrait d'une grande Dame", attributed to Alonso Sánchez Coello).

41. BRIGIDA SPINOLA DORIA (Fig. 119)

Oil on canvas; 152 : 99 cm. *Verso,* inscribed: *BRIGIDA SPINOLA DORIA Æ Sal. 1606. Aet. suæ. 22. P.P. RUBENS ft.*

Washington, National Gallery of Art. No. 1612.

PROVENANCE: Sir John Murray, 1827; S. Horsin Déon, Paris, at least in 1848, before 1851; ? Mac Lean, London, 1854; C.J. Nieuwenhuys, sale, London (Christie's), 17 July 1886, lot 92; C. Wertheimer, London; B.W. Currie, Minley Manor, Hampshire, until 1937; Duveen Brothers, Inc., New York, before 1957; Samuel H. Kress Collection, 1961.

COPIES: (1) Drawing, Paris, Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Inv. No. 628 (as *C. de Vos*); 345 : 189 mm.; lit.: *Müller Hofstede, Bildnisse aus Rubens' Italienjahren,* pp. 110, 111, 147, n. 95, fig. 65 (as *a copy after a lost drawing by Rubens*); (2) Lithograph by P.F. Lehnert, 1848 (Fig. 120).

EXHIBITED: *London, 1953–54,* No. 180.

LITERATURE: S. Horsin Déon, *De la conservation et de la restauration des tableaux,* Paris, 1851, pp. 34, 35; *Rooses,* IV, p. 273, No. 1064; V, p. 350; K. Bauch, *Beiträge zur Rubensforschung, Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen,* XXXXV, 1924, p. 190; *Burchard, 1929,* pp. 321–324; *Valentiner,* p. 155, No. 5, repr.; *Goris-Held,* p. 26, No. 2, pl. 14; *Burchard, 1950,* pp. 60, 61, under No. 55; C. Seymour, Jr., *Art Treasures for America, Kress Anthology,* London, 1961, pp. 144, 215, figs. 135, 136; *Müller Hofstede,*

Bildnisse aus Rubens' Italienjahren, pp. 94–96, 141, 142, n. 15, fig. 51; *National Gallery of Art. Summary Catalogue of European Paintings and Sculptures*, Washington, 1965, No. 1612; M. Jaffé, *Some Recent Acquisitions of Seventeenth Century Flemish Painting, National Gallery of Art, Report and Studies in the History of Art*, 1969, p. 26.

Brigida Spinola Doria was the wife of Giacomo Doria, one of the sons of the Genoese Doge Agostino Doria. [1]

We know from two existing copies, a 17th century drawing in Paris and a 19th century lithograph by F. Lehnert (Fig. 120), that the painting in Washington was originally much larger and has been cut down on all sides. We know from the Lehnert lithograph of 1848 that Brigida Spinola Doria stood full-length on the terrace of a Genoese villa, against a classically constructed architecture consisting of a loggia with arched openings, a balustrade closing off the terrace, and two bays of a block building beyond (analogous to architectural elements of the Villa Madama in Rome). Over the balustrade tree tops are visible, and an open sky with a rainbow. The lady is dressed "alla Spagnuola" in a heavy white satin dress (that is, with an enormous vertical lace ruff enframing the face, the silk dress of heavy folds with slit panels over tight embroidered sleeves with lace cuffs, a richly ornamented panel with pearls or rosettes down the front, a fan held in the hand). She has an extremely narrow waist, and an imposing vertical carriage. Behind her a deep red curtain blows lightly against the architecture.

[1] A.M. Buonaroti, *Alberi Genealogici di Diverse Famiglie Nobili*, II, Genoa, 1750 (Manuscript, Genoa, Biblioteca Berio, Inv. No. m. r. VIII/2/29), pp. 334, 335.

41a. A LADY: DRAWING (Fig. 121)

Pen and ink over black chalk, washed in brown bistre and Indian ink, on paper; 315 : 185 mm.; several inscriptions in Rubens's hand: *hout* (wood) on the cornice; *gaudt* (gold) below the first capital; *Root* (red) on the curtain.

New York, The Pierpont-Morgan Library. Inv. No.

PROVENANCE: Mr. Uzielli, Switzerland; Dr. E. Schilling, London.

EXHIBITED: *London, 1950*, No. 55 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Burchard, 1950*, pp. 60, 61, No. 55, repr.; C. Norris, *Rubens in Retrospect, The Burlington Magazine*, XCIII, 1951, pp. 4–7; *Held*, I, p. 127, No. 73; II, pl. 84; *Müller Hofstede, Bildnisse aus Rubens' Italienjahren*, pp. 110, 111, 147, n. 95 and 96, fig. 64.

As Christopher Norris first suggested, Rubens drew this study for the Washington painting from a "stand-in" model, perhaps one of the ladies-in-waiting or the servants of Brigida Spinola Doria. The case is not unlike the preparatory drawings for the portrait of the Duke of Lerma (Nos. 20 a and 20 b; Figs. 69 and 70).

42. BRIGIDA SPINOLA DORIA (?) (Fig. 117)

Oil on canvas; 241 : 140 cm.; signed and dated below: *PETR PAULUS RUERUS (sic) PINXIT ATQUE SINGULARI DEVOTIOE ATD ... C ... DCVI* (text partially mutilated by inadequate restorations).

Kingston Lacy, Sir Ralph Bankes.

PROVENANCE: The Grimaldi family, Palazzo Centurione, Genoa; purchased there by W.J. Bankes, before 1841.

EXHIBITED: *Pictures by Italian, Spanish, Flemish, Dutch, French and English Masters*, British Institution, London, 1841, No. 64 (as *Portrait of Marchesa Isabella Grimaldi*).

LITERATURE: *Ratti, 1773*, p. 113; *Ratti, 1780*, p. 291; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, pp. 347, 348, No. 395 (as *Portrait of Maria Grimaldi*); A. Cunningham, *Life of Wilkie*, III, London, 1843, p. 273 (quoting a letter from David Wilkie to Sir Robert Peel, 1 August, 1839, mentioning the painting as not by Rubens); *Waagen, Galleries*, IV, p. 375; *Rooses*, IV, pp. 272, 273, No. 1063; *Oldenbourg, 1922*, p. 53; *Burchard, 1929*, pp. 332, 333, repr.; *Müller Hofstede, Bildnisse aus Rubens' Italienjahren*, pp. 92–95, 141, 7, 8 (as *Bianca Spinola Imperiale*).

The seated figure projects away from the grey bordered dark architecture. From the faded red of the back of the chair with the coloured parrot, the splendid dress appears a shining mass of folds of warm yellow-white with gold embroidery down the middle, gold lined sleeves and gold chains. The soft silvery massive collar of warm highlights and blue shadows forms a perfect harmony with

the silver feather and blue and red flowers (?) in her crimped brown hair. Her face is fine and youthful with soft flesh tones. The elegance is enhanced by her rigid straightness and the very narrow waist.

Waagen was the first to identify the sitter as Brigida Spinola Doria, and Burchard believed this identification to be correct. According to Müller Hofstede the *Brigida Spinola Doria* showed to the lower right a 4 cm. wide piece of balustrade before an open sky, and an opening on the right to a terrace, with possibly a centimeter cut from the right. He thought certain differences between the Washington painting (No. 41; Fig. 119) and the Kingston Lacy important enough to wonder whether the latter might be identified as the Marchesa Bianca Spinola Imperiale. I have not been able to see the Kingston Lacy painting.

43. VERONICA SPINOLA DORIA (Fig. 124)

Oil on canvas; 225 : 138 cm.; inscribed on the back on an old piece of paper: *No. 18/ RITRATTO DI DONNA seduta vestita/ alla spagnola, opera di Rubenze/ Si puol valutare di – – – – 1000;* there also a later inscription: *Duratorre.*

Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle. No. 2505.

PROVENANCE: Marquis de la Rochebrousseau, sale, Paris, 5–8 May 1873, lot 99 (as *S. de Vos, Portrait of the Infanta Isabella*); Count Tiskiewich; Mme Juliette Beau, sale, Paris, 18 February 1878, lot 5 (as *S. de Vos, Portrait of the Infanta Isabella*); Comtesse de Roselli sale, Paris, 26–28 June 1919 (as *S. de Vos, Portrait of the Infanta Isabella*); 1927 acquired by Dr. C. Benedict, Berlin, from a Brussels private collection; Van Diemen and Co. sale, Berlin (P. Graupe), 26–27 April 1935, lot 80 (repr.); purchased by the Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe, from a south German collector, 1964.

EXHIBITED: Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, 1927; *Gemälde alter Meister,* Galerie Dr. Benedict and Co., Berlin, 1928, repr.; *Oude Kunst, Rijksmuseum,* Amsterdam, 1929, No. 116 (repr.); *Drei Jahrhunderte vlämische Kunst 1400–1700,* Secession, Vienna, 1930, No. 10 (repr.); *Tentoonstelling van Oud-Vlaamsche Kunst,* World Exhibition, Antwerp, 1930, No. 240.

LITERATURE: *Burchard, 1929,* pp. 336, 337, repr. (as *Portrait of Brigida Spinola Doria*); *Müller Hofstede, Bildnisse aus Rubens' Italienjahren,* pp. 89–92, 140, n. 1; J. Lauts, *Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe. Katalog Alte Meister,* Karlsruhe, 1966, pp. 259, 260, No. 2505, repr.

The lady is shown seated, in front of a niche, lifesize, in black velvet with gold clasps and gold embroidered sleeves, adorned with pearls, wearing a large silver gray lace ruff. The chair has a red back with a parrot perched on one corner, and in the upper left corner, a red drapery with the Spinola arms, viz. red and silver squares on a golden field.[1] She wears a red carnation in her hair, and holds a fan. The pose is exactly the same as that of Brigida Spinola Doria in the similar portrait in Kingston Lacy (No. 42; Fig. 117), and the ornamentation of the background niche corresponds nearly literally. Even the parrot is identical. Until Müller Hofstede recently put forward his hypothesis that the sitter could be Veronica Spinola Doria, it was assumed, since Burchard first published this work in 1929, that the lady had the features of Veronica's sister Brigida. In fact Burchard thought that the sitter's features were the same as those in the portraits at Kingston Lacy (No. 42; Fig. 117) and in the National Gallery at Washington (No. 41; Fig. 119). Veronica Spinola Doria was born in Genoa in 1587 and become the wife of Giancarlo Doria in 1608.[2] Without any doubt Rubens began work on this portrait during his stay at Genoa, 1606–7. It must however remain an open question whether he, as Müller Hofstede suggested, started the painting in the summer of 1607, to finish it in Rome, during the winter 1607–8.

[1] See V. Spreti, *Enciclopedia Storico-Nobiliare Italiana*, VI, Milano, 1932–41, p. 422.

[2] The relevant abstracts from Genovese baptismal and matrimonial acts printed in *Müller Hofstede, op. cit.*, p. 144, n. 39 and 41.

44. VERONICA SPINOLA DORIA (?) (Fig. 125)

Oil on canvas; 150 : 105 cm.

Buscot Park, Berkshire, Lord Faringdon.

EXHIBITED: *London, 1953–54*, No. 174.

PROVENANCE: ? "The late King of Poland" sale, London (Phillips), 9 June 1827, lot 75 (as *Rubens, Portrait of a Lady, habited in a black dress, holding a fan, with a parrot on her right on a balustrade*); ? sale, London (Christie's), 19 May 1860 (as *A. Van Dyck, Clara Eugenia, Archduchess of Austria, in a black dress, richly ornamented with pearls; seated in a chair, on the back of which is a parrot. A most important and capital work in Van Dyck's Genovese manner*); Sir Clare Ford; sale, London (Christie's), 13 May 1899,

lot 57, purchased by Lesser; Lesser sale, London (Christie's), 10 February 1912, lot 90 (as *Rubens, Portrait of the Infanta Isabella*); Thos. Agnew and Sons, London, 1929; sale, London (Christie's), 16 April 1937, lot 116.

LITERATURE: E. Michel, *Rubens,* London, 1899, II, p. XII (repr.; as *Rubens, Portrait of a Lady*); *Burchard, 1929,* pp. 348, 349, fig. 11; *Müller Hofstede, Bildnisse aus Rubens Italienjahren,* pp. 96, 143, n. 26; Sir John Gore, *Buscot Park. The European Pictures, The Connoisseur,* October, 1967, pp. 86–88, fig. 7.

This painting is nearly an exact repetition of the portrait at Karlsruhe. The figure is knee length, and the painting was obviously cut down. The only two differences are the sitter's white gown and her head-dress: instead of a carnation and pearls she wears a so-called "aigrette" as does Brigida Spinola Doria in the Kingston Lacy portrait (No. 42; Fig. 117).

45. MARCHESA BIANCA SPINOLA IMPERIALE (?) AND HER NIECE MADDALENA IMPERIALE (?) (Fig. 123)

Oil on canvas; 208 : 132 cm.

Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie. Inv. No. 2710.

PROVENANCE: The Imperiale family, Genoa; Marchese Paolo Coccapani Imperiale, Lercari, Modena; purchased there by W. von Bode before 1890 for the Berlin collector K. von der Heydt (as *A. Van Dyck*); Galerie Van Diemen, New York-Berlin, sale, Berlin (Graupe), 26 April 1935, lot 81 (repr.); Conrad Bareiss, Salach (near Stuttgart); purchased for the Staatsgalerie at Stuttgart in 1965.

EXHIBITED: *Ausstellung von Bildnissen des fünfzehnten bis achtzehnten Jahrhunderts aus dem Privatbesitz der Mitglieder des* [Kaiser Friedrich-Museums-] *Vereins,* Königliche Kunstakademie, Berlin, 1909, No. 29 (repr.; as *A. Van Dyck*); *Drei Jahrhunderte vlämische Kunst,* Secession, Vienna, 1930, No. 14 (repr); *Oud-Vlaamsche Kunst,* World Exhibition, Antwerp, 1930, No. 241.

LITERATURE: M. Menotti, *Van Dyck a Genova, Archivio Storico dell'Arte,* IInd Series, III, 1897, p. 464 (as *A. Van Dyck*); L. Cust, *Van Dyck,* London, 1900, p. 243, No. 102 (as *A. Van Dyck*); *Burchard, 1929,* pp. 326, 332, 337, 342, figs. 4, 6, 8; *Müller Hofstede, Bildnisse aus Rubens' Italienjahren,* pp. 89–92 98, 100, 138, 139–141, figs. 48, 50; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens und Tizian,* p. 66, fig. 32.

The old woman is seated in a black gown with a panel and a white ruff, with a veil. The little girl is in a Spanish dress of peacock blue and green and violet ornamented with gold, and a white ruff. In the background is a column, from which a red drapery hangs, and open sky. A red carpet is beneath the figures.

The attribution to Rubens was first made by L. Burchard when he saw a photograph of the painting in December 1926 and afterwards confirmed when he could study the portrait, in March 1928.[1] On the basis of its provenance from the Imperiale-Lercari family, the sitters had been identified previously as members of this family, a mother and her daughter.[2] This seemed logical, the more so after the painting had been attributed to Rubens, because it has been known since Bellori that Rubens has worked for Gianvincenzo Imperiale.[3] Recently, J. Müller Hofstede has tried to identify the sitters with more precision. For the seated woman, he suggests Bianca Spinola Imperiale, the wife of Giangiacomo Imperiale (1554–1622) and the mother of Gianvincenzo. Since the latter was the only child of this marriage and only married himself in 1606, the young girl could not be the Marchesa's daughter or granddaughter and therefore would have to be her niece, maybe Maddelena Imperiale, the daughter of Bianca Spinola Imperiale's sister Battina and Giambattista Imperiale.[4] These identifications remain hypothetical.

The type of full-length seated portrait before a column and opening appears earlier in Titian's *Charles V* at Munich[5] and also in Veronese's *Portrait of a Nobleman* in the collection of the Earl of Harewood.[6]

J. Müller Hofstede[7] sees two reasons to date the portrait 1605–6, the thick layer of paint which is especially noticeable in the young girl's head and the absence of the architectural background which one finds e.g. in the *Portrait of Brigida Spinola Doria* in Washington of 1606 (No. 41; Fig. 119). He therefore supposes the portrait was ordered in the last months of 1605 and executed either in Genoa or in Rome.

1 *Burchard, 1929,* pp. 326, 337.

2 L. Cust, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

3 *Burchard, 1929,* p. 342.

4 *Müller Hofstede, Bildnisse aus Rubens' Italienjahren,* pp. 98, 100.

5 *Burchard, 1929,* p. 328; *Müller Hofstede, Bildnisse aus Rubens' Italienjahren,* pp. 139, 154, n. 168; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens und Tizian,* pp. 66, 67, fig. 28.

6 *Müller Hofstede, Bildnisse aus Rubens' Italienjahren,* pp. 139, 154, n. 168; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens und Tizian,* p. 66, fig. 29.

7 *Müller Hofstede, Bildnisse aus Rubens' Italienjahren,* pp. 138, 139.

46. THEODORE TURQUET DE MAYERNE (Fig. 126)

Oil on canvas; 91 : 77.5 cm.

New York, New York University Art Collection.

PROVENANCE: Rubens's estate ("Geneesmeester Maierna"; *Denucé, Konstkamers,* p. 60, No. 100); the Marquis of Hertford (Ragley Hall, Warwick), sale, London (Christie's), 1 July 1921, lot 138, purchased by H.M. Clark; Bottenwieser, Berlin; purchased from the latter by Alexander von Frey, Berlin, in 1923; Otto Fröhlich, Vienna (ca. 1924); sold to a private collection in the United States, 1926; Clarence Y. Palitz, New York.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 115 : 90 cm.; prov.: ? John Hoppner, 1810; John Wanamaker, New York; Dr. James Aspell, New York, 1936; George Calvert; Mortimer Brandt Galleries, New York, 1941–42; Morris I. Kaplan, Chicago, sale, London (Sotheby's), 12 June 1968, lot 84 (repr.; as *Rubens*); purchased by Coulton; exh.: *Detroit, 1936,* No. 32 (as *Rubens*); Museum, Atlanta, 1939 (as *Rubens*); Art Institute, Milwaukee, 1942 (as *Rubens*); *New York, 1942,* No. 12 (as *Rubens*); lit.: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, p. 200, No. 727 (as *Rubens*); *Rooses,* IV, p. 213, No. 993 (as *Rubens*); T. Gibson, *Letters of Dr. Théodore de Mayerne to the Syndics and Executive Council of the Republic of Geneva, Annals of Medical History,* IX, 1937, p. 403, fig. 1 (as *Rubens*); T. Gibson, *The Iconography of Dr. Théodore Turquet de Mayerne, Annals of Medical History,* 3rd Series, III, 1941, p. 293, fig. 5 (as *Rubens*); *Goris-Held,* p. 29, No. 16, Pl. 24 (as *Rubens*); *Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963,* I, p. 265, under No. 171; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas; prov.: sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), 15 October 1974, lot 34 (as *School of Van Dyck*).

LITERATURE: *Waagen, Treasures,* IV, p. 86 (as *Rubens, Portrait of an Old Man*); *Rooses,* IV, p. 298, No. 1104 (as *Rubens, Portrait of an Old Man*); G. Glück, in *Die Graphischen Künste,* 1924, p. 75, fig. 4; *Valentiner,* p. 164, No. 108; *Goris-Held,* p. 29, No. 17; *Larsen,* p. 218, No. 85; *Burchard-d'Hulst 1963,* I, p. 265, under No. 171.

Rubens created two types of Mayerne's portrait. This is the first one, showing the sitter standing somewhat over half-length and holding a glove in his right hand. Theodore Turquet, doctor of medicine, was born in Mayerne near Geneva, on 23 September 1573 of a French Huguenot family. He studied medicine at Universities of Montpellier and Paris and became physician in ordinary to king Henri IV. Afterward in 1611 he went to England to serve James I (who knighted him in 1624) and Charles I as principal physician. Apart from medicine he showed a keen interest in chemical studies. He died in Chelsea in 1655.[1]

In his treatise on painting Mayerne made use of certain recipes given him by Rubens, such as aetheric turpentine, pigments and so on.[2] During his London sojourn, 1629–30, Rubens painted a portrait of the famous doctor from life.

Larsen accepted the New York University painting as an authentic Rubens; Held as an authentic smaller version of equal quality to the painting formerly in the Kaplan collection. Burchard-d'Hulst thought it the first surviving painting. In my opinion, in all probability, it is a contemporary replica. The painting is in poor condition and thinly painted. It differs from the Kaplan painting and the British Museum drawing (No. 46a; Fig. 127) in that it is one-half and not three-quarter length.

The Chicago painting follows the British Museum drawing and was accepted as an authentic Rubens by Held and Valentiner. Burchard and d'Hulst called it a contemporary replica. The tilt of the head, and the folds around the waist differ from the drawing. The size of the painting, and the three-quarter length composition are very impressive. The volume of the slightly turned figure is very powerful, very Titian-like in appearance. Very fine is the grayish brown of the background, matched by the tan-brown of the glove. Against this neutralizing background the rich black of the costume forms a sharp contrast, building up to the gray-black satin folds in the middle. The flesh tones of the face are pink, the hands more ruddy. The lips are a full pink. The eyes are dark, with grays. The fine soft texture of the white hair and the beard is the same, the hair a little longer than in the North Carolina painting (No. 47; Fig. 128). The beard contains some browns. The painting is rich in textures and the volumes are defined with consistency. The face, however, has not that unassailable brilliance of Rubens, and there is nothing of the transparency of the flesh; nor of the luminous eyes described by Waagen. The face is somewhat dull and has not that animation nor the great structural clarity of the British Museum drawing. Also, there is a general blurring around the outline of the head and body that is bothersome, as though it were slightly rubbed and repainted, and this contributes to a general softness which is unpleasant. I think also this painting is an excellent contemporary replica, a decision I reached independently before knowing the opinion of Burchard and d'Hulst.

[1] See A.C. Klebs, *L'Iconographie de Theodore Turquet de Mayerne, Genava,* XVI, 1938, pp. 173–176.

[2] See J.A. van de Graaf, *Het De Mayerne Manuscript als bron voor de schildertechniek van de barok,* Mijdrecht, 1958.

46a. THEODORE TURQUET DE MAYERNE: DRAWING (Fig. 127)

Black chalk washed with brown and Indian ink and water-colour; head, collar, and background round the head in body-colour; on paper fully mounted; 308 : 219 mm. Below on the left, the mark of the collection of Sir Thomas Lawrence (*L.*, 2445).

London, Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum. Inv. No. 1860. 6.16.36.

PROVENANCE: Sir Thomas Lawrence (London, 1769–1830); S. Woodburn (London, 1786–1853), sale, Christie's London, 4 June 1860, lot 351 (as *A. Van Dyck*); W. Gruyter, Jr. (Amsterdam, 1817–1880); purchased, 16 June 1860, by the British Museum.

EXHIBITED: *The Lawrence Gallery, 2nd Exhibition,* London, 1835, No. 19 (as *A. Van Dyck*); *The Age of Charles I,* The Tate Gallery, London, 1972, No. 43 (repr.); *Portrait Drawings XV–XX Centuries,* British Museum, London, 1974, No. 85 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Rooses,* V, p. 268, No. 1513; A.M. Hind, *Catalogue of Drawings by Dutch and Flemish Artists ... in the British Museum,* II, London, 1923, pp. 29, 30, No. 94, Pl. XI; T. Gibson, *The Iconography of Dr. Théodore Turquet de Mayerne, Annals of Medical History,* 3rd Series, III, 1941, pp. 292, 293, fig. 4; *Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963,* I, pp. 264–266, No. 171; II, pl. 171.

The British Museum drawing is, in my opinion, a study from life connected with the standing type with glove in hand. Burchard and d'Hulst identified it as a *ricordo* of the New York painting, but its superior quality places it above either of the paintings in New York or in the former Kaplan collection (No. 46; Fig. 126).

47. THEODORE TURQUET DE MAYERNE (Fig. 128)

Oil on canvas; 137 : 109 cm.

Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art. No. 128.

PROVENANCE: Sir Theodore Turquet de Mayerne (Geneva, 1573–London, 1655); Dr. Richard Mead (London, 1673–1754), sale, London (Langford), 20–22 March 1754, 2nd day, lot 40 (bought by Arundel, £ 115.18); William Ponsonby, 2nd Earl of Bessborough (Roehampton, 1704–1793), sale, London (Christie's), 7 February 1801, lot 88; William Petty-Fitzmaurice, 1st Marquess of Lansdowne (Bowood Park, Wiltshire, 1737–

1805), sale, London (Coxe, Burrell and Foster), 25 Febuary 1806, lot 28, apparently bought in and put up again for sale, London (Coxe, Burrell and Foster), 19 March 1806, lot 47; sale, London (Christie's), 18–19 May 1810, lot 124; Frederick Ponsonby, 3rd Earl of Bessborough (1758–1844), sale, London (Christie's), 1 April 1848; Lord Rutherford sale, Edinburgh (Nisbet), 7–10 April 1855, bought by Major Mercer; Major William Lindsay Mercer sale, Perth (Christie's), 5–7 June 1951, lot 403, purchased by D. Koetser Gallery on behalf of the North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh.

COPIES: (1) Painting, London, National Portrait Gallery, No. 1652; canvas, 122 : 99.5 cm.; prov.: ? Duke of Norfolk, Cheshire; purchased by the Trustees of the National Portrait Gallery, May 1912; lit.: A.C. Klebs, *L'iconographie de Théodore Turquet de Mayerne, Genava,* XVI, 1938, p. 173; T. Gibson, *The Iconography of Sir Theodore Turquet de Mayerne, Annals of Medical History,* 3rd Series, vol. III, 1941, p. 209, fig. 2 (as *Rubens*); *Goris-Held,* p. 29 under No. 161; D. Piper, *Catalogue of Seventeenth Century portraits in the National Portrait Gallery,* Cambridge, 1963, p. 229, No. 1652; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 28 : 22 cm.; prov.: sale, London (Sotheby's), 2 April 1952, lot 103 (as *Flemish School, Portrait of a Man*); (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 36 : 30 cm.; prov.: sale, Paris (Drouot), 6 December 1913, lot 17 (as *Flemish School 17th century*); (4) Engraving in Mezzotint, J. Simon (1675-1751; *V.S.,* p. 184, No. 262).

EXHIBITED: *The Age of Charles I,* Tate Gallery, London, 1972, No. 42 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, p. 200, No. 727; IX, p. 342, No. 367; *Rooses,* IV, pp. 213, 214 under No. 993; T. Gibson, *Letters of Dr. T. Mayerne, Annals of Medical History,* IX, September 1937, pp. [401–421]; *Larsen,* p. 218, No. 85a, Pl. 120a; W.R. Valentiner, *Catalogue of Paintings. North Carolina Museum of Art,* Raleigh, 1956, p. 65, No. 128, repr.; *Burchard-d'Hulst, 1962,* I, pp. 265, 266, under No. 171; D. Piper, *Catalogue of the Seventeenth Century Portraits in the National Portrait Gallery,* Cambridge, 1963, p. 229, n. 1; C.W. Stanford, *Masterpieces in the North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh,* 1966, pp. 32–34.

Mayerne is shown three-quarter length, seated, turned to the right, facing the spectator. His right hand rests on the arm of the chair, his left, in his lap, rests upon his overlapping cape; he wears a black silk doublet, with a black cloak around his left shoulder and arm, a plain white collar. He has cropped white hair and moustache, a soft long white beard, brown eyes looking at the spectator. At the extreme left of the background there is a harbor view with a lighthouse. To the right we see a statue of Aesculapius set in a nich.

This painting was made in Antwerp from the portrait which Rubens had made from life and brought home afterward. After having

received the portrait Turquet de Mayerne wrote a kind letter in which he thanked the painter for his work. This letter which was written on 25 March 1631 is an interesting source of information about the circumstances which led Rubens to execute the portrait, as well as to its iconologic meaning. We can assume from the letter that Mayerne's portrait was painted on occasion of his wedding and that Rubens also had proposed to paint the doctor's wife. This portrait, however, does not seem to have been begun. Concerning the meaning of the portrait we may deduce that the lighthouse in the storm alludes to the doctor's task as one of salvation. The Aesculapius alludes even more directly to Mayerne's profession. As the letter also mentions Rubens's recent marriage with Hélène Fourment, this portrait is to be dated between December 1630, date of the latter event, and 25 March 1631, date on which Mayerne wrote his letter. [1]

[1] "J'ay receu vostre excellent tableau auquel veritablement l'ouvrage surpasse de bien loing la matiere et n'y a rien qui mérite le regarder, que le labeur exquis que vous y avez mis. Je vous rens graces immortelles de ce qu'en ma faveur vous aves voullu perdre des bonnes heures que vous pouvies mieux employer sur des objets plus dignes d'estre entremise par votre incomparable pinceau. Si je ne me cognossois moy mesme, je serais en danger de me picquer d'un peu de vaine gloire, mais non pas jusques là de croire que les ornements d'un Aesculape et d'un Phare invitant les vaisseaux de gagner un port asseuré, fussent deubs à mon portraict. Ce sont des commentaires qui valent mieux que le texte auxquels l'exces de vostre gentillesse relève trop advantageusement ce peu de merite qui est en moy. L'offre que vous me faictes de marier mon tableau siv ous estiés par deça m'est un surcroist d'obligation. Votre bonne volonté me suffit, sans que je voulusse importunement en requester l'effect, quand m'esme i'en aurais sans que je voulusse importunement en requester l'effect, quand m'esme j'en aurais l'occasion. Permettes que les congratulations de nos marriages soient reciproques et les desirs communs de donner à nos Dames et de recevoir d'elles touts les contentements qui justement se peuvent souhaitter." (London, British Museum, Additional Ms. 20.921; publ. by T. Gibson in *Annals of Medical History*, 1941, p. 290 [with some slight transcription errors]).

48-49. TWO PENDANTS: HENRI DE VICQ, SEIGNEUR DE MEULEVELT, AND HIS WIFE

48. HENRI DE VICQ, SEIGNEUR DE MEULEVELT (Fig. 129)

Oil on panel; 73 : 54 cm.

Paris, Musée du Louvre. No. 458.

PROVENANCE: J.B. Van den Branden, Brussels, 1771; ? purchased by Lord Bute, 1776; Colonel Stuart, 1790; Lady Stuart, sale, London (Christie's), 15 May 1841, lot 65 (as

Portrait of Baron de Viry), purchased by C.J. Nieuwenhuys, for William II, king of the Netherlands (ever since separated from its pendant No. 49); sale of the collection of the latter, The Hague, 12 August 1850, lot 67, purchased for the Musée du Louvre.

EXHIBITED: *Le Portrait dans l'Art Flamand de Memling à Van Dyck,* Orangerie des Tuileries, Paris, 1952–53, No. 74 (repr.).

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 41.5 : 33.8 cm.; prov.: Manfred Neumann, Berlin, shown to Burchard in London on 30 December 1955 (according to the latter a French 19th century copy); (2) Engraving by C. van Cauckercken (1626–1680) (*V.S.*, p. 187, No. 281); (3) Engraving by Waltner (*Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* January 1875, facing p. 34).

LITERATURE: *Michel, 1771,* pp. 120–123, 357; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, p. XXVIII, p. 257, No. 870, p. 313, No. 1165; IX, pp. 322, 323, No. 285; L. Clément de Ris, *Mouvement des Arts, Achats du Musée national à la vente du roi de Hollande, L'artiste,* 1850, V, pp. 153, 154; *Le Baron de Vick, Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* XI, January 1875, pp. 33, 34; *Rooses,* IV, pp. 280, 281, No. 1076; *K.d.K.*, p. 282; *Evers, 1943,* p. 63; L. Van Puyvelde, *Rubens,* 1952, pp. 148, 211, n. 157; [F. Baudouin] Cat. exh. *Rubens Diplomaat,* Rubenskasteel, Elewijt, 1962, pp. 67, 68, 125, under No. 43; D. Dubon, *The History of Constantine the Great,* London–New York, 1964, p. 4, n. 6.

The sitter is represented down to the waist, without hands and nearly frontally. He wears a black costume with a wide collar. A red curtain marks the background. The identity of the sitter is made fully clear by the inscription under Van Caukercken's engraving after the portrait.

Henri de Vicq, sieur de Meulevelt (1573 -- Malines, 30 May 1651), was the son of the jurisconsult and theologian who had his name latinized as *Vicus.* De Vicq occupied several prominent offices. Successively he was alderman of the Bruges Franc (1606–1608 and 1611), ambassador of the archdukes at the French Court, member of the Conseil Privé and the Conseil d'Etat. Finally, in 1638, he became chairman of the Grand Conseil of Malines. [1]

Rubens met Henri de Vicq in Paris, during his sojourn there from 11 January until 26 February 1622. J.F.M. Michel was the first to propose that the portrait discussed here, together with a pendant and a picture representing *The Madonna with Jesus* were presented to De Vicq as a token of gratitude for the latter's mediations on occasion of the commission of the Medici series. In that case the portrait and its pendant would have been painted during Rubens's second stay in Paris, viz. in April 1625. [2] The stylistic features of the portrait are in keeping with that date.

[1] See A. Roersch, in: *Biographie Nationale de Belgique,* XXVI, Brussels, 1936–38, col. 716, 717.

[2] *Rooses-Ruelens,* II, p. 349; III, p. 341; IV, p. 24.

49. THE WIFE OF HENRI DE VICQ

Oil on panel; ca. 73.5 : 50 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: J.B. Van den Branden, Brussels, 1771; purchased by Lord Bute, 1776; Colonel Stuart, 1790; Lady Stuart, sale, London (Christie's), 15 May 1841, lot 66 (as *Portrait of Baronne de Viry*); purchased by Seguier, for William Wells, Esy., Redleaf (evec since separated from its pendant, No. 48); William Wells, sale, London (Christie's), 13 May 1848, lot 111, purchased by Bailey.

EXHIBITED: *Pictures by Italian, Spanish, Flemish, Dutch, French and English Masters...,* British Institution, London, 1841, No. 66 (as *Portrait of the Baroness de Viry*).

LITERATURE: *Michel, 1771,* pp. 122, 123, 357; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné,* II, p. XXVIII, p. 257, No. 871, p. 313, No. 1166; IX, p. 323, No. 286; *Rooses,* IV, p. 281, No. 1077.

The apparently lost pendant to Baron de Vicq's portrait in the Louvre can be known now only from a detailed description in the catalogue of the William Wells sale, London, 13 May 1848: "Portrait .., of fair complexion and light hair, seen in a front view. The neck is adorned with a full broad ruff with a serrated edge; she has on a black silk, with slashed sleeves; a rich cross, composed of jewels, adorns the front of her bosom, and a chain falls below it. An elegant Portrait of great purity and brilliancy of colour." Further we may reasonably presume that, like its pendant, this portrait represented the sitter down to the waist, without hands and before a curtain.

50. BEARDED MAN: DRAWING (Fig. 130)

Black and red chalk, heightened with white, on brown paper; 295 : 243 mm. Below to the right, in an unknown hand : *Rubbens.*

Vienna, Albertina. Inv. No. 8264.

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

LITERATURE: *Rooses,* V, p. 279, No. 1537; J. Schönbrunner and J. Meder, *Handzeichnungen aus der Albertina,* Vienna, 1896–1908, No. 764; *Glück-Haberditzl,* p. 32, No. 42; *Müller Hofstede, Bildnisse aus Rubens' Italienjahren,* pp. 106, 107, fig. 59, p. 146, n. 80.

The drawing shows a portrait of a man with a moustache and a beard, turned three quarters to the right. Burchard thought that it may have been executed during Rubens's pre-Italian years. Glück and Haberditzl proposed the Italian period. Müller Hofstede dates it 1602, in Verona, and believes it to be Jan Woverius on the basis of the portrait of Woverius in the Pitti *Justus Lipsius and Pupils.*[1] According to him, the exactness of observation places it close to Antwerp portrait painting at the turn of the century and he cites three examples of Antonio Mor for similar chalk studies. Drawn with a soft pencil and fine highlights.

[1] *K.d.K.*, p. 45.

51. BEARDED MAN: DRAWING (Fig. 131)

Black and red chalk heightened with white, partially executed in watercolour (the face); 319 : 247 mm. Above, to the left, in an unknown hand: *P.P. Rubbens F.*

Vienna, Albertina. Inv. No. 8265.

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

LITERATURE: *Rooses,* V, p. 280, No. 1538; *Rooses, Vie,* fig, facing p. 52; J. Schönbrunner und J. Meder, *Handzeichnungen alter Meister aus der Albertina,* Vienna, 1896–1908, p. 373, No. 183; *Glück-Haberditzl,* pp. 15, 16, No. 44, repr.; *Glück, 1933,* pp. 2, 7, fig. 5; *Müller Hofstede, Bildnisse aus Rubens' Italienjahren,* p. 108, fig. 60.

Glück dated this drawing 1604/05, as close to the Mantuan altar (Fig. 1). Müller Hofstede dates it 1601/02, and suggests that it may represent a dignitary in his official robes holding a beret in his hand. I believe this study should be dated 1603 on the basis of similarity with the groom head for the Lerma

portrait in the Louvre and Weimar drawings (Nos. 20 a and 20 b; Figs. 69 and 70). The glance is exactly in the same direction, and it is possibly the same man.

52. A LADY (Fig. 136)

Oil on canvas; 73 : 60 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: Purchased in Genoa, summer 1926, by the Galerie Matthiesen, Berlin (as *A. Van Dyck*); purchased by Gustav Rochlitz, Berlin, in 1928 (as *Rubens*); bought by Wanner-Brandt, Stuttgart; Wenner Gren, Stockholm; Collection Iselin, Zürich.

LITERATURE: *Burchard, 1929,* p. 320, fig. 1; L. Van Puyvelde, *Rubens,* Paris-Brussels, 1952, p. 199, n. 20; *Gerson-ter Kuile,* p. 183, n. 29; *Müller Hofstede, Bildnisse aus Rubens' Italienjahren,* p. 141, n. 5.

This portrait of a lady with red hair and blue eyes, with a large delicate ruff and woven strands of pearls was attributed to Rubens by Burchard, who thought it was a portrait of a Genoese noblewoman, and dated it between 1604 and 1607. At the moment of his first inspection of the painting, it was still rather heavily overpainted. After cleaning, the face of the sitter turned out to be preserved relatively well. Furthermore, pentimenti became visible in the ruff and the drapery. This evidence confirmed Burchard in his positive judgment about the picture's authenticity. According to Müller Hofstede, it was once called Frans Pourbus, and he does not accept it as a Rubens, feels that the small spare mouth, the small eyes, the hard facial features, do not show Rubens's vitality. I found Burchard's original description persuasive, and believe the face is close to that of the Duchess of Mantua in the Mantuan altar (Fig. 1). Gerson also accepts it as earlier than the other Genoese portraits.

53. A LADY (Fig. 137)

Oil on canvas; 80 : 64 cm.

Petworth House, Collection of Lord Egremont.

LITERATURE: C.H. Collins Baker, *Catalogue of the Petworth Collection*, London, 1920, No. 167 (as *A. Van Dyck, Portrait of a Genoese Noblewoman*).

A portrait of a lady, half-length, lifesize, before a fawn-coloured background, with her right hand on her breast. She has dark brown hair, round brown eyes with a friendly glance. She is dressed in black, with gold chains. Burchard, who saw the painting in 1933, noticed that, apart from the varnish appearing somewhat dull, the painting was in excellent condition. He also remarked that a pentimento of the hand of the sitter, whose thumb and forefinger originally were to be seen higher up, was clearly visible.

54. A LADY (Fig. 132)

Oil on canvas; 124 : 102 cm.

Wollerau, Kanton Zürich, Collection of L. Spieser.

PROVENANCE: From the collection of Earl of Kinnoull (?); Miss Henrietta Hay, sale, London (Christie's), 12 July 1940, lot 849 (as *Portrait of Isabella of Austria*); purchased by Dr. F. Rothmann, Wokingham; sold by Frederik Rozendaal (London) to Charles Clore (London), early in 1941.

LITERATURE: *Müller Hofstede, Bildnisse aus Rubens' Italienjahren*, pp. 128, 129, 152, 153, n. 153.

The lady is sitting on a red stuffed arm chair, rather stiffly, looking to the right. In her right hand she holds a handkerchief. She wears a black dress with a ruff and four rows of gold rosettes. The bodice and sleeves are in black gold-striped silk. She also wears a long pearl necklace. The hair is ornamented with pearls and by a lace kerchief with a flower.

Burchard noticed that the picture was heavily overpainted and that the dress originally was an olive-green colour. According to Müller Hofstede the whole picture is painted over a red-brown bolus-like priming.

Burchard dated the portrait 1604. Müller Hofstede dates it in the year 1602, for its stylistic affinity with the Mantuan Friendship portrait in Cologne (No. 37; Fig. 115). Personally I am not convinced of the authenticity of this portrait which may well be a copy after a lost Rubens original. However, I have not had the opportunity to see the painting.

55. A LADY (Fig. 135)

Oil on canvas; 53.5 : 43 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: Seen in May 1941 by Burchard and Dr. F. Rothmann at the home of the restorer Norman Hulme, London; sold 1 October 1942 through W.E. Duits to Dr. F. Springell, Derwent Cottage, Portinscale; for sale at Julius Singer, London, January 1953.

LITERATURE: T. Borenius, *A Newly-Discovered Portrait by Rubens, The Burlington Magazine*, LXXXII, 1943, p. 67, Pl. 54.

Described by T. Borenius as having auburn hair, black eyes, with a brilliant complexion. She wears a black dress with large white ruff, and the figure is set against a deep green background.

According to Burchard who accepted the painting as Rubens, the style of hairdressing would indicate a date not later than 1605, in which years a new fashion of small curls superseded the high toupet until then in favour in Italy. The painting is in good state of preservation.

56. AN OLD LADY (Fig. 134)

Oil on canvas; 48 : 38 cm..

Genoa, Palazzo Reale. Inv. No. 145 II c.

LITERATURE: M. Menotti, *Van Dyck a Genova, Archivio storico dell'arte*, 1897, p. 305 (as *A. Van Dyck*); L. Cust, *Van Dyck*, London, 1900, p. 245, No. 150 (as *A. Van Dyck*); *K.d.K., Van Dyck, Des Meisters Gemälde*, Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1909, p. 481 (as *not A. Van Dyck*); *Burchard, 1929*, pp. 328, 345–347, fig. 10.

In 1929 Burchard discussed this painting in the supplement to his article, as being by Rubens. He came to this opinion after close examination of the picture, together with Gustav Glück, who also was convinced of its authenticity. Burchard especially stressed the affinities with the Karlsruhe and Strasbourg *Old Ladies* (Nos. 45 and 57; Figs. 123 and 133). He pointed out that in these three cases the sitter was dressed in a similar fashion, viz. a Genoese one dating from

the time of Rubens's activity in the Ligurian metropolis. Burchard also remarked that the painting was patched by a later hand by 1 cm. to the right and around 3 cm. below, and that it was obviously a fragment. This supposition is corroborated by the state of the coarsely woven canvas. Burchard further insisted on the fact that although the picture, being covered by a thick varnish layer, made a dull appearance, nevertheless was executed very precisely, with rich tones and striking accents. Personally, I find it difficult to see positive evidence in favour of an attribution to Rubens.

57. AN OLD LADY (Fig. 133)

Oil on canvas; 147 : 112 cm.

Strasbourg, Musée des Beaux-Arts. Inv. No. 200 (as *A. Van Dyck*).

PROVENANCE: Purchased in Genoa by W. von Bode, 1890.

EXHIBITED: *Kunstschätze aus den Strassburger Museen,* Kunsthalle, Basle, 1947, No. 168 (as *A. Van Dyck*); *Bloem en Tuin in de Vlaamse Kunst,* Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ghent, 1960, No. 118 (as *Rubens*).

LITERATURE: E. Schaeffer, *Van Dyck, Des Meisters Gemälde,* Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1909, p. 210 (as *A. Van Dyck*); *Burchard, 1929,* pp. 328, 348, figs. 5, 7; [H. Haug], *Catalogue des peintures anciennes,* Strasbourg, 1938, p. 96 No. 200 (as *A. Van Dyck*); *Müller Hofstede, Bildnisse aus Rubens' Italienjahren,* pp. 106, 141, n. 5, p. 146, n. 78 (as *A. Van Dyck*).

In 1929 Burchard attributed it to Rubens, but the Van Dyck label remained. Müller Hofstede returned it, correctly in my opinion, to Van Dyck in 1965.

INDEX I: COLLECTIONS

This index lists all the extant paintings, oil sketches and drawings catalogued in the present volume. Copies have also been included. The works are listed alphabetically according to place.

INDEX II: SUBJECTS

This index lists all the subjects here catalogued. Under each title are gathered all the known representations; these include both works by Rubens himself and copies made by other artists after these.

INDEX III: OTHER WORKS BY RUBENS MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

The following abbreviations are used throughout this index:
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INDEX IV: NAMES AND PLACES

This index lists names of artists, authors, collectors, owners, historical persons and antique models. Works of art are included; but, in order to avoid duplication, no reference is made to works by Rubens and his assistants or to the copies after these works.

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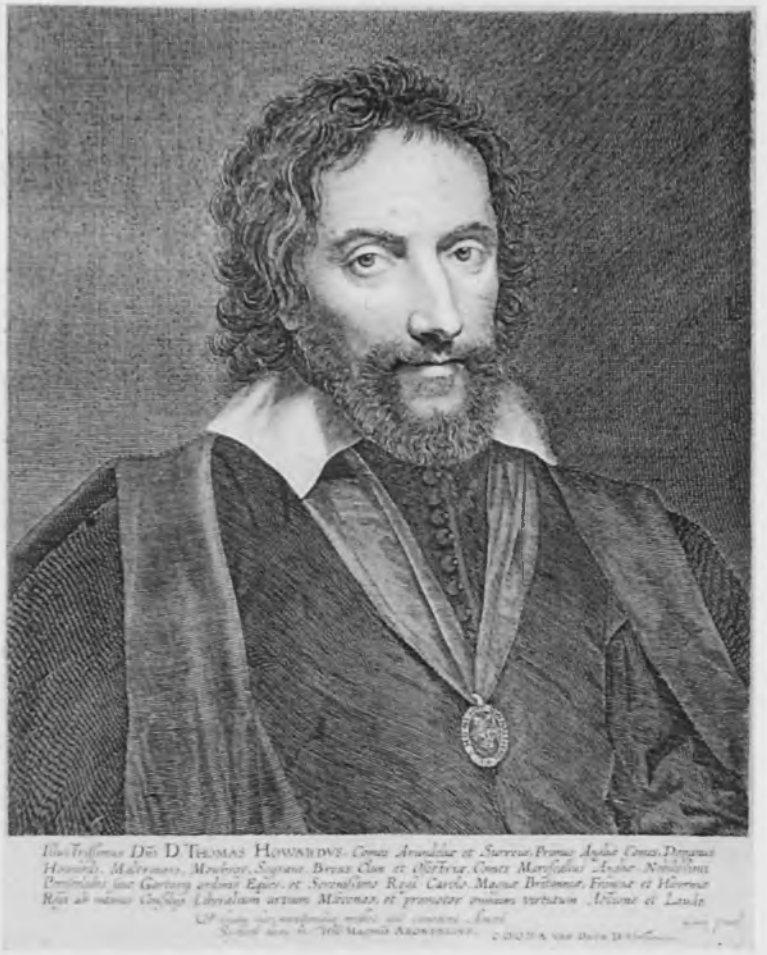

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Washington, National Gallery of Art

64. After Rubens, *The Family of Sir Balthasar Gerbier* (No. 14). Windsor Castle, Royal Collection

65. Rubens, *Francesco Gonzaga (?)* (No. 15). Plympton, Saltram House

66. Rubens, *Margherita Gonzaga, Duchess of Ferrara* (No. 16). Zurich, Dr. J. Bruppacher

67. Rubens, *Francesco Gomez de Sandoval y Royas, Duke of Lerma, on Horseback* (No. 20).
Madrid, Prado

68. Rubens, *Giancarlo Doria on Horseback* (No. 10). Florence, Palazzo Vecchio

69. Rubens, *A Rider on Horseback,* drawing (No. 20a).
Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre

70. Rubens, *A Rider on Horseback,* drawing (No. 20b). Whereabouts unknown

71. Rubens, *Louis XIII, King of France* (No. 21). Los Angeles, The Norton Simon Foundation

72. Rubens, *Anne of Austria, Queen of France* (No. 22).
Los Angeles, The Norton Simon Foundation

73. J. Louys, *Anne of Austria, Queen of France,* engraving (No. 22)

74. J. Louys, *Louis XIII, King of France,* engraving (No. 21)

75. Detail of Fig. 71

76. C. de Passe, *Louis XIII, King of France,* engraving (No. 21)

77. Rubens, *Louis XIII, King of France,* oil sketch (No. 21a).
Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria

78. After Rubens, *Louis XIII, King of France* (No. 21a). Dessau, Gemäldegalerie

79. Rubens, *Maria, Infante of Spain, later Queen of Hungary and Bohemia* (No. 24).
Zürich, Prof. M. Roš

80. Velázquez, *Maria, Infante of Spain, later Queen of Hungary and Bohemia.* Madrid, Prado

81. P. Snayers, *Philip IV and his Family Hunting,* detail. Madrid, Prado

82. After Rubens, *Sor Margarita de la Cruz* (No. 23). Madrid, Descalzas Reales

83. Rubens, *Maria de' Medici, Queen Mother of France* (No. 27). Madrid, Prado

84. ? Rubens, *Maria de' Medici, Queen Mother of France* (No. 28). Paris, Galerie Pardo

85. P. de Jode, *Philip III, King of Spain,* engraving (No. 29)

86. After Rubens, *The Distribution of the Rosary*. Present whereabouts unknown

87. Rubens, *Woman with Laurel Wreath,* drawing (No. 30a). Vienna, Albertina

88. Rubens, *Philip IV, King of Spain,* drawing (No. 32). Bayonne, Musée Bonnat

89. Titian, *Charles V on Horseback*. Madrid, Prado

90. After Rubens, *Philip IV, King of Spain on Horseback* (No. 30). Photographic Reconstruction of the original Appearance of the lost Painting

91. After Rubens, *Philip IV, King of Spain, on Horseback* (No. 30). Florence, Uffizi

92. After Rubens, *Philip IV, King of Spain, on Horseback* (No. 30). Whereabouts unknown

93. Velázquez, *Philip IV, King of Spain.* Madrid, Prado

94. X-radiograph of Fig. 93

95. Velázquez, *Philip IV, King of Spain.* Madrid, Prado

96. Velázquez, *Philip IV, King of Spain.* Madrid, Prado

97. After Rubens, *Philip IV, King of Spain* (No. 33). Leningrad, Hermitage

98. After Rubens, *Isabella of Bourbon, Queen of Spain* (No. 34). Leningrad, Hermitage

99. After Rubens, *Philip IV, King of Spain* (No. 33). Munich, Alte Pinakothek

100. After Rubens, *Isabella of Bourbon, Queen of Spain* (No. 34). Munich, Alte Pinakothek

101. P. Pontius, retouched by Rubens, *Philip IV, King of Spain,* drawing (No. 33a).
Vienna, Albertina

102. P. Pontius, retouched by Rubens, *Isabella of Bourbon, Queen of Spain,* drawing (No. 34b). Vienna, Albertina

103. P. Pontius, *Philip IV, King of Spain,* engraving (No. 33a)

104. P. Pontius, *Isabella of Bourbon, Queen of Spain,* engraving (No. 34b)

105. After Rubens, *Philip IV, King of Spain* (No. 33).
Stratfield, Saye House, The Duke of Wellington

106. After Rubens, *Isabella of Bourbon, Queen of Spain* (No. 34).
New York, Hispanic Society

107. After Rubens, *Philip IV, King of Spain* (No. 33). Genoa, Galleria Durazzo Pallavicini

108. Rubens, *Isabella of Bourbon, Queen of Spain,* oil sketch (No. 34a).
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

109. After Rubens, *Isabella of Bourbon, Queen of Spain* (No. 34).
Pommersfelden, Castle Weissenstein, Count Schönborn

110. After Rubens, *Isabella of Bourbon, Queen of Spain* (No. 34). Chicago, The Art Institute

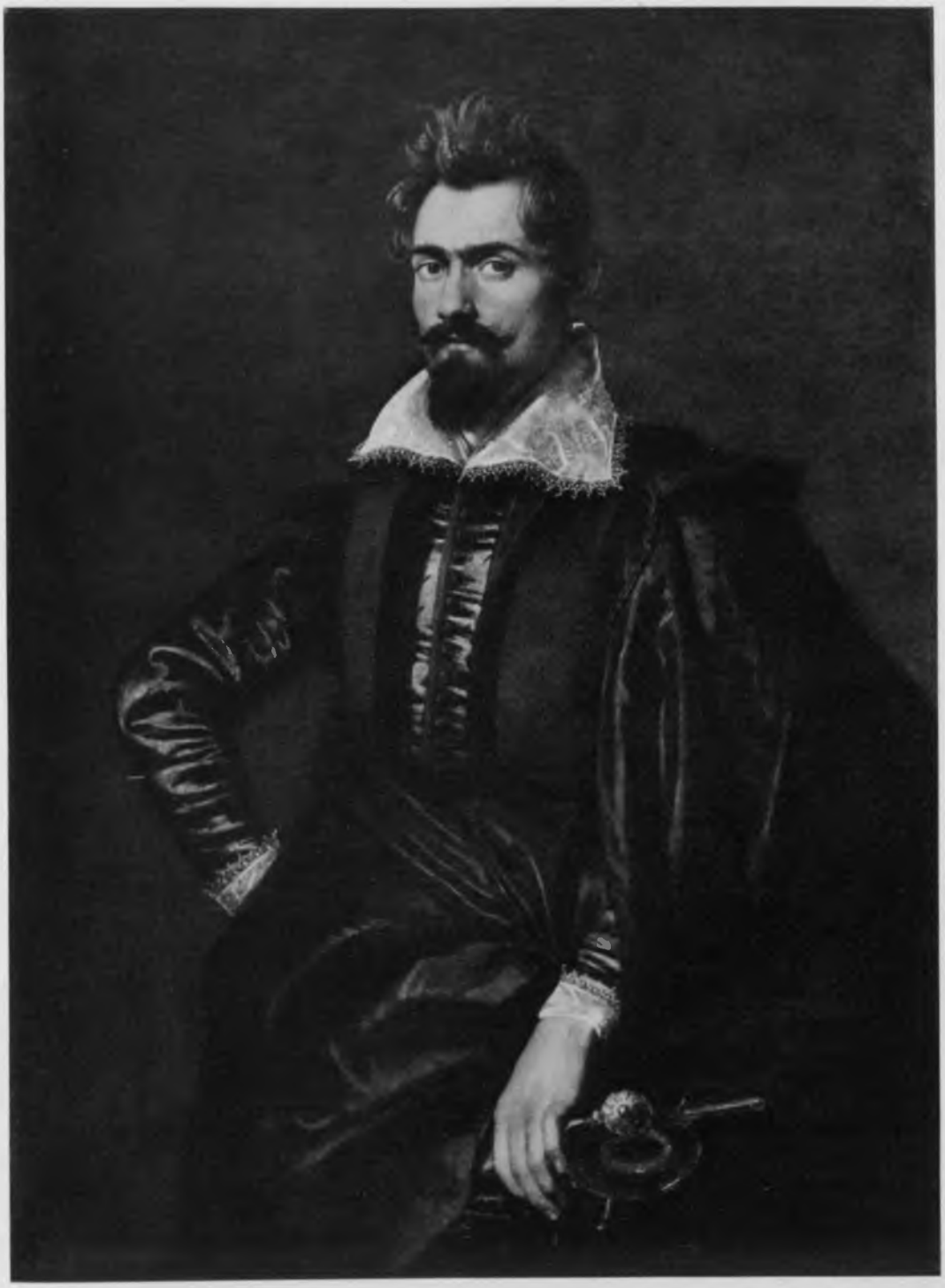
111. Rubens, *Philip IV, King of Spain* (No. 35). Zürich, Kunsthaus, Ruzicka Stiftung

112. Detail of Fig. 111

113. J. Louys, *Isabella of Bourbon, Queen of Spain,* engraving (No. 36)

114. J. Louys, *Philip IV, King of Spain,* engraving (No. 35)

115. Rubens, *Peter Paul Rubens in a Circle of Friends* (No. 37).
Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum



116. Rubens, *Caspar Schoppius* (?) (No. 38). Florence, Palazzo Pitti

117. Rubens, *Brigida Spinola Doria (?)* (No. 42). Kingston Lacy, Sir Ralph Bankes

118. Rubens, *Caterina Grimaldi (?) with a Dwarf* (No. 19).
Kingston Lacy, Sir Ralph Bankes

119. Rubens, *Brigida Spinola Doria* (No. 41). Washington, National Gallery of Art

120. P.F. Lehnert, *Brigida Spinola Doria,* lithograph (No. 41)

121. Rubens, *A Lady,* drawing (No. 41a). New York, Pierpont Morgan Library

122. Detail of Fig. 119

123. Rubens, *Marchesa Bianca Spinola Imperiale (?) and her Niece Maddalena Imperiale (?)* (No. 45). Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie

124. Rubens, *Veronica Spinola Doria* (No. 43). Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle

125. Rubens, *Veronica Spinola Doria (?)* (No. 44). Buscot Park, Berkshire, Lord Faringdon

126. Rubens, *Théodore Turquet de Mayerne* (No. 46).
New York, New York University Art Collection

127. Rubens, *Théodore Turquet de Mayerne,* drawing (No. 46a). London, British Museum

128. Rubens, *Théodore Turquet de Mayerne* (No. 47). Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art

129. Rubens, *Henri de Vicq, Seigneur de Meulevelt* (No. 48). Paris, Louvre

130. Rubens, *Bearded Man,* drawing (No. 50). Vienna, Albertina

131. Rubens, *Bearded Man,* drawing (No. 51). Vienna, Albertina

132. ? Rubens, *A Lady* (No. 54). Wollerau (Zürich), L. Spieser

133. ? A. Van Dyck, *An Old Lady* (No. 57). Strasbourg, Musée des Beaux-Arts

134. ? Rubens, *An Old Lady* (No. 56). Genoa, Palazzo Reale

135. ? Rubens, *A Lady* (No. 55). Whereabouts unknown

136. Rubens, *A Lady* (No. 52). Whereabouts unknown

137. Rubens, *A Lady* (No. 53). Petworth House, Lord Egremont